National Narrative in Ukrainian Historical Novels

from Post-Stalinist to Post-Independence Texts

by

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Summary

This thesis studies the development of the Ukrainian national narrative in historical novels of the last fifty years. It objectivises this genre of fiction as the most powerful channel of transmitting the national story within a nation oriented to literature. The study regards the national narrative as a coherent story and, thus, sets as the primary task to extract it from four different types of historical fiction. Starting with a Socialist Realist historical novel, the thesis accepts it as a 'progenitor narrative' and analyses all consecutive texts in the light of its structure. The most restricted of the national narratives in the Ukrainian field, the progenitor narrative has influenced the course of the transformation of the national story until recently.

Having extracted the narratives, the thesis focuses on their formal and semantic differences concentrating on the expressions of the national narrative in Ukrainian historical novels. In particular, it starts with the objectivation of formal aspects of the progenitor narrative, dissociating it into motifs, which gives reasons to divide the national narratives to *fabula*- and *syuzhet*-oriented stories. Due to the complicated nature of the latter, the study investigates the ways of forming the *syuzhet* of the narrative. For this reason, it pays significant attention to the narrative as desire and turns to the politics of the body with regard to gender context in the novels.

In the historical novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, Valerii Shevchuk, and Oksana Zabuzhko, the thesis recognises an overall unique and complicated pattern of transformation of Ukrainian national narrative. The latter is put in historical and ideological contexts to understand the conditions of the narrative types' formation. As a conclusion, the thesis makes an attempt to set the pattern of the narrative creation.

This is to certify that this work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Anna Vitruk

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Introduction

In this thesis, I will study the principles of the development of Ukrainian historical novels after World War II. Despite the fact that this field is quite vast, only a number of texts are used for the analysis. The thesis will address the problems of substantial difficulties in the field of Ukrainian literature. It will provide an overview of Ukrainian national narrative based on the case studies of the novels of respective periods – from post-Stalinist historical novels of the 1950s to the most recent texts of the 2000s.

A part of this thesis is dedicated to an introduction of the notion of the national narrative via three other concepts: history, myth, and memory. Considering previous definitions and elaborations of the national narrative, I would like to contemplate specifically on its representation in literature. So far as the national narrative is regarded as a story, I suggest that it needs to be differentiated from these highly narrative forms of speaking about the past: history, myth, and memory.

This differentiation appears even more important when one looks into the essence of historical novels, the object of this thesis. From reading numerous historical novels, it becomes obvious that they benefit from all three domains – history, myth, and memory, and for this research, it is important that the national narrative is clearly differentiated from them. Similarly to history, the national narrative refers to the past and operates with factual information. However, unlike history, it is highly patterned and ignorant to specifics and details, which makes it a 'universal history', that is, a myth. The national narrative shares more common traits with myth, which are ritualization and repetitiveness. As for memory, it is as responsible for emotional communication within the nation as is the national narrative.

Historical novels in their essence engage all three – history, myth, and memory. They are seen to seek the 'truth' their recipients are unable to recognise otherwise. Therefore, they investigate deeper into the strata of history that are not affected by the current view of the past. As Margaret Scanlan claims referring to Postwar British novels, "failing to discover, to give the reader the real presence of the historical text, the novel concentrates instead on the process by which people become aware […] of the public life of their time."[1] Further, she argues that Postwar writers in Britain address and deconstruct 'falsifying' myths about history and nation that contributed to colonising impulses of the empire. Writing about historical fiction, Scanlan brings to light primarily conscious strategies that the authors employ to activate what needs to be fixed and changed with regard to a certain topic. Here myth is replaced with another myth and memory gives way to counter-memory.

With radical transformations in Ukrainian discourse since the 1950s, it is worth taking into account the 'distortions' of public opinion that affect the perception of the past. In the general direction that the nation takes, they assume the form of a story that exists in the present but whose explanatory capacity covers all temporal strata – the past, the present, and the future. This story is powerful in its simplicity. It consists of maximally distilled and refined elements – motifs – that can be infiltrated into any sphere of life. Due to this ability, this story creates a field that absorbs history, myths, and memories to generate adjusted cultural and ideological products that correspond with the current and actual state of affairs for a particular generation. This story is the national narrative.

A working definition that I will use in this thesis is the following: national narrative is a highly patterned coherent story that consists of separate units and is based on *fabula* or *syuzhet*. Being highly stable, it provides a sense of continuity for the nation, but its references to emotional

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[1] Margaret Scanlan, *Traces of Another Time: History and Politics in Postwar British Fiction* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2014), 12.

level create the identity of 'we'. It is concealed in textual material and requires extraction and reconstruction to be analysed.

Being epoch-specific, the national story changes, adapting the society to the situation it currently experiences. It explains when, how, and why every member of the society became its part by creating a pattern for the perception of every historical perturbation that may happen. The story becomes a lens through which life is seen. Undoubtedly, such phenomenon deserves to be investigated. And its study through historical novels brings to light the most relevant view on the past.

In this study, I apply postcolonial criticism to describe the process of nation building in the late 20th century through the magnifying glass of historical fiction. However, if we observe the taxonomical system of historical novels in Ukrainian academic circles more closely, we will see its roots set deep in post-Soviet, i.e. colonial, literary theory. Therefore, my first concern here is to shift the paradigm of both terminology and classification of historical fiction to the extent where the essence of ideological and aesthetical features of Ukrainian novels as postcolonial can be displayed.

From a modern day's point of view, transformations in the domain of Ukrainian historical fiction are prominent. Over the last fifty years, this genre has progressed considerably towards liberation in form and content. Since the 1950s, Ukrainian historical novels have experienced the stylistics of Socialist Realism, a strong modernist stream, and elements of postmodern culture. Under this influence, historical fiction acquired different forms and embraced a vast topical range, some elements of which were banned in Soviet Ukraine. Naturally, after the declaration of Independence, such elements broke through and diversified the field of historical novels. At one time, the limits of the genre expanded to embrace more texts. As a result, one can come across the historical novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi and Oles Honchar along with the texts of Valerii Shevchuk, Iurii Vynnychuk, and Oksana Zabuzhko. However, as far as this thesis examines the most recent trends in historical fiction, such diversity is not considered a

problem, but a consequence of a multidirectional literary process. Not least due to such large variety, the field is rich with questions that are worthy of fuller investigation. Why do certain topics continue to circulate in historical fiction and why do the old ones cease to do so? Why do new topics acquire a particular form and why are the old ones restricted to certain formal solutions? Approaching these problematic points will shape a more important perspective and a general pattern of the Ukrainian historical novel in the late 20th century.

With subsequent transformations in the genre since the beginning of the 20th century, historical novels remain a fruitful topic for academic discussions. Being historical in their essence and themes, these texts differ from canonical historical novels in their form and means of communication with the readers. At the same time, the texts that are listed as historical novels are restricted and rather inflexible due to various formal and conceptual regulations. All the genre's definitions since the 1930s refer to a few common features of historical novels. They are as following: the considerable temporal remoteness of a depicted age; the presence of historical personages in the text; the wide representation of historical epoch. These demands are quite understandable when considered within the discourse of history. This stance is acceptable provided that historical novels correspond with the current established narrative of history. However, it is not always the case. This split is even more obvious in postcolonial literatures, like Ukrainian, where the correlation between fictional historical texts and official history is rather ambiguous.

I will consider the way in which the narrative of the nation circulates in the historical fiction, how it is represented and the way it influences readers. This consideration stands as a primary *subject* of this research. In particular, I will discuss the foundational issues of this narrative, i.e. the features that can not only affect the readers' self-identification but also establish the connection with the national past.

The *key hypothesis* of this research argues that different forms of historiography became the basis for the historiographic fiction of the late 20th century. I see my *task* in tracing the nature

of these changes, be they aesthetic, social, or worldview. I will also aim at demonstrating reverse effects of these transformations using the example of the Ukrainian national narrative, defined in the historiographic fiction. I will address the effect of such a narrative on the readers.

Chapter 1. Literature Review. Contextualising the National Narrative

The literature on national narratives can hardly be called scarce. Numerous researches demonstrate how ethnic and national groups define themselves through telling the stories[2] of their origin, heroes, and neighbours. These theoretical studies present them as fixated and highly patterned narratives with a potential to transform. The changes in the national narrative can occur as a result of regular and gradual additions to the story that emanate from major ontological and societal shifts. Most studies on national stories naturally assign them to certain nations, which problematizes a consolidated theoretical research. Since my study is also dedicated to a specific narrative of the Ukrainian nation, it does not aim to elaborate theoretical and methodological novelties. But the reference alone to Ukrainian realities puts this thesis in a position of the explorer of new territories. This position is exclusive but also complicated because of the specifics of Ukrainian context. Instead of the conventional review of literature, it will turn to more concepts that need to be defined. In this prelude to the methodological chapter, I will address other studies on the national narrative and also focus on the concepts that define and direct it – fictionalism, myth, memory, history, and nation.

1.1.   On the Definition of the National Narrative

As with nearly all multidisciplinary notions, the national narrative resists every attempt to define itself, however, there are common features that answer the question of its demand. Thus, the main way to define it appears to be via demand for it. For it is necessary to determine who

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[2] The terms 'national narrative' and 'national story' are roughly equated in this thesis. They both are considered as narrative entities, which entails the characteristics of narration. It corresponds to a definition of 'community story' that Hinchman and Hinchman give. Similarly to national narrative, "community stories offer members a set of canonical symbols, plots, and characters through which they can interpret reality and negotiate – or even create their world." Lewis P. Hinchman and Sandra Hinchman, *Memory, Identity, Community: The Idea of Narrative in the Human Sciences* (SUNY Press, 1997), 235.
'National narrative' is a more specific term than 'collective stories', and yet I find it reasonable to use the term 'national story' as a synonym for 'national narrative with regard to similar functions, purpose, and overall narrativised nature that both terms embody.

requires the narrative and why such need occurs. Importantly, it is well-known that the nation cannot function without the narrative, as it needs a coherent story that can support and sustain the community in time.[3] Thus, it involves a number of actors and components that share the responsibility of maintaining the nation – the recipients of the narrative, the story itself, and the emotions it evokes in the recipients. Patric Colm Hogan explains their important connection in terms of nationalism:

> *The development, organisation, and specification of nationalist thought and action are bound up with narrative structure, both in its general or schematic form and in its most prototypical specifications. Moreover, in each case, the emplotment of nationalism is inseparable from our emotional response, thus our motivations for action. Indeed, I would go so far as to say that nationalism cannot be understood in separation from narrative, which itself cannot be understood in separation from our emotion systems.[4]*

This vital observation directs the study to seek for the components of the national narrative that respond to the necessity of being in charge of the community's life. The question here is what mechanisms the community employs to stay unified and functioning. It appears that creative forces are necessary as they allow the community to involve the critical mass of emotional component. Thus, opera, sculpture, literature, mass media, art, television, and educational institutions convey specific images of the nation and "its liberation, its heroic past, and its glorious future that can be created and purveyed."[5] The creative potential leads to a specific trait of the national narrative – the priority of fiction. The national narrative is not about historical accuracy, as it is not the basis that creates the platform of communication for the members of the community. With regard to this, Anthony Smith reasonably asks whether it "is

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[3] Anthony D. Smith, for example, wrote extensively on this problem. See his works Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism: Theory, Ideology, History* (Polity, 2001); Anthony David Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford University Press on Demand, 1999); Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Blackwell Pub., 2008).
[4] Patrick Colm Hogan, *Understanding Nationalism: On Narrative, Cognitive Science, and Identity* (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2009), 168.
[5] Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2000), 73.

not the equality of living memory in a population more critical for the meaning and success of a nationalist enterprise than any amount of well-documented but unresonating evidence."[6] Regarding memory, Jacques Le Goff mentions that it "can only become history if it meets one condition: a sense of continuity."[7] And while this proposition is mostly interpreted in terms of institutionalisation of memory, I suggest that it has a different meaning: memory can only become a *reality* when it is being repeated with regard to the future, that is, when it becomes a part of the narrative. And thus, it is the national narrative that provides a storage for memeories and pursues its sense of continuity. How, then, does it correlate with history and tradition, which are believed to provide necessary continuity to nation?

This is where history entwines with national narrative. If we consider history institutionalised, it falls under the category of 'tradition' with everything it implies with regard to the nation: recurrence, continuity, and appropriation.[8] Anthony Smith argues that the three steps are the main processes that connect the past of the nation to its present, where the nation needs to be visible in different epochs; its past requires institutionalisation and constant adjustment for the purpose of the nation, whichever this purpose might serve in a particular moment in the present. The national narrative takes active part in these processes, as Homi Bhabha observed.[9] He described it as constant oscillation from the past to the present that produces matter for the future. In Bhabha's terminology, the tradition, the pedagogical, is constantly renewed by the memory, the performative.

The pedagogical and performative constitute an opposition similar to interrelation of language and speaking. If language is the "aggregation of imprints, existing in each person's head," speaking has "nothing collective in itself,"[10] being individual and momentary. Moreover, in

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[6] Ibid., 56.

[7] Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 57.

[8] Smith, *The Nation in History*, 61, 62.

[9] Homi K. Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," in *Nation and Narration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 291–322.

[10] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 19.

order to make single acts of speaking understandable, the system of speech should be maintained in a given form. In the context of the nation, language as "collective" phenomenon is associated with "pedagogical," while speaking is the analogue of "performative." Pedagogical, as Bhabha explains, asserts narrative power in people's tradition that means its durability in time, and performative penetrates the continual process of nation's self-production, dividing the people as the "image" and its signification as the sign of differentiating the Self, distinct from the Other.[11]

Bhabha, having constructed the notion of the nation narration, insightfully described what others, who demand of continuity, fail to grasp: continuity has no physical dimension, so only its expressions in culture can be regarded as the carriers of nation-related information. Thus, the national narrative, as one of these expression and a culturally constructed phenomenon, both exists in the present and refers to the past. Precisely this unique trait turns it into what Bhabha considers as the place of existence of the people. As Handler et al. suggest, this problem is a part of the identity issue. They argue that "the sociocultural context of a continuously existing group varies continually, but as long as a sense of group identity exists to orient the future action continuity will be maintained."[12]

Creating "the identity of a 'we'"[13] is based on emotional level and thus can only function in the present. Therefore, the national narrative as part of this process relies highly on the ontology of the present for the emotional component. Hence the connection to the realities of the time of the recipients of cultural information; otherwise, additional references to the body provide the ways to acquire necessary emotional experience. Certainly, the link between the body, the present, and the national narrative deserves a separate discussion, which I will present later as part of the methodological chapter.

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[11] Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation & Narration* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 299.

[12] Richard Handler et al., "On Sociocultural Discontinuity: Nationalism and Cultural Objectification in Quebec [and Comments and Reply]," *Current Anthropology* 25, no. 1 (February 1, 1984): 57.

[13] Aleida Assmann, "Transformations between History and Memory," *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 52.

A more concise definition of the national narrative belongs to Carol Fleisher Feldman; however, she does not focus on the organisation of the narrative, which I employ from James Wertsch idea of the narrative. Feldman writes that

> *All national narratives are typical of group-defining stories in that (a) they are highly patterned, (b) that they also affect the form of personal autobiography, and (c) that they go underground as cognition where they serve as mental equipment for the interpretation of events.[14]*

It is necessary to add, though, that the patterning of the national narrative entails that it is highly prone to putting in strict frameworks of structure. James Wertsch compares their organisation to the molecule of DNA, which also has unshakeable structure. National narratives as "collective DNA […] are distinguished by the fact they provide a common, schematic *plot line* [my emphasis – AV] that can be instantiated in multiple specific narratives."[15] However, all these features: the "we" building ability, emotional component, apttern-like structure, the capability to infiltrate into all spheres of life are inherent to all national narratives. Post-colonial stories, like Ukrainian national narrative, bear their own peculiarities.

1.2.   Post-Colonialism and Ukrainian National Narrative

The manifestations of the collective's past in the literature inevitably forces the collective to consider its own place in the world, which requires explanation of the collective's activity and its current position. With regard to this, Bill Ashcroft argues that "how history might be 're-written', how it might be interpolated, is a crucial question for the self-representation of the colonized people." In the recent past, the framework of post-colonial theory contributed to the analysis of the ambiguous periods of nation's past, and it was also used to approach Ukrainian

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[14] Carol Fleisher Feldman, "Narratives of National Identity as Group Narratives: Patterns of Interpretive Cognition," in *Narrative and Identity. Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*, ed. Jens Brockmeier and Donal Carbaugh (Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2001), 129.

[15] James V. Wertsch, "Deep Memory and Narrative Templates: Conservative Forces in Collective Memory," in *Memory and Political Change* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 183.

history and culture. After Ukraine gained its independence in 1991, numerous scholars debated the issue. Some of them, like Mykola Riabchuk, Myroslav Shkandrii, Tamara Hundorova, Oleksand Motyl, and Nila Zborovs'ka, accepted this methodology. Marko Pavlyshyn, who was among the first scholars to apply postcolonial methodology to Ukrainian literature, observes the "return of colonial resignation," an inclination to colonial consciousness.[16] He argues that in the most recent novels like Iurii Andrukhovych's *Taiemnytsia* (The Secret), 2007), the string of postcolonialism is lost, which leads to the conclusion that "there is no space free from domination."[17] Others, like Stephen Velychenko, resisted its usage in post-Soviet cultural space.[18] Using the methodological and philosophical elaborations of Homi Bhabha. Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, Bill Ashcroft and others, the scholars of Ukrainian studies sought postcolonial connotations in the texts of Ukrainian literature.

On the one hand, the terminological pool and the whole system seemed applicable to Ukrainian literature that depended on Russian and Soviet imperial gravitation. On the other hand, a number of political and economical dissimilarities between Ukraine and 'classically' postcolonial ex-dominions of the British Empire give argumentative basis to deny the postcolonial nature of Russian-Ukrainian relationships. This discussion, distanced from the topic of this thesis, nevertheless leads to reassessing the role of the tools at disposal of the Ukrainian 'post-'criticism to find national narrative an extremely useful instrument for description of Russian-Ukrainian cohabitation in different periods. The attempts to add to the terminological set of postcolonialism[19] reveal its vulnerability to Ukrainian realities, especially to comparison with the "post-Soviet," which, according to Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez ,do not equate.[20] In

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[16] Marko Pavlyshyn, "Povernennia kolonialnoji rezygnatsiji [The return of colonial resignation]," *Courier of Kryvbas*, no. 284–85–286 (2013): 336–52.

[17] Marko Pavlyshyn, "Andrukhovych's Secret: The Return of Colonial Resignation," *Journal of Postcolonial Writing* 48, no. 2 (May 1, 2012): 198, doi:10.1080/17449855.2012.658266.

[18] Stephen Velychenko, "Post-Colonialism and Ukrainian History," *Ab Imperio*, no. 1 (2004): 391–404.

[19] See, for example, the study of Tamara Hundorova where she introduces the notion of "post-totalitarian memory" Tamara Hundorova, "Posttotalitarna pamjat: vypravdaty chy vypravyty? [Post-totalitarian memory: To excuse or to correct?]," *Krytyka* 134, no. 12 (2008): 22–24.

[20] Claudia Snochowska-Gonzalez, "Post-Colonial Poland – On an Unavoidable Misuse," *East European Politics & Societies*, August 6, 2012, 0888325412448473, doi:10.1177/0888325412448473.

this situation, national narrative helps to distance from terminological labels and describe the state of affairs in literature, culture, and society.

While the postcolonial studies are oriented towards critique, the narrative indeed makes little difference in terms of the *discussion of oppression*. However, perceived as a process (what Bhabha initially suggested), it can become directed at the qualitative result that can contrast the discursiveness of post-colonial studies that is associated with "relativist speculation, logical fallacies, jargon, unsubstantial presuppositions."[21] The study of the national narrative alters the approach to the studies of 'post-Soviet' culture, as it is connected to the structures of consciousness that explain the current behaviour of the collective. With this purpose, Chela Sandoval elaborates the conception of differential consciousness that is able to oppose oppression. She argues that

> *the dialectical modulation between forms of consciousness permits functioning within, yet beyond, the demands of dominant ideology: the practitioner breaks with ideology while also speaking in and from within ideology. The differential form of oppositional consciousness thus is composed of narrative worked self-consciously. Its processes generate the other story – the counterpoise. Its true mode is nonnarrative: narrative is viewed as only a means to an end – the end of domination.[22]*

Even the oppositionists of postcolonial studies in Ukrainian realities urge for the end of domination, like Velychenko, who advises to benefit from the experience of the Irish who avoided the constant repetition of inferiority complex under the cover of postcolonialism.[23] Decolonisation, that is, the movement towards liberation of oppressed groups, has to be a more efficient way of looking at national past. The fact that to reach it, one has to address the national narrative and its transformation gives expectations for the post-colonial debates in Ukrainian studies to be more goal-oriented.

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[21] Velychenko, "Post-Colonialism and Ukrainian History," 400.

[22] Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, vol. 18, Theory out of Bounds (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 62.

[23] Velychenko, "Post-Colonialism and Ukrainian History," 402.

The research into what the narrative really bears and the transformatory role of the narrative is the objective of this thesis. It is the alteration of the national narrative that was previously recognised as generic changes in literature. But in fact, such changes were brought by more substantial and deeper forces. I will demonstrate that as part of political processes and the agenda of resistance, the national narrative in Ukraine of the 1950s-2000s reveals a progression towards liberation. As Chela Sandoval writes, the role of "social narratives" is crucial in determination of social justice.

> *A differential oppositional consciousness recognises and identifies oppositional expressions of power as consensual illusions. When resistance is organized as equal-rights, revolutionary, supremacist, or separatist in function, a differential form of criticism would understand such mechanisms for power as transformable social narratives that are designed to intervene in reality for the sake of social justice[24].*

However desirable it is, the effect from this resistance is not momentary. A "differential oppositional consciousness" affects the struggle against oppression over time, so, the focus of this thesis will be on the changes in the national narrative. And the analysis of these transformations will show the progression/regression of the narrative with regard to oppression.

1.3.   What National Narrative Is Not

National narrative is a somewhat parasitic entity. From my observation, it corresponds to a number different genres and discourses that it engages to have a better reach of auditorium: history, myth, folklore, and memory. The next large section of this chapter presents further investigations of the properties of national narrative with regard to its connection with them. In general, national narrative, preserving its own narrative properties, remaining highly structured, and orienting to didactics, makes use of myth's ability to interact with recipients, organise its

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[24] Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed*, 18:62.

time and heroes, and assume the role of a 'sacred' story. In times of turbulence, national narrative assumes the qualities of memory and puts the work with 'performative' in priority. In this situation, national narrative strives to accept new information and to structure it as part of its own self. However, national narrative clearly does not become a full-fledged myth or memory. Oriented to serve the needs of the nation, it always remains on its orbit. In combination with narrative abilities, it makes both national myth and national memory comprehensible and accessible for the group that it serves.

1.3.1. National Narrative Is Not a Myth

There existed one side of history that was approved and coordinated by the ruling informational discourse. As the image of every historical personage and the interpretation of every historical event were strictly regulated, it was mirrored in every point of discourse of history. Therefore, this project was far away from Foucault's version of knowledge as a discourse and reminded more of Popper's understanding of knowledge as a justified belief. In this situation, a figure of recipient assumes enormous significance, as it reflects the very possibility of such justification and determines a direction of the belief.

Following the recipient of historical novels, we soon discover that the methods of such justification do not always lie in an objective sphere. With regard to nation, it can be emotional and affective justification. As James Wertsch argues, once the narrative is adopted, it is strongly defended by members of the "mnemonic community."

> *The claim that a national narrative template belongs exclusively to one group is tied to the second assumption that no alternative or challenger is allowable, or even imaginable. Once a narrative template is embraced by a mnemonic community, the idea that there might be legitimate alternatives, especially alternatives suggested by someone outside the group, is likely to be dismissed as heresy.*[25]

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[25] Wertsch, "Deep Memory and Narrative Templates: Conservative Forces in Collective Memory," 182.

Within this commitment of a group to its national narrative, a subsequent role belongs to myth. This is true to the extent where all myths reach the margins of the national narrative. When it happens, the mutual and dialectical influence of the myth and the narrative needs to be emphasised. To a certain degree, their interaction is also mutually exhausting: new myths emerge and function on the turf of the national narrative, at the same time, myths also contribute to the narrative. They accumulate the energy of the national story and use it as a starting point, drawing upon its coherent and time-tested message; otherwise, it would be impossible for new mythologemas to take roots in the nation.

In this situation, an important question is to what extent the national narrative is mythological. Is it *the* myth of the nation? According to my observations, it is only partially true. This problem can, however, be most effectively addressed when the national narrative is to be compared with the notion of *mythomoteur,* introduced and elaborated by Anthony Smith. He explains that *mythomoteur* is a "constitutive political myth." The "ethnicist movement" is brought by extraneous factors and conditions and that it is only accompanied by *mythomoteurs*, which play the role of the shaping power of an identity. Smith differentiates three types of *mythomoteurs* – dynastic, communal-political, and communal-religious – connecting the type of an "*ethnie*" with the myth-symbol complex which lies in its core.[26] In other words, Smith provides a generalized classification of all the empowered myths of an *ethnie.*[27] In general*, mythomoteur* can only identify the generic nature of a corps of myths, structuring them according to their importance and influential capacity within the group. This notion gives an idea of the level of the ideological and political involvement of individuals and explains the common ground, the base for solidarity that is occupied by a concrete community.

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[26] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988), 57–68.

[27] As the object of Smith's study extends in time far beyond the actual emergence of modern nations, he uses the term "*ethnie"* with regard to collective formations of the past to underline historical and cultural differences between the "collective cultural units." His conclusions, however, are valid for modern nations as well.

As for the national narrative, according to my observations, its role occupies more niches in the culture than a *mythomoteur*. Only to some point its nature is mythical, but myth still constitutes an inherent part of the narrative. The national narrative is a story that contains in itself all the myths of the past and present, which were already told and successfully circulate in the nation, all the future myths, which are only to be created. Therefore, the narrative itself can be understood in the paradigm of the myth; yet, it is important to acknowledge that its grandeur exceeds the myth, which makes it a *meta*myth of the nation. This sense of the never-ending myth that becomes the resort for the nation is most accurately grasped and most vividly expressed by Julian Barnes in his novel *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters*. Clearly speaking here not only in the capacity of a novelist but also of a philosopher, reflecting on the essence of the past, history, and time, Barnes writes:

> *For the point is this: not that myth refers us back to some original event which has been fancifully transcribed as it passed through the collective memory; but that it refers us forward to something that* will happen*, that must happen. Myth will become reality, however sceptical we might be.*[28]

If the word 'reality' is not strongly enough articulated by Barnes, Mircea Eliade gives a more powerful image presenting myth as "living," in the sense that it supplies models for human behaviour and, by that very fact, gives meaning and the value to life."[29] As such, he addresses here more the narrative than the myth, as the former possesses of a higher degree of continuity than the latter. In this continuity, facts lose their initial importance. In the perspective of the nation, myth and its ability to demonstrate and advocate *telos* is what one gradually starts to value, as the teleological direction. It does not mean that facts cease to exist; on the contrary, factual information occupies more space owing to extensive inquiries of those who explore the space of the nation; thus, the representatives of the nation collect more and more information about its distant and recent past.

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[28] Julian Barnes, *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters* (Random House, 2010), 181.
[29] Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality* (1963; repr., Waveland Press, 1998), 2.

1.3.1.1.   The Time of Myth – the Time of Novel

Naturally, the two temporal canvases are different. The time of myth "also implies that one is no longer living in chronological time, but in the primordial Time, the Time when the event *first took place.*"[30] The time of novel is about the text itself, as the time there becomes "compressed and artistically visible,"[31] which forms the world of the novel. While the time of myth is sacred and shows when "something new and significant has been manifested,"[32] the time of novel manifests merely the novel by taking part in the creation of the world of the novel. Yet the time of novel is connected to the time of the national narrative less than the time of myth. Despite being present in novels, particularly in historical novels, national narrative, by definition, carries the information that is sacred for the nation. However, Mircea Eliade finds a similarity between the two times

> *The novel does not have access to primordial time of myths, but in so far as he tells a credible story, the novelist employs a time that is seemingly historical yet is condensed or prolonged, a time, then, that has at its command all the freedoms of imaginary world.[33]*

In this connection between fiction and myth, Eliade finds the remains of "mythological behavior."[34] We can add that in historical novels, it is reinforced with the influence of the national narrative that, too, returns the reader to the beginning of the time, not individual, but collective.

1.3.1.2. National narrative between the past, present, and the future. Similarities to folklore

When the structure of the time of the national narrative is more or less clear, it is important to establish its connection with the strata of the time. It is both a difficult and important question, as the answer to it points at its relationship with the past, present, and future. In this case,

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[30] Ibid., 19.
[31] Mikhail Bakhtin, "Formy vremeni i khronotopa v romane [The forms of time and chronotope in the novel]," in *Sobraniie sochinenii [Collected works]*, vol. 3. Teoriia romana [Theory of the novel] (1975; repr., Moscow: Yazyki Slavyanskikh Kultur, 2012), 340.
[32] Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, 19.
[33] Ibid., 192.
[34] Ibid.

national narrative behaves similarly to folklore genres. While individuals do not have an ability to estimate the materiality of the past and present, the future in this case is left out, which causes uncertainty that prevents humans from having any distinct ideas about the future. Because of that individuals are attracted to the *mythical* nature of the past due to its idealism of certainty. Using it as a zone of comfort, individuals build over the past and present. These additional constructions accumulate the energy of the future, which, in turn, remains unobtainable but can be estimated through the materiality of the past.[35]

This scheme, which Mikhail Bakhtin elaborated for folklore, is true for the genres like the historical novel, which engage the past in their textual canvas. Accumulated future in such texts aggrandizes the characters (mythical heroes who have condensed power of future). Thus, the time when they live turn into in the consciousness of readers into the indefinite time of 'long, long ago', and the space where they act is estimated as a distance of 'a far off land', which means that they need more space and time than average humans. Though they represent the 'ideal time', these heroes are genuine and are far from any generalization.

Thinking of the past not as a part of historical legacy, but in the mirror of the memory, one can draw a distinct parallel between the phenomena of folklore and historical novel, the heroes of which accumulate the same energy of the future, as folklore characters. The author of historical novels incorporates the moving figure of time, turning the arrow of time inwards towards the text. This allows the hero of the novel to be the symbol of what had already happened in real life and is both documented in historical annals and in the memories of the individual and nation. The recipient deals not only with this very character, but also is urged to turn to as many historical epoch as already passed since the time described in this particular novel.

The character of the historical novel refers to events that actually happened but is mythologized due to the invented nature of the category of past. The readers of historical novels can trace the

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[35] Bakhtin, "Formy vremeni i khronotopa v romane [The forms of time and chronotope in the novel]," 402,403.

hero in a 'far off land' using the coordinates of precise time scale. However, despite the fact that the chronology ties the hero to a certain historical epoch, it still leaves him or her in the mythical time of the past. Thus, placed in the past, the hero undergoes the very similar "historical inversion," as Bakhtin calls it. This notion means that the character acts in the time where the future exists in the past, and all the dreams of the good and ideal.

The characters of historical novels cannot take the space and time they actually need to properly develop themselves in the fabric of text. Instead, it is the author who adds to their nature placing them on the scale of time. The hero of historical novel *sticks to some ideal* owing to a specific notion the author has about a certain historical epoch. The writers can be more idealistic about this or that period of time in the past; but instead of turning to the abstract folklore-mythological time, they refer to other structures that ensure the legitimacy of their texts.

The demonstration of characters' potential allows showing that the time of the nation in historical novels cannot be regarded as linear and eternally moving. I would contemplate time as a multidimensional notion, a certain generalization, similar to single mass point that contains several directions. Under closer inspection and in the context of nation, time is embedded in three main directions: history, tradition, and memory. Due to the nation's invented characteristics, it should have a double platform of self-identification. The first one should be ideological and represent the institutions as described by Mary Douglas.[36] She writes that in terms of social cooperation and solidarity, "legal presumptions cannot attribute emotional bias to corporations."[37] However, Douglas states that nothing like institutions can "define sameness," which constitutes the premise for every social movement. She admits that there should be a tension between the "incentives of individual minds to spend their time and energy on difficult problems and the temptation to sit back and let founding analogies of the

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[36] Mary Douglas, *How Institutions Think* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986).
[37] Ibid., 9.

surrounding society to take over."[38] When the tension is strong enough, there should be a force to shift forward and to thrust forward individuals towards collective types of behavior.

In this sense, we approach the second platform of a nation's communication. The only formation capable of influencing the collective is the myth. The theorists of myth (Claude Lévi-Strauss,[39] Mircea Eliade[40]) underline its ability to connect past, present, and future. Explaining this quality of myth using different methodologies and approaches, they all come to similar conclusion. They assume that the participants of the group should constantly repeat the myth to maintain its actuality in the community. Under these circumstances, myth becomes the center of a group's universe. It consolidates the members by ritualization of their lives. In telling the story of nation, because they need myth to stay united as a collective, and for that purpose, they require an active myth.

On the other hand, in a long-term perspective, the momentum of the nation-building impulse must be constantly renewed and supported. Myth represents the opportunity of this groundbreaking change. Indeed, it is a rather stable construction, but not in details, though. The reality of the nation, including its time and space, requires a myth to actually make this reality coherent and integral. It needs the myth as a uniting force, its narrative power to become the basis for continuity of nation in time and its legitimacy to take its current space.

As far as literature and written forms of communication in general constitute merely a part of commemorative and ritual discourse, they do not have the same effect as other, simpler practices do. Anthony Smith, for example, underlines the importance of national symbolic in the life of the nation. He derives the ritual of national anthem singing, etc. from the very ancient times. Smith emphasizes its effectiveness in the nation-building and – consolidating process. Compared to literature, the rituals circulate among a broader audience; they are repeated more

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[38] Ibid., 55.
[39] Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," *The Journal of American Folklore* 68, no. 270 (October 1, 1955): 428–44, doi:10.2307/536768.
[40] Mircea Eliade, *Aspekty mifa [The aspects of myth]* (Akademicheskii Proekt, 2010).

often and are simpler to understand. However, they remain within the framework of the myth, i.e. the myth that circulates in historical novels as well. Such practices are incarcerated in their ritual shell, and nothing can free them, but the evolved narrative.

However stable the myth, the flowing of physical time brings on inevitable changes that happen within the nation under the influence of various internal and external factors. From time to time, new elements of story interpose in the myth and transform it. It is important to acknowledge not only the nature of these changes but also the factors of influence that turn the transformative power on. Some cases of this transformation depend on the nature of add-ons to the myth. It is being transformed and filled with new elements of the story, whereas the outdated elements are gradually displaced.

In his essay "DissemiNation," Homi Bhabha asks whether "the emergence of national perspective […] within a culture of social contestation" can articulate "its 'representative' authority in that fullness of narrative time." He also refuses to accept 'Bakhtin's repeated attempt to read the national space as achieved only in the *fullness of time.*"[41] Bhabha explains this voluntariness to give up on the completeness and homogeneity of nation time-space by the liminal formations outside of this chronotope. They are disseminated, yet they transform into separate national units representing the power of national narration.

Following Bakhtin and expanding his studies of chronotope, I argue that this notion stabilizes and makes possible the implementation of mythical past in fictional texts. Historical novels as specific type of nation narration are based on a certain kind of time-space. I suppose that they consist of the combination of mythical chronotope and historical 'factual' information. The disseminated historical information appears itself in uneven portions through the same text.

Consequently, the classification of historical information gives more evidence to the nature of historical formations. Historical scenery, that is the point of time and space in the past, has

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[41] Bhabha, *Nation & Narration*, 295.

different functional load than, say, the clothing, appearance, or other historical details. Both are of significant importance for fictional truth in historical novels and cannot escape the attention of a researcher.

At first, it seemed that facts that serve as a basis for historical novels allow to influence the minds of people and to explain the past events properly. This idea correspond with Bhabha's understanding of people as a large group with certain traits. He argues that "the people are not simply historical events or parts of a patriotic body politic." The people have double meaning, the second part of which includes the "subjective" role. This second meaning allows people to become "subjects of the process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principle of the people as that continual process by which the national life is redeemed and signified as a repeating and reproductive process." [42]

This does not affect the necessity of telling the myth. The special role of the myth of origin has crucial importance for primitive tribes. In this regard, Mircea Eliade mentions that "in most cases, it is not enough to know the myth of origin, it needs to be repeated, demonstrated, showed." All these evidences of the political, ideological, and cultural need of nation in the myth actualize the central point of myth distribution. The signs of mythical necessity significantly change the approach to studying historical novels. Whether it is political in its nature or seemingly devoid of any ideological load, the historical novel requires myth to appeal to the large group of people. Whether this is the case of an *ethnie* or political nation, myth provides it with common ground, necessary to justify their collective being.

Having myth as a part of historical novel, thus, means that this component has crucial effect on the readers. Here lies the principal difference between fictional and scientific historical writing. In forming the identity of a group, the emotional component plays one of the most important

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[42] Ibid., 297.

roles. It allows bonds and ties between separate individuals to be tighter and stronger. The blend of history and myth in historical novels allows this genre to be the component of nation narration.

Let us take a closer look at the myth of origin. It implies two crucial moments. Here we stop the flow of nation's time, picking out certain events to take a closer look at them. In fictional text, the author actually digs into particular period of time. It does not matter whether it lasts a couple of minutes or many centuries. The writer makes the time stand still with the rest of the world revolving around it at the same time. This is a way for the text to acquire mythical characteristics.

Knowing of one's origin provides necessary ground for creating and enforcing identity. It contributes to the process of writing the nation, as it provides the necessary continuity (by referring to the past and explaining the grounds of the nation) while turning to the crucial points of a nation's history. Precisely this returning to the most important events provides a starting point for the whole nation. "Here lie the roots of our nation, as this event is worth writing a historical novel about," this is an approximate formula of understanding the matter of writing a fiction on historical topic. The nation overcame this particular event to reinvent itself through the newly born identity and understanding of itself.

Each event in the history of nation changes it greatly. It does not merely concern simple historical movement in time. The nation in the face of its representatives turns to myth in times of historical cataclysms. It is an inevitable movement of the consciousness towards the definite and certain structure of myth. In this case, myth helps in dealing with inevitable shocks of turmoil. This urge for stability and safety often results in high points of creativity; thus, the people are more eager to associate themselves and current events with the past and incorporate them into the course of mythical consciousness. It is as Cassirer claims that "myth and magic is particularly associated with a sense of the inadequacy of ordinary human skills or rational knowledge to control the world around them. If it is true that myths projects powerful collective

emotions of fear and desire, anguish and hope through the characters or situations which they depict, then it is not surprising that their use should recur in a time of crisis and extreme anxiety."[43] In the long run, it seems that mythical form of the organisation of events is not only enlivened for a short period of time, but also stays as an alternative – and not the least important – way of understanding and "living through" historical traumas and traumatic times.

It might be said that this is one of the penetration points where myth enters historical novels. However, this process appears more complicated, as the fabric of fiction differs from the ever changing state of society's consciousness, which political myth tends to influence the most. My point is that the reaction of the historical community – of the nation or *ethnie* – at a particular event is determined by historical novel as a medium as well. The authors of historical novels have a special sort of credibility when readers believe them, despite the fact that they produce fictional texts. This emotional component of novels – which can be tied to myth as well – evokes not only certainty. It is also connected to the general myth of nation, the one that is actualized in every single historical novel – the myth of origin.

1.3.1.3. The Myth of Origin as the Essence of the National Narrative

1.3.1.3.1.   The Myth of Origin

The most famous chronicle, or *litopys*, of the Eastern Slavonic world – *Tale of Bygon Years (Povist' vremianykh lit)*, written by the medieval monk Nestor, poses the main question right in the very first sentences: where lies the "origin of the land Rus', the first princes of Kyiv and from what source the land of Rus' had its beginning."[44] Taking the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as an example of a similar text in English tradition, we conclude that it is as concerned with the origin of Britain as its Eastern analogue. However, if the first one takes its count from the time of Creation and through the Great Flood, to Babylon, where the Slavic tribes come from, the second one goes back to some years before the birth of Christ and ties sacred history to secular.

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[43] Christopher Flood, *Political Myth* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 56.
[44] Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, trans., *The Rus' Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, n.d.), 1.

In English variant it does not appear as mythical as in Slavonic, as the conquest of Britain started approximately in the beginning of the first millennium.

In his work *Poetics of Old Russian Literature*, Dmitri Likhachev explains this excursus to sacred history by specific perception of time in medieval Rus'. He claims that the chronicler was urged to 'reach' several goals at one stroke. First, mentioning the events described in The Old Testament, he actually inscribes his tale into a larger and more solid narrative. Second, in such a way, the chronicler tried to underline the vanity of secular history, comparing to the grandeur of history. "The great flow of history, so to speak, confronts separate events composing itself." Moreover, the wide range of history, used as a method in most chronicles of Rus', created centripetally charged narrative for all disjointed Slavic princedoms.[45]

The chronicles of the Latin Christian World "derived from sacred core accounts, which led to assertion that the world began with Creation and would end at a divinely set time."[46] In any case, Ernst Breisach believes that this concern with sacred history appears from the didactic task to educate the illiterate and steer them onto the right path. The other mission of the chronicler was to calculate the time accurately, hence the trials of different time-counting systems (from six-days of Creation system to four kingdoms system).

Historical accuracy and historiographic ambitions, as stated by Chris Given-Wilson, is important as well, so the attempts to find the most correct form of time representation and calculation continue throughout medieval time.[47] However, looking at the strong positions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s text, we pay attention to the opening lines: "Sixty years before the Incarnation of Christ, Julius Caesar, the first emperor of the Romans, sought out the land of Britain." This formulation "brings together the Incarnation, the island of Britain and the Roman

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[45] Dmitri Likhachev, "Poetika drevnerusskoi literatury [The poetics of the literature of Old Rus']," in *Izbrannye raboty v triokh tomakh*, vol. 1 (Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaiia Literatura, 1987), 551.
This and other sources in this chapter are translated from Ukrainian by Anna Vitruk unless otherwise indicated.
[46] Ernst Breisach, "World-History Sacred and Profane, the Case of the Medieval Christan and Islamic World Chronicles," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 20, no. 3 (1994): 340.
[47] Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (Continuum, 2004), 114–125.

world, the identity-defining elements that will be embraced by the Anglo-Saxons. By covering the various Anglo-Saxon kingdoms but not the other parts of Britain the text constructs English as a single entity, and this construction is very much carried through in the later era of the "kingdom of England."[48]

The didacticism is nothing comparing to extensive collective pedagogy that was effective more than a thousand years ago and is still effective at the end of the second millennium. Both the young arising Anglo-Saxon kingdom and politically unstable lands of Eastern Slavs required the establishing and authoritative power of the narrative. For this purpose, it is not enough to depict victories and tell the stories of noble kings, princes, and warriors. The power of acknowledging one's origin and roots overlaps the notion of history and secures myth to be used in generations.

1.3.1.3.2. The myth of origin in historical novels

It will hardly be an exaggeration to describe the role of the national narrative as a myth of origin of the nation. This thought derives from the comparison of the national narrative in different historical novels that vary in their description of historical periods. Looking into Ukrainian literature and its scope of historical novels, one soon finds how important it is for the author to emphasise the nation-changing role of the period that he or she describes. It is true for *Volodymyr* (1957) by Semen Skliarenko that tells the story of Volodymyr the Great and the baptism of Rus'. It is no less relevant for Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi's *Roksolana* (1980), set in baroque time and narrating about the most influential women in the Osman Empire, a simple Ukrainian girl Nastia Lisovska. The attention to the origin of the nation is visible in every historical novel. But this statement may also be put in another way: every novel feels the urge to make the era it describes equal to the story of the nation's origin.

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[48] Hugh Magennis, *The Cambridge Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 114.

The myth of origin is a single and coherent story of the creation and the deeds of gods and first humans who represented a particular tribe. In the case of modern nations, one single story can hardly represent the myth of origin. The people are aware of the difficult journey they have had to cover in order to become a unity, a nation. Thus, this empathic engagement builds the sequence of events that could be considered as starting points, twisting points in the destiny of nation.

The idea of uniqueness of the myth of origin confronts the inevitable contradiction. On the one hand, the nation must go back as far as possible in time to justify its validity. On the other hand, it is the whole story of gains and losses of the nation that forms the story of the nation's origin. "History is not a suicide note, it is the story of our survival,"[49] writes Jeanette Winterson, justifying the one and the only continuous story of nation.

With the constant troubles and twists of the thorny road of the nation, one is always aware of principal moments in a nation's history. In the consciousness of readers, such fractions of history, of the whole myth, on the one hand, activate national memory and launch a different mechanism of time perception. As memory allows individuals to live through the past in the present only, myth fixes the time in one moment, isolating the past and the present from the future and from the past. The accumulated energy of the past and the future forms the narrative of nation. That is the way that turns every moment in the nation's past into the fragment of myth of origin. It contains the information of nation's origin in condensed and concentrated form. These condensed pieces of national history can also answer the simple question "Where do we come from?"

The historical novel's mythical component is a source of another hallmark – the nature of fictional and factual components. In the situation of complete inventedness, the facts in historical novels should resemble authentic historical events. Otherwise, they would not have

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[49] Jeanette Winterson, "The Stone Gods," *Jeanette Winterson*, accessed February 9, 2014, http://www.jeanettewinterson.com/book/the-stone-gods/.

any generic justification. The question of authenticity of events and historical facts in fiction rose in the works of both literary and linguistic scholars. The answer often lies in the debates about fictional facts and make-believe games. The vast number of scholarly works on this problem signifies that the paradox of using real-life events – one of the most problematic and important at the same time.

The main question lies in the problem of this 'belief' and the reader's response and readiness to interact with a text accepting the rules of its game. In such a perspective, turning to the concept of myth gives reasons to include emotional response as the outcome of mythical structure imbedded in the novel. Myth requires no proof. Hans Blumenberg writes:

> *What can be granted to myth is certainly neither theoretical nor prescientific objectivity, but it is nevertheless intersubjective 'communicability' that stands, in its form, incomparably closer to the kind of acceptance that goes with objectivity than to any affectively tingered experience of expression like that typified by amazement at a 'momentary god'.*[50]

It is in this case that myth turns out autonomous and self-sufficient.

The component of truth cannot be denied to be a part of historical novels, but to find this component, one must necessarily dissociate the myth that lies in the basis of the novel. However, myth is not to be regarded in its pieces; on the contrary, it should be contemplated in its unity. When myth is taken piece by piece to study them apart, there is a risk to be left with nothing but inactive fossils, lacking any vital rigor and energy.[51] Nevertheless, I will try to analyse the deviations from the 'classical' and 'canonical' myth of origin.

Myth *creates* the realm of the present. It is not that it merely highlights the crucial points of current political, cultural situation or world-view problematic issues. Raoul Girardet explains it using Gilbert Durand's notion of "mythological constellations," that is, "the sets of mythical

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[50] Hans Blumenberg, *Work on Myth*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1990), 168.
[51] Raoul Girardet, *Mythes et Mythologies Politiques* (Editions du Seuil, 1986), 23.

constructions relevant for one topic." This set functions as the reference for individuals to come to in disturbing and uncertain times. Its centre serves as a generating point that takes part in constructing the current picture of world. Girardet continues:

> *In the centre of this set, the light must be cast on the network of existing correlations [...] to establish the inventory of the points of tangency and common factors. Apart from the possible formulations, even apparent contradictions that will appear, constructed from the same leading scheme, around the same archetypes, the same images and symbols, there will be something that can be considered as fundamental structures of mythical reality. And it is here where the history of social facts and history of collective mentalities should come into their rights.[52]*

Alongside this, myth should be the instrument to set the frontiers of collective organism, nation in this case. By involving a single individual into the explanation of present, myth makes a sudden turn to the past and leads the imagination of the individual away from the sphere of personal towards the domain of collective and common. Myth fills in all the space of the past and breaks into the wall of the present, but does not shrink from the weight of the present. Instead, it spreads out on the surface of the present and assumes the role of a lens that distorts both the vision of the future and of the past.

The symbiosis of myth and the present time results in double-folded and -directed process. Because of the constant revolving around and inside of this myth, individuals become locked in the sphere of mythical reality. They not only perceive current life situations through mythical narrative but also unfold their energy in regarding present through the magnifying glass of the past.

1.3.2.   National Narrative: Between History and Memory

And yet the national narrative incorporates the collective memory found in historical novels. Its behaviour reminds that of the collective and national memory's in the way it acquires and

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[52] Ibid., 20.

appropriates new information, which is based on memory's organisation of interaction of the past and present. The types of collective memory, which include national memory, in some ways correspond to the activity of national narrative. First, collective and national memory cannot be memorised, but only acquired through the contact with other members of the community. Second, similarly to the national narrative, memory interferes, intertwines with emotions and, consequently, affects them. There is the opposite effect, where memories are *constructed* basing on the feelings of individuals. And yet, memory never reaches the same level of narrativisation as the national narrative.

The narrative and its unique traits are the main difference between memory and national narrative. Having recourse to Le Goff's idea again, I will emphasise that to become history, memory lacks and strives for continuity,[53] and thus it urges to be narrated and to reach the same coverage as national narrative. Some narratives, like the post-Independence Ukrainian story in Oksana Zabuzhko's *Muzei pokynutykh sekretiv* (The museum of abandoned secrets, 2010), are based entirely on memory, as the historical part of the text is founded on memories of the UPA activists (*Ukraïnska Povstanska Armiia* [Ukrainian Insurgent Army]). The narrative in this case incorporates into the structures of memory and assumes its form. But at the same time, memory becomes narrated itself, which brings it to a new status.

To understand why narrative behaves like memory and cooperates with it, I will briefly discuss the relationship of memory and history and their interaction with the narrative.

1.3.2.1. History as an Institution

History is understood as discourse, which gives the idea of its formation and the abilities to interact with other discourses, e.g. with that of power, ideology, etc. However, to compare history and memory, let us regard it not as a discourse but as an institution, considering the institution in the initial meaning of Latin word – *institutio* – where it designates the mode of

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[53] Goff, *History and Memory*, 57.

actions, organization, and directions.[54] In this case, it is safe to assume that it performs organizational function for the past and its perception, including the choice of the means of communication. History becomes a controlling organ rather than a passively depictive set of knowledge. Pierre Nora describes the distinctions between history and memory in the following way:

> *Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgettin, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer.*[55]

The reconstruction forces history to confuse sometimes 'scientific' and 'non-scientific' strata of text, which it secures under its institutional protection. Thus, historical novels, the subject of this thesis, appear in the sphere of influence of history as much as, for example, school textbooks on history.

One may reasonably contradict that historical novels are fictional texts and, therefore, they cannot be considered as full-fledged components of historical data. As an institution, however, history is in force to accept these fictional texts into its sphere of influence in order to regulate the activity of these texts as a means of distribution of historical knowledge. As Berger and Luckmann put it, merely the law of big numbers defines the authority and distribution of knowledge. In society, most individuals ignore theoretical knowledge and use pre-theoretical knowledge, which is

> *an assemblage of maxims, morals, beliefs, myth and so forth, the theoretical integration of which requires considerable intellectual fortitude in itself, as*

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[54] Yekaterina Bobrinskaia, "'Kollektivnyie deistviia' kak institutsiia ['Collective actions' as an institution]," accessed January 31, 2014, http://www.guelman.ru/xz/362/xx23/x2304.htm.

[55] Pierre Nora, "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Memoir," *University of California Press*, Representations, no. Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 8.

the long line of heroic integrators from Homer to the latest sociological system-builders testifies.[56]

From this point of view, historical novels contribute more to the construction of social reality, as it is constituted of the above mentioned "maxims, morals, myth," which are influential due to the large auditorium that they are able to reach. Therefore, it is not the institutional truth that should be paid the most attention, but the problem of distribution of knowledge. They generate pre-theoretical knowledge, which, even not being scientific, affects individuals as a part of institutions – truth and history – which depend on this pre-theoretical knowledge, as it constitutes the better part of their volume.

However, I naturally do not forget that the institutions of truth and history can only be effective when they have historical foundation and sufficient number of community members. Therefore, their effectiveness also depends on the transmission of knowledge to the next generations that perceive the reality of institutions not through biographical memory, but via traditions.[57] "The original meaning of institutions," write Berger and Luckmann, "is inaccessible to them [individuals – AV] in terms of memory [individual memory – AV]. It, therefore, becomes necessary to interpret this meaning to them in various legitimating formulas." While instiualised knowledge cannot be approached via memory, it assumes the form of narrative, which is easy to understand for its addressees and reasonably simple to manage for the addressers.

If the relationship of the institution, the past, and the recipient is so well-regulated, why does the narrative sometimes, as in the case of Zabuzhko's novel, appear under the control of memory? The answer to this question will bring light to the nature of the national narrative, its ability to change, and to the circumstances that enable its transformations.

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[56] Thomas Luckmann and Peter L. Berger, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Penguin UK, 1991), 83.
[57] Ibid., 79.

The secret of the interaction of the national narrative and memory partially lies in the essence of memory, as Pierre Nora understands it. He underlines the "magic" qualities of memory.

> *Memory, insofar as it is affective and magical, only accommodates those facts that suit it; it nourishes recollections that may be out of focus or telescopic, global or detached, particular or symbolic – responsive to each avenue of conveyance or phenomenal screen, to every censorship or projection.*[58]

While Nora describes collective memory and its functions, Timothy Snyder gives the following definition specifically to the national memory, acknowledging its elaborated invetedness.

> *If personal memories are the lifelong fate of individuals who have suffered, national memory is the destiny of the dead: to become numbers, facts and events worked into a predictable scheme which 'straightens' the national past and justifies national statehood.*[59]

Like national narrative, national memory transforms number and facts that describe the past. It is selective and thus, national memory contains only the information that sustains the nation. Timothy Snyder mentions an emotional component of national memory. It is indicative that he finds a correlation between the important notions of the truth, individual truths, narrative, and emotions of individuals. National memory is quite an authoritarian phenomenon, as it transforms many separate truths into a coherent one, which will contribute to the national subject, thus, performing a function of the transmitting instrument of knowledge. According to Snyder, national memory is

> *a means of organizing the past such as to preserve the dignity of the group with which we identity, and thus bolsters our pride as individual human beings. The truths which we might find as dispassionate observers must yield to the Truth we need to make our collective story straight and whole.*[60]

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[58] Nora, "Between History and Memory: Les Lieux de Memoir," 8.
[59] Timothy Snyder, "Memory of Sovereignty and Sovereignty over Memory: Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine, 1939–1999," in *Memory and Power in Post-War Europe. Studies in the Presence of the Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 50.
[60] Ibid., 55.

In a wider perspective of collective memory, another feature is associated with the national narrative – the ability to translate the past into the language of the present. Here memory plays the role of a regulator, which controls society's impulses and attitudes towards the past. It engages many spheres of social and personal life, including its emotional component, and, thus, has an impact on individuals. Defining collective memory, Maurice Halbwachs explains that it is not formed post factum

> *combining individual memories, neither they are empty forms for external*
> *memories. On the contrary, they serve as instrument for collective memory's*
> *reconstructions of the images of the past in accordance with prevailing ideas*
> *of the given society. [...] One can successfully claim that a person in the act*
> *of remembering taken the position of a group is put into effect and is shown*
> *by the memory of persons.*[61]

Thus, here memory, therefore, performs the function of a natural transmitting instrument for pre-theoretical knowledge. Though memory is a flexible formation, it requires some level of stability, which would be able to maintain the group's normal functioning. Evidently, this stability is provided by narratives. If stories of the past are not repeated and lived through, argues Maurice Halbwachs, they die in cultural terms.[62] He describes the past as variable, claiming that it is constantly reconstructed based on the present.[63] Thus, without the act of commemoration, both individual and collective, the past events cease to exist; so, cultural and social life of a nation is full of events and phenomena that cannot be subjected to forgetting.

In the sphere of historical knowledge, there are different kinds of narratives that, apart from rituals, can protect endangered territories of the past: memorials, museums, architectural sites, poetic and prose texts.[64] Regardless of their quality, these commemorational narratives have a

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[61] Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (1925; repr., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 30.
[62] Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 2.
[63] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 30.
[64] I do not include other forms of past preservations here (historical documents, archives, scientific works), as those mentioned are widely and publicly accessible. That is the most important feature of theirs in the context of this work. As public access and the simplicity of perception make them a part of pre-theoretical knowledge.

broad population coverage. Moreover, it could be said that they are specifically designed to have as broad reach as possible. Thus, the genres like historical novels appeal more to individuals' memory, not to their theoretical knowledge of history. Being simultaneously a part of the discourse of memory and of the history, historical novels perform the function of distribution of pre-theoretical historical knowledge, its adaptation, and maintenance in society.

The institution of history delegates the power to transmit the pre-theoretical knowledge to the collective memory (or national memory in respect to the nation). The narratives that circulate with memory's blessing are of the same nature. Though they acquire different forms, they all perform the same function – securing the continuity of the nation. It is helpful to examine the emergence of genres, as at their beginning, they are the most explicit in their intentions and are not blurred with ideological and aesthetical add-ins. Turning to the memoirs, an earlier version of personal narrative of memory and individual history, one can find the earliest written commemorative texts. As opposed to the chronicles and annals – much earlier forms of the past's fixation, focused mainly on clerical or secular power – early memoirs demonstrate the need of a *person* to preserve his or her individual history. It is a clear sign of the memory's abilities of engrossing more and more minds. In no small measure, this tendency owes to the continuity provided by memory. "As the tombs, the very first and the most ancient of the memoirs were primarily the monuments to secure and pass the chivalrous legacy of the person and family,"[65] writes Philippe Ariès, explaining the emergence of the culture of memoirs in Western Europe. Therefore, this continuity, important for a single family as a symbol and core of its existence is developed in other narrative forms. Once a group or a single individual aims at preserving the continuity, the narrative is ready to fulfill this demand.

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[65] Philippe Ariès, *Essais de mémoire: 1943-1983* (Éditions du Seuil, 1993), 348.

In complex societies, the narrative is committed to writing in most cases. It is only the history and tales, circulating in a single family that could perform the same function or the memories, institutionalized by individuals. According to Jacques Le Goff,

> *[i]n the primitive societies, collective memory seems to function with a "generative reconstruction" rather than with a mechanical memorization. [...] it seems that the important role is played by the narrative dimension and by other structures at the level of particular events. [...] Societies without writing grant memory more freedom and creative possibilities."*[66]

The institutional bounds of memory are quite strong. In fact, memory's capacity to connect the present and the past represents the initial point of all its qualities and features. It is the ability of memory to connect the past and present that unites its capacity to provide the community with the sense of continuity which was described earlier. Apart from this, only due to the 'past-in-present' clearance can memory initiate changes in the community and affect the emotional states of individuals. With the help of memory, the present is constructed, not only the past. To achieve the necessary effect, individuals should *build* the connection between the past and present. Edy argues that "the appearance of similarity between past and present is not simply there – it is created, and it is as much a product of the way the past is remembered as it is a function of the way current events are understood."[67]

This feature is universal, as both personal and communal qualities of memory found their place under one roof – the roof of the present. That is why the distance between the past and present appears to be not chronological, as commonly considered. This difference can be measured in mental units and efforts that ordinary people need to make in order to arrive at the present from the past. It is not a coincidence when E. L. Doctorow mentions that as for historical narratives, "you are really writing about the present. […] Croce said that all history is written for the needs of the present, the purpose of the present. I think that is true of fiction that deals with historical

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[66] Goff, *History and Memory*, 57.
[67] Jill Edy, *Troubled Pasts: News and the Collective Memory of Social Unrest* (Temple University Press, 2006), 162.

materials as well."[68] It does not only involve the textual transformations and ideological load on the text, but also takes account of emotional the load of memories.

This thought has been constantly repeated in the works of various literary critics and historians. As for the Ukrainian historical realm, Serhy Yekelchyk has demonstrated it using the case of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, a renowned Ukrainian hetman. The latter was one of the key figures for Soviet Ukrainian historiography and historical fiction. He symbolized the union with Moscow of 1654 resulting from the War of Liberation. In the Soviet press, historiography, and fiction, Khmelnytsky's figure was transformed and deformed in order to be placed both in social and ideological paradigms. It is he who personified the then Soviet leader and whose traits were shifted to those of Stalin. According to the Soviet sources, Khmelnytsky also wanted to unite all Ukrainian territories; thus, the parallel between him and Stalin became complete.[69]

Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt argue that "memory can play a key role of transformation and transition because it is itself flexible and has transformative quality."[70] They also make a special emphasis on collective memories stating that they are "also essentially dynamic." Assmann and Shortt continue explaining that "as remembering always interacts with forgetting, there is no definite closure in the process. […] the file of memory is never closed; it can always be reopened and reconstructed in new acts of remembering."[71] These acts consist not only of individual actions, but also of institutionalized knowledge of the past, including archives, museums, and libraries, and the past that became narrated, including historical novels.

> *Collective memories are produced through mediated representation of the past that involve selecting, rearranging, re-describing and simplifying, as well as deliberate, but also perhaps inintentional, inclusion and exclusion of information. […] Disseminated […] as interpretations or official definitions of historical events, representations are a powerful element in the*

[68] Naomi Jacobs, *The Character of Truth: Historical Figures in Contemporary Fiction* (SIU Press, 1990), 79.
[69] Serhy Yekelchyk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory: Russian-Ukrainian Relations in the Soviet Historical Imagination* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 77–82.
[70] Aleida Assmann and Linda Shortt, *Memory and Political Change* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 3.
[71] Ibid.

> *construction, contestation and reconstruction of individual and collective memories.*[72]

1.3.2.2. Remediation and Counter-Memory

The transformative power of memory is seen more clearly in combination with the notion of counter-memory introduced by Michel Foucault. He considers memory as discourse which allows him to provide it with "discursive materiality." Foucault contemplates popular memory as "actually a very important factor in struggle" because "if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamics." When people's memory is programmed and controlled, we deal with "popular memory" that is subordinated in its relations with dominant ideologies and that therefore reproduces the established consensual view of the past.[73]

The notion of counter-memory is closely connected with the concept of remediation. If counter-memory represents the objective of the past that cannot be dominant in the current cultural and political situation, the remediation allows explaining the mechanism of the displacement of dominant memory structures be they not valid anymore. Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney contemplate the flexibility of cultural memory with regard to the changes of/in the transmitting media. In this process, claim Erll and Rigney, "memorial media borrow from, incorporate, absorb, critique and refashion earlier memorial media. Virtually every site of memory can boast its genealogy of remediation, which is usually tied to the history of media evolution."[74]

The relationship of the past and present with memory is better understood when seen in combination with the individual's activity. Paradoxically, memory brings emotional states to life but it is not possible to *feel* the past, so whenever one feels the emotion associated with it, one experiences a *new* emotion in the present. Hence the constructed nature of any remembered past and certain distance that stretches between the individual and his or her memories. The individual transforms these emotions into "ideas, representations, and representation inherently

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[72] Ibid., 4.
[73] Barbara Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: McGraw-Hill International, 2003), 63.
[74] Erll and Rigney, *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, 5.

implies distance, perspective."[75] This process reminds one of a 'make-belief game', an emotional state when a person "to have an emotional response toward someone or something must attribute certain properties to the object of his or her emotion – that is s/he must judge that it has those properties."[76] Undoubtedly, memory also works in the opposite direction: memories can be influenced by present emotions and, thus, changed, which constitutes a powerful instrument of connecting the past and present. To put it in another way, people's emotional state and its capability of changing the past is the core of transforming ability of memory. With regard to this, Aleida Assmann's thought on forgetting is useful considering that Ukrainian memory was always highly selective.

> *[a]s remembering and forgetting are both necessarily selective, the sincerity of the wish to overcome inveterate hostile or mutually suspicious dispositions seems to ultimately depend on a genuine agreement not to remember everything, but to publicly negotiate which of the problematic issues need to be addressed.[77]*

It is not unintentional that I address the Ukrainian memory at this point, as current changes in commemorating practices, the attitude towards the sites of memory, and attentive research of the recent past speaks for the desire to re-consider the forgotten pages of the recent past. The activity of the above mentioned UPA is one of the controversial issues under the public reassessment in Ukraine. Naturally, its total Ukrainian origin advocate its importance specifically in Ukrainian discursive field, which is rather straightforward.

> *While all modern nations embrace historical myths about the past, Ukraine is a case in which there are conflicting interpretations that serve to divide the population along regional and historical lines. In turn, these divisions serve*

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[75] Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone, *Regimes of Memory* (New York: Routledge, 2013), 27.
[76] Stuart Brock, "Fictions, Feelings, and Emotions," *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition* 132, no. 2 (January 1, 2007): 213.
[77] Assmann and Shortt, *Memory and Political Change*, 5.

> *to impede the process of nation creation of a common and widely acceptable historical memory.[78]*

1.4.   Conclusion

This discussion, unlike the previous debates about textualisation of culture and individuals, returns us to humans with their emotions and the perception of the past and present. It is a principal point that becomes a key to understanding how national narrative functions. Internal affects, lived through by individuals or collectives, make the network of collective memory. However, the national narrative is rather an influence from outside. It is a complicated and intricate entwinement of memorial flexibility, which results in high ability to resist the oppression by simply changing the approach to an ambiguous past. On the one hand, the national narrative, intertwining with the sphere of memory, transforms it into history by giving it the continuity it lacks. In respective chapters of this thesis, I will demonstrate the mechanism of the narrative's work with memory. On the other hand, the national narrative possesses a highly regulated and structured organisation of myth, and as myth, it requires constant repetition and expression, i.e. ritualisation. It also contributes to the transformational potential of the narrative and reinforces its influence upon recipients. Naturally, these traits of the national narrative testify of its high versatility, which turns it into a tool that is used differently across disciplines.

All traits of the national narrative bring understanding of how it manifests its different sides under different conditions, which can be different media or political and social situation where it functions. I suppose that fiction gives an opportunity to investigate all sorts of the narrative's incarnations. It is especially indicative of the processes of transformation that the national narrative can undergo. General intentions of the national narrative described in this chapter, that is, decolonisation orientation, helps to understand its vacillations between history, memory, and myth. As this review of relevant studies demonstrates, no fundamental research that would take

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[78] David R. Marples, "Anti-Soviet Partisans and Ukrainian Memory," *East European Politics & Societies*, no. 24 (2010): 28.

into account these three discourses was done. Therefore, this thesis, though describing the processes in Ukrainian literature only, contributes to resolving the issue of methodological use of the national narrative.

In the next chapter, I will give a panorama of Ukrainian historical novels of the 1950s-2000s. I will demonstrate there how the orientation of the narrative determined the development of historical fiction in Ukrainian literature.

Chapter 2. Elusive Utterance: The Locations of the National Narrative in the Novel

> We might say that the round of novel reading acts as a ritual renewal of our outspoken consent to work on the social.
>
> Catherine Gallagher, Stephen Greenblatt
> *Practicing New Historicism*

2.1. Introduction to Methodological Problematics

Wide use of narrative techniques in the analysis of real life phenomena – from sociology and political studies to psychology and anthropology – comes from the assumption that the nature of fictional characters is similar to that real people.[79] That is, the study of narrative is secondary to all sciences, except for literary studies. However, with national narrative, the situation is the opposite. It found its use and theoretical grounding in other disciplines of humanities and thus, its definition and the technique of usage arrive from the spheres of science that study society and individuals as parts of society. Hence it is quite easy for literary studies to analyse the ideological side of national narrative, for which the neighbouring disciplines provided a rich methodological base. When it comes to the ideological side, national narrative demonstrates textuality and discursiveness. All participants of the national story are of a textual nature, which includes the people, the nation, and the media.

However, the analysis of formal characteristics of national narrative encounters substantial predicaments because of the non-narrative nature of the national story. Even in verbal means of communication, it is not always articulated. Hence one of the most complicated issues of this

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[79] Henrik Skov Nielsen, "Unnatural Narratology, Impersonal Voices, Real Authors, and Non-Communicative Narration," in *Unnatural Narratives - Unnatural Narratology* (Berlin, Boston: De Gryuter, 2011), 71.

thesis is to substantiate that national narrative is subject to the same processes as reasonably established fictional narratives. The second problematic question arises when the novel resists direct delving and, therefore, the restoration of the national narrative. These are the two principal directions of this methodological chapter.

With regards to historical novels that are closer to the political sphere than any other genre, it is difficult to determine the real weight of the ideological component. That is why any study of historical novels has to acknowledge the ideological part. This research is unique in its attempt to combine both approaches to reading historical novels. It is concerned with the formal and artistic component, and equally, in their ideological component. To combine these two perspectives, the thesis looks into the "ideology of form," where formal analysis opens ideological perspectives.

The national narrative is understood as a specific expression of ideology but also as a particular narrative phenomenon with its own structure. It is a prism, through which the nation is seen in the culture in general and in historical novels in particular. Following Stephen Greenblatt,[80] this thesis points at ideology – and the national narrative correspondingly – as if it were seen through a prism, through which texts acquire different meaning. At the same time, the texts were influenced by the textualisation of culture, society, and history, which has to be considered in this analysis. One of the phenomena put in the literate format is the nation, which is understood as text owing to Benedict Anderson,[81] Anthony Smith,[82] and Homi Bhabha,[83] the nation is understood as text that can be read and written. Nations are seen as "sets of social and cultural resources on which the members can draw, and which, in varying degrees, enable them to

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[80] Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 170.

[81] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, New York: Verso, 2006).

[82] Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*; Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press on Demand, 1999).

[83] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994); Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation."

express their interests, needs, and goals."[84] The next vital textual category is the representatives of the nation, who imagine, feel, and will it.[85] As a result of participation in textual discourses of the nation, they become a part of it, textualised as well.

However, in spite of the textualisation of the nation and its representations, we are talking about particular and live readers of the texts that contain national narrative. For their benefit, the national story required simple and utterable expression that would guarantee its circulation and replication. At the same time, "the people are neither the beginning nor the end of the national narrative,"[86] which means, for Homi Bhabha, that the members of the community are both affected and affecting the story of nation. At the same time, it is located in three dimensions – the nation, the reader, and the fictional text. In more basic terms, the historical sense of national narrative is founded in this dialogue with recipients who are able to carry it and preserve the continuity of the narrative and the nation. The *task* of this thesis is to find the textual means in historical novels that transmit national narrative and present it to the reader.

2.2. Methodology of Analysis. General Perspective and Task

Being a concept of substantial versatility, the national narrative has had a marked influence on many disciplines. It has found its functionality in diverse public textual discourses such as history textbooks[87] and popular mass media,[88] and the society has focused on information sources like these in the late 20th centuries and the beginning of the 21st century. However, this thesis investigates an earlier period, the 1950s, when the nation and cultural elites were literature-oriented,[89] to the extent where fiction became the main focus point of the national

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[84] Anthony D. Smith, *The Cultural Foundations of Nations: Hierarchy, Covenant and Republic* (Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2008), 23.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation," 297.

[87] Karina Korostelina, "Shaping Unpredictable Past: National Identity and History Education in Ukraine," *National Identities* 13, no. 1 (2011): 1–16.

[88] Volodymyr Kulyk, "The Media, History and Identity: Competing Narratives of the Past in the Ukrainian Popular Press," *National Identities* 13, no. 3 (September 1, 2011): 287–303.

[89] Evgenii Dobrenko, *The Making of the State Writer: Social and Aesthetic Origins of Soviet Literary Culture* (1999; repr., Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 181.

narrative. Thus, while in the case of synchronic studies, like Karina Korostelina's, it is reasonable to look into contemporary media, the diachronic study that this thesis conducts is not possible without the consideration of larger textual forms. That is why it turns primarily to novels.

The historical novel is believed to be one of the most popular genres, which makes it so widely read that it could represent the opinion making tool for the masses. Consequently, the historical novel and its generic conventions easily slip into popular culture. They all derive from the idea of the mass production of Soviet historical novels, the goal of which was to engage as many recipients as possible, neglecting[90] aesthetic qualities of the texts.

This attention to the needs of popular culture and to the people puts the national narrative in historical fiction in the forefront. Consequently, the historical novel represented an extended version of the national story, sometimes to the extent where the whole historical phenomena is made banal in favour of a simple construction. This does not require much supporting evidence. It will point to the schematism of numerous Socialist Realist historical texts, where conflict and peripeteia are brought to patterns repeated in one novel to the next. This operated as a blatant demonstration of state power that regulated the process of literary creation, which resulted in outdated product, a narrative of a crude form that the nation did not require, and thus it struggled to reject such story as a foreign entity. However, as soon as it became the official version of the national story, it was inculcated artificially. That is why in Ukraine, in most cases, new forms of narrative could not be openly put on display, which forced the narrative, along with literary texts, to adapt and adjust to then conditions, often walking a fine line between public order and its own routes of development.

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[90] It is a simplified approach to Socialist Realist literature that leaves behind all censored works and revolutionary texts, which broke through the surveillance of the powers-that-be. This part of the thesis is concerned mostly with mainstream texts, the canon of Socialist Realism, which it understands following the works of Katerina Clark. See Katerina Clark, *The Soviet Novel: History as Ritual* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1981).

One of the objectives of this thesis is to attempt a study of the techniques of mimicry and camouflage of the national story that resulted from the changing extraliterary conditions, which caused the national narrative to be modified at least four times in the last fifty years. The *task* of this thesis is to analyse all of them and explain how one was a successor of the other. The first technique of mimicry is evident in the historical novels of Socialist Realism that contained *'progenitor narrative'* – a narrative that I will consider primary for successive narratives in Ukrainian literature. Even at this stage, it developed into a virtually Ukrainian story. It is worth explaining that this thesis is far from considering the Socialist Realist version of the national narrative the first and the most important in Ukrainian history. The start of the national story in its current form reaches back to the age of Romanticism when the ideas of modern nations were shaped. Primarily Ukrainian national story was influenced by powerful insights of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861), Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885), and Panteleimon Kulish (1819-1897).

Undoubtedly, Shevchenko stands out from them all as well as his whole generation. As Marko Pavlyshyn explains, Shevchenko produced instruments for identification with *Ukrainian* ethnos. His unique position actualised Ukraine as a nation that is neither Russian nor European, as Europe, along with the Russian Empire, represents a threat to Ukrainian identity.[91] Kostomarov and Kulish, to the contrary, envision Ukrainian nation as a part of a larger community, only with greater rights and freedoms. Importantly, Kulish was the one to author the first Ukrainian historical novel, *Chorna rada* (The black council, 1857), which he chose to write in Ukrainian language, instead of the prevailing Russian at that time.

The thesis will not elaborate the following development of the historical novel in Ukrainian literature until the time of Socialist Realism, though it was represented by numerous texts. However, Shevchenko's and Kostomarov's conceptions were partially or wholly borrowed by

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[91] Marko Pavlyshyn, "Modern Literature and the Construction of National Identity as European: The Case of Ukraine," in *Domains and Divisions of European History* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010), 191.

Socialist Realism. As a somewhat parasitic phenomenon, Socialist Realism used the achievements of the previous epochs to ground its own positions.[92] In the discourse of the Ukrainian historical novel, for example, it appropriated the personality of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi, the hetman that 'reestablished' the union of Ukraine and Russia. However, this historical representation was utterly selective. Even when Taras Shevchenko's selected poems were published in 1939, they omitted those that criticised the hetman.[93]

Thus, it is clear that the progenitor narrative manipulated the previous national stories. At the same time, later authors appealed to Shevchenko, Kostomarov, and Kulish to distance their writing from Socialist Realism. This sort of referential system is well-studied and does not require further investigations in this thesis. Instead, one of the inquiries of this study is not how the later texts overcame the power and gravity of Socialist Realism but how they are defeated in the struggle against it. In other words, the thesis looks for the traces of the progenitor narrative.

The progenitor narrative was different to the story described by James Wertsch,[94] of Russia as a conquering nation, and contained specifically Ukrainian markers, changed to suit the needs of the new Soviet Ukraine. It is interesting that the following types of national narrative are connected to this discourse of Ukrainian virtuality in their own ways, which I will discuss below. Here the dominant narrative was replaced and the story acquired new dimensions when compared to the *Soviet* Ukrainian story. The degree of populism and banalisation gradually decreased, and the narrative as ideological story of the nation ceased to be so evident. Yet it remained functional in the novels. Hence the *central question* of this thesis – how did Ukrainian national narrative reach its contemporary form? Hence the *main task* here – to compare different types of narrative, to examine their form and content, which in the end, will give an

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[92] Evgenii Dobrenko, *Metafora vlasti. Literatura staliskoi epokhi v istoricheskom osveshchenii [The metaphor of power. The literature of the Stalinist age in historical perspective]* (Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1993), 181, 182.
[93] Harun Yilmaz, *National Identities in Soviet Historiography: The Rise of Nations under Stalin* (London: Routledge, 2015), 79.
[94] Wertsch, "Deep Memory and Narrative Templates: Conservative Forces in Collective Memory."

understanding of the development of the narrative in historical fiction in Ukrainian literature. Thus, the initial *hypothesis* of the thesis is the following: the form of the national narrative reveals the ideological orientation of the novel and appears as a certain "ideology of form."

On a formal and semantic level, all types of Ukrainian national narrative are connected, even when the texts that contain them are seemingly not related. Their belonging to one paradigm is to be demonstrated further in this thesis and is subjectivated by the common line of progression that the types of the narrative reveal. Emerging as an answer to ideological challenges of their time, the variations of Ukrainian national narrative relate via the 'progenitor narrative', the story of Socialist Realist novels. The nature of this liaison varies from sheer imitation to denial and oblivion. Using Michel Foucault's terminology, Ukrainian national narrative takes the path of loosening and losing connections with the primary story. A good example of this relation is the mode of analogy, used by Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi and Volodymyr Malyk, the successors of Socialist Realist historical novels, whose narrative demonstrates "joints and bonds"[95] with the 'progenitor narrative'. At the same time, the novels of Valerii Shevchuk, a representative of the *shistdesiatnyky* movement, express negative relation to the Socialist Realist story, ignoring it and sending it into virtual oblivion. This relationship is far from non-similitude, as Shevchuk's novels painfully acknowledge their Soviet predecessors and, as a result, estrange themselves from the 'progenitor narrative'. Where it is not possible to criticise the Socialist Realist type of national story, *Three Leaves in the Window* (1986)*, On a Humble Field* (1983)*,* and Shevchuk's other historical novels ignore it. The next type of Ukrainian national narrative is more complicatedly related to the 'progenitor narrative'. Having appeared in post-Independence Ukraine, the narrative in the works of Oksana Zabuzhko and Iurii Vynnychuk repositions and corrects the Socialist Realist national story. Here the national narrative in these texts changed to the extent where the ties with the 'progenitor narrative' stop being binding. This turn

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[95] Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1966; repr., London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 2005), 24.

represents the final stage of the development of the national narrative in Ukrainian historical novels.[96]

2.3. Post-Colonial National Narrative – a Desire to Write and a Story

Methodologically, *the notion of national narrative* is the cornerstone that creates a wide panorama from which to view the genre of historical novels, which until now has been done with great complications. It is a concept that examines historical fiction within one study by providing an ideological prism, through which they can all be examined despite obvious differences – generic, worldview, and ideological. The national narrative creates a common denominator for a classic historical novel, such as Iurii Mushketyk's Socialist Realist text *Haidamaky* (1957), and Valerii Shevchuk's philosophical meditations on the past in *Three Leaves in the Window*. Moreover, it allows us to include the metafictional novel of Oksana Zabuzhko *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* (2008) in this progression. The national narrative makes it possible to compare these novels despite their belonging to different epochs and their authors representing different cultural generations. Finally, the national narrative gives a perspective on these texts with a different understanding of history, which diversifies their phenomenological bases.

Even without a previous introduction of the notion to the national narrative, it becomes obvious that historical novels have at least one feature in common. In a vast philosophical sense, it is a desire to write the history of a community that unites Iurii Mushketyk and Oksana Zabuzhko. This urge is seen through multiple layers of ideological and artistic fleur that covers it, yet

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[96] Undoubtedly, the Ukrainian national story acquires rapid further development, which can be observed nowadays. In this context, it is worth mentioning the most recent novel *Felix Austria* (2014) by Sofiia Andrukhovych (1982), whose approach to the past dramatically differs even from Oksana Zabuzhko's ideological conundrums. Andrukhovych's detailed and inspirational explorations of the 1920s in Western Ukraine presents the national narrative as a purely *national* phenomena, whereas the previous versions mostly polemisised with the 'progenitor narrative'. Setting the scene of the novel in Stanislaviv (currently Ivano-Frankivsk) of the 1920s, Sofia Andrukhovych releases the Ukrainian national narrative from the necessity to continue the anti-colonial dialogue and relocates it in post-colonial paradigm. She demonstrates other than the Soviet connections of Ukrainian history, literature, and culture: beginning with peculiar details of the Western Ukrainian cuisine and outfit and ending in a completely different linguistic reality with rich dialect markers.

underlines a strong sense of community. This desire is seamless and intense, it defines the approach to the past. It is this very *desire* that is the true national narrative.

In Ukrainian literature, this urge to recount – which is itself the national narrative – derived from suppressed guilt and antinarcissism.[97] the will to justify the true self of the nation in one text. It was an expression of a true situation in a literature oriented society in Ukraine of the late 20th century. Here the text meant more than merely fiction; it was either a formulation of a doctrine or a guidance to action. It was rather in response to a political situation and as such, that the desire for expression in distinctly recognisable forms. The desire was expressed and fulfilled mostly by men, and to say more, it had a male-oriented outcome. Over fifty years, masculine narrative dominated in Ukrainian historical novels. This understanding comes not only from the fact that no female author published a Socialist Realist historical novel,[98] but also from the general patterns of oppression that prevailed in the middle of the 20th century. The suppression of the body and its representation in historical novels of the 1950s shows an immense urge towards the male-oriented narrative. It is the narrative of subjection, but not of the absolute sacrifice, as after the failure, there comes the hope for a greater force to intervene and rescue. It is especially obvious in *Ukraine Was Humming* (1954) by Petro Panch. The Cossacks' 'revolution' under the command of Bohdan Khmelnytsky fails, which makes him seek Russian help as a last resort. This motif of the helpless Ukraine is present in every historical novel of the 1950s-1960s. By introducing it, the authors transform Ukrainian markers and reality into a purely colonial one. Colonial in their nature, texts like *Haidamaky* by Iurii Mushketyk reroute exclusively Ukrainian themes into the imperial Soviet direction. Men wrote about men and their domain, which left Ukrainian narrative – colonial, and automatically

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[97] Hélène Cixous, "The Laugh of the Medusa," in *Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism*, ed. Robyn Warhol-Down and Diane Price Herndl (1975; repr., New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 349.
[98] Apart from Zynaida Tulub (1890 – 1964), no significant Ukrainian female author worked on historical fiction. However, even Tulub wrote merely one novel, *Liudolovy* (Mancatchers), two volumes of which were published between 1934 and 1937 years. After that, she was arrested and sent to exile. The next female Ukrainian writer, Raisa Ivanchenko (1934) belonged to a different generation of authors and published her first historical novel in 1970s. Her texts stand in one row with Pavlo Zahrebelny's and Volodymyr Malyk's novels.

female in its nature – neglected. Authors like Iurii Mushketyk – the troubadours of empire – celebrated it. It produced a narrative of domination and subjection, which put men in the position of power. In describing everyday reality, this type of narrative also prioritised the imperial position of power and described Ukraine as a nation in a weak position.

This view is similar to how James Wertsch positions national narratives. In his view, they work as "templates" that do not hold any specific information but, on the contrary, assist in interpreting of current events.[99] As a result, the content of national narratives is relegated to the background; thus, the analysis of a story, its twists and its turns, results in banal conclusions. For example, it is not enough to analyse the nature of certain characters or the psychological nature of their behaviour because structures of a superior sense stand behind the motifs, and devices in historical novels. Meaning and understanding of every move in the historical novel is a matter of grasping the ever-vanishing national narrative, with its structure and pattern of behaviour.

As this study understands the national narrative as the essence of the novel, it is worth mentioning that in many ways, the narrative is a key to other spheres of everyday life. It defines the behaviour and content of important parts of human life such as the media, commemorative practices, and the public sphere of life in general.[100] Moreover, the historical novel functions as a medium that not only provides "images, verses and passages that capture national attributes"[101] but also create a specific landscape of the historical past. Envisioned through the lens of historical novels, the national past appears in daily use.

However, this also brings the questions of stability and the salience of the national narrative. In the short-term perspective, the narrative appears stable. It everyday utilisation guarantees its longevity, but it also has a significant side effect – gradual transformations of the narrative, which leaves it subject to change in the long-term perspective. In other words, to function

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[99] Wertsch, "Deep Memory and Narrative Templates: Conservative Forces in Collective Memory," 175.
[100] Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2002), 141.
[101] Ibid.

properly and to remain timely, national narratives adjust to current conditions. Homi Bhabha has already resolved this issue in his renowned studies on narration and nation,[102] having defined active parts of the narrative – *pedagogical* and *performative*, where the former remains stable and consistent, and the latter represents additions to the national story.

Such distinction brings this study to a legitimate hypothesis about the nature of the national narrative. That is, it assumes that as narratives are subject to change, different types of narratives automatically appear. In the case of Ukrainian historical novels of the last fifty years, the national narrative manifested itself in four major forms. Since the advent of the "canonical doctrine" of Socialist Realism, one particular type of the national story can be traced in historical fiction, which I consider as basic for the narratives of the fifty years that follow, since in one way or another all of them look back to the Socialist Realist narratives. It is worth emphasising that the relationship between the base narrative and the following national stories varies greatly. Further stages of its development compare and contrast themselves to the Socialist Realist type of narrative rather than unconsciously take from it. The national narrative in the novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, Volodymyr Malyk, Valerii Shevchuk, and Oksana Zabuzhko appear either as an extension or complete negation of this purely Soviet type of narrative. This variety of twisted paths that the national narrative pursued in Ukraine shapes the main goal of this thesis. That is, it is essential to analyse the succession of national stories and to understand their progression.

This discussion may appear quite controversial due to the ambiguous nature of the national narrative, which is why its studies need to be secure from populism. As far as it appears, only an approach based on highly formal criteria can meet this demand. It is safe to assume that the reaction of the reader is based on the response to formal solutions in texts. For example, first person narration appears less credible than third person narration. Therefore, this thesis will

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[102] Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation"; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*.

investigate, which formal devices influence the constitution of the national narrative. In other words, the first question that this thesis answers is how to detect the national narrative in a historical novel. To do that, this thesis will approach the national narrative primarily as a *story.* It will be assumed that the narrative of the nation obeys the same rules as fictional narratives of 'regular' fictional texts. James Wertsch's study of the Russian national story demonstrates its ability to dissociate into separate motifs, a characteristic that is supposedly inherent to the category in general. To have proof of that, it is necessary to dissociate a number of national narratives into motifs. Therefore, it becomes one of the key tasks of this thesis – to demonstrate how the national narrative is structured using the example of different national stories. When this task is achieved and the narratives are presented as stories, the thesis will compare them based on their ideological value and intensity.

It is reasonable, though, to perform this experiment within the framework of the narrative of one nation. As Wertsch portrays Russian narrative as reasonably stable, indicating no transformations over centuries, it is worthwhile looking at a story that will prove the opposite. In fact, he bases his argument on this stability and consistency, claiming that so far as Russian narrative has not changed since the time of the tsars, it still functions in an imperialistic framework and justifies the colonialist desires of the Russians. On the contrary, postcolonial narratives of the former colonies of the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union represent potential sources for transforming national stories. Therefore, studying them from diachronic perspective gives an idea of how these nations had been writing themselves over a certain period.

Over fifty years, this genre produced a corpus of texts that are formally and semantically different, sometimes to the extent where they express opposite views on history and the past. Partly, this change was determined by subsequent stylistic shifts (e.g. the revived and intensified modernist current in Soviet literatures of the 1960s) and epistemological changes. Therefore, this process involves novels of Socialist Realism, their consequential continuation expressed in a variation of realistic historical novels of the 1960s, which were displaced by dissidents'

novels. The final stage that the genre has so far reached is the development into historiographic metafiction (the term of Linda Hutcheon). These four groups of novels that characterise the genre of the Ukrainian historical novel have one common trait. It is a story that stands behind their diverse and often twisted plot, the national narrative.

Soviet narrative, which will be described later, found itself at the climax of its development, having reached the most refined version. The language and the plot of the novels, though masterfully crafted, presented a lifeless scheme that was bound to hide the ideological passages. The notion of ideology, mentioned here, is close to that of Northrop Frye's formulation, which diversifies two faces of historical fiction: the one that is useful in synchronic perspective, that is, for contemporary readers of the time, and another one, a universal code of love, life, and death, that is visible through generations in diachronic perspective.[103] The problem of most of Socialist Realist texts is that they neglect the second face, using it as a mask. However, a researcher of national narratives benefits from this, as in Socialist Realist texts the narrative appears upfront. It is an aggressive story that attacks the reader on every level of the text.

Frye's explanation of ideological and artistic structures within fictional texts, however, does not clarify the difference between ideology and national narrative. Ideological structures, present in every text, appear similar to the national story. In the end, I assert that the national narrative is a targeted ideological structure, adjusted to the demands and needs of national recipients. In the Soviet Union, it was especially flourishing owing to the politics that included nationalisation and highly controllable local elites. That is, in the Soviet Union, the ideology was adjusted to control the national movements,[104] which allowed the existence of national narratives.

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[103] The concept of ideology in the interpretation of Northrop Frye is explained in Jonathan Hart, *Northrop Frye: The Theoretical Imagination* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 22.

[104] Though some researchers like Francine Hirsch, argue that the control over national questions in the Soviet Union was spontaneous and erroneous, the Soviets' indecisive convulsions did not mean the lack of regulation and restriction. Strict discipline and regulations were implemented to ensure the inclusion of autonomous subjects, such as Ukraine, into the Union.

2.4. The Location of Narrative

2.4.1. Three Levels of Textual Interpretation

It appears that the interpretation that can reveal a social act behind the exploration of the spirit is not based on a hermeneutics of one level, but results from a three-level analysis of the novel. Starting from the formal level, it searches for specific formal traits of the novel that convey its social and political function. In other words, the question is at which point the tale of spiritual adventures, as in the case of Illia Turchynovs'kyi, becomes a "socially symbolic act."[105] In search for an answer, it is necessary to activate three levels simultaneously. First, there is a level of political history where the work of art, "coinciding with the individual act of utterance,"[106] is perceived as a "symbolic act." The second level represents an "ideologeme, the smallest intelligible unit of the essentially antagonistic collective discourses or social classes."[107] Ultimately, on the third level, the work of art is interpreted in terms of an "ideology of form" that Fredric Jameson understands as "the symbolic messages transmitted to us by the coexistence of various sign systems which are themselves traces or anticipations of modes of production."[108]

Applied to a specific novel, this method locates the spiritual adventures of Illia Turchynovs'kyi in a paradigm of collective senses. The approach that accepts formal characteristics as indication of ideological turbulence sheds light on oppression and the struggle against it in *Three Leaves in the Window,* a novel about the transformations of the spirit. The travels of a baroque writer Illia Turchynovs'kyi appear as a "symbolic move" in a confrontation that Jameson describes as operating within the apparatus of a class system. However, I will instead refer to these opposing groups as *subjected* and *subjecting*, which more accurately characterises

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See Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2005), 69, 70.

[105] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981; repr., London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

[106] Ibid., 61.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Ibid., 62.

the relationships between them. It appears as a story of becoming a subject when Illia Turchynovs'kyi and his descendants emerge as both the actors and the very venue of power. Subjection here "consists precisely in this fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our energy."[109] Even on this level, *Three Leaves* is still a (neo-)baroque tale which sustains itself in terms of a relationship of power. At the same time, here the novel reveals itself as a highly ideologised narrative that establishes a dialogue with a previously disregarded historical reality. This ideologisation and its specific traits are what can be called the national narrative in the historical novel.

2.4.2. The Reconstruction of the National Narrative

2.4.2.1. Where the Narrative is Located

The example of *Three Leaves in the Window* demonstrates that the notion of the national narrative is based on the concepts of subjection, oppression, and the balance of power. They reveal the sides of the production process not only in the national narrative but also determine the production of the novel itself. Such an approach explains various aspects of formal organisation of the novel: it clarifies both the use of a particular type of metaphor and the system of composition. Yet, as it was suggested before, novels like Shevchuk's resist any excursion into ideological interpretation, which results in either complete neglect of the national narrative as ideological prism or the failure to recognise its narrativity.

To achieve both goals, one should aim for the reconstruction of the national narrative. Early types of the national narrative openly suggest this strategy. In some novels, it is enough to metonymically replace the names of the heroes with more generic categories like 'enemy', 'friend', 'traitor' or 'hero' to get to the line of the national narrative. For example, the national story in Petro Panch's *Ukraine Was Humming* will fall into several principal motifs that

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[109] Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection* (Stanford University Press, 1997), 2.

constitute a coherent story. First, the novel suggests that an enemy (Polish aristocracy) exploits the miserable victims (Ukrainian peasants). Second, the miserable ones organise themselves to withstand the oppression; the hero arrives (Cossacks' and peasants' uprisings under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi). And finally, the victims cannot resist the enemy and require help from a more powerful ally (the insurgents turn to the Moscow tsar). Amid the national perspective, the second motif of the narrative will suggest a complete failure of the Ukrainian nation as an independent subject, which is typical for all Socialist Realist historical novels. On the formal scale, metonymical transfer of ideological characteristics of the narrative is made possible owing to the narrative's location close to the surface. In other words, the national narrative in this case almost corresponds with *fabula*.

2.4.2.2. Correlation of Power as an Indication of the National Narrative

However, it is not only orientation on *fabula* that makes the motifs of the national narrative more noticeable. The progenitor narrative, that is, the national story implemented in Socialist Realist novels, accurately localises and expresses power. It constructs a highly polarised environment, where the sides of the conflict are situated in direct opposition to one another. This black-and-white world does not bear shades or undertones, which makes the moves of every character utterly clear. The same is true for their ideological standings. For Ukrainians, the progenitor narrative predetermined a subjected position. Historical facts and events are selected and presented here so that even in a seemingly strong position, Ukrainian characters tend to lie on the weaker side – as Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi does in *Ukraine Was Humming*. His constant calls for help from Moscow marginalise the position of Ukrainian national heroes, which results in the appearance of principal motifs of the national narrative – the motif of the Golden Age and the motif of failure. Mark von Hagen critically interprets this phenomenon

calling it "lacrimogenesis," an image of Ukraine as "innocent victim of other nations in a litany of valiantly heroic but ultimately tragic (previous) struggles for national independence."[110]

What has evaded scholars' attention is a gradual remodification of these motifs. Since the 1950s, the motif of the failure has altered beyond recognition to serve different purposes. Firstly, it solely justifies the nation's defeats. The scheme that involves this motif presupposes that an attack of the enemy or an act of treason destroys a rich heritage of the past. The row of novels which use this scheme is so long that it is easier to name exceptions and interesting modifications of the motifs. Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi's texts demonstrate how the elements of the narrative change the horizon of the national story. His texts fall into two periods. In the first one, he sticks to the line of the failing Ukrainian state (*Death in Kyiv; Ievpraksia*); in the second one, he demonstrates stronger sides of national history (*I, Bohdan; Roksolana*). A more elaborated type of Zahrenel'nyi's approach can be found in the texts of Volodymyr Malyk (*The Secret Ambassador*). Here he emphasises heroic deeds of invented characters and avoids evaluating the historical reality. History for him is merely a canvas. Next, Valerii Shevchuk attempts to re-evaluate the situation described in the progenitor narrative. In his *Three Leaves*, he searches for the sources of the subjection and doing so, deconstructs the progenitor narrative. Finally, Oksana Zabuzhko and Iurii Vynnychuk distance themselves from previous narratives by eliminating the positions of subjected and subjecting on the level of nation. It is as if they have employed Laura Mulvey's understanding of feminism, which for them would constitute quite a wide phenomenon, that deals "with differences without constituting an opposition."[111]

2.4.2.3. Setting the Narrative as a Unit

However effective, the notion of subjection, as Judith Butler describes it, limits the interpretation to the level of psychic reality and does not explain how the motifs slipped into a narrative. It is time to look at the national narrative as a *flow,* that is, a unit rather than a

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[110] Mark von Hagen, "Does Ukraine Have a History?," *Slavic Review* 54, no. 3 (October 1, 1995): 665, doi:10.2307/2501741.
[111] Laura Mulvey, "Changes," *Discourse* 7 (April 1, 1985): 12.

combination of different elements. This holistic approach brings out motifs and actors of the national narrative as *desiring machines* (Deleuze and Guattari). From this perspective, the national narrative appears as an entity constructed from elements that are "obeying a binary law or set of rules governing associations: one machine is always coupled with another."[112] However, coupling is interesting here not for sheer combinatorics but rather for its result, which is production. In the production, machines follow each other, constantly conjoined and *flowing* at the same time. In fact, it is desire that "constantly couples flows and partial objects that are by nature fragmentary and fragmented."[113]

In the end, the national narrative *is* the desire that "causes the current to flow, itself flows in turn, and breaks the flows."[114] Deleuze and Guattari write that desiring machines work only on the brink of death, when the flow of one is interrupted by the other. By coupling, the machine is made aware of another machine, which is when it stops. Paradoxically, this process describes the behaviour of the motifs in the national narrative that emerges when the motifs conjoin and produce the flow of desire, which is the national story. It is this mechanism that Homi Bhabha describes as "writing the nation," when the *pedagogical*, the flowing substance of production, accepts the *performative.*[115]

The national narrative that results from these movements is easy to put in a historical perspective. Acknowledging the machines of desire-motifs and matching the motifs from different periods, it is possible to find distinctions in motifs of different periods based on the outcome of the production, that is, the national narrative. This is the actual mechanism of the second level of the analysis.

After this second stage, there is only one question and characteristic of the national narrative that will be of interest on the third level of analysis. It concerns the ideology of form, that is,

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[112] Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Lane Helen R., 10th ed. (1983; repr., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 5.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation."

"the determinate contradiction of the specific messages emitted by the varied sign systems which coexist in a given artistic process as well as in its general social formation."[116] This approach analyses the impact of the form on the ideological component of the text. Though it is an analysis that looks into the form of the text, this method of reading differs from any type of formal approaches to cultural objects as owing to "dialectical reversal," the form becomes the carrier of "ideological messages of [its] own, distinct from the ostensible or manifest content of the works."[117] Thus, this thesis will examine certain formal characteristics to explain ideological transformations in historical novels. However, the texts themselves do not reveal the nature of this process. That is why this thesis suggests that the ideology of form of historical novels can only be accessed via national narratives encoded into fictional texts. And the opposite: the analysis of the national narrative in historical novels presupposes the study of its form. Among formal characteristics that are vital on this level of the analysis is the correlation of *syuzhet* and *fabula* in the national narrative. The insight into the features of both *syuzhet* and *fabula* will help to understand the organisation of national narratives based on their patterns.

2.4.3. Syuzhet and Fabula as the Types of Organisation of the National Narrative

Indeed, the intensity of expression of the national narrative in Ukrainian fiction of the late 20th century varies. I will locate its two poles on the scale of the narrative. In the first one, the narrative is obvious and blatant, almost hanging over the reader; whereas the second type troubles careful readers, forcing them to excavate it from under the piles of artistic devices. The first one is flowing and coherent; the second one is jumping and scattered, based on syncopes and pauses. In categories of narratology, this division clearly coincides with two categories – *syuzhet*[118] (corresponds with the term 'narrative' in English-language theoretical tradition) and

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[116] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, 84.

[117] Ibid.

[118] This thesis uses the traditional transliteration from Cyrillic alphabet – *syuzhet* – for the sake of historical consistency and because it refers primarily to Cyrillic alphabet theoretical sources. It avoids the French writing, *sujet,* as that of different connotations. Potentially, there are three possible transliterations of the word 'сюжет'. First, *sjuzhet,* used by Jonathan Culler in particular in his Jonathan Culler, "Fabula and Sjuzhet in the Analysis of Narrative: Some American Discussions," *Poetics Today* 1, no. 3 (April 1, 1980): 27–37, doi:10.2307/1772408. Second, *syuzhet,* is introduced by Benjamin Sher in his translation of Shklovsky's *Theory of Prose* Viktor Shklovsky, *Theory of Prose*, trans. Benjamin Sher (Dalkey Archive Press, 1990). The last one, *siuzhet,* follows the

fabula (equivalent of the term 'story'). In the national narrative, the mechanism of functioning of both fabula and syuzhet are similar to fictional texts. As in fiction, a national narrative is most likely to always have *syuzhet;* at the same time, the number of *fabula*-oriented actualisations of the national narrative is limited. Applied to the field of the national narrative, Viktor Shklovskyi's metaphorical explanations make the distinction of *fabula-* and *syuzhet*-oriented narratives legitimate. *Syuzhet*, as he argues, is a developed enough form to analyse the subject and to elaborate on. Most importantly, Shklovskyi describes *syuzhet* as a highly dynamic and changing system that reflects the epoch.

> *Gradually, this system [of syuzhet – AV] becomes restricted. It is a precise and correct description of an epoch, but epochs pass too. […] So, we see and know that syuzhets of fairy tales, novellas, novels, and even newspaper reports return – only not to be repeated but to be changed whenever possible, reflecting life more accurately.*
>
> *However, accuracy demands to choose a way of combination of material, which, unfortunately, limits the material.*
>
> *This way proposes suitable words for a topic.*
>
> *But in the history of literature, there are two phenomena:*
>
> *Continuation – history*
>
> *Oats that sprouts through mats. New materials, breaking in art."[119]*

Fabula, on the other hand, is stable and fixed; it is "the sequence of events, which the narrative presupposes and which it could describe in various ways."[120] So is the *fabula*-oriented national narrative. As the national story in *Ukraine Was Humming*, it is expected to be stable and linear.

When the national narrative cannot be presented in terms of *fabula,* it does not necessarily mean that the novel lacks it; instead, it may suggest that for a number of reasons, the narrative is located on a different level. It generally demonstrates that the level of *fabula* cannot secure the

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current established rules of transliteration of Ukrainian words approved by the Ukrainian Parliament's decree *Pro vporiadkuvannia transliteratsii ukrajinskoho alfavitu latynytseiu [On regulation of the transliteration of Ukrainian alphabet by means of the Latin alphabet]*, 2010, http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/55-2010-%D0%BF/parao11#o11.

[119] Viktor Shklovsky, "Energiia zabluzhdeniia. Kniga o syuzhete [Energy of delusion. The book of syuzhet]," in *Izbrannoie [Selected works]*, vol. 2 (1981; repr., Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia Literatura, 1983), 391. Translated from Russian by Anna Vitruk.

[120] Culler, "Fabula and Sjuzhet in the Analysis of Narrative," 29.

narrative. Instead, *syuzhet* offers a much complicated plexus of devices to conceal the national story. Complicatedly, the *syuzhet* of the national narrative exists in parallel with the *syuzhet* of the text. It is a nearly parasitical co-existence, in which the national narrative plays a double role. It benefits from devices and structure of the text's *syuzhet,* but more importantly, it directs the fictional fabric and adjusts it to its own needs.

As Shklovskyi explains on the Bocaccio's *Decameron* example, one story potentially conceals a number of *syuzhets*. Valerii Shevchuk's pattern in *Three Leaves in the Window* corresponds with this idea. The novel's *syuzhet* actualises itself on different levels, where the last one is the least studied – the level of the national narrative. This type of the organisation of *syuzhet* must be differentiated from what Gerald Prince understands as implied senses of narrative.[121] Instead, in this thesis, I, following Shklovskyi, will call this phenomena multiple *syuzhets,* as some of these senses reveal different information. This situation is similar to multiple *syuzhets* in *Three Leaves,* where the adventures of the character conceal the unprecedented neobaroque symbolics and allegorism. It is here that Illia Turchynovs'kyi, a son of the *sotnyk*, assumes the role not only of a vagabond and a clerk, but also becomes a knight of the spiritual front. He fights the subjection and, his historical *alter-ego* Hryhorii Skovoroda, succeeds, escaping the temptations of the rotten world. Naturally, these senses do not reveal themselves from the start on the level of *fabula* that in Shevchuk's text is rather vague and monotonous. Three parts of the novel (or 'leaves' as Shevchuk calls them) leave the impression of an epic canvas that stretches for centuries of Ukrainian history and cannot be condensed into one story. The national narrative in Shevchuk's case is concealed on the level of ideological senses, to where the reader has to rise (or descend).

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[121] Gerald Prince, *Narratology. The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Berlin, New York, Amsterdam: Mouton Publishers, 1982), 36–40.

2.4.3.1 Metanarrative as the Mechanism of Affecting the Reader

The national narrative uses motifs and devices of the novel's *syuzhet.* In its quasi-parasitic existence, it functions as a particular kind of *meta*narrative. Clearly, it is not connected to metanarrative in its primary sense as a reference to a different level of narrative, which makes it a 'narrative about narrative'. The national narrative clearly rises above the narrative of the novel but this has not limited it to the function of the author's commentary in a narrow sense that, according to Prince, has but the function of clarification.[122] Rather metanarrative fiction of the national narrative is close to Gérard Genette's understanding of metatext, where prefix meta- denotes a text that harkens back to another text, critically joining and juxtaposing them.[123]

Such characterisation points at the key 'meta-' attribute of the national narrative, its ability to establish a dialogue. Unavoidably dialogical, national narrative refers to the nation as a textual reality, verbalising the nation's state. In ideological form, it appears as a continuity between the imperial and postcolonial where the national narrative fills a translucent gap of generations. Observing this complicated textual conversation, readers notice that artistic devices – allegory, symbol, metaphor – as well as textual categories, such as time and space, lose their clarity and shorten the distance to the ideological field. In other words, they change under the pressure of postcolonial transformations. It is *meta*narrative that shifts attention from artistic devices to their implications.

Just like 'regular' metanarrative harkens back to formal characteristics of the narrative (structure, composition, discursive position),[124] the national narrative, transitively points at ideological aspects functioning as *meta*narrative. If the formal self-reflexivity of metanarrative accentuates the text's fictionality, its ideological counterpart explains the novel's historical position. It provides a map of the narrative's oscillations in the discursive field of political

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[122] Ibid., 124–125.
[123] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 4.
[124] Monika Fludernik, "Metanarrative and Metafictional Commentary: From Metadiscursivity to Metanarration and Metafiction," *Poetica* 35, no. 1/2 (January 1, 2003): 28–30.

history. Thus, the national narrative, towering over the fictional narrativity, makes the reader look at a historical novel as a constructed text. But instead of artistic devices, national narrative points at its own elements.

So far as the national narrative is understood as a *meta*narrative told to a specific collective recipient – the nation – it can be analysed as narration that follows the rules and patterns of fictional narratives. However, though the *fabula-* and *syuzhet*-oriented narrative division demonstrates the distance from the reader, it does not explain the connection between the two types. It also does not illustrate their cause-and-effect relationship, that is, how a *fabula*-narrative becomes a *syuzhet*-narrative. At the same time, the narrative, considered in the framework of *fabula/syuzhet*, appears as a common narrative within a familiar instrumental system of the narrative analysis.

While it is obviously easy to detect motifs in the *fabula*-oriented narrative, *syuzhet*-based stories complicatedly conceal motifs. As Olga Freidenberg explains, it is a game and a riddle that the narrative acquires when the initial image is left behind.

> *Syuzhet is a system of metaphors expanded into a verbal action; the whole point is that these metaphors represent the system of allegories [inoskazanii][125] of the main image. […] The image is, so to say, left behind; its conformations, which we are used to calling metaphors, act as its representatives. As soon as the main image is forgotten, these metaphors start to conform a riddle that has two essences – structural and semantic, which often affixes to them a certain ambiguity and sharpness, the play of senses and understatement.[126]*

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[125] I translate Freidenberg's term 'иносказание' as 'allegory', meaning it in the widest sense of the word, understanding that it derives inter alia from Oleksandr Potebnia's idea of the poetic language. Thus, in his renowned work on poetics, Potebnia uses the word 'allegory', putting it in Greek letters, "Therefore, poetry is always *inoskazaniie,* 'αλληγορία in the wide sense of the word."Aleksandr Potebnia, "Vidy poeticheskoi inoskazatelnosti [The types of poetical allegory]," in *Teoreticheskaia poetika. Iz zapisok po teorii slovesnosti [Theoretical poetics. From notes on the theory of philology* (Moscow: Vysshaia shkola, 1990), 141.
[126] Olga Freidenberg, *Poetika syuzheta i zhanra [The poetics of syuzhet and genre]*, ed. Nina Braginskaia (Moscow: Labirint, 1997), 223.
Translated from Russian by Anna Vitruk.

In the case of the national narrative, the forgotten image is postcoloniality or coloniality – depending on the type of novel. That is, the narrative always tries to tell the story about the nation's relationships with other nations and to position itself among them. It is more evident in the *fabula*-oriented narrative, where the narrative points directly at such ties that "bind and bound."[127] They are usually incorporated into the body of the narrative. Thus, Petro Panch in *Ukraine Was Humming* identifies the Poles as enemies, and makes the same distinction on the level of class. The times of Kyivan Rus' were always the subject of ideological debates, but Skliarenko simplified it to absurdity following directions from authorities. In his *Volodymyr* and *Sviatoslav*, the struggle of nationalities embraces the whole of Europe that is divided into 'friends' and 'enemies' with segregation on the Western borders of Rus'. The falling empire of Byzantium, politically and morally rotten, counterposes not even Rus' but its princes, Sviatoslav and his son Volodymyr.

These markers form a consolidated colonial image, which later expands into the whole narrative, formed from motifs that originate from metaphors (like that of a strong and fair prince). The national narrative is situated between the initial image (colonial or postcolonial) and the text of the novel. Thus, for *syuzet*-oriented national narratives the *key methodological point* of this thesis is to find these key metaphors and motifs, which includes, as the epigraph to this chapter suggests, "work on the social." The next and final section outlines the methodology of analysis for every text studied. Yet the full grounding of methods will be provided in respective chapters.

2.5. The Nature of the Narrative in the Late 20th Century

The traces of colonial masculinism, evident in the texts of many writers, remain dominant until now. In Ukrainian culture, the dissociation of the Soviet Union did not deconstruct the narrative

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[127] Charles Tilly, "Ties That Bind... and Bound," in *Identities, Boudaries and Social Ties*, 2005, 3–10.

operating in the system of oppositions 'masculine-feminine', 'central-peripheral', 'Russian-Ukrainian', where the second position was always weak and vulnerable. This part of the thesis is designed to demonstrate how such narrative was constructed and preserved in historical novels for decades. For this purpose, it appears reasonable to inspect the national narrative from its starting point and examine the roots of its current version. It is necessary to extract the narrative from the novel and dissociate this proto-story into smaller particles. The same structural approach needs to be applied to later texts.

At the current stage, it is necessary to point at the different nature of the national narrative in the novels, which is more coherent and elaborated in some texts but scattered and vague in others. In some texts, the national narrative naturally forms an easily narrated and retold story, that is, the *fabula*-oriented narrative. It is true, for example, for the Socialist Realist texts, where the national narrative is easily traced and extracted. In the only novel of this period that this thesis analyses, *Haidamaky* by Iurii Mushketyk, the narrative's flow 'logically' explains the historical position of the nation. More importantly, it gives predictions for the future, that is, the time of the Communist Party's rule. Thus, the novel virtually promotes Ukraine's position of subjection as a part of the Soviet Union.

Other texts less explicitly express national narrative but they still interpret the historical role of Ukrainians at the same level of high subjection. Gradual decay of the *fabula*-oriented narrative commences with the novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi and Volodymyr Malyk that contain far less overt ideological orders. At the same time, these writers, though quite distanced from Socialist Realism, utilise the same schematic organisation of the national narrative. Unlike their predecessors, they already try to disguise the sheer political narrative under the twists and turns of novels' plots where adventures of characters and their moral and physical qualities come forward. Notably, these writers pay considerably more attention to historical details, like clothes, architecture, and everyday culture. Everything that makes a historical novel interesting and alive – everything that Socialist realist novels were deprived of – is indebted to the fiction

of Zahrenel'nyi and Malyk. Perhaps it is the reason why their readers accepted them with such appreciation.

In the later versions of historical novels, this artistic poverty gives way to a broader scope of devices and topics that accompanies a general liberalisation of fiction. However, they still fall into the same line as the earlier historical novels. On the one hand, the texts of the 1980s, like those of Valerii Shevchuk, burst with expressions of sexuality, revealing descriptions of the body in its relations to human nature. Apart from that, they operate more liberally with psychological details. In Shevchuk's fiction, a tactile perception of the body, still hidden behind ambiguous baroque allegorism in early novels, reveals a new step of liberated narrative. On the other hand, this seeming emancipation prevents scholars from noticing destructionist motifs that Shevchuk inherited from the 1950s. Despite all objections that this statement may provoke, I argue that Shevchuk texts are infected with the same virus of subjection and failure that is adherent to the novels of the 1950s and later found in the texts of Zahrenel'nyi and Malyk. It is visible through his expression of the body that is still obviously accentuated from the male side, whereas female corporeality is seen through the man's perspective. Thus, images of witches and demons have women's faces, up to the third part of *Three Leaves in the Window* (1986), where the main character, Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi, is demonised – a shift, in which social and moral preconditions are not gender-oriented. The monks of Shevchuk are seduced and challenged by women and female-like creatures, and in the horrifying mystical historical detective story *The Eye of the Abyss* (1995), the abyss itself appears to be female.

It is Shevchuk's texts that affect this research dramatically, as they were the first novels to address one of the key problems in this work – the topic of subjection. His textual world is polarised and divided into subjecting and subjected. While most of the trials there are of a spiritual nature (Illia Turchynovs'kyi, *Three Leaves in the Window*), they always allegorically point to the current political situation via hints and allusions to historical subjection. Here the allegory becomes a political tool. Nevertheless, Shevchuk's approach to the national narrative

reveals the same tendency of subjection. That is, Shevchuk resists the 'progenitor narrative', yet his texts are painfully aware of it. They fight the Socialist Realist narrative but at the same time, they do not see any positive and successful resolution for the Ukrainian narrative.

This tendency persisted until the appearance of the Oksana Zabuzhko's significant *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, which, as a feminist novel, establishes the parity of narratives and declares the narrative of women as important as the narrative of men. Thus, subjection becomes a key notion that Zabuzhko discusses in her novel. In her opinion, 'women's' narrative, associated with a weak and subjected colonial position, is represented as being as important and valuable as male narrative, associated with imperial position. The fact that Zabuzhko writes about the history of Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukraïnska povstanska armiia, UPA) focused on a female figure gains more value when seen from diachronic perspective, where women were rarely portrayed among key historical actors. Being as explicit as this, Oksana Zabuzhko does not hide her intentions and, as a result, the narrative becomes more accessible. Compared to Shevchuk's twisted labyrinth of artistic devices and different senses, Zabuzhko's *Museum* openly declares its message, where, unlike in the Socialist Realist historical novels, the image of the body and connected metaphors and symbols participate to create the national narrative.

2.6. Conclusion

The national narrative of the late 20th century moves towards a more complicated structure. It transforms along with the outer world answering the demands of the time. Along with the national story, fictional texts that are connected to it also change. This chapter has proposed a categorisation of the narratives into *fabula-* and *syuzhet-*oriented to underline their structural difference. It also indicated the main driving forces behind the complicated mechanism of *syuzhet-*based narratives that are based on the mechanism of subjection and oppression. Owing to them, it is possible to identify key motifs of the national narrative in different novels. Being close to the form of the novel, national narrative also manifests itself in smaller textual devices

like metaphors and metonymies. It also leaves an imprint on the composition of the novel. Apart from that, the national narrative engages discursive practices such as the body to manifest itself in historical novels of the early 21st century.

Chapter 3. The Politics of the National Narrative: Generic Implications of Historical Novels

3.1. Introduction. The Novel as a Carrier of the National Narrative

There is a complicated balance of national narrative and its carriers. On the one hand, the only possible way to express the nation is writing about it, as Homi Bhabha says. The production of discourses and their constant interaction contributes to "cognitive and emotional acts of commemoration" that help to memorise the collective past.[128] On the other hand, newly-created discourses affect the national narrative via a complicated scheme of recipients' responses. This chapter is dedicated to the analysis of the discourses that through its carrier – the novel – have access to the national narrative.

It is the chance to demonstrate a political side of historical novels. Seen in the perspective of fifty years, this genre reveals the swings and shifts that it made – willingly or forcibly – to adjust to the social and political situation. In Ukrainian literature, here belong the novels of Socialist Realism and its derivatives, as well as later texts until Shevchuk authored his famous 'chimerical' novels. It can also be seen how some examples of the historical fiction seemingly leave their own time behind and result in unique and self-standing phenomena in literature and culture (as afore-mentioned Shevchuk's texts do). However, these are breakings signal of the painful awareness of the authors about the current situation. They are also a sign of the real disposition of forces that drive the mass recipients.

In Ukrainian literature, this situation can be explained by the high stability and substantial reach of the Socialist Realist narrative. Implemented in historical novels since its early rise, this type of national story functioned until recently. Moreover, in its mass, it exceeded the production of other types of national stories. It is worth noting that this thesis studies only the novels written in the Soviet Ukraine and its successor, independent Ukraine. Making insights into diasporic

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literature would mean an inquiry about a different community and thus would constitute a separate study.

The Ukrainian community, however, has been a homogenous entity over the past fifty years, which allows this thesis to look into cultural processes that have been running here during this period. Thus, the main question in this chapter is what instruments tie the past and the national narrative.

From the variety of the national narrative's relationship with the past, present, and the future, it becomes clear that the novels cannot be put in strict frameworks of the genre of historical novel, as it is founded on the national narrative of different types. These variations of the national story depend on the discourse that the narrative chooses as dominant in a certain period of time. Not only history constructs the national narrative, but also myth, cultural and collective memories take part in its creation. Thus, it is logical to assume that the involvement with these discourses changes the narrative, and some of their functions become its own. Undoubtedly, this succession in the national story impacts the carriers of the national narrative. Its overall direction predetermines the development of historical fiction.

As a result of these internal changes, associated with the national narrative, historical fiction appears generically diverse, which is characteristic not only for Ukrainian literature. European and American literatures underwent quite a painful process of transformation of historical fiction starting from the 1960s. As a consequence, there emerged the genre of "historiographic metafiction"[129] that connects the past and the present and self-consciously reflects upon its own creation as a text. In Ukrainian literature, the transformations in the field of historical fiction were of a different nature, and their products hardly correspond with the Western novelties in the genre of historical fiction.

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[129]A term by Linda Hutcheon. See her work Linda Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction* (1988; repr., London and New York: Routledge, 2004).

In this chapter, I suggest that the Ukrainian historical novel transformed according to the patterns defined by the national narrative.

3.2. National Narrative in Historical Novels: Channels of Transmission

As this thesis demonstrates, the national narrative consists of motifs. By lapse of time, the structure of the motifs, its order, and meaning were changing. Similarly, the nation elaborated a different perception of the narrative in general and its motifs in particular. The shifts in narrated material are linked to its ideological role for the nation and to the way it elaborates the knowledge about the past. At the beginning of the analysed period, that is, in the post-Stalinist era, history was the only channel that was authorised to define the past. This predisposed the attitude towards it as to knowledge. Historical novels, directly associated with history as knowledge were regarded in the same paradigm of positivistic views on knowledge. In Ukraine, the historical knowledge, which constituted a foundation of the historical novels of Socialist Realism, was undermined together with the foundations of Stalinism. After the victory of Mykyta Khrushchev, the influence and significance of the "cult of personality" was diminished,[130] which led to disappointment in the previously unshakeable idea of the truth that the Party supplied. This change in an official position highlighted the weaknesses in a knowledge-based system of culture and society.

3.2.1. Historical Panorama of the Period: 1950s – 2000s

3.2.1.1. The Domination and Retreat of History in the Post-Stalinist Era

It cannot be said that the death of Stalin immediately affected philosophical backgrounds of fiction. Katerina Clark argues that after it, writers experienced more freedom than before, as the regulations and censorship became less strict. However, the cult of personality did not vanish in general but was replaced, perhaps in a smaller degree, with worshiping another person

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[130]Iaroslav Hrytsak, "Narys istoriï Ukrainy [A Study on Ukrainian History]," accessed June 19, 2014, http://history.franko.lviv.ua/gryc_content.htm.

– Khrushchev. From the first glance, no subsequent change happened, and Socialist Realism as a style in art and literature flourished.[131] Nevertheless, the appointment of Khrushchev as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union positively affected Ukraine. His politics towards his native republic were more liberal and included some elements of *ukraïnizatsiia* (pro-Ukrainian reforms in education and liberal language politics). As a response, Ukrainian *intelligentsia* (intellectuals) allegedly received more freedom of expression. In general, Khrushchev's Thaw (*Vidlyha*) undermined the unifying Stalinist project and raised doubt in the validity of the coherent Soviet system.

Ukrainian historian Hryhorii Kasiianov argues that Khrushchev's Thaw had a critical influence on the *inteligentsiia*. Even for completely loyal members of this class

> *[...] it became clear that even official dogmas had their variations. Obviously, it was of paramount significance that a revision of some elements and instructions of official ideology was commenced by the state's leadership. It not only encouraged the inteligentsia, drilled by the state to obey respective directions, but also liberated spiritual space for the part of the the inteligentsiia, which recognized opportunities for further transformations of the society in as yet insignificant change.[132]*

Similarly to Katerina Clark, Kasiianov acknowledges that "the principle of absolute loyalty towards the state was not called into question."[133] At the same time, he finds that the fall of Stalin's doctrine made a breach in the armour of Soviet ideology.

3.2.1.2. Thaws and Frosts. The Search for Landmarks

The anti-Soviet protests in the republics of the Warsaw Pact[134] and the later intervention of the Soviet troops in Budapest (1956) and Prague (1968) intensified protest sentiments among the

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[131]Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 210–212.

[132]Hryhorii Kasiianov, *Nezhodni: ukraïnska inteligentsiia v rusi oporu 1960-80 rokiv [Dissidents: Ukrainian inteligentsiia in the resistance movement of the 1960-80s]* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1995), 182.
This and other sources in this chapter are translated from Ukrainian by Anna Vitruk unless otherwise indicated.

[133]Ibid., 183.

[134]Signed on the 14th of May 1955, the Warsaw Pact founded the Warsaw Treaty Organization with USSR as its leader and Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Albania as its members.

inteligentsiia. The Soviet Union liberated the countries of Eastern Europe from fascism but imposed immediately its own totalitarian order. It became clear then that no single correct doctrine (*iedino pravil'noie ucheniie*), offered by Soviet propaganda, was viable.[135] The society's avant-garde felt the urge for an alternative interpretation of reality and events.

Nationalization of the history could satisfy the demands of this part of the society. During Khrushchev's rule occasional researches concerning Ukrainian history included insights into the national history. Leonid Brezhnev, his successor, aimed at terminating such liberal lasses-faires. Nevertheless, Ukrainian historians Mykhailo Braichevskyi, Ivan Krypiakevych, Fedir Shevchenko and their students published serious and insightful studies on Ukrainian history, in spite of strict censorship.[136] Another aftermath of Khrushchev's Thaw was the political rehabilitation of banned authors, which conduced distancing from the positivistic paradigm of knowledge. Many forgotten personalities[137] were returned into the discourse of Ukrainian culture. It became a reason for civic movements in 1950s-1960s and the foundation of a cultural renaissance of the 1960s.

These changes in the society left an imprint on the nature of the national narrative, which shifted from the knowledge-based paradigm of history, having no substitute to take history's place. It was clear that the Soviet colonial narrative should be abandoned, and the culture needed to produce a new one. To do that the narrative shrank from a four-motif structure to the story of only one motif. It was based now on the motif of origin mainly, which allowed it to avoid unstable political history and to turn to the history of culture. It was the cultural history that made the narrative enter the paradigm of myth when writers abandoned the vague and dangerous territory of history.

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[135]Kasiianov, *Nezhodni: ukraïnska inteligentsiia v rusi oporu 1960-80 rokiv [Dissidents: Ukrainian inteligentsiia in the resistance movement of the 1960-80s]*, 183.

[136]Iaroslav Isaievych, *Ukraïnske knyhovydannia: vytoky, rozvytok, problemy [Ukrainian publishing: sources, evolution, problems]* (Lviv: Isntytut ukraïnoznavstva im. Krypjakevycha, 2002), 418.

[137]Including Ivan Dniprovskyi, Mykhailo Drai-Khmara, Mykola Kulish, Mykola Zerov, Maik Johansen, Valerian Pidmohylnyi.

3.2.1.3. Post-Independence Times and the Evocation of Memory

After Ukraine gained independence in 1991, different processes broke surface in society and culture. In the Soviet culture, the discourse of heroism displaced traumatic and tragic connotations in national histories.[138] The glory of the Soviet soldiers who freed Eastern Europe of fascism shadowed the suffering of millions of Ukrainians killed by hunger in the Holodomor of 1932-33 or harried to death in concentration camps. After 1991,

> *nationalizing regimes in effect draw upon and bring into the public sphere of the post-colonial present the codes of colonialism to debate and legitimise the reshaping of social and political life and to justify political actions of inclusion and exclusion.*[139]

As Smith, Law, Wilson et al. argue, three processes were required to evoke the codes of colonialism: "de-Sovietisation, the reinventing of boundaries and cultural standardisation."[140] To achieve this, the nation appealed to its most glorious past that was expected to be border-setting. In the Ukrainian case, it is the early 20th century. This space was free from official historical propaganda and, thus, represented a fruitful ground for the start of the nationalisation of history. However, the time of the beginning of the century remained poorly documented for many reasons and existed tentatively in the form of recollections. Therefore, fictional texts written after 1991 draw on memory rather than history.

The next three subchapters problematize the modality of the past and discuss knowledge, myth, and memory in terms of their impact on Ukrainian historical novels. Based on this analysis, it is possible to categorize the novels according to internal processes in society and culture. This will also allow us to elaborate specific concepts to describe the phenomena of Ukrainian literature.

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[138]Iurii Shapoval, ed., *Kultura istorychnoï pamiati: Ievropeiskyi ta ukrajinskyi dosvid [The culture of historical memory: European and Ukrainian experiences]* (Kyiv: IPIEND, 2013), 118.
[139]Graham Smith et al., *Nation-Building in the Post-Soviet Borderlands: The Politics of National Identities* (CambridgeUniversityPress, 1998), 13.
[140]Ibid.

3.2.2. Positivistic Knowledge. The Novel of History

The explanatory power of the national narrative covers most domains of life that concern the nation and the individual's place in the life of the nation. This means that the narrative either penetrates into the most valued repository of socially significant information or takes its form. For classical historical novels, this storage is knowledge, so far as history is perceived as knowledge, historical novels mimic its style to appear veracious. For instance, an analysis of classical Ukrainian historical novels of the middle of the century demonstrates their ability to substitute or mimic the knowledge as an institution and become a means to carry information. The objectivity of these historical novels reminds one of a scientific inquiry, which is reflected in the linear and monodirectional space structure of the narrative.

This direction of the narrative was determined by one side of history that was approved and coordinated by the ruling informational discourse. As the image of every historical personage and the interpretation of every historical event were strictly regulated, it was mirrored in every point of the discourse of history. Therefore, this project of history as controlled past was far away from Michel Foucault's version of knowledge as a discourse and reminded more of Karl Popper's understanding of knowledge as a justified belief. And as we mention the component of belief, the figure of the recipient assumes enormous significance, as it reflects the very possibility of such justification and determines a direction of the belief. Following the recipient of historical novels, we soon discover that the methods of such justification do not always lie in an objective sphere. With regard to the nation, it can be emotional and affective justification. James Wertsch argues that once the narrative is adopted, it is strongly defended by members of a "mnemonic community:"

> *The claim that a national narrative template belongs exclusively to one group is tied to the second assumption that no alternative or challenger is allowable, or even imaginable. Once a narrative template is embraced by a mnemonic community, the idea that there might be legitimate alternatives,*

> *especially alternatives suggested by someone outside the group, is likely to*
> *be dismissed as heresy.[141]*

So, in this case, the national narrative is a story that supports official knowledge. It obeys an official paradigm and acknowledges its own derivative nature.

3.2.3. Remembering and Forgetting in the Myth. The novels of culture

As it was demonstrated earlier, the knowledge, prevailing in the national narrative, tilts over to an imperial side. Here, while knowledge is proclaimed to be objective, it is still controlled by the dominating side. In this subordinated knowledge, one can find only one perspective of the history, for example. This description exactly corresponds to the situation in Ukrainian literature of the middle of the 20th century. Here historical discourse of the 20th century tended to be knowledge-oriented. However, this situation was slowly changing. In the 1960s, one can notice the emergence of a completely different type of text, describing the historical past, i.e. the 'chimerical novel'. This subgenre does not necessarily involve historical reference; but when its story is grounded in the past, its nature is mythical. Factual material is not placed in the centre of the chimerical novels of Valerii Shevchuk, though they rely on the past. Shevchuk left the limiting paradigm of concrete knowledge and leant to towards discursive knowledge. For this purpose, he bases his texts more on the cultural past the on historical.

Shevchuk specifically centres his novels on the medieval and baroque epochs. At that time, these cultural strata of Ukrainian culture were almost relegated to oblivion or deprived of the recognition as belonging primarily to the Ukrainian culture. Such texts of Shevchuk's as *Na poli smyrennomu* (On a humble field, 1983), *Try lystky za viknom*[142] (Three leaves in the window, 1986) demonstrate the cultural side of the Ukrainian Baroque. In his writing, the author immerses the reader into the myths of medieval and baroque times and refers to the spaces of ancient monasteries and the lives of their inhabitants; to the life of mid-17 century

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[141]Wertsch, "Deep Memory and Narrative Templates: Conservative Forces in Collective Memory," 182.

[142]Although the literal translation of the name "*Try lystky za viknom*" would be "Three leaves *behind* the window," I suggest to use the preposition "*in*" for the sake of aesthetical attractiveness of the name of the novel.

towns and villages. In his later novels, Shevchuk is much more abstract in the expression of geographical and temporal coordinates of his characters. So, these texts represent an intellectual challenge for an unprepared reader. In *Temna muzyka soson* (The dark music of pines, 1999), *Sribne moloko (*Silver Milk, 2002), *Oko prirvy* (Eye of the Abyss,1996), the main characters are anonymous monks, who, as the readers should guess, live in the times when hermits wandered around the Ukrainian lands. In all HIS novels historical characters act as fictional personages, however. In *The Dark Music of Pines*, it is archimandrite Stephan Martyshkevych-Busins'ky.[143] In *Eye of the Abyss,* it is the narrator, calligrapher, and illuminator of the legendary Gospel of Peresopnytsia (1556-1561),[144] Mykhailo Vasylevych.[145] The cultural position of the regular clergy was special, not to say privileged, as the monks, both wandering and living in monasteries, constituted the most educated class of the 16th and 17th centuries. The characters of these abstract members of the clergy merely hinted at historical events or facts that were happening at that time. Shevchuk in his novels focuses more on them as mythical figures, on monasteries as mythical spaces, and on the baroque period as a myth-creating time, an epoch that will create *Ukrainian* myths.

Shevchuk seemingly neglects the national narrative in the was it is presented by Petro Panch and Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi. His heroes are neither noble nor empowered, which does not secure them a place in the Ukrainian pantheon, and does not provide a powerful reference to respective historical events; very often they are not real historical personages. However, does this make a political and ideological statements in Shevchuk's texts impossible? I think that it does not, as Shevhcuk deliberately ignores the narrative based on knowledge, i.e. the colonial narrative. At the same time, his novels are the place for experiments with new forms of the expression of the

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[143]Stephanus Martyszkiewicz-Busiński (1630-1697), archimandrita OSBM annis 1679-1686.

[144]For more information about the origin and significance of this source see Inna Chepiha, ed., *Peresopnytske Yevanheliie 1556-1561. Doslidzhennia. Transliterovanyi tekst. Slovopokazhchyk [The Gospel of Peresopnytsia, 1556-1561. Research. Transliterated text. Index]* (Kyiv, 2001).

[145] A monk of Peresopnytsia monastery, Mykhailo Vasyliovych, the son of Archpriest Sanotskyi, was the author of the art work that decorates The Gospel of Peresopnytsia. See Svitlana Kobets, "Quest for Selfhood and Dystopiain Valerii Shevchuk's Eye of the Abyss," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 48, no. 1–2 (March 1, 2006): 3, doi:10.1080/00085006.2006.11092399.

narrative. For Shevchuk, the axiological priorities shift, and he does not feel the urge to be historically accurate (although as a well-known scholar of medieval and baroque Ukrainian literature, he is an expert in this field). Rather, he needs to explore the cultural strata of the time, and the panoramic pictures of baroque life, literature, and time. As he places his characters rather in the sphere of culture than in history, they naturally appear somewhat distorted and grotesque.

What do the novels of this author abound in is only the common Ukrainian past. It cannot even be called history, as it indeed lacks factuality. It does, nevertheless, revolve around an alternative version of the national narrative by appealing to *the topic of origins*. By romanticizing and mythologizing the baroque space and time, Shevchuk's novels invade and make use of a cultural territory that until that time was not under the influence of Ukrainian discourse. With baroque time and its characters, topology, and cultural space, charged with mythology, Shevchuk made it possible to deviate from the secondary and colonial part of the Ukrainian national narrative. His stories still describe failing and disrupted lands of Ukraine; his personages are sometimes pathetically regular and broken. However, Shevchuk does not emphasize their helplessness, misery, and inability to transform their historical situation for their own benefit; moreover, the author somehow pities and grants them indulgence and mercy. As a result, the regret and bitterness of the previous authors of the historical novels is replaced with irony.

In their abstractionism, Shevchuk's texts are to some extent oblivious towards history. In their particular way they have displaced the knowledge as the only justification of historical truth and introduced the myth as a more capacious bearer of historical information and a more efficient transmitting instrument of such information. However, this phase in the development of the Ukrainian historical novels has changed into a more concrete-oriented narrative. In some sense, mythical narrative of the 1960s prepared the turf for more precise and scrupulous investigation of the past. Apart from historical fiction, Shevchuk also wrote novels on

contemporary material. However, here he does not draw back from his baroque experiments. Instead, the author brings historical entourage into modern stories. His style is called "chimerical" and marked with baroque-like antinomies, mysticism, etc. These experiments are significant not only in stylistic sense. As such they form a single mythical space intertwining the narrative of the past with modern reality.

This stage represents a turning point from a purely colonial to a postcolonial national narrative. It becomes possible owing to specific border-setting techniques between the empire and the colony. In the case of Ukrainian narrative, these limits were located within the reach of the myth. Connecting authentic Ukrainian historical experience to modernity, Shevchuk's novels in their partial historical oblivion clear up the discursive space occupied by the colonial narrative. That is, his novels produce an isolated authentic space, which, in fact, becomes the space of the nation. In Homi Bhabha's terms, it can be said that the novels of Valerii Shevchuk prepared a continuous space of the pedagogical, which find itself in the "Tradition" of the people.[146]

However, the pedagogical cannot maintain a full-fledged national existence. The sign of the nation requires not only a stability of the performative but also constant displacing abilities of the performative. The following subchapter is dedicated to the search of the performative for the Ukrainian national narrative in the late 20th century.

3.2.4. Memory. The novels of Commemoration and Forgetting

In this thesis, I elaborate an approach that allows to observe the escape from Socialist Realist, i.e. colonial, ideology and aesthetics. I do not think, however, that the development of the national narrative in Ukrainian literature is always a progression, and the next type of historical novels that I will examine, the texts written after 1991, confirms this hypothesis. The novels of Oksana Zabuzhko, Iurii Andrukhovych, and Iurii Vynnychuk belong to this category. With

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[146]Homi K. Bhabha, *Nation&Narration* (Routledge, 2013), 299.

more or less success, these authors try to distance themselves from the paradigm of Socialist Realism that they remember too well. Zabuzhko invokes the discourse of feminism that was not widely adopted in Ukrainian realities. Andrukhovych employs the strategy of postmodern game, irony, and intertextuality. Finally, Iurii Vynnychuk bases his historical texts on parody and irony. He is the closest to the decolonisation of Ukrainian narrative, as in his latest novel *Tango smerti* (The tango of death, 2012), the national narrative appears in much the mildest and least aggressive form of all mentioned authors. However, in the latest novel of Oksana Zabuzhko, *Muzei pokynutykh sekretiv* (The museum of abandoned secrets, 2009), one can feel a strong stream of the national narrative. It is a very distinct nationalistic story that attempts to balance itself on the universal themes of love, life, and death, which is not always successful. This story also tries to present itself as a consolidating narrative for a divided nation, which I will discuss later in the respective chapter. Here I will give a brief overview of how the novels of memory appeared in Ukrainian literature.

In the analysis of the national narrative, I start with the novels of Socialist Realism and move to the chimerical novels of Valerii Shevchuk that represent a new stage in the narrative's development. However, it is worth mentioning that the novels of the old type do not cease to exist in the discourse the of historical fiction. The development of historical fiction demonstrates that it withdraws into the mythical space where the add-ins of the colonial era – the legacy of Socialist Realism –are relegated to oblivion. Safe and natural, this mythical space could not effectively perform the functions of the national narrative. As I will demonstrate later, this space did not provide the national story with enough narrativity, which, as a result, was too complicated to extract. It was essential as a transitional stage between the colonial and postcolonial types of the national narrative; however, it was not effective enough, and, with the course of time, it lost its actuality.

The next type of fiction is contradictory. At first, it appeared as a positive shift in the development of the national narrative, as it seemed to lay the foundation of the full-fledged

supply of historical material to the national narrative. Thus it would establish a counter-narrative to the Socialist Realist type of national story. In terms of Homi Bhabha, this process would represent a continuous displacement of new facts, events, and their interpretations into the established narrative, that is the stable stream of 'pedagogical' would be enriched with 'performative'.

In the case of the Ukrainian nation, this displacement turns into an absolute quest for the 'performative'. During the Soviet rule, strict censorship prevented most events of Ukrainian history, associated purely with the Ukrainian people, to be included into the historical discourse. Most others were severely misinterpreted. Nevertheless, after gaining independence, Ukraine received a certain degree of freedom to recollect the strata of the past that are important on the national scale. The vacated space within the borders of the cultural myth was filled with these particular recollections.

It was still important for the narrative to deliver information about the nation to the members of the community. In the previous type of historical fiction, this function was performed by myth that was integrated into the text. It engaged the readers to participate in the narrative on an emotional basis; however, it was not able anymore to cope with this task by itself. Its mission was complicated by different political and ideological situations which produced new historical information to be processed. And since Ukrainian independence in 1991, this information was also required to support a new formation on an ideological level. The historically oblivious narrative of Valerii Shevchuk was ineffective in this sense.

It should also be mentioned that gaining independence released new historical evidence that was banned in the Soviet time. This information immediately provoked broad discussions in the society and, thus, required a proper incorporation into the historical discourse. The most controversial points here belonged to the time of the beginning of the 20th century and included the events of World War II. Previously they were used mostly as Soviet propaganda to underline

the common contribution of the Soviet people to the victory.[147] To overcome ideologically engaged messages, one had to omit official sources of historical information like historical researches and other institutions. Instead, most references represented oral history, i.e. testimonies of witnesses, their memoirs, and diaries. Official version of these events did not exist at the time.

Before the official historical narrative was created, memories took the role of a filling material for the ahistorical and mythical narrative of Shevchuk's type of writing. As a "storage system for the social order,"[148] public memory replaced official knowledge about the past. This allowed the recollection to perform a function similar to that of the knowledge in the novels of Socialist Realism. Being selective in its storage capacity,[149] the public memory serves a single track of the national narrative. The memory does develop further the Ukrainian national narrative. In terms of a coherent story, it brings a new motif – of an accordance and harmony in the diverse and multicultural community. The line of the narrative, having stopped with the motif of the origin in the novels of the previous type, resumes with a new storyline.

Behind this turn lies a drawback to positions where the nation found itself on the verge of an anti-colonial impulse. The first one occurred in the beginning of the 20th century. Then for a short period of time, the Ukrainian nation received its first state in many centuries. Within two years, the *Tsentral'na Rada* (Central Council) was displaced by the Hetmanate of Ukraine and then by the Directorate of Ukraine. Because these regimes were highly instable and contradictory, their stories do not fulfil the requirements to become a part of the new national narrative. Though formally independent, Ukraine was being torn by civil war, which eventually led to it being conquered by the Bolsheviks. Had this story been incorporated more actively into the Ukrainian nation, it would only enforce the motif of the internal quarrels, previously utilized in the colonial narrative. Instead, this story was subjected to relative oblivion. The next

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[147]It can be seen in various scientific records of World War II, in official mass media, and historical novels.
[148]Douglas, *How Institutions Think*, 69–70.
[149]Ibid., 70.

occasion to demonstrate a similar impulse of national renaissance recurred during the World War II. At that time, Ukrainian partisan forces struggled both against the fascist and Soviet occupation. This period of history is more eagerly interpreted in fictional texts.

This point is so actively exploited because of its strategic identity-transforming potential. First of all, it goes back to the time when Ukraine acquired its current territorial boundaries. According to Anthony Smith, nation should have a designated historical territory, a "homeland." Shared, it becomes one of the platforms (along with "mass, public culture; a single economy; and common rights and duties for all members"[150]) to serve as a basis for the unity of the nation. Secondly, as far as the issue of Ukrainians is concerned, fighting against the Red Army during World War II is still controversially painful for a segment of Ukrainians, its interpretation in fictional texts helping to partially resolve this problematic point by discussion. Thirdly, the time of World War II is easily accessible to memory. Less prescribed institutionally than knowledge, memory gives space for uniting and consolidating impulses inside the nation. Of course, national narrative functionally is different from cultural memory. As Jan Assmann explains, the national narrative provides a single story to give a community core ideas about its past and present.[151] The narrative itself becomes a repository of highly filtrated memories. Due to such a high concentration of information, the national narrative is more intensive and endurable then memory.

However, to incorporate the memories of World War II into Ukrainian national narrative, it was necessary to reassess the role of these events specifically for the Ukrainian nation. Since they were part of the imperial narrative, they bore a different type of ideological constants, essential for the Soviet nation. Therefore, it is not *their* memories that have to be incorporated into the Ukrainian national narrative, but a reconstructed *counter-memory*. Michel Foucault puts it into the framework of the "historical sense," which is to confirm "our existence among countless

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[150]Smith, *The Nation in History*, 26.
[151]Cited in Wertsch, "Deep Memory and Narrative Templates: Conservative Forcesin Collective Memory," 174.

lost events, without a landmark or a point of reference." In the abyss of the events, one cannot differentiate the most important of them; instead, events are to be left in a chaotic state, as even the historical beginning of things does not stand for "the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissention of other things."[152] The inclusion of the World War II memories into the Ukrainian context signifies the advent of the counter-memory, as a conglomerate of alternative recollections was formed instead of the Soviet complex of memories.

This complex gave rise to fictional texts that represent the next step in the development of the Ukrainian historical novels. The texts of Iurii Vynnychuk and Oksana Zabuzhko became a platform for the counter-memory of World War II. These novels give new interpretation of the events. From the Russian perspective, the War was incorporated into the official institutions, including history, education, etc. With the Ukrainian narrativization, there was a lot of controversial purely Ukrainian historical material to incorporate into the narrative. For instance, among others, the novel of Oksana Zabuzhko tells the story of a woman who became a part of a partisan movement in Western Ukraine. The heroine is rather typical for Zabuzhko's texts and fits Maxim Tarnawsky description of her female characters. He writes that

> *Zabuzhko's heroines are extremely self-centered and racked with angst.*
> *Whether it be playing tennis or attending a school reunion, they can never*
> *connect with the "other" because there is no "other" in their world, only a*
> *reflection of themselves in the eyes of another. Sometimes it is not even a*
> *reflection that Zabuzhko's protagonist sees, but quite literally her own self*
> *on the television screen.[153]*

This observation, too, is rooted in the national narrative that Zabuzhko employs in her novels. It is connected to a completely different manner of the expression of the narrative story, which is caused by the extensive use of memory. Unlike myth, memory in Zabuzhko's texts seeks for

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[152]Michel Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Cornell University Press, 1977), 142.

[153]Maxim Tarnawsky, "Images of Bonding and Social Decay in Contemporary Ukrainian Prose," in *Contemporary Ukraine on the Cultural Map of Europe*, ed. Larissa M. L. Zaleska Onyshkevych and Maria G. Rewakowiz (Armonk, NewYork: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 2009), 265.

the material expression, and she allows it to be expressed through the materiality of the body. Hence the extensive corporeality of Zabuzhko's texts. And yet, this corporeality does not produce a single image of the body. So, I will even go further than Tarnawsky to claim that Zabuzhko's heroines are deprived of their bodies as well, not only the "other." This problem will be discussed in more detail in the respective chapter dedicated to *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets.*

National narrative coexists in one field of cultural, ideological, and political production, which Michel de Certeau calls "a cultural system,"[154] with other phenomena that are influential in the discourse of nation, which are knowledge, memory, and myth.

> *The event can change it* [a cultural system – AV]*, thus calling for the readjustment of cultural representations and social institutions. In knowledge, it will be translated either by a refusal – but so too new and concealed role hereafter assigned to conceptions that have become archaic – or by a displacement that is explained by the appearance of theories corresponding to a different cultural experience.*[155]

Separated from the narrative of the metropolis narrative, a nation makes its way to its own story. Its elements were concealed behind and intertwined with the story of the dominating nation so closely that it is often hard to discriminate extraneous details. However, the narrative itself tends to keep its solid form and is hard to dismantle; rather it is often subjected to various transformations. Disseminated particles of the national story can be traced and found in verbal means of communication like historical novels. Studied within the field of historical novels, knowledge, myth, and memory represent the intellectual tools capable of mapping out the phenomenon, correspondent to the changes in the society.

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[154]Michel de Certeau, *Culture in the Plural* (University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 90.
[155]Ibid.

The historical novels reflect a connection between changes in the status of the nation and their fictional representation. In this sense, the category of the historical sense, introduced by Michel Foucault in his essay "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," provides us with three uses of history.

> *The historical sense gives rise to three uses that oppose and correspond to the three Platonic modalities of history. The first is parodic, directed against reality, and opposes the theme of history as reminiscence or recognition; the second is dissociative, directed against identity, and opposes history given as continuity or representative of a tradition; the third is sacrificial, directed against truth, and opposes history as knowledge. They imply a use of history that serves its connection to memory, its metaphysical and anthropological model, and constructs a counter-memory – a transformation of history into a totally different form of time.*[156]

This genealogical perspective correlates with the phases of historical novels' development, described in the previous subchapters. I have started with the analysis of the fictional texts of the colonial paradigm. They represent a field which corresponds with "historical" perception of the past as opposed to the genealogical; whereas two following types of fictional historical texts introduce the historical sense into the fiction. The novels with the mythical basis are "parodically" charged. Owing to their ironical intentions, these texts oppose the realistic and positivistic intentions of the previous type of the historical novels. They reject simple representation of the past and immerse into interpretations of the cultural heritage, more than of the politically related events. The next use of history – "dissociative" – is represented by the novels of memory, as they form a new paradigm of the identity by elaborating the postcolonial branch of the Ukrainian narrative. As Foucault describes the third use of history, one can assume it should be represented in the fiction. Yet, according to my observations, Ukrainian literature still does not have the "sacrificial" analogue of Foucault's genealogical conception. This only means that the Ukrainian national narrative is still in the process of its construction.

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[156]Foucault, *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, 162.

Yet, it is worth mentioning again that the Ukrainian narrative has been successfully established as a separate unit. Its narrative power – an ability to explain the world through the paradigm of the nation – is constantly enriched with new interpretations of the past which add to the transitional process from the colonial to postcolonial state of the nation. The analysis of the stages of its elaboration merely confirms the assumption that there is one coherent narrative for each single nation.

As far as this research studies national narrative of a similar transitional period, I will often appeal to its characteristics. So far, basing on the works of Jan Assmann and James Wertsch, I have elaborated the following definition of this phenomenon.

National narrative is a coherent story which continuously and actively circulates among the members of a nation. It explains the principal events in the past of the nation, provides an interpretation of its current life and presupposes the future patterns of behavior. Functioning as a grounding platform for identification and border-setting practices, national narrative represents one of the main referential points for the members of the nation. National narrative is distributed via such cultural, political, educational institutions as art, literature, memorial practices, etc.

The national narrative can be regarded in the paradigms of knowledge, myth, and memory as it stands on their functions and depends on the material they provide. I have already pointed out some of the narrative's main characteristics in terms of the nation.

To estimate the formal narrative potential, I will regard the national narrative as a *syuzhet* using this term in Aleksandr Veselovskii's and Vladimir Propp's sense. For the former, it is a complex category, consisting of a number of motifs, which he considers basic elements of the syuzhet. He thoroughly examines a number of principal motifs in different national literatures, taking myths, fairy tales, and other folklore genres as his material.

> *Saying motif I mean the formula which was either answering the questions that nature was asking at the dawn of society or fixing the most bright, important, or repetitive visions of reality. The sign of the motif is its monotonous one folded schematism; these are unbreakable elements of the lower mythology and fairy tales: the sun was stolen (eclipse); a bird brings the thunder-fire from the sky. Syuzhets are complex schemes; in their imagery, familiar acts of human life and psyche were generalized in alternate forms of mundane reality.[157]*

Grounding his study of poetics on the analysis of motifs, Veselovskii examines more a topical level of literature. Propp instead gives evidence that motifs consist of smaller components, which he does not name and is not logically complete. This approach is related to the school of Russian formalists, as it underlines formal characteristics of textual elements and aims at elaborating conceptions and notions which would work for most of the fictional texts. Analyzing fairy tales, Propp argues that personalized motifs, described by Veselovskii, act under the semblance of more general categories, i.e. functions.

> *Functions of personages represent the components, which can replace Veselovskii's motifs or Bedier's elements. It should be said that the historians of religion long ago noted repetitive **functions** [my emphasis - AV] in actions of different performers which the historians of fairy tales missed. In the same way as abilities and functions of gods descend from ones to the others and, at last, even are transferred onto Christian saints, the functions of fairy-tale personages to the other personages. [...] it can be said that functions, unlike personages, are small in numbers. This can explain a twofold status of the fairy tale: on the one hand, it is amazingly multifarious, exuberant, and colourful and stunningly repetitive.[158]*

In this thesis, I will not concentrate on the functional load of motifs, as to do this a more comparative analysis of some literatures is necessary. My aim here is to study the motifs, used in the Ukrainian historical novels, that constitute the *syuzhet* of the national narrative. In this

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[157]Aleksandr Veselovskii, *Istoricheskaia poetika [The historical poetics]* (Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaiia Literatura, 1940), 495.

[158]Vladimir Propp, *Morfologiia volshebnoi skazki [The morphology of fairytale]* (1928; repr., Moscow: Labirint, 2001), 21.

sense, my study explores a topical level of the historical novels. This component of the research will analyse the novels from a formal perspective, whereas the ideological component of the historical novels will be examined in the next chapter.

3.4. Generic Transformations. Classical Historical Novel, Historical Romance, Historiographic Metafiction

Having viewed a brief panorama of the processes that prevailed in the literature of the 1950s-2000s in Ukraine, it is easier to understand what changes all those shifts in the perception of the past provoked in the historical novel as a genre. In the next section of the chapter, I will propose a classification of Ukrainian historical fiction of the above mentioned period. Such a classification has been a stumbling block for numerous scholars, and the attempts to categorise historical novels according to the chronological principle did not lead to any significant results. Instead, I offer a typology that is based on the transformations in society and culture that I described above.

The connection to the national narrative alone justifies and reinforces the theoretical strength of such classification. Also, it provides an understanding of why I examine such different texts in one research. Later in the thesis, I will show the development of the national narrative and its transformations reflected the alterations of the genre. The changes in the structure of the narrative and the composition of its motifs correspond in time to the modifications of the historical novel. That is, every new type of the genre has a different (or a similar to the previous one) set of motifs. Such an approach to the classification of fiction brings clarity into the notion of the historical novel and allows us to see its inevitable transformations as part of a single process.

3.4.1. Four Types of Historical Fiction

This classification is mostly a product of the postcolonial approach to literary theory, as the current idea of historical novels is determined by definitions and generic canon that comes mostly from the Soviet literary theory. Despite that**,** in the Ukrainian scholarly tradition numerous theoretical studies tackled the problem of the historical novel, I think that the latest relevant research belongs to Mykola Il'nyts'kyi (1989).[159] Although it is still based on the Socialist Realist understanding of history as knowledge and determines historical accuracy as the key characteristic of the historical novel, Il'nyts'kyi's research includes the texts of Valerii Shevchuk, Lina Kostenko and other representative of the *shistdesiatnyky* (the generation of the 60s) movement. Their alternative approach to historical fiction forced Ilnytsky to reconsider the generic characteristic of the historical novel. Later attempts to do the same and include contemporary fiction into the canon of the genre turned into gradual adaptation of English-language terminology to Ukrainian realities, which I consider inappropriate.

The attempt to classify historical fiction presented in this chapter elaborates an approach that will represent a unique situation in Ukrainian literature. Firstly, on a provisional basis, I divide all the fictional texts describing the past into four groups. The first group that contains 'the novels of history' relatively coincides with the notion of classical historical novels, which I will define later in this section. The second group is formed by the texts that I consider a part of the novels of history – 'historical romance'. These novels interpret the past similarly to the novels of history. The third group includes 'novels of culture' that are directly connected to the past through cultural concepts and paradigms. The fourth type of the novels dealing with the past I suggest to term as 'novels of memory'. They are few in numbers in the Ukrainian literature, but nevertheless, they are important in terms of presenting the full range of the texts operating with the past. So far, this classification gives all reasons to regard historical novels as rather diverse. They have more dissimilarities than common features, and the only common feature of these

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[159]Mykola Il'nyts'kyi, *Liudyna v istorii: Suchasnyi ukraïnskyi istorychnyi roman [The individual in history: Contemporary Ukrainian historical novel]* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1989).

texts is their reference to the past. Otherwise, the novels operate with different instruments to incorporate historical material into the fictional text. Moreover, historical novels have very dissimilar means of communication with the readers. All four groups of the novels will be described and defined in the following subsections of this chapter.

Despite all the arguments, all four groups of texts are of considerable importance for this research. Dealing with the past makes them an important communication platform that transmits ideological views and positions to the readers. These ideological statuses address national issues that allow them to become a part of the nation narration process. Moreover, since the time-frame of my research includes the late 20th century, the transformation of fictional historical texts that took place at that time left canonical historical novels on the margins of literary process. Instead, new genres and modifications have taken its place, which made defining of the genre a true challenge. However, to ignore the recent modifications of historical fiction would make the research on conveying the national message via historical fiction highly incomplete.

3.4.2. The Novels of History

The first group is represented by the 'novels of history'. I introduce this term intentionally to discern these novels from 'historical novels'. The two names signify a similar phenomenon in the fiction. However, I will use the name the 'novels of history' to denote the historical novels of the specific period of time, that is, of the late 20th century. The notion 'historical novel' has very direct connotations in literary theory and describes a particular type of fictional texts. It does not signify any particular genre; instead, I use it to name a group of texts that belong to a larger entity of all the texts that deal with the past. I use it to underline that these novels incorporate history in their fictional canvas. Later, this will allow me to place these texts in the paradigm of one classification with other types of historical fiction.

Similarly to historical novels, the novels of history have quite distinctive formal characteristics, which they share. To define historical novels and the novels of history, I will use Avrom

Fleishman's description of historical novels. As for the formal characteristics, I do not make any distinction between the novels of history and the historical novels, as the former adhere to canonical 'rules' of writing a historical novel. Following Avrom Fleischman, I discern three of them. Fleischman offers the definition of historical novel as a genre that should 1) contain a series of historical events, important for the public sphere (war, political, economical changes, etc.) and connected to the lives of characters; 2) ensure the events of the novel happened 40 to 60 years ago or are out of the reach of memory for current and preceding generations; 3) have at least one 'real' character.[160]

The novels of history interpret history as a univocal dimension that can be secured and reproduced. These texts are meant to introduce the interpretation of certain historical events to a broader audience. Similarly to them, the novels of history regard the past as mere history, secured ideologically, textually, and discursively. These texts function in ensemble with history, existing in the same discourse of knowledge. In Ukrainian literature they are represented by the novels of Petro Panch, Semen Skliarenko, Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, Oles Honchar and others. Their texts give new rise to the discussion of the notions of 'fictional' and 'factual'. The novels of history lay claim to being objective in their representation of past events. They are disguised as documental texts in their function. Moreover, their narrative has to be based on facts, which should correspond with the history that was taught at schools, narrated in textbooks, and spread via historical monographs.

Despite all its claims, the novel of history is the interpretation of historical events. However, in general, it is not perceived as such. The authors conceal the depth of such interpretation, whereas the readers tend to ignore it. The former here lay claim to the objectivity of the highest possible level; the latter in their turn acknowledge the writer's right for such objectivity.

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[160]Avrom Fleishman, *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf* (JHU Press, 1972), 227.

In general, this connection of the reader and the author is an inevitable part of every novel. It represents an element of a make-believe game that is necessary to build the reader's trust to the text. Under such condition**S**, the reader enters a textual world and accepts the rules of the game. I specifically pay attention to this interaction in historical fiction, as for other kinds of fictional texts the ideological after-effects are much less far-reaching, whereas the historical fiction uses this game to involve individuals into historical context and to actualize their national consciousness and conscious attitude towards the national past.

3.4.3. Ukrainian Historical Romance

I will call the second group of historical fiction 'historical romance'. It is quite a monolithic unit. The reason probably lies in very similar objectives that each of these texts pursues: they mostly seek to entertain the reader. I should mention here that this type of historical fiction substantially differs from what comes under the name of 'historical romance' in Anglo-American academic tradition. The difference lies in ideological load that the historical romance in Ukrainian tradition still holds. Meanwhile, as Helen Hughes characterises historical romance, she specifically underlines its entertaining features:

> *Historical romance thus provides a useful subject for the study of the ways in which an artificial 'past' can gain 'mythical' significance, confirming attitudes or highlighting fears and hopes which arise from the nature of contemporary society.*[161]

The Anglo-American historical romance uses the past mostly as "as an exotic setting to add to the 'escape' value of their stories; but it also functions as a mirror for the present."[162]And yet, its last function is mostly secondary. Although it reflects the tendency to connect the present to the past, this process differs from the similar one in the novels of history. In Anglo-American historical romances, even the connection to the present serves as the simplifier of emotional communication with the reader. That means that it bears little conceptual, paradigmatic load.

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[161]HelenHughes, *TheHistoricalRomance* (Routledge, 2003), 1.
[162]Ibid., 5.

The situation with Ukrainian historical romance is quite different. Comparing to the Anglo-American historical romance, it is distinguished by several vectors of informational messages. It is worth describing a common scheme. Considering the specific context of Ukrainian history, including a longstanding liberation struggle and prevailing 'revolutionary' themes, Ukrainian historical fiction of any type cannot be narrowed down to the kitschy imitation of past epochs. I suppose that one of its major tasks is to shape the identity of a community, and it is even more effective, considering that the reach of audience of the Ukrainian historical romance is quite broad.

Comparing Ukrainian historical romance with the novels of history, one can find both substantial similarities and differences. As in the case of the novels of history, the reader trusts the information, encoded in the historical romance, mostly because it is still misleadingly called 'historical novel'. Its generic characteristics justify this trust. Despite the possible inaccuracies in the texts and their belletrist nature, they are focused on the past and urge to accurately represent it. This may appear paradoxical. The answer, however, lies in the nature of these details, as the specifications of the historical romance is not identical to that of the novels of history, the redundant realism of which serves to make its readers interested and to give them a chance to imagine themselves in a different epoch. This intention has nothing in common with documentalistic ambitions of the authors of the novels of history, as they focus their attention on the past, not on readers and their reception of texts. Thus, the historical romance approaches the past with the same set of instruments as the novel of history. They differ merely in terms of their aims and their attitude towards the final product, i.e. the novel.

Because of its place inside the documentalistic paradigm, I tend to include both the novels of history and the Ukrainian historical romance into one group of the texts. However, the products we get in the end are so dissimilar that one often fails to acknowledge the similitude of their approaches to the past. At the same time, historical events of greater importance can be interpreted by the author according to their ideological position. Interpretation of historical facts

takes place in the Ukrainian historical romance on the level of the plot, where even more characters (comparing to the novels of history) are fictional. Owing to this, the historical romance distances itself from the novels of history and approaches two other groups of historical fiction – the novels of culture and the novels of memory.

For the next two types of historical fiction, the notion of the interpretation of the past is one of the central issues. Obviously, it is reflected in their genre status, as in most cases they are not listed as historical novels. Considering the genre as an entity, we will conclude that inconsequent aberrations that don't fall into the canonical idea of the historical novels shake the readers' confidence in a text's generic nature. The more substantial these aberrations are, the less willingly the readers will acknowledge the right of a text to be called the 'historical novel'. As I show earlier, there is importance in such a convention for the existence of an agreement between the readers and the authors, for its violation leads to a breakdown in the agreement.

Another consequence of such a breakdown is the genre's indispensable loss of legitimacy. Though the main intention to discuss the past is preserved, it loses its status as the major one specifically because of the canon's breakdown. This scheme roughly describes the appearance of genres like the 'historical detective'. Two groups of historical fiction that I will contemplate here are marked with the withdrawal from the discourse of history towards the discourse of the past.

3.4.4. The Novels of Culture

I will refer to the third group of historical fiction as to the 'novels of culture'. This is a conventional term that is supposed to describe the texts connected in any way to the cultural phenomena of the past. The events of these novels take place in the past, sometimes their characters could be historical and the topoi could be real. However, these novels are focused on the respective historical age and its cultural legacy. The topics of these novels concern mostly the personalities of the writers, the life of institutions of the past, and the image of the

epoch itself. In Ukrainian literature, these novels are most fully represented by the texts of Valerii Shevchuk: *On a Humble Field*, *Three Leaves in the Window*, and others

The novels of culture are not concentrated on the description of historical events themselves. In this case, it is not relevant, whether an event did take place in the past. For instance, the novel *On a Humble Field* is based on *The Kyiv-Pechersk Patericon*[163] and represents an interpretation of this medieval text. Even more interesting is the case of the texts *Dark Music of Pines* and *The Silver Milk*. I have already demonstrated in this chapter that historical personages play in Shevchuk's novels the role of a framework, whereas all attention is drawn to the atmosphere of the texts. Gothic and mystical, they reflect the true mysticism and magic of the Ukrainian Baroque. Therefore, it seems that the author wanted to communicate specifically the atmosphere and the discourse of a particular epoch in the past. That is, he wanted to represent some aspects of the monks' lives, determined by the cultural code of that particular time.

This is how history loses its influence in these texts. Its positivistic version, with a set of proved facts and senses, does not have any power here. The discursive power of interpretation partially withdraws its functions explaining discussable phenomena of the past epochs. In this case, the reference to any primary source of cultural origin, such as *The Kyiv-Pechersk Patericon,* is more suitable than to chronicle or annals. Moreover, the influence of the 'scientific knowledge' also loses its influence in these texts, which is the sign of decolonising tendencies in the literature. Throwing off the shackles of canonical history written by representatives of an empire, the authors of the novels of culture delve into the history of their people and nation having ancient texts as primary sources.

Some writers see no potential in the old forms of the historical novel, although they do acknowledge the necessity of discussing the past. It is also true for Valerii Shevchuk, who is not only a writer but also a scholar of the Ukrainian baroque literature and culture. Alternative

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[163]A collection of hagiological stories written and composed by the monks of the Pechersk Monastery (Kyiv) in the 11-13th centuries.

sources that he was able to study, archival texts, different from those prevailing in the historical discourse of other writers, provided him with food for interpretational capacities, embedded in the text itself. The writers of the novels of culture were inspired with the opportunity to distance themselves from well-described facts and to write about the past without adhering to theoretical knowledge about the history.

3.4.5. The Novels of Memory

It is worth acknowledging that the above-mentioned tendency to interpretation in recent forms of historical fiction only gets stronger. Its late variation, dated from the 1960s, demonstrated strong connection to both the past and the present. This type of historical fiction has had different names since it first appeared – fabulation,[164] metafiction,[165] historiographic metafiction,[166] and metahistorical romance.[167] The first two terms describe these texts as a completely different variation of fiction; the last two terms are the fruit of an analysis of the novels' characteristics and are more adequate. Linda Hutcheon, the author of the concept of historiographic metafiction, regards this type of fiction as a milestone and an exponent of postmodernism as a cultural and philosophical movement. Thus, she considers the idea of referentiality a key to the understanding of the nature of these texts. For her, the interaction of historiographic and metafictional components, reflected in the term "historiographic metafiction," makes it impossible to claim their 'authentic' representation or 'unauthentic' copying.[168] Mimetic capacities of postmodern art are not questionable anymore. There are no doubts that diegesis – the narration itself – was separated from the 'life'.[169] It is necessary, then, to inscribe this refined narration, free from real-life references, into a context. In the eyes of

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[164]Robert E. Scholes, *The Fabulators* (Oxford University Press, 1967).
[165]PatriciaWaugh, *Metafiction: TheTheoryandPracticeofSelf-ConsciousFiction* (LondonandNewYork: Routledge, 1984).
[166]Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*.
[167]Amy J. Elias, *Sublime Desire: History and Post-1960s Fiction* (JHU Press, 2001).
[168]Hutcheon, *A Poetics of Postmodernism*, 105–110.
[169]Linda Hutcheon, *Narcissistic Narrative: The Metafictional Paradox* (Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Press, 1980), 49.

Linda Hutcheon, this context is historical. This process of inscription resulted in emergence of historiographic metafiction.

The second notion of metahistorical novel was offered by Amy J. Elias in her study *Sublime Desire: History and Post-1960s Fiction* (2001). She makes an emphasis on metafictionality, achronology, the usage of pop-culture's genres, and carnivalization. She writes that these techniques are used in order to estrange the history and the process of historical writing.[170] The sphere of sheer history, the one with the "factually correct details of the past," does not bother postmodern writers. In their texts, they create their own type of historical narrative and use it to deliver historical information to the reader.

Elias's approach is close to my idea of the past as an alternative to history. She uses the notion of historical sublime to describe the state of postmodern urge for the "Blakean Truth that is Out There" after the fall of the Narrative of the History. "The historical sublime," argues Elias, "is a concept that links a very general definition of the sublime to history itself, an understanding of the far past and how that preceded past is formed, understood, and lived in the present."[171] Such a state is essential for both postmodern historiography and literature which gives reasons for regarding them in a single paradigm.

These two notions – historiographic metafiction and metahistorical romance – though quite elaborated, are less helpful in description of non-metafictional texts. In Ukrainian historiographic fiction, the phenomenon of the metafiction was not developed as actively as in European and American literatures. In Ukrainian literature, the most recent forms of the historical fiction represent more a semantic shift than a formal one. Therefore, my version of the name for the fourth group of the historical fiction is the novels of memory. Whereas both Hutcheon and Elias make efforts to describe a completely new genre, I tend to consider texts

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[170]Elias, *Sublime Desire*, 49.
[171]Elias, *Sublime Desire*, 289.

like *The Tango of Death* (2012) by Iurii Vynnychuk and *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* (2009) by Oksana Zabuzhko as more traditional in their form.

These novels appeal to the recent past, that is, to the times of the Second World War; however, their plot is connected to the present as well. The authors return to their contemporaneity, giving an excursus into historical perspective from time to time and unfolding a complex story of the temporal entwinements. The past described in these texts often lies within the hypothetical reach of the authors' memory. Such temporal instability and proximity to the authors does not allow us to call these novels historical. At the same time, they still deal with the past, which is no less responsible for shaping national narrative than the past of canonical historical novels. It, therefore, provided me with reasons to name this group of texts the novels of memory. This concept allows for the inclusion of the texts dealing with the recent past into the cohort of historical fiction. Sometimes the novels of memory contain merely the inclusions of the past that is revealed at the turns of the plot. One cannot escape the past, but one can try to turn it into a comprehensible story and to make it less traumatic. In the case of Ukrainian literature, these novels are even more important as written after gaining independence and dedicated to traumatic events in Ukrainian (not common Slavic or Soviet) history. All that affords grounds for including the novels of memory as an object of this study.

Returning to the problem of taxonomy, while texts like *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* or *Twelve Hoops* (Iurii Andrukhovych, 2003) could be classified as metafictional, *The Tango of Death* could not. That is why the historiographic metafiction and the novels of memory cannot be equated. They differ mostly in their approaches to the past.

Though the historiographic metafiction mostly consists of the novels of memory, they have substantial disproportions. In the first place, historiographic metafiction often turns to the distant past, which is not visible through the lives of characters. This happens due to the parodically exaggerated split between fiction and reality. I suppose this can be explained by the ability of historiographic metafiction "to situate itself within historical discourse without

surrendering its autonomy as fiction."[172] That is why, on the one hand, the past and the present are connected here rather on a semantic than on a formal level, thus, the link of the past with characters and their lives is not immediately evident. On the other hand, in the novels of memory, the past is explicitly present in the stories of characters. There is no actual parodic distance between the past and the characters. Therefore, the novels of memory differ from the historical metafiction in form but belong to a similar shift in the understanding of the past.

The past in the novels of memory is quite different from the one that other types of historical fiction are based on. It does not depend on the mainstream of canonical history. Even less is it based on the 'common' history, which circulates in the society along with the official history. Decentring impulses in the discourse of history turned the past in these novels into a completely personalised phenomenon. It is the highest possible level of personalization of the history, as the novels of memory are grounded not only on marginalized stories (not histories) about the past but also cease to depend on socially important knowledge.

3.5. Conclusion. The Novels in the Paradigms of the Past

This classification is rather conventional. I stress it specifically that the four groups of the historiographic fiction were singled out on the basis of the perception of the past. To conclude, I will demonstrate how adding this criterion to an analysis changes the paradigm of texts. Two texts of the Ukrainian historiographic fiction that I contemplate here, *The Tango of Death* (2012) by Iuriy Vynnychuk and *The Dome* (1967) by Oles Honchar, are very similar in their construction of textual time. Both novels alternate the stories of the past with references to contemporary events. They both depict cultural phenomena (worldview paradigm in Vynnychuk's novel and architectural piece of art in the case of Honchar), but they can hardly be considered as novels of culture.

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[172]Hutcheon, Linda, "Historiographic Metafiction Parody and the Intertextuality of History," in *Intertextuality and Contemporary American Fiction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 4.

The Tango of Death represents a retrospective journey into the times of World War II, mixing the historical material with mystical and fantastic elements. In this sense, though more idealistic, it is reminiscent of some texts of German writers Elfriede Jelinek and Herta Müller through this mystical line in the narratives. In the meantime, Vynnychuk regards the War as a background for presenting the image of Lviv and the life in the city between the World Wars and before the Soviet annexation. The stories of his main characters – four friends of different ethnic origins – are closely connected to the fate of the city. In fact, they are quite personalistic, that is, not affected by the "official" history.

Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi also writes about the events of World War II, considering them relatively contemporary, whereas the historical part of his novels is placed in 10th century Kyivan Rus'. Intertwining such remote temporal entities, Zahrenel'nyi outlines the purpose of his novel – to concentrate on the image of the Sofiisky Dome,[173] one of the oldest sacral brick dwellings in the Eastern Slavonic world. This architectural monument represents a powerful symbol of Ukrainian national destiny and a crucial identity-building element. Zahrenel'nyi tells the story of a craftsman, and artisan Syvook who painted and ornamented the Dome. The writer inscribes the image of the building into the "contemporary" time, writing about a professor who protects the Dome from being destroyed by the Nazis. In a way, two generational stories are connected in one single narrative of Ukrainian history, represented by St. Sofia Cathedral. This history, though, is not personalized, as in the case of Vynnychuk's novel. The main character of the novel is not a human, but the Dome itself and as such, the whole of Ukrainian history.

At first glance, the novels of both Vynnychuk and Zahrenel'nyi could be qualified as the novels of culture, as they refer mostly to the cultural phenomena. Instead, the personalized past of the former text provides evidence to list it as a novel of memory.

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[173]St. Sofia Cathedral was built in 1037 by the Grand Prince of Kyivan Rus' Yaroslav the Wise. Along with the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, it has been one of the most sacred dwellings for the Ukrainians since the time of its construction. Having been considerably transformed, comparing to the original Yaroslav's Dome, it was preserved during major historical collapses like the Mongol invasion, Soviet occupation, and World Wars.

In a situation where the past is to be considered as a main criterion, we find ourselves in the domain of axiology. Axiological parameters allow us to determine the role of the past in the novel. By axiology I mean the reference to the past as a value and to indicate its realization in the fiction. The four types of historiographic fiction represent the respective strategies of such realization. The novels of history, historical belles-lettres, the novels of culture and memory designate the pivots of axiological implementation of the past in the Ukrainian literature of the late 20th century. Axiological orientation also explains the existence of all the forms of historiographic fiction in one cultural period. It means that along with *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* (the novel of memory) Volodymyr Lys can write *The Century of Iakiv* (2010), Vasyl' Shklyar can create *The Black Crow* (2009), both of which are the novels of history. Back in the 1980s, along with Valerii Shevchuk (the novels of culture), Volodymyr Malyk and Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi wrote novels of history.

Chapter 4. 'Progenitor Narrative', or the Way to Modern Ukrainian National Narrative in Iurii Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*

4.1. Introduction

This chapter logically extends the methodological positions of the previous part of the thesis. As the previous chapter argued, one of the most important tasks of this thesis is the reconstruction of the national story in every period of its development. With this in mind, this section restores the national narrative in Iurii Mushketyk's (1929) historical novel *Haidamaky* (1957). This text, an example of Socialist Realism in Ukrainian literature, is one of the novels that first established and thereafter influenced the development of the national narrative. As the previous chapter suggested, this type of the national narrative became a basis for the narratives of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, Volodymyr Malyk, Valerii Shevchuk, Iuriy Vynnychuk, and Oksana Zabuzhko. It was this Socialist Realist narrative that forced all the above-mentioned authors to elaborate their own view on Ukrainian past, present, and future. This process was slow and painful because it demanded a scrutinous examination of the historical situation and its modifications, and the twists and turns in the writers' imaginations can be traced back to transformations within the narrative.

Even though the novel *Haidamaky* does not represent the most prominent example of Socialist Realist historical fiction (after all, there are texts of Ivan Le and Petro Panch), there were reasons to select it for analysis in this chapter. What makes Mushketyk's novel so special is that it is simultaneously similar and different to the Stalinist historical fiction of the 1930s and 1940s. First, this early post-Stalinist text belonged to a more liberal paradigm than Le's and Panch's novels. It still promoted the values that were dictated by the Communist Party, but unlike earlier historical fiction of the 30s and 40s, it accentuated the class struggle and misfortunes of the lower classes. Again, unlike Panch's *Ukraine Was Humming*, Mushketyk's text focused on the past, but only partially because it made references to the time in which its

writer also lived. It less openly pointed at the ways the misery of the people could be resolved, but instead panoramically describing the disastrous state of their lives. Aside from this, there was no analogy between the novel's historical facts and the socio-political situation in the 1950s (the problem that this chapter will analyse further). Second, the similarity to Stalinist historical fiction[174] is strikingly evident from the very structure of *Haidamaky*. As with earlier Soviet Ukrainian novels, it has a distinctly strict organisation of motifs and images, providing a likeness with the previous incarnation of the national narrative.

There is, however, a side to Mushketyk's work that sets him apart from his counterparts of the period. Mykola Syrotiuk (1915-1984), Vitalii Kulakovs'kyi (1924-1990), and Mykola Hlukhen'kyi (1929-1993) published a number of historical novels in the 1960s-70s, which continued the Socialist Realist line. They presented the same scope of historical events and characters whom they shuffled as they themselves adjusted to the attenuation of the Party and its regulations. Iurii Mushketyk, in contrast, drifted away from the Socialist Realist rhetoric and did it so masterfully that he was published even after the collapse of the Soviet Union (his last novel, *Chas zvira* (The hour of the beast), was published in 2014). Mushketyk's new texts like *Hetmans'kyi skarb* (The treasure of the hetman, 1993), and *Ostanii het'man* (The last hetman, 2010) attempt to detach themselves from texts like *Haidamaky*.

It cannot be said that this makes these novels extremely popular among readers, albeit they attract the attention of researchers. Not repelled by the tiresome historical pessimism, at least two scholars have dedicated their dissertations[175] to Mushketyk's texts only. Numerous articles interpret formal and semantic dominants of his later texts.[176] However, all of them study precise

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[174] Here I use a classification of Socialist Realism, used by numerous researchers who proposed to differentiate the Stalinist (before 1953) and post-Stalinist (after 1953) eras. For example, see Clark, *The Soviet Novel*.
I start the analysis of Ukrainian national narrative with a post-Stalinist historical novel, *Haidamaky* by Iurii Mushketyk, as it belongs to a period when the regulations of the Party were slightly lifted. Thus, *Haidamaky* demonstrates an example of a restricted narrative that, at the same time, is changed compared to the Stalinist texts.
[175] Nataliia Horbach, "Istorychna proza Iuriia Mushketyka [Historical fiction of Iuriy Mushketyk]" (Zaporizhzhia State University, 2002); Liudmyla Romas, "Khydozhnie osmyslennia natsionalnoï svidomosti v istorychnii prozi Iuriia Mushketyka [The artistic interpretation of the national consciousness in historical fiction of Iuriy Mushketyk" (Dnipropetrovs'k State University, 2006).
[176] Tetiana Kononchuk, "Iuriy Mushketyk: Kontsepty khudozhnioï antropolohiï [Iuriy Mushketyk: The concepts of the anthropology of fiction]," *Scientific Works* 141, no. 128 (2010): 48–51; Liudmyla Romas, "Styliovi

traits of Mushketyk's texts that do not explain his evolution as a writer of historical novels over the past fifty years. They do not analyse the essence of the transformation of his views on history, simply implying that it was censorship that made him publish the first Socialist Realist oriented novels. This chapter will demonstrate that without a complex analysis of the national narrative in a broad historical context, it is not possible to fully comprehend his movement towards patriotism.

Instead of concentrating on the differences of the Socialist Realist and 'patriotic' periods of Mushketyk's writing, it is worthwhile looking for their common traits. One of these could be said to be a defeatist ideology. Undoubtedly, with the Realist texts of Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi and Panas Myrnyi, the narrative of defeat was rooted in Ukrainian culture long before the advent of Socialist Realism, which reinforced the potential for lamentation in Ukrainian literature giving rise to its current form. Today texts exist that follow the Soviet rhetoric subconsciously even if the writer describes, for example, UPA activity in Galicia. An overall defeatist direction of the national narrative that started in the novels like *Haidamaky* subdues and undermines all other expressions of the national consciousness. Thus, it is important to understand how and why the national narrative of Socialist Realism started to operate in Ukrainian culture. Iurii Mushketyk's text will serve as an example of this process.

4.2. National Narrative in Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*. The Story of Defeat and Restriction

The national narrative in *Haidamaky* by Iurii Mushketyk is not very difficult to find. It remains on the surface, while strangely captivating its readers. It cannot be said that the novel is particularly appealing because of this; the novel's formal organisation is extremely simple and its language is flat and unoriginal. Throughout the novel, the scarce epithets and metaphors on

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dominanty v zobrazhenni stepu ta rosslynnoi symvoliky v istorychnii prozi Yu. Mushketyka [The dominants of style in the images of stepp and floral symbols in historical fiction of Yu. Mushketyk]," *Ukrainian Sense* 0, no. 1 (2012), http://ukrsense.dp.ua/index.php/USENSE/article/view/40.

offer to the reader are somewhat trite. For example, spring here means a new beginning and symbolises changes. "Warm spring wind, sweet with the odour of young leaves and first flowers, pleasantly tickled the face,"[177] this is almost everything that Mushketyk cares to say about the surroundings of Maksym Zalizniak, the main character in the novel. But he does not really want to describe the spring, instead he underlines the increase in the *haidamaky*'s activity and Maksym's election as an *otaman* (chieftain). A few lines later Mushketyk adds a parallelism to compare Zalizniak with a falcon – an understandable, but unforgivable, banality.

However, as there was nothing more important than the development of the narrative, and language experiments were considered and condemned as formalism, the castrated language of *Haidamaky* is nothing but a device to divert the attention of the reader towards the storyline. Left one-on-one with the bare plot, the reader concentrates on its details, absorbs them and takes the story at face value, and it is this lack of depth that forces the world of the novel to slip from fictional to 'real' – a desirable effect for Socialist Realist fiction. Unlike in the case of non-historical Socialist Realist texts (*kolkhoz* and factory novels), the novels like *Haidamaky* explain the present by using the past and distorted the perception of the past.

4.3. How to Read *Haidamaky*: The Question of the *Fabula*

The narrative of the novel has a particular goal and does not float elusively. It is a regular and realistic story where the mimetic component needs some consideration. Though the text is obviously linear and aimed at one goal, it consists of easily identifiable fragments that correspond with the lives of the main characters. The story is centred on the protagonist, Maksym Zalizniak; however, it also tells of the lives of other *haidamaky*, among whom were historical personages, Semen Nezhyvyi and Ivan Honta. To provide the backdrop, the novel presents the stories of fictional insurgents – Roman and Mykola – and gives details about the

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[177] Iuriy Mushketyk, *Haidamaky* (Kyiv: Radianskyi Pysmennyk, 1957), 155.
This and other sources in this chapter are translated from Ukrainian by Anna Vitruk unless otherwise indicated.

lives of secondary characters (Ievka, an orphan servant in the house of a rich Jew; Sumnyi, a wandering *kobza* player; Cossacks Khrin (Horse Radish) and Zhyla (Tendon). Male figures correspond with female counterparts. An entire crowd of dependent women surround the image of Maksym Zalizniak. They are his long-time love, Oksana, who agreed to wait for Maksym and in the end was kidnapped and tortured to death by the Polish aristocrats; his old mother Ustyna; and his niece Olia. The same scenario is true for the rest of the *haidamaky.* In fact, all of them are portrayed as caring and kind family people. Often the oppression of a family member or a lover forced a man to join the *haidamaky* movement.

It is true for Mykola, whose fiancée, Orysia, was harassed and killed at the estate of the Polish aristocrat (*pan*), Stas Dumkovs'kyi. Semen Nezhyvyi's wife, Iavdokha, and his two children starved because of the greed of his employer, a potmaker Zozulia. The villages of both Zalizniak and Nezhyvy suffered under the rule of exploiters. In general, Mushketyk emphasises that the 'proletariat' agonised but tolerated the oppression and only the fear for their families forced the peasants to rebel against the Polish rule. It is interesting to see how Mushketyk manages to substantiate why Ivan Honta, a representative of the Cossack elite who was in the service of a Polish magnate, Potots'kyi, joined the uprising. Unlike other representatives of the upper and middle classes, Honta sympathises with the insurgents, which Mushketyk interprets as an exception that confirms the rule.

At first, Mushketyk describes the uprising as successful. The spirit of the insurgents is lifted and they hope for victory. After successful operations at Medvedivka and other villages, the Polish aristocrats, frightened and deprived of their estates, run away to Warsaw and Krakow. Peasants of other nationalities (like Ian and Vasyl' from Poland, Vasyl' Ozerov from Muscovy) join Maksym Zalizniak and support his efforts. Cossack troops reinforce unprofessional peasant groups. Apart from that, the *haidamaky* hoped to get protection from the Russian tsaritsa, as they expected the Orthodox monarch to support her fellow believers. A serious challenge awaits the *haidamaky* at Uman', a city in Central Ukraine, which at that time was a fortress that was

not easy to conquer. The storming of Uman' was a successful operation that was made possible by the troops of Ivan Honta. After that, the uprising spread to a large part of the Right-Bank Ukraine and covered, according to Mushketyk, the regions of Kyiv, Cherkasy, Bratslav, Volyn', Halychyna, Subcarpathia, and Belz. However, all their hopes were not destined to be realised. Gradually, the aristocrats of both confessions understood that solidarity is not a stable currency, and in time, their power will also be shaken. So did the representatives of the church. That is why the Russian sovereign ordered the support of the Polish *shliakhta* and destrunction of the *haidamaky* movement. Colonel Guriev of the Russian regular army betrays the *haidamaky* and arrests Honta and Zalizniak, without whom the *haidamaky* movement soon collapses.

The moral abyss between the lower class and the rich, middle and upper classes, is immense. Numerous small episodes that often involve secondary characters immerse the reader in the discourse of violence. To make it more dramatic, Mushketyk uses the images of women and children who suffered from violent *shliakhta* (aristocrats) and their minions. Thus, Semen Nezhyvyi's newly born baby is taken from his mother and cruelly killed. Ievka, a young servant of a rich Jew, suffers from her master's harassment. Oksana, the fiancée of Zalizniak, was killed after the *shliakhta* re-establishes control over Medvedivka. However, Mushketyk does not mention the Uman' massacre when insurgents killed many innocent people.

In general, it is not surprising that the novel emphasises class division, as it was obviously a part of the ideological program of the party. It is more interesting to trace how Mushketyk treats and realises the national program. It is an intricate point, as he argues repeatedly through the text that nationality is not a stumbling point for people. 'The good', that is, the *haidamaky,* connect the Poles, the Russians, and the Ukrainians; Mushketyk also mentioned that the word about the uprising is spread among peasants and workers from Hungary, Austria, and Germany. However, what is interesting in the context of the national narrative is not the direct indication of nationality but the plot of the novel, which is based on the events of Ukrainian history. The uprising of the *haidamaky* was one of the key moments in the Ukrainian struggle for

independence, and its interpretation has continued to affect the (self-)positioning of the Ukrainians.

4.4. How to Find the National Narrative

The national narrative, then, depends on the plot and manifests itself though the relationship of power and regulations of groups of people. This division is the key to understanding the novel and its objectives. Charles Tilly explains the importance of boundaries and the mechanism of their creation and transformation.

> *Such identities [...] center on boundaries separating us from them. On either side of the boundary, people maintain relations with each other: relations within X and relations within Y. They also carry on relations across the boundary: relations linking X to Y. Finally, they create collective stories about relations within X and Y, and relations between X and Y. These stories usually differ from one side of the boundary to another and often influence each other. Together, boundary, cross-boundary relations, within boundary relations, and stories make up collective identities. Changes in any of the elements, however they occur, affect all the others. The existence of collective identities, furthermore, shapes individual experiences.[178]*

The next section will analyse the content of the groups as proposed in the novel.

It is clear and easy with Mushketyk's *Haidamaky* in which all the deeds of the characters are judged on their adequacy to a certain moral code. This consists not of assertive statements, but rather of the negation of the activity of *pany.* In other words, it is moral and good to do whatever the rich do not do. Thus, the character of Maksym Zalizniak does not indicate any of his spiritual activity until the second part of the novel, where the critical mass of *pany*'s misdemeanours accumulates. Mushketyk does not demonstrate any of this until the death of Maksym's fiancée Oksana, which reveals Maksym's feelings. Mushketyk describes him more straightforwardly

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[178] Tilly, "Ties That Bind... and Bound," 7, 8.

as a wise commander, a loyal friend, a person who is eager to learn (Maksym was illiterate). And yet in the novel, Zalizniak is not a self-standing figure, but a representative of the whole group, the *pospolyti* (peasants and workers), which makes *Haidamaky* different from Stalinist novels that portrayed the leader as the only saviour of the people.

Distinct members of different groups are quite noticeable through the text, and the activity of individuals represents the way the whole collective would behave in many situations. For example, accepting the Poles, Ian and Vasyl', in the *haidamaky* group, Zalizniak and Nezhyvyi judge them from their appearance. "What would Zalizniak say if we brought the Poles with us?' Nezhyvyi though. 'Will he be annoyed? But they aren't *pany*; there they are, the beggars. They've got these big working hands […]."[179] However, by assigning qualities, behaviour patterns, and values to collectives, Mushketyk also specifies the relationships between the groups. To do this, he clearly diversifies different characters and assigns them to groups using various markers of belonging. Sometimes the author points at them directly, introducing the groups of '*pospolyti*' and '*pany*'. Further to these, there is a group of clerics and *haidamaky*. The author assigns diligence, kindness, and nobility to the *pospolyti* and the *haidamaky* (who originate from the *pospolyti*); thus, representatives of all other groups appear as negative characters by default.

The interaction of the three groups – *pospolyti, pany,* and clerics – paradoxically forms the national narrative in *Haidamaky*. When the national characteristics and national division are so eagerly abandoned, they are replaced with class boundaries. However, even in this case, the national question protrudes through the class-regulated reality of the novel. Observations demonstrate that some groups in *Haidamaky* can only be assigned to a certain nationality. Mushketyk insists that the construct that defines religion and nation is secondary to class division. He emphasises that the Polish and Tatars, the Russians and Ukrainians are exploited

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[179] Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 184.

by the upper class, "So, even the infidels [the Tatars – AV] have *pany* as we do."[180] He also blames the Cossack elite, the *starshyna,* for the ruination of the Sich and the decline of the Cossack society.

> *The Sich is ruined… Perhaps it will soon be completely destroyed. The tsaritsa's minions hang around here all the time. Some bring decrees; others peek into canons and tamper with boats; the third ones, to hell with them, they dawdle here for some unknown reason. The Sich is not the same, not the same.*[181]

However, it is worth noting that class attribution denotes not only economic and social relations but also cultural and symbolic,[182] which Mushketyk excludes from consideration in the novel. To some extent, he tries to justify the cultural capital of the *haidamaky*, attaching them to folklore. He constantly intersperses the narrative with fragments of folk songs that, not surprisingly, are also connected to the struggle of the classes. At the same time, the upper class of any nationality is deprived of this link. If cultural production is attributed to one of its representatives, it is described as vain and ineffective as in the poetastering of Stanislav Dumkovskyi. Thus, cultural and symbolic production is assigned on the class principle, and the national attributes are not associated with it. Therefore, the national characteristics do not participate in construction of the narrative. Thus, the Cossack elite, who were the most culturally productive stratum of Ukrainian society in the 17th and 18th century, are denied the opportunity to demonstrate it in the novel. Therefore, its cultural capital is not involved in the construction of the Socialist Realist national narrative. This minus-strategy influences the creation of further narratives that had to excavate and actualise these ideas in the new types of national narrative.

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[180] Ibid., 61.
[181] Ibid., 44.
[182] Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory* 7, no. 1 (April 1, 1989): 17, doi:10.2307/202060.

4.5. The Structure of the National Narrative. On the Principal Motifs

4.5.1. The Motif of Suffering

Clearly, class division is a principal theme in *Haidamaky*. However, it is not the banal stratification of society that constitutes the major interest but the consequences that it leads to. From various individual stories, readers can conclude that the representatives of the upper class and the elite, driven by greed and spoilt nature, use their power to subject the representatives of the lower class to ruination. However, these individual stories merely echo with the real tragedy and the reason, which has to be investigated on the group level, previously mentioned. The stratification that Mushketyk provides allows the reader to understand the roles that these groups assume and, thus, it allows us to see the principal actors of the national narrative.

In the novel, there is a group that represents *victims*. Mushketyk portrays the suffering of the lower class with drab colours and pathos, which clearly reserves for the *pospolyti* the role of martyrs. They are mostly women and children: the fiancées of Zalizniak, Mykola, and Roman; a nameless boy that lets the *haidamaky* into the rich Jew's house and is severely injured; Nezhyvyi's wife who loses her newly-born child. Their role in the novel is to personify misery and pain. On the other hand, there is a group of men who fight to protect their families; their role is to allegorically express heroism and victimhood. All central figures of the *haidamaky*, Nezhyvyi, Honta, and Zalizniak, make sacrifices to stay loyal to their beliefs and ideals. Thus, Maksym loses his beloved Oksana; Honta is killed in the most violent way. With Nezhyvyi, Mushketyk introduces a touching scene at the end of the novel, where Semen protects his fellow *haidamaka*, risking even more tortures.

4.5.2. The Lost Golden Age

For the national narrative, these scenes of suffering represent nothing but a single motif. It is the same as it was in the time of Taras Shevchenko when the discourse and the topos of

'martyrdom' penetrated all levels of Ukrainian culture.[183] But in the Socialist Realist narrative, the key to the narrative's development is the realisation of those responsible for the people's misery. It is logical to assume that those who were in power and lost it, who had protected the lower class and then stopped doing so, are to blame. In Mushketyk's interpretation, these people are the Cossacks and the representatives of the church. While the former had military and political power, the latter were supposed to provide moral support and protection to the *pospolyti,* but neither of them fulfilled their role.

Both Cossacks and clerics in Mushketyk's interpretation are responsible for the loss of the glory and for the people's misery. In *Haidamaky,* the Cossacks are divided according to the class principle, and the poor eventually help Zalizniak and the *haidamaky.* The Cossack elite, the *starshyna,* on the contrary, interfere with attempts to establish justice and peace. Though Maksym spent some time at Sich and participated in the Cossacks' activities, he is reluctant to seek shelter there. He explains that this island of freedom is also subject to class inequality. "I'm not keen to go to Zaporizhzhia. It is as bad as everywhere: those feel good whose pocket jingles."[184] The description of the Sich is extended and continues with the episodes that present Cossacks as morally and spiritually fallen. The *starshyna* and the *hetman* live a luxurious and comfortable life. They do not fight their former enemies, the Tatars and the Poles, but trade with them. Yet, ordinary Cossacks do not benefit from this commerce and still eat rotten bread. The apogee of this moral collapse is marked with the episode of Roman's alleged theft. When a rich Cossack accuses Roman of stealing from him, the judges and the hetman take the Cossack's side and sentence Roman to death. If it were not for Maksym and his friends' intervention, he would be killed.

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[183] Uilleam Blacker, "Martyrdom, Spectacle, and Public Space in Ukraine: Ukraine's National Martyrology from Shevchenko to the Maidan," *Journal of Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics And Society: 2015/2: Double Special Issue: Back from Afghanistan: The Experiences of Soviet Afghan War Veterans and: Martyrdom & Memory in Post-Socialist Space*, February 2015, 257–92.
[184] Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 10.

Cossacks as national heroes are described by Mushketyk as a failed project. They clearly did not reach their goal and betrayed their people and their homeland. But even though the moral references are lacking, Mushketyk considers other ways to restore justice and bring happiness to the people. It is the motif of a new struggle that appears next in the novel.

4.5.3. New Struggle, New Heroes

Mushketyk emphasises the moment of the Cossacks' betrayal, especially the betrayal of the rich and powerful *starshyna* (the topic that logically emerges in a society that condemned any manifestations of individualism and talent, historically inherent to the Cossack *starshyna*). Instead of the rotten and stratified Cossacks society, he proposes to find new heroes for the Ukrainian people. Let us look into the image of the hero that Iurii Mushketyk imposes on the national narrative.

Maksym Zalizniak is an exemplary heroic individual in the text of *Haidamaky*. Firstly, as it has been demonstrated, Mushketyk detaches him from the Cossacks. Secondly, he portrays Maksym and his family suffering from the *pany*'s injustice, which makes him a perfect candidate for a law-and-order avenger. However, having been subjected to misery, Zalizniak remains a kind-hearted person. He respects the elderly and helps the young. Thus, the first thing he does upon his return from the Sich is to fix the roof of his house. No matter how tired and desperate he is, there is always time to play with his niece, Olia. In general, Zalizniak appears as a new and improved type of knight who takes the place of the Cossacks. The same characteristics are given to Semen Nezhyvyi and Ivan Honta who are meant to form a new pantheon of Ukrainian heroes.

Though Honta was a colonel in Uman', Mushketyk made it a point to demonstrate that he originates from the *pospolyti*. He dedicates a whole passage to justify Honta's wealth and position.

> *"Tell me Ivan… How long have you had this estate of yours? Was your father rich as well? […]"*

"The estate… Pototsky gave it to me as a reward. Don't think that I was swindling the pospolyti. […] You know how it is to start from scratch. Until you manage to get a house, half of life will pass by."[185]

The *haidamaky* are characterised as perfect and blameless, and they cannot fail. As more people of different nationalities join the struggle, their movement grows and flourishes. According to Mushketyk, the *haidamaky* failed because of betrayal.

New heroes differ not only from historical Cossacks of the past but also from their image as constructed in Stalinist historical novels. This can be seen from another popular image constructed in the 1930s-40s, the image of a strong leader. As Katerina Clark describes this change in factory and *kolhoz* fiction, a new leader appeared not "stern" as before but "loving." She argues that partly "it was due to a change in values, but, under the post-Stalinist leadership, it was also an act of public relations (the new leadership cares more)."[186] This is true for the post-Stalinist historical novels, including *Haidamaky,* where the hero is kinder and more imperfect. Maksym Zalizniak is not like a mighty and wise Khmelnyts'kyi of Panch's *Ukraine Was Humming.* He is not eager for power, and reluctantly assumes the role of *hetman.* Not only in the political sphere has Maksym demonstrated his personal imperfection but also in his world as an individual. Though Mushketyk presents him as a role model for the rest of the characters, Zalizniak remains the same as the rest of the *haidamaky*.

To emphasise this, Mushketyk includes the scenes that embolden Zalizniak's humanity and weakness. Here the most representative is the episode after Oksana's death when he, desperate and full of sorrow, goes to the tavern and orders *horilka* (vodka) to forget about his grief. However, Mushketyk cannot allow a true national hero to consume alcohol, and the trip to the tavern turns into a raid against the greedy rich, *shynkar* (the tavern keeper) and the Cossacks

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[185] Ibid., 345.
[186] Clark, *The Soviet Novel*, 212.

from the Uman fortress. So, he makes Maksym refuse *horilka*. Instead, Zalizniak protects an

unfortunate young man from being robbed by a group of Cossacks.

> *Maksym wanted to get a mug [of vodka – AV], but turned around, having*
> *noticed that the khorunzhy*[187] *moved his hand. He put his hand on the sabre.*
> *"Well?!"*
> *Zalizniak didn't say anything else. But this cry was so threatening, this look*
> *was so stern that the khorunzhy conceded.*
> *Zalizniak drank up the pickle-juice, wiped his moustache, and started*
> *towards the door.*[188]

While this episode describes Zalizniak as a personality, in his guise as a politician, he also

encounters difficulties. Thus, another weak point of Zalizniak was his illiteracy, which he

regrets about several times in the text of the novel. He believes that his understanding of

political and historical processes would be much more complete were he able to read and write.

Otherwise, his heroic personality was unshakeable.

4.5.4. Anti-Heroes and Their Betrayal

When negative characters oppose positive characters in Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*, their evil

nature is as complete as luscious is the goodness of the heroes. The main attribute of the anti-

hero in the novel is the estate; rich characters automatically become evil in the text. They

exploit, torture, and kill the poor. The origin of the rich varies. Sometimes Mushketyk notes

their nationality (wealthy Jews and Polish aristocrats); sometimes their estate comes from

clerical position; and yet the worst possible enemy for Mushketyk is the Cossacks elite who,

once was a power that resisted exploitation, now became exploiters themselves.

The novel is rich with lamentations on the lost glory of the Cossacks. In the following fragment

it is metaphorically expressed through the image of mounds.[189]

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[187] Cornet.

[188] Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 330.

[189] This controversial image is highly intertextual. Mound, meaning 'mohyla', represents a gravesite of a distinctive personality, e.g. a Cossacks colonel. Usually mounds look like hills with stone crosses on their tops. In Ukrainian literature, this image had different meaning. For Romantics, including Metlynsky, it is a grave where the glory and free will are buried. Taras Shevchenko, on the contrary, used it to underline the potential of the re-birth of Ukraine.

> *Witnesses of Cossacks' victories and defeats, witnesses of the past glory,*
> *these mounds tower all over Ukraine. So many songs were sung by kobzars*
> *about them; so many quaint bygones were told. Yet they remain silent and*
> *unwelcoming; only wind rocks dry stems of weed, and scaring travellers, a*
> *screech-owl flies to a mound.*[190]

The period of the decline of the Cossack's state becomes one of the major motifs in the novel, and though the actual action happens in a ruined and agonising Sich, the regret of lost glory is a separate theme in the novel. The reader encounters multiple descriptions of Cossacks and their formal leader, hetman Petro Kalnyshevsky, whom Mushketyk naturally depicts without much affection. In his novel, the last ruler of the Sich appears as a typical representative of Cossack elite. Greedy and passive, he does not care for those in need. On the contrary, Kalnyshevskyi indulges rich inhabitants of the Sich when he supports the claims of a wealthy man in an argument with Maksym Zalizniak's friend Roman, who is later sentenced to death. Neither is Kalnyshevskyi eager to protect his motherland from Polish exploitation, which he expresses in a conversation with Melkhisedek, the Primate of the Orthodox Church on the Right Bank Ukraine. By placing their dialogue in the *hetman*'s mansion, Mushketyk contrasts it with ordinary Cossacks' poor living conditions.

The image of Petro Kalnyshevskyi, portrayed by Iurii Mushketyk as an incapable ruler and leader, explains and personifies the decay of the Sich as a territory of freedom. It is no more a land where everybody is equal. While Kalnyshevskyi is depicted wearing luxurious clothes and eating exquisite food. On the contrary, his fellow Cossacks are fed with thorny bread, which, in Kalnyshevskyi's words, "is not a catastrophe at all."[191] Here the *hetman* is not only weak and neglectful but is also portrayed as deliberately cruel and spoilt. This image of the Cossack elite, once personified by Kalnyshevskyi, is repeated continuously in the text. It expands to an

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For more information on the image and symbolic meaning of mounds see Dmytro Nalyvaiko, "Taras Shevchenko v konteksti romantyzmy ta natsionalizmu [Taras Shevchenko in the context of Romanticism and Nationalism]," Magisterium., no. 21. Literary Studies (2005): 27.

[190] Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 14.

[191] Ibid., 48.

affecting picture of a Sich in the last days. It was even worse with the Tatars who, according to Mushketyk, established 'market relations' with Cossacks, trading with each other and hiring each other. All this was made possible due to an incapable ruler and the elite's pernicious influence on Cossack society.

Thus, according to Iurii Mushketyk, the stratification in the Sich destroyed the Cossacks' raison d'être. This is such a powerful concept that it formed the next motif of the national narrative in Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*. This motif of failure is even more important when seen through the prism of the whole novel, where it is constantly on display. It is obvious that the Cossack army, as is well-known from legendary history, protected the poor and unfortunate, but turned into a band of drunkards. Thus the niche of knights emptied, and there was nobody to perform their function.

In later novels, the motif of failure takes different forms and is often less explicit. Yet it is present in every fictional text that tells the story of the Ukrainian past.

4.6. The Ideology of Form. Stable and Open Narrative of Socialist Realism

This relatively short section will amalgamate the motifs presented above to form the Socialist Realist national narrative: the Motif of Suffering, the Motif of the Golden Age, the Motif of the New Struggle and New Heroes, and the Motif of Betrayal. Separate motifs communicate with each other. At their intersection, the logical synthesis produces the essence of the national narrative similarly to Freud's idea that the combination of two traumas produces a unique neurosis. I have to emphasise here that I do not equate collective and individual traumas; on the contrary, it is from their correlation to one another and their interpenetration that the national narrative as political unconscious stems. The national narrative represents a public space to articulate the collective traumas of the nation. It is a sociosymbolic space where "particular and

collective traumas *show up* […]. That is where they *circulate*. It is from there that repression and oppression and potentially liberating media *operate.*"[192]

Although Mushketyk deliberately reconstructs and shapes the national narrative, the national story is never an absolute and terminal product of consciousness. It belongs to the sphere of the political unconscious, especially in literature, where it is intertwined with the fabric of fiction. Manifested through a complicated pattern of motifs and their formal expression, the national narrative in literature casts its own lines parallel to the fictional narrative. However, it is much more powerful than the narrative of fiction as the national narrative derives from the whole sphere of culture as its "social and political effect" that is "not an absence but a realm teeming with discontent." Located on the edges of consciousness, this entity is "never entirely other."[193] Hence an overriding presence of the national narrative in different spheres of life and its ability to influence members of the nation.

4.6.1. The Power of the Narrative's Flow, or Why Its Form Matters

At the intersections of the motifs, new senses push forward the entire flow of the narrative which, in this sense, approximates it to a mythical type of organisation as understood by Claude Levi-Strauss.

> *The true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning. Relations pertaining to the same bundle may appear diachronically at remote intervals, but when we have succeeded in grouping to a time referent of a new nature, corresponding to the prerequisite of the initial hypothesis, namely a two-dimensional time-referent which is simultaneously diachronic and synchronic, and which accordingly integrates the characteristics of langue on the one hand, and those of parole on the other.[194]*

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[192] Noëlle McAfee, *Democracy and the Political Unconscious* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 24.
[193] Ibid., 26.
[194] Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1963), 211, 212.

As Levi-Strauss argues, such structure places the narrative in a position where its flow becomes the representation of a general entity – *langue*; whereas its actualisation in different novels acts as *parole*. Thus, when the Motif of Suffering conjoins the Motif of the Golden Age, they produce a story of the people who endure the loss of Golden Age. Extending the narrative and adding the Motif of Hero results in the story where the Hero is destined to conquer the enemy and ease the people's hardship. However, as a result of plotting against him, he does not succeed. In case of *Haidamaky,* it is the treachery of the allies. As a result, the hero and the people fail.

This model of the narrative is characteristic not only for *Haidamaky*. It is easy to see that once extracted from a novel, it is applicable, with minor deviations, to the majority of Socialist Realist historical novels. Starting with similar a disposition of motifs in the early Stalinist novels, the narrative varied in its degree of pessimism, the perspective of the future, and the types of failure. Even the figure of the hero does not matter in this context: he (in most novels, the hero is a man) can come from any epoch – from the times of Kyivan Rus' to the period of the Liberation War of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. In Semen Skliarenko's cycle about Kyiv princes, Sviatoslav and Volodymyr, the national narrative is organised similarly to *Haidamaky*. Both novels represent the hero that seeks to bring salvation to the people. They also tell the story of the Golden Age (which in this case is the pagan times) that is lost and cannot be restored. Finally, Skliarenko employs the same idea of failure that comes at the end of the novels, which represents both *Sviatoslav* and *Volodymyr* as post-Stalinist Socialist Realist texts.

Apart from semantic similarities, the realisations of the national narrative of the Socialist Realist historical novels have similar formal organisation. It is not difficult to notice that the narrative can be extracted with the help of an easy operation of selecting synonyms to the main motifs. That is, Maksym Zalizniak is a hero in the text of the novel, and he is assigned the same function in the national narrative. The time of the Cossacks is described in *Haidamaky* as the Golden Age of the nation, and in the national narrative, it plays the same role. Therefore, the plot of the

novel corresponds with the national narrative, which makes the text an extended narrative in general. This situation results in another formal feature of the national narrative of Socialist Realist texts: it appears that they repeat *fabulas* of the novels and subdue their *syuzhets*. In fact, it can be said that historical novels of Socialist Realism exclude everything that does not correspond with the national narrative and anything that may distract the reader from detecting it.

From *fabula*, the narrative inherits strict control and limited potential for interpretation. It looks as if the writer has said exactly what he wanted to say. Yet these very limitations give space for meditations on the narrative's nature. And since the restrictions of the national narrative are even more severe, they represent its true function and purport. The next section of this chapter is dedicated to the study of these limitations.

4.6.2. From Form to Political Meaning: Oppression and Its Textual Expressions

The initial and main direction of the Socialist Realist national narrative is internal. The novels appear to possess and conceal much more than they show the reader. The trick of the Socialist Realist historical novels lies, of course, in their unnatural and artificial accessibility. Yet, the points of access can only be seen though the openings that, paradoxically, are the limitations. Having *Haidamaky* as an example of such a restrictive program, I see at least three levels of restrictive potential. First, it is a stratum of language (discussed earlier). Secondly, it is the form of the narrative that is associated with *fabula*. The final level of limiting technology is located in the very narrative, which supports the idea of internalising minus-potential of the Socialist Realist national narrative. In its turn, the limits in the narrative are expressed through the abrupt finalisation of motifs (the Golden Age finishes; the hero fails) and the narrative itself (the nation declines). The most important aspect to the restriction is the fall of the nation in the national narrative. In the last section of this chapter, I will focus on the techniques of this strategy.

The high degree of control over the content of the novel can be explained by restrictions that limited the art at the time, but it does not imprison thought as it might appear at first glance.

Instead, as Fredric Jameson argues about this relationship, the thought assumes the external limits. He states that

> [t]he original relationship between thought and its object was not an external but an internal one, and the best dialectical analyses show not so much that external social reality causes a particular type of though, as that it imposes basic inner limitations upon it, in an almost a priori fashion.[195]

The idea of György Lukàcs' idea, first elaborated in *History and Class Consciousness,* correlates with further meditations of Judith Butler on subjection, as it links the formal category of the *fabula* and the elements of the national narrative providing an understanding of how to detect the restricted narrative from different angles.

Indeed, how is it possible to realise that a narrative or an idea is restricted? In the case of *Haidamaky*, the answer seems obvious, and I partly provided it earlier when pointing at the colonial nature of the national narrative of Socialist Realism. To prove it, it is sufficient to note that this narrative ends with the nation's failure, which locks it in temporal and spatial limits. For how is the nation supposed to exist if its prime and prosperity is proclaimed gone? This dead-ending alienation from the past pushes the nation towards the future, that is, towards the realm where the coloniser already dominates. For this particular purpose, writers like Mushketyk make historical parallels where the uprising of the *haidamaky* is juxtaposed with the Bolshevik coup. Having this in mind, these authors represent Ukrainian national heroes, such as Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi, while also having in mind the Communist Party leaders.

At the same time, memory of the lost goodness provokes feelings of nostalgia and melancholia. I will look into the phenomenon of collective melancholia in more detail. Melancholia is a less straightforward colonialist strategy than the construction of the national narrative. In the model of the national narrative represented in *Haidamaky,* melancholia, as it is described by Judith

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[195] Fredric Jameson, *Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), 345.

Butler, appears with the key Motif of Golden Age and dominates over the rest of the narrative and

> *[...] involves an attempt to substitute the ego for that [libidinal – AV] cathexis, one that involves a return of the cathexis to its point of origin: the threatened cathesis is abandoned, but only to pull itself back onto the place of the ego [...], a place from which the threatened attachment has departed.*[196]

Designed for individuals, this approach is valid for collectives such as nations that act similarly to the individual, as Freud suggests in his work *Civilisation and Its Discontents.* The nation, similarly possessing the ego, replaces it with the cathexis (the interest [in another object], to follow Freudian original terminology) and attaches itself to the object it is missing.

> *Melancholia describes a process by which an originally external object is lost, or an ideal is lost, and the refusal to break the attachment to such an object or ideal leads to the withdrawal of the object into the ego, the replacement of the object by the ego, and the setting up of an inner world in which a critical agency is split off from the ego and proceeds to take the ego as its object.*[197]

As a result, the subject both loves and hates the previously loved object at the next stage. At the same time, melancholia forces the recipient "to take *itself* as its object, and to do this through the figure of the turn, suggests once again the tropological beginnings of subject formation."[198] Therefore, this schizophrenic dualism contributes to the colonisation of the psychic space, which Kelly Oliver sees as the process that "works through silencing the effects and affects of oppression. First, those othered within mainstream culture are excluded from the world of meaning except as abject or inferior. Then their exclusion is silenced."[199] Melancholia, being one of the effects of colonisation, results in the loss of a loved self, as Oliver explains. Here

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[196] Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, 175.
[197] Ibid., 179.
[198] Ibid., 171.
[199] Kelly Oliver, *The Colonization of Psychic Space: A Psychoanalytic Social Theory of Oppression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 88.

melancholia both derives from and leads to the lack of positive self-image and the "absence of social acceptance,"[200] which, in the life of the nation, results in deep and unspoken traumas.

4.7. Conclusion

The Socialist Realist national narrative existed, and this should be one of the main conclusions that one makes when reading Stalinist and post-Stalinist historical novels. The acceptance of this fact subsequently increases the chances of a correct interpretation of this type of the national narrative. Moreover, it helps to understand the influence of the Socialist Realist narrative on further types of historical novels. To do this, this chapter not only extracted the national narrative of Iurii Mushketyk's *Haidamaky* but also recognised its main direction and theme. Along an overall orientation to oppression and internalisation of any national signs, it developed a distinctive stigma of self-image. Introduced in novels like *Haidamaky,* melancholia never ceased to dominate over the Ukrainian national narrative. Until recently, it was forcing readers out of the discourse of the narrative, in search of positive self-images. I will show later how this situation has been changing over the past decades, and also I will demonstrate how the elements of melancholia-producing motifs and devices have remained a part of the Ukrainian national narrative even in the 21st century.

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[200] Ibid., 89.

Chapter 5. Vast Patriarchy: Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi and His National Narratives – *Ievpraksiia, Roksolana, Death in Kyiv*

> Every person is ether a tyrant or a slave. Those in the middle suffer from everything.
>
> Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, *Death in Kyiv*

5.1. On Similarities, Distinctions and the Need to Identify Their Source

What happens to the national narrative after Petro Panch, Ivan Le, and Iurii Mushketyk? Does its production stop or transform? What place does the narrative take in everyday life? These questions will be at the centre of the next chapter, where I will analyse a historical novel starting out from the relationship of power in the text. Here I will regard the novel as a tangent to the circle of the social reality, and the place where they – fiction and the socio-political sphere – interact; the ghost of the national narrative illuminates itself through the fabric of the text. They are the elements that I will look for in this chapter.

I will look for power that, as was shown in the previous chapter, manifests in historical novels through splits in the solid material of fiction. One of these breaches was demonstrated in *Haidamaky*, where it is exposed through the idea of body. There the author ties all the misfortunes of the lower class to the corporeal sphere: death and starvation; giving birth and looking after the child. If a character dies, there must be a social reason. Further, the body is the only field that can harbour power and the battle for it. Thus, if *haidamaky* (insurgents) would not get the power from *pany* (aristocrats), they and their families await death. Physical destruction appears very close and personal in the novel, as it is backed by the emotional component that provokes sympathy and empathy. This feature – the reduction of a person to

the body – is described by Franz Fanon as the characteristic feature of colonial subjection,[201] where the body of a colonised subject personifies abjection and repulsion.

In *Haidamaky,* the body is oppressed and depressed, however, it does not signify the oppression from the outside. Here it is considered as an internal oppression that originates from the characters in the novel. This is true for those portrayed as the subjected in the text, that is, the representatives of the lower class. However, the upper class's body is expelled from the text; at most, it is revealed through the impossibility of even describing it. Instead, it portrays non-humane parts of appearance, like clothes and other material attributes. But the body of the rich is never represented as active.

In later novels that were not connected to the Stalinist era even with the prefix 'post-', the body reveals itself in a different and somewhat mysterious way. There it starts to live its own life and dictate the outcome of the narrative, both fictional and national. In the next chapters, I will demonstrate the degree of liberation of the body and its engagement in the social sphere. I will also show how the withdrawal of the body from the inner domain, that is, de-internalisation of the body, leads to the engagement of other realms into the play of power in different historical novels.

I believe the national narrative shifted (I avoid using the word 'evolved') from a controllable and controlling tool to a progressively more lenient expression of the national past, and the image and concept of the body actively participated in this process. First, there is Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi's novel *Death in Kyiv* (1973) where the topic of the body is delivered via several channels, including the meditations of the main character, Dulib, who is a doctor. Thus, all the personages appear through the prism of his 'professional' look and analysis. Second, the realm of the body is extensively Valerii Shevchuk's *Three Leaves in the Window.* Here the body becomes the space for mythical explorations and corresponds with spiritual adventures of the

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[201] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (Pluto Press, 2008).

characters. And finally, for Oksana Zabuzhko, the body is an instrument of liberalisation of the whole discourse and a prism of interpretation of the world.

I will examine how extensive representation of the body liberalises the narrative in more detail in respective chapters, however, here I would like to emphasise the limiting factors of the narrative. To do that, it is necessary to connect the analysed version of the narrative with the 'progenitor narrative', that is with the Socialist Realist narrative. The next chapters will demonstrate unexpected development of its motifs in further types of national narrative.

5.2. Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to the novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi. Although the initial plan was to focus on his relatively early text *Smert' u Kyievi* (Death in Kyiv, 1973), further research made it impossible to present this novel without intensive contextualisation. Since this study's main objective is the national narrative, its formation is hard to trace without insights into the evolution of Zahrenel'nyi's style. Having produced a vast number of novels of different genres, he became a 'patriarch'[202] of Ukrainian literature, thus his influence gained him a 'patriarchy', and many young writers followed his method and elaborations. However, one may pose the question whether Zahrenel'nyi had a unique and particular method of his own, and this chapter will investigate this as a secondary matter, among all. Thus, while the main analysis will be performed using *Death in Kyiv* as a model and example, the chapter will also turn to other novels by Zahrenel'nyi.

Before doing that, I will start this chapter with noting a particularly peculiar difference between the 'progenitor narrative' and Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi's historical novel *Death in Kyiv* (1973), which is the *direction of power*. While the Socialist Realist historical novel understood power mostly as a means of oppression of the body, Zahrenel'nyi's novel has a more diverse choice

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[202] See, for example, "Svitloï pamiati maistra [In loving memory of maestro]," *Vitchyzna*, no. 1–2 (2009), http://vitchyzna.ukrlife.org/1_2_09zagrebelny.html.

of restrictive domains, and this diversification is often taken for liberalisation. It is true that it is one of the first post-Stalinist texts, where the internalisation of power and withdrawal of complexes is still quite evident but already transformed beyond recognition. Thus, unlike his predecessors, Zahrenel'nyi pays much more attention to the past – there are more historical details and stylisation, more play of language and images. He ruminates on the importance of knowing the past and preserving it for the benefit of further generations. Unlike his predecessors, he contemplates the role of the past in the present. In the commentary to *Roksolana,* Zahrenel'nyi significantly speculates on the role of history.

> *History is alien to passions; it is devoid of the heart; it is aloof from feelings; it has to "hear evil and good with indifference"[203] because the dictate of the verity weighs over it. The only thing a writer can do is create a certain mood, which, I think, is none too small.[204]*

He refers to this scene in his earlier novels as well. In *Death in Kyiv,* the writer inserts extensive meditations on the value of writing and memory where the main character, Dulib, exercises his philosophical ideas about truth and verity. At the same time, Prince Iurii Dovhorukyi (Iurii The Long-Armed, 1099-1157) shared his opinion on history, which, as may be expected, consists of appeals to the humility of powers-that-be. Good deeds shall speak for themselves – is the motto of Dovhorukyi. This pattern can only be a reason to criticise Zahrenel'nyi, which I will do further into this chapter. Yet, in general, the ability to think and speak about the role of history signifies that Zahrenel'nyi feels freer and looks at the present and back at the future less than the authors of post-Stalinist novels.

Yet, it is wrong to regard this motif of the value of the past as something completely new and foreign to Ukrainian historical novels or the national narrative. At the same time, it would be equally inaccurate to assume that Zahrenel'nyi only restored it from pre-Soviet examples of

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[203] Zahrebelnyi here quotes Aleksandr Pushkin's historical poem *Boris Godunov* (1825). It is a famous line of Grishka Otrepiev, a monk who was allegedly crowned as False Dmitry I.
[204] Pavlo Zahrebelnyi, *Roksolana* (Kyiv: Radianskyi Pysmennyk, 1980), 566.
This and other sources in this chapter are translated from Ukrainian by Anna Vitruk unless otherwise indicated.

Ukrainian historical novels, as it would only be a part of the general picture. Instead, this chapter argues that this motif has developed from the same source as the others, that is, from 'progenitor narrative', where the body was not the only sphere to exercise the power. The other one was knowledge and history, which could not be uttered freely, and the reader finds out about the writer's position on history and the past mediated through actions of characters and the degree of engagement of the past in the text. If illiteracy was one of many concerns and regrets of Maksym Zalizniak of *Haidamaky,* for the characters of *Death in Kyiv*, it acquired the grandeur of a philosophical problem after it grew into an extensive discussion about the utility of writing and the methods to exercise it. This chapter will demonstrate how the motifs of the progenitor narrative grew and developed. It will show different stages of this process that invoke various conditions of motifs in the novel.

5.2. Contextualisation. *Death in Kyiv* and Other Novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi

The national narrative is a contextual phenomenon. It means that it can be approached from different angles when it comes to different texts. The Socialist Realist narrative, as I have showed above, is left on the surface of Iurii Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*. The novel was so clear and crisp that the national narrative was visible on the level of the *fabula*. Zahrenel'nyi's novel *Death in Kyiv* is organised in a more complicated manner, which does not permit an extraction of the national narrative directly from the *fabula*. That is why it is vital to understand the writer's overall approach to the narrative, which is reflected in the image of the nation. In this sense, the 'female' novels of Zahrenel'nyi provide this necessary information, as the women that they portray correspond to the perception and expression of the nation. This section of the chapter will present an analysis of two such novels, *Ievpraksiia* and *Roksolana*, where the image of the nation points at the direction of further development of the national narrative.

5.2.1. The Scope of the Novels. 'Male' and 'Female' Novels of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi

The search for the national narrative inevitably implies the action of contextualisation, which sustains the attempt to detect the continuity of the national story, as was demonstrated earlier. Thus, it is vital to understand the origin of motifs (like that described in the introduction to this chapter) and find the correlation of various motifs. This hermeneutical tool is of special use when the text utterly emphasises 'humanistic' values, as *Death in Kyiv* does. It seems that the demonstration of justice and kindness is the only concern of this novel. Another direction that the narrative flow takes covers the meditations on history. It is masked under the contemplations on the role of the prince in history and also under the question on the role of the written word. And yet, these contemplations only distract from the key message of the national narrative. This leads to a resistance to interpretation in the ideological key that the text demonstrates. While the comparison with earlier historical novels is the focus of further sections of this chapter, here I will justify the selection for analysis of this particular novel. That is, I will demonstrate how *Death in Kyiv* contributes to the national narrative more effectively and significantly than others do.

Death in Kyiv was published in 1973 and continued Zahrenel'nyi's series of novels about Kyivan Rus'. The text, though rather skilfully written, became less popular than both an earlier historical novel *Dyvo* (The Wonder, 1968) and the later renowned *Roksolana* (1980)*.* While the Kyivan Rus' novels (*Dyvo, Pervomist* (The first bridge, 1972), *Smert' u Kyievi* (Death in Kyiv, 1973), *Ievpraksiia* (1975)*,* form one group, the other one is represented by *Roksolana* and *Ia, Bohdan* (I, Bohdan, 1983) set in the baroque era. Here the motifs that the narrative inherited from the progenitor narrative still perform their function and explode every storyline with melancholia.

The two 'female' historical novels, *Ievpraksiia* and *Roksolana,* of Zahrenel'nyi exemplify a cardinal breach in his perception and expression of the national narrative. The comparison is particularly striking as the two texts enlighten the same problem – the role of the woman in

history. But this issue is undoubtedly not the only one that is covered in the novels. Apart from the 'female' agenda, Zahrebelny also brings attention to the topos of homeland and nostalgia for the land of the fathers; the power of the woman and the empowered woman; and the role of powers-that-be in the life of a regular person.

The two main female characters, Ievpraksiia and Roksolana, are greatly admired in Ukrainian culture, and this determines the course of the novels. The texts imply that entering a family of European monarchs exhibited the success of the country. In contemporary rhetoric, it would be interpreted as a desire to establish a connection with European cultural and political space. However, in Zahrenel'nyi's interpretation the dynastical pride plays a different role – it detaches Kyivan Rus' from the European tradition, as he states that the rulers of Rus' were better than European barbarians. In *Ievpraksiia,* Zahrenel'nyi proudly emphasises the success of the Kyivan princesses, Anna and Anastasiia, the daughters of Iaroslav the Wise, who betrothed them to European monarchs.[205] At the same time, he emphasises how tainted the European monarchs are: a German baron, an emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and clerics of all levels. The situation of Roksolana was different; nevertheless, she has deserved admiration, as she made her way from concubine to empress. Her story focused on the image of Roksolana more than on the Osman court. It underlined exceptional qualities of the influential woman rather than criticised the historical order of the Empire. However, although dynastical marriages are presented as the indicator of a country's influence, Zahrenel'nyi interprets them as a tragedy. The tragedies of the two women are rather different, and these distinctions correlate with two different paths of the national narrative.

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[205] Pavlo Zahrebelnyi, *Ievpraksiia*, vol. 4, Tvory u 6 tomakh [Novels in 6 volumes] (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1980), 34.

5.3. Ievpraksiia versus Roksolana: Women in Power and the National Narrative

Both novels tell the stories of marriages. Ievpraksiia, a Kyivan princess who lived in the 12ᵗʰ century, leaves Rus' at the age of twelve and heads to Bayern to marry a local baron. Soon after the wedding, her young husband dies, but Ievpraksiia, who never loved or respected him, seems relived. After living as a widow for several years, she receives a marriage proposal from the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, which she accepts and becomes the empress. She even gives birth to a child, who tragically dies. In the meantime, her husband reveals his true violent and cruel nature, and Ievpraksiia, to save her life, retreats to Rome to get a divorce, and then returns home, to Rus'. Roksolana's story is not less tragic, but it turns out to be a success, as she rises from concubine to empress. She is a girl from a small Ukrainian village that suffers from the attacks of the Tatars. During one of such raids, Roksolana is captured and taken to Istanbul, to the harem of Suleiman the Magnificent. The sultan falls madly in love with her and promotes her to be his favourite wife. Later, as a result of plotting, Roksolana's son becomes the heir to the throne.

The tragic tone of Zahrenel'nyi's 'female' novels can be explained by the general intention to present politics in a more 'humanistic' manner to provoke the reader into more empathy, but one could argue that it is a consequence of positioning females at the centre of the texts. The story of the woman in history is apparently supposed to be tragic – this tendency prevailed in Zahrenel'nyi's elaboration of the images of Ievpraksiia, Roksolana, and in his later 'female' novels. The analysis of these novels has a crucial importance for the rest of Zahrenel'nyi's novels, as in their own specific ways, they personify his understanding of the nation. In this sense, the difference between the two texts points at the changes in the development of the national narrative for Zahrenel'nyi.

Indeed, the dramatizations in *Ievpraksiia* and *Roksolana* have different intentions. The two female characters nearly oppose each other when regarded together as part of the whole corpus of Zahrenel'nyi's novels. Ievpraksiia reflects the melancholic mood of a failing nation, whilst

Roksolana conceals the motif of failure. If in the earlier novel, the heroic pathos of the dynastical marriage turns into the tragedy of an abused and enslaved woman, the later text represents a Ukrainian national heroine, Roksolana, who became one of the most influential women in the history of the Osman Empire. While Ievpraksiia is of noble origin, Roksolana was born to a family of Ukrainian peasants. Both of them were forced to leave their homeland, and both were forced to suffer from the injustice of men superior to them. In spite of that, Roksolana remained the empress, while Ievpraksiia had to seek shelter in Kyiv as a result of the inglorious behaviour of her husband.

The course of the novel presents Roksolana as a more dialogical character in Bakhtin's sense of the word. She grows and develops in the text to end as a tragic personage, a transformation to which Zahrenel'nyi dedicates a lot of attention. Naturally, the peripeteia of the storyline describes the changes in Roksolana's character in more perspective, but to underline them even more, Zahrenel'nyi changes her name from Nastia Lisovska to Roksolana, and second, to complete the metamorphosis, he makes her convert to Islam. At the same time, Ievpraksiia remains the same little girl who was taken from the homey and benevolent court of her father, prince Vsevolod. She becomes seemingly older and wiser after the misfortunes that overshadowed her young years, but Zahrenel'nyi, willing to preserve her connection to Kyivan Rus' and, thus, to keep her within its spatial and ideological boundaries, personifies her otherness to Western people and landscape in the image of "*cheberiaichyky*," mythical creatures that inhabit Kyivan forests.

> *Still a child but already a woman. The further from Kyiv, the less of the childish world she should have been carrying inside her; instead, her soul was impudently invaded by the adult world, fostered by this continuous moving further and further forward and the renewal and change of the space, floundering between the days and nights of the landless sea of time.*[206]

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[206] Ibid., 4:9.

These symbolic heroes from Ievpraksiia's childhood allow her to maintain mental contact with the space of Kyivan Rus' and keeps her out of real time.

Parallel to this, Zahrenel'nyi describes the state of the heroine's fatherland, Kyivan Rus', which in early 12th century is still a powerful player on the European political scene. So mighty is it that the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was not ashamed to marry one of the Rus' women. At the same time, Zahrenel'nyi finds difficulties and obstacles in the Kyivan historical and political position and projects them on his heroine, Ievpraksiia. Compositionally, it looks like a fabric woven from two main threads of the plot, the line of Ievpraksiia and the line of *litopys,* or the chronicle, – a favourite device of the writer, which he also uses in *Death in Kyiv.* The chronicle functions as a historical commentary to the life made fictional of the Kyivan princess, who, as Zahrenel'nyi keeps emphasising, was not welcomed either by Germanic or Slavic chroniclers. It appears that his main task in this novel is to separate Kyivan Rus' from European cultural and civilizational realm, which Zahrenel'nyi underlines with references to ethnopsychologic markers – nature and architecture. In *Ievpraksiia,* he compares barbaric Europe to noble Rus', juxtaposing the images of grey Germanic castles and white dwellings of Rus. There are numerous parallelisms and allusins that indicate heir contrast, especially in the beginning of the novel.

> *The stone is grey, hopeless, cruel; and among this stone, like savages, live*
> *earls, barons, knights, and their emperor; but somewhere at home, there are*
> *gentle white houses, soft green land, and Kyiv, raised on quiet hills.*[207]

Further in the text, Zahrenel'nyi describes foreign lands through acoustic and visual images.

> *In the night, owls were hooting over the abbey; she [Ievpraksiia] was scared*
> *and lonely; she was waiting eagerly for dreams to come as they were her only*
> *treasure now. Her dreams crossed rivers, sneaked under the green branches*

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[207] Ibid., 4:37.

> *of deep forests, flew across valleys, and looked for Kyiv, hidden in the golden*
> *sadness of churches.*[208]

It is interesting that even in her nocturnal visions, Ievpraksiia was not free. Sleeping, she still existed in the stone-built walls of Germanic castles, and it seems that she had to travel across Europe to get home.

5.3.1. The Woman and the Nation: The Correlation of Metaphors

The state of Eastern Slavs appears in the novel as a perfect land. At least in the beginning, when the power of prince Vsevolod is still strong, Rus' is a "great, rich, and mysteriously endless Rus', ingratiated with the rest of the world." However, not unintentionally right before this characteristic, Zahrenel'nyi locates a description of Ievpraksiia's virtues.

> *Praksed[209] will become the empress. He regarded her differently than before.*
> *She appeared in front of him wearing the trappings of the empress, in a crown*
> *and ermine, gifted with beauty and posture, red-bosomed , pure as snow, with*
> *perfect eyebrows, nose, and face, yellowy fair, big-eyed, joyous, mellisonant,*
> *a marvellous view amongst other women. Her pace, movements, and head*
> *twist are instinctively virtuous. She was born to be an empress. […] She has*
> *a mighty half of the world behind her – the great, rich, and mysterious*
> *Rus'.*[210]

This direct parallelism that includes Ievpraksiia and Rus' proves that the states and transformations imply the similarity between the woman and the state (the nation).

Contrary to Victoriia Sikorska,[211] I suggest that it is not the characteristics of nature that reflect the state of the heroine. Rather it is the nation and its state that is projected onto the female

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[208] Ibid., 4:67.
[209] Germanic name that was given to Ievpraksiia when she married a German baron.
[210] Zahrebelnyi, *Ievpraksiia*, 4:94.
[211] Victoria Sikorska, "Rol' mifopoetyky u tvorenni psykholohichnoho portreta istorychnoï postati v romanakh Pavla Zahrebelnoho 'Ievpraksiia' ta 'Roksolana' [The role of mythopoetics in the psychologic portrait of historical personality in the novels of Pavlo Zahrebelnyi 'Ievpraksiia' and 'Roksolana']," *Scientific Notes of National University of "Ostrih Academy,"* no. 46 (2014): 176–80.

character. This idea is as ancient as, at least, the Bible,[212] the code of literature as Northrop Frye once put it. Here the woman, among others, represents the whore of Babylon – the image of a non-political nature, which later, in Protestant tradition, acquires a political meaning and personifies the woman as the sinful and rotten Church of Rome,[213] In Ukrainian tradition, the time of the publication of *Ievpraksiia* (1975) coincided with a major shift in the perception of women. At that time, the image of the "Soviet super-woman"[214] was replaced with a populist image of Berehynia with nationalist vibe. A young Ukrainian nation accepted it as a mixture of the iconographic properties of "Madonna, Woman, and Nation that resulted from a combination of Christianity, patriotism, and motherhood."[215]

The reflection of this sensitive image could not be direct and straightforward. Victoriia Sikorska maintains that the space reflects the state of the heroines and brings nature as a metaphor of their conditions and actions, proposing to associate nature with the female and vice versa. In fact, as Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Anna Tétreault argue, the category of "nature-as-female," indirectly proposed by Sikorska, transmutes to "nation-as-woman," where

> *the motherland is a woman's body and as such is ever in danger of violation – by "foreign" males/sperm. To defend her frontiers and her honor requires vigilance and the sacrifice of countless citizen-warriors. Nation-as-woman expresses a spatial, embodied femaleness: the land's fecundity, upon which the people depend, must be protected by defending the body/nation's boundaries against invasion and violation. But nation-as-woman is also a temporal metaphor: the rape of the body/nation not only violates frontiers but also disrupts by planting alien seed or destroying reproductive viability – the maintenance of the community through time.[216]*

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[212] There is a vast corpus of feminist literature on this topic. See, for example, Johanna Stiebert, *The Exile and the Prophet's Wife: Historic Events and Marginal Perspectives* (Liturgical Press, 2005) and Carol A. Newsom, *The Women's Bible Commentary: Revised and Expanded Edition* (SPCK, 2014).

[213] Benjamin Keach, *Tropologia; a Key to Open Scripture Metaphors, Etc* (William Hill Collingridge, 1855), 875.

[214] Oksana Kis, "Koho oberihaie Barehynia, abo Matriarkhat iak chilovishyi vynakhid [Whom protects Berehynia, or Matriarchate as the invention of men]," *Dzerkalo Tyzhnia*, April 23, 2005.

[215] Ibid.

[216] Sita Ranchod-Nilsson and Mary Ann Tetreault, *Women, States and Nationalism: At Home in the Nation?* (Routledge, 2003), 69.

In the light of Ranchod-Nilsson and Tétreault's theory, Roksolana and Ievpraksiia as the images of the nation represent a lamentable case. The image of woman-as-nation defines the "boundaries of group identity, marking its difference from alien "others."[217] But what happens if the woman that personifies the nation is defective? What if she is not represented in the image of Berehynia but a "female child" that is Ievpraksiia? Such an image, associated with the nation, sets different borders and builds different walls[218] presenting the community itself as invalid and crippled. Clearly, their pathos is far from heroic but provokes pity and melancholia. They are both enslaved and inseminated with foreign sperm – literally and metaphorically – as both characters have children from their foreign husbands. Roksolana, apart from everything, converts to Islam, which, in her situation, appears not to be a drastic decision, as she already bears the child of a foreign conqueror. This is supposed to symbolise two main things: first, the influence of Ukraine and its women; second, the breach in Roksolana's soul that has to choose between her son and beloved husband and her nation and fatherland. For Ievpraksiia, the world is black and white, as she loves none of her husbands. Therefore, her soul belongs only to Rus'. Like Roksolana, she also conceives a child with the old emperor Heinrich, but Zahrenel'nyi chooses to kill off the newly born to demonstrate the incompatibility of the two worlds – the realm of Ievpraksiia and her licentious husband.

5.3.2. Two Women – Two Patterns of the Narrative

In this section, I have pointed to the image of the nation that Zahrenel'nyi used in his further novels. Until the 1990s, he exploited mostly two models that form the image of the nation for Zahrenel'nyi and, further, characterise the development of the national narrative in his novels. The one is embodied in the character of Ievpraksiia, whereas the other one is personified in Roksolana, who remains an exemplary heroine and a role-model as an active woman. Liudmyla Tarnashynska regards her image as a reflection of Zahrenel'nyi's feministic moods, which partially rehabilitates him after the interpretation of females as deprived of motivation and the

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[217] Ibid., 70.
[218] Ibid.

abilities to act, except in a 'feminine' way. She maintains that having created the image of Roksolana,

> *he declares his idea of the hardships that the woman has to undertake in this world, "where she is removed, suspended, and denied of having a common human reason not to even mention freedom. But at the same time, she has to complete her mission; to take care of the chaos and violence of the state; to gain profit from the power that is owned by the man; be intellectually equal to him when she is forbidden to be superior to the man."[219]*

As an individual, Roksolana may indeed have become meaningful, but as a personalisation of the nation, she still represents an enslaved female, who appears in a superior position. The image of Roksolana personifies Zahrenel'nyi's attempt to break away from the Socialist Realist narrative. But Roksolana and her heroic status are of minor interest in this chapter, merely because he had created Ievpraksiia, a personification of a weak nation, and thus determined the flow of his national narrative. The image of the nation of Ievpraksiia's token echoes in other novels of Zahrenel'nyi. And if Roksolana personifies his disconnection (at least, the intention of it) from the Socialist Realist narrative, Ievpraksiia is bound to it and so are the novels of the 'Ievpraksiia' kind that see the state and then the nation as detached from the European cultural space. This cohort of the novels choses the same methods of detachment as its predecessors: class and national enemies, emphasis on perfect leadership, and the 'humanisation' of the narrative. New traits, acquired by these novels as a result of changes in political surrounding, did not transform the essence of the national narrative. Thus, Zahrenel'nyi enters the 1970s with more novels on Kyivan Rus', including *Death in Kyiv*, which contain the same stereotypes.

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[219] Liudmyla Tarnashynska, "Zhintsi ne dosyt' sliv, abo Roksolana... v ukraïnskomu parlamenti [The woman wants more than words, or A Roksolana in the Ukrainian parliament]," *The Ethnic History of the Peoples of Europe*, no. 7 (2000): 34.

5.4. *Death in Kyiv* on the Move from the Socialist Realist Narrative

5.4.1. Body and Gender as Expressions of the Narrative

Though I emphasise how similar Zahrenel'nyi's novels are to the Socialist Realist narrative (not the texts, but the narrative), I ought to clarify that they do not amount to the same thing. In this section of the chapter, I will demonstrate how Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi's national narrative changed compared to the Socialist Realist narrative. I will make this comparison based on the concepts of body and gender. The reason for this is that just like the national narrative, these two categories are subject to changes. As Tamar Mayer puts it,

> *because nation, gender, and sexuality are always in the process of becoming, because they evolve continuously, associating "masculinity" with men and "femininity" with women in a national context could eventually change if either the discourse of the nation or that of gender and sexuality changes.[220]*

Like the national narrative, the body, and gender are rooted in power, which bends and transforms both of them. Thus, where the body changes, the narrative should be transformed as well.

Because the body is culturally constructed, it is closely connected to similarly designed phenomena, masculinity and femininity, through which the body is manifested in *Death in Kyiv*. In this text, masculinity and the perfection of the body is connected to the potential of vitality and longevity of the characters, but most importantly, this factor points at the distribution of power in the novel. While in the Socialist Realist *Haidamaky*, masculinity is a given quality and covers both male and female characters, in Zahrenel'nyi's text, it is an axiological category that helps to differentiate positive and negative characters – a distribution that is vital to the understanding of the national narrative. Not all the men are positive characters in *Death in Kyiv*, but those who are, define the flow of the narrative. In this senses, Tamar Mayer asserts that

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[220] Tamar Mayer, "Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Setting the Stage," in *Gender Ironies of Nationalism: Sexing the Nation* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 4.

It is men who are generally expected to defend the "moral consciousness" and the "ego" of the nation. Men tend to assume this role because their identity is so often intertwined with that of the nation that it translates into a "personalized image of the nation." Because men "regard the nation – that is themselves – as a single body," their own "ego" becomes at stake in national conflicts, and they frequently seek to sustain control over reproduction and representation of both sexuality and nation and over the boundaries of the nation, through defining who is included in, or excluded from it.[221]

Masculinity, above all, is most successfully exercised in the politics of nationalism,[222] but in Zahrenel'nyi's *Death in Kyiv*, nationalistic tendencies are represented rather scarcely: it is too early (1973) to speak about Ukrainian nationalism and much too late to draw towards Soviet patriotism. Hence the question that leads to the national narrative in *Death in Kyiv*: why is the role of men suddenly presented as so important, yet the nationalistic mood does not receive more expression?

5.4.2. Death in Kyiv. A Novel in Disguise

5.4.2.1. Sexuality and Composition

The answer to the above-mentioned question lies in the composition of the novel, namely, in the correlation of 'good' and 'bad' parts. The beginning of *Death in Kyiv* appears quite successful. It portrays two fictional personages, Dulib and Ivanytsia, who travel through medieval Kyivan Rus' to unravel a mysterious murder in Kyiv. Because the victim belonged to a noble family (who was prince Ihor Olhovych), the Grand Prince Iziaslav himself follows the investigation. The two main characters first head to Kyiv from Chernihiv, where they examine the monastery of St. Fedir, the place of the murder. Dulib spends a night in Ihor Olhovych's cell and is almost killed by a mysterious foe. In the morning, Dulib and Ivanytsia are invited to the house of a wealthy Kyivan baron, Voityshych, where they discover that the murderers of

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[221] Ibid., 6, 7.
[222] Joane Nagel, "Masculinity and Nationalism: Gender and Sexuality in the Making of Nations," *Ethnic and Racial Issues* 21, no. 2 (December 2, 2010): 251.

prince Ihor were allegedly sent by a prince Iurii Dovhorukyi from Suzdal'. It is in the house of Voityshych that they meet Oika, one of the key female characters in the novel. She plays the role of a guide and aide to Dulib and Ivanytsia. Understandably, the part where Dulib and Ivanytsia travel around medieval Kyiv inspires scholars to compare *Death in Kyiv* to the historical detectives of Umberto Eco.[223] Also, the chapter dedicated to Dulib's lover, princess Maria, is worth noting. However, after Dulib and Ivanytsia leave Kyiv for Suzdal to interrogate Dovhoruky, the engaging part of the novel ends, and the reader is confronted with a dull panegyric to prince Iurii.

From this point, the novel turns into an endless moral problem: the main characters try to determine whether it is reasonable to accuse a person without having the whole picture of the crime. To do that, they have to give more value either to the word of a prince or of ordinary people. However, as they get to know Dovhorukyi and his court, they become persuaded to the innocence of the prince. He appears more intelligent and noble than the greedy and vainglorious elite of Kyiv and Chernihiv. As a ruler and as a person, he is so engaging and appealing that Dulib and Ivanytsia eventually agree to serve him. They travel the northen Rus' lands with Dovhorukyi and then return to Kyiv to prepare his return. Amidst these old-fashioned moral speculations, the reader encounters references to Ivanytsia's sexual activity, which seem in the least bizarre. Sometimes it is a true challenge to find the correlation between the sexual implications and historical context of the novel. However, the answer to that question lies in a connection to Socialist Realism.

5.4.2.2. Sexuality and history. The case of Zahrebelny

The body and sexuality is completely banished from novels like *Haidamaky*, whereas in *Death in Kyiv*, these topics flourish from the very first pages. The reason for this is the connection of sexuality and power. It is easy to notice that where Ivanytsia's sexual activity is high, the power

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[223] Rostyslav Semkiv, "'Vtecha' istyny: Umberto Eco, 'Imia troiandy'; Pavlo Zahrebelnyi 'Smert' u Kyievi' [The 'escape' of the verity: Umberto Eco's 'The name of the rose;' Pavlo Zahrebelnyi's 'Death in Kyiv']," in *Fragmenty [Fragments]* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2001), 70–78.

of the 'opponents' and 'oppressors' is the most intensive. Thus the plot depends on the degree of Ivanytsia's sexual activity, and as Ivanytsia and Dulib travel between the territories of relative freedom and relative oppression, the degree of Ivanytsia's desire and success varies. To be more precise, Ivanytsia's sexual zest reflects the flow of the plot: his sexuality increases when he is in Kyiv and decreases in the domain of Iurii Dovhorukyi. Surprisingly, Ivanytsia's luck with women does not depend on geographical location, as when Ivanytsia returns to Kyiv, he does not retain it. For even in Kyiv Dulib's partner remains under the influence of Dovhorukyi. Thus, power and its disposition determine the sexual activity.

Zahrenel'nyi writes that Ivanytsia's encounters with women help him collect information for his partner Dulib and states that he does not exercise any power over them. Zahrenel'nyi writes about Ivanytsia:

> *Frankly speaking, knowledge came to Ivanytsia via women. It is known that there are no secrets for women anywhere; it is also known that women always feel an urge to share the treasures they have, and here Ivanytsia was of use to the best half of humanity. One shouldn't think that he seduced women or, it would be unjust even to think, used force against them. They came to him voluntarily, seduced by his kindness, his smile, and his, so to speak, helplessness.*[224]

It was a bizarre talent, but Zahrenel'nyi is surprisingly careless in descriptions of Ivanytsia's powers.

> *Women came to him everywhere as soon as he and Dulib stopped to rest or for Dulib to perform his healing work. Ivanytsia didn't have to make any effort: he had neither to lift a finger, nor to raise an eyebrow. His kind soul was shining from his face, from his eyes, and his smile, and women, attracted to this unusual kindness, momentarily came to Ivanytsia and presented*

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[224] Pavlo Zahrebelnyi, *Smert' u Kyievi [Death in Kyiv]*, vol. 3, Tvory u 6 tomakh [Novels in 6 volumes] (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1980), 15.

everything they had, but first they gave news, secrets, and stories, which they
always had in abundance.[225]

However, the very information that he gets represent the power Ivanytsia obtains over women. Using his abilities, Ivanytsia persuades Iemets' daughter Oika to give information about the killers of prince Ihor, and after she agrees, together with Dulib, they head to Iurii Dovhorukyi's domain in Suzdal'. At the same time, mysterious Oika does not allow herself to be seduced by Ivanytsia, so he leaves with a promise of love when he returns from Suzdal.

On Dovhorukyi's territory, ill luck continually pursues Ivanytsia, and he is neither able to extract information from women nor express his sexuality in its fullness. Travelling with Dulib and Iurii in northern lands, Ivanytsia is rejected by women: Olha, the daughter of Dovhorukyi, Suzdal maids at Iurii's court, Oliana, an ordinary girl whom Dulib and Ivanytsia saved from being disgraced by Dovhorukyi; and also Maniunia, the daughter of *boiaryn* (baron) Kyslychka.

The episode that involves Maniunia and Ivanytsia is one of the most interesting in the whole novel. Being of incredible beauty, she catches Dovhorukyi's fancy and, as with the above-mentioned Oliana, she is expected to become his lover. However, Maniunia chooses Ivanytsia over the prince, and together they escape and shut themselves in one of the rooms of Kyslychka's house. However, despite the opportune moment, Ivanytsia fails for the first time.

Maniunia was ready for everything for Ivanytsia, but he suddenly felt that he
couldn't take anything from her. It was as if he was rightly punished by the
justice of God in the part of the body that he was going to sin with. Perhaps
it happened for the better because Maniunia had not lost her purity, but for
Ivanytsia it was an indelible shame.[226]

The important characteristic of sexual superiority naturally determines the position of a character in the hierarchy of power. That is why the dominance of Ivanytsia ceases right after he encounters Iurii Dovhorukyi as if the latter suppressed the abilities of Dulib's partner. This

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[225] Ibid., 3:19.
[226] Ibid., 3:218.

move by Zahrenel'nyi underlines the superior position of Dovhorukyi in the novel. Similarly, it undermines the positions of Kyivan princes whose power is not enough to subdue their rivals and opponents. Thus, the women whom prince Iurii could not seduce, remained untouched (Oliana, Maniunia), whereas the sexual life of Iziaslav is sporadic and includes violence towards women.

While the periods of inhibition of Ivanytsia's masculinity reveal his position in relation with power, they also demonstrate how effectively they reflect the waves of subjection and general disposition of power in the novel. Sexuality and the body appear the tear in the fabric of the text that reveals the main motifs of the national narrative in *Death in Kyiv.*

5.4.3. National Narrative in Zahrebelny's Death in Kyiv. The Question of Structure and Motifs

5.4.3.1. Sexuality and Nation

When Gonzalez-Torres and Fernandez-Rivas write about sexuality and nation, they interpret it from the position of the inferior side. For them, the sexual superiority of the other is

> *a sign of a deep wound, a narcissistic loss that in general is represented not via an open recognition of this sexual fiction (both the superiority of the other and the deficiency of the self being fiction) but rather via what Vamik Volkan refers to as "chosen trauma," a traumatic event in the sometimes distant past that represents the moment in which the "us" group abandoned paradise, an idyllic former situation to which all nationalist groups wish to return. This is why nationalist movements so often recall not great victories or past achievements, but rather bloody defeats that led to the current state of subordination.[227]*

This explanation applies to Ivanytsia, who takes his sexual failures badly and returns to them later in the text. However, his inferior position is not stable, which Gonzalez-Torres and Fernandez-Rivas do not clarify. But while Ivanytsia weeps about his inferiority to prince Iurii,

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[227] Miguel Angel Gonzalez-Torres and Aranzazu Fernandez-Rivas, "Some Reflections on Nationalism, Identity and Sexuality," *International Forum of Psychoanalysis* 23, no. 3 (July 3, 2014): 140, doi:10.1080/0803706X.2013.794958.

he does not qualify him as 'the other'. On the contrary, he takes Dovhorukyi's side and attempts to help him return to Kyiv. It only means that the princes of Kyiv and Chernihiv are positioned as hostile to Ivanytsia and Dulib. At the same time, Dovhorukyi appears as the dominant leader.

These preliminary contemplations point at several principal motifs of the national narrative in *Death in Kyiv*. Firstly, it is the motif of a strong leader whose image is a collection of various positive traits. In the novel, it is personified by prince Iurii Dovhorukyi who is portrayed as mysterious and powerful. Although his name – Dovhorukyi, which in translation from Ukrainian means 'Long-Armed', – implied that he could get anything he desired, not necessarily in a fair way, Zahrebelny in his novel attempts to rehabilitate the reputation of prince Iurii. This is how he describes the opinion of the society on Dovhorukyi.

> *Even the name of this prince – Dovhorukyi* [Long-Armed – AV] *– caused terror. As if he reached his long, grabbing, and prehensile hands on all the lands, up to the furthest corners; he meddled in everything; he snatched everything and wanted to seize everything. Although this was only the opinion of those in power – princes, boiary, voievody* [military governors – AV]*, and their minions. Ordinary people saw the prince Dovhorukyi for his generosity, for the will to help a person, for dispensing charity, opening prince's barns and cellars in hungry years, feeding countless orphans, weak, lost, miserable, homeless people, of whom there was no shortage in the lands behind the woods. Either way, Dovhorukyi had to be strong, decisive, and perhaps austere from his look, as is suitable for anyone who acts without doubt, especially when it comes to kind and rightful deeds.*[228]

Secondly, there is a motif of the Golden Age, which is described as the time of Volodymyr Monomakh, the father of Dovhorukyi. As in *Haidamaky,* the 'good times' for the people of Kyivan Rus' are lost, and the current circumstances are unbearable. And yet, says Zahrenel'nyi, there is still hope that a strong leader will fix everything and bring happiness to the people. Thirdly, there is a motif of treachery, which in *Death in Kyiv,* is personified by the *boiary*, local

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[228] Zahrebelnyi, *Smert' u Kyievi [Death in Kyiv]*, 3:99, 100.

elites that competed with princes and interfered with their wise governance. Interestingly, the *boiary* as the main enemy oppose only the perfect leader and agree with Iziaslav, a less desirable head of state. The final motif of Zahrenel'nyi's version of the national narrative is the motif of failure. The leader, no matter how skilled and suitable for the role he is, cannot return the country the lost Golden Age.

Although the actors of the narrative and the disposition of the power are different, it is obvious that the structure of Zahrenel'nyi's version of the national narrative resembles the Socialist Realist narrative. To some extent, in both versions, the defeat of the state is attained with the same methods and by the same characters; however, there are differences that subsequently change the perception of the narrative. The next section of the chapter will demonstrate them.

5.5. On motifs. A Strong Leader

It is significant that Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi dedicates his 'male' historical novel of the Kyivan Rus' cycle to Iurii Dovhorukyi. On the one hand, it is a sign that he feels more free to discuss controversial characters in the history of Eastern Slavs. On the other hand, it should be a point of interest why he picks the founder of Moscow, an iconic person in Russian culture, to represent the era of Kyivan Rus' in Ukrainian context. There are reasons to think that Zahrenel'nyi presents Dovhorukyi as a perfect prince, an ideal leader for both the Russian and Ukrainian nations, and doing this, he introduces prince Iurii into Ukrainian national narrative. This move integrates further the stories of the two nations.

In this section, I will demonstrate the techniques, devices, and metaphors that Zahrebelny uses to blend Russian and Ukrainian national narrative. As the previous chapter demonstrates, the role of the leader declines in the late 1950s. This evidence is supported by the comparison of Petro Panch's Khmelnyts'kyi and Iurii Mushketyk's Zalizniak, where the former represents the perfect leader and the latter's character is made more complex and psychologically ambiguous. Zahrenel'nyi's novel *Death in Kyiv* returns the interest to the figure of the leader; however, in

his version, the ruler is regarded as an individual, and his skills as a governor are considered part of his complex personality. The readers are forced to discover prince Iurii; they cannot presume what and who he is, as in the case of Panch's Khmelnyts'kyi. They know as much as Dulib and Ivanytsia who arrived at Iurii's domain to investigate his complicity in the murder of prince Ihor – a suspicion that earlier would be unthinkable as part of the leader's image.

Dovhorukyi is still portrayed as a perefect leader, different to other princes who do not possess his virtues. More importantly, while other princes are surrounded by cowards and traitors, the morals of prince Iurii secures the place by his side only for free-spirited and just people, such as one of his barons, Ivan Berladnyk, a prince without a dominion.

> *"You, prince, are concerned about the holy cause, so we are with you. If you will become like other princes, we will leave you the very same day. Neither you nor any other force will make me and my berladnyky support an unjust cause."[229]*

Apart from moral virtues, Dovhorukyi is also befitted a flawless body. Oddly enough, it becomes one of his peculiarities and a part of his style as a governer. Even more unthinkable was a description and analysis of the perfect leader's body, and yet Zahrenel'nyi makes it one of the key characteristics of Dovhorukyi.

> *Here is a happy man. […] His body does not change with time, does not grow fat and amass waste, as happens to most people who can eat well and drink as much as they want. When death comes, it will find this body powerful, agile, young and beautiful, as it was when it lived, and very nearly the same as when it was born! This is life and happiness![230]*

The body as light and powerful as this, and this power extends to Dovhorukyi's ability to govern the state and lead the nation.

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[229] Ibid., 3:389.
[230] Ibid., 3:96.

At the same time, Dovhorukyi's body, its youth and strength, lead him to failure. His young bride, princess Iryna of Byzantium, falls in love with prince Ivan Berladnyk, Dovhorukyi's vassal. Mad with jealousy, prince Iurii arrests his ally and servant and sends him back to Suzdal'. From this point, Dovhoruky starts losing his closest friends, Dulib and his sons, and is left with vengeful Kyivan *boiary*, who in the end poison Dovhorukyi.

The whole personality of Iurii Dovhorukyi was new to the 'post-October'[231] literature, as earlier writers were reluctant to contemplate on his persona, but Zahrenel'nyi felt that the situation was safe enough to discuss such a controversial personage. So far as Dovhorukyi is considered to be the founder of Moscow, his figure remained untouched and undiscussed for many years of the Soviet rule. The reason for that is that chronicles give ambiguous information on Dovhorukyi's activity. While Ipatiivs'kyi Litopys (chronicle) describes his governing as a period of continuous wars with his nephew Izyaslav Mstyslavych (1097-1154)[232], Zahrenel'nyi refers to it as a rescue operation to save Kyiv from unfair rulers.

> *This man [Dulib – AV] arrived from Kyiv and from Kyiv he delivered a heavy charge to the prince, but he does not know that at the memory of Kyiv, this prince becomes a child again, a little boy, who cannot forget his warm nights in Dnipro, the sky as gentle as his mother's eyes, and his father's tears of joy, shed by Monomakh every time he returned to his children.*
>
> *But are these memories in keeping with his position of the Great Prince? Would this man understand that the land cannot be disintegrated, as it is not possible to break a human soul and half a heart to leave one piece of it in sweet and unforgettable lands of childhood and abandon the other one in the harsh wilderness of adulthood.[233]*

As it becomes obvious from the novel, Dovhorukyi mainly accuses Iziaslav and other Kyivan princes of disintegration of Kyivan Rus'. He keeps referring to the authority of his father,

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[231] The term often used in Soviet literary criticism to designate the period after the Revolution of 1917.

[232] *Polnoie sobranie russkikh letopisei [The complete collection of the chronicles of Rus']*, vol. 2. Ipatievskaia letopis [Ipatievskaia chronicle] (Saint Petersburg: Typography of M. A. Aleksandrov, 1908), http://litopys.org.ua/ipatlet/ipat15.htm.

[233] Zahrebelnyi, *Smert' u Kyievi [Death in Kyiv]*, 3:110.

Volodymyr Monomakh, the last of the Great Princes of united Rus'; and considers it as an ultimate truth. However, the chronicle suggests that Dovhorukyi fought with Iziaslav because the latter conquered towns belonging to prince Iurii.[234]

There are more contradictions with chronicles in the novel, but they do not constitute the objective of this research because the correlation of historical facts and fiction in the novel does not necessarily contribute to the formation of the current version of the national narrative. In *Death in Kyiv,* more important sides of Dovhorukyi's character are concealed, and only they influence the national narrative. Thus, three valuable traits of Dovhorukyi as a leader are prominent in Zahrenel'nyi's version of the national narrative. Firstly, it is important to understand how the perfect leader contributes to setting the boundaries of the nation. Two arguments contribute to the answer to this question. Firstly, Dovhorukyi promotes the idea of a united Rus', united Slavic territories from Moscow to Lviv. Secondly, he is connected both to Muscovy and the northern territories and to Kyiv (via his father Monomakh). Thus, no boundaries for Ukrainian nation are envisaged. Undoubtedly, Kyiv is positioned as the centre of the power and culture of all the people of Rus', and, feeling the urge to seize Kyiv, Dovhorukyi recognises its superiority to other cities of the state. This dangerous move is concealed with sentimental and melodramatic maxims about the return to the homeland.

In general, Zahrenel'nyi allows himself to be far more free than the authors of the Socialist Realist historical novels. And while this seems obvious, the essence of these differences is not self-evident. Neither is the extent of the transformation of motifs in the national narrative. The motif of a perfect leader demonstrates significant deviation in Zahrenel'nyi's writing towards liberally oriented texts. And yet its existence in the novel speaks for the author's adherence to traditional Soviet patterns, which influences the national narrative of the time. It is also significant that the perfect leader is chosen not among the cohort of inherently Kyivan princes

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[234] *Polnoie sobranie russkikh letopisei [The complete collection of the chronicles of Rus'].*

but from the princes distant to Ukrainian culture who with great reserve could be portrayed as compromise figures for both the Russian and Ukrainian nations.

5.6. The Motif of Golden Age. Kyiv as a Lost Paradise

What is the function of the perfect leader? Clearly, in historical novels, he is supposed to solve a problem where others fail, and Dovhorukyi in *Death in Kyiv* possesses the necessary qualities to achieve this. The mission of prince Iurii, as Zahrenel'nyi describes it, is to lead the people back to the union of nations, as it was during the rule of his ancestors, princes Volodymyr the Great, Iaroslav the Wise, and Volodymyr Monomakh. In fact, normally, when prince Iurii refers to Kyiv, he evokes it along with the image of Monomakh.

> *He [Dulib] does not know that when this prince remembers about Kyiv, he becomes a child, a little boy who cannot forget warm nights over Dnipro, the sky, tender as mother's eyes, and the father's tears that Monomakh used to shed every time he returned to his children.*[235]

However, this emotional picture is nearly always mixed with a political message: Dovhorukyi urges to unite the lands of the Slavs.

> *"Look, doctor, this is the only endless land in the world. However big something is, it will be drowned here, it will get lost, vanish; this land cannot be conquered, enslaved, or bought, and it is only worth to be united."*[236]

While the childhood points to Kyiv, the adulthood is situated in cold Suzdal'. The blissful state of being warm and safe in the family circly designates the Golden Age for both the Russian and Ukrainian nations and is associated with Kyiv.

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[235] Zahrebelnyi, *Smert' u Kyievi [Death in Kyiv]*, 3:110.
[236] Ibid.

In terms of the national narrative, two moments are important in the motif of the Golden Age in the novel. First, it is its geographical location, which in *Death in Kyiv* is situated in Kyiv, the current capital of Ukraine. Second, it is the temporal positioning, that is, it is important whether the Golden Age has already passed or it is still anticipated to arrive. And finally, it is vital to know whether the spatial and temporal locations of the Golden Age correspond. In this sense, the perfect state of the nation in the future should be located where it was in the past. For Zahrenel'nyi, Kyiv designates the location of blissful times for the Slavic people; however, at the time of the novel, the city had already lost its function. Zahrenel'nyi's novelty in his approach to the Golden Age is that, unlike in the Socialist Realist narrative, he wants to return the Golden Age to its previous location, to Kyiv.

There are two sources where Zahrenel'nyi borrows the idea of the importance of Kyiv. First, it is clearly the chronicles that he read preparing the material for the novel. It is in Ipatiivs'kyi chronicle that Kyiv is described as the "mother of the cities of Rus'. Second, it is an overall mythological image of Kyiv that developed into the whole myth. Historian Omelian Pritsak argues that before the 11th century, Kyiv was the synonym of the whole Rus'. He writes that the metropolitans of Kyiv, unlike bishops in other cities (Novhorod, Smolens'k, Halych), use in their seals the name Rus', not Kyiv. The change of this situation comes with Dovhorukyi.

> *Just as the name "Kiev" became a kind of synecdoche for "the Metropolitan of all Rus'," the name of the baptizer of Rus', Volodimer the Great, developed from the mid-twelfth century into a symbol of the political charisma of the dynasty, now with no recognized senior. Jurij Monomaxovyč, the perennial pretender to the Kievan throne, is called by the chronicler (under the year 1149) an offspring of "Volodimer the Great, who baptized the whole land of Rus'," the same style is used with the reference to Jurij's son Hlib (Glěb) in 1172, and Danylo Romanovyč of Halyč in 1229.*[237]

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[237] Omeljan Pritsak, "Kiev and All of Rus': The Fate of a Sacral Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, no. 3/4 (December 1, 1986): 285.

Serhii Plokhy goes further and explains the development of the Orthodox Metropolitanate and the complicated play with the names Kyiv and Rus'. He argues that as a result of competition between Vilnus, Moscow, and Constantinople, metropolitan had the title of "Kyiv and all Rus'." But when the metropolitanate was permanently moved to Moscow in the mid-14th century, the name was preserved.[238] This and many other historical factors of later times established the symbolical connection between Kyiv and Moscow.

Zahrenel'nyi clearly does not care for this degree of historical accuracy; so he looks for an opportunity to combine the realm of the leader common for two nations with the Golden Age geographically and temporally specific to the Ukrainian nation only. The device he uses to do this is the division of Kyiv into 'good' and 'bad' parts, which is clearly a class division, but because it historically corresponded in Kyiv with geographical locations of elites and the lower class, Zahrenel'nyi assigns typical Kyivan topoi, cultural phenomena, and personalities to the two groups – positive and negative.

Due to this division, I regard Kyiv as a lost city in *Death in Kyiv*. While its image is very carefully articulated in the novel, Kyiv vanishes in time and space. Despite that, numerous critical studies describe the image of the city in holistic perspective, which rather describe Kyiv in geographical and symbolical perspectives. It appears that many of the researchers project the current image of the city onto the one created by Zahrenel'nyi. But the city in *Death in Kyiv* is a much more complex phenomenon. It is a product of interconnection and overlapping of a number images: the Kyiv of the chronicles; the Kyiv as it was portrayed in fiction, non-fiction, and propaganda of different eras; and the Kyiv where Zahrenel'nyi lived.

The first lines of the novel set the tone for the perception of the city. Despite all glory and power of the past, there are indications of irreversible changes in the city.

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[238] Serhii Plokhy, *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 101–105.

*Kyiv was full of tender light. It flowed from above, from the calm autumn sky
set high above the Kyiv hills; the green light rose towards it from below; and
between the green and the blue, the gold of cathedrals floated quietly; the
first yellowing of leaves lay between them; and this soft light squelched into
the soul; and one could feel that entering this city, one became immortal.*

*But Dulib knew well that behind this quiet light, there is the fresh memory of
a death that happened in Kyiv [...].*[239]

Thus, from the first page, Kyiv is positioned as a lost and unsafe territory. Its sanctity is ruined by the murder of prince Ihor Olhovych, the son of Oleh Sviatoslavych and the great-grandson of Iaroslav the Wise. The reference to this death not only opens a perspective of detective genre for Zahrenel'nyi, but it also introduces the motif of princes' quarrels that penetrated Kyivan Rus' after the death of Monomakh. Internecine wars between the descendants of Oleh Sviatoslavych (Olhovychi) and Volodymyr Monomakh (Monomakhovychi) became one of the reasons for the decline of Rus'. Thus, the time of agreement and understanding between numerous offspring of legendary princes is perceived in Zahrenel'nyi's novel as the Golden Age of Rus'. In his novel, he searches for a strong leader who would be able to unite the lands of Rus' under his rule and return to the time of prosperity and finds him in Dovhorukyi, and the relationship between him and Kyiv is not unambiguous. Despite belonging to northern Slavic territories from his early childhood, he longs to come back to Kyiv and obtain his father's, Monomakh, throne. For him, as well as for Zahrenel'nyi, not only is it the position of power, but also the place where the Golden Age can be restored and spread to all Slavic territories. Dovhorukyi weeps for Kyiv as the land of his ancestors and claims that no estate can replace it. The return of Dovhorukyi to Kyiv and the restoration of his power there is considered as a recovery of the Golden Age.

If the quarrels about the Kyivan throne explain the historical reasons for the decline of the role of Kyiv, it is also positioned through a spatial perspective. After all, *Death in Kyiv* is also a

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[239] Zahrebelnyi, *Smert' u Kyievi [Death in Kyiv]*, 3:7.

novel about the travels of Dulib and Ivanytsia in the Rus' lands. However, the significance and direction of their trips differ. Kyiv is the only city that is described to the fullest, and its geography and organisation are depicted rather accurately. First, Dulib and Ivanytsia visit *Hora*, the upper part of the city where princes and *boiary* lived, but it was not the whole lot Kyiv, but only its part that represented death and vice.

> *Their conversation hinged around an unusual event, without this event being named, but everything Dulib heard was "death, death, death." It went about the cities that Voityshych and his troops happened to storm; it went about Kyivan hills with churches and monasteries so beloved of hegumen Anania; it went about city courts that Petrylo looked after the prince's interests and caused grief and harm to nameless people; but for Dulib, it was all mixing together; he thought his own thoughts, and for him, it all amalgamated – Ihor, and the city, and the hills, and the grief* [Ihor, i horod, i hory, i hore – AV].[240]

In the flourishing language, at least partially liberated from strict regulations (compared to the language of Socialist Realist novels), numerous devices point at the direction of the national narrative. These games with the language – extended sentences, assonances, and alliterations – successfully emphasise the perception of the city. Here, on the level of language, the name of prince Ihor is knitted with *horod* (city) as if the two words actually had a common stem. But according to Zahrenel'nyi, it is not a good sign, and he puts *hore* (grief) in this row to emphasise the sense of tragedy, death, and crime that saturates the former Golden Age.

And yet, a part of Kyiv, *Podil* (a part of the city by the river Dnipro; the settlement of craftsmen and merchants)*,* represents other moods. As Dulib and Ivanytsia descend there, Zahrenel'nyi acknowledges that *Hora* does not represent all Kyiv. That is, there are parts of the city where grief and greed did not made their inhabitants heartless.

> *Voityshych is not Kyiv. Neither is Boryslav, nor Myroslav, nor Hordiata, nor Lazar, nor Petrylo, and nor Vasyl' Polochanyn. For the time being, Kyiv is*

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[240] Ibid., 3:39.

inconspicuous; it does not reach out for the sky with golden churches; it doesn't enclose courtyards; it doesn't sit around on oak benches in refectories; it is around here; it supports Hora with smoke, chopping sounds of axes, clanking of hammers; it goes to sleep and wakes on an empty stomach; it won't give its free will to anybody and it doesn't want anybody's will.[241]

Thus, Kyiv is divided – on the basis of geography, demography, and class. At the same time, the northern lands of Suzdal' have horizontal organisation, compared to vertically organised Kyiv. Investigating the murder of prince Ihor, Dulib and Ivanytsia travel from town to town in search of evidence. They cover Iurii's residence in the forest; Suzdal'; a village on the road to Ivan Berladnyk's land; the residence of Dovhorukyi outside of Suzdal'; and finally, arrive at Berladnyk's domain. During the whole trip, Dulib and Ivanytsia stay close to prince Iurii, both geographically and paradigmatically, which is a sign that the prince treats them as equals. Thus, the linear organisation of the space corresponds with the linear, non-hierarchical, structure of the Suzdal society. Undoubtedly, Dulib desires the same for Kyiv.

But despite all the stipulations about Kyiv, it is remarkable that Zahrenel'nyi locates the Golden Age of Ukrainians in Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine. Similarly to the Golden Age of the Socialist Realist narrative, Kyiv is failed and rotten.

It is visible through the organisation of space in Kyiv. Its vertical arrangement is as stable and unshakeable as its hills. According to Zahrenel'nyi, Kyiv is steady not in its cultural and political strength but in the stubbornness of its barons, *boiary*. And just as one cannot move hills, Dovhorukyi fails to shake the power of local elites. Having beaten Iziaslav and entered Kyiv, Dovhorukyi lowers his guard and does not oppose the oppressors anymore. As a perfect leader, he urges for peace, which is why "he forgets that holding such a vast land, one must only be God to maintain it."[242] Kyiv instead did not change, and even the return of the perfect

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[241] Ibid., 3:46, 47.
[242] Ibid., 3:400.

leader did not shake its constitution. Stubborn barons promoted weak and controllable prince Iziaslav. In the end, they succeeded and he returned as the Great Prince of Kyiv. And the city, owing to the efforts of Zahrenel'nyi, was never a city of the Ukrainian Golden Age, and it was never meant to be one.

5.7. The Motif of Failure. Kyiv as a Traitor

It is not unintentional that Kyiv receives so much attention in the composition of the novel. The more the structure of the motifs of the national narrative reveals itself, the more obvious it becomes that this city stands at the centre of Zahrenel'nyi's version of the national story, but, unlike Mushketyk's version of the national narrative, the story in *Death in Kyiv* articulates more details of the national past. On the one hand, it is a positive change because it brings more life to the novel and makes it more engaging. The everyday life of Kyivans and the topography of the city give an idea about the organisation of life in the medieval Rus'. On the other hand, this detailed and careful elaboration is infected by the same idea of failure and treachery as in the Socialist Realist narrative. More and more inherently Ukrainian details – topoi, details of clothing and food, cultural and religious phenomena – are tainted with treachery and failure. Kyiv's princes and the organisation of Kyiv's society are criticised and blamed for the lost Golden Age. As Zahrenel'nyi qualifies the society as class-divided, some classes are certainly made responsible for the fate of others. Elites, that is, *boiary*, and clerics are to be blamed for the misfortunes of the lower class.

However, in his attempt to dramatise the sins and vices of the upper class, Zahrenel'nyi includes Kyivan reality to illustrate the misery of regular people. One of the iconic images of Kyiv, St. Sofia Cathedral, plays a role in this. It is portrayed as a sacred place and connected to Iaroslav the Wise, one of the great princes, and yet, it is also included in the mundane story of the class struggle.

Since the time of Iaroslav the Wise, here [at St. Sofia's – AV] a prince and a boiaryn, a priest and a merchant, a soldier and a smerd [peasant – AV] gathered. The square in front of the Cathedral was tailored to fit all Kyivans; at the same time, everything was designed not to confuse chalk and cheese, rabble and better people.[243]

Zahrenel'nyi divides *Hora* and *Podil* with an impenetrable mental border. *Hora*, thinking only about its own preservation, plots against Iurii's son, Rostyslav, and against Iurii himself. It takes its best efforts to maintain the docile Iziaslav's leadership, and to do this, the *boiary* were ready for a new fratricide.

Iziaslav looked around as if haunted. There were no thoughts either about glory or might or about ruling Kyiv; he was ready to run away over the hills and far away, in open fields, to fight the devil himself so as only not to hear these dreadful people who demanded a new fratricide from him, as if they had forgotten that only a year ago prince Ihor was killed here, and this murder xast a shadow over himself, Iziaslav.[244]

At the same time, the *boiary* did not think about the people of *Podil* who were dying in a horrific flood that emptied the lower part of the city.

Ecclesiastic matters and their interpretation also contribute to Zahrenel'nyi's construction of the national narrative. In *Death in Kyiv*, it is the episode concerning the election of the Metropolitan Klyment (Smoliatych). Zahrenel'nyi claims that Iziaslav manipulated the church in order to have control over it, and for this purpose, he placed Klyment as the head of the Orthodox Church in Kyivan Rus' without consent from Byzantium. The image of Zahrenel'nyi's Klyment is simplified and does not reflect the description of a cleric as they appear in the chronicles, which he had obviously studied before proceeding to the novel. In *Death in Kyiv*, the Metropolitan is a dark and unpleasant personality, a bibliophile, detached from the real world. He cannot produce any independent thought, quoting instead another

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[243] Ibid., 3:355.
[244] Ibid., 3:322.

Kyivan metropolitan, Ilarion, the author of *Slovo pro zakon i blahodat* (Sermon on law and grace).

> *Greek bishops – Nestor of Rostov, Kuzma of Polotsk, Manuil of Smolens'k, and Nifont of Novhorod – refused to be present at the church council where Klyment was elected. Unable to reach the first three of them, Iziaslav managed to capture Nifont, who was turned over by his son, and put the disobedient bishop in a dungeon in Kyiv. The latter was still rotting in a fetid dungeon, while the Metropolitan, in golden trappings, amongst the festive singing, was praised and glorified. There are good reasons why in the letter to the Presbyter of Smolens'k, Foma, he will write that "Glory and power are urged not only by laics but also by monks. The lust for them haunts us till the grave.[245]*

Klyment is presented as vainglorious and his concerns are mostly about being in power more than about the church and congregation and yet, in his writings, he still calls himself a "philosopher."[246]

At the same time, recent studies portray Klyment Smolianych as a well-travelled and educated monk who managed to reach higher positions in the church hierarchy. Based on the argument of Anna Litvin and Fedor Uspenskii, I assume that some characteristics that Zahrebelny assigns to Klyment in order to devaluate him, testify to nothing more than linguistic games of medieval chroniclers, who are known for constructing their texts on the basis of clichés.[247]

5.8. The National Narrative in *Death in Kyiv*. Consolidation

Zahrenel'nyi makes his novel rich in historical detail. It is definitely more replete with authentic material on every level of the text than its predecessors of the Socialist Realist epoch, but does

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[245] Ibid., 3:272.
[246] Ibid., 3:271.
[247] Anna Litvina and Fedor Uspenskii, *Traektorii trasitsii. Glavy iz istorii dinastii i tserkvi na Rusi kontsa XI - nachala XIII veka [The Trajectories of tradition. Chcapters from the history of the dynasty and church in Rus' of the late XI-early XIII century]* (Moscow: Litres, 2010), 69, 70.

this mean a dramatic transformation of the approach to history and the interpretation of arguable and ambiguous factual information? The idea of the national narrative gives a negative answer to this question. From the description of the main motifs of Zahrenel'nyi's novel, it becomes obvious that his version of the narrative preserves the general skeleton of the Socialist Realist narrative. Key motifs of Zahrenel'nyi's story correspond with the narrative in Mushketyk's *Haidamaky* and the novel of the Kyivan Rus' circle. At the same time, there are some principal differences between the two types of narrative. First, it is the techniques of implementation of the national narrative. While Mushketyk rather blatantly puts it out on the level of the novel's fabula, Zahrenel'nyi's usage is more intricate. In *Death in Kyiv*, the motifs are still easy to identify and the markers of 'subjected' and 'subjecting' are based on references to the body. Second, the motifs become more personal and thus, more targeted. Not only does he lament for the lost Golden Age, he names the culprits responsible. While the previous section of the chapter analysed the motifs in details, the next section will produce a consolidated version of Zahrebelny's national narrative.

5.8.1. Princes and Beggars. The Correlation of Power

As I mentioned before, the scheme of the national narrative in *Death in Kyiv* had changed little compared to the national narrative of the 1950s. It spins around the image of the perfection that is lost or is yet to be found. At first, Zahrenel'nyi gives a perspective of the vanished goodness, which, according to him, is Kyiv with its relative freedom for ordinary people. United Slavic lands represent a matter of concern for Zahrenel'nyi, therefore his second move is to provide the evidence of the necessity of the Golden Age to the extent where he elaborates a program of the return to the blissful state of the overall goodness, which is personified by the perfect leader, Iurii Dovhorukyi.

However, the perfect leader is not an absolute in this novel; he is controlled and limited by the perfect mob, Kyivans, who represent a separate power in the novel. By constructing this image, Zahrenel'nyi states that the power of one man brings no benefits for ordinary people who are

doomed to suffer from class inequality. The mob has its own voice and demands its say in decisions vital to the city. The citizens of Kyiv do not support Iziaslav and disregard his appeals and commands. Surprisingly, they are inclined to Dovhorukyi and are willing to support him. This ambiguity makes both images, of Dovhorukyi and of Kyivans, blurry and unsteady, but it also demonstrates the principal intention of the narrative – to celebrate the common 'Slavic' cultural, religious, and political phenomena without giving credit to inherently Ukrainian features.

As in the Socialist Realist narrative of Mushketyk, specifically Ukrainian phenomena are considered rotten and failing. The institution of *boiarstvo* (which reflects the further emerged upper-class groups, Cossack *starshyna* and *kurkuli* (rich Ukrainian peasants,[248] who were persecuted and banished by the Soviet regime) is causing the decline of Kyivan Rus'. The symbols of the Rus' statehood, great princes Volodymyr and Iaroslav, are portrayed as exploiters.[249] But even Zahrenel'nyi's version of the perfect leader, Iurii Dovhorukyi, together with his supporters, are bound for failure. The motif of the defeat dominates over the second part of the novel and prevails in the national narrative. As in the Socialist Realist narrative, Zahrenel'nyi preserves the path to failure, which all his characters are doomed to experience. Again, similarly to Mushketyk's narrative, *Death in Kyiv* portrays those responsible for the failure with precision and passion.

5.9. Conclusion

Equating a masculine adventurous novel, like *Death in Kyiv*, with the melodramatic *Ievpraksiia* may appear unreasonable, however, they have more common features than it may seem at first. The key reason to compare them is the feminine orientation of the national narrative. Unlike in

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[248] For more information about the representation of Ukrainian peasants in the Soviet press and media space see Serhy Yekelchyk, *Ukraine: Birth of a Modern Nation* (Oxford University Press, 2007). In Yekelchyk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*. The role of the Cossacks and their representation in the Soviet culture is clarified.
[249] Zahrebelnyi, *Smert' u Kyievi [Death in Kyiv]*, 3:351.

Ievpraksiia, which is based on the story of a female, extrapolated on the story of the nation, in *Death in Kyiv*, men play all key roles in the story. Both fictional and historical characters are males: Iziaslav, the Great Prince of Kyiv, and his *boiary* (boyards, local elite); a doctor of prince Iziaslav, Dulib; his companion Ivanytsa; Iurii Dovhorukyi, and his sons. Females in the novel are mostly represented by teenage girls: Oika, the daughter of Iziaslav's servant; Olha, Dovhorukyi's daughter; Maniunia, the daughter of Iurii's baron; and Maria, a princess and Dulib's lover. The age of the heroines roughly corresponds with Ievpraksiia's; moreover, her storyline correlates with Maria's story about marrying into a foreign country.

The blatant masculinity of *Death in Kyiv* is merely a decoration that hides the utter feminine essence of this text. As Judith Butler puts it:

> *More particularly, it seems clear that the positions of "masculine" and "feminine" which Freud, in The Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality (1905), understood as the effects of laborious and uncertain accomplishment, are established in part through prohibitions that demand the loss of certain sexual attachments, and demand as well that those losses not be avowed, and not be grieved.*[250]

It is therefore a female novel in disguise. Behind its speculations on masculinity and its assumed status as the first ever novel in its openness to sex and physiology of the human body, there stands an image of the enslaved Ievpraksiia. Having been written so close to I*evpraksiia*, *Death in Kyiv* is charged with the same dosage of lamentation, concealed in the form of a masculine adventure story. In the beginning, it is rather powerful and engaging, but as soon as the two main characters, Dulib and his companion Ivanytsia, encounter historical personages like prince Iziaslav and Iurii Dovhoruky, the plot sinks into evaluative categories. The problem here lies in the remains of the black-and-white Socialist Realist view of the world and putting specifically Ukrainian phenomena in association with failure, treachery, and tragedy.

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[250] Judith Butler, "Melancholy Gender/Refused Identification," in *Constructing Masculinity*, ed. Maurice Berger, Brian Wallis, and Simon Watson (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 23, 24.

Chapter 6. Punishment, Power, and Writing: Valerii Shevchuk's Recipe to Avoid Subjection

> An account of subjection must be traced in the peculiar turning of a subject against itself that takes place in acts of self-reproach, conscience, and melancholia that work in tandem with processes of social regulation.
>
> Judith Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*

This chapter analyses the next type of historical novels, which represents the end of four decades of Socialist Realism historical fiction in Ukraine. It describes key points of estrangement from the Socialist Realism movement that took much effort from writers and was not extemporaneous and immediate. As I demonstrate in the previous chapters, a number of elements were transformed: (1) the perception of history; (2) the vision of Ukraine in history; (3) history's interpretation in the present; (4) correlation of history and aesthetic in fiction. According to these criteria, the texts of Petro Panch and Iurii Mushketyk would constitute its extreme pole on the imaginary scale of Socialist Realism. Then, the grade of 'realistic tension' would decrease in the latter texts of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, Oles Honchar, Volodymyr Malyk and other writers of the later generation. Here Socialist Realism assumes a concealed form, even though some of these authors' novels were banned or censored at one stage. At last, in Valerii Shevchuk's novels, this aftertaste disappears, which puts his texts on the opposite end of the scale.

The national narrative plays the role of this imaginary scale that measures how distant Shevchuk's text is from Socialist Realism. In this chapter, I will start to analyse *Try lystky za viknom* (Three leaves in the window, 1986). I will show it as a text of the new format that cannot

be investigated according to the pattern that was used in the analysis of the novels of Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi. In other words, in *Three Leaves*, the national narrative is not oriented to *fabula*; instead, it is carries in more concealed structures of *syuzhet.*

This chapter contextualises the novel and examines its structure to demonstrate the location of the national narrative. It believes that the key to the national story is located in the notion of subjection, which, in terms of Judith Butler, means "the process of becoming subordinated by power as well as the process of becoming a subject."[251] Although this notion describes the psychic life of individuals, in Shevchuk's case, it can be extrapolated to the behaviour of collectives. Nation, in his interpretation, begins with the individual, who becomes responsible for its fate. Thus, gradual subjection of an individual results in – or is a sign of – major shift in the life of the nation, which entails its subordination.

Since the novel consists of three major parts, this chapter, after presenting a contextualising section, will analyse the first part, "Illia Turchynovs'kyi," where the full national narrative is not expected to be seen. However, this part is vital for understanding the national story, as it points to the time that Shevchuk considers perfect for the spiritual prosperity of the nation – Baroque. The chapter discusses the benefits of Baroque in connection to the image of Illia Turchynovs'kyi as a perfect hero for the nation.

6.1. Contextualisation

The major question is why I still connect Shevchuk's novels on the imaginary board of Socialist Realism, though they represent an escape from the Soviet rhetoric. In all five criteria, his texts are different from earlier historical fiction. And yet, one has to admit a prominent entailment of the Soviet era in *Three Leaves in the Window.* Without any explicit ideological impositions, they keep readers expecting ideological lacunas, that is, the remains of the Soviet culture. It is

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[251] Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, 2.

true because Shevchuk does not avulse his texts from the discourse of Socialist Realism; he rather does the opposite and extracts the latter out of the novels. This action defines the direction of national narrative in Shevchuk's novels.

6.1.1. The Correlation of Politics and Culture in *Three Leaves*

The novel demonstrates the writer and his complex spiritual life. Three protagonists of three chapters write their own books and cannot imagine their life without writing. It comes to the point where Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi turns his whole life into a text. This subchapter analyses devices that three protagonists have at their disposal.

In between the articulation of subjection, Valerii Shevchuk constructs the notion of national culture. Many details in his texts – textual, *inter*-textual, and *meta*-textual – convey the idea of creating a new cultural reality. It is here that he establishes the national narrative and finds potential for distance from colonial culture. Within this search for affiliation, Shevchuk seeks culture, and in Franz Fanon's words, finds it in a temporal dimension. "Every human problem," writes Fanon, "must be considered from the standpoint of time."[252] In *Three Leaves in the Window*, Shevchuk travels back in time to search for the period of the prosperity of the Ukrainian nation. In the dimension of the temporal, Shevchuk seeks for the Golden Age; here he hopes to re-invent the lost thread of history, which will constitute a new, inherently Ukrainian, national narrative.

To find the past that is not elaborated on in Socialist Realist poetics, Shevchuk turns to Ukrainian Baroque as the least explored sphere of Ukrainian past. That is why Shevchuk's historical novels appear as if there was no history before them. However, he is well aware of his sources and roots and counts rather on different types of historical references. It seems that his primary concern is the mentality of a certain epoch, which allows him to place his novel on the edge, "at the junction point of the individual and the collective, of the long period and the

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[252] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 6.

quotidian, of the unconscious and the intentional, of the structural and the conjunctural, of the marginal and the general."[253] It is at this border that the action of *Three Leaves* takes place.

The border does not separate, but rather segregate a zone of special culture. This performative limit rather points at difference than forcedly sets it. Shevchuk's novel *Three Leaves in the Window* as a cultural phenomenon emerged on this border and "demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present."[254] Using Homi Bhabha's words, "it creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present. The 'past-present' becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living."[255]

For this purpose, Shevchuk looks for cultural references that meet two criteria. Firstly, they should differ from common references to Socialist Realism. That is why he introduces European Baroque to Ukrainian literature and underlines a "universal worldbuilding" referring to *Ship of Fools* (1494) by Sebastian Brant, *In Praise of Folly* (1509) by Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Divine Comedy* (1321) by Dante Alighieri, etc. Secondly, they should be inherent only to the Ukrainian cultural field. That is why he appeals to the works of Sebastian Klonowic, Mykola Husovskyi, Ivan Vyshenskyi, Dmytro Tuptalo, Ivan Kotliarevskyi and others who represent Ukrainian Baroque. With the help of their texts, as Liudmyla Tarnashynska argues, Valerii Shevchuk constructs his "universal worldbuilding."[256]

Together with attention to mentality and forgotten texts of the past, Shevchuk brings forward cultural re-*constructions* that oppose conventional construction. It means that his work exceeds

[253] Jacques Le Goff, "Mentalities: A New Field for Historians," *Social Science Information* 13, no. 1 (February 1, 1974): 85, doi:10.1177/053901847401300105.

[254] Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 7.

[255] Ibid.

[256] Liudmyla Tarnashynska, *Khudozhnia halaktyka Valeriia Shevchuka: postatє suchasnoho ukraïnskoho pys'mennyka na tli zahidnoievropejskoï literatury [The artistic galaxy of Valerii Shevchuk: Contemporary Ukrainian writer in the context of Western European literature]* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo imeni Oleny Telihy, 2001), 99, 100.

"the fixed tablet of tradition," and these extensions provide a basis for "difference," that is, for a final and ultimate upheaval in the perception of the past and the present. If Shevchuk aimed at cutting an ideological cord with Socialist Realism, then he required a different set of cultural traits that would become a referential field for a differed minority. In other words, only a new aesthetic system can lay the foundation of changes in an ideological order. It is an act of "performative" in Homi Bhabha's terms, where as he put it, "[t]erms of cultural engagement, whether antagonistic or affiliative, are produced." By that he follows Franz Fanon and implies that "the real *leap* consists in introducing invention into existence."[257] Constant movement liberates and produces new senses. In a way, Illia Turchynovs'kyi personifies the drive for performative. His thirst for knowledge and adventures forces him to wander and seek a true change in himself. However, in the next generations, this craving gradually declines as well as the spirit of wanders and freedom. Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi, an exact opposite of Illia, personifies a peak of this process: he is a collapsed person, a non-creative, destructive element of the world. These two extremities represent Valerii Shevchuk's strategy of re-construction of the national narrative.

6.1.2. The Power and Dimensions of Cultural History. Implications for the National Narrative

Valerii Shevchuk focuses on cultural aspects of history and distances himself from its political part, so the national narrative in his novels is not as explicit as in the texts of Panch and Mushketyk. Oriented to the domain of culture, Shevchuk seems to ignore politics and ideology. He constructs his characters and plots as if the outer world does not exist. And yet, it is difficult to separate cultural and political history, that is why any sharp distinction of the kind would be artificial. Therefore, one needs to question Shevchuk's lack of political statements. To my mind, he pushes the reader to the gaps in the cultural fabric of his novels, where readers find themselves in an ideological vacuum, which they automatically need to fill. Similarly to

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[257] Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, 229; cited in Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (Routledge, 1994), 8.

aesthetic lacunas, ideological gaps require the construction of meanings, and through that construction, national narrative illuminates.

How is it possible to analyse the national narrative when it is so concealed in the text? In fact, in Shevchuk's novels, every device and figure of speech can contain vital indications of the motifs of the narrative. Again, as in the case of the novels analysed above (of Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi), I will have recourse to the relationship of power. I will demonstrate how Shevchuk constructs the entire parallel universe inhabited by active political beings. However, this makes the question of *fabula* orientation of the narrative non-negotiable. The plots of three leaves (Shevchuk calls three parts of the novel 'leaves') do not contain the motifs of the national narrative. And only the careful extraction that comes along with hermeneutical analysis can point to them. Shevchuk's type of the national narrative hides its motifs on the level of *syuzhet*.

The gaps in *syuzhet* through which the narrative illuminates are visible where the past meets the present. Here, Shevchuk draws back baroque allusions and bares ideologically relevant concepts. In search for ideological implications, let us turn to the concepts that define the fundamental relationships of the individual and the group. In *Three Leaves in the Window*, they are: writing, crime and punishment, and power. They shift the attention of readers from the group itself (which was the centre of Socialist Realist texts) to the individual. Unlike the novels affected by Socialist Realism, Shevchuk's opposes these two organisations of human life – individual and collective – but he does not give preference to either. All three key discourses in *Three Leaves* become the locations of the struggle between them. Thus, *Three Leaves* is torn by the problematic of the individual and the collective, and this struggle preconditions the development of the national narrative.

6.1.2.1. The Choice of the Concepts for Analysis

In connection to the national narrative, these concepts perform the main task of ideologies in Teun A. Van Dijk's words, which is to "show a polarizing structure between US and THEM."[258] This is how Shevchuk defines enemies and describe their role in the failure of the nation. He uses the concepts of the individual, writing and time to estimate the role of his characters in the national narrative.

From what Shevchuk encodes in the text of the novel we can understand his motivation to differentiate the individual and the group looking into the actualisations of writing, crime and punishment, and power. In the first leaf of the novel, "Illia Turchynovs'kyi" he tells the story of a baroque vagabond, priest, scholar, and writer Turchynovs'kyi (1695 - unknown). Being very young, he leaves his wealthy home and undertakes the journey along the Orthodox regions of Ukraine (the Left-Bank Ukraine). As he visits major cities and works at local churches, he explores the world and writes about it. Turchynovs'kyi creates a drama, *Mudrist predvichna* (The eternal Wisdom), and includes his own experience and observations in its classical baroque text. When readers encounter Turchynovs'kyi as an elderly priest at the end of the novel, they find him working on his autobiography where he re-evaluates the past and contemplates on the present. This writing forces Turchynovs'kyi to seek solitude. In his young years, he looks for a spiritual distance from others, but as the old man, he feels an urge to be alone. And at all times, writing is the drive for it; writing becomes the force that constitutes a barrier between Turchynovs'kyi and other people. This constitutes the decisive sign of the hero in *Three Leaves*: he wants to stand out of the crows and contemplate on the spiritual life of the time.

In the second leaf, "The Runaway Petro," writing as a tool to improve the world loses its actuality, and thus, the hero, Petro Turchynovs'kyi, loses a part of his heroic qualities. Since writing is important for constituting the hero as the actor in the national narrative, Shevchuk

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[258] Teun A. Van Dijk, "Ideological Discourse Analysis," *New Courant* 4, no. 1 (1995): 139.

emphasises it merely to compare the importance of writing for Turchynovs'kyi and his grandson, Petro. The latter is also fond of rhetorical exercises, but what he values the most is the plot. The second leaf contains less of the characteristic baroque symbolics and metaphors, instead, it is concentrated on the plot as a literary phenomenon. Petro Turchynovs'kyi is a laic person, and as a court clerk (*pysar*), he is responsible for writing down the course of investigation. But as one case faces a dead-end, he takes over its investigation and examines court records to find a murderer and identify the victim. This leads Turchynovs'kyi to the stories of four people, which he writes down as part of his story. As texts interests him only as a tool, other dominants prevail in his story. They are crime and punishment. I will explain this statement in more detail in the respective section of this chapter, but for now it is important to say that this shift to a different paradigm of dominants that Petro Turchynovs'kyi demonstrates is determined by the changes in the worldview. This Turchynovs'kyi does not already live in a world where art is the salvation from vanity, death, and crime, and in the case when the project of writing fails, it is important to supervise the very reason that made writing so vital – crime. And it is even more necessary to find and punish those responsible for committing it.

In the third leaf, "The Forest of People, or The Black Book of Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi," the main character, Satanovs'kyi, the remote descendant of Illia Turchynovs'kyi, abandons the idea of the transformational power of writing and its importance for society. For Shevchuk this means a total decline of culture and, thus, a sign of the failed nation. Instead, Satanovs'kyi becomes the person, whom his distant ancestor would have probably wished to change. Satanovs'kyi does not fight for the better world and completely recognises the power of those superior to him. Moreover, he descends to exercising power himself for his personal good. Because he has magical abilities, Satanovs'kyi becomes nearly invincible in the society dominated by power and subjection. As he writes his *Black Book*, he documents the vices of the society without any intentions to change the situation.

The three leaves explained in the light of their dominating paradigms give an idea about an overall direction of *Three Leaves in the Window.* First, the novel represents three stories of relatively lonely people who have no interest in interacting with others, that is, with the representatives of the masses. This tendency obviously opposes the relationship of the individual and the collective in the earlier texts of Socialist Realism and the historical fiction of Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi. Second, the position of the character of *Three Leaves* is not determined by the opposition and struggle of any groups in the past. Illia Turchynovs'kyi's troubles are caused by his spiritual and intellectual otherness and not because of his class affiliation. The same is true for Petro Turchynovs'kyi. The tragedy of Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi resists the class analysis the most effectively, as Shevchuk ironically writes about the interaction of classes. In the third part, the rich and powerful soon find their punishment, but at the same time, the poor and miserable characters suffer from injustice and poverty.

6.1.2.2. The Past and the Present in Three Leaves. The Problem of Class Division and the Interaction of Groups

I think, therefore, that the key to the misfortunes of the above-mentioned characters lies in two perspectives of subjection. The first one is located within the framework of the novel, which the text itself encourages the reader to see. As a family saga, *Three Leaves in the Window* urges the reader to investigate the decline of the once-famous and noble several generations of the Turchynovs'kyis. The panoramic picture of the era that such investigation reveals, in fact, is the purview of the culture. It is the cultural tendencies that are to be blamed for the tragedies of Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi and his ilk. The gradual degradation of writing and prevailing of more restricted forms bear evidence for the overall restriction and the feeling of being haunted. The second perspective of *Three Leaves* is located in its direct connections to the future. Even though I mentioned that the novel does not promote the idea of class division, the historical fate of the classes and groups of characters is of primary importance for the national narrative. Thus, it is necessary to find out why Shevchuk proceeds to portraying vagabonds, clerics, priests, and

wealthy Cossacks, the groups that were omitted or presented as negative characters in historical novels of the previous decades. The preliminary answer to this question can be found in the idea that the time of the novel covers more than the two centuries described in the text. In fact, this time extends to four centuries and includes the 20th, when the above mentioned groups were persecuted and banished.

These two perspectives constitute the national narrative in the novel. Since the national story consists of the set of motifs, the next chapter will identify them in the text. As the national narrative in *Three Leaves* is quite an elusive structure, the chapter will start with already known motifs that were described in the previous chapters. Considering the high stability of the national story, such approach is valid; moreover, one motif – the motif of failure – is certainly present in the national narrative in *Three leaves in the Window.* Other sections of this chapter will also demonstrate the transformations of the motifs compared to the national narrative of Socialist Realism.

6.1.3. Individual, Writing, and Time. On the Structure of the Novel

The dimensions of the national narrative in *Three Leaves* have to become in accord with the actual content of the text to form a coherent story. Let us locate and describe these intersections. Following Liudmyla Tarnashynska, who authored one of the most recent books on Valerii Shevchuk's texts and continuously studies his activity, I acknowledge that he builds up Ukrainian history from the particular to general.[259] This demiurgic action is performed in *Three Leaves in the Window* as part of the construction of the past and history, which are supported by several principal pillars: person, writing, and time. Beyond these three dimensions, there is no past and no history, according to Shevchuk. The first one is the individual. In Shevchuk's text, the individual is a microcosm, where "complex historical and social processes are displayed via the liminal crises of personality that outline the most secret motives of human

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[259] Tarnashynska, *Khudozhnia halaktyka Valeriia Shevchuka: postate suchasnoho ukraïnskoho pys'mennyka na tli zahidnoievropejskoï literatury [The artistic galaxy of Valerii Shevchuk: Contemporary Ukrainian writer in the context of Western European literature]*, 103.

behaviour."[260] Although I mentioned that individuals seek solitude, they are not isolated, instead, they are connected to two other entities that function on the same scale – writing and time. In fact, individuals exist in writing and time only, according to Shevchuk.

The second point is the text. Its presence is visible on many levels, as Valerii Shevchuk introduces numerous textual realities into his novel in a sophisticated manner. In the first part, he intertwines baroque fables with the autobiography of the 18th century writer Illia Turchynovs'kyi to construct the narrative of the novel. The story becomes self-reflexive, as it is based on both the fragment of the real Turchynovs'kyi's journeys and the fictional part that Shevchuk reconstructs following the baroque manuscript. The second leaf "Runaway Petro" includes court records of the early 19th century. Shevchuk presents four cases from a town register where innocent people are prosecuted and lets the main character investigate them. In such a manner, he undermines the position of 'objective' documented history, which these records represent. This part also contains the poems that its characters wrote, and these unobjective and artistic texts help to solve the crime that the main character investigates better than official records. In the third chapter, the hero of the novel Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi fills the textual space with his own writing and creates a separate textual reality inhabited mostly by the images of real people. Unlike the two previous parts of *Three Leaves,* these texts are completely fictional. They contain references to historical personages, but in fact, the whole narrative consists of a fantasy.

The third and the last category is time, which embraces the two previous ones. In *Three Leaves* time has rather a historical meaning than physical; it is closer to the notion of mentality. The novel is set in three historical periods: Baroque, late Baroque / early Enlightenment, and Realism (Positivism).[261] As if following Bakhtin's conception of chronotope, the novel assigns

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[260] Roman Korohods'kyi, "Vtecha vid samotnosti, abo apolohiia ridnoho domu [The escape from solitude, or The apologia of home]," in *Stezhka v travi. Zhytomyrska saha [A path in the grass. The saga of Zhytomyr]*, vol. 1 (Kharkiv: Folio, 1994), 13.

[261] I refer to the 19th century culture, philosophical and historical thought as to realistic or positivistic, but I acknowledge the existence of many other styles and streams of the expression of realism. (For more detailed

specific topoi for each respective epoch: topoi of road, church, and nature designate baroque; chancellery and court point at enlightenment; provincial town, school attribute to Positivism.

Such analysis presents the novel as an accurate reconstruction of the past. In a way, it demonstrates Valerii Shevchuk's idea of Ukrainian mentality at the time. However, I believe that *Three Leaves in the Window* has at least one more textual layer that connects historical reality to the present. Indeed, though Shevchuk withdraws into culture and ignores political reality, he implies this level of knowledge in his text and expects the reader to be aware about Ukrainian history of the time. Juxtaposing the novel's textual reality and historical events, one comes to the conclusion that the novel pictures degradation into subjection, a *post*-colonial upheaval in Ukrainian cultural thought. This presents *Three Leaves in the Window* as an intellectual labyrinth where aesthetical categories are deeply entwined with ideological structures. The aesthetical meets the ideological – writing, crime and punishment, and power – in the three pulsating spots: individual, writing, and time. In the complex fabric of the novel, these layers absorb the concepts of crime, punishment, and power.

6.1.3.1. The Fall of the Turchynovs'kyis. The Story of Subjection

When this happens, ideology is prone to undermine aesthetics. Not in axiological, but in temporal meaning, the collective undermines the individual at this stage of the novel. There will be other places, and I will talk about them later, where the aesthetic component prevails. But here the ideological comes to surface. The concepts, involved in this chapter, are directly or indirectly connected with control and the core of power. I suggest that the tightening of power is main direction of the national narrative in *Three Leaves*. That is why I emphasise these

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examination, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (JHU Press, 1975), 46.

The third part of the novel investigates the life of Kyriiak Satanovskyi, whose urge for realism can mean the desire to see things clearly, but also "to draw appropriate conclusions from this clear apprehension of reality for the living of a possible life on its basis." Having these intentions, Satanovskyi assumes the same drives to write as the historiographers of the 19th century.

ideological issues to understand the relationships of control, subjection, and power in *Three Leaves in the Window.*

As Judith Butler explains this notion, subjection is "a subordination that the subject brings on itself; yet if subjection produces a subject and a subject is a precondition of agency, then subjection is the account by which a subject becomes the guarantor of its resistance and opposition."[262] In my opinion, Valerii Shevchuk produces a picture of multilevel subjection. Three stories in the novel are the revelations on different attitudes of the heroes to subjection. Illia Turchynovs'kyi starts his narration with a meditation on the freedom of spirit. Petro Turchynovs'kyi, his grandson, being involved in the penitentiary system, toys with different sources of power. At last, their remote descendant Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi consciously falls under subjection. In the "Forest of People," Valerii Shevchuk singles out the logic of fear, power, and subjection that he presents in the story of literature. He challenges textual freedom in three different periods of the past and describes it as a history of progressive subjection. Thus, the interplay of aesthetics and ideology commands the great and detailed panorama of Ukrainian past.

In this sense, Shevchuk's novel represents a comparative study on mental subjection. "Where does the freedom lie?" asks the author and, via his heroes, he finds the trace of an answer: those involved in controlled discourses are enslaved. From Illia Turchynovs'kyi to Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi, the reader can sense a gradual descent into subjection. It hides mostly in the texts of the main characters but manifests its presence in a general feeling of the time. For Shevchuk, the epoch corresponds with the writings. Apart from that, subjection appears personified in the characters, being condensed in the heroes who exaggerate and personify the traits of the epoch.

As I demonstrate in the methodological chapter, the national narrative is a sign of a colonised (national) consciousness, and gradual elimination of the national story leads to decolonisation.

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[262] Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, 14.

Thus, while the narrative exists, it will always be the story of subjection. And Shevchuk's *Three Leaves* is not an exception here. The national narrative is a story of losses and gains, and even in the novels that are oriented to culture, not politics, it is always a story of subjection. Thus, it is reasonable to looks for the signs of oppression when seeking the national narrative in *Three Leaves*.

6.2. Illia Turchynovs'kyi

As I mention earlier, the oppression in Shevchuk's interpretation does not stem from class affiliation. As we analyse the first leaf of the novel, this statement appears even more reasonable. Here the protagonist, Illia Turchynovs'kyi, travels the baroque Ukraine, and on his way meets individuals who challenge him. Two burglars rob him on the road and later, at the court, accuse Turchynovs'kyi himself of being a thief. All his protests and explanations remain unanswered until a Cossack colonel intervenes on his behalf. In all the cities that he visits, he suffers from injustice and torture. In Mohyliv, he experiences oppression from the choir regent where Turchynovs'kyi sings. In the next city, Shklov, he is given the position of regent himself, and as this position is quite honoured and gives some authority, in theory, he should acquire refuge from oppression and subjection. But his jealous predecessor, whom he replaced in the choir, seeks vengeance. He cooperates with the two burglars and attempts to kill Illia, who, unwilling to protect himself, is forced to flee Shklov.

6.2.1. The Domain of the Spirit as the Golden Age of the Nation

This humility of Illia Turchynovs'kyi can be regarded in two perspectives. At first, it can appear as a baroque device. Shevchuk, being a masterful creator of stylisations, follows the canons of baroque literature and constructs the image of Turchynovs'kyi around this topos. It becomes visible from the first lines of the text, where Illia writes:

> *I apologise, dear reader, for taking your time that you could have spent looking after your house, taking a walk in your garden, or working in your*

garden if you enjoy doing so. But today I will address the preys to anxiety
who are looking for their garden not the sphere of material, but in something
else that the invincible soul is looking for.[263]

This device constitutes a formula that was usually placed in the beginning of medieval and baroque texts. It gives a hint to look at the story of Illia Turchynovs'kyi as a hagiographical text. That is, the story of a young Turchynovs'kyi and his adventures, which Marko Pavlyshyn interprets as a *Bildungsroman* (a novel about uprising and education),[264] becomes a narrative about a saint. The second perspective derives from the first one. If Turchynovs'kyi does not struggle on the material and physical levels, as a 'saint' he must have different sorts of battles – spiritual fights. Clearly, it is easy to miss this point if the text is considered in a different perspective. In that case, the travels of Illia Turchynovs'kyi become a story of a moralist, a truth-seeker, a disturbed young man who looks for peace and justice for all people. From this angle, the first part of the novel appears deprived of colours and is scarce in the variety of artistic devices.

At the same time, this quote from *Three Leaves* point to the location of the Golden Age in Shevchuk's national narrative. If in *Haidamaky* Mushketyk placed it in the future, in *Death in Kyiv* it was located in Kyiv, Shevchuk emphasises that the Golden Age has no geographical or temporal coordinates and shifts it into the spiritual sphere. Consequently, he regards the sphere of the spirit as a scene for the fight with subjection. At the same time, he considers the time of the spirit the Golden Age for the nation, which, in Shevchuk's interpretation, is Baroque.

6.2.2. The Internal Struggle with Subjection

When we analyse the first leaf as a 'baroque' text, we see how the focus of the main conflict shifts inside Turchynovs'kyi. This means that the main peripeteia are located in his soul, and the troubles that he encounters in his everyday life are merely a backstage of his intensive

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[263] Valerii Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]* (Kyiv: Radiansky Pysmennyk, 1986), 1.
[264] Marko Pavlyshyn, "Vidlyhy, literatura ta natsional'ne pytannia: proza Valeriia Shevchuka [Thaws, literature, and national question: the prose of Valerii Shevchuka]," in *Kanon ta Ikonostas* (Kyiv: Chas, 1997), 113–32.

spiritual activity. Although it appears rather vague at first glance, this suggestion deserves more attention when we look at the main opposition to Turchynovs'kyi. In the novel, he opposes the spiritual forces – his main enemy is Fear. This character takes the form of an old man who appears in Turchynovs'kyi's moments of weakness. For that reason, his soul does not know any rest, and even in the lightest periods of his life, Illia feels anxiety. This gives reasons to think that Fear who brings anxiety and unrest is the main authority in the first leaf.

The material world does not provide the reader with this perspective. There the protagonist lives in quite a liberal world where he is free to choose his own way of living. It is true that he is of a wealthy family, which can pay for his studies, but not noble enough for him to hold any major position. However, secular authorities and their power neither seduce Illia, nor frighten him. He is respectable and humble enough in his relationships with those superior of him: the *sotnyk,* a friend of his father; the merchant Ivan who takes him to Shklov; the bishop, who promotes him to chorister. But their power does not affect him, and Illia remains a master of his own destiny. In this case, only God's power supersedes Turchynovs'kyi's will. As a baroque person, Turchynovs'kyi has the sphere of divine as an integral part of his life. In its essence, Baroque represented a reaction to Reformation; spiritual topics and genres returned into usage.[265] On this wave, Shevchuk demonstrates doubts and anxieties of a baroque individual personified by Illia Turchynovs'kyi.

Illia experiences metaphysical tortures after starting his travelling as a young man. In his lonely adventures, he is accompanied by omnipresent Fear, an allegorical figure, widely used in baroque literature. Fear appears when Illa is most happy and content. It sows the seeds of doubt in his soul and almost always it precedes a future catastrophe. However, the presence of Fear motivates Illia Turchynovs'kyi to be creative, to move around, and to write. Fear in the novel is the moving force of creativity, pure Mephistopheles, who "has to live in humans […]

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[265] Dmytro Nalyvaiko, "Barokko ievropeiske, Barokko ukrajinske [European Baroque, Ukrainian Baroque]," in *Spil'nist' i svoieridnist'. Ukrajins'ka literatura v konteksti yevropeis'koho literaturnoho protsesu [Common and unique traits. Ukrainian literature in the context of European baroque]* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1988), 117.

Fearless, human would be even more predatory than he is. Fear naturalizes habits and morality. Maybe fear even creates them."[266] At the same time, Fear disturbs Illia Turchynovs'kyi. He feels uncomfortable and anxious in its presence. Therefore, it motivates and discourages him at the same time. Illia considers writing a necessary exercise and writes for the sake of the next generations.

But at the same time, Turchynovs'kyi has to become the one who exercises power. As Judith Butler explains,

> *The notion of power at work in subjection thus appears in two incommensurable temporal modalities: first, as what is for the subject always prior, outside of itself, and operative from the start; second, as the willed effect of the subject. This second modality carries at least two sets of meanings: as the willed effect of the subject, subjection is a subordination that the subject brings on itself; yet if subjection produces a subject and a subject is the precondition of agency, then subjection is the account by which a subject becomes the guarantor of resistance and opposition.[267]*

This gives reason to assume that Illia Turchynovs'kyi is not only affected but also affects others, that is, he represents an agent of power. At the first glance, Illia himself is a site of power, as the true fight takes place in his soul. Indeed, he is affected and oppressed by many people in his wanderings. Immediately after Turchynovs'kyi leaves his home, two men, Ivan and Semen, accompany him. As they draw away from the village, Turchynovs'kyi is robbed and beaten. It was a pure miracle that he manages to stay alive in this situation. Turchynovs'kyi forgives his offenders and hopes for their happy conversion and spiritual transformation, which has to be similar to a Penitent Thief, a popular motif in baroque literature. Thus, Turchynovs'kyi would become a "golden mean" because his moderation and humility could counterbalance the evil will of the robbers. However, it does not happen, and that is why Turchynovs'kyi encounters

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[266] Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 21–22. Hereinafter, the text of the novel is translated from Ukrainian by Anna Vitruk.
[267] Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, 14.

Fear, who personifies Illia's hesitations and doubts in the accustomed world-order. Another major case of persecution happens to Turchynovs'kyi when he works as a chorister and his predecessor pushes him down from the choir loft. Being a jealous man, the former chorister joins Ivan and Semen in persecuting Illia. Surprisingly, the latter does not oppose them.

> *Why do I meet people with hostile intents everywhere I go? Why facing me, people allow only brutality or condescension? That is how I wander in the world, I was thinking, some hunt me away and others show mercy. Between these two stones my soul lies, and isn't it why eternal unrest burns me alive?[268]*

This Turchynovs'kyi's eternal unrest brings forward the reiteration of power, which constitutes another characteristic described by Butler. The influence repeats in cycles, unless the "conditions of power"[269] change. This can be seen in Turchynovs'kyi's case, as he is oppressed many times under similar circumstances. Turchynovs'kyi in his turn refuses to become a subject of power, that is, he does not express any interest in applying the power to his offenders or any other individual. Instead, he makes an attempt to escape from any power and influence hoping that this would help him to avoid subjection. As it can be expected, he fails in his attempts. Butler explains it with the temporal nature of power, rather than spatial.

Finally, Illia Turchynovs'kyi returns home. He had not found any answers to the questions that made him wander. He settles down, starts a family, and becomes a priest in his native village. This is supposed to be an end of his struggles in the field of power. Turchynovs'kyi could even anticipate an escape from that field, which could be too heavy a burden for him. However, he merely exceeds this heavy load, which as Butler argues, is not escaping. The subject, she writes, "exceeds precisely that to which it is bound."[270] Therefore, it is not by chance that in the end of his life, Turchynovs'kyi encounters Fear one more time. This meeting is supposed to remind him that the struggle with subjection never ends. Naturally, Illia Turchynovs'kyi looks for a

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[268] Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 51.
[269] Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, 16.
[270] Ibid., 17.

shelter from conscience and melancholia that immerse him into the sphere of power and finds it in the writing. The reader can see that the process of writing relieves Illia from his anxiety, which is connected to subjection. Thus, he does not need to determine whether to be a subject of power or not, and this is the answer to his struggle. The next section will provide detail of Turchynovs'kyi's fight against subjection.

6.2.3. Illia Turchynovs'kyi. Baroque Freedom

For Shevchuk, Baroque is above all the domain of spirit. He indicates it distinctly in the first leaf of *Three Leaves in the Window,* which he organizes after the manner of baroque texts. Hagiographic form of the text goes back to the primary source, a biography of the real Illia Turchynovs'kyi, who lived in the beginning of the 18th century. Only the first part of this text is extant at present time, yet Shevchuk reconstructs it in every detail. He populates his baroque landscapes with mythical creatures. Cossacks, tavern keepers, monks, and also burglars, thieves, and murderers act in the first leaf. Along with them, fantastic creatures, like Fear and Green Girl, inhabit the textual world and affect the life of the main character, Illia Turchynovs'kyi.

6.2.3.1. Illia Turchynovs'kyi: Baroque Individual – Free Individual?

In this section, I will explore the spiritual world of Illia as a battleground with subjection for the Golden Age. In the novel, Illia exists in two dimensions: social and spiritual, which resonates with baroque episteme. The social component demonstrates pre-given and stable positions, that is, Illia's background; whereas the spiritual part is the source of development and changes. It both enforces Illia's social position and reflects his development as an individual.

As an educated person, Illia Turchynovs'kyi is aware of his individual and collective cultural legacy. Yet, he looks for his own way in the world. As a person with an inherent baroque mentality, Illia searches for answers to existential questions. His unrest is determined by an urge to rationally comprehend the world, nature, and himself, appealing less to religion. Illia personifies secularisation and its aftermath, the 'free will', which was a virtue for the Ukrainian

worldbuilding at the time.[271] Turchynovs'kyi supports this idea and seeks comfort and revelation not only in church. Clearly, he is a religious man; he participates in clerical activities like singing in choirs and praying. Yet, he does not recognize it as a revelatory experience, as Fear does not leave him even in church.

Just as in other places (a tavern, the road), Illia encounters Fear in church as well. Here this allegorical figure does not expose itself, but acts indirectly via Illia's offenders: a former chorister or two robbers. The figure of Fear typologically corresponds with allegorical figures of baroque dramas. However, if a remotely similar character of Despair (*The Everlasting Wisdom* (1703) has distinct Biblical connotations, Shevchuk's Fear originates from a chthonic world. It looks and acts in a devilish manner. Fear can appear as a regular person or as a chthonic creature, "cancer."[272] He seduces and confuses Illia, and that corresponds with the baroque idea of demons.[273]

Fear uses irony as its crucial weapon. He laughs at something beyond Illia's understanding, and that terrifies him even more than Fear's omnipresence and omniscience. No God or Church can save Turchynovs'kyi from his tortures, as laughter is not the sphere of God, but the domain of the devil. As a person of Baroque, Illia acknowledges God's limited reach and takes some responsibility for his own life. "God's help is not enough to achieve chastity," Lesia Dovha quotes Stefan Kalynovs'kyi (1700-1753), a Ukrainian philosopher of the baroque time. In baroque mentality, honesty required effort,[274] which Illia, as readers can see from the novel, wishes to make.

[271] Lesia Dovha, "Do pytannya pro barokovu mentalnist ukraintsiv [On baroque mentality of Ukrainians]," in *Mediaevalia Ucrainica: Mentalnist ta istoriia idei [Mediaevalia Ukrainica: Mentality and the history of ideas]* (Kyiv: Instytut Ukrajinskoi Arkheohrafii, 1992), 107.

[272] Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 89.

[273] Kateryna Dysa, *Istoriia z vidmamy. Sudy pro chary v ukrajinskykh voievodstvakh Rechi Pospolytoji [A story with witches. Trials of magic in Ukrainian provinces of Rzeczpospolita]* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2008), 89.

[274] Dovha, "Do pytannya pro barokovu mentalnist ukraintsiv [On baroque mentality of Ukrainians]," 114.

6.2.3.2. Illia's weapon to fight subjection. Writing and wanders

Illia Turchynovs'kyi iunderstands that actions have to be taken to improve the world. As he does not find the answer to this problem in The Bible, he decides to design his own method to fight evil, however, it cannot be an ordinary way that will provoke more violence. Unwilling to become a subject of power, Turchynovs'kyi turns to writing to fight Fear and to find the rest for his soul. Writing becomes his only weapon that he uses to fight his enemies, as he understands that the real struggle is not on the road with burglars or in the church with a jealous predecessor, but in the domain of spirit, where Illia certainly wins.

The significance of writing can only be compared to the importance of wanderings. If the latter is the way to explore the material world, the former allows Illia to delve into the world of spirit. Valerii Shevchuk designs his desire to write as a typical baroque device, that is, the "motivation for writing." In the first paragraph, Illia admits that he needs to write, as his restless soul urges for a conversation partner. At the same time, he wants to share his experience with his successors. Illia expresses his motivation to write in the following way:

> *I did not know what it was going to be – a drama or a truss of fables – but in this writing, I would tell about everything that tortures and troubles me. […] I am not a comedian, and I did not come into this world for comedy. I will write a drama or a truss of fables for this world and call it* The Everlasting Wisdom *– this would be my wisdom that would not only unfold my thoughts to others but also would clear me. I will be ready for it after I rid myself of my mishap that befell me.*[275]

This desire to write should be considered as a shift in the conditions of power. We can see, then, that writing becomes so important in *Three Leaves* that it is promoted to the role of a separate character. Certainly, it is not a character of the novel, but one of the actors in the national narrative.

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[275] Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 23.

For Turchynovs'kyi, two things represented the only appropriate ethical work: wanderings and writing. Shevchuk interprets them as two paths that he will follow until the end of his life, and these two paths complement each other. For this reason, Illia finds no rest at the end of his evagation. An idyllic picture portrays him in the woods, where he decides to quit wandering and return home. In theory, he should have found peace, yet, Fear haunts him at the end of his life to remind of an incomplete mission to write a story of his life. When the body becomes old and fails Turchynovs'kyi, his spirit feels the urge to substitute wanderings with writing. And creation of a book is so important that Death refrains from taking Illia so that he can complete his path.

6.2.3.3. Inserted Stories and Their Political Meaning

Textual production of Illia Turchynovs'kyi is important for understanding the national narrative, as it contains the recipe of how to resist subjection. In terms of the national narrative, it means that Turchynovs'kyi's fables allegorically point to the main actors of the national narrative – to the subjects of power. His texts are also extremely useful for the analysis of the national story because they articulate the behaviour of these subjects.

As I mention earlier, Illia is unwilling to exercise power in a traditional sense even when he is oppressed himself. He prefers to fight at a discursive battlefield of textuality. In this section of the chapter, I will argue that Illia Turchynovs'kyi actually succeeds in his struggle and explain the importance of his victory for the national narrative in Ukrainian literature.

This message is hidden in the six fables of Turchynovs'kyi: "Reason," "Will," "False Pride," "Envy," "Flock of Sheep," and "Abstinence." Their plots are based on favourite baroque allegories and symbols. And although different, all six fables tell one story – how to avoid subjection. The first fable is the most important one, as it sets the tone and direction for the rest. This is a short story about Bird-Reason, where a Philosopher who tries to catch a winged Bird eventually traps himself. An utterly symbolic text, this fable attracts the attention primarily with the image of wings that traditionally appears in religious context and has various semantic

meanings. It can designate the virtues of The Virgin Mary, Elijah and Enoch. However, Shevchuk does not attribute to them any religious meaning. He still provides the image of wings with celestial allusions, but they turn out to have political connotations in the end. To understand the political message of the fable, I will analyse it using the psychoanalytical approach of Gaston Bachelard. He proposes to look at symbols with regard to their nature, so his psychoanalytical analysis includes four elements: fire, water, air, and earth. The political moral of The Fable about Reason is based on the difference between elements, which I will explain in the next section.

6.2.3.3.1. The Fable about Reason. On the Importance of Difference

As the national narrative is also about setting the borders between US and THEM, The Fable about Reason demonstrates the significance of boundaries. This baroque allegory that under other circumstances would tell the story of the vanity of peoples' mind, in *Three Leaves* became the tale of difference where Shevchuk argues that sometimes the only way to escape the influence of others is to be different from them. In Shevchuk's fable, the winged Reason designates a full-fledged bird, and it can only be a bird when it stays in the sky. As Gaston Bachelard puts it, "the beauty of the bird's plumage cannot be seen until it has landed on earth, that is, until it is no longer a bird in our reveries. We can affirm, then, that there is an imaginary dialectic that separates flight and color, motion and adornment."[276] Therefore, there is a dualism in the image of the bird. On the one hand, it flies and it belongs to the sky; on the other hand, when the bird lands, it seems to be the creature of the earth. But Bachelard demonstrates that it is not true. As Reason is represented as a bird, it belongs to the element of air; humans, the creatures of earth, unsuccessfully try to catch it when it lands because the two powers, those of earth and of air, are not compatible.

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[276] Gaston Bachelard, *Air and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Movement*, trans. Edith R. Farrell and Frederick C. Farrell (Dallas: The Dallas Institute, 1988), 66.

Turchynovs'kyi makes this difference the key point of his fable. He does not describe the Bird-Reason in detail and merely mentions that it resembled a turtledove, that is, free flight is its key characteristic, which makes Reason a creature of air. Instead, people who are trying to trap Reason, belong to the sphere of earth, which explains their incompatibility with Reason. Bird-Reason inhabited the sunny sky, and though it felt the urge for shelter, it could not find one, as it was against its own nature to settle down anywhere. At the same time, those who want to catch the bird, Wanderer, Builder, Hermit, and Philosopher, are endued with earthly qualities as it is seen from their occupations. They seem to possess free and liberal minds and professions; nevertheless, these four people are tied to the earth that contradict the sphere of air where Reason lives, so it is no wonder that they fail to catch it. For power should extend its gravity only in one paradigm and cannot be extended to another one.

Thus, Reason does not merely escape from peoples' tenets. It turns into the creature of a different paradigm, and Philosopher finds himself entrapped in his own net, with which he was going to catch Reason. His intention was to capture an aerial creature to make it live on the ground, that is, to deprive it of its airy characteristics. But according to Bachelard, it is impossible. He mentions that an airy creature deprived of its principal traits (wings, flight) switches to a different nature and functions differently. "No bird can be both a lark and a peacock. The peacock is eminently *terrestrial*,"[277] argues Bachelard. That is why Philosopher catches *himself*, a creature of earth, – as he intended.

Even more aerial characteristic of Reason distance it from terrestrial humans. What is worth noting is the consequence of aerial conditions. One of them is distance. In his description of Bird-Reason, Shevchuk mentions that it is of blue colour. On the one hand, it can be interpreted as modest simplicity of real Wisdom. On the other hand, in terms of Gaston Bachelard's psychoanalysis, this colour designates a *flying* bird. For him, "in the realm of the imagination, *flight must create its own color.* We observe, then, that the imaginary bird, the bird that flies in

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[277] Ibid.

our dreams and in genuine poems, cannot be one of *gaudy* colors. It is most often blue or black; it flies upward or downward."[278] Considering this, I can argue that Valerii Shevchuk portrays a flying bird and, thus, on the semantic level of color, created a distance between Bird-Reason and eminently terrestrial humans. Moreover, Reason itself acknowledges this gap and distances itself from the world of people. Humans merely urge to entrap the Bird and do not understand that they want not the Bird itself, but the wings and the state of flight that it represents. "Flight becomes at once a memory of our dreams and a desire for the reward that God will grant us," writes Bachelard. Indeed, the humans in the fable desperately urge to change the paradigm they belong to, which is obviously impossible.

From the point of view of the theory of subjection, the fable about Reason tells the story of power that is exercised in two different paradigms. In domains of upper spirit, power changes its degree of influence. In a similar way, human characters of the fable fail to subject the Bird, a creature of a different nature. One of the reasons for that is the Reason's strong awareness of its own nature. Shevchuk directly points to it. "Nobody cared about Reason at all; everybody wanted to take it into their service. That is why Reason flew free in the sky, unwanted, but still invited by everybody."[279] This allegory demonstrates a mechanism to overcome subjection as a "fundamental dependency on a discourse we never chose but that, paradoxically, initiates and sustains our agency."[280] To do that, one has to be aware of both parties, subjecting and subjected, and refuse the first one. In other words, one should change the paradigm he or she belongs to. At least, that is Illia Turchynovs'kyi's advice.

6.2.3.3.2. The Fable about Reason in the Logic of the Novel

I suggest that this fable represents the whole logic of the novel, and without the first part, the whole Text loses its sense. It is interesting that other researchers part *Three Leaves in the Window* into three divide units and thus fail to see their connection. Marko Pavlyshyn argues

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[278] Ibid.
[279] Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 24.
[280] Butler, *The Psychic Life of Power*, 2.

that the novel demonstrates a decline of human spirit in three generations of Ukrainians, which I agree with. At the same time, he does not analyse Turchynovs'kyi's "system of wisdom" and moves directly to the third part of the novel, which is more straightforward in its ideological position.[281] Pavlyshyn argues that "the 'system' of Turchynovs'kyi's eternal wisdom is rather complicated and consists of a "series of ethical postulates; those who stick to them are twice as rewarded both with tranquillity and deep cognition of reality."[282] And yet, I suggest that the theme that the fable about Bird-Reason brings is present on different levels of the novel, and that is why it is worth further consideration in the context of the national narrative.

The first stage is formal. Turchynovs'kyi himself refers to his fable and thus brings the elements of metafiction into the Text. Illia tells about his adventures in Mohyliv where he drank in a tavern together with some new acquaintances. In the end, moneyless and drunk, Illia ran away from them and was not trapped in their company.

> *White rolls of cloth were flapping in the wind. They were tied to some invisible cords but eclipsed the light or, maybe, tried to catch the sun. "It's like in a fable about Reason," I remembered. "But you, who catch, will fail," I screamed, "you'll trap yourselves instead!*[283]

Humiliation and pain are valued more by Turchynovs'kyi, as they allow him to distinguish himself from the spoilt nature of his pseudo-friends. Second, Turchynovs'kyi included the fable about Reason into his play. Preparing its staging in Shklov, Turchynovs'kyi rearranged the fables and put the fable about Reason, the first one that he wrote, as the final one and the most important one. His play was a big success, and Turchynovs'kyi was quite proud of it. But surprisingly, in the last scene with Reason, he appears caught in the net. His success made him vainglorious and, thus, put him in the same paradigm with the rest of the people.

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[281] Marko Pavlyshyn, "Taras Shevchenko i joho doba u tvorchosti Valeriia Shevchuka [Taras Shevchenko and his time in Valerii Shevchuk's writing]," *Suchasnist* 335, no. 3 (1989): 29.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 54, 55.

The net falls down. Bird-Reason flies away, and the tenet traps all the actors on the stage. And – oh wonder of wonders! – I was standing aside, but the net covered me as well. Those under the net had floundered, and I had floundered here, behind the scenes. I could see that the same net had fallen on the viewers; we all had foundered under it, even the organist and his fellows.[284]

Thus, the plot of the fable about Reason literally repeats in real life when the 'reality' attempts to catch Illia and turn him into the subject of power; however, he resists the temptation to become one of them.

6.3. Conclusion 1. On the National Narrative in the First Leaf

After the analysis of the first leaf of *Three Leaves in the Window*, it is difficult to see the national narrative that it may contain. At this stage, the story of Turchynovs'kyi appears, as some scholars note, a collection of moral directions and fables. At some level, this is true, but a closer analysis of one of the fables demonstrate Shevchuk's interest in the theme of subjection. Behind the fantasy world of mythical and spiritual creatures, behind the historical connotations and decorations, the reader finds out about the entire system of active beings that inhabit the novel. Thus, "Illia Turchynovs'kyi" is a well-disguised story of subjection.

However, the first part of *Three Leaves* has consequences for the whole novel. Let me describe them here. It is true that "Illia Turchynovs'kyi" tells the story of subjection, but it provides nohing else but a mere description of the process of subjection. For Illia Turchynovs'kyi, subjection constitutes a cosmic-scale problem that undermines the sense of his existence, and Turchynovs'kyi tries to solve it himself, not at the expense of others. Having solved this puzzle, he makes an attempt to convey the knowledge on how to avoid subjection. For this purpose, he

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[284] Ibid., 99, 100.

writes a book, which is so important that even Death grants him extra time to complete his work.

For Shevchuk, this process of individual cognition and passing on of personal knowledge to the next generations is the essence of a functioning national narrative. Therefore, the time when this pattern worked without impediment is the true Golden Age for the nation. Not by accident, this period corresponds with the baroque era in Ukraine when culture flourished and the communication between generations was not interrupted. That is why baroque literature and culture are so significant in *Three Leaves in the Window* and other novels of Valerii Shevchuk.

This recipe of individualistic struggle is rather different from what was proposed by the authors of earlier historical novels, Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi. In their texts, subjection can only be eliminated as a result of collective efforts. Shevchuk does not deny it, as he thinks that individual wisdom should be conveyed to the next generations, but he considers individual responsibility in withstanding oppression much greater than that of an individual. Shevchuk demonstrates the effectiveness of such an approach. Illia Turchynovs'kyi's son inherits his fathers' wandering and restless spirit. In one of the last chapters, he asks Illia to bless him for his adventures, and the old Turchynovs'kyi lets his son experience the road. It means that at least for one more generation, the family of Turchynovs'kyis will keep the secret of resistance against oppression. Illia's grandson Petro interprets it in his own manner. As a person of Enlightenment, he has another approach to the mysteries of this world. The next subchapter will be dedicated to this method described in the second leaf "Runaway Petro."

Chapter 7. Punishment and Decline in Shevchuk's Narrative: The Rest of the Puzzle

7.1. Petro Turchynovs'kyi

This subchapter describes the relationship of power and individuals in the second leaf, "Runaway Petro," of Valerii Shevchuk's novel *Three Leaves in the Window*, which differs from the first part of the text. The second part accentuates the person of the new Age of Enlightenment that started in the mid-18th century Ukraine and laid the foundation of the new Ukrainian mentality and identity. Together with a new philosophical system, it brought other innovations that affected both collectives and individuals. It is primarily about the regulatory processes that were initiated at the time, references to which were found in the documents and fictional texts of this epoch. In this subchapter, I will address these transformations on various levels. First, I will demonstrate the principal point that distinguishes Petro and Illia Turchynovs'kyi's Ukraine, that is, the motif of punishment in 'enlightened' Ukraine. Second, I will examine the aesthetical characteristics of Petro's writing.

It is worth noting that I only address Shevchuk's text and do not analyse actual historical events. For the sake of accuracy, I refer to the studies of respective events in Ukrainian history. However, I do this only to demonstrate the correlation of Shevchuk's novel to Ukrainian history and culture. So far, this approach confirmed his outstanding knowledge of Ukrainian history and allowed this thesis to examine various levels of his novel, as in the case of Illia Turchynovs'kyi's fable. In the next section, I will move from the aesthetics and world-view of Baroque to the categories of Enlightenment.

7.1.1. Raising the Degree of Subjection

Enlightenment and everything that it brought to culture and mentality is one of the main drives of the national narrative in the second part of *Three Leaves*. It is important to understand that Enlightenment relies on restriction much more than Baroque. If Baroque was an epoch of the

church, Enlightenment brought the power of the empire, which, even in the incomplete Ukrainian version of Enlightenment, affected the mentality of the people and their understanding of the world. These effects are visible in the novel, as the second leaf, compared to the first one, introduces more restrictive institutions: court and prison. Owing to Enlightenment, their activity became absolute, which resulted in restrictions of the freedom of individuals. The second part also demonstrates new patterns in the writing of Turchynovs'kyi, the style of which changes from baroque metaphoric poetics to orientation to narrative and plot and represents a sign of the transition from the baroque mysticism to the discourse of rationality.

The national story in *Three Leaves* reacts to these changes as a problem needing resolution. The essence of the Ukrainian national story lies in the problem that the people need to solve to attain happiness. In Shevchuk's version, this problematic issue is subjection. If the first part proposed a method to fight it, the second part of *Three Leaves* shows what happens when the method is (partially) forgotten. "Runaway Petro" brings us closer to the understanding of Shevchuk's version of the national narrative. The national story requires action, which it lacks in the first part of the novel and remains elusive. But in the second part, Shevchuk gradually raises the level of human subjection, escalating the problem and needing resolution as part of the national story. Petro Turchynovs'kyi, the protagonist of the second part, seeks the solution to this problem using his grandfather, Illia's, methods, but as the times have changed (and Petro himself is very different to Illia), they do not seem to work.

Compared to the level of the struggles of his grandfather, Illia, Petro Turchynovs'kyi represents a semi-enslaved person. He is still a free and respected man working as a court clerk. His authority is quite significant, which allows him to investigate unresolved cases without supervision. Therefore, as in the previous part "Illia Turchynovs'kyi," Petro's restrictive ties initially belong neither to political nor ideological nor class categories; however, regarded in the discourse of power, they acquire these ideological characteristics. To describe their variety,

I will continue referring primarily to Judith Butler's psychical theory of power that connects the phenomena of consciousness and subjection.

Power dictates relationships in the novel and binds together three relatively independent stories, the 'three leaves'. All of them challenge the measure of human subjection and seek the remedy for it. The intensity of relative subjection rises in "The Second Leaf" when Petro Turchynovs'kyi becomes more attached to social systems, which are the bodies of secular power (the court where Petro works, and prison as part of the legislation system he works for); the system of human relationships (Petro interacts more with other individuals than his grandfather, Illia); and the system of the human body (Petro Turchynovs'kyi is more driven by the demands of his body – sexual desire and hunger; thus the narrative becomes more naturalistic).

7.1.2. Ukrainian Enlightenment as the Stage of "Runaway Petro"

I think it is important to describe the role of Enlightenment in Ukrainian culture. Observing how different it is to the Ukrainian Baroque, we will see the general line of Shevchuk's argument in *Three Leaves in the Window.* Since the Age of Enlightenment is much more authoritarian than Baroque, it brought changes to the lives of the nation and individual. Tracing the trends of these transformations, I will show how they affected Petro Turchynovs'kyi.

Fundamental in its significance for modernity, this period was studied by Ernst Cassierer[285] and Theodor Adorno,[286] who describe philosophical aspects of Enlightenment and objectify them with regard to later epochs in philosophy and culture. However, these studies cannot accurately reflect Ukrainian Enlightenment, as in Ukraine, this era was still bound to the aesthetic and world-view of Baroque. Ukrainian Enlightenment was a unique period, as its philosophical frameworks included religious thought of the 17th century, but at the same time, the rational thought of French philosophers, such as Voltaire and Diderot, already penetrated Ukrainian

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[285]Ernst Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment* (Princeton University Press, 1951).
[286]Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (1947; repr., Stanford University Press, 2002).

philosophical and cultural space under the Russian influence. As a result, it was a time when baroque mysticism was still actively present, but it was already giving way to more disciplined forms of thought. For these reasons, I will often refer to the dominants of the baroque style to explain events or actions of the characters in "Runaway Petro," but at the same time, I will consider Enlightenment the dominant paradigm of the world-view here.

Even the incomplete project of Enlightenment points to differences between the times of Illia and Petro. The new age restricts, regulates, disciplines, and punishes, as is implied in its nature. Great discoveries of Enlightenment in geography, biology, and physics were made possible owing to the discipline of mind and thought. At the same time, greater restrictions had bound human lives. Individuals experienced particular existential oppression, and freedom of expression was limited. Ukraine represented a perfect project for experiments in Enlightenment, as its lands required improvement and disciplining. Its terrains were a battlefield for the last fifty years of the 17th century, and its population seemingly lacked order and statehood. Civil wars and uprisings tormented the people and left little chance for any economic or cultural development. However, culture, education, and national idea were preserved, but only in a colonial status. At the time, the split Ukraine was ruled by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (before its First Partition in 1772), the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (after 1772), and the Russian Empire. At the same time, two empires, Swedish and Russian, contested to conquer Eastern Ukraine, which remained under the Russian protectorate. The great turmoil preceded even greater order.

Larry Wolff describes the 18th century Eastern Europe in terms of imperial races and their consequences. Soldiers, culture, and science were equally controlled, and the rulers of empires sought more domination.

> *Charles [Charles XII, the King of Sweden – A.V.] was able to conquer Eastern Europe with his troops by instilling "discipline to render them invincible." Peter* (Peter I – AV**)** *was able to stop Charles at Poltava because*

the tsar possessed the same key: "discipline was established among his troops." Foucault has suggested that "discipline" was the dark secret of enlightened civilization in the eighteenth century, "a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures" for the most effective application of power. Voltaire repeatedly invoked discipline in explaining the successes of Charles and Peter in Eastern Europe. Polish soldiers possessed "as little discipline" as ancient Sarmatians. Peter proposed "to discipline the Cossacks" in the Ukraine. The peoples of Eastern Europe awaited not only discovery but also discipline, and Charles and Peter were the masters of discipline who sought to harness the energy that was wasted in brigandage. Charles tried and failed, but Peter and his successors, from Catherine to Stalin, would have somewhat more success in dominating Eastern Europe.[287]

At the same time, Ukraine was not entirely subjected and still benefited from some liberties. First, it had its own army, the Cossacks, who had their own fortress and controlled some of the Ukrainian territories. Second, it had its own educational system that was represented by the oldest university in Eastern Europe, Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. Both of these institutions, the military and the educational ones, were so important for a self-standing Ukraine that the Russian empress Catherine II closed the Academy and liquidated Zaporizhian Sich, once already ruined by Peter I (1709). In Shevchuk's novel, this makes Petro Turchynovs'kyi's generation one of the last to benefit from Ukrainian education and relative autonomy.

Indeed, Enlightenment brings more restrictions to the lives of individuals. Compared to the people of Baroque, their spiritual activity is more organised and structured. And with the enforcement of the restrictive institutions mentioned above, their spiritual freedom declined. This made the people of Enlightenment less resistant to subjection, that is, they were forced to choose one or the other sides of power. The national narrative in *Three Leaves* accepts this tendency as the sign of the nation's decline, as the domain of spirit, now restricted and regulated, was the container of the Golden Age.

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[287]Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe. The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford university Press, 1994), 94, 95.

7.1.3. The Court in the System of Ukrainian Enlightenment: Between the Autonomy and Dependence from the Empire

7.1.3.1. Specifics of the Court System in Ukraine

The principles of jurisdiction and their transformation reflect the processes in *Three Leaves in the Window*. The novel establishes the sense of certainty in the second part, while the first leaf is based mostly on the omnipresent belief. Being so different from mystical 17th century, the next century brings restrictive order and certainty. This shift in mentality has two consequences. The first one concerns the descriptions of restrictive procedures. Practically, it means that in the court, Petro Turchynovs'kyi is looking to solve a single problem (murder in this case). It may seem that he is driven by the force of doubt. Following the protocol, Petro interrogates witnesses to the murder and collects the puzzle of the scene piece by piece.

The image of the court is of crucial importance for this chapter. For the first time in the novel, Shevchuk introduces such a restrictive institution and moreover, makes a protagonist part of it. However, as the history of mentalities in 18th century Ukraine is still awaiting proper research and since fragmented statistical data and descriptive studies, sometimes outdated,[288] cannot satisfy the needs of this thesis, it is difficult to describe the Ukrainian court of the 18th century. Yet, even from limited data available, one can draw parallels with other national mentalities at that time. In spite of numerous differences in economical and political development, Ukraine followed French or English philosophical thought and, thus, was able pertain to the development of legislative process in the rest of Europe. At that time, the Ukrainian legal and court system mediated between *The Statutes of Lithuania* (1588) and Russian codification of

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[288]Valentyna Shandra, *Sovisni sudy v Ukrajini (Ostannia chvert XVIII - seredyna XIX st.) [The courts of conscience in Ukraine (Late 18th-mid 19th century)]* (Kyiv: Instytut Istorii Ukrajiny, 2011); Iurii Voloshyn, "Kryminalna zlochynnist v Hetmanshchyni druhoi polovyny XVIII st. (Za materialamy Poltavskoho grodskoho sudu) [Criminal activity in Hetmanshchyna of the late XVIII century (Based on Poltava city court records)]," in *Povsiakdennia ranniomodernoi Ukrajiny. Istorychni studii v 2-h tomakh [The everyday life of the Early Modern Ukrane. Histrical studies in 2 volumes]*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Kyiv: Instytut Istorii Ukrajiny, 2012), 288–325; Nataliia Syza, *Sudy i kryminalne sudochynstvo Ukrajiny v doby Hetmanshchyny [The courts and criminal court procedure of Ukraine in the time of Hetmanshchyna]* (Kyiv: Ukrajinska Vydavnycha Spilka, 2000); Andrii Pashchuk, *Sud i sudochynsto na Livoberezhnij Ukrajini v XVII-XVIII st. (1648-1782) [The court and court procedure in the Right-Bank Ukraine in the XVII-XVIII centuries (1648-1782)]* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Lvivskoho Universytetu, 1967).

legislative norms.[289] The right to preserve the legal system inherited from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was granted to Ukraine by Peter I and kept until the rule of Catherine II. For the Ukrainian as people, this guaranteed partial autonomy of legislative decisions.

But the old legislative system was outdated, which brought a gap between the mentality of individuals and the necessary punishment. Petro Lehenky was sentenced to beating and exile for stealing according to this very code of *The Statutes of Lithuania*.[290] Different courts (which numbered twenty) mixed this system with their own understanding of legal procedures. In general, the system represented a mixture of traditional and codified jurisprudence. Malcolm Gaskill points to a similar transition in English society, where

> *a critical shift occurred between an essentially passive faith – an unquestioning belief – in the impersonal forces of the universe, and a greater degree of public and private confidence – a sense of certainty – about the position of humans within creation, and their ability to influence the world around them.[291]*

As Dana Rabin writes about the conditions of the corporeal, spiritual, and intellectual life in the era of Enlightenment,

> *When the courts acknowledged the displaced self as less than perfectly accountable for its behaviour, an alternative was sought in a person's subjectivity, upon which the state was empowered to exact corporeal punishment. Although the subjectivity was itself unstable, contested, and always in the process of being reconsolidated by uncoordinated, multidirectional forces, it was ultimately held accountable to legal mechanisms of mental and physical discipline and violence through the body.[292]*

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[289]Andrii Iakovliv, *Ukraïnskyi kodeks 1743 roku: "Prava, po kotorym sudilsia malorosiiskii narod." Joho istoriia, dzherela ta systematychnyi vyklad zmistu [Ukrainian code of 1743 "The Maloros people judge law." Its history, sources, and systematic summary]*, vol. CLIX, Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva Imeni Shevchenka (Munich: Zahrava, 1949), 15–35.

[290]Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 184.

[291]Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 284.

[292]Dana Y. Rabin, *Identity, Crime and Legal Responsibility in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 10.

7.1.3.1.1. The Role of the Penitentiary System in the Novel

As the first leaf defines the problem that the nation must solve, shows the way it can be resolved, and identifies the Golden Age, the second leaf points directly to the entity that prevents the nation from reaching happiness. I argue that this reason is the court and everything that it entails – the punishing cultural logic of Enlightenment. Court and prison symbolise the tightening of imperial ties on Ukrainian lands. This statement corresponds with historical reality, as in the 18th century, after a part of the territory was integrated into the Russian Empire, its rulers implemented the common juridical system for the whole empire and eliminated the law of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In *Three Leaves,* Shevchuk does not emphasise it directly, but at the same time, the court system in Ukraine becomes one of the scenes in the novel. The first leaf merely describes the scenes of a trial, but the second leaf elaborates and criticizes the entire system of punishment. Valerii Shevchuk interprets them in his own way and entwines historical and local mentalities into the fabric of the text. Shevchuk acts here as a typical humanist and keeps challenging the reader with moral questions through the second part of the novel. First, he casts doubts on the absolutism and impartiality of judgement. In each of the four stories, he underlines the ambiguity of circumstances, under which four Petros were convicted. In a way, Shevchuk found an ideal epoch to illustrate this phenomenon. European Enlightenment liberalized and humanized the system of punishment.[293] At the same time, in Ukraine, the legal system was highly unstable and dispersed due to political changes in the country.[294]

As if to illustrate this ambiguity of these regulations, Shevchuk argues about the absurdity of the punishments in the court. In the first case, Petro Zaparenko did not seduce the girl he was forced to marry. In the second, Petro Lehenkyi did not steal his neighbours' valuables. The third

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[293]Philipp Blom, *A Wicked Company: The Forgotten Radicalism of the European Enlightenment* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 217–223.

[294]Iakovliv, *Ukraïnskyi kodeks 1743 roku: "Prava, po kotorym sudilsia malorosiiskii narod." Joho istoriia, dzherela ta systematychnyi vyklad zmistu [Ukrainian code of 1743 "The Maloros people judge law." Its history, sources, and systematic summary]*, CLIX:15–20.

Petro, Haiduchenko, killed a man but was released because his victim had withdrawn his accusation before he died. In every case, the author tries to measure the extent of a third party's involvement in a crime and often encourages his readers to conclude that no grave misdeed was done. "It is all relative," would be the main message of the three 'crime stories'. At the same time, Valerii Shevchuk considers that the judgement is relative, and imperfect law does more harm.

To demonstrate the absurdity of judgement, Shevchuk even introduces the adapted story of Oedipus into the text. The Ukrainian "king," Petro Znaida (Ukr: a foundling), repeats the life of his ancient prototype and kills his real father. As with the hero of Sophocles' tragedy, he was not punished by law, only by his own conscience. In the row of other Petros, this character complicates a moral and ideological puzzle with one more factor of fate. The tragic component of Znaida's story introduces fate and its punishment into the text. Petro Turchynovs'kyi read the story in Stepan Savych's 'book', which he wrote during his studies in Kyiv Academy. During his short life, Petro Znaida abandons his step-family, kills his real father, and leaves his mother. In the text, there are references to historical villages, but Shevchuk represents this story as fictional and, thus, encourages the reader to accept its metaphors and apply them to the text of the novel. Shevchuk asserts that the responsibility of fate in the tragedy of Petro Znaida is overrated and blames mostly people who tortured Petro for being adopted.

Nevertheless, Turchynovs'kyi does not have enough evidence to find the murderer, and the court closes the case according to established procedure. However, instead of abandoning the case, Petro starts his own investigation and demonstrates the second condition of the Enlightenment mentality, i.e. endless curiosity. "The lust for knowledge, the *libido sciendi*, which theological dogmatism had outlawed and branded as intellectual pride," as Ernst Cassirer comments on Montesquieu's idea of knowledge and reason, "is now called a necessary quality

of the soul as such and restored to its original rights."[295] With regard to this, Petro writes about his motivation to investigate the murder of Runaway Petro:

> *I was thinking about Rudivka. I was thinking that in spite of our repugnance or even injuries, the man can still be like a leaf or grass. [...] And what is more, I had to solve something enormously big or to solve an uncommon mystery. God knows what it was, but I was standing right at its threshold. [...] I wanted to connect the story of Murdered Petro and the story of Runaway Petro. I knew for sure that one of these knots was real. I have to cut one of these knots, and I needed it first of all for myself because it is easy to agree that the man is like a leaf or grass, but it is difficult to be this leaf or grass.*[296]

Petro faces the same dilemma as his grandfather, Illia, who could not decide whether to punish his oppressors. Illia chooses to resile from the entire discourse of punishment, which, as he believes, will save his freedom. Petro, however, needs to make an even harder choice and to decide whether he can and must punish the murderer when he personally did not suffer from the offence. And similarly to Illia, Petro chooses to avoid this. That is why he becomes the fifth Runaway Petro.

Petro Turchynovs'kyi continues to act according to his grandfather's patterns, which allows him to escape subjection. In the end, Petro does not become a subject of power, but Shevchuk hardly considers it as a positive end of his story. He makes Petro responsible for the decline of the nation, as cannot counter the general tendency of subjection in the society with anything. This transforms Turchynovs'kyi into a transitional character that stands between the Golden Age of Illia Turchynovs'kyi and the decline of the nation of Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi.

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[295]Cassirer, *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, 14.
[296]Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 240.

7.1.4. Punishment and Power. Restricted Self, Restricted Narratives with the Advent of Enlightenment

Having described Petro as an active social and political actor, I would, therefore, argue that "Runaway Petro" is more than a historical detective story and that to understand it, one inevitably needs to connect it to the epoch when the novel takes place – Enlightenment. More restricted than Baroque, Enlightenment set a disciplined philosophical paradigm to match itself, and this paradigm became a fundament for the second leaf of Shevchuk's novel.

7.1.4.1. Petro. More Restrictions

Petro Turchynovs'kyi is typical of this transitional period. On the imaginary scale of the restrictive force of power, Petro stands exactly in the middle between the mystical liberalism of his grandfather, Illia, and restricted positivism of his remote descendant, Kyriiak Satanovsky. The main measuring parameter of this scale is the concept of punishment. It means that the more control restrictive forces acquire over individuals, the more intensive their power becomes. Consequently, restricting and punishing institutions, such as the court, and also its image and functions play one of the most important roles in reflecting the essence of the era.

Although in Ukraine the era of Enlightenment was still affected by the powerful baroque legacy, the most educated representatives of the society, including Petro Turchynovs'kyi who studied at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy,[297] were able to become acquainted with the European thought of Enlightenment. This, I think, affected their perception of the world. Especially powerful in this sense was philosophical education. As Vilen Horskyi writes about Kyiv-Mohyla education,

> *It is impossible to imagine Kyiv-Mohyla scholars and students as unfamiliar with contemporary European philosophical doctrines. It was proved that through courses given in Kyiv-Mohyla Academy in the 17th century, the students were acquainted with the ideas of Gassendi, Bacon, Descartes, and*

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[297]The centre of educational and political thought in 17th century Ukraine. More information about Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and its significance in Ukrainian history can be found in Zoia Khyzhniak and Valerii Mankivskyi, *Istoriia Kyievo-Mohylianskoï akademiï [The history of Kyiv-Mohyla Academy]* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo Kyievo-Mohylians'koï Akademiï, 2003), http://www.ekmair.ukma.edu.ua/handle/123456789/2782.

Leibnitz. It is another matter that these new ideas were judged differently. Rationalists, Descartes and Leibnitz, were respected, and their ideas were effectively popularized. […] At the same time, ideas of representatives of empirical philosophy did not get enough support. […] Most professors and the most talented alumni of the university studied in Cracow, Prague, Wittenberg and Leipzig, Königsberg and Galle, London and Paris, Venice, Rome, Padua, Bologna.[298]

Since Petro himself studied at Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, he had acquired there his ideas about philosophy and literature. Reaching the class of *Philosophy* enabled him to take up the position of a court clerk. The Academy certainly had a major influence on him, as it was the centre of Enlightenment; its numerous alumni and professors spread new ideas throughout Ukrainian territory. They brought the newest European conceptions and doctrines and adapted them for Ukrainian ground. Mixing with particular baroque directions and streams, they continued traditions of previous generations, which was particularly important in the unstable time of the 18th century Ukraine.

As an ambiguous person that belongs both to Baroque and Enlightenment, Petro appears both as part of the legislative system and undermining it. First, Petro is a representative of the legal system. Unlike his grandfather Illia, he directly pertains to court because he works there as a clerk, which has an impact on his writing. In his texts, Petro is subsequently more straightforward and direct than his grandfather. On the level of plot, he is more interested in getting to the truth and expresses less concern about mystical realm. In fact, Petro disapproves of the domain of fantasy and abandons it as quickly as he can; instead, he inclines more to the idea of rational thought. Second, Petro serves in court; however, he does not entirely trust in the legislative system and makes his own investigation.

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[298]Vilen Horsky, "Kyevo-Mohylianska akademiia v istorii ukrajinskoji filosofii [Kyiv-Mohyla academy in the history of Ukrainian philosophy]," *Naukovi Zapysky* 9, no. 1 (1999): 68.
This and other sources in this chapter are translated from Ukrainian by Anna Vitruk unless otherwise indicated.

Subjection can also be seen in Petro Turchynovs'kyi's way living. A person that belongs to two cultural and historical paradigms, as does Petro Turchynovs'kyi, naturally experiences anxiety. This unrest is aggravated by a mysterious murder that happens in Rudivka, a nearby village. Here Petro meets an alumnus of his native Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium who encourages him to resume his writing exercises, which sets his soul to even more anxiety. If his grandfather, Illia, wrote a diary about his wanderings, Petro did not feel the urge to do the same. The idea of a free mind beckoned him, and only writing could slake his craving for wanderings. Illia could not find peace of mind in the silence of his home, so he sought it on the road. His grandson Petro is more settled, he owns a house where he willingly returns.

Gradually both the murder that he investigates and its story oddly become a part of his own life. Shevchuk underlines this connection by giving the victim the protagonist's name, Petro. It remains unknown who was the murdered person, and Turchynovs'kyi feels obliged to uncover his story. Investigation leads him to the village register, where he finds three records that are likely to be related to the murder.

7.1.4.2. The Disposition of Power in "Runaway Petro." What Changed Compared to the First Leaf?

The cases that Petro Turchynovs'kyi describes here represent a clearly hierarchical structure of the society of the day and point to subjected individuals and the subjects of power who are mostly secular. The influence of the church in the second leaf is either omitted or described ironically, as in the case with the quasi-messiah. It is the only episode that involves the authorities of the church in the second leaf and demonstrates them as ridiculous and tyrannous at the same time. The only episode that involves clerical authorities concerns a quasi-messiah, an anonymous person who wanders from village to village and stirs up the people. It is interesting to note that this fictional story appeals to real cases of pseudo-messiahs in Ukraine. *Diak* (lector) Stephan Iakovych, Turchynovs'kyi's friend from Rudivka, enthusiastically tells Petro about a person who claims to be the reincarnated Christ. At first, it seems that the episode

plays a secondary role in the novel; however, it demonstrates yet another centre of power, the church, and its potential influence on the people. This irony towards religion pointed at further secularisation of the individuals of Enlightenment, compared to baroque people. It is visible from the novel, where the 'messiah' was proclaimed a heretic and sentenced to death. And the sentence was passed not by Synod but by a *hetman,* which meant that secular authorities were taking over the church and tightening their power. Therefore, this second part, "Runaway Petro," represents an analysis of the 18th century system of secular power with references to its system of punishment. Valerii Shevchuk reconstructs a hierarchy of the village authorities and criticises them for their inhumane approach to the individual.

7.1.4.3. Corporal Punishment: Naturalism and Moral Dilemmas

Though Petro writes his own diary, the fabric of his text contains three stories from court and town registers. The first one tells about Petro Zaparenko who was accused of fornication by Oryshka, a Cossack's daughter. The second story portrays Petro Lehenkyi who was wrongfully convicted to exile from the village for stealing from his neighbour Maria. The third Petro, Haiduchenko, agrees to let his neighbour, Tymish Mokhna, have intercourse with his wife. In exchange, Mokhna would write off Petro's debt. After that, Petro cannot resist the mental pressure and kills Tymish, who forgives Petro before he dies and asks not to prosecute him. However, Petro still has to flee from the village. The fourth story about Petro Znaida is Shevchuk's interpretation of the story of Oedipus who found his real parents but killed his real father. Though the readers can find many references and allusions to different literary texts – from Oedipus to Ivan Franko's *Ukradene shchastia* (Stolen happiness*,* 1893) and Leo Tolstoy's *Zhivoi trup* (The Living corpse,1900) – the stories of various Petros clearly criticise the project of Enlightenment.

Special attention is paid in the second leaf to the system of corporal punishment. For Illia Turchynovs'kyi, it was still perceived as a tragedy and an inhumane act, but he considers it as a part of martyrdom, as he describes it in the scene of beating in the Fable about Abstinence.

But Petro Turchynovs'kyi sees it as a barbaric action. As Petro Lehenkyi is sentenced to beating with cues, Shevchuk positions it as the demand of the crowd for performance, and the publicity of the punishment that results from it appears even crueller than the punishment itself. It was the sign of power that was exercised over the victim, sometimes innocent as Petro Lehenkyi.

As Malcolm Gaskill explains, it was due to a shift in mentality that allowed someone like Petro Turchynovs'kyi, as a representative of Enlightenment, to contemplate on the system of punishment.

> *But at the time of the Enlightenment, it was not as a theme of positive knowledge that man was opposed to the barbarity of the public executions, but as a legal limit: the legitimate frontier of the power to punish. Not that which must be reached in order to alter him, but that which must be left intact in order to respect him. Noli me tangere. It marks the end of the sovereign's vengeance. The 'man' that the reformers set up against the despotism of the scaffold has also become a 'man-measure': not of things, but of power.* [299]

But at the same time, in Ukraine, the system of corporal punishment flourished.

> *Most verdicts of Poltava Magistrate Court implied the punishment of the guilty person. […] As we can see, corporal punishments were enforced most often. They could be executed in public on a market day. Usually judges sentenced to the lash or rod, or sticks. Some Cossacks were sentenced to sticks not in public, but in the court.* [300]

At the same time, the system of offence and punishment became a specific trait of the mentality of Enlightenment. It divided the society into two groups – those who punish and their victims. Michel Foucault writes:

> *In order to punish him, society has the right to oppose him in his entirety. It is an unequal struggle: on one side are all the forces, all the power, all the rights. And this is how it should be, since the defence of each individual is*

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[299] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (Vintage Books, 1977), 74.

[300] Voloshyn, "Kryminalna zlochynnist v Hetmanshchyni druhoi polovyny XVIII st. (Za materialamy Poltavskoho grodskoho sudu) [Criminal activity in Hetmanshchyna of the late XVIII century (Based on Poltava city court records)]," 321.

involved. Thus a formidable right to punish is established, since the offender becomes the common enemy.[301]

This led to a specific situation when punishment became a social instrument of power and subjection, a force that expelled an individual from the society. And in the second part of *Three Leaves in the Window,* Petro Turchynovs'kyi describes all the evil of this isolation, which was fundamental for the society. However, this split in the society was not in the program of Illia Turchynovs'kyi, and his grandson, Petro, protests against the division as well. The entire second part with its inserted stories is an attempt to examine this split in the society.

Rudivka, the location of the murder scene, appears as the society in miniature, torn by the desire to punish that astonishes Petro Turchynovs'kyi. He approaches the people of Rudivka with his own values that he inherited from Illia Turchynovs'kyi and expects everybody to possess them. But how disappointed he is to find out that Stefan Savych, his friend, is a murderer and that in this Rudivka the only woman he can love is the tavern keeper Vjutska. In the end of the second leaf, when Turchynovs'kyi leaves Rudivka for good, he writes:

> *But most of all I wanted to run away from the pathetic me who expected to find a friend, a beloved woman, and a flying horse and became instead the fifth Runaway Petro. It is for him the reddish-blue ground had already bared its rusty teeth. It was lying in wait for me and for everybody who was burning with restless spirit and forfeited roof over their head. Here it is, a monster that opens its sleepy and hungry eyes, and slowly, but steadily gropes for her victims.*
>
> *I raced towards it, but I didn't have the weak fatality inside me. Neither had I obedience, so I dared to joust this monster. Who knows whether I will win in this eternal combat, but one thing I know for sure: I will not surrender myself to it that easily![302]*

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[301]Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 90.

[302]Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 268.

The isolation of delinquent and criminal elements affected Turchynovs'kyi himself, as he, with his humanistic drive, is foreign to the world of segregation and subjection, which is Rudivka.

7.1.4.4. Writing: Documenting Subjection

By introducing external punishment, this epoch restricted the spirit and soul, and Shevchuk encodes this tendency in the leaf's structure and the style of writing. We are reminded that the main character himself belongs to the structure of power, as he worked as a court clerk. His writing already lacks baroque mysticism and allegorism; instead, it shifts towards the desire to document and describe the stories of individuals. Turchynovs'kyi feels responsible for his personages, and this feeling is so strong that it motivates him to write.

The drive for writing has a rather similar reason to Illia's. He describes it as an urge to relieve people from the fall into the darkness of anonymity.

> *My search for the Runaway Petro is not a mere curiosity: I cannot feel without any pain that a person can go missing for real. This state of 'missing' invades my soul and fills it with a certain bitterness. A person, although he exists in this world just like grass or a flower, still has something sublime. That is why he must not be lost as grass or a flower; at least, that is what my soul wants. I feel the roots of these thoughts, and they lie deep. They are our hope to hold on to this world: the urge for immortality never leaves the soul.[303]*

As in the case of Illia Turchynovs'kyi and his adventures of the spirit, the analysis of the novel can take the direction towards the humanistic pathos. It can state that Petro Turchynovs'kyi meditates on the role of the person in history. However, it would not be enough to identify the further development of the national narrative.

The style of writing varies through the second chapter. On the one hand, it consists of Petro's own narration, where he is a first-person narrator. In the beginning, it intersperses with the stories of the evidence of witnesses. Generally, they all sound rather similar, and each of the

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[303]Ibid., 192.

six adds small and inconspicuous details to the whole picture. Naturally, readers would expect Shevchuk to reveal the secret of the murder, but he does not provide them with such a relief. Therefore, the investigation follows up with three variants of motives and crime causes. Supposedly, these stories are told or written down by Petro Turchynovs'kyi himself. They are taken from official records, yet the language, descriptions, and the position of the narrator is far from formal. It actively appeals to personal and emotional details, constructs dialogues, and positions the narrator as a third-person part and an outside observer.

In Turchynovs'kyi's narrative, the reader can find poems of his authorship, which are full of baroque images and topics, though the literature has already moved towards the worldview of Enlightenment. There is no doubt that Shevchuk wrote these poems himself, though they are represented a compilation or an imitation of some baroque verses by famous baroque philosophers and artists. In his dialogues with the lector Stefan Savych, Petro Turchynovs'kyi recalls the names of his teachers and the authors of influential books. Among them, he names Mytrofan Dovhalevs'kyi, Hryhorii Konys'kyi, Lazar Baranovych, and other scholars of Kyiv-Mohyla College, whom Shevchuk could have as an example of baroque poetry.

But in spite of the obvious connection to Baroque, the verses in the second part of the novel bear the changes that are inherent to Enlightenment. The verses here could be considered purely baroque if it was not for their form. It changes considerably, and represents a transition from the prevailing in baroque syllabic verse to a syllabic-accentual verse, inherent to modern poetry. Petro Okhrimenko and Oleh Okhrimenko explain:

> *Soon, when an aesthetical and entertaining function of literature intensified and displaced solely cognitive and educational aims, written poetry in Ukraine and Belarus (the authors of which in many cases used Polish and Latin) becomes a fashion, it overtly orients to developed Polish poetry, and implements its generic variations and syllabic system that are not always suitable for Eastern Slavic languages. That is why it acquires a rather artificial form and easily adopts elements of Baroque style under an obvious*

Polish influence. Since the late 17th century, the tendency to write Baroque syllabic poetry had been prevailing for quite a long time. However, owing to orientation to local folklore accentual poetry, it gradually becomes more and more accentuated until the point where it creates an appropriate ground for poetry forms in Ukrainian, Belarussian, and Russian languages. With their establishment in Eastern Slavic poetry and other genres of literature, Baroque poetics decays.[304]

It can be seen that the text of the novel engages different genres in constructing its canvas. This generic play points at the relationships of subjects in the text. The tension between two epochs, between the old and the new, escalates. Portraying his characters on the verge of these changes, Shevchuk places them in an unstable situation, where they have a choice of staying with a more conservative side or moving to an unknown territory. Both characters, Illia and Petro Turchynovskys choose the second option and end up on the other side of power. They want to stay distanced from penitentiary systems of their time and to preserve the fragile Golden Age. But if Illia Turchynovs'kyi is succeeds, Petro, trying to use his grandfather's techniques of non-violence and to refrain from the process of subjection, is doomed for escapism. The only thing he can do is to document the process of sliding into subjection. This descending into hell is the very action and the next motif of the national narrative. And in this hell, which we will examine in the next chapter, Satan-Satanovs'kyi awaits.

7.1.5. Conclusion 2. Tightening Subjection in the National Narrative

It appears that after the problem for the nation was set and offered as a possible solution in "Illia Turchynovs'kyi," the next generations of the Turchynovs'kyi family tried to follow Illia's directions. His grandson Petro fights against subjection and oppression brought by the advent of the new social and cultural paradigm – Enlightenment. But his struggle is bitterly ironic, as he himself is already a person of the new time. While historical Enlightenment brought the enforcement of the power of empires and courts, which resulted in a normative style of writing,

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[304]Petro Okhrimenko and Oleh Okhrimenko, "Rozvytok i vzaiemozvjazky shidnoslovjanskoho barokko [The development and interaction of Eastern Slavic baroque]," in *Ukrajinske Literaturne Barokko* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 1987), 29.

this period in *Three Leaves in the Window* is described through the transformation of the individual and his gradual subjection to the society of the new era.

In terms of the national narrative, this sliding into subjection designates a problem that cannot be solved by any of the trusted and established methods (proposed by Illia Turchynovs'kyi), and thus, it constitutes an insoluble issue. This is tragic for an individual, for Petro Turchynovs'kyi, but as I demonstrated in the previous section of this chapter, individuals are connected to the whole society. Thus, it is the people, the entire future nation, which suffers from it. In the system of motifs of the national narrative, it corresponds with the motif of treachery. But in Shevchuk's novel, the traitor is not a single person, but the society itself, which an individual, no matter how virtuous and rightful he is, cannot oppose and withstand.

7.2. Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi

By the third leaf, Valerii Shevchuk's pattern of the national narrative becomes more clear. It does not develop gradually by the accumulation of motifs, as in the narratives of Iurii Mushketyk and Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, but instead, its main strategy is the constant comparison and contrasting on all levels of the texts. For readers, it constitutes a rather complicated task, as they have to juggle with three parts of *Three Leaves* at once. Only through comparison it is possible to recognise how the nation slides down into the territory of subjection. While Illia Turchynovs'kyi is able to withstand it, Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi, the main character of the third part, does not find the resistance necessary.

Thus, the novel transforms into an overall gloomy and pessimistic panorama of national decline. I would like to argue that Shevchuk is optimistic about the future and gives hope to the next generations, but it is not possible. In Shevchuk's system of history, the Golden Age of the Ukrainian people is clearly located in the baroque era, and while the Ukrainians, like Satanovsky, do not recognise the primacy of the spiritual domain, they are doomed to repeat Kyriiak's mistakes. While Illia Turchynovs'kyi appeals for struggle against oppression and subjection – spiritual and material – Satanovs'kyi denies the very necessity of such a fight. His denial is manifested on many levels and in many ways, but the most significant are those when Kyriiak appeals to Turchynovs'kyi to confront his position. It completes the national narrative and brings it to an unavoidable and pessimistic end, where the nation is ruined by traitors. In the end, Shevchuk punishes Satanovs'kyi for his treachery, but the greatness of the nation cannot be restored.

The third leaf is the most interesting part of the novel with intensive and rapid plot. That is why it is the most well-researched. The most significant critical studies of the third leaf belong to

Mykola Zhulyns'kyi,[305] Anna Horniatko-Shumylovych,[306] Liudmyla Tarnashynska,[307] Mykola Riabchuk,[308] and Marko Pavlyshyn. As the main argument, these scholars present a political orientation of Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi and his time. Pavlyshyn argues that instead of a direct reply to the political needs of the time, the last part of Shevchuk's novel proposes an "Aesopian reflection of the problem of colonialism,"[309] and can be interpreted as a criticism of the "distorted and uncontrolled enlightenment in a centralised imperial state."[310] Being a symbol of imperial oppression, Satanovs'kyi here is put in one paradigm with Taras Shevchenko. Pavlyshyn writes that "through his name, Satanovsky is close to the concept of Antichrist; but he also could be considered as Anti-Shevchenko."[311]

This argument is vital for an understanding of the national narrative in Shevchuk's novel. In this section of the chapter, I will continue the line of Pavlyshyn and argue that for Shevchuk, the real imperial organisation of the society is reflected in literature. Here the accumulation of subjection that constitutes the national story in the novel, reaches its apogee. While the first and the second leaves are organised according to the poetics of Baroque and Enlightenment, the third leaf represents the retrospection of large realist novels. This comparison of the epochs – Baroque, Enlightenment, and Positivism – reveals an overall direction and epistemological basis of the national narrative. It is no longer based on the firm ground of knowledge but

[305]Mykola Zhulynskyi, "U vichnomu zmahanni za istynu [In eternal struggle for truth]," in *Try lystky za viknom. Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window. A tryptykh-novel]* (Kyiv: Radianskyi Pys'mennyk, 1986), 3–14.

[306]Anna Horniatko-Shumylovych, *Borotba za "avtentychnu liudyny" (Proza Valeriia Shevchuka iak viddzerkalennia ekzystentsializmu) [The struggle for "the authentic human" (The prose of Valerii Shevchuk as a reflection of existentialism)]* (Lviv: Kameniar, 1999).

[307]Tarnashynska, *Khudozhnia halaktyka Valeriia Shevchuka: postatε suchasnoho ukraïnskoho pys'mennyka na tli zahidnoievropejskoï literatury [The artistic galaxy of Valerii Shevchuk: Contemporary Ukrainian writer in the context of Western European literature]*.

[308]Mykola Riabchuk, "Knyha dobra i zla za Valeriiem Shevchukom [Valerii Shevchuk's book of good and evil]," *Vitchyzna*, no. 2 (1988): 176–79.

[309]Pavlyshyn, "Vidlyhy, literatura ta natsional'ne pytannia: proza Valeriia Shevchuka [Thaws, literature, and national question: the prose of Valerii Shevchuk]," 126.

[310]Ibid., 127.

[311]Marko Pavlyshyn, "Taras Shevchenko i joho doba u tvorchosti Valeriia Shevchuka [Taras Shevchenko and his time in the writing of Valerii Shevchuk]," in *Kanon ta ikonostas [Canon and iconostasis]* (Kyiv: Chas, 1997), 138.

preferred elusive but more liberal spheres of culture. It is the cultural phenomena that constitute the national narrative in Shevchuk's novel.

7.2.1. The Name: Satan or Sataniv?

The appeal to Anti-Christ and Anti-Shevchenko presents Satanovs'kyi in an opposition to positive characters, but he was never shown in connection with the positive time, with the Golden Age. Just as Satan used to be an angel, Satanovsky, a person of rationalism and positivism, contains a part of the baroque world. And as his negation starts with the name, his positive side must also derive from it.

In a conversation with an officer in Kyiv, Satanovs'kyi states his Maloros origin and mocks his name and family.

> *"You have a strange name," he said. "'Satanovsky' derives from something like 'Satan', does it not?"*
>
> *"It is my grandfather's name," I explained humbly. "Initially, it was 'Sotonovsky' from the Maloros word 'sotaty', which means 'to wind'. The same grandfather replaced 'o' with 'a' to adjust to the Velykoros pronunciation."[312]*

Further in the novel, he does not go into this detail:

> *"Why do you have such a name?" He asked, barely opening his mouth.*
>
> *"My father allotted it to me," I said politely and straightened up.[313]*

Satanovsky describes his father, Avtomon, as a humble and poor man who was not able to bring money into family, and for that he was intimidated by his wife.[314] And the diabolic origin of his name did not influence his destiny, even though the connotation implied the contrary.

This ambiguity points to a greater depth of the meaning of Satanovs'kyi's name. Like 'Turchynovs'kyi', the name 'Satanovs'kyi' also refers to the name of a real person, Arsenii

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[312]Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 270.
[313]Ibid., 329.
[314]Ibid., 310.

Koretskyi-Satanovs'kyi (c.1600-1653), a Ukrainian baroque intellectual, born in the town of Sataniv (now Khmelnyts'kyi Region). He is famous for two things: first, for creating the first Ukrainian-Latin dictionary (1650) and second, for moving to Moscow as part of a cultural mission and for being then sent into exile to the Antoniievo-Siiskyi monastery in the north of Muscovy (Arkhangel'sk Region) where he soon died. In the novel, there is no reference to Koretskyi-Satanovs'kyi with regard to Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi. However, Shevchuk could not assign his character such a significant name without alluding to the renowned Koretskyi-Satanovs'kyi. It means that the connection with baroque culture is still an inherent part of Satanovs'kyi's image. Since Baroque represents the Golden Age for Shevchuk, any reference to it is a sign of the relationship with the lost sphere of the national happiness and bliss. In the next section, I will examine Satanovsky's links to Baroque as a Golden Age.

7.2.2. Satanovs'kyi versus Baroque. The Ultimate Subjection?

At first, it does not seem true that any connection between Satanovs'kyi and Baroque exists, as he is completely anti-baroque, and his rationalistic mind denies the mysticism of Baroque. He serves as a teacher in a provincial Ukrainian school in Zhytomyr. Unlike his forefathers, Kyriiak argues that he does not cling to any moral problems. Instead, his main task, as he describes it himself, is to document every sin and vice of the provincial society, which he does in the form of inserted stories that intersperse his main narrative. It is the same drive for writing that Petro and Illia Turchynovs'kyi experienced. But if for the Turchynovs'kyis, writing was an instrument to explore and investigate the domain of the human spirit, Satanovs'kyi reduced this mission to a process without a goal, to sheer documentality. From here, it is reasonable to contextualise the writing of Satanovs'kyi.

Satanovsky's text stylistically differs from the writing of Illia and Petro Turchynovs'kyis. Not only does it point out that he belongs to the age of positivistic realism, but it also reveals his deliberate desire to lock himself, in Roland Barthes' words, "into the language of own […]

cell," which "permits to adapt ourselves […] to the fragmentation"[315] of the society. This textual situation has one more consequence: Satanovs'kyi's urge to follow the cell's rules, which are expectedly reflected in his writing. Out of disdain, Satanovs'kyi divided the society he lives in into two groups: the people "with history" and the people "without history." For the latter, he has a book where he writes down their stories. To discover more facts, Satanovs'kyi uses his special ability to disintegrate into two parts – his body remaining on the spot and functioning normally and the shadow that could follow his "victims" and thus discover their secrets. There is no coincidence that Shevchuk imbues his main character with an ability to be omnipresent. As Satanovs'kyi lives in the time of Positivistic Realism, he is made to embody this type of world-view and produce the respective type of text.

Satanovs'kyi's narrative with its documentalism and denunciation is very close to the large novels of 19th century Realism. Although the intention of positivistic novels is to transform the world by reflecting it, it may seem unreasonable to compare them to Satanovs'kyi's *Chorna knyha* (Black book). However, a number of its characteristics prove the opposite.

First, it is the names of Satanovs'kyi's characters – Mykola Platonovych Biliashivs'kyi; Potots'kyi, the earl; Trautfetter; Lensal'; Bergen – all these long and complicated names and titles remind of the characters of Dostoevsky and Turgenev.[316] Shevchuk mocks Russian Realists with their love for language games and the symbolism of names. In *Three Leaves*, unlike in Dostoevsky's *Idiot*, the name does not bear any positive or negative connotations, but rather is a sign of national affiliation: Trautfetter, a German; Biliashivskyi, a Ukrainian (Maloros). The second similarity of Satanovs'kyi's writing with the Realist novels lies in the perspective of the view. To collect material, Shevchuk gives Satanovs'kyi the power to send his 'shadow' to spy on people, which makes him the most empowered character in the novel.

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[315]Roland Barthes, "The Division of Languages," in *The Rustle of Language* (University of California Press, 1989), 116.
[316]Andrew M. Verner, "What's in a Name? Of Dog-Killers, Jews and Rasputin," *Slavic Review* 53, no. 4 (December 1, 1994): 1046–70, doi:10.2307/2500846.

But the power over the humans' lives is twofold. On the one hand, Satanovs'kyi's ability allows him to unravel dirty secrets of ordinary people. As in Realist novels, he plays the role of an omnipresent and omnipotent author. Third, it is the very documentality of Satanovs'kyi's writing. As he confesses himself,

> *I cannot invent anything, which is my main disadvantage. All stories that I write down have to happen in real life, there is no other way. So, to know a person of any kind, I have to live and feel with him.[317]*

At the same time, it makes him the slave of this mystical power. He willingly obeys authorities and cherishes the system of subjection and punishment. As a schoolteacher, he enjoys the unquestioned authority among his students, which is based on intimidation. But in the end, the exercises in power aggravate Satanovs'kyi's moral unsettledness and anxiety. He comes to the point where, subdued by the society, he needs to oppose it, and this conflict tears him from inside.

7.2.2.1. Changed Chronotopes

The reader first encounters Satanovs'kyi after he has completed his teaching degree in St. Volodymyr Kyiv University[318] and is trying to get a position of schoolteacher in one of the provincial towns in Ukraine. These two main chronotopes of the third part – the school and the small town – direct the narrative into a restricted path. Their closeness contrasts with the open chronotopes of the first part of the novel – garden, road, and church. From this very observation, it is possible to make assumptions about the restricted nature of the third leaf, but there are even more signs of this.

> *I suddenly felt that my uniform is choking me. I felt, pan Bergen, that I cannot breathe. When I rushed outside pan Bergen the building of our gymnasium appeared as a uniform, and behind it, somewhere deep, an even bigger, gigantic uniform was towering.[319]*

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[317]Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 277.
[318] Now it is Taras Shevchenko Kyiv National University.
[319]Shevchuk, *Try lystky za viknom: Roman-tryptykh [Three leaves in the window: A triptych-novel]*, 563.

Not only space is restricted in the third part of the novel, and it is only one sign of the general subjection of the individual. This is reflected in Satanovs'kyi's image. Being a typical representative of the positivistic period in politics and culture, he is an adherer of logic and hierarchy, proud of his "common sense and lucid mind."[320] He obeys people who are superior of him, but also he does not miss an opportunity to put his subordinates to their place. In the first conversation with the headmaster, Trautfetter, Satanovs'kyi promises to "maintain strict discipline in the classroom,"[321] and he keeps his promise to the best of his ability.

> *I knew that in this astonishment the seeds of hatred, of stubborn children's hatred, are planted, and it means the same as fear. [...] I wanted to provoke this very reaction, as from now on, there will be silence during my classes.[322]*

Thus, on the level of the chronotope, restriction and oppression reaches the ultimate level compared to the Golden Age of Baroque.

7.2.2.2. On the Question of Nationality

In all the texts examined earlier in this thesis, the question of the nationality could not be discussed openly simply because the nation as it is understood today did not arise until the 19th century. As the third part of *Three Leaves* takes place in the very 19th century, Shevchuk willingly investigates how the self-determination of the Ukrainians affected the life and development of the nation. For Kyriiak Satanovs'kyi, the obeisance to superiors influences even the connection with his nation. Only in the third leaf, Shevchuk discusses the problem of the nation, and through the image of Satanovsky, he conveys a provoking idea about nationality. Satanovs'kyi, being a Ukrainian, does not deny his origins; however, he does willingly resile from them when he feels that it is necessary. Thus, explaining the story of his name to a superior officer in Kyiv, Satanovs'kyi justifies it by the desire to assimilate with the Russian people:

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[320]Ibid., 321.
[321]Ibid., 330.
[322]Ibid., 332.

"Initially, it was 'Sotonovskyi' from the Maloros word '*sotaty*', which means 'to wind'. The same grandfather replaced 'o' with 'a' to adjust to the Velykoros pronunciation."[323]

Later, he emphasises his indifference towards his national belonging during a talk with the headmaster.

> *"Who are you, Velykoros, Maloros, or Polish?" The Headmaster was interested.*
>
> *"I am a Maloros." I said. "But I do not belong to those who consider them a separate folk."[324]*

I suggest that the main reason for that is the loss of the feeling of community and the cosmic unity of all people that Illia Turchynovs'kyi and Petro Turchynovs'kyi experienced. But for Satanovs'kyi, his national allegiance does not mean anything in fact. It is not that he deliberately and consciously refuses to admit his nationhood; he already is a representative of a different, imperial community, where obeisance and hierarchy is valued more than anything. This urge for control does not necessarily affect Satanovs'kyi's self-identification as a Ukrainian. Any political issues he associates with rebellion and interruptions in the established order, and this chaos is the real problem for Satanovs'kyi.

> *"He [Satanovs'kyi's fellow-traveller – AV] muttered in his hoarse tenor voice that the Maloros need to be on friendly terms with the Poles: it is time for the Slavs to become closer not only culturally but also politically.*
>
> *"The Slavs could unite in a federation of free people against the union of the Germans or the attack of the Asian people…"*
>
> *"What would the Third Department say about your thoughts?" I [Satanovs'kyi – AV] said and smiled at him.[325]*

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[323]Ibid., 270.
[324]Ibid., 330.
[325]Ibid., 310.

Satanovs'kyi's political sympathies are explained through the prism of his personal security, and secure things for him are those that "do not interfere with serving the tsar and the motherland."[326]

Readers so far understand that the personal ambitions of Satanovs'kyi and other factors motivate him to turn away from affiliation with the nation. This fact reasonably provokes them to criticise the main character of the third leaf. But there is more to their condemnation. Resiling from Baroque and the legacy of his forefathers, Satanovs'kyi also abandons the Golden Age of the nation and provides no alternative to it. He appears here as a new type of a traitor. On the one hand, his behaviour is similar to that of the traitors in the novels of Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi, as his main goal is his personal benefit, even if it conflicts with the interests of the community. But on the other hand, Shevchuk provides Satanovs'kyi with moral and intellectual qualities that were not part of the traitors' images in the earlier novels.

7.2.2.3. The Conflict of Generations, the Conflict of Epochs

However, the connection to Baroque – even on the level of the name through Koretskyi-Satanovs'kyi – ties Kyriiak to the Ukrainian nation. This bond is envisioned through the image of the tree and tree-rings. It is interesting that it occurs in *Three Leaves in the Window* at least twice, in the first and in the third parts, and there is a substantial difference in its meaning. For Illia Turchynovs'kyi, a tree constitutes the life of a collective, where every tree-ring designates the life of a person. Satanovs'kyi, however, sees the collective as a forest of people, which denotes a dispersed and disintegrated community; in his interpretation, tree-rings are merely the stories from individuals' lives.[327] He obviously tries to create a distance between himself and the society, nation, and any kind of community. However, Shevchuk demonstrates that it

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[326]Ibid., 315.

[327]Nataliia Peleshenko, "Vanitatyvnyi motyv v ukrainskij literaturi 1960-1980-h rokiv (na materiali tvoriv O. Ilchenka, V. Drozda, V. Shevchuka) [The motif of vanity in Ukrainian literature of the 1960s-1980s (in the novels of O. Ilchenko, V. Drozd, V. Shevchuk)," *Magisterium*, Literary Studies, no. 29 (2007): 63.

is not possible. As the stories of other people start to influence his own life, he loses control and his secluded and detached position.

At the end of his life, Satanovs'kyi comes to an understanding of his ancestors' feelings and testaments. Great commotions, such as the death of his student and the betrayal of his fiancée, lead him to a tavern, where he, drinking, realises the true meaning of Illia Turchynovs'kyi's book. He becomes aware of the bond that ties him to his ancestors and of the problems of subjection they were trying to solve.

7.2.3. Conclusion 3

With regards to the national narrative, the third part of the novel is interesting in two ways. First, it is significant that it continues the general line of the entire novel – it demonstrates how subjection, if it is not opposed, becomes the disease that ruins both an individual and a collective. In the case of Satanovsky, he personifies the complete estrangement from the legacy of his ancestors who identified this problem and invented a solution for it. Second, it is necessary to acknowledge Satanovsky's connection to the previous epochs. As it was demonstrated above, the indication of this tie lies in his very name, and the plot of the novel develops, the double nature of Satanovsky leads him to a major conflict – both with the outer world of rationalism and regulations and with himself. Approaching Baroque, Satanovsky's inner world crushes under the pressure of realisation that the Golden Age existed and that not only sins and vices can dominate the society.

7.3. Conclusion. Shevchuk's National Narrative

Paradoxically, Shevchuk's national narrative in *Three Leaves in the Window* is located in the non-narrative structures; that is why the story can only be reconstructed from the pieces of puzzle, which is the *syuzhet* of the novel. The two previous chapters contextualised the narrative and provided it with the links to the past and present. As a result, this section is able to restore the national story in a narrative form.

It begins with the acknowledgement that the nation once had a Golden Age. Though mysterious, frightening, and sometimes violent, this period allowed the individuals to reflect on their place in the world; their importance for the community; and the significance of the harmonious co-existence of the individual and the collective. It is the story of Illia Turchynovs'kyi who appears such a philosopher, eager to explore the world and to pass his knowledge to the next generations. Illia travels his land and finds that the society is not as harmonious and happy as he would like it to be. Therefore, he develops a strategy that allows him to live in accordance with such a world. It can be said that this is a Motif of the Golden Age, the time when an individual is free to fight subjection.

Next, the narrative demonstrates the detachment from the Golden Age, which occurs mostly because of the split in the society. Petro Turchynovs'kyi, Illia's grandson, explains it with the desire of people to punish and to exercise power over their like. Petro tries to withstand this tendency by implementing the same escapist techniques of fighting subjection that Illia Turchynovs'kyi used, but his enterprise is not successful. This marks the next motif of the national narrative – the Motif of Decline and Failure.

In the previous types of the national narrative, this Motif would finalise the story. However, Shevchuk prefers to exaggerate and aggravate it to demonstrate what happens to the nation when it pursues its decline. That is why, in the third part of the novel, he presents the nation in its most subjected status – a part of the empire. The narrative finishes with the picture of a complete destruction both of the individual and nation.

Compared to the national narratives in Mushketyk's and Zahrenel'nyi's novels, *Three Leaves in the Window* presents a critique of the imperial environment that destroys the individual. Unlike Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi, Shevchuk recognises the decisive role of the individual in the well-being of the nation. However, he does not give any positive prognosis for the future. More a fable than a novel, *Three Leaves in the Window* merely records the destructive nature of the imperial order.

Chapter 8. The Body and the Past: Oksana Zabuzhko's Post-Communist National Narrative

Since 1991 when Ukraine gained independence, the society was naturally expecting a new national narrative, but it was not clear what kind of narrative it was supposed to be. Naturally, it was anticipated to have a substantial amount of nationalism as a response to its suppression; it was also expected to abandon the Communist ideology. One of the most significant attempts to do this in historical fiction is described in the previous chapter on Valerii Shevchuk's fiction that argues that the national narrative contained some of the elements of Socialist Realist narrative, but at the same time, it emphasised the role of the individual. Due to this, new elements and emphases of the narrative became vital in its structure: writing, space, time and other concepts connected to the activity of power.

However, the general tendency to find the narrative in the locations of power persists. In most post-Independence historical fiction, the narrative is structured similarly to the national story of Zahrebelny (in the texts of Volodymyr Lys, Vasyl Shkliar and others), where motifs reflect the *fabula*, and power is exercised by characters independently of their will (compared to Shevchuk's text where power is a separate substance). But occasionally there appears a text that stands out of the mass of standard historical novels. While Shkliar and Lys emphasise the role of collectives, similarly to the texts of Romanticism,[328] Oksana Zabuzhko, like Valerii Shevchuk, investigates the role of the individual. Because there is a connection to the previous, Shevchuk's, type of the narrative, this chapter suggests that Zabuzhko's novel *Muzei pokynutykh sekretiv* (The museum of abandoned secrets, 2009), being a post-Independence text, contains a new kind of the national narrative. Unlike the narratives in the earlier Ukrainian

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[328]Vira Aheieva, "Movni ihry i povernennia istorii: Paradoksy ukrajinskoho postmodernizmu [Language games and the return of history: The paradoxes of Ukrainian postmodernism]," *Magisterium*, Literary Studies, no. 48 (2012): 39.

historical fiction, this novel bases its national story on memory. *The Museum* belongs to the new type of historical fiction that I described in a previous chapter. Like Shevchuk's novels, it abandons the discourse of knowledge as an oppressive domain and turns to memory as a more reliable source of information about the past. The new epistemological paradigm of the novel necessarily entails new localisations of the national narrative. Memory**,** as an unstable and flowing substance, requires respective representation in the text, and it appears that it receives it in Zabuzhko's novel. The body, fragile and changing, is the surface where power is exercised. It is the connection between the body, memory, and the national narrative that this chapter will investigate.

8.1. Why the Body?

The theme of the body appears in this chapter as a response to the lack of corporeality in the Socialist Realist novels. In the chapter on Iurii Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*, I pointed to the fact that the text completely abandoned the discourse of the body, left only the necessary references to corporeality, and ideologised them. Read consequently after *Haidamaky*, Oksana Zabuzhko's *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* astonishes with the level of the body articulation. In Mushketyk's novel, the body is merely a means to demonstrate the limits where material ceases to be chaotic and acquires forms of human beings. The body means nothing but a container and evokes no emotional reation of personages. In *The Museum*, the body conveys information, emotions, and ideological messages. Let us look into the description of the main character, Daryna Hoshchyns'ka, which is based entirely on the sense of smell, by her partner, Adrian Vatamaniuk.

> *Walking around the kitchen like this, retracing her steps–it's like pulling on*
> *a still-warm robe she's taken off and left hanging invisibly in the air; you can*
> *wrap yourself in it, you want to rub your cheek against her, Lolly. And the*
> *smell–the waft of her perfume lifted off the pillow where she slept, warm with*
> *the sweet, yeasty, bread-dough smell of her body–it follows me around, grows*
> *stronger by the window where she stood, washes over me at the door where*

she put on her boots. I press my fingers against my nose and inhale a slightly different version of her–a sharper, saltier tinge like the smell of seaweed drifting in from a distant beach–draw it in, and hear myself moan, unwittingly.[329]

This stunning contrast forces the reader to think that the body in her novel is a participant, if not the medium, of the ideologically charged message that channels the topics of power, gender, and nationality. Elizabeth Grosz objectifies this methodological issue, and argues that if the body is "an un- or an inadequately acknowledged condition of knowledges, then the sexual specificity of bodies must be a relevant factor in the evaluation of these knowledges."[330]

The amount of research of the body in Zabuzhko's texts is far from being scarce. After her renowned text *Poliovi doslidzhennia z ukraïnskoho seksu* (Fieldwork in Ukrainian sex, 1996), the body in Ukrainian discourse was interpreted as troubled, gendered, and (post)colonial. Zabuzhko's *Fieldwork* also contributed to the examination of the body as nationally engaged. Discussing female corporeality, Zabuzhko emphasises the necessity to contemplate the problems of gender in the national context, as both are restricted and oppressed.[331] She does not limit the explorations of the corporeal sphere to prose only. Zabuzhko's interest in the body is visible in her poems and critical research (*Notre Dame D'Ukraine: Ukraïnka v konflikti mifolohii* [Notre Dame D'Ukraine; Ukraïnka in the conflict of mythologies], 2007).[332] As Uilleam Blacker explains, this obsession with corporeality allows Zabuzhko to examine political and ideological discourses in the postcolonial society.

This use of woman as a symbol for territory in colonial and anti-colonial discourse has practical implications for women themselves, in that their social and sexual behaviour becomes loaded with political significance. [...]

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[329] Oksana Zabuzhko, *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, trans. Nina Shevchuk-Murray (Las Vegas: Amazon Crossing, 2012) Kindle Edition.

[330] E. A. Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion: Essays on the Politics of Bodies* (Routledge, 1995), 25.

[331] Halyna Koscharsky, "Ukrainian Feminist Poetry: Is It Coming of Age?," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 45, no. 3–4 (September 1, 2003): 316, doi:10.1080/00085006.2003.11092329.

[332] Alexandra Hrycak and Maria G. Rewakowicz, "Feminism, Intellectuals and the Formation of Micro-Publics in Postcommunist Ukraine," *Studies in East European Thought* 61, no. 4 (December 8, 2009): 330, doi:10.1007/s11212-009-9092-0.

> *The actual physiology of the woman thus becomes a real physical sign in both inscription of the discourses of power and resistance.[333]*

The significance of the national theme in the discourse of Ukrainian corporeality allows one to suggest that the national narrative also stems from the discourse of the body. However, with Zabuzhko's novel *the Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, it is complicated to determine the nature of the narrative's form and its incarnations in the text.

8.2. A Place to Hide the 'Secrets'

In fact, the national narrative in *The Museum* is oriented to *fabula* which is supposed to mean that it can be extracted without additional inquiries into the discourse of the body. It is a narrative about a journalist, Daryna Hoshchyns'ka, who investigates the story of an activist of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Olena Dovhan (Dovhanivna), whose story constitutes the historical part of the novel. Dovhanivna, being a part of the Ukrainian insurgent movement, urges to liberate Ukraine from the Soviet occupation after World War II.

The Museum represents an attempt to radically reassess the last sixty years of Ukrainian history. Its goal is to bring together the chaotic fragments of the past and present. To do that, Oksana Zabuzhko sets the novel in three temporal perspectives, which are organised in eight chapters – 'museum halls'. The most recent stratum commands a panorama of post-Independence years and tells the story of a Ukrainian TV journalist Daryna Goshchyns'ka. Together with her lover, Adrian Vatamaniuk, she investigates the case of Olena (Helia) Dovhanivna, a Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) activist. Inspired by her story and trying to make a film of it, Daryna encounters considerable obstacles in the modern Ukrainian society that reveals all the vices of the 1990s – corruption, criminal affairs, prostitution, but also intellectual poverty and generational degradation.

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[333]Uilleam Blacker, "Nation, Body, Home: Gender and National Identity in the Work of Oksana Zabuzhko," *The Modern Language Review* 105, no. 2 (April 1, 2010): 488.

All this Daryna imputes to the decades of Soviet rule as the apogee of many colonial centuries, which Zabuzhko describes in the second stratum of the novel. Here she draws a portrait of the generation of the 1970s, repressed and unfree. She explores the second generation of Adrian's and Daryna's families to find more persecuted dissidents. Daryna's father, a talented architect, is put in a mental hospital for disobeying the orders of the Party functionaries. Adrian's parents were deported to Central Asia for having Helia, the UPA activist, as their relative. The suffocating atmosphere of denunciations, constant surveillance, and isolation that follows disobedience and exclusion from the system follows Daryna throughout her life and partially determines her future. It is the worst of times, considers Zabuzhko. Immediately after this, she revisits the space of idyllic people – the 1940s.

That is why the author makes Daryna so fond of the past, providing a relief to the atmosphere where Zabuzhko herself seems to belong. Western Ukraine of the 1940s-1950s is an idyllic chronotope for her. In these tragic years, she sets the historical part of *The Museum*. She is quite fond of the characters here, describing them with much affection and details. It is a space of idyllic love as well, and when Zabuzhko depicts Adrian, falling in love with Helia Dovhanivna, she elaborates every precious detail of her outfit.

> *She is snowflaked. Smiling. Serene. Snow Queen–that's what he called her that night when he walked her home, to the Professors' Colony far up Lychakivska, her tall lace-up boots leaving tiny, miniscule impressions in the snow, child's tracks, and when he pointed it out to her, she indulged him with a small laugh, slightly coy,*

> *"What fancy is that, Mister Adrian; it's just my foot, it's plenty common."*
> *"But I insist, Miss Gela, be so kind as to compare," and he carefully planted his bear paw next to her little delicate trace like an imprint of a flower petal with the minute bud of her heel at the bottom, and it felt as though he were protecting it from a stranger's prying eyes, shielding her with his own imprinted presence –*

> *"Take a look, be so kind, I insist"– once, and again, and the whole way home.[334]*

Yet this part of the story, as well as the second one, ends tragically with the death of both main characters, Helia and Adrian, another UPA officer who falls madly in love with Dovhanivna. In this part, Zabuzhko is especially sensitive to the topic of treachery. She introduces another character, Helia's husband, Stodolia, who betrays their common cause and thus Helia herself to the Soviets. It seems that she pushes the limits of human's ability to tell good from evil and tries Helia who has to choose her a man. However, the reader cannot estimate the criteria of her choice, as Stodolia is only shown through the eyes of Adrian Ortyns'kyi who sees him as a rival.

> *From the instant he woke, the man weighed down his consciousness with the full mass of his presence (oh yes, he was constantly aware of Stodólya's presence as of an external force!) and stole that portion of Adrian's attention that was supposed to keep his dreams afloat. Stodólya was heavy; he left no room, not the tiniest crack for anything that was not him. He was stronger than Adrian, yes, that was the thing. Finally, he'd said it to himself. Stronger than himself, Adrian Ortynsky (aka Beast, aka Askold, aka Kyi), Ukrainian Insurgent Army Lieutenant, the region's administrative adjutant, decorated with the Bronze Cross of Service and the Silver Star…. None of which meant anything against this simple fact: Stodólya was stronger.*
>
> *And Geltsia knew it.*
>
> *That's why she'd chosen–him.[335]*

Furthermore, Stodolia was the one who was capable of serving not only in the field but urged for more – to command the region. At the same time, Adrian Ortyns'kyi preferred follow worders rather than sending other people to death. So, between a moral man and a strong man Helia chose the latter.

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[334] Zabuzhko, *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* Kindle Edition.
[335] Ibid. Kidle Edition.

Zabuzhko admits that Stodolia betrays his fellow UPA soldiers not because of his own ill nature. He was clever and strong, she states, but also he was caring and loving. It is confirmed by Adrian himself when he says:

> *[...] in these circumstances, living from one day to the next, he wouldn't have dared have a child with her. And Stodólya did. So he did not live day to day– he kept a longer count. And that, too, somehow underscored the truth of what she said.*[336]

Thus, Oksana Zabuzhko clearly presents the opposing sides of the narrative – pro-Communist forces and the partisans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. She points to the Golden Age of the nation – the time of the 1920s – and describes its decline with the advent and reinforcement of the Soviet regime. Therefore, what new information can additional references to the body give? Putting this question in a broader perspective, one might ask, "What is the connection between the body and politics in the novel?" I suggest that only by re-examining the concept of the body in Zabuzhko's novel it is possible to answer this question.

8.3. Post-Communist Corporeality: Representations of the Body in Ukrainian Historical Novels

The location of the body in Zabuzhko's *Museum* is not clear to the end. For the problem with post-communist corporeality is the virtuality of the body. Indeed, after 1991, corporeal details flooded fiction, as after long years of censorship, the need to discuss the body and to express it was strong. However, is that what one sees, carefully reading about numerous sexual acts in Zabuzhko's text, the real body? Do those parts, shamelessly, openly, and courageously displayed, constitute *the* body? Why do they flicker in the otherwise normal texts narrating the past?

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[336] Ibid. Kindle Edition.

Zabuzhko pays substantial attention to the body. She explores the vast field of sexuality in recent history (of the last 60 years) and finds that it can be described without undue banality and shame, yet not as tasteless as it appears in Vasyl' Shkliar's *Black Crow*.

> *Tell me how he kisses, how you part your knees for him, and how he enters*
> *you as your husband, and what you feel when he does; tell me the words he*
> *says to you – I will bear it all, as long as it is true.[337]*

In her deceriptions of 'historical' sexuality, Zabuzhko never crosses the line of 'decency' as she writes about her beloved characters. With Heltsia, she never names the private parts of her body and rather hints than names: "part the knees," "enters you." In another fragment, she quite openly describes a sexual act of Adrian Ortyns'kyi and a Jewish Pole, Rachel, whom he met at a hospital. This articulation of physicality is rather figurative than detailed and naturalistic.

> *Her [Rachel's] body yearned for him [Adrian], begged to receive him–he*
> *was her absolution of the sin of godlessness, of the terror of empty death. He*
> *felt faint again: no woman had ever granted him such absolute power over*
> *her, there was something forbidden in it, almost terrible and therefore*
> *magnetic…. As if to confirm his insight, she kneeled in front of him, and he*
> *trembled–he gathered his essence into her soft, lamb-lipped mouth, ecstatic*
> *in her near-piety, as if performing a mystical rite of worshipping the power*
> *she herself was summoning forth from his loins, and the power came,*
> *stronger, more lasting than he could ever imagine, greater than himself.[338]*

While in historical parts sexual lexic is restrained to poetic metaphors, in the chapters that refer to the modern times, wording is more eplicit. Here, the words like "penis" and "dick" are used with regard both to positive, negative, and neutral characters. First, it is Daryna Hoshchyns'ka's first husband, Serhii, whom Daryna married to escape from the power of her mother. She says that even his penis was an attribute to be put between her and her family: "She would've slept with the whole brigade that summer, would've erected a paling of phalluses between herself

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and her mother, not knowing then, in the blindness of her youth, that it's not a way out."[339] Second, Daryna's boss, Artem, whom she describes as particularly cold, is also analysed in terms of his sexuality: "Artem's beautiful penis, for some reason, was always cold, and so was his whole body."[340] In the second case, male genitals appear no more than an accessory for women. Like a bottle of Chanel's perfume or jeans by Armani, it is an attribute of modern women. It is also worth noting that the novel does not mention female reproductive organs. However, remarks on women's breasts are normally followed by notes on clothes.

All this leads to the thought that these parts of the body float in the discourse of the novel withot being attached to the body itself. That is why I suggest that there is no trace of the body in *The Museum*. At most, it is a body in becoming, the body that does not exist yet. It is precarious and producing a tension between itself and the society. Because of its instability, the body seems non-existent and vanishing. As a result, we deal more with *corporeality* than with the body as an entity. While the body is present merely virtually, corporeality breaks into the reality of texts and the society.

So, this is the essence of the contradiction: the body that exists in the social reality ceases to function in certain circumstances. That is why this chapter centres on *representations* of the body, pointing out their plurality. Using the pluralistic approach, I will show why the body is not there yet and why and when it was deprived of its place in the Soviet historical novel. Generally speaking, this is the milestone of my methodology here that explains the position and sources of plurality of representations of the body. It will be the first point of my presentation. I will ground three types of representations of the body. With every step, I will expand one level of the representation comparing the Communist body in the Socialist Realist novel of Iurii Mushketyk *Haidamaky* (1957) with the body in the contemporary novel of Oksana Zabuzhko *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets* (2009). Since the body is believed to be the place where

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[339] Ibid. Kindle Edition.
[340] Ibid. Kindle Edition.

power is exercised, one should look for true motifs of the national narrative in the discourse of corporeality.

8.4. Theoretical Approach: Where the Body Exists

Power plays an important role in the comparison of the Communist and Post-Communist systems, but since it has affected all spheres of life, even small aspects of everyday routine can be studied through its prism. In this sense, the power and the body have both undergone the same transformation to the post-Communist state, but the parameters of these changes are not determined. In particular, I am interested in their intensity. Therefore, it is necessary to introduce a parameter to measure the transformations of the representations of the body in historical novels. Here such a parameter is the relationship with power.

The connection between power and the body can be examined on three levels that appear as a Russian doll consisting of multiple layers. In historical novels, it is quite difficult to discern the levels of origin of the metaphorical body. In the examination of the three levels, this chapter will move from the most concrete to the most abstract level, which brings us to a slightly artificial, but, nevertheless, necessary, division to the aesthetical and ideological in the texts. The first level is metonymical. According to the principle of metonymy, the traits of the body and the marks on its surface are associated with the political, social, and gender life of the body. As Grosz explains it, this model of the body is "more concerned with the processes by which the subject is marked, scarred, transformed, and written upon or constructed by the various regimes of institutional, discursive, and non-discursive power as particular kind of the body."[341] This level refers to the body as a number of traits that indicate the personages' identity in the text. Here we find many politically marked details, but we also concentrate on its aesthetical meaning for the text. The reader plays the role of Schrödinger who put the cat in the box, and

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[341]Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion*, 33.

he still remembers the looks of the animal. Here the body is a tool, which is necessary to identify the distribution of power within a given system. In terms of the national narrative, this metonymical level helps the reader to identify the sides fighting for power. It functions as metonymy, therefore, it is necessary that certain traits correspond with the sides of the struggle for power. Owing to the analysis on this level, it is possible to extract the national narrative from the stratum of *fabula*.

The second metaphorical level is more ideologically marked and helps to identify the correlation of political intentions within the text. To imagine this, the body should be considered as the metaphor of a larger entity. At this level, one can find damaged bodies that correspond with ruined nations or countries, as Uilleam Blacker proposes for Ukraine in Zabuzhko's texts.[342] One can notice powerful masculinity that represents the force of the State; beautiful women, enslaved and captured, who are projected on the broken nations. However, these things lose their importance on the third level, which looks for the body outside of the text, irrespectively of the novel's representation of corporeality. This level benefits from the psychoanalytical studies of the body[343] and suspends the novel's revelations about the body. At this level, we constantly look for the body-entity, a self-sufficient unit in the subject-object relationships, which points to the direction of power on a discursive level.

8.4.1. The Discursive Level of Representation: How Does It Influence the National Narrative? While the first two levels are easy to envisage and correspond with the motifs of the national narrative, the third, discursive, stratum requires a more serious theoretical introduction that will be based on the argument of Slavoj Zizek.[344]He explains that on the one hand, there is Michel Foucault's pessimistic idea that power uses the body as its main site; hence the impossibility of a real revolution, as the rebellious individual, being liberated, immediately engages in the discourse of power. On the other hand, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari refer to the concept

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[342]Blacker, "NATION, BODY, HOME."
[343]Grosz, *Space, Time, and Perversion*, 33.
[344]Slavoj Zizek, *Organs Without Bodies: On Deleuze and Consequences* (Routledge, 2003).

of the body as to the only barrier for power (being) and the surface where power can be exercised (becoming). Located in a strictly symmetrical way, these two positions are sythesised by the Hegelian view of the subject that "passes into predicate."[345] In other words, Deleuzian desire that "conceives the force of repression generates the structure of Power," which then poses itself on the subject of the process, not the subject in a full sense of the word. In other words, both Foucault's and Deleuze's views of the body explain the role of the stable subject in a current situation, not the subject in process. Their "monism," as Slavoj Zizek argues, eclipses the way to "becoming."

This proposition of Foucault-Deleuze-Hegel synthesis allows us to see the process of *becoming* separated from the subject. This means that the body here is regarded as a construct that requires the intervention of power from an outsider to *become* the body and the subject. In other words, this level, though more abstract, is primary to both metaphorical and metonymical representations of the body because it determines what forces *construct* what the reader sees as the nose or lips of the main character that would assign him to the group of negative personages (metonymy) or a raped princess that would become a symbol of an enslaved nation (metaphor).

Thus, though quite a cliché, the unifying notion of the subject is helpful in the examination of the national narrative. It does not cover exclusively the *human* body, but also investigates the behaviour of colectives. With this in mind, one may think that there is at least one more parallel in Foucault-Deleuze-Hegel's conception of power – Homi Bhabha's theory of "writing the nation"[346] that considers it as a tension between continuity (the "pedagogical") and transformations (the "performative" – Bhabha's terms). He argues that the narrative of the nation develops as a result of the constant displacement of the performative into the pedagogical. It can be said, then, that Bhabha looks for the concept of becoming that will make way for new subjects. Similarly to Deleuze, he seeks for the becoming not *of* the subject, but

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[345]Ibid., 64.
[346]Bhabha, "DissemiNation: Time, Narrative, and the Margins of the Modern Nation."

becoming as the subject *itself*. In other words, Bhabha implements Deleuze's idea on the level of the nation.Thus, studying the body and the nation is possible using the notion of 'becoming'.

The following sections witll examine the representation of the body on three levels in two novels, Iurii Mushketyk's *Haidamaky* and Oksana Zabuzhko's *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*. This analysis will demonstrate how the two texts are connected and how Zabuzhko, acknowledging the previous versions of the national narrative, attempts to reject them on the level of the body.

8.5. We against the Others: Metonymies and Boundaries

The body and its image is quite active and rather obvious at this level. Perhaps that is why most researches are limited only by this understanding of the body. As I have already mentioned, at this metonymical level, the body plays the role of a signifier. It is assigned, rather than naturally emergent. It detaches the subject from the rest of the personages and attributes it to a certain group, such as gender, class, nationality, ethnicity, and other political and ideological markers. In their turn, they help to identify the Other. Let us compare here the strategies of Iurii Mushketyk and Oksana Zabuzhko.

Mushketyk does not eagerly communicate the details of the characters' bodies. All the details of the appearance are provided conventionally and stereotypically. Mushketyk profanes female body with a number of labels: "steep eyebrow," "tight plait,"[347] "full figure," "plump lips."[348] The same word combinations are typical in Ukrainian folklore. The descriptions of male characters are less scarce, but only in their connection to social and class references. "Perhaps, his eyes made him look older. Big and blue, they blurred with tears seeing *shliakhta* (the aristocrats – AV) tormenting peasants."[349] Most of the references to the body can hardly be

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[347]Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 65.
[348]Ibid., 132.
[349]Ibid., 287.

called aesthetic devices, as their utilitarian function is quite obvious. In *Haidamaky*, the body functions in a dualistic universe that consists of strict oppositions: 'beautiful-ugly', 'positive-negative', 'young-old', 'collectivist-individual', 'Polish-non-Polish' where the first attribute is positive and the second is negative. Moreover, the body is highly gendered. The novel puts a noteworthy watermark between men, strong and mighty defenders of their Motherland, and women, with their traditional attributes of corporeal beauty. This division corresponds with the idea of the '*novy Sovietsky chelovek*' (new Soviet man) that was centred on masculinity.[350] The image of the body also defines the borders with the Other. It helps to claim the territorial limits of the familiar territory. No danger awaits the 'brave and the mighty' in the land of the same-looking people.

Not only corporeal references should be included into this category, but also the descriptions of clothes. It is interesting that negative personages (mostly, representatives of the upper class) are never described through their bodies, but mostly through their clothes. In *Haidamaky,* both Polish landlords (the Dumkovs'kyi, the Kalynovs'kyi) and Ukrainian Cossack elite (Hetman Kalnyshevs'kyi) have luxurious clothes, which are described with numerous details. Mushketyk makes it a point that *pani* (lady) Kalynovs'ka refuses to put on Ukrainian folk clothes and prefers Polish sophisticated dresses to separate herself from the peasant reality.[351] Rare references to their bodies underline unattractive traits (e.g. double-chinned *pani* Dumkovska[352]). Thus, for the reader, beautiful clothes should have negative connotations. Therefore, it is quite easy to identify 'us' and 'others'.

Zabuzhko's situation is not as straightforward as that. In her text, ideological codes are numerous and, as a result, not as refined. That is why forming oppositions such as 'positive-negative' is not an easy task. I omit here gender and class references, as they were already

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[350]John Haynes, *New Soviet Man: Gender and Masculinity in Stalinist Soviet Cinema* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 15.
[351]Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 105.
[352]Ibid.

discussed,[353] but include more emphasis on the national question. The historical part of her *Museum* tells the story of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army), which signifies an almost iconic period for modern Ukraine. In references to the UPA activists' bodies, Zabuzhko is very generous, almost loving, and too sweet, one might say, if she did not introduce sexual scenes that sometimes border with pornography. She caringly describes every detail of her personages, especially female characters: their clothes, tiny hands and arms, and so on. In some places, she is obviously provocative, as this topic still plays the role of the sacred cow in nationalistic circles. Nevertheless, Zabuzhko does bother to describe all kinds of bodily flows: blood, pus, sperm, menstrual flows, and sweat. Often these inclusions do not contribute to the artistic value of the text, and the only possible reason to articulate such details is the freedom to do it.

There is distinctive and deliberate difference between Zabuzhko's and Mushketyk's approach to clothes and their description. For her, beautiful and elegant clothes are attributes of positive characters. Sometimes she specifies the details of outfits to a ridiculous degree and emphasises textures, brands, and other unimportant details. This even led some critics to accuse Zabuzhko of "pornoglamour" to use the term of Jean-Marie Cubilier.[354] Yet Zabuzhko should be granted her attempts to retain the names of favourite cafes and fashion trends of post-war Lviv (the city in Western Ukraine). For she merely wants to be rid of the Socialist Realist spirit and letter, where, as we have already had an opportunity to see, elegance was a sin. In this sense, she clearly follows the footsteps of Ukrainian modernists, Viktor Petrov-Domontovych in particular, for whom the clothes and attributes of beautiful appearance signified the elite and upper-class. In this sense, it is not surprising that Zabuzhko creates anti-Soviet boundaries to divide the sheep from the goats.

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[353]Maria G. Rewakowicz, "Women's Literary Discourse and National Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine," in *Contemporary Ukraine on the Cultural Map of Europe*, ed. Larissa M. L. Zaleska Onyshkevych and Maria G. Rewakowicz (Armonk, New York: The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 2009), 275–94.
[354]Jean Marie Cubillier, *Pornoglamur [Porn glamour]* (Kyiv: Osnovy, 2009).

Daryna, the main female character, and her closest friend, Vladyslava, are the "ladies in full bloom, well-kept, Mediterranean-tanned, and boutique-dressed […] with insanely younger, clearer faces and that radiant reticence in their eyes, the inwardness that women can preserve even when their souls find the most intimate concord […]."[355] With more care, Zabuzhko describes the clothes of Olena Dovhanivna, the activist of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of the 1940s-1950s, comparing her footprints to petals. She "was surrounded by a visible halo of light, like an Old Master painting of an angel sent to deliver the glorious word."[356]

Yet it is impossible to describe all Zabuzhko's strategies at this level. Metonymy gives an idea of boundaries, not about the inhabitants of the limited territories.

8.6. Where is the Baby? Or the Advantages of Metaphors

The previous section demonstrated that some traits of the body determine ideological belonging of characters in Zabuzhko's and Mushketyk's novels. It referred to the case of a passive corporeality, which is more relevant to the Socialist Realist type of historical novel (Mushketyk's *Haidamaky* in our case). From the platform provided by Gilles Deleuze's and Felix Guttari's research, it is only logical. For the restricted and enslaved body is controlled by the power of the tyrant. Therefore, its production is also directed at the despot. At the same time, Zabuzhko approaches the problem of the body in a different way; she considers it active and productive. Hence the mentioned 'flows' that flood *The Museum.* However, they do not exhaust all production in the novel. Their presence here only means that the body has escaped the power and subjection of the tyrant and, thus, has entered the field of production. Following Deleuze and Guattari, this section assumes that the body and its flows represent the respective forms of political organisation and, thus, the distribution of power.

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[355]Zabuzhko, *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, 46.
[356]Ibid., 37.

Full-scale descriptions of the body in Zabuzhko's novel represent one of the strategies to demonstrate the flows: "Her body smelled precisely like the body of a woman who is meant for you and you alone."[357] Here the smell breaks free to demonstrate the flows and the production of the body.It can be seen that the body in Zabuzhko's novel is open. The body does not hold its flows at any stage. Unlike in Mushketyk's novel, where the body is restricted, in *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, the body does not hold even its slightest manifestations.

However, one of the most representative products of the body is another body, a baby. Also, it is also a very powerful symbol of the new beginning and revolutionary changes. It is not surprising that the image of pregnancy and motherhood is present in both novels, as both of them in their own way tell the stories of political changes. In *Haidamaky*, an insurgents' wife gives birth to a baby. But then her husband requires her in the woods where he hides with his fellows. Hurrying to her husband, the woman leaves the baby in a hollow trunk of a tree, expecting to find him on her way back. Yet the Polish soldiers take her son and kill him. This image symbolises the defeat of the insurgent army. A symmetrical image can be found in Zabuzhko's novel. Here the pregnant Olena Dovhanivna, the protagonist of the historical part, is killed by Soviet soldiers, which symbolises the end of production and the defeat of the nation in the national narrative. However, unlike in the Socialist Realist novel, the production does not end with the loss, and the national narrative continues, only in a different epoch. This symbolises the rebirth of the nation at the end of the novel with the image of the pregnant Daryna Hoshchynska.

Clearly, this is the level where the body becomes a political metaphor. The body as a whole participates in the text as a metaphor. To the very signs of metaphors, I attribute sickness, enslavement, mutilation and so on. All these actions form oppositions with the images of the strong, healthy body. Wherever the body suffers, the nation declines. Thus, Polish aristocrats physically tortured Ukrainian peasants in *Haidamaky*. In general, this novel is a set of

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[357]Ibid., 170.

stereotypical representations of the body that personifies the nation. Here every device that can provoke the reader to empathy is used: hunger, rape, child abuse and so on, and all these situations refer to the disturbed nation that suffers under Polish rule. This clear disposition of forces simplifies the search for the main actors of the national narrative and points to the motifs of the national narrative – the Motif of Decline and the Motif of Failure.

In Zabuzhko's *Museum*, the metaphorical representation of the nation is no less straightforward. The condition of the female body corresponds to the status of the nation; thus, when Olena Dovhanivna dies, the hope for Ukraine to become independent equally vanishes. And yet, it emerges again when the story of Daryna Hoshchynska comes to a happy end, and the fact that Hoshchynska, via her lover, Adrian, is connected to Dovhanivna, makes the hope for the nation even stronger. Obviously, this finale is different to the pessimistic ending of the Socialist Realist national story in *Haidamaky*. And on the one hand, it may appear too sugary, but on the other hand, it is reasonable in the context of Zabuzhko's struggle with Socialist Realist legacy. There is no other way she could demonstrate her optimistic prognosis for the nation and introduce it into the Ukrainian discourse of the past.

8.7. Vanishing Body

If the second metaphorical level demonstrates the difference between the national narratives of Socialist Realism and post-Independence period, the discursive level of the body representation will point to their similarities. The most obvious common feature of the two texts is the estrangement of the body into the social reality. In both of them, the body, though present, is estranged in this way. In *Haidamaky,* it is visible in the descriptions of the body that are always connected to the social activity if the characters. For example, Mushketyk writes: "Perhaps, his eyes made him look older. Big and blue, they have blurred with tears seeing barons tormenting

peasants."[358] In *The Museum*, however, the body is often referred to as a phenomenon that bears the signs of the epoch.

> *But the photos can't show you the chemises or the moist horse-shoes, nor could anyone reproduce the smell of those lines – of bodies still naïve to deodorant, but generously floured with powder and rouge and scented with Indian Sandalwood from the Red Moscow factory or, at best, though no less cloying, with the Polish-made May Be.*[359]

Thus, owing to the references to the social reality, in terms of Deleuze and Guattari, the body becomes a socius, that is "a surface where all production is recorded."[360] All flows of the body, being its production, emanate from this surface, which, according to Deleuze and Guattari, can be "the body of the earth, that of the tyrant, or capital."[361] In *Haidamaky,* the surface of the recording is the tyrant, and while in Zabuzhko's novel, it *must be* the capital, it is not. What the reader sees after the organs are fled is rather the antibody and anti-tyrant. In Slavoj Zizek's terms, *The Museum* describes a situation when the organs have no body. It may appear strange after our analysis, but I still insist that the body exists only virtually in Ukrainian historical novels. The next section will examine the possibility of the existence of the body, that is, it will search for the surface that produces the flows and the organs.

8.7.1. Organs without Bodies

There is at least one case when the body literally abandoned its master, as it did in *Haidamaky* and *The Museum.* In Lewis Carroll's *Alice,* one encounters the Cheshire Cat, which vanishes leaving only its smile to the surprised Alice. The smile is the sense extracted from the proposition, and however independent, it is still vanishing. Left with the emptiness, the reader is obliged to "combine the sterility of sense in relation to the proposition from which it was extracted with its power of genesis in relation to the dimensions of the propositions."[362] As

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[358]Mushketyk, *Haidamaky*, 287.
[359]Zabuzhko, *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, 1.
[360]Deleuze and Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, 10.
[361]Ibid.
[362]Ibid., 32.

Deleuze states it here, the reader must take a trip from the sense to the actual proposition, which is not always possible. Again, the scarcity of body references is the key to this issue.

Here we find the contrast of contemporary Ukrainian fiction represented in this chapter by the texts of Oksana Zabuzhko. Clearly, they contrast with Socialist Realist texts in many aspects. The most stunning difference hides in the topic of the body, and it is quantitative as well as qualitative. In *Haidamaky*, Mushketyk refers to the body 21 times over about 400 pages. At the same time, Zabuzhko's numerous appeals to corporeal reality can hardly be counted. She reveals how important the topic of the body is by starting her 700-pages long text with the description of the female body. In this noteworthy scene, she refers to women's clothes in the 1970s.

The sense of the transition is in the composition of the body. In Mushketyk's novel, the lack of corporeal details leaves organs without bodies. It is certainly not actual bodies that surrealistically float in the air, but the functions of organs that do not support the utilitarian role of the living body that cannot be traced in the novel. Thus, the emphasis is shifted to political functions of the representation of the body. All the noses and eyes float in the text independently and refer to the virtual body. However, they fail to establish the connection with virtuality. So, as a result, in Deleuze's and Guattari's words, "simulation does not replace reality […] but rather it appropriates reality in the operation of despotic overcoding […]."[363] Thereafter only one virtual body remains in the text – the body of the tyrant. All organs long to reunite with the despot, as it is the only real body that is left in the world as a result of displacement of the body from the text. Furthermore, after the tyrant has appropriated the organs that were floating in the text, they are forbidden to leave his body. Hence, a resemblance, noticed by Serhy Yekelchyk, of all protagonists in the Socialist historical novels to prominent political leaders (Stalin or Lenin).[364]

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[363]Ibid., 210.
[364]Yekelchyk, *Stalin's Empire of Memory*.

In the case of *The Museum*, the novel is flooded with corporeal details. Hair and faces, eyes and arms, naked bodies and references to sexual acts – all this supports the idea of reality different to the Socialist Realist discourse of *Haidamaky*. Corporeal reality, so excessively flourishing in *The Museum*, was determined to be a substitute for the vanished body of the tyrant. To do this, Zabuzhko distributes organs back to their original bodies. She is so concerned with rendering unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's that she overuses her power as the author. Along with assigning general corporeal details to their natural owners, to individuals, Zabuzhko specifies perspective clothes and food to a ridiculous degree, mentioning their brands, textures, tastes, and colours. And while this escapade is harmonious with the Ukrainian 1920s modernist writer Viktor Petrov-Domontovych (1894-1969), in the circumstances of the new 21stcentury, Zabuzhko's detailisation falls into a different niche.

The importance of clothes and other attributes of fashion and style for Zabuzhko's text is comparable to how Vira Aheieva describes Domontovych's attention to the same details. Aheieva writes that "in *Doktor Serafikus* (Doctor Serafikus, 1929, 1947), the evolution of the main female character is represented in the story of her interest in different artistic styles; stylistic dominants determine her appearance, clothes, movements, behaviour, profession, and even love."[365] In comparison, Domontovych's detailisation of food and references to the names of the cafes and hotels do not differ from Zabuzhko's mentions of McDonalds and Chanel. In *Divchynka z vedmedykom* (The girl with a teddy bear, 1928) he writes, "Did you buy pastry from Frudzynsky? Maksym Rylsky in his poem assures us for a reason that the best pastry can be bought from "Marquise." Besides Frudzynsky, one can also buy pastry from "Valentin."[366] Zabuzhko, on the other hand, is not as straightforward as that with her identifications that fall into two categories. The first one is nostalgic with mentions of Soviet topoi. They always either concern the places that do not already exist or refer to the Soviet reality bitterly and ironically:

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[365]Vira Aheieva, *Poetyka paradoksa. Intelektualna proza Viktora Petrova-Domontovycha [The poetics of paradox. The intellectual prose of Viktor Petrov-Domontovych]* (Kyiv: Fakt, 2006), 134.
[366]Viktor Domontovych, *Divchynka z vedmedykom [The girl with a teddy bear]* (Suchasnist, 1988), 117.

Add the Chumak mayo (buy Ukrainian!) and we're a chop and a toss away from a Vitamin Salad, a happy throwback to the era of geriatric socialism. Oh, wait a minute, I'm lying–there was no mayo in socialist stores; we relied on farmers-market sour cream. When we were students, it took a special trip to the Theater Café on the corner of Volodymyrska, on the spot now occupied by the five-star condo high-rise, for the marvel called "egg under mayonnaise": a hard-boiled egg garnished with a teaspoon of mayo. Best bite you could take with a drink.[367]

The second group of references to the material reality fights the Soviet nostalgia and condemns it. In her new, post-Independence, reality, the heroine of *The Museum* can wear "Chanel" and "Armani" and can afford red lipstick and high-quality face-creams:

Two ladies in full bloom, well-kept, Mediterranean-tanned, and boutique-dressed (Morgan and Laura Ashley tops, silk Versace scarves, and Armani skirts, nothing showy, heavens no–not a speck of conspicuous consumption, none of the Moscow-edition Cosmopolitan brand of fashion that makes one look like an expensive whore–just pure class and apparent simplicity, the understated style of working women who know their worth and don't need to advertise anything).[368]

In contrast with Domontovych's elitism, Zabuzhko demonstrates a belated immersion in material reality, a compensation for the long period of living without the opportunity to *have* the body.

That is why Zabuzhko infuses her novel with corporeal and material details. Suddenly, readers find themselves in a hyperrealist reality where the organs, that is, the desiring machines, are longing for the body. Because Zabuzhko is obviously aware of the scarcity of the body representation in Socialist Realism, she attempts to make her text not like the Socialist Realist novel. In contrast to it, Zabuzhko's text reflects the flow of the organs – lips, shoulders, legs – and their search for the body that is actually absent. The analysis of Deleuze and Guattari limits

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[367]Zabuzhko, *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, 127.
[368]Ibid., 53.

the description of the body in Zabuzhko's novel. Though they describe no stage of transition from the body of the despot to the capitalist body with organs-machines attached to it, one can suppose *The Museum* represents the transitional case. Not achieving the body, the organs continue their flow that cannot be either ceased or controlled.

Looking for proof, let us refer to the syntax of Zabuzhko's prose. Her long, often page-long, sentences merely support the overall intention of the text – to establish a flow that would destroy the gravity of the tyrant's body. This endless stream of words and syntagms finds no goal and, therefore, remains on the margins of the body. In the same way, the author's endless enumeration of corporeal details does not achieve the longed-for result. Thus, it merely stays in the field of corporeality.

Possibly, one still has doubts that *The Museum* lacks the body, as, indeed, it is hard to believe such a contention, given all the bright corporeal details in Zabuzhko's novel. In this case, it should be regarded on different levels. As Slavoj Zizek suggests, we should acknowledge the difference between the natural body and its social and virtual implications. "[…] we should conceive," argues Zizek, "objective reality itself as the result of the social productive process – in the same way that, for Deleuze, actual being is the result of the virtual process of becoming."[369] Differentiating the body this way, we find that *The Museum* is still full of separate organs, and that their natural function eclipses the absence of the body.

According to Gilles Deleuze, the capitalist body should be revolving around the notion of the state that provides "a whole apparatus of regulation." The state in Zabuzhko's novel appears as a punitive machine. In all three temporal strata, it is represented as the entity opposing the body. In the first part, she describes the repressing apparatus of the post-War Stalinist state that aimed at physical destruction of its opponents. It is illustrated by the activity of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the hunt that the Soviet authorities initiated to destroy its activists. The second

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[369]Ibid., 28.

stratum accentuates the Brezhnev stagnation era. This time, the repression apparatus did not release its grip, but preferred other methods of punishment. The protagonist's father, a perfectly healthy man, was shut in a mental hospital for expressing a disagreeable opinion. The third, modern, stratum discusses a new Ukrainian state and does not find it.

Still, Zabuzhko finds elements of punitive initiatives, which are not nearly as powerful as the old ones. However, though unorganised and random, they have enough power to severely interfere with the lives of individuals. Though in this system the capital already plays a considerable role, it is in disorder with the state that sometimes acts according to its own premises. The state-capital in coordination leaves a hole for the flow and for the Deleuzian becoming. For Zabuzhko, the people shine through this hole. It is because the very becoming and constant instability of the people and the nation Zabuzhko sees the body. And that is why she has no intention to connect the body to any of the regulative institutions of the state. Neither can she consider the capital as the body that will draw the organs. This catches us in a transitional state between the forced organisation of organs and their self-organisation, the situation that is common to most Western societies.

8.8. Conclusions

In the field of Ukrainian studies, it is not customary to compare contemporary and Socialist Realist texts, however, this strategy appears to be productive. The most important reason for this is that these texts deny, ignore, and fight with Socialist Realism, its legacy, and pathos. But it is important to estimate how successful they were in their struggle. In the case of Oksana Zabuzhko's novel *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*, the comparison with IuriI Mushketyk's *Haidamaky* reveals significant details of the national narrative that otherwise would not be visible.

In general, Zabuzhko's narrative returns to the *fabula*-oriented pattern used in the novels of Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi. Her narrativeobviously benefits from a more liberated environment to the extent where it can be articulated. This is a similar feature that it shares with

the Socialist Realist narrative. However, Zabuzhko's national story has – unique traits. First, it emphasises the individual's role in history and the past. Zabuzhko combines this perception, inherited from Valerii Shevchuk's idea of history as an individual's responsibility, with the desire to find the guilty on the collective level. That is why she restores the black-and-white division of the world where there are definitely positive and negative characters. Second, Zabuzhko's narrative is one of the first in the history of Ukrainian literature to have a positive finale of the narrative. To achieve this, she sets her novel in three different epochs, and while the nation fails in the past, it has a hope for the future.

Zabuzhko locates the Golden Age of the nation in the early 20thcentury, in the time of the fight for the liberation from the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine. This epoch is the most aestheticised and refined in the novel, and this aesthetic feast points to its positive characteristics. The '*belle époque*' is already captured in the time of its decline, which makes the tragic finale obvious. However, Zabuzhko chooses to emphasise it with the Motif of Treachery, which leads to the complete failure of the national project. So far, this part of the narrative corresponds with the Socialist Realist pattern; however, the part where Zabuzhko describes the present time breaks it. Here she reconnects with the Golden Age: via Adrian Vatamaniuk, Daryna Hoshchynska accesses the story of Helia Dovhanivna. Thus, a banal love story turns into one of the motifs of the national narrative.

As it was demonstrated, the national story can be found on three levels. Two of them support the narrative as described above; however, on the third discursive level, a powerful connection to the Socialist Realist story persists. It is actualised through the body of the tyrant that became the surface of production in *Haidamaky*. Since Zabuzhko attempts to be rid of the Communist legacy, she expels the body of the tyrant, but does not introduce a replacement for it. As a result, the national narrative does not have a steady, inherently Ukrainian, surface for the inscription of the body.

Conclusion. A Long Way to the Narrative

I will now draw the main conclusions from analysis, regarding the concept of the national narrative. The key points of the discussion of historical novels of the late 20ᵗʰ century will be presented here. I will also point to the literary significance of the chosen approach.

This work was designed to answer a rather global question – what (if there was any) was the general drive of Ukrainian literature in the late 20ᵗʰ century. After some research, I encountered the concept of the national narrative that seemed to meet my demands for a key to access the code of the literature. I was especially interested in general moods that prevailed in major texts, in their origins and evolution and, to find appropriate material for this research, I turned to historical novels, as the past they describe provides access to the most sensitive themes for individuals and collectives. This work should therefore explain what difference literature makes in the life of the nation. At the least, I intend this work to make a small step towards answering these questions.

Although the goals were rather global, abstract, and ambitious, I believe this research has achieved some concrete and palpable results on the way.

First, I believe that this thesis brings clarity to the classification of Ukrainian historical novels. Since the genre has substantially transformed since the 1960s, it discusses the way in which the fiction that describes the past should be categorised. However, none of the existent terminological organisations satisfies the needs of the transformed genre. Owing to the concept of the national narrative, this thesis has been able to propose a new epistemologically based classification of historical fiction in Ukraine. It has noticed the shift that occurred in the 1960s-1980s when knowledge as a carrier of the information about the past stopped meeting the needs

of the nation that demanded less restricted insights into its own past. Hence culture and memory that appeared to be suitable in respective circumstances.

This transformation in cognition led to the difference in the nature of historical novels that stopped considering history as steady knowledge and discovered in culture and memory new ways of expressing the national past. Thus, instead of sorting historical fiction into the categories of style (e.g. modern and postmodern historical novels), I have proposed to classify them according to the carrier of the information about the past: the novel of history, the novel of culture, historical romance, the novel of memory.

Clearly, this is not a universal approach, and the classification is only valid in Ukrainian historical and literary contexts. It means that there is something inherently Ukrainian that dominates these changes in the genre. This thesis suggests that it is the national narrative. The way the nation chose to tell its story determined the formal development of the genre.

The second conclusion derives from the formal classification. It suggests that the national narrative progresses taking one of the four paths. This thesis proves that there are four types of national narrative in the late 20th century historical novels in Ukraine that correspond with four texts analysed in the thesis: Iurii Mushketyk's *Haidamaky*, Pavlo Zahrebelny's *Death in Kyiv*, Valerii Shevchuk's *Three Leaves in the Window*, and Oksana Zabuzhko's *The Museum of Abandoned Secrets*. Although the last text technically belongs to the 21st century, without it, this thesis would not be able to show an entire panorama of the national narrative. Ukrainian literature will deal with the legacy of Socialist Realism in the future, and this thesis is meant to demonstrate the main obstacles on its way to liberation from colonial legacy.

When extracted from novels and compressed into a single story, the national narrative reveals evidence of colonial presence on the levels of both structure and meaning. This is the fourth conclusion of this thesis. Thus, in Ukrainian literature, the national narrative, oriented to knowledge, functions in the stratum of *fabula* and can be easily picked up from the plot of the novel. This is the pattern in the texts of Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi. The novels of culture that

resist the narrative of knowledge do not intertwine the *fabula* and the national narrative, which they try to conceal. Here the national story can be found on the level of *syuzhet*. The extraction of this type of national narrative requires additional effort, as *syuzhet* is structurally more complicated than *fabula* and often lacks the narrative component. We see this in *Three Leaves in the Window* by Valerii Shevchuk. It is interesting that the national narrative in a much later *Museum* by Oksana Zabuzhko returns to the *fabula*-oriented national narrative. I suggest that it is due to the extra-literary factors that allow the narrative to be expressed more liberally that in Shevchuk's case.

The semantic component of the national narrative becomes evident when the national story is regarded as a set of motifs. In general, the Motif of Defeat dominates the national narrative in Ukrainian historical novels of the late 20th century, as it constitutes the final part of all types of the national narrative, except for Oksana Zabuzhko's version of the national story. For Mushketyk, this defeat is not terminal, as it will cease once the lower class comes to power and brings a new Golden Age for the people, which is not connected with Ukrainian reality, and which, in general, is either denied or considered negative. Unlike the Cossacks who deceived their unfortunate fellow-countrymen, the new heroes of Mushketyk, peasants and workers, will be able to remember and appreciate the impact of the poor people on national prosperity.

In Zahrenel'nyi's interpretation (*Death in Kyiv*), the Golden Age can arrive, provided it is no longer inherently Ukrainian. The novel focuses on Kyiv, which elsewhere is an icon of Ukrainian statehood, but *Death in Kyiv* describes it as a concentration of the rotten, spoilt, and deceitful representatives of the upper class. *Hora* (The Hill), the location of the Kyivan elites, becomes the reason for internal quarrels between princes, and, consequently, the fall of the nation. Kyiv, the former space of prosperity and bliss, declines, and Zahrebelny sees no perspective for it to be restored as the location of the Golden Age.

Unlike Mushketyk and Zahrenel'nyi, the next writer, Valerii Shevchuk, does not locate the Golden Age in a class-oriented sphere. Instead, he raises the importance of the baroque cultural

epoch as a refuge for the inherently Ukrainian topoi and narrative. In Shevchuk's *Three Leaves in the Window*, the narrative is sought for in cultural codes and stylistic dominants of epochs that are placed in the writing that is produced by the main characters in the novel. For his type of national story, it is important to understand the mysticism of baroque, the specifics of the court procedures of the Enlightenment and the restrictive nature of the large Realistic novels of the 19th century. Significantly, if the novels of knowledge present collectives as responsible for defeats, Shevchuk recognises the role of personal guilt in history and states that no class, gender, or other affiliation can justify the spiritual decline of the individual that leads to the failure of the whole nation.

In the national narrative of Oksana Zabuzhko, culture plays no less significant role. However, unlike Shevchuk, she uses cultural topoi to appeal to the memory of the reader which makes Zabuzhko's narrative very personalistic and empathy-provoking. Her story, as in the previous types of the national narrative, contains the Motif of Defeat, but, uniquely, it does not finalise the novel. Having been defeated in the past (in the 1940s-1950s), the nation restores its stability and independence in the 1990s and 2000s. This and the individualistic approach to history, inherited from Shevchuk, turns the sugary happy end in *The Museum* into the Motif of Hope for the nation. The fact that Zabuzhko leaves Daryna Goshchynska pregnant from Adrian Vatamaniuk represents a new beginning for the nation. It is even more important considering that the two characters come from two different parts of the 'split' country – East and West. Therefore, the image of pregnant Daryna can also be interpreted as an attempt to unify the nation.

The fifth conclusion derives from the variety of literary material used for the analysis. This thesis has attempted an in-depth reading of four major Ukrainian historical novels mentioned above, but it also referred to other texts: *Ukraine Was Humming* by Petro Panch, *Sviatoslav* and *Volodymyr* by Semen Skliarenko, *Ievpraksiia* and *Roksolana* by Pavlo Zahrenel'nyi, *The Secret Ambassador* by Volodymyr Malyk and others. All these texts were necessary for

contextualisation of the analysed novels. However, the fact that it is possible to put them together proves that the national narrative is a universal code for historical novels of one period. It is a template that the texts of a certain era use to communicate necessary ideas to the reader. Thus, it is enough to analyse the pattern of the narrative in only one novel of Socialist Realism to be able to apply it to all others. The same is valid for the novels of culture, and the set of motifs that was found in *Three Leaves in the Window* can be examined in Shevchuk's *On a Humble Field*.

The *literary significance* of this approach lies in the universalism of the national narrative which can be noticed from the many ways that it can explain the literary reality. Extracted from historical novels, a particular pattern can be applicable to the texts of different genres that resist obtaining the national narrative. Once extracted and interpreted, the national story contributes to an understanding of entire epochs by bringing together the positions of author and recipient. Moreover, in the case of Valerii Shevchuk, the concept of the national narrative allows us to discover his political statements in seemingly ideologically neutral texts.

Thus, the national narrative in historical novels explains how Socialist Realism implemented and established the defeatist stream in culture. It also demonstrates the changes in this stream that are brought by time and socio-political transformations. The national narrative points to the origins of the politics of loss in the later novels that are seemingly not connected to Socialist Realism. Using the concept of the national story, it is also possible to recognise how different authors lean towards decolonisation and attempt to leave behind the legacy of Socialist Realism. Valerii Shevchuk delves into the sphere of inherently Ukrainian culture and, feeling safe in its secluded space, undermines the project of Socialist Realism from within, proving its lifelessness and artificiality. Oksana Zabuzhko openly criticises the Communist legacy, doing it on sensual levels of the body and memory. She does not deny or avoid ambiguous aspects of the past; instead, she demonstrates the desire to discuss them and resolve the problematic issues.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is possible to say that the postcolonial tendencies can be noticed beginning from the narrative of culture in the novels of Valerii Shevchuk. The analysis shows that it continues in the narrative of memory (in Oksana Zabuzhko's novels). However, the complete decolonisation cannot be discussed at the moment. Although Oksana Zabuzhko approaches the decolonised space and has a vision of it, she cannot bring it to her text. Thus, decolonisation remains a project for the future.

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