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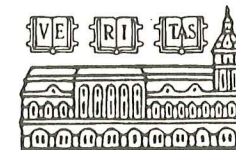
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ЖНИВА

Essays Presented in Honor of George G. Grabowicz
on His Seventieth Birthday

Edited by
Roman Koropecyk, Taras Koznarsky,
and Maxim Tarnawsky

Part Two



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A Note on a Note in Taras Shevchenko's *Haidamaky*

ROMAN KOROPECKYJ

“GONTA V UMANI” (GONTA IN UMAN), the penultimate section of Taras Shevchenko's *Haidamaky* (The *Haidamaks*), brings the poem's narrative arc to a climax and at the same time, as the honoree of this Festschrift convincingly argues, contains its symbolically most saturated moments.¹ But then too, the poet's paratextual gloss to the name of this town in central Ukraine instantiates what is—in its variety, complexity, expressiveness, and aim—arguably the most salient ingredient of Shevchenko's entire oeuvre: irony.²

The setup is in itself unremarkable. As Monika Greenleaf points out, “The practice of framing the Romantic poem with prose prefaces and annotations was an established feature of the...genre.”³ In this regard, and all other things being equal, *Haidamaky* is no exception. Besides a preface in verse, a prose “Fore/after-word” (“по мові—передмова”), and a note to subscribers, the first two editions of the poem (1841; 1844) contained a section of what Shevchenko calls *prypysy* (notes), twenty-three in all.⁴ But while more often than not, to quote Greenleaf again, “the motivation” for such annotations “was the unfamiliarity to European readers of...exotic settings, customs, and terminology that were a major source of the Romantic and ‘poetic’ quality of the genre,”⁵ in Alex Watson's take on the phenomenon they also “constituted a space for the investigation and display of the contrary, the excluded and the ambiguous.”⁶ And in this respect, too, *Haidamaky* is no exception. Indeed, one might well argue that in Shevchenko's conception the poem's “paratextual margins” function almost programmatically as, to use Watson's formulation, “a covert location in which to present contestatory histories, identities and traditions.”⁷ When viewed from this angle, Shevchenko's notes may not, then, be simply “window dressing,” as Grabowicz would have it, put together by the poet in a nod to convention, or even, in their carelessness, as a sly jab at it.⁸ Rather, as I shall argue, they introduce yet another perspective, in a different mode and a different “voice,”⁹ on Shevchenko's treatment in *Haidamaky* of the nature and meaning of history.

It goes without saying that prior to Grabowicz Shevchenko's annotations to the poem had received their share of critical attention. In fact, they served as

21. Див.: *Час/Time*, 2 серпня 1996; 15 листопада 1996.
22. M. E. D'Imperio, *The Voynich Manuscript: An Elegant Enigma* (National Security Agency, 1978); Robert S. Brumbaugh, ed., *The Most Mysterious Manuscript: The Voynich "Roger Bacon" Cipher Manuscript* (Carbondale, Ill., 1978).
23. Gordon Rugg, "An Elegant Hoax? A Possible Solution to the Voynich Manuscript," *Cryptologia* 28, no. 1 (January 2004): 31–46.
24. Nicholas Pelling, *The Curse of the Voynich: The Secret History of the World's Most Mysterious Manuscript* (Surbiton, 2006), 11–13.
25. Ibid., 18, 62–68.
26. John Matthews Manly, "Roger Bacon and the Voynich MS," *Speculum* 6, no. 3 (July 1931): 345.

Ukrainian Wallenrodism: Treason in Mykola Kostomarov's Biography, Historiography, and Fiction

ULRICH SCHMID

THE MOTIF OF TREASON occupies a very important place in Polish cultural history. There is a long tradition of literary elaborations on this topic, which eventually even gained the status of a cultural pattern of behavior.¹ The most prominent text is, of course, *Konrad Wallenrod*. Adam Mickiewicz published this poem in 1828, when he was exiled to Russia. Wallenrod is the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order of Knights. A Lithuanian by birth, he was abducted as a child and raised by Germans. During a decisive battle against the Lithuanians, Konrad deliberately hesitates and thus becomes responsible for the defeat of the Teutonic Knights. From the German point of view he is a traitor, but from the Lithuanian standpoint, he is a hero.

The poem had succinct autobiographical relevance for Mickiewicz. It served him as a kind of symbolic excuse for his less than burdensome exile in the aristocratic salons of St. Petersburg. In the guise of a historical allegory, Mickiewicz told his fellow Poles that he had only seemingly collaborated with the Russians, but was secretly working for the Polish cause. As the later hagiography of Mickiewicz's life shows, his self-fashioned image proved very successful among the Polish public.²

Less attention has been paid to a similar, yet significantly modified, case in Ukrainian cultural history. Mykola Kostomarov grappled all his life with the problem of treachery. He was torn between two national identities and relentlessly tried to construct textual schemes to mitigate the precarious experience of treason, an accusation that was difficult to avoid for a Ukrainian intellectual in the context of nineteenth-century imperial Russia. Conversely, he also tried to show in his fiction that complete faithfulness leads to a moral abyss.

The problem of treason runs throughout Kostomarov's biography, professional analysis of Russian history, and literary fiction. To be sure, only Kostomarov's own textual elaborations on betrayal are considered here, not "real" events. Such an overarching analysis can be justified by the fact that Kostomarov wrote a coherent autobiographical account, embedding his own fate in a historical process,

and that his historiographic texts are closely intertwined with his fictional works, often set in a distinct period of Russian history.

The interactions between these three realms of symbolic signification form a complex system of ideological values that may be called a Ukrainian version of Wallenrodism. Kostomarov also formulates a kind of apology for treason, but he does not argue that the ends justify the means. In Kostomarov's understanding, treason is a makeshift solution in a situation that is basically hopeless. The main difference between Ukrainian and Polish Wallenrodism lies in the fact that in Kostomarov's writings, treason goes only halfway; at a decisive point the traitor turns himself in, even if he has to pay for this act of honesty with his life. Therefore, Ukrainian Wallenrodism is not an active strategy of a calculating person, but a life attitude inspired by the moment and by individual moral sense.

BIOGRAPHY

Kostomarov encountered betrayal early in his life. As an eleven-year-old child, he saw the maimed body of his dead father, supposedly the victim of an accident involving an overturned horse-cab. Five years later Kostomarov discovered that the family's serfs had killed his father, stolen his money, and bribed the court. In a strange kind of anticipation of the plot of Dostoevsky's novel *The Brothers Karamazov*, the killers justified themselves by referring to their victim's atheism: "The *barin* himself is guilty that he brought us into temptation. Sometimes he told us that there is no God, that there will be nothing in the other world, that only idiots fear otherworldly punishment—that's what we took to heart: If there won't be anything in the other world, it means that everything is possible."³

In this childhood episode the intricate logic of treason and loyalty, which forms a pattern in Kostomarov's autobiographical account, can already be discerned. In a sense, the serfs had followed their landlord's recommendations: they adopted his atheistic ideology and acted accordingly. This moral catastrophe may have prompted Kostomarov in his later life to make a strict linkage between faith and faithfulness. In his view, it was possible to serve different lords simultaneously, but it was absolutely unacceptable to betray religion.

Kostomarov's religious belief was deep, but it always served his utopian vision of a Slavic federation. Kostomarov displays a clear preference for Russian Orthodoxy, which, for him, is deeply rooted in the people. At the same time, Catholicism is not altogether wrong in his eyes. In his efforts to integrate Catholicism into the Slavic community he goes so far as to claim a spiritual closeness between Catholicism and Orthodoxy. When he visited the cathedral in Cologne, he sensed the presence of Orthodox spirituality: "I personally felt much happier in Cologne, as in every other Catholic city, than in Protestant cities, where there is some dryness in the spiritual life. Maybe this has to do with the relative closeness of

Catholicism to our Russian Orthodoxy; in any case, if you come to a Catholic city and hear the sound of the bells, you feel something homelike, close to your heart."⁴ In contrast to this relatively sympathetic portrayal of Catholicism, Kostomarov sharply disapproves of Protestantism, which he sees as the religion of fanatics.

The goal of this argument is clear: Kostomarov wants to uphold the possibility that Poland will be united with the rest of the Slavic nations by any means. In his writings Kostomarov often divides Catholicism into acceptable and unacceptable parts. While he respects the national religion of the Poles, he utterly disapproves of the church's centralized organization, with the pope as the vicar of Christ. Kostomarov sees the pope as nothing but an unscrupulous ruler who tries to strengthen his influence wherever he can.⁵ Kostomarov goes so far as to maintain that the pope's followers consider everything that has escaped the pontiff's control as an apostasy from Christianity.⁶ Interestingly enough, he does not identify Catholicism itself but, rather, the Jesuits as the main culprit. Moreover, the decline of the Polish Kingdom begins, in Kostomarov's eyes, with the growing dominance of the Jesuits at Zygmunt August's court.

For the same reason, Kostomarov is also very skeptical toward the Uniate Church. He speaks with great reservation about the reunification of Western and Eastern Christianity: "The idea itself was not unattractive to the Orthodox Church, which continuously asked God for a united church."⁷ But the Greek Catholic church acknowledges the pope as its supreme ruler, and precisely for this reason it represents more a disintegrating than integrating element in Kostomarov's Panslavism.

Kostomarov also considered the South Slavs. During a trip to Germany and Austria in 1864 he also visited Belgrade and was impressed by the fact that this city belonged neither to Europe nor to Asia.⁸ In Kostomarov's view, Serbia prefigures the cultural autonomy of the Slavic world. In 1875 Kostomarov commented on the uprising of the Bosnian Serbs with fiery words: "There are positions in which no Serbs, no Czechs, no Slovenians exist, in which only Slavs exist and such a relationship holds a special importance for us in the real question. Slavdom is a chain, in which all links connect in such a way that what affects one link disturbs all the rest."⁹

To demonstrate the inner coherence of a Slavic union, Kostomarov even resorted to linguistic analysis. In the Novgorodian dialect he discovered a series of similarities to Ukrainian: *okanie* is predominant, *iat'* is always pronounced as *i*, the ending *-t* is sometimes omitted in the third person present forms of the verb, *polnoglasi* is encountered more frequently than in standard Russian (*veremia*), and, finally, many words are shared with the Ukrainian lexicon (*shukat'*, *shkoda*, *zhona*).¹⁰ Kostomarov concluded from this evidence that the people of Novgorod were originally from Ukraine.¹¹

Kostomarov's plan of a Slavic union even played into his private life. His betrothed (and much later, wife), Alina Kragielska, was of Polish background,

and her mother was a fierce defender of Poland's cultural supremacy over Russia, not to mention Ukraine. Kostomarov's planned marriage to a Polish woman may be interpreted as a biographical act with utopian significance: Kostomarov, representing a united Russia (his father was Russian, his mother Ukrainian), wanted to bind his life with a woman from Poland. Their children would then personify the Slavic unity of Russia, Ukraine, and Poland.

However, at this juncture treachery destroyed Kostomarov's family life. On 28 March 1847, two days before his planned wedding, he was arrested. Since 1846 Kostomarov had been a member of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood. The messianic ideas of this secret circle were modeled after Mickiewicz's historiosophical *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (Books of the Polish Nation and Its Pilgrimage). The ultimate goal of the brotherhood was the unification of all Slavic peoples under the leadership of Ukraine. However, the only politically relevant issue was the abolition of serfdom. The brotherhood was betrayed by a student pretending to be a member, who listened in on the circle. He denounced the brotherhood to the deputy superintendent of the Kyiv school district, Mikhail Iuzefovich, who had patronized Kostomarov earlier. Before the arrest, Iuzefovich came to Kostomarov's house and pretended to forewarn him. Fearing a police search, Kostomarov entrusted him with a draft of his manuscript on Slavic federalism. Later, during his interrogation, Kostomarov was confronted with the document he had handed over to Iuzefovich.¹² Kostomarov was deeply shocked by Iuzefovich's betrayal, and thirty years later he still refused to shake hands with him.¹³

The most interesting aspect of treachery in this biographical episode does not occur during the arrest itself. Although Kostomarov was a victim of treachery, he himself was not immune to committing an act of betrayal during his interrogation by the police. When confronted with the testimony of his fellow member, Panteleimon Kulish, he called it "a shameless lie." To make matters worse, he accused Kulish of being consumed by a fanatical and exclusive love for Little Russia. Finally, he declared that he did not share the "vile thoughts" reflected in the antisarist poetry of another member of the brotherhood, Taras Shevchenko.¹⁴ Kostomarov was sentenced to one year of imprisonment to be followed by penal exile in the province of Viatka.¹⁵ However, his mother managed to mitigate the place of banishment: Kostomarov eventually served his term in Saratov.

In Kostomarov's autobiographical account, the real traitors (the eavesdropping student and Iuzefovich) are portrayed as soulless villains. As to his own conduct, Kostomarov justifies his breakdown in front of the investigators by declaring that his first false testimony, in which he denied the existence of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood altogether, was triggered by a "strong moral shock."¹⁶ Kostomarov's own Ukrainian Wallenrodism becomes apparent in his instability, which is not, however, determined by calculation but, rather, by a surge of moral sentiment.

It is this very aspect that is highlighted in a microplot embedded in Kostomarov's account of the interrogation. When Kostomarov is confronted by one of his students, who accuses him of planning to resurrect the Cossack Sich, Kostomarov denies the allegations, after which the student bursts into tears and confesses that his testimony was a lie, that he had fabricated all of it.¹⁷ In this account the student appears as a sympathetic character who strays from the truth under pressure, but in the end conducts himself honestly.

In the early 1860s Kostomarov's loyalty to both his personal convictions and the Russian state were put to the test once again. During the student riots at St. Petersburg University he declared that he was interested exclusively in his academic activities and that university politics was none of his business.¹⁸ When the education minister shut down the university, Kostomarov took part in a series of lectures open to the public that were intended to compensate for the missed academic seminars. In a lecture held in March 1862 his university colleague, Professor P. V. Pavlov, hinted at "liberal" developments, thus sparking a conflict with the tsarist administration. The students enthusiastically supported Pavlov, who was arrested and eventually exiled to Kostroma. The furious students organized a protest and approached all the professors who had participated in the free lectures with the request that they discontinue teaching. Most respected this petition, but Kostomarov declined and continued to deliver his lectures. The audience was split between students eager to listen to Kostomarov's presentations and those who whistled and tried to interrupt him. When the chief of the gendarmes asked Kostomarov to name the ringleaders of the riot, Kostomarov refused. Here, again, Kostomarov's sincerity necessarily accompanies betrayal: Kostomarov stuck to his convictions, thus disappointing both students and officials. He went so far as to sever his friendship with Nikolai Chernyshevskyi, whom he knew well from his Saratov exile, over this issue.

In 1861 Kostomarov published his important essay "Dve russkie narodnosti" (Two Russian Nationalities), in which he argued that the Great Russians and the Little Russians complete each other mentally and are only able to form a stable state together. Kostomarov's mediatory stance was criticized from all sides; conservative Russians accused him of sedition, while radical Ukrainians dismissed his conception as a foul compromise. In his autobiography, Kostomarov laments that all Russian readers were already trained to look for a hidden meaning between the lines and did not understand the direct message of his essay. Disappointing both Russian and Ukrainian expectations, he remained true to himself—the core of the Ukrainian Wallenrodism that he had chosen for himself.

The year 1863 was a turning point in Kostomarov's life. In one fell swoop the Polish January uprising and the Valuev Circular put an end to all attempts to arrive at a compromise solution to the Ukrainian question. Kostomarov's personal reputation was also damaged. In the early 1860s Kostomarov had collected three thousand rubles to print Ukrainian schoolbooks. After nonliterary works

in the Ukrainian language were banned, this project was necessarily halted and Kostomarov kept the money in a bank account registered in his name. Later he was accused of embezzlement for not showing any intention of using this money for the Ukrainian cause.¹⁹ In this case, too, Kostomarov preferred to appear as a traitor in the eyes of many Ukrainians while firmly pursuing his own project. He was prepared to wait for the proper use of the saved monies: to fund a federation comprised of Great Russia and Little Russia, which was meant to become the seed of a future Slavic union.

Interestingly enough, Kostomarov always separated his activity from genuine Wallenrodism in Mickiewicz's understanding. A case in point is the Polish lawyer Włodzimierz Spasowicz, who taught criminal law at the University of St. Petersburg from 1857 to 1861. Kostomarov recounts that he and his friend Spasowicz seemed to share the same opinions about the restoration of Poland within the framework of a Slavic federation. However, after the Polish uprising of 1863 Kostomarov accused Spasowicz of hypocrisy, pointing to the contradiction that Spasowicz had publicly rejected the uprising and at the same time was one of the organizers of the insurrection. Kostomarov concedes the Poles' wish to be independent, but he decisively condemns their insincerity: "We did not and do not reproach him [Spasowicz], like all Poles, for not liking us, but they have to treat us in a direct and sincere manner. We will respect honest enemies and will embrace them if they really cease to be our enemies, but, in any case, they should act sincerely."²⁰

Kostomarov displayed an extremely ambivalent attitude toward treachery in his life practice. While he condemned every kind of secret political activity that was directed against the existing government, he also endured severe reproaches from his fellow Ukrainians as he stubbornly followed his own concept of harmony. However, it must also be noted that Kostomarov's Ukrainian friends were not always politically correct with him. For instance, Kulish called Kostomarov, much to the latter's dismay, a foreigner (*inoplemennik*) because of his Russian father.²¹

Kostomarov's divided soul was also noticed by his contemporaries. In the view of the Russian historian and ethnologist Aleksandr Pypin, "Kostomarov had peculiarities; he had, for example, a blend of mystical tastes juxtaposed with skeptical realism; he had caprices and more than a few angularities of character (sometimes very acute)."²²

Ukrainian Wallenrodism was even reflected physiologically in Kostomarov's life. In his autobiography, he constantly complains of headaches and various illnesses and infirmities. Many of his trips abroad were governed by the need to take a cure at a spa. Most illustrative of this is Kostomarov's account of a trip to the dungeon of Chillon Castle near Lake Geneva: "The Chillon torments, traces of which I just saw, made such an impression on my imagination that in my body I had a sensation such as martyrs once bore. By nightfall I had fallen ill in earnest."²³ Kostomarov's illness is both real and imagined—the thin line between truth and falsehood is blurred and eventually vanishes.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Many scholars have been troubled by Kostomarov's views of the relationship between Russian and Ukrainian cultures. How is it possible, they ask, that a staunch "Ukrainophile" defended the Russian autocracy and advocated "domestic use" (*domashnii obikhod*) for the Ukrainian language in the official imperial culture. In order to explain this apparent contradiction, it is necessary to turn to the core of Kostomarov's life project.

Kostomarov dreamed of a Slavic union with Kyiv as its center. He offered the most poetic formulation of this vision in his unfinished novel *Panich Natalich* (1846), which was discovered among his papers upon his arrest in 1847:

Free and noble, warmed by love of Christ, the one lord and teacher, [the federation] binds Slavs from the banks of the Volga, Danube, Vistula, Ilmen, from the Adriatic Sea and Kamchatka to Kyiv, the great city, capital of the Slavic tribes, resurrected from real degradation, freed from foreign chains, established on these hills; the convoking bell of St. Sophia tolls... and will bless these mountains and all of Slavdom.²⁴

Kostomarov tries to eradicate all national and confessional differences among the Slavic tribes. In this short text he refrains from calling the Slavic nations by their names and confines himself to a vague geographical area marked by various rivers and seas. Kostomarov even points to a close affinity between Slavic mythology and Christianity, identifying many pagan traditions in Russian Christianity: "The Russian folk, even if they have lost the old forms of paganism, have preserved its spirit in the most Christian beliefs."²⁵ He sees the pagan gods in their struggle against the blind forces of Nature as a prefiguration of the Christian religion:

This idea of incarnation, the suffering and celebration of divine essence on Earth was a wondrous presentiment of the coming of the Son of God, the sun of righteousness, the light of truth, and serves as the supreme historical acknowledgement of the truth of our holy Writing. This was the idea, the inclusion of the Creator in the human race.²⁶

In this text, too, Kostomarov carefully avoids differentiating among Catholic Czechs, Poles, and Croats, and Orthodox Russians and Serbs, as Christianity is the common denominator of his projected Slavic union.

Many of the awkward moments in Kostomarov's views on Russia and Ukraine can be explained if the focus of attention is shifted to Poland. The relationship between Great and Little Russia is not the main problem for Kostomarov, inasmuch as he sees both nations as naturally belonging together and completing each other. The main problem lies in the Polish rejection of common Slavic kinship. Kostomarov expressed his reservations about Poland as early as his

first dissertation, which he was forced to destroy because of objections voiced by the official church. In fact, there was little to which one could object. In his dissertation "O prichinakh i kharaktere unii v zapadnoi Rossii" (On the Causes and Character of the Union in Western Russia, 1842) and the subsequently revised version "Iuzhnaia Rus' v kontse XVI veka" (Southern Russia in the Late Sixteenth Century, 1867), Kostomarov took a patriotic Orthodox stance and identified Catholicism and Protestantism as the main enemies of Slavic unity. Moreover, Kostomarov recognized only the Orthodox Church as being uncorrupted by secular developments: "Only the Eastern Church remains on the path to heaven; she did not fly off into the many meanings and pedantries of Protestantism, into earthly power like the Roman Church; this church was humble, quiet, spiritually abased, blessedly bare-souled."²⁷

However, it should be kept in mind that Kostomarov was a Polonophile; he spoke Polish and displayed considerable sympathy for the Poles. In this respect, he was close to Alexander Herzen. In 1859 Herzen defended the Poles' right to independence and even extended this vision to Ukraine in his essay "Russia and Poland." Kostomarov reacted enthusiastically to this proposal and sent Herzen a letter of support. Herzen published the letter anonymously under the title "Ukraine" on 15 January 1860 in his newspaper *Kolokol*. Kostomarov called for a single civic polity for Ukraine and rejected all Russian or Polish claims to those territories where Ukrainian was spoken. He also revived his old idea of a Slavic union, which ideally should also encompass the Poles. However, Kostomarov was reluctant to go a step further and follow Herzen in his maximalist plan to grant Poland full independence. In a letter to the Russian historian and journalist Konstantin Kavelin, dated 22 January 1860, Kostomarov voiced his reservations about Poland in very skeptical terms. He was especially concerned about a future independent Poland within the 1772 borders: "The Poles can deceive the European public with their proclamations about liberty and nationality, but they will find it difficult to fool us South Russians.... We do not want to be enslaved for the sake of certain European ideas."²⁸

In this wording, the antimodern stance of Kostomarov's plan becomes obvious: Kostomarov did not want to base his Slavic union on constitutional rights. Restoring the Polish state on the basis of "European ideas" would not only threaten Ukrainian interests, but also alienate Poland even further from the Christian values of the Slavic world. Needless to say, at this point there was a definite break between Kostomarov and the Poles.

Kostomarov's apology for two characters in Ukrainian history who are usually accused of treason is especially interesting. Not surprisingly, Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi is presented as a predecessor of Kostomarov's own plans for a free federation between two autonomous states, Ukraine and Russia. In Kostomarov's account, the Treaty of Pereiaslav acquires the status of a Magna Carta: "All of Ukraine, the Cossack soil... was united under the name Little Russia with the State of Moscow, with the right to its own jurisdiction, administration, elec-

tion of the hetman by free people, the right of the latter to receive ambassadors and to have relations with foreign states, the inviolability of the rights of the aristocracy, the clergy, and citizens. Taxes were to be paid without interference from Muscovite tax collectors."²⁹

In Kostomarov's narrative, Khmel'nyts'kyi appears as a victim of treachery: his own son was allegedly tortured to death by the Poles, and the evildoer even married Khmel'nyts'kyi's beloved. The Cossack revolt against the Poles takes the guise of a personal revenge; later, the hetman is forced to seek a balance between his personal fidelity to the Polish king and the Cossacks' anti-Polish wrath. The Cossacks consider all the negotiations between the hetman and the Polish court treasonous. The treaty with Moscow becomes the answer to this difficult situation, which can be managed only with a certain amount of Ukrainian Wallenrodism. The real hero of Kostomarov's account of the Treaty of Pereiaslav is the Ukrainian people, not Khmel'nyts'kyi: "The age of Khmel'nyts'kyi in this relationship presents one of those circumstances in history when the mass of the people instinctively sees what must be done at a certain time, but its leader is not capable in this situation of taking part in the action that the people feel and need."³⁰ From this point onward, Khmel'nyts'kyi does not lead, but instead is led by the people. Accordingly, his motives change: first, he fought to avenge himself, and now he fights for his faith and defends Orthodoxy from the Polish aggressors.

Kostomarov takes a very similar stance toward Mazepa, a highly controversial character in Russian history. In the poem *Poltava* Alexander Pushkin portrays the Ukrainian hetman as an evil traitor and a lecherous old man. The portrait drawn by Kostomarov is completely different: Mazepa is a political opportunist who always sought his own profit. Treason is as legitimate a political activity as any other for Mazepa. Kostomarov's Mazepa does not betray first Peter I and then Charles XII for national reasons; at a given moment, he simply sees the Russian side and then the Swedish side as more advantageous for him. The ideological goal of Kostomarov's portrayal of Mazepa is clear—he wants to separate the Ukrainian people from their treacherous leader Mazepa: "In this situation, Mazepa's treason could not fall on the Little Russian people, who completely disliked this hetman for twenty years.... The Little Russian people must be completely freed of the stains that besmirched Mazepa: the people did not follow Mazepa."³¹ Great Russia and Little Russia belong together inseparably, and Mazepa is only an incidental danger that should not disturb Ukrainian-Russian relations.

Khmel'nyts'kyi and Mazepa are both hetmans who changed sides, and thus may be considered traitors. However, Kostomarov shifts his readers' attention from leaders to the Ukrainian people, who, in both cases, remained faithful. Neither hetman deceived deliberately, like the Polish Wallenrods. They acted intuitively and were authentic personalities who just changed over time. Ukrainian Wallenrodism as presented by Kostomarov allows for such deviations, but insists on the authenticity of the moment.

In the Great Russian context, Kostomarov's treatment of prominent pro-

tagonists is similar. Among his fellow historians, Kostomarov was notorious for debunking the myths of traditional heroes, such as Dmitrii Donskoi, Ivan Susanin, and Peter I. According to Kostomarov, Donskoi behaved like a coward during the Battle of Kulikovo; Susanin, who allegedly sacrificed his life for the tsar, was nothing but a literary invention; and Peter I was a cruel despot. The real hero of Russian history is, in Kostomarov's view, the common people, who are endowed with a natural sense of justice. As a consequence, individual actors have little influence on Russia's fate.

A case in point is the Time of Troubles. Kostomarov portrays the usurper Dmitrii as an impostor who may have been pushed into office by the Jesuits. Kostomarov rejects Pushkin's identification of the false Dmitrii as the monk Grishka Otrep'ev. Moreover, he suggests that Dmitrii, like Gogol's Inspector General, accidentally agreed to play the historical role that his courtiers devised for him.³² This is a development of his earlier suggestion that Dmitrii was no impostor, but believed himself to be the legitimate tsar.³³ In any case, Kostomarov plays down the significance of the Time of Troubles, alleging that this period did not do great harm to Russia. Interestingly, he credits the happy conclusion of the Time of Troubles to the power of the Orthodox religion:

But in Rus' there was a different unifying bond stronger than the state—faith. The Pskovian, the Novgorodian, the Russian Kazanian, the Siberian, the Cossack—all felt equally that they are Orthodox, all people of one Russian faith belonging to one church. On this question, even Little Russian Cossacks, who are generally alien to the Muscovite government, felt themselves united with them and stood in the ranks of its defenders.³⁴

FICTION

Kostomarov's focus on the dialectics of treason and faith is reflected already in his first historical drama *Sava Chalyi* (1838). The play does not adhere closely to history: the real Sava Chalyi lived a century later than Kostomarov's protagonist. Kostomarov needed a Polish background to present his Sava Chalyi as a hero who tries to cope with dual loyalty: to the Cossacks and to the Polish king. After the Union of Lublin in 1569 the Cossack leader became a subject of the Polish king and was thus forced to harmonize the claims of both sides to his loyalty. Sava Chalyi accepts the Polish proposal to become the Ukrainian hetman, but at the same time he is not ready to change his faith and convert to Catholicism: "I came to serve my legitimate king, but not to betray the faith of my father and grandfather."³⁵ Chalyi explicitly denies that he is a traitor: "Although the Poles appointed me as hetman, I still won't be a traitor because I will serve my Ukraine."

Chalyi represents Kostomarov's hope for reconciliation among the Slavic

nations. However, in the drama this harmony has a distinctly tragic dimension: in his attempt to unite the Ukrainian and Polish nations, Sava is banished from both communities. This is precisely the point where Kostomarov's notion of loyal treason comes into play. Chalyi explains to the Poles that his inevitable personal catastrophe is rational: "If you catch me, my soul will rest easy because I will die for my faith; if the Cossacks kill me, I can die happily: I will know that I give my life for the king!"³⁶ In the end, the Cossacks kill Chalyi, his wife, and his newborn son only to discover that Ihnat, who desired Chalyi's wife, had pushed Chalyi toward the Poles. In the final scene Ihnat denies his treason and perjures himself: "May all my kin go to hell if I am guilty!"³⁷ The Cossacks do not believe him and kill him as well. In the play Kostomarov reveals the difference he sees between an apparent and a real traitor. Kostomarov's apology for the traitor who goes only halfway is typical: Chalyi is ready to serve the Poles, but will not give up his faith on any account. On the other hand, the lying Ihnat is ready to betray his faith and swears by God that he is telling the truth.

The same motif can also be found in Kostomarov's early poetry and prose. The assertion in his short poem "Kliat'ba" (The Oath, 1839) that the "traitor's harm" is worse than all other crimes must be applied to Ihnat, not Chalyi.³⁸

The central motif of treason is also the key to a lost story that Kostomarov wrote in the 1840s. "Rimskaya moneta" (The Roman Coin) departs from the biblical episode of Ananias who sold a piece of property, but secretly withheld a portion of the sales. He offered the rest of the sum to the Apostle Peter, who reproaches him with the words, "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie to the Holy Ghost, and to keep back part of the price of the land? Whilst it remained, was it not thine own? And after it was sold, was it not in thine own power? Why hast thou conceived this thing in thine heart? Thou hast not lied unto men, but unto God" (Acts 5:1–4). In Kostomarov's treatment, Ananias's lie materializes in the coin, which then circulates in Russia and brings bad luck to each owner.³⁹

Kostomarov's play *Pereiaslavs'ka nich* (The Pereiaslav Night, 1841) takes up the motif of treachery that includes moral stability. Maryna, the sister of the Cossack Lysenko, loves the Polish *starosta* of Pereiaslav, yet is ready to hand him over to her brother, who will kill him. In other words, Maryna wants to be faithful both to her nation and to her lover. She has to pay for her Ukrainian Wallenrodism, of course, and finally enters a nunnery. Lysenko and the *starosta* kill each other. The utopian significance of their fatal duel lies in the fact that the dying opponents forgive each other: "We will die as brothers. Friend! Give me your hand, and following our example, Ukraine shall make peace with Poland!"⁴⁰ This grotesque ending, which lacks all psychological credibility, reveals Kostomarov's deepest interpretation of the Treaty of Pereiaslav: the pact between Russia and Ukraine is only the first step toward a larger Slavic union. Metaphysical motivation, not psychological, underlies the final scene: the positive hero of the drama has to die because he failed to integrate Poland into the new treaty.

Many readers have noted the autobiographical nature of Kostomarov's drama *Kremutsii Kord* (Cremutius Cordus). The play was written in 1849, shortly after Kostomarov's arrest, but was published only in 1862. The plot seems to mirror Kostomarov's fate closely: the protagonist Cremutius Cordus is a Roman historian who falls from the emperor's good graces because he makes positive mention of Brutus in one of his works. Cremutius withstands all pressure from the government and is imprisoned. As an honorable Roman citizen, he prefers death to disgrace, and he starves himself to death. His last words are: "History will avenge the historian!"⁴¹

At first glance, the drama seems to present Kostomarov's own biographical narrative about his ill-starred fate as a Russian historian. The parallel is incomplete, though, as Kostomarov never exhibited the same nerve during his interrogations as Cremutius. It is possible, then, to consider Cremutius as representative of a heroic mode of behavior that was not available to Kostomarov himself. It is more likely, however, that Kostomarov depicted himself in a much less favorable character in the play, the poet Satrius who is also an agent provocateur. Satrius tries to draw Cremutius out by making contemptuous remarks about the emperor, but does not succeed. Cremutius remains calm and refrains from criticizing the emperor. Satrius is later imprisoned for his words. Even though he tried to betray Cremutius, he remains faithful to him as he is led to his execution: "Cremutius Cordus! I wished you evil...the judgment of heaven is righteous! Forgive me, Cremutius, forgive me! (*They lead him out, he screams*). Forgive me, noble soul, forgive me!"⁴²

Satrius is thus a good example of Ukrainian Wallenrodism, which combines treachery and fidelity. Satrius tries to serve both the Roman emperor and his friend Cremutius Cordus. His treachery is not characterized by cold deliberation; he commits a fatal error, but is ready to pay for it. Satrius only goes halfway in his betrayal. At a critical point he stops and declares his loyalty to Cremutius.

In this play Kostomarov introduces the motif of Wallenrodism in an epigraph taken from Mickiewicz's poem. The words belong to Aldona, who bids farewell to Konrad, who is not the same man he was before committing treason: "But, in my heart you still have the same eyes, face, bearing, and clothing, like a beautiful butterfly that keeps its appearance while it drowns in amber." Kostomarov thus stresses the negative consequences of Polish Wallenrodism: Polish Wallenrodism changes the personality, whereas a Ukrainian Wallenrod, like Satrius, ultimately regains his own identity.

A prominent literary elaboration on the topic of treason can be found in the short novel *Syn* (The Son, 1859–60). In it Kostomarov describes the catastrophic fate of a son who fights against his father and, ultimately, his tsar. The plot is simple in construction: Osyp's father kills his wife in order to be able to marry his mistress. Osyp rebels against the father and seeks revenge by reporting the crime to the *voevoda* of Saransk. An old friend of Osyp's father, the *voevoda* decides

to cover up the affair. In a rage, Osyp joins the ranks of Stenka Razin's bandits, who explain to Osyp what it means to be a Cossack:

Cossackdom is unvarnished truth, a truth that punishes vice, overthrows the powerful, raises up the injured, and makes all its supporters equals. Great sins have spread among the people, which is why *batiushka* Stepan Timofiovych goes to punish them. We do not want blood, but we punish those faithless perpetrators who suck others' blood and steal others' cattle and exploit others' labor.⁴³

As the rebels attack the city of Saransk, Osyp confronts the *voevoda* and his beautiful daughter, who was once betrothed to Osyp. In his "thirst for truth" he kills first the girl and then her father. An "evil spirit" whispers to him, "You started this, so finish it as well!... There is no way back!... You will pay with the gallows for the treason against his Tsarist Highness!"⁴⁴ In the meantime, Osyp's father is celebrating his wedding with his young bride, and refuses a messenger's request for help for the besieged city. When Osyp arrives at his father's home, the newlywed couple has already escaped. Osyp follows them, but he is caught by tsarist troops and impaled. The father starts a new family and forbids any mention of his son's name. By means of a psychological experiment, *Syn* shows that both men, son and father, fall into an amoral abyss—Osyp, in his quest for justice, and his father, in his absolute treachery. Only Ukrainian Wallenrodism can persist as a viable option.

The relationship between the surviving cruel father and his dead son remained an important topic in Kostomarov's interests. One of his last stories is titled "Nezakonnorozhdennye" (The Illegitimate Children, 1885), which recounts the story of an illegitimate young man who kills his half-brother, rapes his half-sister, and becomes a brigand. The plot makes it implicitly clear that the real culprit is the protagonist's grandfather, not the protagonist himself. The grandfather's conscience did not trouble him when he banished his pregnant daughter from his home; the cruel behavior of the illegitimate son masks the hidden treachery of his grandfather.

Kostomarov continued to be interested in similar family dramas. Already seriously ill, he asked his friends to take him to an art exhibition where Ilya Repin's painting *Ivan the Terrible and His Son* (1885) was on display.⁴⁵

The same historical background can be found in Kostomarov's historical novel *Kudeiar* (1875). Kudeiar's precarious fate resembles the plot of *Konrad Wallenrod*. Kudeiar is raised by Tatars, but later becomes a Cossack. His wife, who is abducted and raped by Tatars, returns pregnant from captivity. Kudeiar lets his wife choose: she can either save the bastard child and leave or allow him to kill the child and stay. The wife chooses the second option, and Kudeiar kills the child. Later, Kudeiar alternately serves the Crimean khan and Ivan the Terrible.

Kudeiar tries to maintain sincere allegiance to all his overlords. He assures the khan of his loyalty with the following argument: "If I were not faithful to my God and my Tsar, how could you possibly trust me?"⁴⁶

Later, the tsar tests Kudeiar's loyalty by ordering him to execute those of his subordinates who had disobeyed his orders. Kudeiar is a willing executioner, but when it comes to the last test, he fails to comply with the tsar's demands: when Kudeiar sees his wife hanged, he tries to assassinate the tsar. Finally, Kudeiar becomes a Muslim and leads a Tatar army against Moscow. Seeing the capital at his feet, he thinks back to the time when he offered his wife that cruel choice. His dead wife appears to him and reproaches him, "Why did you kill the child? You hated the Tatar bastard, but now you lead the Tatars to destroy the Christian people! You did not let me baptize the child, but now you abjure Christ!"⁴⁷ He sets fire to Moscow and while the city burns, a stranger tells him that he is Tsar Ivan's half-brother. Biological kinship only serves to signal a deeper level of connectivity: both Kudeiar and Ivan are terrible in their demands. Kudeiar kills his wife's child just as Ivan kills Kudeiar's wife. Kudeiar's doom begins not with his breach of faith against the khan or the tsar, but when he crosses the moral threshold to kill his wife's illegitimate child. Like Osyp in *Syn*, Kudeiar is not able to cope with injustice and perishes in his absolute quest for revenge.

Kostomarov returned again to the motif of treason in 1883, when he wrote a historical allegory called *Elliny Tavridy* (The Greeks in Tauris). A Greek setting for a Ukrainian subject was a device he used in some earlier works, like his 1852 poem "Iupiter svetlyi plyvet po zelenym vodam kimmeriiskim" (Bright Jupiter Sails across the Green Cimmerian Waters).⁴⁸ The plot of his drama condemns the Polish version of Wallenrodism. The city of Chersonese (near today's Sevastopol, as Kostomarov explains in his preface to the drama) seeks a new leader. Gikkia, the daughter of the old leader, is ready to marry Nikolai, the hypocritical son of the commander of the rival city of Vospor (today's Kerch). Nikolai seemingly agrees to accept citizenship of Chersonese, but secretly plans to attack his new homeland. Already the wording of his oath of allegiance reveals his insincerity: "I swear from this minute and until death to live and die for Chersonese....For her I will forget the kith and kin, and motherland where I was born."⁴⁹ Nikolai's new loyalty to Chersonese, if sincere, would be treasonous to his native Vospor.

The Vosporians plot an attack on Chersonese. Nikolai confesses his Wallenrodian idea to his soldiers: "Chersonese will submit to Vospor. Keeping in mind that ultimate goal, we only pretended to bow before our enemies in order better to gain the upper hand."⁵⁰ At the last minute the conspiracy is exposed. Gikkia explains to one of the conspirators, who is even ready to kill Nikolai in order to regain the confidence of the people of Chersonese, why it is wrong to swear such an oath: "Do you think we will trust you and commend base treachery? Perhaps we do not understand that when you betrayed yourselves, you also betrayed us."⁵¹

Gikkia does not reproach the enemies for their attempts to attack her native city, but condemns their treason: "These evildoers do not go against us openly like ferocious beasts, but crawl stealthily like serpents."⁵²

Gikkia now seeks support from the Roman Empire. The drama ends with an apotheosis of Rome, which is only a slightly veiled allegory for the Russian Empire. She lays the destiny of Chersonese trustingly in the hands of the emperor: "It is impossible for us to cope with enemies alone: we must gather confederates. We will seek alliance and protection in distant but powerful Rome. In the sublunary there is no stronger government! All despots bow their heads before them, and Rome is frightening for all who are obdurate toward it. But Rome is magnanimous, just, and benign to all who seek friendly alliances and protectors in Rome."⁵³ The drama ends with a political statement: "Whosoever is a friend to Rome will be unharmed; he who is an enemy of Rome grasps destruction."⁵⁴

Kostomarov's drama simply repeats a political credo that he had already expressed in a letter written in 1860: "Freedom is pure nonsense. If you destroy the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the police, weaker spirits and bodies will always become slaves of stronger ones. I confess to you that I long ago lost faith in any sort of progress."⁵⁵

The Ukrainian variant of Wallenrodism, advocated by Kostomarov, is not a shining example of ideal conduct, but a necessity determined by precarious circumstances. Kostomarov constantly vacillated between fidelity and treachery in his life and work. Thus, it is perhaps not by chance that tragedy was the dominant genre in both of these spheres.

NOTES

1. Stefan Chwin, *Literatura i zdrada: Od Konrada Wallenroda do Malej Apokalipsy* (Cracow, 1993).
2. Ivan Franko took an extremely negative stance toward Mickiewicz's Wallenrodism. See Hryhorii Hrabovych [George G. Grabowicz], "Ivan Franko i Adam Mitskevych," in *Ivan Franko i svitova kul'tura: Materialy mizhnarodnoho sympoziumu IuNESKO*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1990), 135–41.
3. N. I. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografiia," in *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia, Avtobiografiia* (Kyiv, 1989), 438. Here and elsewhere, all translations are my own.
4. Ibid., 509.
5. N. I. Kostomarov, "Iuzhnaia Rus' na kontse XVI veka," in *Istoricheskie proizvedeniia, Avtobiografiia*, 173.
6. N. I. Kostomarov, "Pravda Poliakam o Rusi," in *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia Kostomarova* (Kyiv, 1928), 96.
7. Kostomarov, "Iuzhnaia Rus' na kontse XVI veka," 114.

8. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografiia," 598.
9. N. I. Kostomarov, "O vospominaniakh bor'by kozakov s musul'manstvom v narodnoi iuzhno-russkoi poezii," in *Literaturnoe nasledie* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 277.
10. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografiia," 587, 594.
11. N. I. Kostomarov, "Pravda Moskvicham o Rusi," in *Naukovo-publitsystychni i polemichni pysannia Kostomarova*, 104.
12. Thomas M. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov: A Biography* (Toronto, 1996), 52–53.
13. Ibid., 163.
14. P. S. Sokhan', ed., *Kyrylo-Mefodiivs'ke tovarystvo: U tr'okh tomakh* (Kyiv, 1990), 1:280, 282, 284.
15. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 59.
16. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografiia," 483.
17. Ibid., 484.
18. Ibid., 547.
19. O. F. Kistiakivs'kyi, *Shchodennyk (1874–1885): U dvokh tomakh*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 1994), 107–8.
20. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografiia," 571.
21. P. A. Kulish, "Vospominaniia o Nikolae Ivanoviche Kostomarov," *Nov'*, 1885, vol. 4, no. 13, 74.
22. A. N. Pypin, *Moi zametki* (Saratov, 1996), 145.
23. Kostomarov, "Avtobiografiia," 545.
24. Sokhan', *Kyrylo-Mefodiivs'ke tovarystvo*, 1:262–63.
25. N. I. Kostomarov, *Ocherk domashnei zhizni i nraov velikorusskogo naroda v XVI i XVII stoletiiakh* (Moscow, 1992), 274.
26. N. I. Kostomarov, *Slavianskaia mifologiia* (Kyiv, 1847), 53.
27. Ibid., 126.
28. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 92.
29. N. I. Kostomarov, "Malorossiiskii getman Zinovii-Bogdan Khmel'nitskii," in *Russkaia istoriia v zhizneopisaniakh ee glavneishikh deiatelei*, bk. 2 (Moscow, 1995), 50.
30. Ibid., 28.
31. N. I. Kostomarov, *Mazepa* (Moscow, 1992), 322.
32. N. I. Kostomarov, *Smutnoe vremia Moskovskogo gosudarstva v nachale XVII stoletia, 1604–1613* (Moscow, 1994), 785n.
33. N. I. Kostomarov, "Kto byl pervyi Lzhedimitrii?" in *Zemskie sobory: Istoricheskie monografii i issledovania* (Moscow, 1995), 544.
34. Kostomarov, *Smutnoe vremia Moskovskogo gosudarstva*, 791.
35. M. I. Kostomarov, *Tvory v dvokh tomakh* (Kyiv, 1990), 1:204.
36. Ibid., 1:206.
37. Ibid., 1:216.
38. Ibid., 1:65.
39. V. P. Gorlenko, *Iuzhnorusskie ocherki i portrety* (Kyiv, 1898), 125.

40. Kostomarov, *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, ed. V. L. Smilians'ka, 1:272.
41. Ibid., 1:329.
42. Ibid., 1:313 (suspension points in original).
43. Ibid., 2:60–61.
44. Ibid., 2:77.
45. V. L. Smilians'ka, "Literaturna tvorchist' Mykoly Kostomarov," introduction to Kostomarov, *Tvory v dvokh tomakh*, 1:6.
46. Ibid., 2:227.
47. Ibid., 2:342.
48. Ibid., 1:133–42.
49. Ibid., 1:375.
50. Ibid., 1:376.
51. Ibid., 1:397.
52. Ibid., 1:406.
53. Ibid., 1:408.
54. Ibid., 1:409.
55. Prymak, *Mykola Kostomarov*, 99.