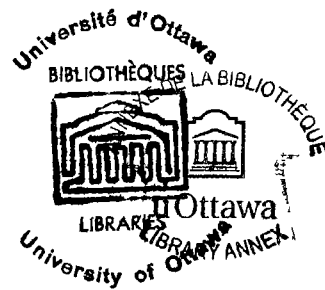


IVAN FRANKO AND THE BIBLE  
A Study of His Pre-Moisei Poems

By Asher Wilcher

Thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies  
as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
degree of Ph.D. in Slavic Studies



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## CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Asher Wilcher was born on June 29, 1915, in Sudilkov, then Russia. He received the Master of Arts degree in Hebrew Philology, Hebrew Literature, and Philosophy from the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1941. He received the Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieures in Slavic Studies from the Université de Montréal in 1972.

The theme of his M.A. thesis was The Semantic Development of the Words of Generalization in Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	v
I.- FRANKO'S INTEREST IN THE BIBLE . . . . .	1
1. Its Rise, Development, and Rôle in His Life and Work	1
2. Its Manifold Literary Expression	37
Translations	38
Treatises on Problems of Poetry and Aesthetics	42
Works in Literary Criticism	44
II.- THE BIBLE-PERVADED PRE- <u>MOISEI</u> POEMS . . . . .	86
1. The Characteristics of Franko's Recourse to the Bible	86
2. Biblical Translations	91
3. Original Poems	95
A. Sounding New Contents through the Old Texts	95
B. Self-Expression through Biblical Idiom	182
C. Philosophical Speculations on Biblical Themes	195
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS . . . . .	206
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	208
TRANSLITERATION TABLE . . . . .	218
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	219
ABSTRACT . . . . .	220

## INTRODUCTION

The vast and multifaceted literary heritage of Ivan Franko has not ceased to stimulate research of his works, and study of his ideology and philosophy. Present-day Frankology embraces an immense quantity of studies and treatises dealing with various aspects of his literary work as well as with problems of his ideology and philosophy of life both as an individual and as a poet, scholar, thinker, and spiritual leader.

However, present-day Frankology still lacks one basic aspect of the genius of the author of Moisei - Franko's chief poetico-philosophical masterpiece, an aspect without which no study of his life or work can be complete. Frankology has not hitherto taken cognizance of the fact that, from its initial stage in the 1870's to the end of his life in 1916, Ivan Franko's poetical production is pervaded by elements of the Holy Scriptures, which interact with his original verse as thematic, lexical, and artistic material, and some of which underlie his ideology and philosophy. Consequently, it is not surprising that no inclusive examination of the biblical ingredient of Franko's poetry as a whole has to this day been made.

The early investigators and critics of Franko's poetical works (Krushel'nyts'kyi, Ievshan, Doroshenko, Vozniak, Iefremov) make no reference to his recourse to the Bible as a characteristic of his poetical production. Some of the posterior Frankologists do indicate his use of biblical elements, but link it only with a limited number of poems of the later period of his poetical career, and describe it as purely literary.

Thus, the literary scholar, investigator of Ivan Franko's poetry, Pavlo Fylypovych, asserts, in 1927, that the poet makes use of the Bible

only from the late 1890's onwards, as a source of didactic and epical material, less so as a source of lyrical resources. He further maintains that, in the 1880's, Franko uses the "high" (biblical) style only on particular occasions, operating under the influence of Shevchenko:

Франко використовуватиме Біблію, як джерело не так ліричних, як дидактичних і епічних (притчі) творів, в пізніших збірниках ("Мій Ізмарагд"[1898], "Semper tiro" [1906]). В 80-х роках Франко був далекий від цього і головним чином Шевченковим впливом пояснюються окремі випадки вживання "високого" стилю... в громадянських поезіях.<sup>1</sup>

A significant step forward in this matter is made in 1929 by the scholar P. Kudriavtsev, who indicates that "throughout his life, the Bible was to Franko a source and a stimulus of inspiration". However, Kudriavtsev's illustration of his statement shows that it does not apply to the whole period of Franko's literary career, but to the years 1889-1907 alone. It further shows that, to him, a biblical "stimulus" or "inspiration" is only evidenced by a given poem's having an obvious biblical title or motto. Poems that are evidently replete with biblical matter, but have no biblical headings, are not included in his chronological specification of original Bible-pervaded works, nor does he appear to be aware of them:

Переходячи тепер до власної Франкової творчості, ми мусимо сказати, що через усе його життя Біблія була для нього джерелом і стимулом надхнення...

Біблія давала Франкові багатющій запас мотивів і образів, щоб художньо оброблювати його власні переживання й таємні думи. В хронологічному порядку ті вірші, що їх оформлено біблійними мотивами й образами, стоять такі: 1, "Смерть Каїна" (1889); 2, "На р'вках Вавилонских..." (1901); 3, "Глась вопіющого въ пустыни" (1902); 4, "Мойсей" (1905) 5, "Блаженъ мужъ,

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<sup>1</sup> Pavlo Fylypovych, "Shliakhy Frankovoї poeziї", in his Literatura, Statti, Rozvidky, Ohliady, New York, UVAN, 1971, p. 195. First published in the collection Ivan Franko, Kyiv, 1927, p. 180-224.

уже не иде на советъ нечестивыхъ" (1906) [the correct date of composition is 1905]; 6, "Блюдитесь бѣса полуденнаго" (1907).<sup>1</sup>

P. Kudriavtsev's treatise is of importance as a first attempt at a general survey of Franko's interest in the Bible on the basis of as many of the poet's scholarly works in biblical history, and as many of his critical essays on biblical motive representation as were available to this scholar. Although this survey, according to its author's own explanation, does not pretend to be complete or exhaustive, and despite its author's exhortation to further research of the subject in question,<sup>2</sup> it has remained the only work of its kind in Eastern-European Frankology.

S.V. Shchurat, who researched Franko's initial literary production, mentions in 1949 his juvenile poetical translations of some passages of Isaiah and of the Book of Job. This researcher attaches particular importance to the young poet's interest in the Bible, especially in biblical poetry, and considers it to be "closely associated" with his posterior poetical works. However, like P. Kudriavtsev, he sees this association as from 1889 onwards.<sup>3</sup>

Western Frankology has lent considerable attention to Franko's scholarly works in the fields of biblical research and of religious literature, and to the relationship between these works and his poetical works.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Kudriavtsev, "Ievreistvo, ievreĭ ta ievreis'ka sprava v tvorakh Ivana Franka", in Zbirnyk prats' ievreis'koĭ istorychno-arkheohrafichnoĭ komisiĭ, Kyĭv, 1929, Vol. 2, p. 23, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 1-2.

<sup>3</sup> S.V. Shchurat, "Pershi literaturni sproby Ivana Franka", in Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, L'viv, vyd. LDU, 1949, Zbirnyk 2, p. 90.



C. Bida<sup>1</sup> has surveyed and appraised Franko's researches and scholarly works of the 1890's and the 1900's in the fields of Apocryphal and medieval Christian religious literature, indicating a relationship between these writings and his poetical works of those years, and stressing, for the first time in Frankology, the significance of these works for a study of the poet's soul and convictions<sup>2</sup>. O. Dombrovs'kyi<sup>3</sup> has dedicated an essay to Franko's research-work in biblical history, and characterized his explorations of the spiritual life of biblical Jewry as "the scientific-psychological background on which the poem Moisei was born".<sup>4</sup>

Thus, Western Frankology has appreciated the biblical presence in Ivan Franko's spiritual being, and in the ideological domain of his poetry, as a result of both his engagement in biblical research and his engrossment in religious literatures that have their roots in the Bible. But the researches and the findings of Western Frankology also relate to the 1890's and the 1900's, the latest periods of Franko's literary career.

A rich critical literature has developed in Frankology of both hemispheres around two particular Frankian poems on biblical motives: Moisei, his main chef-d'oeuvre, and Smert' Kaĭna, another poetico-philosophical work of high quality. While all the critics of these works have been in agreement

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<sup>1</sup> Constantine Bida, "Religious Motives in the Scholarly Works of Ivan Franko", Etudes Slaves et Est-européennes, Université de Montréal, 1956, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 104-110, Part 3, p. 139-145.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Oleksander Dombrovs'kyi, "Vidnoshennia I. Franka do problemy antychnoĭ istoriĭ", ZNTSh, New York, 1957, Vol. 166, p. 133-142.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

as to their literary merit, their ideology has been viewed with divergent approaches and given divergent appraisals.

Western Frankologists have differed in the degree and the extent attributed to the influence of the Bible and of religious literature on the ideology of these poems<sup>1</sup>, but have been united in recognizing this influence as such. Moreover, they have regarded the poem Moisei as Franko's highest expression of the Ukrainian national idea, of his own national sentiment, and of his idealistic world-outlook, postulating the pre-eminence of the spirit above matter.<sup>2</sup>

Eastern-European Frankology has appraised the ideology of Moisei and Smert' Kaĭna by the standardized criteria of the Marxist doctrine, marking its approach to Franko's work and world-outlook in their entirety. This approach may be epitomized by the following statements:

Біблійна легенда тут переосмислена в революційному дусі...  
По-новому освітлена біблійна тема розвіювала релігійні міфи,  
зароджувала сумнів щодо їх святості, правдивості...<sup>3</sup>

Національні ідеали Франка переростають в поемі на інтернаціональні, загальнолюдські. Національної вузькості в поемі ми не зустрічаємо... В поставі Єгови немає ніякого ідеалізму...<sup>4</sup>

(On Moisei)

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<sup>1</sup> S. Haiyevs'kyi attributes an influence on Moisei to Franko's early religious education and reading of the Bible. See his Frankiv "Moisei", Kornberg, UVAN, 1948, p. 12-13. D.M. Shtohryn characterizes the ideology of both poems as based on a deep belief in God, and conceived in the spirit of Christian idealism. See his essay "Do evoliutsii svitohliadu I. Franka ("Smert' Kaĭna")", in Vyzvol'nyi shliakh, London, Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., 1961, Book 5/89 (163), p. 457-459.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Poza mezhi mozhlyvoho" by Iurii Shevel'ov, editor, Ivan Franko, Moisei, [Text and analysis] New York, UVAN, 1968, p. 105-129; D. Dontsov, "Moisei I. Franka", in his Tuha za heroichnym, London, Spilka Ukraïns'koĭ Molodi, 1953, p. 91-112; N. Wacyk, Ivan Franko: His Thoughts and Struggles, New York, The Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1975, p. 77-89.

<sup>3</sup> A.A. Kaspruk, Filosofs'ki poemu Ivana Franka, Kyïv, "Naukova Dumka", 1965, p. 130 (on Moisei), 28 (on Smert' Kaĭna).

<sup>4</sup> Iu. Kobylets'kyi, Tvorchist' Ivana Franka, Kyïv, 1956, p. 259.

Thus, the Eastern-European scholars and critics have not only ignored the manifest biblical origin of the main moral principles inherent in the ideological foundations of the two poems in question<sup>1</sup>, but have also pictured Ivan Franko as a militant atheist, a revolutionary democrat in the modern sense, and a poet of an outright materialistic and internationalistic world-outlook.

Moreover, the contemporary Frankologists living in Franko's homeland are not unaware of the strong influence of the Bible on his poems of the 1870's and the 1880's, reflected in their themes and ideas. But they represent these poems either as evidencing "the poet's ideological immaturity" from the socialist point of view, or as exemplifying his "echoing of Shevchenkian imagery" - even though the Shevchenkian parallels quoted by them are faithful translations of biblical passages, and are indicated by them as such<sup>2</sup>.

These misrepresentations not only deform the very foundations of Franko's literary work, but also distort the essential features of his image as a poet and an individual. At the same time, Western knowledge of the rôle of the Bible in Franko's poetry, being limited to the last period of his literary career, as follows from the existing Western Frankological literature known to the author, is still too incomplete to make it possible to produce a convincing picture of the true Ivan Franko.

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<sup>1</sup> E.g., the verse "... that he [the Lord] might make thee know that man doeth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live" (Deutoronomy, 8:3), one of the biblical contexts underlying canto 19 of Moisei, where Franko expresses his idea of the pre-eminence of the spirit above matter.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ie. Kyryliuk, Vichnyi revoliutsioner, Kyïv, 1966, p. 161,188.

If Ivan Franko's poetical production and its moral and national ideology are to be adequately appraised, and if his true spiritual image is to be drawn as a man of spirit, and as a Ukrainian national poet and leader with a prophetic vision, it is imperative to explore and bring into view the nature and the rôle of the lifelong immanence of the Bible in his verse and thought.

Such an exploration constitutes the purpose of the present study.

A purely literary undertaking, this study has selected for analysis and discussion such works, and as many of them, as the author has to the best of his judgment considered to be required and sufficient for an exhaustive representation of the biblical component of Franko's poetical production as a whole, of the poet's treatment and expression of it, and of its effect on the literary and ideological qualities of his poetical works.

The opening chapter of this study seeks to give a historical account of the ingrowth of the Bible into the sphere of Franko's scientific and literary pursuits. It provides a body of preliminary information on the rise and development of the poet's interest in the Bible, and on the manifestations of this interest in his scholarly works, in his biblical translations, and in his prose writings in the fields of poetics and literary criticism.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A considerable part of the primary source material relative to this account is rare, and scattered all over the world. In his efforts to collect this material, the author has derived effective help from the book I. Franko i Frankiiana na Zakhodi, edited by J.B. Rudnyćkyj, UVAN, Winnipeg, The Shevchenko Foundation, 1957, containing, among other things, a register of Franko's works and their reference numbers, available in libraries and institutions in Canada, the United States, England, France, and other West-European countries.

The central part of the study consists of an introductory survey of Ivan Franko's recourse to the Bible, followed by a series of analyses and discussions of his Bible-pervaded pre-Moisei poems, covering a period of over thirty years (1874-1905). The study ends with a presentation of conclusions.

The conclusions put forward in this study have been arrived at on the basis of a comparative analysis of the Frankian poems and the biblical material perceptible in any form in their ideological, lexical, and poetico-artistic elements.

The text of each poem was first examined for manifest and/or latent biblical or quasi-biblical<sup>1</sup> elements inherent in it. These were then compared with what the author found to be actual, or considered as possible, analogues or parallels, sought out in the Bible. The comparison was designed to confirm or dismiss supposed connections, and to determine the nature and the various aspects of the relationship between the ascertained biblical material of the poem and its scriptural parallels<sup>2</sup>. The comparative work was carried out on the basis of the Latin (Vulgate), Polish (Wujek), French (Reuss), and Ukrainian (Kulish) versions of the Bible, known to have been used by the poet, with reference to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, and to the Hebrew versions of the New Testament. Jewish and Christian exegetic works were consulted wherever a problem of interpretation arose.

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<sup>1</sup> Where the poet uses modern language, but patterns his utterances on biblical diction, e.g., when assuming the tone of a biblical prophet.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., whether the poet quotes, evokes, or echoes particular biblical contexts, or whether he exhibits conformance or non-conformance to their traditional sense and intent or to their syntactic structure, or whether he expresses them in any other particular way.

Subsequently, the poem was analyzed as a poetical work in itself for the purpose of finding out and indicating what particular rôle the poet intends its biblical ingredient to perform in it, and how the biblical ingredient blends or interacts with the surrounding elements while performing that rôle.

Finally, the results of all the analyses were compared and appraised with a view to determining the typical features of his recourse and approach to the Bible manifesting themselves in his poetical production of various periods of his life, and in the representative poetical works that mirror the true aspects of his personality, of his national sentiment, and of his crystallized convictions.

The pre-Moisei poems under discussion have been classified in three clusters according to the predominant purpose for which the poet has recourse to the Bible, characterizing each cluster. The first cluster consists of poems in which the poet resorts to the ancient biblical texts in order to sound new, contemporary contents through them; the second includes instances of the poet's self-expression through biblical idiom, and the third contains a major poem and passages of minor poems, exemplifying the poet's philosophical speculations on biblical themes.

The terms "Bible", "biblical", "Scriptures", "scriptural", are used in this study with reference to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The biblical quotations and references follow the numbering of chapter and verse in the Authorized King James Version. The author uses capital letters in theological denominations, in English and Ukrainian (God, He, His, Бог, Божій, Святе Письмо), deviating from spellings in

small letters in any source quoted.

As far as technical facilities permitted, cyrillic texts printed in the old spelling have been quoted exactly.

The transliteration used in this study follows the practice of the Library of Congress. A transliteration table is enclosed. Passages in the Polish language are not transliterated.

Names and surnames are transliterated when quoted from Ukrainian sources (e.g., Ian Kasprovych, Iaroslav Vrkhlits'kyi); otherwise they are spelled as in the national languages of the authors or persons concerned (Jan Kasproicz, Jaroslav Vrhlický).

## CHAPTER I

### FRANKO'S INTEREST IN THE BIBLE

#### 1. Its Rise, Development, and Rôle in His Life and Work.

The roots of Ivan Franko's creative instinct are largely to be sought in the feelings and ideas which the Bible implanted in his soul. The Bible excited his interest in the early stage of his life. While he was yet a little schoolboy in his native Galician village of Nahuievychi, a book of biblical history, which formed part of his first individual reading, conveyed initial impressions of the biblical world to his mind. It was, however, in the years of his adolescence, especially between 1873 and 1875, while he was a student of the Drohobych High School, that the Bible began to exert a particularly powerful influence on him, an influence to which he was to remain susceptible throughout his lifetime.

The Greek and Latin classics read at school impressed him strongly, and their influence gave rise to his future lifelong activity in the field of translating classical literature into Ukrainian<sup>1</sup>. At the same time, however, he felt preponderantly attracted by the biblical Orient, and took a profound interest in the Bible both at school<sup>2</sup> and within the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Sonevyts'kyi, "Frankovi pereklady z antychnykh literatur", ZNTSh, Vol. 161, New York, 1953, p. 90-142.

<sup>2</sup> Marks of highest distinction in biblical studies (referred to as "Relihiia") appear in all his school certificates published in Ivan Franko, Dokumenty i materialy, 1856-1965, Kyïv, Naukova Dumka, 1966, p. 22-24, 27-28.



wide range of his extramural reading<sup>1</sup>. He studied the Scriptures partly in the Old Church Slavonic version, partly in Polish and German translation, and developed a predilection for biblical poetry and biblico-ethical literature. The art and beauty of the poetry of the Psalms and the Prophets; the wealth of their national and universal themes; the poetic charm and philosophic depth of the Book of Job; and the lofty moral and spiritual ideals inherent in these as well as in other books of the Old and New Testament - captivated his soul for life.

Franko relates the above facts about the biblical impact on him in some of his autobiographical accounts dating from different periods. The later his testimony, the more stress he lays on the early start of his interest in the Bible on the one hand, and on the biblico-poetical and biblico-moral components as its primary sources, on the other. Thus, a "curriculum vitae" written in 1890 contains the following statements:

Я родився в Нагуєвичах, пов. дрогобицького, в р. 1856...  
Христив мене знаний в літературі Осип Левіцький...Деякі книжки, котрі по нім осталися в селі в руках мужиків, як "Вінок Русинам на обжинки" (1846-47 рр.), *історія біблійна* і збірник "пісень богоговійних" (Перемишль 1837), належали до першої моєї лектури<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. S.V. Shchurat, "Pershi literaturni sproby Ivana Franka", in Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 2, L'viv, Vydannia L'vivs'koho Derzhavnoho Universytetu, 1949, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> "Curriculum vitae" included in Franko's letter to M. Drahomanov dated 26.4.1890, Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, Materialy dlia kul'turnoi i hromadz'koi istorii Zakhidnoi Ukraïny, Tom 1, Kyïv, 1928, Vseukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk, Zbirnyk istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu No. 52, p. 321. (The italics are the author's).

[...] Гомер, Софокль і Тацит, читані в гімназії, зробили на мене сильне вражінє, а так само й біблія, котру я читав почасти в старословянським, а почасти в польським тексті, і я почав дещо перекладувати з тих авторів. Вийїжджаючи з Дрогобича, я віз із собою кілька книжок, записаних своїми роботами. Були там і оригінальні складання..., але головно були переклади: Антігона й Електра Софокля, значна частина Йова, кілька глав Ісаїї...<sup>1</sup>

A more explicit account is given in his memoir-story Hirchychne zerno (1903):

Мене вже в гімназії тягло взагалі - на Схід. Я читав у церковнім тексті і в німецьким перекладі святе письмо, любувався пророками і переклав віршами цілого Іова<sup>2</sup>.

Whereas according to the earlier account Franko was impressed by the classics and by the Bible alike, the later testimony stresses the stronger influence of the Bible. It is not difficult to explain why the biblical influence preponderated, and why the influence of the classics found expression in translations alone<sup>3</sup>, whereas the Bible became an inseparable artistic and ideological component of many of his original poems, and particularly of his greatest poetic works, such as Smert' Kaľna and Moisei. Young Franko's sensitivity to literary art and beauty emanated from the poetical genius which was burgeoning within him. Art and

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<sup>1</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, p. 323-324.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Hirchychne zerno (Spomyny). Tvory, Vol. 4, p. 248.

<sup>3</sup> Franko's only attempt at original composition under the influence of the classics was a drama in verse, entitled Jugurta, written, in Polish, in 1873, as a home assignment for his teacher of Polish literature (inedited). Cf. S.V. Shchurat, "Pershi literaturni sproby Ivana Franka", in Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 2, L'viv. Vyd. LDU, 1949, p. 100.

beauty he found in abundance both in the classics and in the Bible. But his poetical genius was already in its initial phase closely linked with two fundamental traits of his character: his deep moral sense, and his vivid national sentiment. The classics impressed him mainly with their poetic and artistic features: their beauty of form, richness of imagery, and power of dramatic expression. In the Bible he found a vast perennial source of great literary art inspired with elevated moral ideals and national feelings - a source which answered the need of both the poetic and the spiritual make-up of his soul.

Neither the poet's autobiographies nor his memoirs provide a complete picture of the immense scope of his juvenile interest in the Bible, or of the wide and varied range of biblical literature with which he acquired a pervasive familiarity already in his high school years. Nor do they apprise of the effect which his early engrossment in the Scriptures had on his literary production from its initial stage to the height of its maturity, on his spiritual life as an individual, or on the formation of his world-outlook as a Ukrainian national poet and thinker. All these details come up into view with remarkable impressiveness from his early and posterior poetic works and general literary activity.

Young Franko's interest in the Bible extended far beyond "the Prophets and Job", mentioned in his autobiographies. This is attested to by a series of his juvenile poems which, though modern in ideology, are manifestly biblical in themes, vocabulary, imagery, and figurative devices, drawn from a wide variety of Old- and New-Testamental sources. By virtue

of their thematic substance, lexical texture, structural features, and artistic elaboration, these poems (e.g. Skhid sontsia<sup>1</sup>, Moia pisnia<sup>2</sup>, Dvi dorohy<sup>3</sup>) evidence a striking proficiency of their author in the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels, the Epistles of St. Paul, and in other books of the Old and New Testament as well as a sound knowledge and a skilful employment of the devices of biblico-poetical technique.

In addition to studying the Bible itself, young Franko worked on enriching and deepening his biblical erudition by reading scholarly works in biblical research, and made immediate use of the accumulated knowledge in his initial public cultural work. The titles and authors of the works he read in the period in question remain unknown, but the fact itself is attested by the information on hand concerning his first public lecture. Upon entering the University of L'viv, in the autumn of 1875, Franko joined the local students' association "Akademicheskii kruzhok", and became active in its cultural work. In November, 1875, he delivered his first public lecture, the topic of which was "The Book of Job from a Poetical Point of View" ("Knyha Iova z poetychnoï tochky pohliadu"). He qualified the book of Job as a work of universal cultural significance - "a monument of ancient Hebrew poetry, and a product of the human spirit, sentiment, and imagination"<sup>4</sup>. In analysing its artistic and ethical

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Skhid sontsia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 454-457.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 439-441.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 441.

<sup>4</sup> From the report on the lecture, published in the L'viv newspaper Slovo, quoted in S.V. Shchurat, Rannia tvorchist' I. Franka, Kyïv, 1956, p. 117.

elements he presented the views of various researchers on the subject, adding his individual comments and illustrating them with pertinent passages from his own translation of the book of Job.<sup>1</sup> He concluded his lecture with the statement that

Such works as Job ought to be regarded as indelible monuments of human culture. Only the individuals who created them belong to particular nations, whereas the products of their minds are the property of all mankind, and constitute an outstanding deposit in the common treasury of human thought.<sup>2</sup>

The above particulars of the first lecture of the young prospective writer and thinker reflect not only his keen interest in the Bible, but also his penetrating grasp of the Bible's spiritual value and literary quality. They also bring into view the symptoms of his future method of analysing and evaluating literary works in general, and biblical works in particular: a thorough study of the matter in question with a wide awake critical attitude towards it, a translation from a foreign language into Ukrainian, an extensive commentary with reference to works and views of other scholars, if any, and an individual appraisal.

Franko's juvenile engrossment in the Scriptures strongly influenced and stimulated his poetical creativity which began to take shape in his high school years. In the first instance, biblical passages which inspired him in particular spurred him on to make rhymed verse translations of them. Besides the book of Job and several chapters of Isaiah, mentioned in his autobiographies, he translated in his school days

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<sup>1</sup> From the report on the lecture, published in the L'viv newspaper Slovo, quoted in S.V. Shchurat, Rannia tvorchist' I. Franka, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. (Summarized in English by the author of this study).

a passage from St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians (13:1-7) in the form of a rhymed short poem which he entitled Liubov<sup>1</sup>. By these translations he satisfied "a need of his soul"<sup>2</sup>, expressing his spiritual and emotional reaction to the moral and artistic impact which the biblical works in question had made on him.

Translating biblical material was not, however, a transient juvenile inclination with Franko. As will be seen further in this chapter, it subsisted throughout his life, and he made numerous biblical translations in connection with his works in literary criticism and in biblical research as well as for poetico-ideological purposes.

Simultaneously with prompting him to translation, the Bible penetrated into the young roots of his original literary production. Biblical motives and elements became permanent constituents and permanent features of a large number of his poetical works, including the greatest ones, and the biblical presence subsisted in his literary work as a whole to the end of his days.

With his dynamic intellectual and literary growth, and under the influence of his studies and of his experiences in his socio-cultural work, which began in his academic years, as well as in his personal life-career, Franko's interest in the Bible passed through different stages of development. Side by side with it, his attitude and approach to the

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Liubov, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 446-447.

<sup>2</sup> Letter to V. Davydiak, dated 3.7.1875, Tvory, Vol. 20, p. 15. In these words Franko described to his friend his urge to translate the Book of Job. Davydiak served on the editorial board of the students' journal Druh.

biblical world underwent a series of transmutations before they crystallized into essential elements of his world-outlook and of his spiritual image as an individual, a poet, and a national leader.

In the initial phase of his literary career, while he was a beginning poet with a romantically-tinted sprouting talent, and with an innate predisposition to spiritual and aesthetical influences, the Bible engaged his interest as a treasury of great literature and a world of lofty spiritual ideals. In his juvenile poems he often resorted to the Bible for ideological and artistic resources, and his approach to it was as to an exalted and sacred source of highest moral authority. This approach is evidenced by the fact that the biblical themes pervading a considerable number of his early poems - mainly the themes of Love, Light, Faith, Prayer - are utilized by him in conformity to their traditional sense and intent; and even his individual interpretations of their meaning (which occur frequently) do not basically diverge from traditional principle.

These characteristics of Franko's juvenile interest in, and recourse to the Bible deserve particular emphasis, since they relate not only to a variety of his early works<sup>1</sup>, but also to many of his posterior writings, and are of great importance for the study of the totality of

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<sup>1</sup> Apart from the translations and the original poems, young Franko resorted to the Bible in his initial attempts at dramatic composition. In 1874 he composed "a drama in verse" entitled Slavoi, of which he informed V. Davydiak that it was written "біблійним і поетичним складом". This work has not survived. Cf. Letter to Davydiak dated 13 (27).5.1874, Tvory, Vol. 20, p. 9; I. Franko, Preface to Petriŭ i Dovbushchuky, 2nd edition, 1910, in Tvory (New York), Vol. 9, Book 2, p. 6; S.V. Shchurat, "Pershi literaturni sprobny Ivana Franka", Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 2, p. 114.

his poetical output. Moreover, his juvenile interest and engagement in the Bible - as a researcher of his initial literary production indicates,

[...] тісно пов'язуються з його пізнішими дослідженнями в галузі нашого давнього фольклору й письменства та з такими незрівнянної якості творами, як поема "Смерть Каїна" (1899) [the correct date is 1889] і більший поетичний цикл, що замикається збірками "Мій Ізмарагд" (1898) та "Давнє і нове" (1911)<sup>1</sup> -

not to speak of his greatest poetical masterpiece, Moisei, which the quoted Frankologist strangely omits.

During the period of his academic studies (1875-1893)<sup>2</sup>, Franko's interest in the Bible constantly expanded and deepened, gradually developing into a prominent biblical scholarship. This was in his life a period of "Sturm und Drang", of assiduous study, of taking a profound interest in the achievements of contemporary Western science, and of intensive political and socio-cultural activity. In his political activities, he exhibited an inclination to socialism. In the socio-cultural domain, he

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<sup>1</sup> S.V. Shchurat, "Pershi literaturni sproby Ivana Franka", Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 2, L'viv, 1949, p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Franko's way to completing his academic studies and obtaining his doctoral degree was long and strewn with obstacles and disappointments. He was on record as a socialist, underwent three arrests (1877, 1880, 1889), and had the leading circles of the Ukrainian public against him. The University of L'viv repeatedly rejected his applications for defending a doctoral thesis. The University of Chernivtsi acted likewise. He finally obtained the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Vienna in 1893 for his dissertation "Barlaam and Josaphat", the Old Christian Religious Novel, and Its Literary History, originally written in German. The Ukrainian version of this treatise was later published in ZNTSh during the years 1895-1897, and in book-form (L'viv, 1897). Cf. C. Bida, "Religious Motives in the Scholarly Works of Ivan Franko", Etudes Slaves et Est-européennes, Montréal, 1956, Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 106-107; Ie. Kyryliuk, Vichnyi revoliutsioner, Kyiv, 1966, p. 116-117.



embarked in 1876, under the influence of M. Drahomanov<sup>1</sup>, on a program of spreading enlightenment, aimed to fight the cultural darkness which enveloped the Galician-Ukrainian popular masses, and in which he saw one of the main causes of his people's suffering from political and national oppression. His work consisted in popularizing selected works of contemporary Russian and Western literature from the columns of the Druh (he was then a member of its editorial board) and of other periodicals. After several years, this activity branched out in a new direction, as the weight of his interest shifted to the developments in contemporary Western biblical research, and particularly to biblical criticism.

The shift occurred in 1881, when Drahomanov, of whom Franko had long expected an essay on Hohol' [Гоголь] for his newly-established journal Svit, suggested, instead, "to start writing historical letters", adding that he had "recently collected the material for the first letter, dealing with the composition of the Books of Moses"<sup>2</sup>. The idea of this

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Mykhailo Drahomanov (1841-1895), a prominent Ukrainian historian, literary scholar, and folklorist, who lived and worked in Kyïv, Geneva, and Sofia, influenced Franko during a considerable number of years. In 1876, he wrote a series of letters to the Druh, urging the Ukrainian academic youth to promote the development of a Ukrainian literary language, to get acquainted with the works of the contemporary Russian and Western writers, and popularize them among the people. Cf. I.I. Bass, Ivan Franko - Biohrafia, Kyïv, "Naukova Dumka", 1966, p. 56; Ie. Kyrlyuk, Vichnyi revoliutsioner, p. 26-29.

<sup>2</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, p. 23-25.

suggestion was to try to eradicate the uncritical acceptance as truths of those things about the Pentateuch and the Gospels, which contemporary biblical science had put to doubt or rejected, and to promote an intelligent understanding of the Bible, based on scientific evidence.

Franko readily agreed to Drahomanov's proposition<sup>1</sup>. Thus, from 1881 up to 1895, the year of Drahomanov's death, a continual correspondence, a close collaboration, and a regular exchange of ideas, source-materials and manuscripts of proposed essays were going on between Franko and Drahomanov with regard to the popularization of the findings of biblical criticism.

Biblical criticism developed in Western Europe in the 19th century as a result of the archaeological discoveries in the Middle East and of the decipherment of the cuneiform writing. It was a new trend in biblical science, which disputed the dogmatic approach to the Scriptures. Its chief spokesmen in Germany, France and Holland (K.H. Graf, H. Gunkel, Fr. Hommel, A. Kuenen, Ed. Reuss, B. Stade, Ed. Stucken, J. Wellhausen) expressed doubts as to the correctness of the traditional view that the Law of Moses, contained in the Pentateuch, had been given him by God, or composed by him under divine revelation. They also doubted that any other single person could have composed or arranged the text of the Pentateuch, and that the Pentateuch had arisen during one and the same historical period. They were chiefly concerned with the question of how the books of the Pentateuch had come into being, what their sources and documents were, and at what time, and by whom, they had been composed or arranged. For this purpose, they attempted to break the Bible up into as

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

many pieces as possible, then to link those pieces to what they considered to be their respective historically confirmed original life-contexts. While their theories and methods differed from one another, their common general conclusion was that the Pentateuch was not the beginning of biblical history, but rather a late product of it, partly reaching as late as after the Babylonian exile of 586 B.C.E., and that it consisted of disparate documents, belonging to different authors, and dating from different periods.<sup>1</sup>

The beginning of the 20-eth century was marked by the rise of another trend in biblical science, known as the theory of Pan-Babylonism. This theory maintained that "the gravity centre of the development of Semitic spiritual life was not in the ancient Jewish people, and that all the pristine production of the Jewish spirit was only an imitation of Babylonian originals".<sup>2</sup> This assertion was based on the similarities which the Pan-Babylonists found "between certain texts of the Pentateuch and parallel Babylonian stories and epics - especially the mythological epic of Gilgamesh, a Babylonian version of the story of the Flood, clearly concurring at some points with the story of Noah" in the Pentateuch.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This passage concerning biblical criticism is based on the following sources: Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, pp. 100, 119, 120, 140, 232; P. Kudriavtsev, "Ievreistvo, ievref ta ievreis'ka sprava v tvorakh Ivana Franka", in Zbirnyk prats' ievreis'koï istorychno-arkheohrafichnoï komisiï, tom 2, Kyïv, 1929, p. 5-7; O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament - An Introduction, Oxford, Blackwell, 1966, p. x; J.A. Bewer, The Literature of the Old Testament, New York, 1962, p. xiv-xv.

<sup>2</sup> O. Dombrovs'kyi, "Vidnoshennia Ivana Franka do problemy antychnoï istoriï", in ZNTSh, Vol. 166, New York, 1957, p. 138-139.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 139.

The views of the Pan-Babylonists (Fr. Hommel, Ed. Stucken, H. Winkler) evoked sharp reactions on the part of prominent theologians, who struggled against them in order to vindicate the sanctity and the authority of the Old-Testamental canon. A particularly vivid year long controversy arose in 1902 around the opinions expressed by Fr. Delitzsch on the theme of "Bible and Babylon" (*Bibel und Babel*)<sup>1</sup>, in which many eminent scholars took part, and to which also Ivan Franko reacted in 1905.<sup>2</sup>

Franko soon became caught up in the study of as many works in biblical criticism as he could borrow from libraries or acquire - with Drahomanov's help. In 1883 he worked out a program of activities, which Drahomanov approved, and which consisted in the publication of ten booklets. Each booklet was to deal with a specific topic concerning the Pentateuch - from the viewpoint of biblical criticism<sup>3</sup>.

The implementation of this program proceeded slowly, and was not completed during the fourteen-year-long Franko-Drahomanov epistolary collaboration. Much time was wasted as a result of objective obstacles, such as censorship, police surveillance, postal delay, and financial problems. But the main cause of the slow progress was of a subjective nature.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. O. Dombrovs'kyi, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, p. 138-139; P. Kudriavtsev, *op. cit.*, p. 13. Friedrich Delitzsch (1850-1922), professor of Assyriology at the University of Berlin, gave a lecture on this theme in January, 1902. In the same year his *Bibel und Babel* was published in Leipzig.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Vavilon i Novyi Zavit", *LNV*, Vol. 32, 1905, Book 11, p. 114-118; *Poema pro sotvorenie svita*, L'viv, 1905. Cf. p. 25-27.

<sup>3</sup> *Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova*, p. 41.

Franko, who had a genuine interest in the Bible itself and a natural inclination for serious and conscientious scientific investigation, desired to do by himself all the research work for the planned booklets. Draho-  
manov, on the other hand, out of his politician's pragmatism, preferred popular material, accessible to the mentality of the low-cultured masses, and of "innocent" appearance to censorship. In his estimation, such material was more likely to assure the success of the project than Franko's proposed scholarly works. Therefore, he curbed Franko's fervour for original research, pushing him to merely translating existing popular works of Western authors, and reserving to himself the writing of "introductions" for the envisaged booklets.<sup>1</sup> Protracted epistolary negotiations and occasional arguments between the two in this matter, together with the technical obstacles, often disrupted the preparation of the booklets for long months, sometimes even for years.<sup>2</sup>

Franko studied thoroughly the works and theories of the outstanding German and French biblical critics of his time. His favourite sources were the works of J. Wellhausen<sup>3</sup>, and particularly those of Edouard Reuss<sup>4</sup>, of whom also Draho-  
manov thought highly<sup>5</sup>. It was the

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<sup>1</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Draho-  
manova, pp. 97, 101, 137, 186,  
235, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Draho-  
manov never supplied his "historical letters" promised in 1881. He was also often late with his "introductions", sometimes - for almost two years. Cf. ibid., p. 300.

<sup>3</sup> Julius Wellhausen, Prolegomena zur Geschichte von Israel, Berlin, 1878.

<sup>4</sup> Edouard Reuss, La Bible, Traduction nouvelle avec introductions et commentaires, Vol. 1-16, Paris, 1874-1881.

<sup>5</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Draho-  
manova, p. 39.

works and views of Reuss that Franko proposed to adapt and interpret by himself for the purpose of popularizing them by means of the planned publications. He had, however, to succumb to Drahomanov's insistence for him to concentrate on translating and publishing "the very short articles of Maurice Vernes". Drahomanov himself regarded Vernes as a superficial writer, but was interested in him as a prolific popularizer of Reuss<sup>1</sup>, and in his articles - as easy material, ready for use.

It was only in 1887 that Franko was ready with his translations. They included three articles by Vernes, which Drahomanov had recommended: "The Principles of Biblical Criticism", "The Origin and Composition of the Pentateuch", and "The Gospels". However, it was not before 1891 that the first of them appeared in print<sup>2</sup>. Franko and Drahomanov then modified their original ten-booklet program, and decided to publish only six more articles by Vernes - on the Pentateuch, the composition of the Bible, the Book of Genesis, the Gospels, the life of Jesus Christ, and the history and religion of the Jews<sup>3</sup>. To gain time, they turned to Lesia Ukraïnka for the translation of part of this material, and obtained her co-operation<sup>4</sup>. In this way, they envisaged giving an outline of the complete Bible of both Testaments, in the spirit of the works of Reuss, and in the popular presentation of Vernes. But only three of these articles appeared

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<sup>1</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Osnovy krytyky bibliinoï, Literaturno-naukova biblioteka, No. 11, L'viv, 1891.

<sup>3</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, pp. 361, 445, 485, 488.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 445, 485, 488, 494.

between 1891 and 1895, the year of Drahomanov's death - all in the translation of Lesia Ukraïnka: the article on the composition of the Bible was published in the journal Narod in 1894<sup>1</sup>, and those on the Gospels and on the history and religion of the Jews were printed respectively in volumes 3 and 4 of Zhytie i Slovo in 1895. The article on the life of Jesus Christ was later translated by Franko, and appeared in 1897<sup>2</sup>.

It is clear from the above history of the Franko-Drahomanov Bible project that Franko was not satisfied with either Drahomanov's policy or his method, which consisted exclusively in giving the Ukrainian reader translated, unoriginal material, brought over from a foreign country and a different culture, without being adapted to the local reader's mind. Franko adhered to biblical criticism not only for its suitability to his then world-outlook, associated with a socialist orientation. He became simultaneously engrossed in biblical science as an end in itself - not for practical purposes of political activity, but out of his year-long direct interest in the Bible on the one hand, and of his aspiration to serve his people in the spiritual domain, on the other. Biblical criticism lent itself greatly to his natural inclination for deep-going study, and opened possibilities of widening his knowledge of the Bible itself and of its history as well as of doing beneficial national service by promoting cultural advancement - an ideal that animated him all his life.

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<sup>1</sup> That Lesia Ukraïnka translated this work follows from Drahomanov's letter dated 2.3.1894 in Lystuvannia..., p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Zhytie Isusa Khrysta, Statti Patera Didona i Morisa Verna, L'viv, Nakladom redaktsii Zhytia i slova, 1897. In 1918 it was re-edited in Winnipeg, with the article of Vernes only. Cf. M.O. Moroz, Ivan Franko - Bibliohrafiia tvoriv, Kyïv, Naukova dumka, 1966, item 4532.

He was well aware of the general ignorance of the Bible among the popular masses, and of the lack of interest in it prevailing among the educated segments of his people.<sup>1</sup> That was why he welcomed Draho-  
manov's scheme and participated actively in its implementation. The  
ten-booklet program which he worked out reflected his serious and con-  
scientious approach to spreading enlightenment in general, and to pro-  
moting an intelligent understanding and use of the Bible in particular.  
His proposed program consisted in giving the reader selected texts of  
the Bible itself, preceded by instructive introductions, and accom-  
panied by scholarly comments. Such material he intended to prepare  
by individual research-work, and to present in a manner that would suit  
both the interests of the intelligent circles and the mentality of the  
uninformed common people.<sup>2</sup>

However, already in the preparatory period, Franko realized  
that the policy and method insisted upon by his senior partner with  
regard to carrying out the joint project were not likely to have the  
desired effect. He repeatedly expressed his doubts to him, recommend-  
ing a different procedure. In one of his letters, dating from 1884,  
he wrote him as follows concerning the articles of Maurice Vernes:

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<sup>1</sup> Echoes of this situation still resound in his writings as  
late as in 1912, when he complains about the Ukrainian intellectuals  
in general, and the literary critics of his Moisei in particular,  
saying: "Знак, що біблія лежить далеко поза кругом їх духовних інте-  
ресів". Cf. I. Franko, Preface to the second edition of Moisei,  
Tvory (New York), Vol. 14, p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, p. 41.



[...] Длѣ нас вони поки що не годьяться. А резюме з Рејса - не скажу, щоб були слабші, але держані троха надто коротко, "сжато", - у нас, здаєсь міні, требаб розказувати обширніше, з великими цитатами з письма св., щоб читачеви усе було перед очима: і основниј матеріјал і критика... Ја стрібују ј сам по Рејсу ладити резюме: може вони не будуть ані такі основні, ані такі талановиті, јак Vernesa або чијі другі, але будуть більш розжовані длѣа вкусу нашої публики, т. зн., надіјатись, і хісна більш принесуть.<sup>1</sup>

Although Drahomanov did not accept his recommendations, Franko respected his decisions and complied with them, continuing to translate the "résumés" of Maurice Vernes. But that was only within the framework of their joint project. Outside of that framework he acted independently, following his individual interest in biblical science as well as his personal convictions as to how the Bible and biblical criticism ought to be popularized among the Ukrainian people, and publishing his writings in various periodicals for which he worked, or to which he was a contributor.

Thus, in 1883, he published in the Zoria a comparative analysis of the biblical story of the Flood<sup>2</sup>, preceded by an explanatory introduction. It was based on the work of the German geologist and paleontologist, Eduard Süss, on the same subject, but Franko "dealt with the biblical story more thoroughly, explaining the differences between the two versions comprised in it, which the German scholar had not done."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Potopa svita, Opovidanie z Pys'ma sviatoho", Zoria, No. 18-24, September-December, 1883.

<sup>3</sup> From Franko's autobiography written for Herder's Konversationslexikon, Tvory, Vol. 1, p. 38.

In 1887 appeared in the Przegląd społeczny his extensive review, in Polish, of the book written by F. Vigayron, dealing with the Bible and the new archaeological discoveries in Palestine, Egypt, and Assyria<sup>1</sup>.

In 1888 he reviewed, in Polish again, in the Kwartalnik historyczny, Jean Réville's magazine Revue de l'histoire des religions<sup>2</sup>.

In 1890 he spread the knowledge of the Bible and of biblical criticism by giving public lectures at the "Czytelnia naukowa" of L'viv<sup>3</sup>.

Through his academic studies in the field of Ukrainian literature and culture, and through extensive study and reading in connected fields, especially in that of biblical research, his knowledge of biblical history and literature widened, deepened, and ramified. At the same time, he acquired a high proficiency in the methodology of scientific research. His biblical scholarship manifested itself ever-increasingly in the scientific essays and book-length studies which he published during the period of his collaboration with Drahomanov, and particularly after it.

A shift in a new direction took place in the development of his interest in the Bible during the 1890's. In those years he began to occupy himself with the comparative historico-literary study of ancient Hebrew, Greek and Slavic cultural monuments. This research-method he applied to

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Die Bibel und die neueren Entdeckungen in Palästina, in Ägypten und in Assyrien, von F. Vigayron, Mainz 1885-1886" (book-review in Polish), Przegląd społeczny, Vol. 3, No. 5, 1887, p. 448-452.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Revue de l'histoire des religions, publiée sous la direction de M. Jean Réville, Paris, 1887" (review), Kwartalnik historyczny, No. 2, 1888, p. 341-342.

<sup>3</sup> Founded in the mid-1880's, the "Czytelnia naukowa" was, in Franko's words, "a dynamic intellectual foyer". He headed it for several years. Cf. V. Doroshenko, Ivan Franko, L'viv, Vyd. "Hromada", 1924, p. 19.

his investigation of the history of the literature and culture of the Ukrainian people - which was one of his main life-purposes. He searched with particular vigilance for biblical and post-biblical literary elements and spiritual influences which had penetrated through the ages - directly, or through Hebrew, Byzantine and Slavic channels - into the Ukrainian literary genres, especially into the Ukrainian folk-literature. This led him to turn his attention to the Old- and New-Testamental apocrypha as well as to Christian religious literature of the Middle Ages. His researches in these two fields resulted in a series of works of high scientific quality.

Five volumes of his monumental treatise on the apocrypha, entitled Apokrify (sic!) i lehendy<sup>1</sup>, appeared respectively in the years 1896, 1899, 1902, 1906, and 1910. In his extensive introduction to the first volume, dealing with the Old-Testamental apocrypha, Franko stated that one of his chief aims in composing his treatise was to show how old biblical themes had found their way "from the Scriptures to the mouth of the people, and from the mouth of the people to the poet and writer, who, not knowing their real source, believed them to be elements of folkloristic literary production".<sup>2</sup>

In the second volume Franko dealt with the New-Testamental apocrypha and with their influence on West-European culture as well as with "the apocryphal Gospels of the Slav people and their influence on Slav

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Apokrify i lehendy z ukraïns'kykh rukopysiv, Pam'iatky ukraïns'ko-rus'koï movy i literatury, Vydaie Komisiïa arkheohrafichna NTSh u L'vovi. Volumes 1-5, 1896-1910.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Vol. 1, "Introduction", p. xxxvii-xxxviii.

literature and arts".<sup>1</sup> The remaining three volumes he devoted respectively to the apocryphal stories on the Acts of the Apostles, the eschatological apocrypha, and the hagiographical legends.<sup>2</sup> In each case he described "the permeation of the themes of these religious literary genres into world literature" of secular nature, thus manifesting a peculiar feature which also characterizes his poetical work, namely - the linking of "the laic with the religious, the mundane with the spiritual".<sup>3</sup>

As to Franko's extensive research-work in the field of medieval religious literature - though this domain is beyond the scope of the present study - mention should be made of his outstanding treatise on "Barlaam and Josaphat", the old Christian religious novel<sup>4</sup>, his doctoral dissertation for the University of Vienna (1893), which was printed periodically in the ZNTSh between 1895 and 1897, and also appeared as a separate book (1897). In this work Franko displays "profound encyclopedic knowledge coupled with an excellent comparative philological research method", which qualify him "as a scholar and savant in the field of medieval religious literature and the history of the Church".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Bida, "Religious Motives in the Scholarly Works of Ivan Franko", in ESEE, 1956, Vol. 1, Part 3, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> See M.O. Moroz, Ivan Franko - Bibliohrafiia tvoriv, entry 3261.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. Bida, op. cit., ibid., p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> I. Franko, Varlaam i Ioasaf, Starokhrystyians'kyi dukhovnyi roman i ieho literaturna istoriia, L'viv, 1897.

<sup>5</sup> C. Bida, op. cit., ibid., Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 107.

Moreover, Franko was the first researcher to indicate that the portion of the so-called "Aristid's Apology"<sup>1</sup>, included in the old text of the novel, which scholars regarded as a passage of an old Christian Greek work, was in reality a fragment of a Jewish writing.<sup>2</sup>

Of high scientific quality are also Franko's works on the life and the religious-literary works of the Ukrainian patriot, ascetic, and fervent fighter for a true form of Christianity - Ivan Vyshens'kyi, which appeared, in Russian and in Ukrainian, in the years 1889, 1892, 1895, 1900, and 1911<sup>3</sup>. His interest in the life of Ivan Vyshens'kyi also found expression in a literary form - in his philosophical poem Ivan Vyshens'kyi<sup>4</sup> (1900), picturing in a highly artistic manner "the inner struggle of this ascetic", tormented by "the problem of service to God on the one hand, and service to his people on the other".<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It is the Letter of Aristeas, ascribed to an official of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, a Greek monarch in Egypt in the third century B.C. In reality, this work was written two centuries later by an Alexandrian Jew. Cf. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Micropaedia, Chicago, 1974, Vol. 1, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. Bida, op. cit., ibid., p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, "Иоанн Вышенский", Новые данные для оценки его литературной и общественной деятельности, Киевская Старина, т. 25, кн. 4, 1889, reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 19, p. 501-508; "Сочинение Иоанна Вышенского", Киевская Старина, т. 25, кн. 4, 1889; "Іван Вишенський, Руський писатель XVI віку", Хлібороб, № 8-11, 1892, reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 413-429; Іван Вишенський і його твори, Львів, накл. автора, 1895; "Новий причинок до студій над Іваном Вишенським", ЗНТШ, т. 35-36, кн. 3-4, 1900; Іван Вишенський, "Лови сего світа", Львів, 1911.

<sup>4</sup> I. Franko, Ivan Vyshens'kyi, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 185-215.

<sup>5</sup> C. Bida, op. cit., ibid., p. 107.

In the 1900's, side by side with his continual engrossment in apocryphal and medieval religious literature<sup>1</sup>, Franko resumed his scientific activity in the fields of biblical criticism and biblical research, and kept it up till the last years of his life. His interest in the history of the Old and New Testaments extended to the domain of biblical literature, and particularly to that of biblical poetry. The wide biblical scholarship and the rich methodological experience he had accumulated in the previous years produced between 1901 and 1914 a series of important treatises in the fields of biblical history and biblico-poetical literature.

In 1901 Franko published an extensive survey of Western biblical research under the title "Novi doslidy nad naidavniishoiu istoriieiu Zhydiv"<sup>2</sup>. The significance of this work consists not only in the exhaustive account which it gives of the rise and development of biblical criticism and of the theories entertained by its chief Western representatives, but also - and mainly - in the fact that here Franko discusses and evaluates

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<sup>1</sup> Besides volumes 3, 4 and 5 of the Apokrify i lehendy, Franko published in the 1900's numerous critiques and several treatises in both these fields, such as, to mention but a few: "Aleksander Brückner: Apokrify średniowieczne" (critique), in ZNTSh, 1902, Vol. 45, p. 10-12; "Kirchenslavische Apokrypha von den 72 Namen Gottes", in Zeitschrift des Vereines für Völkercunde, 1904, No. 4, p. 408-413; Novi pol's'ki Cyril-lo-Methodiana, L'viv, 1905 (against mystifications in A. Brückner's work on the Slav Apostles); "Dr. V. Shchurat: Grunvalds'ka pisnia (Bogurodzica Dziewica)" (critique), in LNV, 1906, Vol. 35, Book 9, p. 504-505; "Slovo pro zburenje pekla - Ukraïns'ka pasiina drama", in ZNTSh, 1908, Vol. 81, Book 1, p. 5-50; "Dukhovna i tserkovna poeziia na Skhodi i na Zakhodi", in ZNTSh, 1913, Vol. 113, Book 1, p. 5-22.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Novi doslidy nad naidavniishoiu istoriieiu Zhydiv", in ZNTSh, 1901, Vol. 42, Book 4, p. 1-19.

the theories and conclusions of the Western scholars from both the meritorious and the methodological point of view, and expresses his individual views with regard to one theory or the other.

Franko surveys the theories put forward by various outstanding biblical researchers (Stade, Schrader, Reuss, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Hommel, Stucken, Winkler). He discusses the hypotheses of the "glosses" (assuming that marginal notes were incorporated in the Pentateuchal text) and of the "fragments" (regarding the Pentateuch as a collection of separate ancient documents, assembled in a later period into one book), the theory of the "Yahwist" and "Elohist" documents, and the theory of Pan-Babylonism. He gives some credit to each of these theories, but does not regard any of them as capable of explaining everything. In particular, he criticizes the pursuit of analyzed fragments and the dissection of the Pentateuch into prior and posterior texts, thus dismissing the approach of Wellhausen, Kuenen and their followers. In his opinion, these scholars, and especially their disciples, have destroyed the whole in their excessive search for pieces:

Ріжні вчені висилювали свій дотеп на те, щоб без кінця дробити текст біблійних оповідань, добачати різні руки й різні погляди там, де доси тисячі літ привикли люде бачити єдність. Витворено масу детальних теорій і пояснень на кождий уступ, але загублено цілість.<sup>1</sup>

As to the Pan-Babylonistic theories, Franko recognizes the significance of the documentary material with which they operate, but, at the same time, he sounds a warning against a precocious acceptance of all

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Novi doslidy nad naidavniishoiu istoriieiu Zhydiv", in ZNTSh, 1901, Vol. 42, Book 4, p. 6-7.

their assertions:

Правда, цим разом прихильники цієї школи розпоражають безмірно багатшим і глибоше розробленим матеріалом, черпають із самого первісного жерела - із вавилонської астрології. Та все-таки, читаючи їх праці, нам здається, що їх висновки і спекуляції трохи за скороспішні. Про вавилонську астрологію, культ, легенди і церковну організацію, ми знаємо поки ще дуже мало; те, що доси відчитано і опубліковано з великих без сумніву скарбів вавилоно-асирійського письменства, таке ще дрібне, кепське і уривчасте, що на широкі узагальнення і перевероти в роді Вінклерового ще мабуть не прийшла пора.<sup>1</sup>

In 1908 Franko devoted a similar work to surveying the New Testament in the light of contemporary biblical research and criticism, under the title "Suchasni doslidy nad Sviatym Pys'mom"<sup>2</sup>. This work remained, however, unfinished. Only three chapters of it appeared in print. They describe the contemporary investigation of the history of the Gospels and of the translation of the New-Testamental text.

A monograph on the biblical story of the Creation, entitled Bibliine opovidannia pro sotvorennia s'vita<sup>3</sup>, was written by Franko at the end of 1904, and published in 1905. This work is particularly noteworthy for his translation of the Babylonian cosmogony epic *Enuma Elish*<sup>4</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Suchasni doslidy nad Sviatym Pys'mom", LNV, 1908, Vol. 41, Book 2, p. 326-336; Book 3, p. 516-532; Vol. 42, Book 4, p. 119-128.

<sup>3</sup> Originally: Poema pro sotvorennia svita. First printed in the journal Novyi hromads'kyi holos in 1905, this work appeared in the same year as a separate book. In 1918 it was re-edited in Winnipeg, Canada, under the title Bibliine opovidannia pro sotvorennia s'vita v svitli nauky.

<sup>4</sup> Franko writes: *Inuma Ilish*.



included in it. He compares the Babylonian epic with the biblical story of the Creation, giving a Ukrainian translation of his own of the pertinent passages of the Book of Genesis, based on the French version by Edouard Reuss and on the Greek version of the Septuagint, and made expressly for this purpose. In discussing the story of the Creation, Franko supports the Pan-Babylonistic assertion that the Jewish composers of the Pentateuch took over the cosmogony story from the Babylonian nature-myths. His individual conclusion is, however, that the Jewish composers imparted to their narrative a higher and more spiritual quality thanks to their monotheistic religion. Hence, it is endowed with originality, and not a mere imitation.

Whereas the Bibliine opovidannie pro sotvorennie s'vita deals with Babylonian elements in the Pentateuch from the point of view of the Pan-Babylonistic theory, Franko's article "Vavilon i Novyi Zavit"<sup>1</sup>, equally published in 1905, discusses Babylonian motives in the New Testament from the same point of view. Here, Franko surveys a series of scholarly works on this subject, including those of Winkler<sup>2</sup>, Gunkel<sup>3</sup>, Jeremias<sup>4</sup>, and Fibig<sup>5</sup>, and sets forth some particular ideas of his own, relating to the

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Vavilon i Novyi Zavit", in LNV, 1905, Vol. 32, Book 11, p. 114-118.

<sup>2</sup> H. Winkler, Die Weltanschauung des Alten Orients, Leipzig, 1904.

<sup>3</sup> H. Gunkel, Zum religionsgeschichtlichen Verständnis des Neuen Testaments, Leipzig, 1903.

<sup>4</sup> A. Jeremias, Babylonisches im Neuen Testament, Leipzig, 1905.

<sup>5</sup> P. Fibig, Babel und das Neue Testament, Leipzig, 1905.

origin of the belief in the coming of a Saviour or Messiah. He associates this belief with what Winkler defines as "the world-outlook of the ancient Orient", and describes the Jewish belief in the coming of Messiah as a parallel of a Babylonian belief which was based on astrology. This was a belief in the sun as a king-and-saviour, which originated from the phenomenon of the sun's rising, attaining high power, doing good to mankind, then declining, setting, and rising anew. This belief was transformed into a belief in human kings-saviours appearing from time to time, helping suffering people, disappearing, and appearing again. In Franko's opinion, "the clearest reflection of that ancient oriental conception is the Jewish belief in Messiah, which the Jews have entertained since the very distant past, like all the other nations contemporary to Babylonian culture, and which doubtlessly drew its vitality and its forms from Babylonian patterns".<sup>1</sup>

In the second decade of the 1900's Franko lent particular attention to the poetical literature of the Bible, and engaged especially in the historico-literary study of biblical poetry. Between the years 1911 and 1914 he produced three important scholarly treatises in this field: Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy<sup>2</sup>, Pisnia Debory, naidavniisha pam'iatka staro-hebreis'koj poezii<sup>3</sup>, and "Ievanhel's'ki osnovy poemy T.H. Shevchenka *Maria*".<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Vavilon i Novyi Zavit", in LNV, Vol. 32, 1905, Book 11, p. 17-18. This article and the Bibliine opovidannia pro sotvorennia s'vita are Franko's part in the scholarly literature engendered by Friedrich Delitzsch's *Bibel und Babel*. Cf. p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy, L'viv, Ukr. Vyd. Sp., 1911.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, Pisnia Debory..., L'viv, Mizhnarodna biblioteka, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> I. Franko, "Ievanhel's'ki osnovy poemy T.H. Shevchenka *Maria*", published posthumously in I. Franko, Literaturna spadshchyna, V. 4, p.441-448.

The treatise Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy is based on the works of the German scholars Fritz Hommel, Heinrich Zimmern, and Otto Weber.<sup>1</sup> It consists of a selection of Babylonian hymns, prayers, and incantations, which Franko translated into Ukrainian from his German sources, providing each text with explanatory annotations concerning its subject matter and its historical background.

Adopting the views of the above-mentioned Assyriologists, Franko regards the Babylonian hymns and prayers as pristine patterns of the Hebrew Psalms. At the same time, he makes some individual observations. On one occasion, he stresses the significance of the ancient Babylonian religious poetry for the historical development of Ukrainian spiritual life, pointing out the influence which that poetry exerted, through the channel of the biblical Psalms, "on the moulding of the soul of the Ukrainian people":

Ся поезія... важна також для нас, Українців, не тільки сама собою, як продукт прастарої цивілізації далекого від нас і чужого нам народа, але головно тим, що в ній мусимо бачити жерело того релігійного духа, який сплотив старосврейське письменство, доховане до наших часів у т. зв. біблійних книгах старого завіту, а спеціально його поетичну часть, репрезентовану збіркою гимнів і молитов, що має назву "Псалтир"... Ся книжка мала величезний вплив на сформоване того релігійного культу, що на єврейській основі виріс у могутне дерево християнства, і в перекладі на церковно славянську мову мала також значний вплив протягом цілого тисячоліття на сформоване душі українського народа.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Fr. Hommel, Geschichte Babylo niens und Assyriens, Berlin, 1885; H. Zimmern, Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete in Auswahl, Leipzig, 1905; O. Weber, Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrier, Leipzig, 1907. Cf. I. Franko, Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy, Introduction, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Introduction, p. 7.

On another occasion, in interpreting a hymn addressed "to the supreme god" ("Гимн до найвисшого бога")<sup>1</sup>, Franko observes, with the Western scholars, that this hymn betrays symptoms of a belief in one God. Simultaneously, he draws attention to some lines where the ancient hymnist extols the power of the supreme deity's "word", as, for example:

Ти лиш один, ти всевишній!  
 Твоє слово, коли пронесе ся у небі воно,  
 Всі небесні боги упадають на лиця...  
 Твоє слово, коли пронесе ся мов буря в горі,  
 Дає людям плоди на поживу й напій...  
 Твоє слово породжує правду,  
 Правосудє держить між людьми,  
 Аби люди по правді жили...<sup>2</sup>

With regard to these lines, he puts forward his individual opinion about a possible analogy between them and the first verse of the Gospel by St. John:

Барто зазначити тут особливо ті рядки, в яких величаєть ся сила слова божого і які мимовільно насувають думку про схожість сих рядків із початком Євангелія св. Івана, яке починаєть ся словами: "На початку було слово, і слово було в Бога, і Бог був слово".<sup>3</sup>

Under the title Pisnia Debory, naidavniisha pam'iatka starohebrei-  
s'koŭ poeziŭ Franko published in 1912 a historico-literary study of chapter 5 of the Book of Judges, known as The Song of Deborah. This study was first printed in the journal Nedilia (issues 38 and 39), and subsequently

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy, p. 42-45.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

appeared in the same year as a separate 32-page booklet.<sup>1</sup>

In his introduction, based on Reuss's Histoire des Israélites, Franko gives a short survey of the Old Testament, with a special analysis of the Book of Judges. Concurring with Reuss, Wellhausen, and other representatives of the theory of the "fragments", he presents the conclusion that the Song of Deborah belongs to the oldest Hebrew folk-songs, and dates from an earlier period than that in which some other chapters of the Book of Judges were composed. In this connection, he quotes chapter 4 of the Book of Judges, which is a prose account of the events described in the Song of Deborah, pointing out a series of discrepancies between the two texts.

The introduction is followed by Franko's translation of the Song of Deborah, made from Reuss's French version of the Bible, and accompanied by a literary analysis. In this analysis, Franko, pursuing his comparative research-method<sup>2</sup>, hints at a possible analogy between certain elements of the biblical poem and of the old poetry of his own people:

[...] Перший розділ починається сильним акордом на похвалу Бога, який уславив себе і своє плем'я незвичайною побідою. Ся побіда супроводилася незвичайними явищами в природі, землетрясенням і великою зливою, оба явища - рідкість у Палестині. Чи не буде деякою аналогією до початку сеї пісні початок нашого "Слова о полку Ігоревім", в яким затьма сонця віщує русинам нещастя в поході?<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This work, one of the rarest Frankiana, could not be obtained for this study. The writer makes use of the information on it found in I. Zhuravs'ka, Ivan Franko i zarubizhni literatury, Kyiv, vydavnytstvo ANURSR, 1961, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 19-20 of this study.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, Pisnia Debory..., p. 20-21, quoted in I. Zhuravs'ka, op. cit., p. 36.

In his monograph "Pro ievanhel's'ki osnovy poemy T.H. Shevchenka *Maria*", Franko carries out a comparative analysis of the evangelic accounts relating to the events in the lives of the Holy Virgin and of Jesus, on which the Shevchenkian poem is built. He specifies nine events, which Shevchenko represented poetically in a manner of his own, partly conforming to the biblical accounts, and partly modifying them. These events are: the life and the social position of the Virgin Mary before the Annunciation; Her marriage with Joseph; the Annunciation; the journey to Bethlehem; the birth of Jesus; the wise men and Herod; the flight to Egypt, and the return; the teachings of Jesus, and the Crucifixion; the last years of the Holy Virgin's life. His purpose is to examine the historicalness of the evangelic accounts describing these events.

Franko makes his investigation on the basis of the knowledge about the history of the Gospels, provided by Western biblical critics and researchers of his time. He leans mainly on Edouard Reuss's Histoire évangélique synopse des trois premiers évangiles.<sup>1</sup> His method consists in a comparative examination of the Gospels by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke for their respective references to the events in question. A few examples may suffice to illustrate his application of this method as well as his main conclusions:

As to the first seven events, relating to the life of Mary before the Annunciation, and to the birth and early life of Jesus, Franko points out that the oldest Gospel - the Book of St. Mark - tells nothing at all

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Franko, "Pro ievanhel's'ki osnovy poemy T.H. Shevchenka *Maria*", Ivan Franko: Literaturna spadshchyna, Kyiv, 1967, Vol. 4, pp. 441, 443.

about them, and that the earliest accounts of them are given by St. Matthew. He then quotes the pertinent passages of St. Matthew, and compares them with parallel passages in St. Luke. On the ground of this comparison he draws his conclusions as to the historicity of the evangelic accounts underlying the events represented in Shevchenko's Marilia.

Thus, for example, he observes that the event of the Annunciation lacks from St. Matthew's account of the birth of Jesus (1:18-25), where it is only Joseph who learns from an angel, in a dream, about Mary's conception by the Holy Ghost, whereas in St. Luke, the Annunciation is represented in full detail (1:26-38), being preceded by the story of Zacharias and Elisabeth (1:5-25), and followed by the hymn of the Holy Virgin (known as the "Magnificat" in the liturgical service, from the opening verse in the Latin version: *Magnificat anima mea Dominum...*), contained in verses 46-55 of the first chapter. Quoting all these passages of St. Luke, and referring to the views of Edouard Reuss, Franko states:

Се оповіданє аж надто виразно свідчить про своє книжкове, літературне, а не людове та традиційне походженє і може мати хиба релігійно-догматичне, але ніяк не історичне значінє. Слова, вложені в уста Марії, могли бути сказані хиба високо вченим книжником, але ніяк не простою дівчиною. Варто завважити, що вони в дечім подібні до тих слів, які виголошує мати Самуїла, почувши віщованє про вродженє свого сина (кн. 1 Сам., розд. 2), та нагадують також ріжні уступи Псалмів (пор. Ed. Reuss, *Histoire évangélique synopse des trois premiers évangiles*, ст. 131).<sup>1</sup>

His general conclusion is that St. Luke gives the most complete account of all the events in question, but represents "a later tradition, which is already to a considerable extent poetical", and that the historicity of some of the related evangelic accounts remains to be investigated.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 441-442.

The series of scholarly works in the fields of apocryphal and medieval religious literature and of biblical research, discussed above - all of them having their primary roots in his interest in the Bible and in his national sentiment - provides a clear picture of Ivan Franko as a scholar and scientist, and as a creative national enlightener and paver of the way to national progress through spiritual development.

As a scholar and scientist, the enormous range of his erudition evidences a remarkable and highly pervasive receptive faculty. His treatises display a thorough study of the matter in question with a constantly alert critical attitude towards it, a rich methodological experience, and an interpretative ability of a high standard.

In the fields of apocryphal and medieval religious literature he is an independent original researcher. His most important works in these fields are products of direct investigation of old manuscripts and documents pertaining to Slavic literature and culture, and are provided with original introductions and commentaries. In the branch of literary research concerned with the investigation of apocryphal influences on Ukrainian literature, his contribution verges on that of an innovator<sup>1</sup>; and some of his treatises on medieval religious literature credit him with the quality of an authority in this domain in the world of Slavic historico-literary research (e.g. his works on Barlaam and Josaphat, on the life and work of Ivan Vyshens'kyi, and others).<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Bida, op. cit., ESEE, 1956, Vol. 1, Part 3, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> See C. Bida, op. cit., ibid., Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 106-109.



Franko's works in biblical history and literature betray his quality of a farsighted scientist - though his activity in this field as a whole is more characterized by eclecticism than by original research. Prevented from directly investigating primary biblical sources and documents - especially with regard to the Old Testament - by the lack of the knowledge of Hebrew and of other Semitic languages, he selects from various areas of Western biblical research such elements as correspond to his purposes, and to his views and convictions derived from the study of secondary sources. He does not, however, subscribe to any particular theory or adhere to any definite system of Western biblical criticism.

His critical, often sceptical, attitude towards particular methods used, and assertions made, by various theoreticians of biblical criticism, and his cautious reservation towards any theory professing to explain decisively *all* about the Pentateuch on the sole basis of its own premisses, characterizing his survey "Novi doslidy nad naidavniishoiu istoriieiu Zhydiv" - evidence an intuition of a farsighted scientist. And do not the developments and changes in various areas of biblical science which have been in progress since Franko's time attest to the merit of his approach?

His eclectic method is reflected in his biblico-historical and biblico-literary treatises alike. Thus, Bibliine opovidannia pro sotvorennykh s'vityakh, "Vavilon i Novyi Zavit", and Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy display an identification with elements of Pan-Babylonism, whereas in Pisnia Debory and in "Pro ievanhel's'ki osnovy poemy T.H. Shevchenka *Mariia*" he adopts the views of the advocates of "fragments" and of prior

and posterior documents. However, in each case he also makes individual observations, sometimes differing from the assertions of a particular theory, and sometimes introducing new ideas of his own<sup>1</sup>. Some of his scholarly writings in the fields in question display original findings, derived from individual exploration<sup>2</sup>.

From the scholarly works under discussion also arises the image of Ivan Franko as a creative national enlightener - a paver of his nation's way to progress through spiritual development. He produces numerous scholarly and popular works, aimed to make the Ukrainian public acquainted with the literature of the Apocrypha, with medieval Christian religious literature, and with the rôle of these literatures in the history of the literature and the spiritual life of the Ukraine. Simultaneously, he pours much energy into popularizing among his people the achievements of Western research of the Bible and of the ancient cultures of the Orient. In these activities he pursues one of his lifelong ideals, best described by himself as his aspiration

... не тільки до побільшення позитивного знання, але також до розширення світогляду, поглиблення та убагороднення морального почуття нашої освіченої громади.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> As in Bibliine opovidannie..., "Vavilon i Novyi Zavit", and Pisnia Debory. Cf. pp. 26-27, 30 of this study.

<sup>2</sup> As "Potopa svita" (cf. p. 18 of this study). An interesting original Frankian finding is contained in the Preface to the second edition of Moisei (1912), where Franko indicates the presence of two different accounts, dating from different periods, in Chapter 16 of the Book of Numbers. See Tvory (New York), Vol. 14, p. 477-480.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, Vavylons'ki hymny i molytvy, Foreword, p. 5.

This scholarly activity in the field of popularizing the Bible reflects the intellectual aspect of Franko's interest in the Scriptures as well as of his work for his ideal of promoting spiritual values among his people. What represents the manifestation of his unique service for this ideal in its entirety is his lifelong literary production. From the latter, this ideal emanates as an effect of his juvenile engrossment in the Bible, and his service for it - as a product of the moral ideas and the national feelings which the Bible implanted in his young soul. The Bible's spiritual impact on him persisted throughout his life and work, in spite of the changes in his attitude and approach to the Scriptures, brought about by his engagement in biblical criticism.

The engagement in biblical criticism produced a change in his attitude to the Scriptures only from the point of view of traditional dogma. Whereas in his juvenile poems he resorts to the Bible as to a sacred source of highest moral authority, and employs biblical themes in conformity to their traditional sense and intent,<sup>1</sup> his recourse to biblical elements in the works of the period of his adherence to biblical criticism is characterized by a departure from traditional tenets, and by a free subordination of the traditional sense and intent to his individual advanced ideas. His approach to the Bible crystallizes in that period, assuming a definitively secular character, but the influence of the Bible's ethical teachings and spiritual values on his inner life as an individual, and on his world-outlook as a poet and a thinker, a scholar and a national

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 8 of this study.

leader, never abates. On the contrary, in all these domains of his life and work he manifests an ever deepening adherence to the moral priorities and spiritual values advocated in the Pentateuch, by the Prophets, by Jesus, and by the Apostles. The Bible remains to him invariably a world of great literature, of deep life-philosophy, and of lofty ethico-educative principles. It is these literary, philosophical and ethical elements of the Bible that make up the immense framework of Franko's interest in it, which finds a highly diversified expression in his literary work.

## 2. Its Manifold Literary Expression.

The chief and most comprehensive domain of Ivan Franko's literary work, representing his interest in the Bible, is his original poetic production. To this domain are devoted the next three chapters constituting the core of this study. There are, however, several additional domains of the Frankian literary output, prominently manifesting the wide scope and the profundity of this interest as well as the multiformity of its literary expression. These are: his translations, his treatises on problems of poetry and aesthetics, and his works in literary criticism. The present chapter will therefore conclude with a survey of the manifestation of Franko's interest in the Bible in these three domains of his literary work other than original poetry.

## Translations.

The earliest literary expression of Franko's interest in the Bible are the translations in rhymed verse of passages of Isaiah, Job, and St. Paul, which he made while he was yet a high-school student.<sup>1</sup> However, not only his juvenile works, but the whole of his lifelong literary production manifests a bent for translating biblical material, in verse-form as well as in prose. In his poetical translations he is clearly selective, singling out either such passages of biblical poetry or prose as are marked by noble moral ideals, or such as stand out for their aesthetic quality. His translations in prose are designed for various literary purposes other than purely poetical.

Franko's biblical translations display three groups, distinguishable by their respective background, purpose, and character.

To the first group belong the juvenile translations. These have a predominantly spiritual background. In composing them - according to his own testimony - he answers "a need of his soul"<sup>2</sup>, and gives expression to the spiritual experiences which the biblical passages concerned engendered in him.

The second group includes translations in rhymed verse of selected passages of biblical poetry, prose, and wisdom literature, dating from the period of his highest poetical maturity as well as from the last years of his life. Most of these translations are incorporated in some of his

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 3, 6-7, of this study.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 7.

original poetic works, and form integral parts of them. These translations serve his ideological, compositional, or didactic purposes relating to the original works in question.

Thus, for example, in fragment 12 of the "Parenetikon", in the collection Mii Izmarahd, the first quatrain is a rhymed translation of Proverbs, 11:22, reading: "As a jewel of gold in a swine's snout, so is a fair woman which is without discretion":

Як сережки золотії  
В ніздрях бурої свині,  
Так краса не йде в пожиток  
Зле вихованій жоні.<sup>1</sup>

The second quatrain is an original Frankian stanza, which extends the idea of the first through a contrastive parallel comparison, thus amplifying the biblical proverb:

Як перлина дорога  
У оправі золотій,  
Так душа жіноча щира  
Сяє в зверхній красоті.<sup>2</sup>

In the poem Bulo se try dni pered moim shliubom (1902) from the cycle Z knyhy proroka Ieremif<sup>3</sup>, nine out of its thirteen stanzas are incorporated translations of biblical verses relating to the calls to prophecy of Moses, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Ezekiel.

A similar incorporation of translated biblical material occurs in the fifth canto of Moisei<sup>4</sup>. Here, Franko incorporates a poetic paraphrase

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<sup>1</sup> Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 68. This fragment dates from 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Tvory, Vol. 13, p. 323-324.

<sup>4</sup> Tvory, Vol. 12, p. 491-494. Moisei was composed in 1905.

of the parable of Jotham (Judges, 9:8-15) in the "parable of the bramble" presented by Moses, amplifying the biblical passage, and imparting to it a different intent.

In 1913 he made a rhymed poem of the parable in St. Matthew, 18:23-35<sup>1</sup>. This was his last biblico-poetical translation.

The third group consists of the following translations of narrative and poetical passages, made in connection with his works in biblical research and literary criticism, and based on the version of Ed. Reuss:

1. Genesis, 7-8 - in the essay "Potopa svita" (1883).
2. The Song of Solomon, 1:3, 12, 13; 2:13; 3:6; 4:10-14, 16 - in Iz sekretiv poetychnoї tvorchosti<sup>2</sup> (1898).
3. Judges, 16:23-30 - in his critique on the poem Samson by Lesia Ukraїnka<sup>3</sup> (1898).
4. Genesis, 1-2 - in Bibliine opovidannie pro sotvorennie svita (1905), p. 54-62.
5. Judges, 5 (The Song of Deborah) - in Pisnia Debory (1912)
6. Leviticus, 16:5-10,
7. Numbers, 16, - in the Preface to the
8. Deuteronomy, 32:48-52; 34:1-8; second edition of Moisei (1912).
9. Judges, 13-16 - in the introduction to his translation of John Milton's Samson Agonistes<sup>4</sup> (1912).
10. St. Matthew, 1:18-25; 2,
11. St. Luke, 1:26-56; 2:1-20, 25-32, 48-52 - in "Pro ievanhel's'ki osnovy poemy T.H. Shevchenka *Mariia*" (1914).

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Prytcha pro nemysoserdie, Dilo, 1913, No. 5, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 261-262; separate booklet, Kyїv, Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1969, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 54 of this study.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 56 of this study.

The translations of the first and second groups are of noteworthy significance by virtue of the fact that they reflect, like many of his original poems, the close relationship existing between Franko's interest in the ancient biblical world and his views and ideas relating to contemporary life. Basically faithful to the original texts, they often display the presence of certain overtones - products of his individual creativity, through which he links the biblical with the contemporary. He produces such overtones by deepening or extending the meanings - especially the moral implications - of particular biblical statements, and investing them with relevance to contemporary life, thus transferring moral ideals and spiritual values from their ancient source to present-day ideology.

For example, in his translation of St. Paul's 1 Corinthians, chapter 13, verses 1-7, entitled Liubov, verse 4 is rendered as follows:

Любов бо довготерпелива...  
Независна, не пакіслива, -  
*Любов за нас пішла на хрест...*<sup>1</sup>

By introducing an associative image of Jesus (italicized by the writer), which has no counterpart in the original, he extends the meaning of Love, associating it with self-sacrifice, and embodies the original's *idea* of Love in a picture of an *act* of Love. Simultaneously, through the words *за нас*, referring to the people of the present generation, he transfers the relevance of the value of Love from antiquity to present-day life.

The translations of the third group evidence Franko's biblical scholarship and his serious care for textual exactitude. He often censures

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Liubov, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 446.



P. Kulish's Ukrainian translation of the Bible for inaccurate and unclear renditions of certain biblical texts<sup>1</sup>.

Treatises on Problems of Poetry  
and Aesthetics.

Already in the initial phase of his literary career Franko manifests himself as a prospective theoretician of literature in general, and of poetry in particular<sup>2</sup>. Also in this field of his literary activity he gives expression to his interest in the Bible.

From the press-report on his first public lecture in 1875, the topic of which was "The Book of Job from a Poetical Point of View", it is evident that his exposition of the topic constituted a study of the aesthetic elements marking the poetic expression of the biblical work's speculative subject matter<sup>3</sup>. His interest in the aesthetic elements of biblical poetry, and his proficiency in this subject come up into view in his most prominent work in the domain of poetics and aesthetics - the treatise Iz sekretiv poetychnoï tvorchosti<sup>4</sup>, written in 1898, in the period of his highest maturity as a poet and writer.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. his critical remarks concerning Kulish's translation of the Old Testament (Sviate pys'mo Staroho Zavitu, movoiu rus'ko-ukraïns'koiu, u Vidni, 1903) with regard to Genesis, 1-2 in his Bibliine opovidanie pro sotvorenie s'vita, p. 54-62, and with regard to Leviticus, 16:5-10 in his Preface to the second edition of Moisei, Tvory, (New York), Vol. 14, p.482.

<sup>2</sup> As early as in 1876 he publishes such works as "Poeziia i iei stanovysko v nashykh vremenakh. Studiium estetychne" (Druh, No. 3), "Nasha poetychna literatura" (Druh, No. 25), and "Krytyka i obshchestvo" (No. 19).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 5-6 of this study.

<sup>4</sup> I. Franko, Iz sekretiv poetychnoï tvorchosti, LNv, Vol. 1, 1898, Vol. 6, 1899. Reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 251-297.

This treatise is a 'deep-going' inquiry into the nature of poetry, and into the psychology of the process of poetic composition. In its third chapter, entitled "The Aesthetical Principles", the first paragraph deals with the rôle of the senses in that process. Discussing the resources of the Ukrainian language for the representation of sensual impressions, Franko indicates that Ukrainian is "most rich in representing visual impressions, rich enough in rendering impressions of hearing and touch, but most poor with regard to impressions of taste and smell".<sup>1</sup> He further observes that the Oriental peoples "were by far more sensitive to olfactory elements, which have since antiquity played a greater rôle in their poetry than in that of the Europeans".<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, he points out the conspicuous rôle of olfactory elements in biblical poetry, exemplifying it by a series of contexts from the Song of Solomon, in his own translation:

Дуже інтересною являється з того погляду старогєбрейська "Пісня пісень", де стрічаємо ось які порівняння:

Твоє ім'я є мов пахощі кадила... (Song of Solomon, 1:3)

Коли король сидить при столі -

Мій олійок розливає пахощі;

Мій любий є обік мене,

Мов скляночка, повна мірри. (1:12-13)

Тут стрічаємо "пахучий виноград" (2:13); милий (*the correct word is мила*) порівнюється до "клубиків диму" (3:6), ... "надиханих запахом мірри і кадила" (3:6); його (*the correct word is її*) любов - се "запах пахощів понад усі аромати" (4:10); у дівчини "запах одєжі є мов запах Лівану" (4:11); сама вона - се "садок, засаджений оливками, шафраном, рожами, цинамоном, міррою і альєосом і всякими деревами,

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 16, p.261.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

що дають кадило з найкращим запахом" (4:12-14).

Повій, вітре, від полудня,  
Вій по мойому садочку,  
Щоб він дихав пахощами! - (4:16)

кличе молодий коханець.<sup>1</sup>

In concluding this discussion, Franko points out the absence of olfactory elements from the Ukrainian folk-songs as well as from the poetry of Shevchenko. Inasmuch as such elements occur in Shevchenko's works - he observes - it is only in "his paraphrases of the Psalms".<sup>2</sup>

#### Works in Literary Criticism.

Franko's works in literary criticism include a series of essays which reflect the literary aspect of his interest in the Bible as well as the great value which he sets on the Bible as a treasury of themes and motives for poetic and dramatic representation. In these essays his attention is focused on the ideological, artistic, and aesthetic qualities of biblical motive representation in the works of Ukrainian and Polish poets of his time as well as in modern European literature in general.

His first comments on this subject, relating to contemporary Ukrainian poetry, are contained in a letter to Olena Pchilka concerning her compositions Prorok and Iudita, proposed for publication in the journal Zoria in 1886, when he was its co-editor.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 261-262. The parenthesized biblical references have been inserted by the author of this study.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 262.

He appraises the poem *Prorok* briefly as "excellent", whereas the story *Iudita* lacks, in his opinion, originality, realism and aesthetic quality:

"Юдіта Ваша вийшла трохи задовга, а замало натуральна. Не пригадую собі вже повісті в Письмі св. о ній, але мені здається, що там вона якось інакше виглядає, навіть чи не вдова, мабуть. Сам сюжет, звісно, дуже цікавий і надається до вельми ефектної, реалістичної поеми.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year Franko criticized the poem *Przenajświętsza rodzina* by the Polish poet Józef Bohdan Zaleski, qualifying it as highly romantic and beautiful, but lacking realism:

[...] Основа [поеми]... пристроєна тут такою багатою тканиною фантастичних сценарій, фантастичної психології і фантастичної теології, що справді поему сю вважати треба одним з найінтересніших творів романтичної поезії польської... Поет на хвилю очаровує наше око лагідним півсвітлом, наш слух солодкою... музикою, і на легких хвилях його вірша ми колишемося у полусні, не тямлячи себе самих, не виносячи з тої солодкої дрімоти нічого для свого реального життя.<sup>2</sup>

The above early comments reflect the postulate of originality, realism, and relevance to living reality, underlying his approach to biblical motive representation, and marking all his future critiques on this subject. This postulate has its roots in the influence exerted on him in previous years by prominent patterns of biblical motive representation in modern Ukrainian and Western literature, while he engaged in investigating and translating Bible-based works of Shevchenko and of Byron.

Shevchenko's poem *Mariia* - one of the most characteristic examples of the modernization of biblical motives, which he initiated in Ukrainian

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Olena Pchilka, 4.1.1886, *Tvory*, Vol. 20, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Iosyf Bohdan Zales'kyi", *Tvory*, Vol. 18, p. 129.

poetry, engaged Franko's interest already in his youth. In 1880 he began to write an essay on it (which remained, however, unfinished), and in 1882 he translated it into German.<sup>1</sup>

In 1879 he translated Byron's Cain into Ukrainian. This work exerted a particularly strong and lasting influence on him. He was greatly impressed by Byron's mode of utilizing the ancient biblical theme for sounding through it his own original ideas relating to contemporary life, and by the English poet's picturing the biblical hero as "a symbol of the thinking man of the 1820's".<sup>2</sup> Cain became to him an example of an original, realistic, and relevant representation of a biblical motive. This is attested by the following statement, dating from 1889 - the year in which he wrote his own poem Smert' Kaїna under the influence of Byron's work<sup>3</sup>:

[...] Біблію можна теж уважати збіркою міфів, легендарних і психологічних мотивів, які в самій Біблії опрацьовані в такий чи інший спосіб, зате сьогодні можуть бути опрацьовані зовсім інакше, відповідно до наших поглядів на світ і на людську природу. В такому разі перед індивідуальністю поета відкривається справді широке поле і про будь-який рабський переказ оригіналу не може бути й мови. Як зразок саме такого підходу назвемо "Каїна" Байрона.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These works are discussed on p. 79-80 of this study.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Translator's Note" to the translation of Cain, Tvory (New York), Vol. 19, p. 7-8.

<sup>3</sup> In his letter to M. Drahomanov dated 20.3.1889, he stated:  
Цікавий я дуже, що Ви скажете про "Каїна". Він сидів мені в мозку ще від часу, коли я перекладавав байронівського "Каїна"...  
Cf. Tvory, Vol. 20, p. 388.

<sup>4</sup> I. Franko, "Poeziia Iana Kasprovycha", Tvory, Vol. 18, p. 185.

The above statement, contained in Franko's critique on the newly-published first collection of the works of the Polish poet Jan Kasprowicz, relates to the cycle of short poems, entitled "Na motywy biblijne", included in that collection<sup>1</sup>. In evaluating this cycle, Franko praises, on the hand, Kasprowicz's "masterly and very powerful rendering of the frantic, unrestrained outbursts of human feelings, which occur, here and there, in the Bible"<sup>2</sup>; on the other hand, however, he points out that "Kasprowicz has not followed Byron's example"<sup>3</sup> in that he merely reproduced biblical material, without rendering its basic feature of 'half simplicity' from the poetical point of view, and without modernizing it by any individual idea from the ideological point of view:

Однак брак наївної простоти, якою визначаються усі старовинні твори, особливо Біблія, не дає авторові змоги викликати таке враження, яке цього роду твори повинні викликати. А в тім, щодо біблійних мотивів ще одне зауваження. Хто вважає Біблію канонем стародавньої єврейської літератури, той повинен був би раніше, ніж братися за розробку біблійних мотивів, докладно визначити спосіб їх трактування. Більшість біблійних повістунів має, крім релігійного, безпосереднє поетичне значення. Переказ таких місць, їх модернізування, чи краще їх розбавлення водою і "прикрашування" без будь-якої ідеї - це те ж саме, як коли б хто захотів, прим., своїми словами переказати деякі частини Одиссеї або грецьких трагедій. Простий, вірний переклад оригіналу звичайно може викликати далеко сильніше враження й далеко більше навчити нас.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jan Kasprowicz, Poezye, Biblioteka Mrówki, Lwów, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Poeziia Iana Kasprovycha", Tvory, Vol. 18, p. 185.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., ibid.

The same principles and criteria govern Franko's appraisal of two other poems by Jan Kasprowicz, Chrystus and Ezechiel, in his general critique on the contemporary Polish poets, published ten years later<sup>1</sup>. Here, too, he values highly Kasprowicz's poetical talent in itself, but censures the reproductive character of the latter's treatment of the biblical matter in the poems in question, and the absence of an individual ideology from them. His judgment of the poem Chrystus is particularly severe:

[...] Він написав поему "Chrystus"; львівська прокураторія сконфіскувала її - Бог знає за що. Се були сцени із Євангелія, коментовані в дусі перестарілого лібералізму і раціоналізму, річ несмачна і невисокої вартості. Найкращий уступ - танець Гродіади перед Гродом... характерний для Каспровича. Опис танцю - і нічого більше; психологія Грода і Гродіади майже не зазначена. Декорація - без душі.<sup>2</sup>

The poem Ezechiel received a more favorable evaluation by virtue of Franko's preference of a faithful translation of an original to an uncreative adaptation of it:

Далеко краща є поемка "Ezechiel", поміщена в збірці "Anima lasrumans", краща тим, що тут Каспрович вірніше держиться тексту старожврейського пророка, парафразуючи деякі розділи його книги.<sup>3</sup>

However, Franko finds this poem, too, to be "heavy, overloaded with decorative descriptions, and ideologically poor" ("важка, переладована декораціями, а худенька з ідейного боку")<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Suchasni pol's'ki poety", LNV, 1899, Vol. 5, Book 3, p. 176-199. Reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 18, p. 200-225.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 18, p. 217-218.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., ibid.

Franko lent particular attention to the tendency to biblical motives, which some Ukrainian poets displayed during the second half of the 1880's and the early 1890's. He attributed this phenomenon to the influence of the literary vogue of paraphrasing biblical material, which had developed in Russian literature in the mid-1880's. As a reflection of that vogue in contemporary Ukrainian poetry he indicated the Bible-modelled poems of Olena Pchilka and Lesia Ukraїnka: Debora (1887), and Samson (1888):

В половині 80-х років у російському письменстві зайшла була мода на переспівування біблійних тем. Відгуком тої моди був також дуже слабкий вірш Олени Пчілки "Дебора", написаний 1887 р... За прикладом матері взялася й Леся віршувати біблійне оповідання про Самсона.<sup>1</sup>

Besides Pchilka and Ukraїnka, the poet and artist Kornylo Ustyianovych painted in 1887 a picture of the biblical Moses, and in 1891 he published a short poem on the theme of Moses, entitled Moisei<sup>2</sup> (he was first to introduce the motive of Moses into Ukrainian art and literature<sup>3</sup>).

Franko was in favour of following worthy examples of foreign literatures, provided this was done with originality, and enriched the literature of his homeland with works of quality, relevant and useful to contemporary national and cultural life. The elaboration of biblical motives by the above three poets did not, in his opinion, answer this postulate satisfactorily. From this point of view, he criticized their works severely.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Lesia Ukraїnka", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> K. Ustyianovych, Moisei, Zoria, 1891, No. 10, p. 186-187.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A.A. Kaspruk, Filosofs'ki poemy Ivana Franka, Kyїv, "Naukova dumka", 1965, p. 170.



The main fault which he found with these poets was that they had not fathomed the universally and timelessly relevant phenomena of human spiritual life inherent in the biblical accounts on their respective heroes, and represented, or latently implied, with great narrative and poetic art.

His critical assertions were first made, in 1892, with regard to the representation of Moses in Ustyianovych's picture and poem. He was particularly sensitive to the theme of Moses. The figure and the spiritual image of this biblical national leader haunted him and pervaded his literary production throughout his life. To him, Moses was the embodiment of a pioneer of the spirit, and, at the same time, a tragic figure, in that his spiritual leadership was not recognized by his carnally-minded nomadic people, and he died in solitude at the threshold of the fulfilment of his life ideal to bring his people into the promised land. Ustyianovych pictured Moses as a lawgiver alone. Moreover, he presented him against an exaggeratedly wild, unnatural background<sup>1</sup>. His poem dedicated to Moses just nineteen out of its 126 lines<sup>2</sup>, presenting, by an epical narration, the hero's physical actions as a relentless leader, who subjected his people to long wandering and suffering until it died out in the desert, and lived to see [*sic!*] its descendants grow into a sound nation, "worthy of living and of freedom"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See A. Kaspruk, op. cit., p. 172-173.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 35-53. The preceding lines describe the desert, and the succeeding ones are the poet's address to his nation. Cf. K. Ustyianovych, Moisei, reprinted in I. Franko, Moisei, edited by G. Shevel'ov, New York, UVAN, 1968, p. 153-156.

<sup>3</sup> "Док не діждався з їх синів/ Народу вдалого, бійкого,/ Життя і свободи гідного." Ibid., p. 154.

In a discussion with the father of the writer Bohdan Lepkyi concerning Ustyianovych's picture and poem, Franko gave, according to this writer's testimony, the following evaluation of them:

Гарне, та не глибоке. Устянянович пише й малює поверху, нічого з глибини душі Мойсея не добуває, не розуміє його трагізму.<sup>1</sup>

In the third part of his critical article "Nash teatr", published in the Narod in October, 1892, Franko attacked Ustyianovych for the latter's disparaging utterances about contemporary poetry. In this connection, he resorted to an equally disparaging remark concerning Ustyianovych's poem Moisei:

[...] Читаючи Вашого "Мойсея" та вірш "До Остапа Левицького", мимоволі приходять на думку, що Ваш поклик "Ідім спати" принаймні для Вас зовсім лишній: Ви вже спите, ще й здорово хропите!<sup>2</sup>

This remark had a political background, typical of the period of Franko's socialist orientation<sup>3</sup>. Nevertheless, it reflects his objective appraisal of Ustyianovych's elaboration of the biblical motive as superficial and of poor poetical quality.

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<sup>1</sup> This discussion took place in July, 1892, and is described in detail in B. Lepkyi's book Try portrety, Franko-Stefanyk-Orkan, L'viv, 1937, p. 34-35, quoted in A. Kaspruk, op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Nash teatr", part 3, Narod, No. 15-18, 1.10.1892, reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 184-190. The reference is to the concluding lines of the poem Do Ostapa Levyts'koho, published in the Zoria, No. 14, 1892, reading: "Ото поезія! Ідім спати!/ Нам вже такої не писати." Cf. Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 184-185.

<sup>3</sup> It may be described as a reaction to the ideology of the 'address to the nation' concluding the poem Moisei, where Ustyianovych prays for a new Moses to appear, and, among other things, "punish" the advocates of progressive ideas, referred to as "false prophets" ("Караї і лжепророків люду"). Cf. K. Ustyianovych, Moisei, in I. Franko, Moisei, edited by G. Shevel'ov, p. 156.

The elaboration of biblical motives by Olena Pchilka in her Debo-  
ra, and by Lesia Ukraїnka in her Samson is criticized by Franko within his general review of Lesia Ukraїnka's poetry, published in 1898<sup>1</sup>. His criticism opens with a comparison between the two poems and their corresponding biblical texts. Here, he points out, in the first place, what he finds to be the fundamental drawback common to both poetesses. Neither of them has, in his opinion, gone deep enough into her biblical text as a whole, ... to perceive its intrinsic insights into the universal phenomena of human nature, and neither of them has rendered the poetical features of the biblical narrative concerned:

Обі наші авторки поводяться з біблійним текстом дуже вільно, а властиво мовби й зовсім не дивляться на нього, а беруть тільки деякі мотиви, обскубані з тих міцних паростків, що в'яжуть їх з старожидівським життям і дають їм безсмертну силу. Пчілчина Дебора – се якась тінь, а не жива людина; Лесин Самсон – се шаблонний вояка і патріот з чудесною силою, а зовсім не той напівгумористичний, а напівтрагічний герой, змальований у книзі Судіїв. І в оповіданні про Дебору, і в оповіданні про Самсона біблійні первозори безмірно поетичніші і живіші від того, що з них зробили наші авторки.<sup>2</sup>

Subsequently, Franko carries out a thorough analysis of Ukraїnka's Samson. He appreciates her "attempt to deepen the biblical story by analyzing the psychology of Samson and of Delilah" as well as her idea to build on it "a patriotic poem in a contemporary style". He observes, however, that her analysis "deprives the biblical story of its heroic character", and that "neither the protagonist nor the circumstances

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Lesia Ukraїnka", LNV, 1898, Vol. 3, Book 7, p. 6-27. Reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 237-255.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Lesia Ukraїnka", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 240.

represented in the biblical story lend themselves to a patriotic poem in the present-day style". The biblical Samson "is not a Hebrew commander at all, but fights the Philistines as an individual". Nor is Delilah his wife, but a casual love - probably a Jewess". She elicits from him the secret of his strength, and enables the Philistines to capture him - not out of a patriotic sentiment, but "for a large sum of money with which the Philistines have bribed her".<sup>1</sup>

In Ukraїnka's poem, Samson returns from a battle, having defeated the Philistines. The people welcome him "with flowers and wreaths, like in a Roman triumph". Among other women marches toward him his Philistine wife Delilah, whom he abducted by force from her land and people. She praises Jehovah for her husband's victory. To Samson's question whether she is not sorry for her compatriots, she replies:

Чужа для мене мого люду доля...  
Для тебе відцуралась я родини.<sup>2</sup>

Samson wishes to express his gratitude "for this boundless love". He succumbs to her entreatments, and discloses to her the secret of his miraculous strength. Whereupon she betrays him, and while he is being bound by the Philistines, she reveals to him that she did so to avenge the destruction of her people:

Прощай, Самсоне! - крикнула зрадлива -  
Ти думав, що для тебе я забуду  
Родину? Ні. Ти гинеш, - дяка се правдива  
Від мене за погибель мого люду.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Franko, "Lesia Ukraїnka", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 241.

Franko finds Ukraїnka's way of drawing the images of Samson and of Delilah to be inconsistent with the basic purpose of her poem. "It follows", he declares, "that Delilah is no smaller a patriot than Samson; she is even a greater one." He further points out that, instead of deepening the facts presented in the biblical account, the poetess curtailed, modified, and weakened them; and "instead of a vivid plot, she filled her lines with shallow phraseology."<sup>1</sup>

The poem's concluding section, representing the death of Samson, is described by Franko as "still weaker". To substantiate his judgment, he quotes, in his own translation, the pertinent biblical passage (Judges, 16:23-30), and indicates that Ukraїnka's adaptation of it distorts its characteristic details, and weakens the scene represented in it:

Авторка без потреби перенесла сей празник [філістимлян] на воєнний час - буцімто філістимляни знов напали на Палестину; в біблій катастрофа діється в Газі, одним із головних філістимських міст. Далі ослабила авторка сцену наруги над Самсоном; у поемі він тільки стоїть і своїм понурим видом тішить ворогів. Власністю нашої авторки є також наруга Даліли, наруга млява, так як і всі філістимські промови, звернені в поемі до Самсона.<sup>2</sup>

Franko realizes, however, that Samson is one of Lesia Ukraїnka's early poems, written "with a hand yet unexperienced".<sup>3</sup> He observes that, compared with Pchilka's Debora, this juvenile poem already shows the daughter's talent as superior to that of the mother's. He also credits Samson with some positive features: "the plot develops quite dramatically,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 241.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

and the lyrical portions (Samson in the prison) display here and there power and plasticity of expression."<sup>1</sup>

Further in the same critique, Franko reviews Lesia Ukraїnka's poem Hrishnytsia (1897), dating from the period of her poetical maturity. The closing lines of this poem evoke an associative image of Samson:

О горе нам усім! Хай гине честь, сумління,  
Аби упала ся тюремная стіна!  
Нехай вона впаде, і зрушене каміння  
Покриє нас і наші імена!<sup>2</sup>

Here, Franko commends her representation of the biblical theme as compared with her former treatment of it. He finds it to be forceful, and relevantly linked with present-day reality in that it embodies the actual thoughts and feelings of the poetess herself as well as of her contemporary generation:

Перед нами виринає фігура Самсона, обрисована колись неправною ще рукою нашої авторки. Як же без порівняння могутніше і правдивіше її слово тут, де вона сама разом з сучасним своїм поколінням чує себе в ролі Самсона, але без ніяких романтичних прикрас..., з одною перспективою страшної смерті...<sup>3</sup>

The work in which Franko finds both poetical mastery and ideological profundity of the highest degree in elaborating the biblical motive of Samson - is John Milton's Samson Agonistes. In 1906 he published his translation of its first part: - the monologue of Samson, preceded by a short note, saying:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Lesia Ukraїnka", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 242.

<sup>2</sup> L. Ukraїnka, Hrishnytsia, quoted ibid., p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

Драматична поема "Самсон-борець" Джона Мільтона... була лебединою піснею того найбільшого англійського поета XVII віку... Вона була немов сповіддю поета, важкою сумою його життєвих досвідів, та притім зворушливим малюнком його характеру і світогляду. От тим то як глибокоправдивий "людський документ", а притім високо артистичний твір, "Самсон-борець" має безсмертну вартість і далеко ближчий до нашого чуття і розуміння, як головний епічний твір Мільтона "Втрачений Рай".<sup>1</sup>

Further in this note, he attributed particular importance to the monologue of Samson for its autobiographical motives, "since here, Milton, who had himself been blind for ten years when he wrote this poem, poured out on the paper his grief over his blindness as well as his endless longing for light - one of God's first creations".<sup>2</sup>

Franko completed the translation of Samson Agonistes in 1912, and published it in 1913 with an introduction and a detailed analysis, based on a comparison with the entire biblical story of Samson (Judges, 13-16), given in his own translation from the French version of Edouard Reuss.<sup>3</sup>

In the introduction, he gives a short survey of 17th-century English literature as well as of Milton's life and work, with special reference to Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained. As to these works, he indicates that they are based "not only on strictly biblical traditions, but

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Dzhon Mil'ton, Iz dramy *Samson-borets'*", LNV, 1906, Vol. 35, Book 7, p. 101-102.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>3</sup> Dzhon Mil'ton, *Samson-borets'*, Drama, Pereklad i studiiia d-ra I. Franka, L'viv, 1913. This work could not be obtained for the present study. The writer's report on it is based on the essay of Ie. Bortnyk, "Ivan Franko pro Mil'tona i ioho trahediiu *Samson-borets'*" in Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 8, L'viv, Vyd. LDU, 1960, p. 141-150, and on I. Zhuravs'ka, Ivan Franko i zarubizhni literatury, Kyiv, ANURSR, 1961, p. 115-117.

also - and chiefly - on apocryphal narratives relating to the Creation, to the throw-down from heaven of the rebellious angels, and to the incessant struggle between these angels, under the leadership of Satan - and God." Discussing in particular the subject matter and the literary value of Paradise Lost, he appraises this poem negatively on account of its "excessively heavy style, overloaded with abstractions and metaphors", and of its allegorical representations of "characters from the remote antiquity, having nothing in common with contemporary life."<sup>1</sup>

In his comparative analysis of Samson Agonistes, Franko points out a series of Milton's deviations from the biblical account, justifying and commending them as instances of originality, ideological depth, and poetico-dramatic art, marking the English poet's conception and representation of the biblical motive.

Thus, for example, Delilah - Samson's casual love according to the biblical account - is his Philistine wife in the Miltonian poem. She betrays him - not for a bribe, but out of her genuine patriotism; then she regrets her deed, begs Samson to forgive her, and desires to save him. Samson's father, Manoah, comes to the Philistines to redeem his son by paying a ransom, whereas in the biblical story he is no longer alive. In Franko's evaluation, these modifications contribute to the enhancement of the poem's dramatic character.

Franko is particularly impressed by the image of Samson, and by the idea of national liberation, represented in the Miltonian work. He

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<sup>1</sup> See Ie. Bortnyk, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, p. 145-146. Cf. also I. Zhuravs'ka, *op. cit.*, p. 115.



compares the image of Samson arising from the biblical text with that drawn by Milton, and indicates that, whereas in the Bible Samson appears as an individual harasser of the Philistines, whose acts are motivated by personal interests, the Miltonian Samson is pictured as a national hero, who is conscious of his mission to procure his people's freedom. He fails to accomplish his task owing to a momentary weakness, in which he discloses the secret of his miraculous strength to his wife, and through her - to the enemy. For this, he is most severely punished both as an individual and as a national leader. Captured, blinded, made into a slave, and haunted by tormenting feelings of guilt and remorse, he realizes that only death can deliver him of his unbearable suffering. But his spirit remains indomitable, and he abides by his mission to the last moment of his life. He refuses to be redeemed for a ransom, seeing no sense in further life without activity for the national cause. He chooses to die in a heroic act attesting his dedication to his mission. In a supreme spiritual and physical effort, he destroys his people's enemies, and perishes together with them as a national hero.

In Franko's eyes, this adaptation of the biblical story evidences Milton's originality and deep insight into human nature in drawing the character of Samson, and in producing a most convincing picture of him and of his inner life.

Franko judges, however, with some reservation Milton's having framed the composition of Samson Agonistes on the model of the Greek tragedy. He would have preferred him to have followed the patterns of the Shakespearean drama with its vivid dramatic dialogue. The chorus,

and the long monologues, used by Milton, do not, in his opinion, advance the forward movement of the plot, but merely **explain** the events. Moreover, he observes with regret that the necessity to comply with the classical rule of the unity of plot, place, and time 'compelled Milton to represent the most dramatical moment - the destruction of the Philistine temple, and Samson's death under its ruins - in an epical form, through a narration of an eyewitness!'<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, Franko values Samson Agonistes and its author very highly. In concluding his analysis, he points out with particular stress that, on the background of the personal tragedy of the hero, Milton unfolded a series of universal problems concerning various facets of human life as well as the relations between individual and nation, and between man and God. This deep and rich ideological content of the Miltonian drama has, in Franko's opinion, secured its lasting relevance as well as its prominent place in world literature:

Для нас сей твір... має значення також задля тих глибоких почувань людського терпіння, що творять його основу, а не менше також задля численних глибоких та влучних спостережень із людського життя, з відносин між мужем і жінкою, між вітцем і сином, між одиницею і народом, між чоловіком і божеством...

Ідейна сторона запевняє Мільтонівій драмі визначне місце у всесвітній літературі і в пам'яті освіченого людства.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Samson-borets', Introduction, p. 29, quoted in Ie. Bortnyk, *op. cit.*, ibid., p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Samson-borets', Introduction, p. 33, quoted in Ie. Bortnyk, *op. cit.*, ibid., p. 147. For Franko's general evaluation of Samson Agonistes, cf. also I. Zhuravs'ka, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117.

Ivan Franko's last essay on the subject of biblical motive representation is dedicated to the poem Mariia by Taras Shevchenko<sup>1</sup>. For a more complete understanding of the approach and the standards of judgment marking Franko's appreciation of this particular work, it will be useful to precede the discussion of the essay by a survey of his views and statements relating to the rôle of the Bible in Shevchenko's life and poetry.

As is well known, it was Franko's lifelong labour of love to investigate, interpret, and popularize the works of Shevchenko. Although the numerous monographs, essays, and articles, which he wrote in this field<sup>2</sup>, include no particular study dealing expressly with the biblical influence on Shevchenko, references to this matter occur in some of them on various occasions, especially in the 1890's and 1900's. These references are made either in the form of direct statements, based on his own deep-going study and research, or in the form of reactions to opinions and utterances of various writers, which he found to misrepresent the spiritual image of Shevchenko in general, and his treatment of biblical matter in particular.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenkova Mariia", written 1-2.12.1913. First published posthumously in ZNTSh, 1917, Vol. 119-120, p. 348-356. Reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 17, 1955, p. 149-157.

<sup>2</sup> Twenty-one of them are contained in Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 7-157, two - in Ivan Franko - Literaturna spadshchyna, Vol. 1, Kyïv, 1956, pp. 351-353, 375-382, one - in Ivan Franko - Literaturna spadshchyna, Vol. 4, Kyïv, 1967, p. 441-448, three - in Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, L'viv, Vyd. LDU, Zbirnyk 12, 1965, p. 177-196. Additional Frankian writings on Shevchenko have been published posthumously in: The Slavonic Review, London (1924), Ukraïna, Kyïv (1925), Duklia, Priashiv (1958), and Lit. Ukraïna, Kyïv (1964). See M.O. Moroz, Ivan Franko - Bibliohrafiia tvoriv, entries 4324, 4387, 4410.

Between the years 1891 and 1893 Franko published several essays, in Ukrainian and in Polish, on Shevchenko's life and work, under the common title "Taras Shevchenko". In the Ukrainian-written essay of 1891, he characterizes shortly the last period of Shevchenko's poetic production as follows:

[...] Але характеристичним признаком сеї доби є зворот генія Шевченкового до тем релігійних ("Неофіти", "Марія", "Царі", "Псалом", "Гімн чернечий" і т. п.).<sup>1</sup>

A more detailed characterization of the same period is given in the Polish-written essay of 1893. Here, Franko stresses Shevchenko's engrossment in the Bible - particularly in the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Revelation - in his last years, and maintains that from these biblical books the poet drew his ideas concerning the future, in which he anticipated a great cataclysm - a day of judgment for the sins being committed in the present:

Характерним проявом цього періоду є звернення Шевченкового генія до релігійних тем. Імпульсом до цього було, без сумніву те, що він зачитувався Біблією, особливо Псалтирем, книгами пророків, Апокаліпсисом. Немає сумніву, що саме із цих творів Шевченко склав собі свого роду історіографію, що з них черпав свої ідеї про майбутнє, в якому передбачав якийсь великий катаклізм - день суду за dokonані тепер провини.<sup>2</sup>

Franko corroborates this statement in a later writing, where he describes Shevchenko's anticipation of an eventual violent outburst of awakened national consciousness, when all those who betray the national

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Taras Shevchenko", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 93. (First published in Zoria, 1891, No. 5, p. 86-90).

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Taras Shevchenko", Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, L'viv, 1965, Zbirnyk 12, p. 193. (First published in Kurjer Lwowski, 1893, No. 62-64, 66-68).

cause will be doomed. He observes that, to express this foreboding, Shevchenko used the language of the biblical prophet Hosea, and quotes the Shevchenkian paraphrase of Hosea, chapter 14 (Osiŭ hlava 14 - Podrazhanie):

[...] Шевченко огняними фарбами малює нам ті моменти майбутньої кризи, коли самосвідомість довго давленого народу прокинеся і ригне полум'ям наперед усього на виродів, синів України, що нетямущими руками помагали матір катувати. Наслідуючи старозавітного пророка Осію, Шевченко ось як промовляє до України:

Спочивши, скорбная, скажи,  
Пророчи своїм лукавим чадам,  
Що пропадуть вони, лихі,  
Що їх безчестіє, і зрада,  
І криводушіє - огнем,  
Кровавим, пламенним мечем  
Нарізані на людських душах;  
Що крикне кара невсипуща,  
Що не спасе їх добрий цар,  
Їх кроткий, п'яний господар!  
Не дасть їм пити, не дасть їм їсти,  
Не дасть коня вам охляп сісти  
Та утікати: не втечете  
І не сховаєтесь! Усюди  
Вас найде правда-мста...<sup>1</sup>

Franko characterizes these lines as an outcry of Shevchenko's despair in the face of the plight of the Ukrainian nation in his time, when serfdom still prevailed, and when many of its sons disavowed it - some for favorable positions, others out of fear of the powerful Russian ruler, others again - out of a confident expectation of the latter's benevolence. He further describes these lines as an expression of Shevchenko's boundless love for his nation, and high, uncompromising sense of national duty - sentiments that underlie his hatred and contempt for renegades in

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Na rokovyny T.H. Shevchenka" (1903), Ivan Franko - Literaturna spadshchyna, Vol. 1, 1956, p. 377.

general, and for willful renegades in particular.<sup>1</sup>

A passage of another Shevchenkian poem, Neofity, equally marked by a biblico-prophetic tone, appears to Franko to be Shevchenko's possible answer - and warning - to those who desert the national cause out of a naïve, but delusive, hope for the tzar's benevolence:

Шевченко... ані на хвилю не дурив себе такою надією,  
і немов у відповідь таким ілюзіоністам кличе в своїх  
Неофітах:

Горе з вами!  
.....  
Кому ви сльози принесли!  
Свою надію! Горе з вами!  
.....  
Чи ж камінь милує кого?  
Молітесь Богови святому,  
Молітесь правді на землі,  
А більше на землі нікому  
Не поклонітесь!<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, Franko explains Shevchenko's individual conception and representation of the biblical theme of Truth, which appears in each of the cited passages. He points out that, in the Shevchenkian poetry as a whole, the phrase "truth upon the earth" is frequently used in the sense of "judgment and punishment" (as in the first passage: *права-да-мста*), whereas on other occasions it is associated with the ideal of Love: true mutual love, true love of humanity, God's love of mankind (as in the second passage: *правда на землі*).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 379-380.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 381.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 381.

Franko further quotes a Shevchenkian prediction of an imminent catastrophe, directed to the oppressors of the Ukrainian nation, and equally expressed in biblico-prophetic diction, where the poet foretells vengeance on the enemies of his people from the hands of the latter's grandchildren:

Виростуть внучата тії,  
Христові месники святії,  
І без огня і без меча  
Стратеги Божії воспрянуть,  
І тьми, і тисячі поганих  
Перед святими побіжать.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Franko stresses the fact that, in spite of the gloomy reality with which Shevchenko was confronted, he remained hopeful that Truth - in the sense of both Justice and Love - would eventually be restored amongst humanity, and give rise to "a new word" - a new ideology, which would bring about the liberation of his people. Franko illustrates this statement by a quotation of the closing lines of the Shevchenkian paraphrase of Hosea, chapter 14:

Він надіявся на силу слова;... надіявся на те, що, невва-  
жаючи на всі насильства, на всю погань,... усе-таки

правда оживе,  
Натхне, накличе, нажене  
Не ветхеє, не древле слово  
Розтленнеє, а слово нове  
Між людьми криком пронесе  
І люд окрадений спасе.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 379. [Quoted from Neofity].

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 381-382.

Another reference to the rôle of the Bible in Shevchenko's life and work is made by Franko in the introductory passage of his essay "Shevchenkova Mariia" (1913). Discussing the genesis of this poem, Franko quotes two letters of Shevchenko to Countess Varvara Repnina, written during the period of the poet's exile, in which he describes the Gospels as his only source of consolation in his great suffering. In these letters Shevchenko also mentions his intention "to describe the maternal heart on the basis of the life of the Holy Virgin":

Жахлива безнадійність, така жахлива, що тільки одна християнська філософія спроможна боротися з нею... Єдина моя втіха тепер святе Євангеліє. Я читаю його щодня, щогодини...

Новий Завіт я читаю благоговійно, і у мене вродилася думка описати материне серце по життю пречистої Діви, Матері Спасителя...<sup>1</sup>

Franko further indicates that a considerable number of Shevchenko's works, written after his liberation from the exile, betray a remarkable rise of a religious spirit in him:

Вдумуючися в цілий ряд творів, написаних Шевченком по повероті з заслання, кожний мусить завважити в ньому в тім часі незвичайний підйом релігійного духу, зовсім природний після такої важкої переміни в його життю, як звільнення з воєнної служби, на яку він... був засуджений досмертно...<sup>2</sup>

This assertion is made by Franko in spite of his awareness that the Shevchenkian works in question often display obvious deviations from the traditional sense and intent of the biblical themes, symbols and statements used in them. Moreover, Franko makes this assertion precede

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenkova Mariia", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Shevchenko was liberated in the summer of 1857.



his analysis of Mariia - a poem in which Shevchenko's departure from traditional principle is most conspicuous and most daring. This may seem inconsistent, but is not so in the light of Franko's specific conception of the intrinsic nature of Shevchenko's approach to, and treatment of, religious and biblical themes. Franko does not, however, set forth this conception to the full extent in any of his writings on Shevchenko. He only reveals different aspects of it in scattered instances, and at different times, displaying an ever deepening insight into Shevchenko's spirituality. It is, therefore, only on the ground of these sporadic utterances that a complete representation of this conception can be made. Of particular importance in this matter are his reactions to various opinions on Shevchenko, which he thought erroneous or deliberately tending to mislead, whether their authors attributed to Shevchenko orthodoxy and mysticism, or accused him of apostasy and profanity.

The earliest of such reactions is contained in his critical essay "Khutorna poeziia P.A. Kulisha"<sup>1</sup>, written in the period of his academic studies. Discussing Kulish's orthodoxy and his frequent quoting<sup>of</sup> the Bible, Franko refers to a biography of Kulish published in 1868, whose author attributed a pious reverence for the Scriptures and a religious mysticism to Kulish and to Shevchenko alike. On this opinion he makes the following comment:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Khutorna poeziia P.A. Kulisha", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 178-194. First published in Svit, No. 3, 25.3.1882, p. 267-273.

Звісна річ, що київський кружок українофілів 1846-47 років [Кирило-Мефодіївське товариство] був наскрізь релігійний, що товариші читали і глибоко поважали письмо святе і т. д. Те принаймні говорить зовсім непевно в "Жизні Куліша" ("Правда", р. 1868). Щодо д. Куліша, то се безперечна правда. В своїм поважанні письма святого і в релігійнім містицизмі д. Куліш від 1847 до 1882 зробив дуже значний поступ і нині вже, благовременно чи й безвременно, всюди тиче цитати з письма святого і пописується вірою в чудеса, зовсім непотрібні і неподібні до правди. Чи з рівною певністю міг се біограф Куліша сказати про Шевченка, котрий 1860 р. писав "Світе ясний, світе тихий", "Саула" та "Царів", - про се я мав би охоту сумніватися. Бодай в поезіях своїх з 40-х років Шевченко ніколи не доходить до такого містицизму, як Куліш, а слова "Бог", "Божий" і т. п. суть у Шевченка радше поетичною фразою, образним реченням, а не мають ніякого догматичного, релігійного значення.<sup>1</sup>

This reaction is strongly tinged with Franko's bent for socialism and engrossment in biblical criticism, typical of his academic years. The imprint of his then socialist orientation is particularly perceptible in his ironic remarks concerning Kulish's recourse to the Bible and belief in miracles as well as in his categorical denial of the presence of a religious spirit in Shevchenko's poetical production of all times.

In 1888, Franko published in the St. Peterburg Polish weekly Kraj an article entitled "T. Szewczenko w oświeceniu p. Ursina"<sup>2</sup>. This article was his reaction to assertions of religiousness, fatalism, messianism, and mysticism in Shevchenko's poetry, made by the Polish historian and literary critic M. Ursyn (pseudonym of Marian Zdziechowski) in his book *Очерки из психологии славянского племени. Славянофилы*, which appeared

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "T. Szewczenko w oświeceniu p. Ursina", Kraj, 1888, No. 52, p. 12-15. Reprinted in Ukrainian translation: "T. Shevchenko v osvittleni p. Ursina", in Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 35-40.

in the same year in St. Peterburg.

In his argument against M. Ursyn's assertions, Franko quotes his pertinent statements, and comments on them, leaving out, however, the problem of Shevchenko's religious spirit:

[...] П. Урсін... говорить про "глибоко закорінену релігійність у глибині його [Шевченка - А.В.] духовної істоти".

Лишаючи на боці цю справу, вернімось до "фаталізму", що, на думку п. Урсіна, є головною прикметою месіанізму Шевченка, його містичної віри. Цей месіанізм, на думку п. Урсіна, виявився тільки в одній поемі - в Неофітах...

"Думку Неофітів, - каже п. Урсін, - можна коротко виразити так: з життєвих страждань один тільки вихід - схилити чоло перед Богом і чекати в покорі, поки Бог змилюється".<sup>1</sup>

After giving a brief account of the contents of Neofity,<sup>2</sup> and quoting the poem's closing lines -

[...] І спас  
Тебе розп'ятий син Марії,  
І ти слова його живії  
В живу душу прийняла,  
І на торжища і в чертоги  
Живого, істинного Бога  
Ти слово правди понесла!<sup>3</sup> -

Franko presents his own interpretation of the central idea of this poem, and indicates an ideological analogy between Neofity and Mariia.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, he declares that these poems display no mysticism, or fatalism, or messianism, "but only a highly humane understanding of life and of

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "T. Shevchenko v osvittenni p. Ursina", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> A story of a heathen Roman mother in the days of Nero, whose only son, a neophyte, was martyred on behalf of his Christian faith. After the son's death, she becomes converted, and devotes herself to the spreading of Christianity.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Both these poems are Shevchenko's post-exile works.

history, and an ardent love for the great ideas of the Good, of Justice, and of Love":

Перші пропагатори цього слова правди загинули, та слово правди згинути не може. З крові мучеників постають нові апостоли... Та що моя інтерпретація останніх строф Неофітів не довільна, доказом цього є архітвір Шевченкової поезиї: поема Марія, мабуть, невідома п. Урсінові. Там Шевченко ще раз вертається до цієї самої ідеї і опрацьовує її далеко пластичніше, даючи нам найвищий з усіх відомих мені в якій-будь літературі ідеал жінки-матері, що життя своє віддає задля сина, а коли син умер задля високої ідеї, вона з силою материнської любові стає на його місце й докінчує його діло, зовсім не дбаючи про свою власну долю.

В цих Шевченкових поемах зовсім нема ані містицизму, ані фаталізму, ані месіанізму, є тільки високолюдське розуміння життя й історії та вогненна любов до великих ідей добра, справедливості й любові.<sup>1</sup>

The views on Shevchenko's recourse to religious and biblical themes in his post-exile works, which Franko expresses from the 1890's onwards, reflect a new look on this matter, derived from a deeper insight into Shevchenko's spiritual being. Thus, in 1891, he indicates for the first time the recourse to religious themes as a characteristic feature of Shevchenko's post-exile poetry<sup>2</sup>. In 1893, he points out the particular influence of the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Revelation on Shevchenko's world-outlook, manifesting itself in his belief in an impending "day of judgment"<sup>3</sup>. In 1903, he illustrates this belief by examples of Shevchenko's post-exile poems, expounds Shevchenko's conception of Truth, and interprets some passages of Neofity as relating to present-day life

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 61 of this study.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

of the Ukrainian nation - passages in which the poet raises Love, Justice, and Freedom to the rank of sanctities, and predicts, with devout faith, the eventual advent of national liberators, representing them as "holy avengers", having their sanctity directly from God (*Христові месники свя-миї, стратеги Божії*)<sup>1</sup>. Finally, in 1913, he determines "a remarkable rise of a religious spirit" in Shevchenko in the post-exile period<sup>2</sup>.

However, Franko does not conceive this religious spirit as a conformance to traditional tenets, and he disputes whatever opinion he finds to do so. At the same time, he contests any opinion ascribing blasphemy to Shevchenko. This attitude marks his critical articles "Shevchenko i Ieremiia"<sup>3</sup> and "Shevchenko i krytyky"<sup>4</sup>, both written in 1904.

In May, 1904, the Ukrainian poet and literary scholar Dr. Vasyl' Shchurat gave a lecture in honour of Shevchenko in Vienna, in which he compared Shevchenko to the prophet Jeremiah. Upon reading the text of the lecture in the L'viv clerical newspaper Ruslan, Franko reacted to it with the article "Shevchenko i Ieremiia", calling in question the very idea of equating such different types, representing such opposed ideologies, as Shevchenko and Jeremiah:

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 63-64 of this study.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 65 of this study.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenko i Ieremiia", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 129-132. First published in LNV, 1904, Vol. 26, Book 6, p. 170-173.

<sup>4</sup> Non severus (pseudonymous signature of I. Franko), "Shevchenko i krytyky", LNV, 1904, Vol. 28, Book 11, p. 116-129. Republished by Ia. Shust in his article "Psevdonimna stattia Ivana Franka pro Tarasa Shevchenka", Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 8, 1960, p. 52-64.

Шевченко і Єремія! Лишаючи вже на боці загальновідому річ, що всяке порівняння кульгаве, ми все-таки були цікаві, яку ж то подібність винайде д-р Щурат між Шевченком і Єремією? Адже справді, що таке Єремія? Се... одна з найтрагічніших фігур, які знає людська історія, чоловік, що гаряче любить свій народ, не менше гаряче ненавидить Вавилон, а все-таки всю свою проповідь, усю свою агітаційну діяльність концентрує в тім, щоб голосити своїй народіві конечність - підлягати... його найбільшому ворогові - Вавілонові. Се голоситель непопулярних думок, віщун руїни й кари... Яке ж тут порівняння з Шевченком, віщуном і діячем народного відродження та братолюбія?<sup>1</sup>

Subsequently, Franko quoted several passages of Jeremiah, disproving Shchurat's assertions, and referred the readers to additional texts of this prophet, bearing further testimony of "the inadequacy of Shchurat's comparison".<sup>2</sup>

V. Shchurat had conceived the idea of comparing Shevchenko to Jeremiah while translating a poem by Victor Hugo, in which the French poet compared Byron to Isaiah. Quoting that poem in his lecture, he declared:

Гюго зрівняв тут усіх геніїв, біблійних і сучасних, Байрона поставив нарівні з Ісаїєю. Поставмо ж і ми Шевченка нарівні з Єремією.<sup>3</sup>

He then tried to point out analogies between Jeremiah and Shevchenko by referring to various details of the prophet's life and work, which had, in fact, nothing to do with the Ukrainian poet.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenko i Ieremiia", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 131-132.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 130-131.

Franko described Shchurat's action and manner of reasoning as indicative of a developing trend, where false ideas were being spread by means of various slogans and statements, misleadingly substantiated by pseudo-scholarly references of doubtful merits to sources of biblical and religious literature. He concluded his article with a warning against this phenomenon:

Ми занялися дещо детальніше сим виплодом риторики не тому, щоб признавали йому якесь особливе значення. Але він має значення симптому. Легкомисне поводження з приподним, говореним чи друкваним словом зачинає входити в моду не лиш у нас. А разом із тим іде кокетування з певними окликами, що в певних високих та впливових сферах усе знаходять радий послух, іде парадкування якимось модним *sui generis* католицизмом, що рад би сполучити в собі *sacra cum profanis*, середньовічну схоластику й новочасну думку, а на правду фальшує характер одної й другої. Д-р Шурат не від нині пробує грати на тих фальшивих струнах, та все якось без успіху. Вільно йому й далі пробувати сеї гри, але було б ліпше, якби він не мішав до неї Шевченка.<sup>1</sup>

The article "Shevchenko i krytyky", which followed in November, 1904, was a still sharper reaction to what Franko regarded as a deliberate misrepresentation of Shevchenko and his poetry by the same Dr. V. Shchurat. It was directed against Shchurat's newly-published book, Sviate pys'mo v Shevchenkovii poeziї<sup>2</sup>, in which he sought to represent Shevchenko's poetry as predominantly influenced by the Bible, and complying with traditional principle.

V. Shchurat openly admitted having written his book with a special tendency: it was designed "to become a lightning rod" that would protect

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenko i Ieremiia", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> V. Shchurat, Sviate pys'mo v Shevchenkovii poeziї, L'viv, 1904.

the Ukrainian nation from the "thunders" of the condemnations heaping up on it on account of Shevchenko's alleged blasphemy; it was, therefore, to serve not only a scientific or literary purpose, but also a political one:

Фактом єсть, що того "святого напитія", яке напоїло Шевченкову Музу, досі не прояснено, хоч таке проясненє повинно б мати не лиш літературно-наукову вартість. Під нинішнє время люте воно повинно б стати у нас кріпким громозводом. Бо кільки то громів посипалось хоч би в найновійших часах на нас ніби то через те, що ми наші національні ідеали взяли з руки Шевченка - того богохульника, чи, делікатніше сказавши, раціоналіста! А врешті Шевченко - біблеєць може представляти для декого також індивідуальний інтерес. Признаюсь отверто, що такий індивідуальний інтерес він представляє для мене. Вольно богохульникам дошукуватись в Шевченковій поезії богохульств, раціоналістам - раціоналізму, а всяким іншим спеціалістам - знову чого іншого, так чому б мені не вольно було глядати в тій поезії того, що в ній найскорше знайти можна - слідів св. письма? Адже ж Шевченка не взято єще в аренду!<sup>1</sup>

Shchurat subordinated the method of his discourse to the requirements of his tendency. Omitting altogether such Shevchenkian works as displayed clear deviations from the biblical tradition (Tsari, Saul, Vo Iudei, vo dni ony, and Mariia), and dealing but superficially with Shevchenko's manifest "imitations" of biblical works (passages of the Psalms and the Prophets), he concentrated on poems betraying no obvious relationship with the Bible. He selected particular passages of these poems, juxtaposed them with various contexts and images quoted from the Bible - especially from the Prophets, and represented those biblical elements as "influences".<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> V. Shchurat, op. cit., p. 6, quoted in Non severus, "Shevchenko i krytyky", Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 8, 1960, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Non severus, "Shevchenko i krytyky", ibid., p. 57, 59-60.



In addition, Shchurat dedicated a whole chapter of his book to a detailed account of Shevchenko's reading the Bible in his childhood, in his youth, and - particularly - during his exile, thus proposing to demonstrate an attachment to the Bible and a susceptibility to its influence throughout the poet's life.

Franko qualified all the assertions made by Shchurat as extremely exaggerated, and inaccurate. Referring to the account of Shevchenko's lifelong engrossment in the Bible, he stated:

Ми не будемо заперечувати, що Шевченко знав Святе письмо і що подекуди ним користувався, але щоб його вплив відбився на поетові так, як сього хоче др. В. Щурат, на те не можемо згодитися, і цілий другий розділ його праці, в яким він збирає звістки про лектуру Святого письма Шевченком, уважаємо занадто пересоленим...<sup>1</sup>

[...] А хоч би й не діставав [на засланю ніяких книжок, крім Біблії], то чи се вже доказ, що він мусів бути під таким великим впливом Святого письма, як хоче др. В. Щурат?...<sup>2</sup>

He then quoted a considerable number of instances of Shchurat's linking Shevchenkian poems with biblical passages, to show that they had nothing in common with one another.

In conclusion, he condemned both the method and the tendentiousness underlying Shchurat's work:

Надіємося, що досить цих цитатів, аби переконатися про "вплив" тих уступів Святого письма на Шевченка. Таких цитатів є ще багато, але в них може добачити яку-небудь зв'язь із Шевченком лиш той, що видить там, де інші не видять, значить сновида. Ми до таких не зачисляємося.

До таких висновків, як автор, *мусять доходити всі ті критики, що кладуть із гори собі за задачу доказати якусь тенденцію на*

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<sup>1</sup> Non severus, op. cit., I. Franko - Statti i materialy, Zb.8, p.57.

Ibid., p. 58.

*підставі писань поета (не лиш Шевченка), а не мають на увазі лише правди і чистої науки...<sup>1</sup>*

Referring to Shchurat's eagerness for a "lightning rod" which would divert the "thunders" of the current exasperation on account of Shevchenko's alleged apostasy, Franko declared:

*Та такий громозвід потрібний лише тісним умам, і лишень вони потребують окремої брошури для оборони Шевченка перед наступаючими такими ж тісними умів. Сам Шевченко не потребує ніякої оборони, бо його боронять найліпше його твори...<sup>2</sup>*

Two of Franko's statements made in this article - the one concerning the biblical influence on Shevchenko (page 74), and the last one just quoted above - are noteworthy for their relevance to the problem of his specific conception of Shevchenko's approach to, and treatment of, religious and biblical themes. In the first, he does not deny the biblical influence on Shevchenko as such; he only denies that the Bible influenced the poet to such a great extent, and in such a sense, as Shchurat was anxious to show. In the second, he reveals his position with regard to attributions of apostasy to Shevchenko by describing such attributions as narrow-mindedness.

Franko's subsequent writings on Shevchenko are marked by a fervent defense of the poet, and particularly of his poem Mariia, against accusations of apostasy and blasphemy. Thus, his article of 1905 entitled

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<sup>1</sup> Non severus, op. cit., ibid., p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ibid.

"Mistyfikatsiia chy idiotyzm"<sup>1</sup> is a fiery reaction to a clerical circular which called upon the Galician Greek Catholic clergymen to lend their forces to what he terms as "the undermining of the cult of Shevchenko" in Galicia. The circular, dated May 5, 1905, bore the signature of the prelate Iosyf Kobylans'kyi, and condemned Shevchenko as a blasphemer on account of his poem Mariia, stating, among other things:

[...] Най не славлять його, коли він так безчесно писав на Господа і на Пресв. Матер Божу в своїм поематі "Марія мати Ісусова". Тож при таким крайньо негіднім богохульстві ніяк не годиться славити його...<sup>2</sup>

Knowing Father Kobylans'kyi as a sincere old priest, given to mathematics, and taking no interest in Ukrainian literature, Franko doubts that he has ever read the poem Mariia, and suspects the denunciatory circular of being the work of "some dirty hand" hiding behind the prelate's name and prestige. Subsequently, he contests the condemnation of Shevchenko by quoting the opening lines of Mariia, and declaring that neither Father Kobylans'kyi nor any other intelligent and sincere clergyman could have condemned "a work beginning with such a marvellous hymn to the Virgin Mary", had he ever read it in its entirety:

Наскільки знаємо, о. Кобилянський руським життям і руським письменством ніколи не займався і не займається і правдоподібно не читав навіть Шевченкової поеми "Марія"[...], інакше він не говорив би з таким обуренням про твір, що починається чудовим гімном до Марії:

Все упованіє моє  
На тебе, мій пресвітлий раю,  
На милосердіє твоє  
Все упованіє моє  
На тебе, мати, покладаю.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Mistyfikatsiia chy idiotyzm", LNV, 1905, Vol. 31, Book 7, p. 94-96. Reprinted in Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 342-344.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 16, p.342.

Та, як сказано, автор сикофантського листа, очевидно, не читав самої поеми... Що проте він... без ніяких серйозних доказів кидає свою анафему на Шевченка, се також добре характеризує низький, несерйозний спосіб думання автора, і промовляє против авторства о. Кобилянського, чоловіка, скільки знаю його... щирого і далекого від усякого сикофантства. Нам здається, що якась брудна і нечиста рука підшилася під фірму о. Кобилянського, щоб провести в люди думку, з якою віддавна носяться наші москвофіли - підірвати культ Шевченка серед нашої суспільності...<sup>1</sup>

Whereas the article "Mistyfikatsiia chy idiotyzm" is a defense of Shevchenko, provoked by his condemnation for alleged blasphemy, and based on a fragment of the controversial poem Mariia, the essay "Shevchenkova Mariia" of 1913 constitutes a spontaneous affirmation of a religious spirit in the poet at the time Mariia was written, made on the basis of this poem as a whole. Here, Franko represents the rise of the religious spirit in Shevchenko as an effect of his engrossment in the Gospels during the exile, and quotes two of his letters of that time, describing the influence of the Gospels on him<sup>2</sup>.

It is noteworthy that Franko quotes these letters from Dr. Vasyl' Shchurat's book on the Holy Scriptures in Shevchenko's poetry, which he criticized nine years before. Moreover, his reference to this book in a footnote is not limited to the standard bibliographical data, but is accompanied by a short appraisal of the work, strikingly different from the outright adverse evaluation he gave it in 1904. The footnote reads:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 16, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 65 of this study.

Д-р В. Щурат, "Святе письмо в Шевченковій поезії", Львів, 1904, стор. 10-12. У тій розвідці автор дав цінний причинок до зрозуміння біблійних основ досить численних Шевченкових поезій та уступів у його поезіях...<sup>1</sup>

This revised and substantially mitigated judgment may be attributed to the crystallization of Franko's recognition of a particular religious spirit animating Shevchenko after his liberation, which resulted from a renewed and deepened investigation of his post-exile works. The occurrence of such a reinvestigation is implied in the wording of Franko's statement already quoted before,

Вдумуючися в цілий ряд творів, написаних Шевченком по повороті з заслання, кожний мусить завважити в ньому в тім часі незвичайний підйом релігійного духу...<sup>2</sup>

That these words reflect a reinvestigation follows from the fact that Franko interpreted some of Shevchenko's post-exile poems, including Mariia, in previous years - with a different approach.<sup>3</sup>

On the ground of Franko's sporadic reactions and statements concerning the problem of religious and biblical elements in Shevchenko's poetry, surveyed above, his overall specific conception of Shevchenko's approach to, and treatment of, these elements may be described as follows:

The approach to the Bible and to elements of religious faith in Shevchenko's poetry as a whole is basically secular.

In his pre-exile works, he draws from the Bible such elements as correspond with his ideas and sentiments, employing them chiefly for

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenkova Mariia", *Tvory*, Vol. 17, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 65 of this study. (The writer underscores).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 67-69 of this study.

purposes of poetical imagery or figurative expression.

However, his post-exile poetry is marked by a deep influence of the Bible, and particularly of the Prophets and the Gospels. This influence affects not only his world outlook, but also his entire spiritual being, and manifests itself in a sincere and fervent spirit of reverence toward moral ideals and spiritual values, which he draws from the Bible. The sublime ideals of Truth, Love, Mercy, Justice, and Freedom are made by him into ideological foundations of many poems. He actually treats these ideals as sanctities, and worships the biblical figures embodying them - particularly the Virgin Mary and Jesus - with a genuine spirit of devout though unorthodox awe that often surpasses, in depth and earnestness, adoration through outward observances.<sup>1</sup>

This conception underlies the essay "Shevchenkova Mariia".

The poem Mariia engaged Franko's interest throughout his life both as a poetical masterpiece in itself and as an outstanding example of a poetical representation of biblical themes and motives. In particular, he regarded it as the greatest and most beautiful of a series of Shevchenko's poems dedicated to the theme of the woman-mother. As early as 1880, he began writing a monograph on this theme in Shevchenko's poetry.

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<sup>1</sup> Franko was well acquainted with the Shevchenkian poems containing censorious utterances about the church and certain biblical figures (e.g., Kavkaz, Tsari, Saul), but he wrote very little about them. From his few references to such utterances it is evident that he conceived them not as expressing Shevchenko's real attitude to the church or the Bible as such, but as allegories and symbolic images, through which the poet censured the moral decay and the oppression of his nation, prevailing under the autocratic tsarist system. Cf. I. Franko, "Temne tsarstvo" (1881), Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 25.

He broke off, however, in the middle of the introduction, and never completed that work. The fragment of the introduction, which was published posthumously, contains his first appreciation of Mariia:

[...] В найвищім, ним списанім ідеалі жєнщини-матєрі (в Марії) Кобзарь наш лишив нам такий високий пам'ятник своєї мисли і свого слова, лишив нам такий ясний та пориваючий ідеал жєнщини-громадянки, якого не писав жоден інший поет в світі... ідеал, до якого удаєсь доходити людскости тільки в великих хвилях всесвітної боротьби добра з злом, доходити тільки в немногих благословенних єдиницях.<sup>1</sup>

In 1882 he translated Mariia into German. The translation was equally published posthumously<sup>2</sup>. In the same year, he decided to publish, in conjunction with M. Drahomanov, a special Ukrainian edition of this poem, with an introduction and a commentary to be prepared by the latter, in order to popularize it among the people, and defend it against condemnation<sup>3</sup>. The project materialized, and, in 1883, he reported to Drahomanov:

[...] Взагалі скажу, що на людей простих більше враження робить Ваша передмова до "Марії" і примітка, ніж сама поема, котрої впрочім і образовані у нас не вміють оцінити, а котра мені видається найгеніальнішим з усього, що написав Тарас...<sup>4</sup>

His essay "Taras Shevchenko" of 1891 ends with an extended exposition of the idea of Mariia, first presented in 1888 in the article

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Zhenshchyna-maty v poemakh Shevchenka", Ivan Franko - Literaturna spadshchyna, Vol. 1, Kyiv, 1956, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> In M. Vozniak, Z zhyttia i tvorchosti Ivana Franka, Kyiv, 1955, p. 295-302. Cf. M.O. Moroz, I. Franko - Bibliohrafiia tvoriv, entry 1607.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Letter to Drahomanov, September, 1882, Tvory, Vol. 20, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Drahomanov, 4.12.1883, ibid., p. 209.

"T. Shevchenko v osvitlenni p. Ursina"<sup>1</sup>:

Посвячення своєї людської індивідуальності для діл милосердя, переможення власних терпінь, забуття власних ураз, де йде про службу високій і піднеслій ідеї - добра загалу, добра людськості - оце ідеал жінки, який полишив нам у спадщині Шевченко. То ж не диво, що й найвищий дотеперішній здобуток людськості на полі моральнім, велику ідею любові ближнього, сю основну ідею християнства, Шевченко в головній мірі вважав ділом жінчини - Марії, матері Ісусової.<sup>2</sup>

In the article "Mistyfikatsiia chy idiotyzm" of 1905, he points out the beauty and the sincerity of the hymn to the Virgin Mary with which the poem opens, to show that a poem with such a beginning cannot be considered as blasphemous.

The above sporadic references to the poem Mariia manifest Franko's ever deepening penetration into its ideology, and into Shevchenko's inner world. The essay "Shevchenkova Mariia" is a synthesis of his views on this work as well as of his efforts to promote an intelligent understanding of it.

The essay consists of a short introductory section followed by a detailed analysis of the poem and of its biblical elements, made from the position of biblical criticism.

In the introduction, Franko defines Mariia as one of the "most beautiful, most deeply conceived, and most harmoniously elaborated poems of Shevchenko". He lays particular stress on Shevchenko's "daring idea" - to represent the life of the Holy Virgin "on the ground of the very scanty

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 69 of this study.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, "Taras Shevchenko", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 94.



ecclesiastical tradition, and chiefly - on the ground of his individual creative intuition":

[...] Основний помисл сеї поеми незвичайно смілий - змалювати життя Матері Спасителя на основі дуже скупой церковної традиції, а головню - на основі власної творчої інтуїції.<sup>1</sup>

Subsequently, he describes Mariia as the greatest of Shevchenko's poems on the theme of the woman-mother, a theme which pervades Shevchenko's poetry as from his juvenile poetical production,

[...] а в Марії доходить до найвищого вершка, який тільки могла досягти фантазія поета, і до найкращого апофеозу того типу, висловленого в чудовім вступі...<sup>2</sup>

Here, Franko quotes the whole address to the Virgin Mary, opening the poem, to bring up into view the fervour and the beauty of the worshipful hymn and prayer to Her expressed in it, as well as the fact that She was to Shevchenko the embodiment of Love, Mercy, and Goodness.

In the analysis of the poem, Franko lays particular emphasis on the originality and the great poetical art with which Shevchenko represents the underlying biblical motives. He points out that Shevchenko's attention is focused on the human being with his inner life, and with his aspirations, feelings and actions. Therefore, the biblical accounts underlying the plot of Mariia are transferred to a purely human scene of events, and the supernatural phenomena described in the biblical accounts are interpreted on the basis of realistic human psychology.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, "Shevchenkova Mariia", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ibid.

What Shevchenko stresses in particular is, in Franko's interpretation, the humaneness of Joseph and of the shepherds, the self-sacrifice for the Truth of Jesus and of St. John, and - above all - the boundless Love, Mercy and self-sacrifice of the Virgin Mary.

In representing the characters and the events, Shevchenko often deviates from the biblical tradition. Franko points out all these deviations, and provides each of them with a special explanation, evidencing his clear intention to show that they are not instances of wilful apostasy, but are chiefly based on existing sources of apocryphal and other religious literature. Thus, in commenting on Shevchenko's representation of the birth of Jesus, Franko states:

Так справився поет із великою християнською тайною зачаття і поставив подію на чисто людському ґрунті, неначеб ішов за таким апокрифом, який подибується в одній пам'ятці старого церковного письменства, в "Житію святої Теклі"...<sup>1</sup>

In explaining the scene, where Jesus is brought up together with John, and, while the two children play, Jesus makes a cross from two little sticks, Franko observes:

Тут Шевченко покористовується мотивом далеко пізнішої християнської іконографії, що на одній картині представляє двоє дітей, Івана і Ісуса, та Марію, при чім Ісус держить у руках хрестик. Із цього мотиву зробив Шевченко дуже зворушливе оповідання...<sup>2</sup>

The concluding passage of Maríia, where the Holy Virgin gathers all the Apostles and confers Her spirit on them, is commented by Franko

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

as follows:

Се закінчення нагадує закінчення "Неофітів", де мати героя Алкіда, по його смерті, переймається його вірою та запалом і йде між народ проповідати во ім'я розп'ятого. Можна додати тут також відгомін апокрифічного "Слова Івана Богослова про успеніє Богородиці"... Можна сказати напевно, що се оповідання було невідоме Шевченкові, але дуже правдоподібно - йому відомі були малюнки успенія, на яких біля постелі Богородиці видно постаті всіх Апостолів.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, Franko points out with particular emphasis that the poem Mariia constitutes Shevchenko's poetic expression of his genuine adoration of the Virgin Mary, which led him to supplementing poetically the story of Her life with facts and events that lack from the biblical tradition, in order to represent Her as the embodiment of all the highest moral and spiritual values:

Здавалось би, що автор так і полишить матір Ісусову заслонену імлюю забуття, як полишають її наші канонічні Євангелія. Але він не на те писав свою поему і зробив Марію її героїнею, щоби дати їй умерти зовсім безсловно та безслідно. Правда, зі сфери бідності та сирітства вона не виходить, але проте духом вона далеко вища від свого оточення, навіть від тих товаришів та супутників Ісусових, яких Він іменував своїми апостолами...<sup>2</sup>

The essay "Shevchenkova Mariia" closes the cycle of Franko's works in literary criticism, devoted to poetical art in biblical motive representation. This cycle reflects the profound interest which he took in the Scriptures as a vast treasury of great literature and of lofty themes and motives for the poet, the writer, and the thinker. It also reflects

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 156-157.

his principles for biblical motive representation, and his criteria for evaluating it. These principles and criteria are characterized by the postulate of originality, realism, ideological individuality, and relevance to ongoing life.

The examination of his interest in, and approach to the Bible, and of his mode of employing biblical elements as reflected in his own poetical production - is the subject of the chapters that follow.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BIBLE-PERVADED PRE-MOISEI POEMS

#### 1. The Characteristics of Franko's Recourse to the Bible.

Ivan Franko's lifelong interest in the Bible yielded a rich crop of poetic works, pervaded by biblical elements which perform a wide and varied range of ideological, literary and artistic functions in them. The poet's application of the biblical substance is characterized by originality on the one hand, and by relevancy to contemporary life and thinking, on the other. Himself endowed with that "creative intuition" which he admires in Shevchenko<sup>1</sup>, he never employs biblical elements without charging them with specific rôles designed to serve his individual ideological or poetic purposes. He draws from the Holy Scriptures such themes, motives, and images as sit well with his own mental attitudes, and accommodate themselves to the expression of his ideas and sentiments relating to present-day problems and happenings in the life of his people, in his personal life, or in the life of society at large. Through these biblical elements he conveys moral standards and spiritual values from the remote past to the close-by present, making his presentations in easily comprehensible terms, and in the spirit of contemporary thinking, so as to benefit his reader spiritually and educate him at the same time.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. I. Franko, Shevchenkova "Mariia", Tvory, Vol. 17, p. 149. Cf. also p. 82 of this study.

In the series of the pre-Moisei poems selected for analysis and discussion in this chapter, Franko appears inseparable from the Scriptures. From nearly all corners of the scriptural text - the Pentateuch, the Book of Judges, the Books of the Prophets, the Book of Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, the Gospels, the Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles, the canonized Apocrypha - the poet evokes traditional phrases, images and concepts, some of them popular and familiar, others rare and specific, through which he imparts to a given poem the moral or emotional impact he intends to make. According to his tendencies in the various poems, he introduces pertinent biblical references, citing whole passages, or quoting single verses, parts of verses, or disparate locutions, as the case may be. Often he illustrates his ideas by contexts of images drawn from the Bible, or by allusions to biblical figures, scenes, or events. Occasionally, wishing to extend the meaning of a biblical statement, or to expound his individual specific interpretation of it more perspicuously, he does so by means of figurative devices (metaphor, simile, contrast) summoned from a different biblical text. Biblical phrases constitute or underlie the titles of some of his poems and poem-cycles (e.g., De profundis [Psalm 130:1], Ziv'iale lystia [Isaiah, 1:30]). A number of poems (of the cycle Na stari temy) are provided with mottoes consisting of biblical verses.

In Ivan Franko's recourse to the Bible manifests itself both his pervasive familiarity with the vast realm of biblical literature and the intuitive mastery with which he embodies the abundance of his biblical scholarship in his poetic production. Whether the subject-matter of a given poem discussed in the present chapter is moral, national, social,

philosophical, or personal, he always finds in the Scriptures the parallel themes, the corresponding images, and the appropriate vocabulary and artistic resources, through which to sound his own views, ideas and sentiments.

The biblical sources predominantly underlying the pre-Moisei poems in question are the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Prophets, Job, the Gospels, and the writings of St. Paul. However, the poet is also closely intent on the folkloristic motives in biblical literature. The specific scriptural patterns of the parable, the legend, the saying, and the allegory are conspicuously made use of in these poems.

Franko's application of the biblical material and his treatment of it in his works display a variety of modes and forms. This multiformity comes into view in his practice of blending the biblical with the modern, and reflects the wide diapason of his recourse to the Bible and of his poetic inventiveness. He interweaves his contemporary views and ideas with elements of ancient tradition, making the old statements resound in the reader's mind in a present-day sense, and in tones which he purposely imparts to them by means of various emotional or intellectual stimuli of his own invention. Some poems, especially the juvenile ones, are characterized by a close interaction between the biblical and the contemporary in respect of ideology, style and form. In others, of the later years, the relationship between the two worlds is represented by what may be described as an associative parallelism, i.e. a parallelism or an analogy, which the poet finds, by association, between contemporary and biblical phenomena of physical or spiritual nature.

The multiformity of the poet's blending the biblical with the contemporary exemplifies various aspects of the biblical impact on him. Thus, among the pre-Moisei poems, which are all modern in ideology, certain works are prominently biblical in themes, imagery, vocabulary, and artistic devices, summoned from various biblical texts; and it is through these old texts that the poet sounds new, contemporary contents. A number of poems, where the poet is engaged in self-expression, reverberate contexts, moods, and atmospheres of biblical passages, which he finds to mirror his own thoughts, feelings, or state of mind. The collection of his ethico-didactic poems, Mii Izmarahd, though essentially based on non-biblical sources, displays elements of the wisdom-literature of the Bible as well as of other biblical matter (parables, maxims, poetic paraphrases of some selected biblical verses). In some instances, the poet places a whole biblical passage - a narrative unit, or a piece of poetry (a psalm), under the surface of a poem as a foundation, and on such biblical foundations he erects individual philosophical or ideological superstructures relating to contemporary life (Smert' Kafna, Na ritsi vavilons'kii).

A characteristic feature of this Frankian practice is the great freedom with which the poet treats the biblical elements when blending them with modern substance. In some instances (particularly in the early poems), he utilizes the biblical material in conformity to its traditional sense and intent. On other occasions, he departs from the traditional meaning, either in the form of a slight modification of the biblical context, or in the form of a more substantial reshaping of it, omitting something, or adding something, or in the form of a complete reversal of its sense and intent.



Obviously, this free treatment of the biblical material derives from the poet's basically secular approach to the Scriptures. However, while he declines acceptance <sup>of</sup> ~~xxx~~ traditional dogma, his extensive and purposeful employment of biblical elements as organic components of his works attests not only to his recognition of the immutable validity of the moral and spiritual teachings of the Bible, but also to his profound personal identification with the lofty human, national, and universal ideals inherent in them.

The above survey will have provided a general view of the relationship between Franko's biblical interest and his poetic production, of the main modes and purposes of his recourse to the Bible, and of the rôle of the biblical ingredient in his poetic works.

The ensuing analysis of the Bible-pervaded pre-Moisei poems proposes to illustrate the operation of the poet's recourse to the Bible, and its effect on the works in question from the ideological, literary, and aesthetic points of view.

The paragraphs that follow encompass a poetic translation of a biblical passage, and a major series of original poems on a variety of themes: national, moral, social, personal, didactic, and philosophical, all composed between the years 1874 and 1905. For the purpose of analysis, these works are arranged in several groups, the classificational criterion being the predominant purpose of the poet's recourse to the biblical world in one or another group of poems: to sound new contents through the old texts, for self-expression, for didactic material, or for building philosophical superstructures on biblical foundations.

## 2. Biblical Translations.

The first signs of the biblical impact on Ivan Franko manifest themselves in his juvenile poetic translations of some major and minor sections of the Old and New Testaments.

According to his own testimony, the ancient Orient attracted him overpoweringly already in his high school days. He read and studied the Holy Scriptures in the Old Church Slavonic version and in German translation, "delighted in the Prophets, and translated all of Job in verse"<sup>1</sup>.

The lofty phenomena of man's spiritual life, represented in the narrative, poetic and speculative sections of the Old Testament, and the high moral ideals inherent in the teachings of the New Testament engrossed the sensitive mind of the young prospective poet and thinker, who was throughout his life moved by a noble pursuit of Love, Truth and Justice, and by a profound sympathy for everything that touches the heart of the individual and the soul of the people. They aroused deep emotional experiences in him, stimulated his artistic and speculative faculties, and spurred him on to express his spiritual reaction to their impact in the form of poetic translations.

Franko's earliest biblical translation appears to have been his Prorochestvo Isai<sup>h</sup>, dating from 1873, and comprising several initial chapters of Isaiah. It was published posthumously in a journal, together with an article on it, by M. Vozniak<sup>2</sup> in 1930, but has never been reprinted.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Hirchychne zerno, Tvory, Vol. 4, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> M. S. Vozniak, Prorochestvo Isai<sup>h</sup> v perespivi Franka, Ukra<sup>h</sup>ns'ka reformatsiia, 1930, No.1, p.9-12, No.2, p.15-19. Cf. M.O. Moroz, Ivan Franko, Bibliohrafiia, Ky<sup>h</sup>v, "Naukova dumka", 1966, entry 1551, p. 147.

The book of Job exerted a particularly strong influence on young Franko. He read and re-read it repeatedly at different stages of his intellectual development, studied various research works on it<sup>1</sup>, and was eventually overcome by an inward need to translate it in a poetic form of his own. Proposing his translation for publication in the Druh (organ of the L'viv students' association "Akademicheskii kruzhok"), he wrote to Vasyl' Davydiak, member of the editorial board:

Видів-єм кілька літ тому... переспів Іова Ратая<sup>2</sup>, но ще-м тогда був у такім віці, коли затвердою справою був Іов для мене, особливо писаний неримованим стихом. Тепер, розчитавшись в Іові, переклад його стався майже *потребою моєї душі*, - я вибрав стих ямбічний римований...<sup>3</sup>

His translation comprised twelve chapters. He requested Davydiak to publish his "Galician Job - as a parallel to that of Ratai's"<sup>4</sup>. But the work was never published, and has remained in manuscript.

The only juvenile biblical translation of Franko's to have been published in his lifetime is the poetical paraphrase of verses 1-7 of Chapter Thirteen of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, which he made in 1875 from a Church Slavonic text of the 18th century, and which is known as the poem Liubov<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ratai - pseudonym of Pantaleimon Kulish.

<sup>3</sup> Letter to V. Davydiak, dated 3.7.1875, Tvory, Vol. 20, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., ibid.

<sup>5</sup> I. Franko, Liubov, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 446-447. First printed in the Druh, No. 22, 15.11.1875. Republished in the collection Iz lit moieĭ molodosti, 1914, with an indication of the Church Slavonic source. Cf. Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 549.

In six four-foot iambic six-lined stanzas, rhyming *ababcc* with intermingling "feminine" and "masculine" rhyme-endings, the young poet presents an artistic rendition of the biblical passage. The first four stanzas correspond to verses 1-4, the fifth - to verses 5-6, and the sixth - to verse 7.

Brief in expression, condensing whole images and ideas within short phrases or single words, the poet succeeds not only in rendering the original text in its full sense and spirit, but also in enriching its meaning and its message with elements of his individual creativity. The fourth stanza of his poem, paraphrasing verse 4 of the Pauline text, may serve as an example. The biblical verse reads:

Любы долготерпитъ, милосердствуетъ, любы не завидитъ,  
любы не превозносятся, не гордитъ, не безчинствуетъ,  
не ищетъ свояси, не раздражается, не вмѣняетъ зла.<sup>1</sup>

Franko paraphrases it as follows:

Любов бо довготерпелива,  
Ласкава й смирна й знає честь,  
Независна, не пакіслива, -  
Любов за нас пішла на хрест.  
Негорда, честі не бажає,  
Терпить, відплати не шукає.<sup>2</sup>

The above example, which is characteristic of the Frankian paraphrase as a whole, shows the relation of the paraphrase to the original text. The epistolary biblical passage, doctrinal in its essence, is transformed into a hymn to Love. The poet maintains the lexical simplicity of the original - he even enhances it through his simple, concrete exposition,

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from I. Franko, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 549.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Liubov, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 446.

and imparts to the prose text the aesthetic features of rhyme, rhythm and strophic form.

At the same time, the poet imprints on his paraphrase the stamp of his particular tendency to link or blend the biblical with the contemporary, characterizing all the poetic works in which he has recourse to the Bible. This is indicated by the original metaphor "ЛЮБОВ ЗА НАС ПИШЛА НА ХРЕСТ", which he introduces in the fourth line as an independently added overtone. On the one hand, this metaphor provides an image and an example of the *idea* of Love realized in *action*. On the other hand, through the words "за нас", which may be understood by the reader not only as referring to humanity in general, but also as directed to the poet's people of the present generation (as well as to himself), the poet makes the moral substance of the biblical text have relevance to present-day life.

Thus, without breaking his basic faithfulness to the original text, the poet succeeds in detaching himself from it for a moment, in order to create an associative image, designed to act on the reader as an emotional stimulus, to deepen his recognition of the value of Love. In this combination of textual fidelity and original creativity lies the literary quality of young Franko's biblical paraphrase-poem Liubov.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Only one more poetic translation by Franko of a biblical passage appeared in print. It is the Prytcha pro nemyloserdie, based on St. Matthew, Chapter 18, verses 23-35, published in Dilo in 1913 - the year in which it was composed. This work will be discussed among the post-Moisei poems.

### 3. Original Poems.

#### A. Sounding New Contents through the Old Texts.

The poem Skhid sontsia (1875)<sup>1</sup> exemplifies an original juvenile Frankian work, modern in ideology, and manifestly biblical in themes, vocabulary, imagery, and artistic devices.

The poem consists of three parts, representing three stages in the process of sunrise. Each part is composed of epical passages predominantly interspersed with lyrical effusions. The former depict the struggle between darkness and light in nature, whereas in the latter "darkness" and "light" become symbols of opposed ethico-cultural values, and their strife is transferred from the physical realm of nature to the spiritual world of man.

Skhid sontsia is an ode to the ideal of "brotherly love". The protagonist of the poem (the poet himself) postulates this ideal, first, in a universal sense, as the foundation of harmony and progress in the life of all nations; then, with a steadily crystallizing national-patriotic tendency - as the key to his own people's successful development in general, and to the cultural advancement of all its segments in particular.

The first part (stanzas 1-7) opens with the young poet's waking up in the middle of the night, prompted by a visionary image of "a day of light, and glory, and peace, and love" about to dawn over his homeland.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Skhid sontsia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 454-457. First printed in the Druh, No. 2, 15.1.1876. Republished in 1914 in the collection Iz lit moiei molodosti.

Enraptured by this vision, he prepares to receive the forthcoming sunrise of the "Great Day" with a special "morning song". The night is, however, reluctant to pass. The lingering darkness evokes an associative image of the moral and spiritual "obscurity" prevailing in reality, where not Love and Light, but hostility, hypocrisy and obscurantism govern the human ways of life and the mutual relations between people and between nations. The discord between ideal and reality provokes an ardent appeal to God, in which the poet deplores the existing ethico-cultural decadence and the world's idle unconcern towards it, and invites divine intervention to "arouse" humanity from its "sleep", and stir it up to Love and Light.

In the second part (stanzas 8-11), the night begins to give in. The poet can see the peaks of the mountains emerging from the dissipating darkness, and the rest of his homeland's broad landscape looming through the grey of the morning. The scenery engenders in him a flush of love for his country and his people. He dreams of establishing unity and concord among his brethren, of elevating them to international eminence... But the sombreness which still hovers about the landscape transforms itself into an image symbolizing his homeland's actual condition: vast, rich, and beautiful, but shrouded in a mist of disunion and cultural poverty. This association provokes dismal meditations.

In the last part (stanzas 12-13), the sun finally rises. He finds meaning in this phenomenon, and becomes reassured that his ideal of "brotherly love" will be realized: as in nature, "light" will overcome "darkness" in the life of his people. Enthused, and confident, he ends the poem with his intended song of welcome to the promising sunrise.

Skhid sentsia is pervaded by a wide range of biblical elements evidencing the poet's recourse to a variety of scriptural sources. The predominant impact on the poem is, however, to be ascribed to the writings of St. Paul, and particularly to his Epistle to the Romans. This is primarily indicated by the fact that the poem's subject-matter and central idea are founded on "brotherly love" - a theme so formulated by St. Paul, peculiar to his doctrine in general, and one of the principal themes of his Epistle in question<sup>1</sup>.

The poet's adoption of this theme and of this source was not accidental. There exists a noticeable affinity between the respective intents of the Pauline Epistle and the Frankian poem: the former seeks to promote fraternity and concord among different segments of the early Christians of Rome<sup>2</sup>; the latter pursues a similar object with regard to different segments of the Ukrainian people of Galicia<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> It was St. Paul who first gave the formulation "brotherly love" to the Mosaic commandment "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" (Leviticus, 19:18). In this formulation, the theme of mutual love is dealt with in I Thessalonians, 4:9-10 - his earliest Epistle, and in Hebrews, 13:1-3, but is most extensively developed in chapters 12-14 of the Epistle to the Romans.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Introduction aux Epîtres de Saint Paul, in Bible de Jérusalem, Paris, Editions du Cerf, p. 1485-1486.

<sup>3</sup> Franko dedicated this poem to the first convention of the "Kachkovs'kyi Society" (a "Moskvophil" cultural institution which professed to spread enlightenment among the common people, founded in 1874), held in August, 1875. At that time (though not in his later years), he highly valued the work of that society as paving the way to social harmony and cultural advancement through linking the intelligentsia with the popular masses - an ideal that animated him throughout his life. Cf. his note to the poem, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 454; I. Franko, Chy vertatys' nam nazad do narodu? ibid., Vol. 19, p. 42, 49; S. V. Shchurat, Rannia tvorchist' Ivana Franka, p. 112, 125-126.



The impact of the Epistle to the Romans is further evidenced by the poet's wide and varied recourse to its text, manifesting itself in the idea-content and in the lexico-figurative texture of Skhid sontsia as well as in the elements of the poem's composition.

The main textual elements of the Epistle, resorted to by the poet, are several selected passages of the Apostle's appeal for mutual love. This appeal displays, in outline, three constituent parts: the Apostle precedes it by a series of introductory teachings (chapters 1 - 11), then he announces the main theme of "brotherly love" in the central part (12:9-21), and develops this theme in a doctrinal discourse (chapters 13 - 14) concluding the appeal. Some of the parenetical passages (13:11-13) of the closing discourse are interwoven with metaphor and symbolic imagery: "night" and "the works of darkness" represent hostility and vice; "day" and "light" - love and virtue; "sleep" symbolizes being steeped in wrong old attitudes; "awakening" stands for a spiritual renewal and a change to Love and Light, and is associated with prospects of "salvation".

These structural and figurative elements of the Apostle's appeal are contained in a series of verses to which the poet has particular recourse, namely:

For *the wages of sin is death* (6:23)<sup>1</sup>.  
 For as many as are led by the Spirit of God,  
 they are *the sons of God* (8:14).  
 Be ye transformed by the *renewing* of your mind... (12:2).

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<sup>1</sup> The author italicizes all biblical phrases or words which are quoted, echoed, or alluded to in the Frankian poems under discussion. (This also applies to the texts of the poems quoted in Ukrainian).

Let love be *without dissimulation* (12:9).

Be kindly affectioned one to another with *brotherly love* (12:10).

And... now it is high time to *awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed* (13:11).

*The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light* (13:12).

*Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting..., not in strife and envying* (13:13).

The above verses, singled out by the author, also comprise the principal Pauline themes and contexts that resound in both the thematic and the poetic substance of Skhid sontsia. The ensuing analysis of the poem proposes to illustrate the range and mode of Franko's resorting to the Epistle to the Romans for ideological and literary resources through which to sound his own contemporary ideas and express his individual thoughts and feelings.

The text of Skhid sontsia reveals at first sight that the poet makes great use of the Pauline Epistle's vocabulary, and adopts the Apostle's symbols and figurative devices. Pauline phrases, words and images occur throughout the poem, right from the opening stanzas:

1

3 рамен тіні, з рамен ночі,  
 Із солодких сну обнятій,  
 3 Вирвись, серце!...  
 5 Встань, о глянь, вже ніч минає!  
 6 Встань, о глянь, вже день світає!...

2

3 Се день світла, се день слави...  
 5 Се день мира, не день бою,  
 6 День пісень і день любови...  
 8 Тож вітай в нім день обнови!

3

О, ще темно! Під покровом  
 2 Ночі спить весь світ...

10 Ніч іще останній раз  
 Сил останки напружила,  
 12 Аби в сні вдержати нас.<sup>1</sup>

These three introductory stanzas contain the chief components of the poem's moral substance. Their symbolical quality is temporarily hidden behind the concrete denotations of the elements: *light-darkness*, *day-night*, *sleep-awakening*, drawn from the Epistle, and behind the physical aspect of the Pauline image "*The night is far spent, the day is at hand*" reflected in lines 5-6 of the first stanza. Also the element of Love, the poem's keynote, is introduced at this initial stage. The poet places it last - and topmost - among the features of the "Great Day" of his dreams, after *light* on the one hand (second stanza, line 3), and *peace* and *songs* (joy) on the other (lines 5-6), echoing, on this occasion, the Pauline phrases "*love, joy, peace*" (Galatians, 5:22) and "*peace and joy*" (Romans, 14:17). He then summarizes the change to "light, peace, joy and love" by the term "renewal" [обнови] (line 8), which is suggestive of a lexical association with the phrase "*by the renewing of your mind*" in Romans, 12:2. Finally, the contrasting image of the night still lingering, and the metaphor in lines 10-12 of "the night straining the rest of its forces to retain the world in sleep" foreshadow the struggle to ensue between "night" and "day" (in their respective ambiguous senses), as well as the necessity for the people "to put on the armour of light against the works of darkness" (Romans, 13:12).

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Skhid sontsia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 454.

The symbolic significance of these biblical elements comes to light with their transfer to the domain of man, which takes place in the poet's appeal to God (stanzas 4-7). A change of rhythm, from the former trochaic to an iambic tetrameter, marks the transition to this central part of the poem. The appeal to God consists of three main parts. The first (stanzas 4-5) is a complaint about the social disunion, the moral decline and the cultural backwardness existing in reality, and the world's indifference to them, these symptoms of decay being represented by the elements of "treachery" (contrasting the Pauline *"Let us walk honestly"*), "strife", "envying", "darkness" ("moma" - in the double meaning of "obscurity" and "obscurantism") and "sleep", drawn from the Epistle.<sup>1</sup> The second part (lines 1-4 of the sixth stanza) announces the main theme - "brotherly love", and presents, at the same time, the motive of the appeal: the poet's frustration due to the discord between his ideal of fraternal love - and reality. In the third part (the rest of the sixth stanza, and the whole of the seventh) the poet makes a supplication for divine action, even if vehement and forcible, to "rouse" the "sleeping", "stone-hearted" world from its "obscurity" and "idle placidity" to active pursuit of moral and cultural "light".

Four times the poet invokes the Creator: twice as "God of our fathers" in the complaint-part of his appeal, and twice as "Father" in his supplication; and with each invocation he unfolds a different facet of the deplorable ethico-cultural reality:

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<sup>1</sup> Romans, 13:11, 12 and 13.

## 4

- О, сильний предків наших Боже!  
 Чи за тяжкую нам вину
- 3 Зміниться має ложе сну  
 Тут на холодне смерті ложе?  
 Твоя рука цілий світ водить
- 6 Тим шляхом, що Ти призначив;  
 Сини Твої - усі народи;  
 Чому ж їх ворог розлучив?
- 9 Забулось їм, що перед твоїм  
 Лицем усі одна рідня;  
 На брата йдуть зрадливим боєм,  
 Йому вже й заздрять світла дня.

## 5

- О, сильний предків наших Боже!  
 Ти ж нам издавна призначив
- 3 Супроти тьми стояти на сторожі.  
 Глянь, ворог тьмою нас украв.  
 О, доки ж, доки виглядати
- 6 Нам з нітьми ночі світла дня?  
 І доки ж, доки нам ридати,  
 Що тьма нас тисне і гризня?
- 9 О доки ж, доки світ дрімає,  
 Не розкрива зі сну очий?  
 Доки не бачить і не знає  
 Того, що Ти велів, святий?

## 6

- Любови, братньої любови  
 Поміж народами нема!
- 3 Устами всяк про неї мовить,  
 Але до діл душа німа.
- Збуди, о Отче, своїм словом
- 6 Сей світ з важкої дрімоти!  
 А хочби і могутнім громом  
 Збуди, безсильних захисти!
- 9 Чей грім, що гори в порох крушить,  
 Перед котрим земля дροжить,  
 Ті серця кам'яні порушить,  
 З них сон зжене і їх заставить жить.

## 7

- Або пошли їм серед ночі  
 Свій промінь світла, Отче мій,
- 3 Найпоразить їх сонні очі,  
 Бездільний прожене спокій!

Най блиск такий яркий засяє,  
 6 Аби зі сну увесь зірвався світ,  
 Ачей при блиску тім пізнає,  
 Що в тьмі йому спасення ніт.<sup>1</sup>

This portion of the poem is heavily charged with biblical idiom stemming not only from the Pauline writings, but also from a variety of other New- and Old-Testamental sources (which will be discussed below). Nevertheless, the Epistle to the Romans remains its central element. The poet's call for Love and Light - the keynote of his appeal to God - is structurally and contextually patterned on that of the Apostle's; and the extra-Pauline biblical contexts are designed to provide support for that call, and are carefully selected and adapted for this purpose.

Following the Apostle's example, the poet announces the theme of "brotherly love" in the central part of his general appeal to God (sixth stanza, line 1). As the Apostle precedes this theme by a series of teachings, so the poet precedes it by a series of plaintive meditations, in which reverberate elements of the Pauline teachings, such as: "*The wages of sin is death*", "[all men are] *the sons of God*", "*let us walk honestly... not in strife and envying*"<sup>2</sup> - poetically reshaped into expressions of complaint by means of the devices of rhetorical question, contrast and reversal (fourth stanza, lines 2-4, 7-8, 11-12). As the Apostle concludes his appeal with a doctrinal discourse, so the poet concludes his own appeal with a series of utterances echoing contexts

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Skhid sontsia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 454-455.

<sup>2</sup> Romans, 6:23; 8:14; 13:13.

of that discourse, equally reshaped into effusions of complaint and reproof by means of the above-mentioned poetical devices. Thus, the rhetorical question in lines 9-10 of the fifth stanza echoes the exhortation "*Now it is high time to awake out of sleep*" (13:11a); lines 3-4 of the sixth stanza represent dissimulated love - in contrast to the precept "*Let love be without dissimulation*" (12:9); and line 8 of the seventh stanza reverses the statement "*Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed*" (13:11b) by stressing the *unlikelihood* of salvation.

To substantiate his appeal and enhance its moral effect and poetical quality, the poet summons a considerable number of contexts and images from a variety of biblical sources beyond the writings of St. Paul. These auxiliary textual resources play a highly significant and effective role in the appeal. One of their major functions is closely related to the poet's technique of reshaping the Pauline contexts, just discussed above. A look into the lexical texture of the lines where such reshapings occur reveals that these lines are themselves direct or paraphrased biblical contexts evoked from extra-Pauline passages. For example, in the fourth stanza, the vocabulary of the phrase "Чи за тяжкую нам вину..." opening the rhetorical question (lines 2-4) that reshapes the Pauline warning "*For the wages of sin is death*", reverberates simultaneously the context "... because their *sin* is very *grievous*" from Genesis, 18:20 [referring to the people of Sodom and Gomorrah, whom God punished with death]; in line 8, the additional phrase "усі народи", modifying the Pauline words about "*the sons of God*", has its counterpart in the verse "And [God] hath made of one blood *all nations of men*" (The Acts, 17:26); and in line 11, contrasting

with the Pauline precept "Let us walk *honestly...*, ... *not in strife...*", resound combined elements of the verses "*They shall fight every one against his brother*" (Isaiah, 19:2) and "Why do we *deal treacherously every one against his brother*" (Malachi, 2:10).

Similarly, in the fifth stanza, the rhetorical question: "О доки ж, доки світ дримає, не розкрива зі сну очий?", reshaping the Pauline "*Now it is high time to awake out of sleep*", echoes simultaneously the elements of the verse "For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep *sleep*, and hath closed your eyes" (Isaiah, 29:10) [fifth stanza, lines 9-10].

Lines 3-4 of the sixth stanza, contrasting with the Pauline "Let love be *without dissimulation*", paraphrase the contexts: "*With their mouth they shew much love... They hear thy words, but they do them not*" (Ezekiel, 33:31-32); and line 8 of the seventh stanza, denying the likelihood of "*salvation*" in a world of "darkness", in contrast to the Pauline "*Now is our salvation nearer than when we believed*", echoes the words: "*We walk in darkness... We look for salvation, but it is far off from us*" (Isaiah, 59:11).

In each of these cases, the poet reshapes a Pauline verse by means of a rhetorical device applied to an extra-Pauline, substituted context, in which he finds the appropriate substance for enriching the imagery, the vocabulary and the idea-content of his verse. This technique enables him to express the Pauline doctrinal themes poetically, vivify and actualize them, and gain valuable support for his appeal to God.

The totality of the extra-Pauline elements, and their additional functions in the poet's appeal will best be illustrated by a juxtaposition of the appeal's pertinent lines and their equivalents in the Bible:



The poemThe Bible

## 4

1 О, СИЛЬНИЙ предків наших Боже!

And [Jehoshaphat] said, *O Lord, God of our fathers...* (2 Chronicles, 20:6).<sup>1</sup>

5 Твоя рука цілий світ водить  
6 Тим шляхом, що Ти призначив;

*I am the Lord... which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldst go* (Isaiah, 48:17).

9 Забулось [народам], що перед твоїм  
10 Лицем усі одна рідня;

And [God] hath made of one blood all nations of men (the words of St. Paul in Acts, 17:26).

11 На брата йдуть зрадливим боем...

... They shall fight every one against his brother... (Isaiah, 19:2); Why do we deal treacherously every one against his brother? (Malachi, 2:10).

## 5

2 Ти ж нам издавна призначив  
3 Супроти тьми стояти на сторожі.

Take heed therefore that the light which is in thee be not darkness (the words of Jesus in St. Luke, 11:35).

4 Глянь, ворог тьмою нас укрив.<sup>2</sup>

Behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people (Isaiah, 60:2).

5 О доки ж, доки виглядати  
6 Нам з нітьми ночі світла дня?

We wait for light, but behold, obscurity; for brightness, but we walk in darkness (Isaiah, 59:9).

9 О доки ж, доки світ дримає,  
10 Не розкрива зі сну очий?

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of deep sleep, and hath closed your eyes (Isaiah, 29:10).

11 Доки не бачить і не знає...

They see not, nor know... (Isaiah, 44:9).

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<sup>1</sup> The locution "God of our fathers" is extremely frequent in the Old Testament. In the New Testament it appears in Acts, 3:13, 5:30, 22:14. 2 Chronicles, 20:6 is, however, the only verse where this locution is used in an invocation, as in the Frankian poem.

<sup>2</sup> "The enemy" (ВРОГ), who "separates the nations" (4th stanza, line 8) and "covers the world with darkness" is here the embodiment of the forces of evil: "the works of darkness" of Romans, 13:12, and "Satan, who deceiveth the whole world" of Revelation, 12:9.

The poemThe Bible

6

[Любови, братньої любови  
Поміж народами нема!]

3 Устами всяк про неї мовить,  
4 Але до діл душа німа.

5 Збуди, о Отче, своїм словом  
6 Сей світ з важкої дрімоти!

7 А хочби і могутнім громом  
8 Збуди, безсильних захисти!

9 Чей грім, що гори в порох крушить,  
10 Перед котрим земля дрожить...

11 Ті серця кам'яні порушить...

[*Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love (Romans, 12:10)*].

*With their mouth they shew much love... They hear thy words, but they do them not (Ezekiel, 33:31-32).*

For the Lord hath poured out upon you the spirit of *deep sleep*... (Isaiah, 29:10).

Thou shalt be visited of the Lord *with thunder*... (Isaiah, 29:6).  
*Defend the poor and fatherless!* (Psalm 82:3).

The voice of *thy thunder* was in heaven... *the earth trembled and shook.... Hills melted like wax* (Psalms 77:18; 97:5).

And I will take *the stony heart* out of their flesh (Ezekiel, 11:19).

7

1 Або пошли їм серед ночі  
2 Свій промінь світла, Отче мій...

7 Ачей при блиску тім пізнає,  
8 Що в темі йому спасення ніт.

[O Lord] *Cast forth lightning*... (Psalm 144:6).

We wait for light..., but we walk in *darkness.... We look... for salvation, but it is far off from us* (Isaiah, 59:9,11).

The above juxtaposition brings into view not only the variety of the extra-Pauline contexts underlying most lines of the poet's appeal to God<sup>1</sup>, but also the triple function which they perform in this part of the

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<sup>1</sup> The biblical verses quoted here are not the only possible counterparts of the Frankian lines, as the Scriptures abound in similar or related contexts. The author has, however, singled out those verses with which, to the best of his understanding, the poet's ideas and sentiments are most closely associated.

poem. In the first place, as has already been shown, they afford a variety of biblical contexts, lexical and figurative, for the poetic expression of the underlying doctrinal themes drawn from the Epistle to the Romans. In the second place, they furnish the poet with appropriate biblical idiom for each of the components of the complaint-part (stanzas 4-5) and of the supplication-part (stanzas 6-7) of the appeal. It is evident that, for censuring the existing moral decadence, for admonishing, and for soliciting divine intervention - he assumes the tone and the language of a biblical prophet; for the postulation of Love and Light (lines 7-10 of the fourth stanza, 1-2 of the sixth, and 2-3 of the fifth) - he summons the words of the Gospels and of the Apostles; and for picturesque and poetic expression - he resorts to the Psalms (lines 7-10 of the sixth stanza, and 1-2 of the seventh), on which he also models the composition of the appeal as a whole<sup>1</sup>. In the third place, they impart a biblical character to the appeal, thus enhancing its efficacy. Since all these contexts, despite the diversity of their textual provenience, are invariably scriptural, the poet is able to maintain a consistent, homogeneous, biblical style in the phrasing of his utterances. And by remaining within the framework of the Bible - and under its authority, he strengthens the validity and enhances the effect of his appeal for Love and Light.

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<sup>1</sup> The appeal, a compositional unit in itself, bears resemblance to a biblical psalm by virtue of its distinct structural elements: invocation-complaint-motive-supplication. With the order of these elements varying, the biblical psalms of individual or national supplication (e.g. Psalms 3, 74, 90) display a similar structure. Cf. P. Drijvers, Les Psaumes, Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 1958, p. 101-129; O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament - an Introduction, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1966, p. 112-113, 117.

The poet's appeal to God closes the first of the three parts of Skhid sontsia. In the second and third parts, comprising stanzas 8-11 and 12-13 respectively, the onward movement of the poem is advanced by the developments that take place in nature as day begins to break.

The night begins to give in. At the first signs of darkness "turning pale, having sensed light", the poet urges his heart to rise high up, to the mountains, "nearer to the light, nearer to God", echoing the Johannine dictum *God is light* (I Epistle of St. John, 1:5). Returning to the trochaic tetrametrical rhythm of the opening stanzas, he exclaims:

8

9 Вгору, серце, на вершини  
10 Тих Бескидів темно-синіх,  
11 Вгору, хоч тяжка дорога,  
12 Ближче світла, ближче Бога.<sup>1</sup>

The sight of the peaks of his native country's mountains beginning to light up, and of the rest of the land slowly emerging from the darkness stirs up in him a flush of love for his brethren and a desire to promote mutual love and concord among them, and to raise his people to a high position amongst the other nations. Echoes of St. Paul's utterances concerning unity, concord and mutual love ("*Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*" [Ephesians, 4:3]; "*Be likeminded, having the same love*" [Philippians, 2:2]) reverberate in the lines of the tenth stanza expressing these feelings:

10

[... душа...хотіла б...]  
4 Весь край свій багатий до серця прижати,  
5 Братів з'єдинити союзами згоди,  
6 Піднять їх високо між інші народи...<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Skhid sontsia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 456.

But the sombre atmosphere still reigning in nature evokes an associative image of the spiritual "mists" that continue to cover his homeland. Again, the discord between ideal and reality disheartens him. In melancholy lines, running in a combined four-foot and two-foot trochaic-amphibrachic rhythm, he laments about his country's condition in the "dumka"-like eleventh stanza closing the poem's second part:

## 11

Земле пречудна, земле широка,  
 Мій рідний краю,  
 Чом тебе досі для серця й ока  
 4 Мряки вкривають?  
 Чом не встаєш ти, чом не спиши ти  
 Довгим походом  
 Там, де блиск сонця, сяє огнистий  
 8 Над світлим сходом?<sup>1</sup>

However, this despondent mood is but temporary. In the third and last part, the poet is rewarded with the sight of light's decisive victory over darkness as the sun finally rises in full strength. This phenomenon is at once exciting and meaningful to him. In the words of St. John's vision: "*Behold, a door was opened in heaven*" (Revelation, 4:1), he exclaims:

## 12

3 Глянь, о глянь, уже й над нами  
 4 Відчинились неба брами!<sup>1</sup>

At this point he returns to the Epistle to the Romans, and will remain linked with it to the end of the poem. He associates the phenomenon of sunrise and the other natural occurrences accompanying it - with

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ibid.

the Pauline symbols and images underlying the poem, and proceeds to expound the Pauline concepts in a way of his own, and to conclude the poem with enlinking them to the on-going happenings in the life of his people.

Thus, the Pauline exhortation: "*Now it is high time to awake out of sleep*" (Romans, 13:11) resounds in the "thousand voices" which he hears calling:

9 "Гей, вставайте всі зо сну..."<sup>1</sup>.

A particular bearing upon the final passages of the poem have the symbolic images of "the night being far spent, and the day being at hand", and of "casting off the works of darkness, and putting on the armour of light" (Romans, 13:12). The phenomenon of sunrise forcing out the nightly mists, pictured in lines 1, 2 and 5 -

1                   Бач, широко  
2 Виринає світла око!...  
5 Глянь, уже щезають мгли!<sup>1</sup> -

closely akin to these images, engenders in the poet a vision of a similar phenomenon occurring in the life of his people, namely - "brotherly love" forcing out the existing unbeneficial standards of social life and of national thought: fraternal concord supersedes disunion; the people desists from its current vague nostalgia for the national past, and passes to concrete co-operative "deeds", which will endow the homeland with a wealth of "light" (in the sense of "enlightenment"), and lead to a better national future. This vision is embodied in a poetical image of "a new flower blossoming forth on the ruins of the ancestors' glory", which "will

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ibid.

give *salvation* to the world" - alluding to the Pauline words: "*now is our salvation nearer...*" (Romans, 13:11):

## 13

- 1 На руїнах предків слави
- 2 Новий цвіт нам процвіта:
- 3 Любов братня, що світ збавить,
- 4 Згода - доч небес свята.<sup>1</sup>

The poet's chief concern is not, however, "the world" at large, but his own country and people. He wishes and prays that the "new flower" bloom and live on the soil of his homeland, and that it act on his nation as a bell - not one that jingles the past glory of the ancestors, but one that calls "the descendants" (the people of the present generation) to action:

- 5 На землі отій кровавій
- 6 Цвіти, цвітко, і живи!
- 7 Не дзвони нам предків слави,
- 8 Лиш до діл потомків зви!<sup>2</sup>

The rise of the sun signifies to him the arrival of a day of fulfilment for his ideal of "brotherly love", through which his country will attain to the "light" of cultural advancement. Filled with confidence, he greets the new day with a song of welcome, thus ending the poem with a lively "finale":

- 9 О, вітай нам, нова зоре,
- 10 Братня згодо, нам вітай,
- 11 Бо з тобою світла море
- 12 Розіллється на наш край.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., ibid., p. 456-457.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., ibid., p. 457.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ibid.

In the last two parts of Skhid sontsia the poet makes a transition from the symbolic to the actual, and from the ancient and universal to the contemporary and national. This has an effect on the texture of the language as well as on the range and mode of application of the biblical elements. The biblical diction diminishes, the number of biblical referents drops, and modern idiom takes over. The biblical symbols - "light" and "darkness" - run and act side by side with their actual counterparts in nature. The precept of "brotherly love", previously referred to all the nations of the world (fourth and sixth stanzas), crystallizes into a life-program for the poet's own people, designed to lead it to harmonious socio-cultural development and elevate it to international eminence (tenth stanza). The poem's tendency shifts from universal to national-patriotic.

The Epistle to the Romans remains the poem's spiritual foundation, and the Pauline themes selected by the poet continue to pervade the poem to the very end. At the same time, however, the poem bears a prominent imprint of its juvenile author's intellectual autonomy and original creativeness. These manifest themselves in the final stanza, where the poet translates the meaning of *brotherly love, salvation and light* in a way of his own, and makes these concepts have relevance to the present-day life of his people (and to the particular event to which the poem is dedicated<sup>1</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> The first convention of the "Kachkovs'kyi Cultural Society", with the program of "spreading enlightenment among the common people" on its agenda. Cf. page note <sup>3</sup>.



In the Frankian version, "brotherly love" is raised to the height of a determinant factor not only in social life, but also in a nation's cultural development. The image of "brotherly love" as "a new flower blossoming forth on the ruins of the ancestors' glory" symbolizes the birth of a new ideology, with new moral standards and new cultural goals. And in saying to "brotherly love", at the end of the poem, "For it is when thou art here that a sea of light will flood our land", the poet declares his conviction that the attainment of his people's cultural goals is pre-conditioned by the institution of this moral standard.

The poet diverges from the biblical conception of "salvation" in his singling out "brotherly love", of all virtues, as that "which will give salvation to the world" (line 3). Moreover, he does not conceive of "salvation" in the sense of a transcendental achievement in the hereafter, but in the sense of an immanent effect of fraternity and concord as a permanent way of collective behaviour, within the limits of ordinary experience in life on earth. Thus, in parallel to his stressing the universal influence (in the words "to the world" in line 3) as well as the "heavenliness" (line 4) of the "new flower"- "brotherly love", he brings it down to earth, localizes it by restricting its "growth" and influence to the territory of his own country (На руїнах [наших!] предків слави... Новий цвіт нам процвіта... На землі отій... Не дзвони нам... О, вітай нам... На наш край...<sup>1</sup>), and reveals plainly the kind of "salvatory" effect he expects of it (lines 8, 11-12).

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<sup>1</sup> Lines 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, 12.

Associating the advent of "brotherly love" with the rise of the sun and with the corresponding Pauline images, the poet expects "brotherly love" to force out the "mists" obscuring his homeland (eleventh stanza), or, in the language of the Pauline imagery, to constitute "the armour of light" with which his people will repulse "the works of darkness" (Romans, 13:12). In his eyes, those overshadowing "mists" are, on the one hand - the cultural backwardness of the common people, and on the other - the indolent inactivity of the intelligentsia: steeped in an obsolete cult of the national past, the intelligentsia remains unconcerned about the national future, for which the elevation of the cultural standard of the popular masses is of vital importance. "Brotherly love" - the poet trusts - will oust that indolent inertness (alluded to in the seventh stanza, line 4: "Бездільний прожене спокій"), and stimulate to action, which will endow the country with a wealth of "light". Here, again, the poet deviates from the biblical conception of "light", as it is clear that he conceives of "light" in the sense of "enlightenment" of the unenlightened segments of the people, and cultural advancement of the whole nation.

These deviations do not, however, indicate a rejection of the traditional aspect of the concepts in question, or a departure from the biblical framework. In this poem, the poet's conformity to the traditional sense of the underlying biblical themes verges on complete identification. In illuminating certain biblical themes or concepts with a light of his own, he intends to enrich and extend their meaning, actualize them, and stress their validity in present-day life.

Nor does the poet exceed the bounds of the Scriptures in his attributing "newness" to the precept of "brotherly love" and "antiquation" to the cult of the past, embodied in the poetical image of "a new flower blossoming forth on the ruins of the ancestors' glory" (thirteenth stanza, lines 1-2). While the image as such is of his own invention, the attribution of novelty to the commandment of mutual love as well as the theme of antiquation and renewal - are biblical. The opening lines of the final stanza appear to have been inspired by such biblical contexts as:

*A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another (St. John, 13:34);*

*Remember ye not the former things, neither consider the things of old. Behold, I will do a new thing; now it shall spring forth (Isaiah, 43:18-19);*

*Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new (Second Epistle to the Corinthians, 5:17).*

What manifests the poet's individuality in particular is the transference of the relevancy of the biblical statements from "then and there" to "now and here". Under his individual illumination, the ancient moral standards take on new dimensions, and become endowed with a fresh validity and with the quality of viable contemporary ways of life, his chief concern being living reality, and his main intent - to answer the spiritual need of his people of the present-day generation.

Individuality and original creativity equally mark his method of blending antiquity with contemporaneity. He makes the old and the new not only work together, but also act on each other. The ancient statements shape and tune the poem's modern ideology, and, conversely, the modern

ideology reshapes the ancient statements and attunes them to contemporary thinking. In consequence of this interaction, the poet sounds new ideas and new contents through the old biblical statements, retaining their spiritual denotations while enduing them with terrestrial connotations.

A similar mode of co-ordinating the biblical with the modern marks the composition and the artistic elaboration of Skhid sontsia.

The poem's compositional scheme is built on a parallelism between physical occurrences in nature and mental processes in man, represented by means of elements of vision (imagery, colour variations, light-contrasts) and of sound (narrative monologue, declamation, song).

The "plot" of the poem runs within the framework (in time) and against the background (in space) of the on-going process of daybreak. The progression of this process and its effect on the poet's thoughts and feelings are rendered by the successive variations of light, colour and atmosphere - from the gloomy black of the night, through the misty grey of the morning, to the radiant sheen of sunrise - as well as by the poet's emotional effusions at each stage of the process, sounded through a modulated scale of narrative monologues (stanzas 1-3, 8-10), impassioned declamations (the appeal to God, stanzas 4-7), an elegiac "dumka" (eleventh stanza), and a cheerful song of salutation (thirteenth stanza).

These visual variations and tonal modulations delineate the flow of the "plot", which actually consists in the sequence of the ups and downs of the poet's state of mind. Thus, the "plot" opens at a high

point with the hero's bright anticipative vision of an approaching "day of light and love" (stanzas 1-2), drops at his disappointment by the lingering night (third stanza), reaches the point of quasi-"conflict" in his protest against the existing ethico-cultural reality (his appeal to God, stanzas 4-7), begins to tend upwards at the first signs of day-break (stanzas 8-9), fluctuates for a while between his affectionate desire for his people's rise to greatness and his depressing consciousness of its actual deplorable condition - during the half-bright, half-misty grey of the morning (tenth stanza), drops again under the influence of his dismal meditation expressed in a sad song (eleventh stanza), and finally mounts up and returns to its high point of issue with the rise of the sun symbolizing to him the arrival of the hoped-for "great day" (stanzas 12-13).

The parallelism between the world of nature and the world of man is constantly maintained throughout the poem thanks to the fact that the hero - the poet - is at once the narrator-depictor of the natural occurrences and the exponent of the associative mental processes which they evoke in the human mind.

It is in the mode of the poet's performing this double rôle that the biblical influence on the poem's composition manifests itself.

While the composition of Skhid sontsia is characteristic of a modern poetical work, the presence of a biblical substratum is clearly perceptible in it. In working up the compositional scheme and investing its visual and auditory components with poetical substance, the poet operates under the inspiration of the Pauline Epistle to the Romans,

and employs structural patterns and artistic devices of the Psalms and the Prophets, enduing them with the form, and applying to them the expressive media of modern poetical and musical art.

The inspiration of the Epistle to the Romans manifests itself through the shifting play of the Pauline symbolic imagery (13:11-13<sup>1</sup>) pervading the poem's compositional framework. While this framework is demarcated by the physical process of sunrise, "sunrise" in its symbolic aspect latent in the first hemistich of verse 12: "*The night is far spent, the day is at hand*" (which appears to have given rise to the very title of the poem, and which resounds plainly in lines 5-6 of the opening stanza), and the interplay of the symbols of "light" and "darkness" marking the three Pauline verses in question, which reverberates in the poem's thematic and poetic substance, constitute a parallel spiritual setting of the poem's composition.

Compositional and structural patterns of the Psalms are distinctly felt in Skhid sontsia; and it is only natural for the poet to have applied a touch of this biblical poetico-musical genre-form to the compositional texture of a poem like this, so conspicuously imbued with a biblical atmosphere, with biblical themes, imagery and diction, and with elements of prayer and of song. The psalm-like fragments harmonize with

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<sup>1</sup> And... now it is high time to awake out of sleep... (13:11).  
*The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.* (13:12).  
 Let us walk honestly, as in the day; not in rioting..., not in strife and envying. (13:13).

the poem's general declamatory-melodious character, contribute to the homogeneity of the totality of its biblical elements, and enhance its distinctiveness.

Thus, the poet's appeal to God stands out within the poem's general framework as a compositional unit in itself, built up after the pattern of a biblical psalm of individual or national supplication<sup>1</sup>. Its psalm-modelled components are the invocation of God (fourth stanza, line 1, fifth stanza, line 1), the complaint (stanzas 4 and 5), the statement of the motive (sixth stanza, lines 1-4), and the prayerful supplication for divine intervention and protection (sixth stanza, lines 5-8, seventh stanza, lines 1-2)<sup>2</sup>.

Compositional patterns of the Psalms are also discernible in the opening and closing stanzas (1-2, 12-13), which display a character of hymnal addresses. Here, the pattern-type is a psalm of praise, opening with an "exhortation" to sing praise to God, followed by a laudatory description of the divine attributes or actions, and ending with a repeated initial "exhortation", or with a new one<sup>3</sup>. The transition from

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. page 108, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Such is, for example, the structural disposition of Psalm 74, a psalm of national supplication (the initial verse of each component is quoted): "invocation" (verses 1-3) ["O God, why hast thou cast us off forever?"]; "complaint" (4-11) ["Thine enemies roar in the midst of thy congregations"]; "motive" (12-18) ["For God is my King of old, working salvation in the midst of the earth"]; "supplication" (19-23) ["O deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove unto the multitude of the wicked"]. (The poem is otherwise unrelated to this Psalm). Cf. P. Drijvers, Les Psaumes, p. 199 (this Psalm is numbered 73 there).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Drijvers, op. cit., p. 64-69.

the "exhortation" to the body of the praise is often made through a brief statement of the motive for the particular praise, introduced by the causal conjunction "for"<sup>1</sup>.

An analogous compositional and syntactic texture transpires from the poet's quasi-hymnal address to the "great day" of his dreams opening the poem, and from his actual hymn to "brotherly love" closing it.

The first stanza sounds an exhortation to sing a song of welcome to sunrise (lines 7-8). The passage to the second stanza is made through the causal "for" ("Бо"), whereupon the poet states his motive (lines 1, 2 and 7), extols the "great day" (lines 3-6), and concludes with a reiterated exhortation (line 8).

In the twelfth stanza, "a thousand voices acclaim" the rise of the sun ("ГОЛОСІВ ВЖЕ ТИСЯЧ ЗВЕ" - line 8), and in the thirteenth the poet links the rise of the sun to the advent of "brotherly love", extols "brotherly love" (lines 1-4), and concludes by singing directly to it and to the new day inaugurating it, again connecting the exaltation with the motive for it through the causal conjunction "for", in the last four lines (9-12).

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Psalm 135 opens with the exhortation: "Praise ye the Lord... praise him, O ye servants of the Lord... sing praises unto his name..." (verses 1-3). The laudatory passage, comprising the motive, begins with verse 5: "For I know that the Lord is great, and that our Lord is above all gods", and the psalm ends by repeating the initial exhortation: "Praise ye the Lord" (verse 21). A similar composition is found in Psalms 33, 96, 136. (The Psalms referred to here are numbered 134, 32, 95, 135 in P. Drijvers, *op. cit.*, p. 187, 188, 206).



In the artistic elaboration of Skhid sontsia the poet employs a substantial selection of the major formal and figurative resources of biblical poetry, particularly of the Psalms and the Prophets.

All the main types of parallelism<sup>1</sup>, the chief structuro-formal characteristic of biblical poetry, are represented in the poem.

A synonymic parallelism marks lines 9-10 of the fifth stanza:

О ДОКИ Ж, ДОКИ СВІТ ДРІМАЄ,  
Не розкрива зі сну очий?

The second clause repeats the contents of the first through a synonymous phrase, but it also contains a different suggestion, which extends and enriches the idea of the sentence as a whole. The first clause uses an intransitive verb denoting and depicting an involuntary passive state; the second uses a transitive verb, and evokes an image of intentional action, which is what the poet wishes to stress<sup>2</sup>.

Lines 3-4 of the sixth stanza are built on an antithetical parallelism, where the contents of one clause are contrasted with those of the other:

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<sup>1</sup> The parallelism of biblical poetry consists in a "semantic-syntactic-accentual" correspondence between the members of a verse or group of verses. Cf. B. Hrushovski, "Some Principles of Biblical Verse", in Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, Macmillan Company, 1971, Vol. 13, page 1201. The main types of biblical parallelism are: synonymic, antithetical, synthetical, progressive, and climactic. Cf. P. Drijvers, op. cit., p. 36-41; J. A. Bewer, The Literature of the Old Testament, New York-London, Columbia University Press, 1962, p. 363-365; Lexicon Biblicum (in Hebrew), Tel-Aviv, Dvir, 1965, Vol. 2, p. 834-835. (The author of the thesis italicizes the elements of parallelism in the quotations).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Hear my prayer, O Lord, and give ear unto my cry" (Psalm 39:12).

Устами всяк про неї мовить,  
Але до діл душа німа.<sup>1</sup>

An internal antithetical parallelism is produced in each of lines 4 and 5 of the second stanza through contrary epithets and designations:

Се день ясний, не кровавий,  
Се день мира, не день бою...<sup>2</sup>

In the fourth stanza, lines 11-12 display a synthetical and progressive parallelism:

На брата йдуть зрадливим боєм,  
Йому вже й задрять світла дня.

Here, the second clause, unclear by itself, is parallel to the first through the community of the idea ("hostility"). It takes the thought further and completes it, simultaneously making it progress from the meanness of the behaviour to the still more abominable baseness of its motive.<sup>3</sup>

The main body of the twelfth stanza (lines 1-7) is built on a climactic parallelism, where one or more words are repeated at the beginning of several consecutive verses, and the contexts that follow them in each verse form an ascending series tending towards a climax:<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. "One speaketh *peaceably* to his neighbour *with his mouth*, but *in heart* he *layeth his wait*" (Jeremiah, 9:8).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Shall they *fall*, and not *arise*? Shall he *turn away*, and not *return*?" (Jeremiah, 8:4).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Their tongue and their doings are against the Lord, to provoke the eyes of his glory" (Isaiah, 3:8).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. P. Drijvers, op. cit., p. 40; Lexicon Biblicum, Vol. 2, p. 835.

*Бач, широко*  
 Виринає світла око!  
 Глянь, о глянь, уже й над нами  
 Відчинились неба брами!  
 Глянь, уже щезають мгли!  
 Глянь, орли вже шлях знайшли  
 В ясну світла вітчину... [Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 456]

In these lines, the contexts following the repeated exhortations depict a gradual brightening up, and steadily ascend towards the last line representing complete brightness.<sup>1</sup>

The poem displays a wide range of visual and auditory figurative devices peculiar to biblical poetry.

Of the visual figurative media, the poet makes extensive and varied use of metaphor (with frequent personification), simile and imagery.

The poem opens with a metaphor marked by personification (first stanza, lines 1-4):

*З рамен тіні, з рамен ночі,  
 Із солодких сну обнятій  
 Вирвись, серце! Край багатий  
 Блиск свій ось тобі розточить.*<sup>2</sup> [Ibid., p. 454]

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty,  
 Give unto the Lord glory and strength.  
 Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name...  
*The voice of the Lord* is upon the waters...  
*The voice of the Lord* is powerful...  
*The voice of the Lord* breaketh the cedars...  
*The voice of the Lord* divideth the flames of fire...  
*The voice of the Lord* shaketh the wilderness...  
 Yea, the Lord sitteth King for ever." (Psalm 29:1-9;11).

<sup>2</sup> The figurative elements are italicized by the author.

In the third stanza, metaphor, personification, simile and elements of colour join together to produce a broad image of a nocturnal atmosphere:

О, ще темно! Під покровом  
 Ночі спить весь світ, а в морі  
 Неба вічним, лазуровім  
 Тонуть і блідніють зорі.  
 І сльозина за сльозою  
 Із очей їх золотих  
 На наш край паде росою.  
 Тихо скрізь, і вітер втих,  
 Тиша всю природу вкрила... [Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 454]

(The night is metaphorized into a covering veil, the sky is compared to a sea, the stars are personified as "turning pale", possessing "eyes" and "shedding tears", the dewdrops are compared to these "tears", and the silence is metaphorized into something capable of "covering". All these together, coupled with a scale of contrasting dim colours (general darkness, azure of the sky at night, pale gold of the stars, vague frothy glitter of the dew), compose a complex sombre picture of the nightly scenery)<sup>1</sup>.

Likewise, each of stanzas 10 and 13 is entirely built on a combination of metaphor, simile and personification, producing a compound image linked to a particular theme. In the tenth stanza, the image

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<sup>1</sup> Biblical poetry abounds in passages where similar combinations of these tropes are used to produce complex images, each image relating to one particular theme. Cf., for example, Psalm 104 (theme: "God - King of all creation"): "Who coverest thyself with *light as with a garment*: who stretchest out the heavens *like a curtain*... Who walkest upon *the wings of the wind*... Thou coveredst [the earth] with the deep *as with a garment*: The waters *stood* above the mountains. [garment: At thy rebuke they *fled*; at the voice of thy thunder they *hasted away*... (Psalm 104:2-3, 6-7).

represents the poet's love for his land and people; the thirteenth stanza pictures "brotherly love", the poem's main theme.

Metaphor, simile and personification are found in the majority of the remaining stanzas, where they are employed in sundry figurative illustrations, as, for example, in the eighth stanza (lines 1-2),

[...]. Глибiнь простору  
Блiдне, свiтлю прочуває...

or in the ninth (line 2):

В ДАЛЬ ПОЛИНЬ крильми сокола!<sup>1</sup>

Of the auditory devices current in biblical poetry the poet utilizes the "invocation" (the first lines of stanzas 4, 5 and 11), the "repetition" (the words: *з рамен* in the first stanza, *се день* in the second, *доки* in the fifth, *вгору* in the eighth ["*Вгору, серце, вгору, вгору...*" - line 3], *земле* and *чом* in the eleventh, *глянь* and *вже* in the twelfth, and *вiтай* in the thirteenth) as well as the "anaphora" (the words: *встань* in the first stanza, *се* in the second, *глянь* in the twelfth. Characteristically biblical is the anaphoric repetition of the conjunction "i" in lines 1-2 of the tenth stanza:

І в даль безконечну душа поринає  
І рамена сильні в безмір отвирає...<sup>2</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *Skhid sontsia, Tvory*, Vol. 11, p. 455-456. Further examples are found in stanzas 5 (line 8), 10 (1-4, 7-8), 11 (5-6), 12 (2), and 13 (4, 7-8, 11-12).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 456. For biblical examples of invocation, repetition and anaphora, cf.: "O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth!" (Psalm 8:1); "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God" (Isaiah, 40:1); "Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, / Give unto the Lord glory and strength. / Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name" (Psalm 29:1-2).

Other auditory devices peculiar to biblical poetry and employed in the poem are: the rhetorical question, the exclamation, and the exhortation.

The rhetorical question occurs in diverse biblical patterns:

- Plaintive:           І доки ж, доки нам ридати,  
Що тьма нас тисне і гризня? (Fifth stanza, 7-8);
- Argumentative:    Сини твої - усі народи;  
Чому ж їх ворог розлучив? (Fourth stanza, 7-8);
- Exclamatory:       О доки ж, доки світ дремає,  
Не розкрива зі сну очий? (Fifth stanza, 9-10).<sup>1</sup>

The exclamation resounds in lines 1-2 of the sixth stanza -

Любови, братньої любови  
Поміж народами нема! -

and characterizes the tone of the entire twelfth stanza (quoted on page 124).<sup>2</sup>

Exhortations mark the entire opening stanza, line 8 of the second ("Тож вітай в нім день обнови!"), line 3 of the eighth ("Вгору, серце, вгору, вгору...!"), and line 9 of the twelfth ("Гей, вставайте всі зо сну...!").<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf.: "Lord, how long shall the wicked, how long shall the wicked triumph?" (Psalm 94:3 - plaintive rhetorical question); "Why is light given to a man whose way is hid, and whom God hath hedged in?" (Job, 3:23 - argumentative); "How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard? when wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?" (Proverbs, 6:9 - exclamatory).

Further rhetorical questions are found in stanzas: 4 (lines 2-4), 5 (5-6, 11-12), 11 (3-8).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "There is none that doeth good, no, not one!" (Psalm 14:6).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Awake, awake, Deborah: awake, awake, utter a song!" (The song of Deborah, Judges, 5:12).

The poet's application of these artistic patterns may be described as a synthesis of their functions as specifically biblical elements, and as general poetic figures, found in earlier literatures than that of the Bible<sup>1</sup>, and subsisting in modern poetry. As specifically biblical elements, they enhance the biblical aspect of the poem's particular Bible-modelled sections. As general poetic figures, they pervade the entire poem, and determine its aesthetic quality from the point of view of modern poetry. But even in their capacity as strictly biblical elements, the poet invests them with a contemporary idea-content, enriches and embellishes them with elements of post-biblical poetical technique, and co-ordinates them with the norms of modern poetry in respect of form, rhyme, metre, and strophic structure.

Thus, to give just a few examples, a metaphor appearing as a biblical element in a Bible-modelled section changes the whole section's meaning from biblical to contemporary by virtue of the contemporary conceptual substance with which the poet invests it. This occurs in the fifth stanza, which is built on a series of biblical contexts, and where nothing reveals what the poet actually means by the three abstract terms: "enemy" (*ворог*), "obscurity" (*тьма*) and "light" (*світло*). By connection with the contents of lines 1-8, these terms seem to be conceived and presented in their biblico-theological sense. However, the metaphor in line 8, "*Що тьма нас тисне і гризня*", introduces an additional term: "wrangle" (*гризня*), and this is the only concept in the whole text, which

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<sup>1</sup> E. g., Ugaritic, Canaanite, Sumero-Akkadian, and other ancient literatures. Cf. O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament, An Introduction, p. 58; Lexicon Biblicum (in Hebrew), p. 16-17.

clearly refers to a concrete ongoing situation in contemporary social life. Since "тьма" is syntactically joined with "грозня" and has the effect of "oppressing" ("тисне") in common with it, the thought is led to ascribe to "тьма" a similar meaning of a concrete contemporary situation, and to ponder on a possible connotation of the word "враг". In this way the reader discovers that by "obscurity" the poet symbolizes "obscurantism", by "light" - its opposite, "enlightenment", and by "enemy" - social discord, which prevents the promotion of enlightenment amongst the unenlightened.

The biblical verset-parallelism appearing in the poem is not limited to the Bible-modelled sections alone, but is used in the other sections as well. Nor is it employed as a systematic formal element, but as an occasional poetic figure. Side by side with it runs a different parallelism - the post-biblical parallelism of the world of nature and the world of man as a permanent element of the poem's composition.

In stanzas 6 and 7, belonging to the Bible-modelled sections and filled with elements of biblical poetry, the poet enriches and enlivens the biblical imagery by means of onomatopoeia<sup>1</sup>. In lines 7-10 of the sixth stanza, the sounds *м-о-гу-м-гp-ом-ом* render the roar and the roll of the thunder; the sounds *гp-щ-нp-кp-тp-з-др-ж* - the crushing of the mountains and the trembling of the earth. In lines 1-2 of the seventh stanza, the shrillness of the flash of the lightning resounds

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<sup>1</sup> Onomatopoeia occurs in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, but does not constitute a systematic pattern of biblical poetry.



in the set of letters *ш-с-ч-сви-сви*:

6

А хочби і МОГУТНІМ ГРОМОМ  
Збуди...  
Чей ГРІМ, ЩО ГОРИ В ПОРОХ КРУШИТЬ,  
Перед Котрим Земля ДРОЖИТЬ,...

7

Або поШли їм Серед ночі  
СВІЙ промінь СВІТла, Отче мій...

The co-ordination of the biblical with the modern is equally perceptible in the elements of the poem's form. The main formal and prosodic traits of the poem as a whole bring it as near to a modern ode as its Bible-patterned components bring some of its sections near to biblical psalms and hymns. Skhid sontsia is a rhymed lyric in the form of an address, dignified in subject, exalted in feeling and in style, and marked by an enthusiastic tone and by metrical, rhythmical and strophic variety.

The address-form is common to the psalm-like and the ode-like sections of the poem. In the former, the address is directed to God, in the latter - to the lofty ideal of "brotherly love". Accordingly, the exalted modern style of the latter parallels the lofty biblical diction of the former, and, as a result, the poem as a whole is maintained in an elevated style appropriate to its address form.

The poem's tone, basically enthusiastic, undergoes a series of modulations into "major" and "minor" keys under the influence of the varying mood and emotional stress in the different sections. These tonal variations impart to the poem a melodiousness and a song-like musicality. Among the essential constituents of the poem's songful character are the

Bible-modelled hymnic and psalm-like sections, in which the tonal modulations are particularly marked and varied. These sections are so co-ordinated with the other melodious sections that the poem as a whole acquires a resemblance to an organized work of vocal music, and a kinship to an art song with a three-part structure: a lively opening section, a contrastive second section, and a brisk concluding section<sup>1</sup>. Right from the beginning, the song-element and the song-form make themselves felt in the poem side by side with its main ode-form and partial psalm-form, and exercise their influence on its metre, rhythm and strophic structure, enhancing their diversity in addition to their basic variety as elements of the ode-form, and enriching them with tonal qualities.

The poem opens in an atmosphere of song, and with the theme of song. In a hymnic tone, a major key, and a lively trochaic four-beat rhythm, the poet exhorts his heart "to sing a morning song" to sunrise (first stanza, lines 7-8), and chants the praises of the visionary "great day" (second stanza, lines 1-6), which he anticipates as "a day of songs" (second stanza, line 6), closing this gay opening section with a reiterated exhortation (second stanza, line 8).

The second section, sharply contrastive to the first, introduces the main theme ("brotherly love"), and elaborates it in different tonalities and in different rhythms, determined by the variations of the nature, the mood and the emotional stress of the poet's utterances in stanzas 3-7

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<sup>1</sup> Such a three-part structure, where the first and third parts are similar in character, and the second contrastive to the first, marks the standard musical "song-form". Cf. this term in The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English, Oxford, 1964, p. 1220-1221.

on the one hand, and in stanzas 8-11 on the other. The poet modulates the third stanza into a "flat" tonality with predominant "dark" sounds (*o, y, u*), and into a minor key, to sound his frustration on account of the unyielding darkness. In the middle of the stanza he deviates from the hitherto regularly feminine rhyme-endings, switching to an alternating feminine-masculine rhyme (lines 5-12), then bursts abruptly into an agitated iambic four-beat rhythm to make his impassioned appeal to God. With the progression of his tirades (which bear a biblical and universal character), his tone and his voice pass through an ascending gamut of modulations and inflexions - from argumentative to plaintive, from plaintive to condemnatory, and from condemnatory to prayerful and simultaneously menaceful. At times, his agitation forces the stanza out of its metrical and rhythmical proportions, causing certain lines (line 3 of the fifth stanza, line 12 of the sixth, and line 6 of the seventh) to extend beyond the limits of the basic four-foot metre, and to produce a five-beat rhythm. At the end of the seventh stanza the emotional stress reaches its climax - a point where a new development is expected to take place.

The new development occurs in stanzas 8-11 - under the influence of the movement towards daybreak beginning in nature, and of the main theme's shifting, along with the poet's thoughts and feelings, from biblical and universal to contemporary and national. Accordingly, this part of the second section is transposed into a different tonality, and moves in a series of different, prominently varied, metres and rhythms.

The poet's agitation which rang through the silence of the dead hours represented in the third stanza ("Тихо скрізь..." - line 8), abates in the stillness of the grey of the morning described in the eighth stanza ("Тихо скрізь. Глибінь простору блідне, світло прочуває" - lines 1-2). A return to the trochaic tetrapody, and a dynamic diversification of the stanzaic structure and of the rhyme-endings in stanzas 8 and 9 resound a temporary brightening up of his mood and tone as the beautiful scenery of his homeland becomes discernible. In the 12-line eighth stanza, the first quatrain rhymes a-b-a-b with feminine endings; the second rhymes c-D-c-D<sup>1</sup> with alternating feminine and masculine endings; and the third rhymes e-e-f-f with all-feminine endings. Amidst these rhyme and accent variations, the poet's tone regains some of its initial enthusiastic-exhortative character. The ninth stanza is given only six lines and made into the shortest in the poem, but this is just enough for it to echo, in a few distichal feminine rhymes (a-a b-b c-c), the flush of patriotic love which overcomes the poet.

A new change of tone and rhythm takes place, in the tenth stanza, when the poet gives expression to his love for his land and people. In a tender tone, whose cadences run in elongated verses and in a slowed-down rhythm of one iambus and three anapaests (the third being hypercatalectic), he sounds his warm feelings towards his brethren, and his dreams of their cultural excellence through "brotherly love". But the appearance of the image of his country's gloomy ethico-cultural reality interrupts

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<sup>1</sup> The capital letters stand for masculine rhyme-endings.

his optimistic dreams with a harsh dissonance in lines 7-8 ("Та - ах, іще мряки густі туманами / Розсілися гордо над Русі ланами"), and he bursts into a lamentful "dumka" (eleventh stanza), in a rhythm of opposed two-beat against four-beat alternating trochees and amphibrachs. This emotionally and tonally melancholy song closes the second section.

As the poem begins, so it ends in a songful atmosphere. The concluding section (stanzas 12-13), representing the revival of the poet's faith and enthusiasm as the sun actually rises, is marked by a richness and a variety of sound as well as by a particular orchestration. The tonality is transposed into a vivacious major key, and the trochaic four-beat rhythm is reinstated. The poet's voice rings with transports of joy in a steady crescendo of excited exclamations, beginning with a distichal feminine rhyme a-a b-b, ascending (as from line 5 of the twelfth stanza) to a more vigorous masculine rhyme C-C D-D E-E, and soaring, reinforced by a unison of another "thousand voices" ("Голосів вже тисяч зве", line 8), to an animated reprise of the main theme (thirteenth stanza), to lead it to a brisk "finale".

In the "finale", the main theme - "brotherly love" is pictured as "a new flower burgeoning on the ruins of the ancestral glory", but even this visual representation is latently associated with sound and music. The poet appears to have visualized a "bell-flower" [*колокільчик*], since he endues it with the properties of a bell that rings as an announcer and a summoner ("Не дзвони нам предків слави, / Лиш до діл потомків зви!" - thirteenth stanza, lines 7-8). At any rate, it is with the voice of his love for his people, accompanied by "a thousand voices" of the people's

life reality, urging the national duty of spreading "light", and inspired by the ring of the Bible's moral principles, summoning to fulfil this duty through "brotherly love", that the poet sings in the end his hymn to the sunrise of "the day of Light and Love", which he desired to sing in the beginning.

In the light of all the foregoing, Skhid sontsia appears as a modern poetic work, strongly imbued with biblical elements, which are as much the building material of its composition, moral substance and artistic elaboration as its modern components. The poet conveys his contemporary national ideas through the ancient moral themes of the Pauline Epistle to the Romans, translated into priorities of present-day life, and expressed poetically by means of a rich variety of dictional, figurative and artistic elements of biblico-poetical art, with the pathos of the Prophets and the melodious lyricism of the Psalms.

The synthesis of the biblical and the modern pervades the poem under all aspects. The biblical substance is co-ordinated with the modern elements within the framework and according to the norms of modern poetry, in the form of a modern ode.

A remarkable by-feature of the poem, in both its biblical and modern quality, is its manifest musicality, displaying a consonance of the liveliness of a biblical hymn of praise, the solemnity of a psalm of supplication, and the variegated tonality of a modern art-song.

The poem Skhid sontsia is a representative example of the biblical impact on young Franko in all its wide and varied range. Hardly any of the other Bible-imbued pre-Moisei poems displays an equally many-sided literary and ideological relationship with the Scriptures in respect of themes, ideas, diction, imagery, artistic devices, and moral authority, and hardly any of them can claim a similar plenitude of biblical components encompassed by a single work.

The biblical themes of "brotherly love", "light" and "darkness" recur, together or separately, in a number of his early poems, and each time he lends them an extended contemporary meaning, and links them to a different phenomenon in the ongoing life of his people.

Thus, while in Skhid sontsia these themes are related to socio-cultural problems within the Ukrainian people itself, in the poem entitled Napered! (1875)<sup>1</sup> the poet employs them to complain about the adverse attitude of the Polish "szlachta" to the Ukrainian people, referring "brotherly love" to inter-national relations, and "darkness" to socio-political and cultural discrimination:

Вони, як кажуть, браття нам,  
Слов'яни так, як ми;  
Чи ж братня се любов - братам  
Бажать лиш зла і тьми?  
  
Чи ж братня се любов - братам  
Жорстоко видирать,  
Що найдорожче їх душам,  
Їх нищить і здирать?<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Napered!, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 444-445. First printed in the Druh, No. 21, 1.10.1875.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 445.

In another poem, entitled Khrest (1875)<sup>1</sup>, the poet relates "darkness" to the vice of drunkenness, which developed in the circumstances of the people's cultural backwardness:

Упали вороги, та *тьмою*  
 Покритий наш народ зістав...  
 Гидкому налогу відданий,  
 Він сам морочив ним свій ум...<sup>2</sup>

He ascribes the eradication of this vice to the work of Light embodied in the Cross:

Той хрест, що побідив поганство,  
 Осяяв блиском і наш люд,  
 Прогнав страшную *тьму ту* - п'янство,  
 Вказав нам ціль - науку й труд.<sup>2</sup>

In this poem, the poet extols Iosyf (Osyp) Sembratovych, the then Metropolitan of Galicia and Archbishop of L'viv, for his contribution to the extirpation of drunkenness by having "lifted the holy Cross" over that "darkness" through his devoted work in enlightening the popular masses and giving them moral guidance in the spirit of Christian faith<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Khrest, Tvory (New York), Vol. 15, Part 2, p. 217-219. First printed separately in the autumn of 1875, entitled Стихъ въ честь Эго Высокопреосвященства киръ Іосифа Сембратовича... (The poet's note, ibid.). Republished in the collection Iz lit moief molodosti, 1914, with the title changed into Khrest.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 218.

<sup>3</sup> Franko wrote this poem "at the request of the students of the Greek-Catholic Theological Seminary of L'viv", as a tribute to Metropolitan Sembratovych on the occasion of his birthday (the poet's note, ibid., p. 217). [Later, the poet's evaluation of Sembratovych was polarly different. Cf. I. Franko, "Що думає народ про уступившого митрополита Осипа Сембратовича?", Za sto lit, kn. 4, 1929, p. 256-258. In this article, written in 1883, he qualifies him as a "disseminator of superstition", who "helped the people forge its own fetters"].



То ж слава в вік тобі, герою,  
 Ти, що могучою руков  
 Подвигнув хрест святий над *тьмою*,  
 Вказав нам нашу хоругов.

- - - - -

Народ наш, темний і убогий  
 В тобі захитника знайшов,  
 Мов *світла* луч, в його пороги  
 Твого навчання звук дійшов.<sup>1</sup>

But this is only one side of the poem's idea-content. Between the lines of reverence to the metropolitan for his merits as a religious leader, the poet sounds his individual ideas of "light" and "love" from a secular, purely national point of view. While conforming to the traditional sense of these concepts, he stresses in particular their practical significance for the national cause, especially for the work of the patriotic youth. He appreciates the metropolitan's favourable attitude towards this work:

І нам, що з людом тим готові  
 Піти у бої життєві,  
 Не раз ти доказ дав любови,  
 Дбайливости вітцівської.<sup>2</sup>

"Light" and "love" he identifies with "наука" and "труд", mentioned before as the principal national aims, and conceives them as cultural work leading to the promotion of the national language and of folk-creativity on the one hand, and as active aspiration to national liberation and independence, through devoted work for the people, and with the people, on the other:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 218-219.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

Він оживає, він кріпиться...  
 І його мови звук шириться,  
 І його пісня знов живе.  
 - - - - -  
 За церков, за права з народом  
 Стоять - в нас воля не слаба.  
 - - - - -  
 Життя своє, всю нашу силу  
 На той кладемо заповіт:  
 Що доки тиснуть нас окупи  
 І кривда гнобить руський люд,  
 Не згасне в нас огонь *любови*,  
 Не пропаде наш ширий труд.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to Love and Light, the biblical themes of suffering, hope, faith, and prayer underlie some of the early Frankian poems. These themes resound in the lyric Moia pisnia<sup>2</sup> and in the sonnet Dvi dorohy<sup>3</sup>, both dating from 1874.

In Moia pisnia the young poet meditates on his own life and fate. He is unlucky, solitary and unhappy. However, though he knows that his life is destined to be hard and sorrowful, he is also aware that God has endowed him with two heavenly gifts: Love and Song (poetry). These are to him a source of strength "to endure the misfortunes of temporal existence".

The first half of the poem (stanzas 1-4) depicts a belated little spring-flower which did not manage to reach full bloom before the summer

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Moia pisnia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 439-441. First printed in the Druh, No. 4, 15.5.1874.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, Dvi dorohy (Sonet), ibid., p. 441. First printed in the Druh, No. 5, 1.3.1875. Republished, together with Moia pisnia, in the collection Iz lit moieï molodosti, 1914.

came, and was on the verge of withering in the scorching heat. At the poet's prayer to God, some life-giving dewdrops fell on the flower from heaven and rendered it strong enough to endure the heat and survive.

The poet makes this image into a symbol of his own life in the second half of the poem (stanzas 5-8):

## 5

Сей пізній цвіт, що зав'ядає  
У спеці сонячній, - се я!  
3 І як той цвіт, така сумная  
Душа моя і життя моя.  
Всміхалась доля - серце спало,  
6 Прокинулось - а щастя ніт мені!...<sup>1</sup>

In a short appeal to God, he deplores his sorry plight:

## 6

О Боже, чом не сталося так,  
Як я благав? Чи я у неба  
3 Просив багато?...  
5 Мов любий сон, усе пропало.  
6 Зістав я сам в самотині...<sup>2</sup>

But, despite his personal unhappiness, he accepts the will of God humbly and gratefully. For God "threw him into the whirl of life, having kindled a flame in his heart, and having let a drop of the dew of heaven fall on him, as He had done to the flower." This "drop of the dew of heaven" is Love and poetry, which will give him the strength to endure the tribulations of his life:

## 7

<sup>1</sup> Та вдяка й слава тобі, Боже,  
Бо мудра воленька твоя,

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Moia pisnia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 440-441.

*Нещастя жадне не спроможе,  
Щоб нарікав на тебе я.*

<sup>4</sup> У вир життя мене ти кинув,  
Та серце жаром запалив,  
І, мов на квітку ту, краплину  
<sup>8</sup> Роси небесної спустив.

8

*Любов і пісня тов росюю,  
Що покріпля на шлях життя;  
Я, нею сильний, перестою  
<sup>4</sup> Негоди земного буття.<sup>1</sup>*

Like Skhid sontsia, written at approximately the same time<sup>2</sup>, Moia pisnia displays a compositional scheme marked by a parallelism between nature and the human world, an idea-content with underlying Pauline contexts, and a poetic elaboration employing patterns of biblical poetry.

However, in Moia pisnia the parallelism consists in an analogy between static situations, and not in an interaction of dynamic processes as in Skhid sontsia. As to the biblical elements contained in the poem, their range is comparatively wide, considering the poem's shortness.

The poem's idea-content is pervaded by the biblical themes of suffering, prayer, faith and hope, conceived and expressed in the spirit of

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> The primary version of Skhid sontsia was composed in 1874, and was entitled Ranok. Franko sent Moia pisnia and (one week later) Ranok to the Druh, for publication, in the first half of May, 1874. Ranok was not published. In December, 1875 he re-wrote and modified it, changed the title into Skhid sontsia, and dedicated it to the "Kachkovs'kyi Society"! The Druh printed it in January, 1876 (see p. , note <sup>1</sup>, and p. , note <sup>3</sup>). Cf.: Franko's letter to V. Davydiak dated 13.5.1874, Tvory, Vol. 20, p. 7; S. V. Shchurat, Rannia tvorchist' Ivana Franka, p. 44, 56.

such Pauline statements as, "[Be] fervent in spirit; serving the Lord; Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer" (Romans, 12:11-12). The poem's tone is, in fact, prayerful. In the third stanza the poet actually prays for the salvation of the withering flower, and in the fourth his prayer appears to have been heard:

3

5 Пошли, о Господи, з росю  
 Їй свого ангела, нехай  
 Не в'яне тут перед порою,  
 8 Їй сили, Отче, покріпляй!<sup>1</sup>

4

І рос небесних краплі впали  
 На цвітку, що вжегнулась вниз...<sup>1</sup>

Stanzas 6-8 reflect the structure of a psalm of individual prayer, opening with an "invocation" (sixth stanza, line 1), followed by a "complaint" (lines 1-4) and a "motive" (lines 5-6), and closing with a glorification of God, and with an expression of faith and confidence (stanzas 7-8)<sup>2</sup>.

The lexical texture of stanzas 5-8 betrays a recourse to the Psalms, the Prophets, the Book of Job, and the Pauline writings. Thus, the phrase "Така сумная / Душа моя і життя моя" (fifth stanza, lines 3-4) echoes the contexts "... My soul and... my life is spent in grief" (Psalm 31:9-10). In the sixth stanza, line 6 alludes to the Isaian words "And am desolate... Behold, I was left alone" (Isaiah, 49:21). Line 1 of the

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *Moia pisnia, Tvory*, Vol. 11, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Such is the structure of the prayer-section (verses 7-14) of Psalm 27: invocation (v. 7-9), complaint and motive (v. 10-12), expression of faith and confidence (v. 13-14). Similar structures have Psalms 3, 5, 6, and many other Psalms of individual prayer.

seventh stanza is patterned on the verse *"I will praise the name of God... and will magnify him with thanksgiving"* (Psalm 69:30); line 2 alludes to the Pauline words on *"that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God"* (Romans, 12:2); and lines 3-4 evoke the image of Job's faith and humility: *"In all this Job sinned not, nor charged God..."* (Job, 1:22). In line 8, the phrase *"роси небесної"* relates to the biblical "dew of heaven", symbol of divine blessing, with which Isaac blessed his sons: *"God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth..."* (Genesis, 27:28). The eighth stanza echoes the words of St. Paul on Love, which *"beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth all things"* (First Epistle to the Corinthians, 13:7), and which gives the strength to endure *"the sufferings of this present time"* (Romans, 8:18).

In the poetico-aesthetic elaboration of Moia pisnia the poet employs a number of patterns of biblical poetry. Metaphor, personification, comparison, and rhetorical question are chiefly used, whether to produce complex imagery, or to illustrate and embellish disparate utterances.

In the first stanza, a combination of metaphor, personification and comparison produces an associative flash-image related to a biblical context. Describing the many-coloured flowers as "young children of the spring", the poet stresses the beauty of their "attire", which "would make even King Solomon feel ashamed":

9 І молодіі весни діти  
Красуються і світ красять;  
Душа їх - запах, а одіті,  
12 Що й Соломона застидять.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Moia pisnia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 440.

This image is an associative reverberation of the verse:

Consider the lilies how they grow: they toil not, they spin not; and yet I say unto you, *that Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.*

(St. Luke, 12:27).

By means of rhetorical and simple questions the poet enhances his utterances concerning his lack of happiness:

Чи то згоріло [щастя], чи пропало  
Посеред хвиль на моря дні?

(Fifth stanza, lines 7-8)<sup>1</sup>.

О Боже, чом не сталося так,  
Як я благав? Чи я у неба  
Просив багато?...

(Sixth stanza, lines 1-3)<sup>1</sup>.

Sundry illustrations through metaphor, personification and comparison occur in each stanza. Some of them are particularly impressive from the poetico-aesthetic point of view as well as from the point of view of the poet's blending the biblical with the modern. Such are the figurative representations of the poet's ill luck (fifth stanza, lines 5-6), and of his desolation (sixth stanza, lines 7-8).

In the first, the poet depicts his condition, by metaphor, personification and contrast, through a biblical parallelism which is antithetical in contents and "chiastic" in form<sup>2</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> The "chiasmus" consists in the diagonal intercrossing (in the form of the Greek letter "khi" [χ]) of the parallel (synonymous or antithetical) verse-elements, e.g. (Isaiah, 2:3):

*For out of Zion shall go forth the law,  
and the word of the Lord - from Jerusalem.*

Cf. B. Hrushovski, "Some Principles of Biblical Poetry", in Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 13, p. 1201; Lexicon Biblicum, p. 834.

Всміхалась доля - серце спало!  
Прокинулось - а щастя ніт мені...<sup>1</sup>

In the second, the language is equally modern, the same tropes are employed, and the biblico-poetical parallelism is equally antithetical (but not chiasitic):

Рукою зимною обняло  
 Життя мене в життя весні.<sup>2</sup>

Essentially personal, and built on biblical themes, Moia pisnia none the less resounds the young poet's ideas of a general and contemporary nature. Simultaneously with representing his personal condition, the poet expresses his conception of poetry, its rôle, and its effect. Poetry is to him, in this poem, a special endowment of the human spirit, which, imbued with sincere Love and unfaltering faith, becomes a source of strength and influence, and elevates humanity spiritually and morally.

The juvenile sonnet Dvi dorohy is marked by its contemplative atmosphere, echoing, like Moia pisnia, the Pauline maxim: "*Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer*" (Romans, 12:12), and even more deeply pervaded by it.

The poet meditates on "the two eternal roads that lead to reward in life": the road of the body's toil and labour, and the road of the soul's suffering in faith and prayer. Using the expressions of the Psalmist ("*Blessed is that man...*", "*Happy is that people...*" - Psalms 40:5; 144:15),

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Moia pisnia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 440.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 441.



he presents his individual ideas on the subject, embodying them in images:

- 5 Щаслив муж і народ, якого воля  
Судьби веде з одної та на другу,  
Із поля праці до терпіння поля,  
8 Щоб мовчки йшов через огні й наругу.
- 9 Аби ступав, мов ніччю путник в полі,  
З слъозою в оці, та з надією в душі,  
11 Що ще діждеться ранку, світла й волі.<sup>1</sup>

He concludes the sonnet by relating his thoughts to the destiny of his people, stressing his belief that, through faith and prayer in defiance of all its tribulations, it will attain to happiness, Light and Love:

- І нас, брати, отак веде рука судьби;  
Йдучи з молитвою наперекір недолі,  
14 Ідім до світла, щастя та любові.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the thematic substance, the poet has shaped the idea-content of Dvi dorohy - within the poem's intricate and exacting sonnet-form - by means of biblical imagery and vocabulary. Thus, line 3, presenting "labour" as one of the roads to reward ("Одна - трудоується і калічить ноги"), echoes the Pauline words: "Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour" (First Epistle to the Corinthians, 3:8). Line 4 ("А друга - з вірою й молитвою страждати") paraphrases the context "patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer" (Romans, 12:12), which is the poem's keynote. Line 8, illustrating happiness as the reward of suffering in faith (lines 5-7), evokes the image of Jesus, "who for the joy that was set before him *endured the cross, despising the shame*" (Hebrews, 12:2). In lines 9-11 the poet produces an individual image, but

<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Dvi dorohy, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

his utterances resound patterns of biblical idiom: lines 9-10 ("Аби ступав...з слъозою в оци") are lexically patterned on the phrase "He that goeth forth and weepeth..." (Psalm 126:6), and line 11 ("Ніло ще диводеться ранку, світна...") echoes a reversal of the context "Let it look for [= expect] light, but have none; neither let it see the dawning of the day" (Job, 3:9).

The juvenile poems discussed above provide a clear picture of Ivan Franko's approach and recourse to the Bible in the initial period of his poetic career. To the young, romantic poet-in-the-making the Bible is a point of departure in regard to his mental attitudes as well as to his poetic expression of them. Already possessing a wide and pervasive familiarity with the literature of the Bible, and deeply influenced by its moral and artistic substance, he approaches various life phenomena with the categories and the criteria of the thematic and ideological material accumulated through his engrossment in the Scriptures, and resorts to patterns of biblico-literary art for the poetic expression of the ideas and the sentiments which the given phenomena evoke in his mind.

The writings of St. Paul exert a predominant influence on these poems from the thematic and ideological points of view. This may be attributable to the fact that the Pauline ideology, with its particular emphasis on practical standards of morality as well as on inter-human unity and equality, was most congenial to the young poet's innate susceptibility to moral values and fervent desire for unity and equality among all the segments of his own people.

The juvenile poems evidence the poet's identification with the traditional sense and intent of the underlying biblical themes and statements. However, his representation of the biblical themes is accompanied by his individual thinking, which engenders original illuminations and extended expositions of meaning, but remains in conformity to tradition.

The poet's recourse to the Bible in the juvenile works is not completely free from symptoms of imitative literary dependence<sup>1</sup>. This is, however, natural for a beginning poet having, as yet, no crystallized poetic style and technique of his own; and in no way is the extent of this dependence commensurate with the degree of originality which manifests itself, already at this early stage, in his poetic and ideological elaboration of the biblical material.

But, whatever measure of imitative relationship to the Bible is perceptible in the early Frankian poems, it gradually disappears, and changes, in the later works, into an original elaboration of selected biblical matter which the poet finds to mirror his individual ideas, views or experiences.

The new way of employing biblical elements and the new principle of blending the biblical with the contemporary begin to be noticeable in the earliest of Franko's prison-poems, Oi rano ia, rano ustanu (1877)<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf., for example, the psalm-modelled structure and style of the appeals to God in Skhid sontsia and Moia pisnia.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Oi rano ia, rano ustanu, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 25-26. Written during the first of the poet's three arrests, which lasted from 12.6.1877 to 5.2.1878. First published in the Hromads'kyi Druh, No. 2, 1878, under the title Dumka v tiurmi.

Simultaneously with representing his personal mood and feelings as a prisoner, the poet expresses here his criticism of the existing socio-political order, of which he claims to be an innocent victim, as well as his ideas concerning the ideal social order to which he aspires.

An associative image of two biblical figures underlies his pondering over the injustice of his imprisonment and suffering: the prophet Jeremiah, who was put in prison for propagating his moral and political views, and the righteous Job, who was subjected to severe tribulations without knowing why. Jeremiah demanded justice of his king:

*"What have I offended against thee, or against thy servants, or against this people, that ye have put me in prison?"* (Jeremiah, 37:18);

Job called out to God:

*"Make me to know my transgression and my sin"* (Job, 13:23).

The words and feelings of the two biblical wronged reverberate in the poet's utterances:

За що мене в пута скували?  
За що мені воленьку взяли?  
Кому я і чим завинив?<sup>1</sup>

He is convinced that he is suffering, without guilt, for two things, noble and worthy in themselves, but looked upon as "subversive", and therefore entailing prosecution and persecution, in the conditions of the existing socio-political régime: his love for his people, and his pursuit of justice, equality and happiness for all:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *Oi rano ia, rano ustanu*, *Tvory*, Vol. 10, p. 26.

[Кому я і чим завинив?]  
 Чи тим, що народ свій любив?  
 Бажав я для скованих волі,  
 Для скривджених кращої долі  
 І рівного права для всіх, -  
 Се весь і єдиний мій гріх.<sup>1</sup>

In these closing lines the poet's utterances echo biblical contexts in which he finds both a reflection of his own thoughts and ideas and an encouraging confirmation of their validity:

"He hath sent me... to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound" (Isaiah, 61:1; parallel in St. Luke, 4:18);

"... Which executeth judgment for the oppressed" (Psalm 146:7);

"Ye shall have one manner of law" (Leviticus, 24:22).

This poem and a number of those that follow, belonging to the period in which Franko was engaged in socialism<sup>2</sup>, attest to the fact that even in the years of his socialist orientation the poet remained susceptible to the influence of the Bible, which never receded from his consciousness. At the same time, however, this poem evidences a beginning of a new approach to, and treatment of, the biblical substance, and of a new way of blending the biblical with the contemporary.

Here, the poet's postulation of moral values no longer leans exclusively on the sanction of Divine commandments as it does in the earlier poems, where it is asserted with such statements as "Ти ж нам із-давна призначив"... "Ти велів, святий" (Skhid sontsia), or "Той

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Oi rano ia, rano ustanu, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ie. Kyryliuk, Vichnyi revoliutsioner, Kyiv, "Dnipro", 1966, p. 37-38.

хрест... вказав нам ціль" (Khrest). His former references to the theologico-ordinative validity of the moral standards are replaced by expressions of personal recognition and adoption of them for their own sake as high ideals. The previous phrasing in the spirit of "Ти нам призначив" or "Ти велів" is substituted (here, and in subsequent poems) by a phrasing in the sense of "Бажав я" (last stanza, line 1), and the poet's assertions concerning Love, Justice and Equality are made here in the name of the absolute validity of these moral values, without reference to his attitude towards traditional principle.

The Bible remains to him the perennial source of spiritual values and treasury of literary art, but changes from a point of departure into a point of arrival, and he makes his way to it for a confirmative reflection of his own views, ideas and sentiments as well as for literary and artistic resource-material. And in his blending the biblical with the contemporary, the relationship between these two worlds, formerly represented as a mutual interaction (Skhid sontsia), is now expressed through what may be termed as an associative parallelism.

The poem's compositional, formal and aesthetic features are indicative of the poet's tendency towards a poetic style and technique of his own. The composition of the poem consists in a contrastive juxtaposition of the gloomy, depressing prison-cell and the bright, happy world outside, whose smiling and friendly sky the poet addresses in a plaintive monologue on his unjust imprisonment and its reasons. The poem's seven four-line stanzas move in a constant three-foot amphibrachic rhythm, the first two lines having feminine rhyme-endings, the next - masculine (aaBB).

The artistic elaboration, employing metaphor, contrast and question, is basically modern, though some instances of antithetical parallelism are reminiscent of biblical poetry, as, for example, in the fourth stanza:

Тут слъози, ти радість голосиш:  
 Ти вільності запах приносиш,  
 А тут ось понура тюрма,  
 Могила тісна та німа.<sup>1</sup>

A similar associative parallelism characterizes the poet's interweaving of contemporary contents with biblical elements in a later prison poem, Buvaiut' khvyli, sertse mliie (1880)<sup>2</sup>. In this short lyric the poet sounds his yearning for a world of Truth and Freedom, embodying his spiteful thoughts and feelings concerning current reality in an anticipative image of a catastrophic event subverting the existing system of things: "a terrible fire consuming all this earth with all its falsehood" and "purifying" the world towards Truth and Liberty:

Бувають хвилі, *серце мліє*  
 І скорбних *мислей рій* летить,  
 Мов чорна хмара небо криє  
 І грім у хмарі гуркотить.  
 І поглядом німої злости  
 Гляджу на небо й світ живий  
 І жду, що з земної утроби  
 Ось-ось *прорвесь огонь* страшний,  
 І *вмить спалить* всю землю тую  
 З *всіма неправдами її*,  
 Перелама хаос твердую  
 Шкарлюючу скріплої землі...  
 І, *наче золото в горнилі*,  
 Сей світ *очиститься зовсім* -  
 І чиста, в *невечерній силі*  
 Засяє *правда й воля в нім*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Oi rano ia, rano ustanu, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 23-24. Written during Franko's second arrest (6.2 - 6.6.1880). First printed in the Zoria, No. 6, 1883, entitled Бувають хвилі, серце ніє.

The poet's ideas as well as his lyrical utterances and figurative constructions betray associations with a series of themes, images and contexts belonging to various parts of the Bible. A basic association with Psalm 12 suggests itself by virtue of the clear reverberation of its atmosphere, drift of thoughts and keynote vocabulary in the Frankian poem. In the short, eight-verse Psalm 12 the Psalmist deplors the prevalence of falsehood, wishing for divine action to destroy it, and opposing to it the perfect Truth of God. He is overwhelmed by the unchecked falsehood he encounters everywhere ("*The wicked walk on every side...*", "*speak vanity...*" - verses 8, 2, echoed by the phrase "...*всю землю твою / з всіма неправдами її*" in the third stanza), and by the "oppression" (verse 5, alluded to, by contrast, through the word "ВОЛЯ" at the poem's end) which accompanies it. He has a vision of God declaring that He "will arise" (verse 5) to destroy falsehood and oppression. God's words are to him the supreme Truth. In verse 6 he compares God's pure Truth to a noble metal most thoroughly purged by fire. The poet paraphrases this verse in the fourth stanza. The verse reads:

*"The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried in a furnace of earth, purified seven times".<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> The poet writes "gold" instead of "*silver*", choosing a more noble and more "shining" ("*засяє*") metal for the ideals of Truth and Freedom, under the influence of other similar biblical contexts, e.g.: "*And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier... and purge them as gold and silver*" (Malachi, 3:3).

Interestingly enough, the Soviet Frankologist Ievhen Kyryliuk qualifies the poem's fourth stanza as "resounding Shevchenkian imagery" ("*тоді бринять шевченківські образи*"). To exemplify his statement, he quotes Shevchenko's very... Podrazhanie 11 (=12 - A.W.) Psalmu (with a bibliographical reference to it), where verse 6 is faithfully translated: "*Неначе срібло куте, біте / І семикрати перелите / Огнем в горнилі...*". Ie. Kyryliuk, Vichnyi revoliutsioner, p. 188.



To the poet, Truth and Freedom will "shine in the world" like pure, furnace-purged gold (fourth stanza) after the world has been "purified" by an all-consuming fire, which will purge away all falsehood and oppression (stanzas 2-3). In the drawing of this image as a whole, the poet combines the imagery of Psalm 12 with a series of associative images summoned from other biblical sources. At first (second stanza), he evokes some scenes from the story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, represented in the verses:

"And the men [=the angels] rose up from thence and *looked toward Sodom...* And the Lord said, Shall I hide from Abraham that thing which I do?" (Genesis, 18:16-17).

"Then the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and *fire from the Lord out of heaven*" (Genesis, 19:24).

"And [Abraham] *looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah and toward all the land of the plain*, and beheld, and lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a *furnace*" (Gen., 19:28).

Also the poet *looks*, significantly and expectantly, toward *heaven* and at the surrounding "living world", "awaiting" an eruption of *fire*, and anticipating a scene similar to that which Abraham saw.

However, the poet visualizes an outbreak of fire not "out of heaven", but "out of the bowels of the earth" itself, and he wants "the whole of this earth" consumed, not just two cities like Sodom and Gomorrah. For this purpose, he had an ample choice of pertinent images in the Pentateuch, in the Psalms and in the Prophets, as, for example:

"And the earth opened her mouth... And there came out a *fire and consumed...*" (The destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram and their followers, Numbers, 16:33,35);

"A *fire is kindled in mine anger, and shall burn unto the lowest hell, and shall consume the earth with her increase*" (Deuteronomy, 32:22);

"The Lord shall swallow them up in his wrath, *and the fire shall devour them*" (Psalm 21:9);

"*For all the earth shall be devoured with the fire of my jealousy*" (Zephaniah, 3:8).

Elements of this biblical imagery underlie the third stanza and constitute the poet's representation of how the world should be "purified": it has to be "burnt down" and reverted to "chaos" (line 3), its primary state at the first stage of creation (Genesis, 1:2), whereupon a new and better world will come into being.

In the fourth stanza the poet represents not only the result of the world's "purification" (Truth and Freedom will resplend like pure, shining gold), but also the purifying process itself. Here, too, his description is associated with biblical imagery. In the Bible, moral purification is often embodied in images of the refiner's or goldsmith's or silversmith's work:

"Thy silver is become dross... I will purge away thy dross, and take away all thy tin" (Isaiah, 1:22, 25);

"I will melt them and try them" (Jeremiah, 9:7);

"And [I] will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried" (Zechariah, 13:9);

"For he is like a refiner's fire... And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier... and purge them as gold and silver" (Malachi, 3:2-3).

The poem's verbal style and artistic elaboration manifest a substantial influence of biblical diction and poetic technique. Each stanza echoes some biblical phrases or words, and even the poet's individual expressions are phrased in quasi-biblical idiom. Thus, in the first stanza, the expression "*cepче мне*" may be related to one of the frequent

biblical phrases of the type of *"When my heart is overwhelmed"* (Psalm 61:2)<sup>1</sup>. The phrase *"скорбних мислей рій"* has its counterpart in the verset *"In the multitude of my thoughts within me"...* (Psalm 94:19a)<sup>2</sup>. The wording of lines 3 and 4 is the poet's own, but it is patterned on the familiar biblical combination of cloud and thunder (e.g., *"Round about him were... thick clouds... The Lord also thundered in the heavens"* (Psalm 18:11,13); *"The clouds poured out water... The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven"* - Psalm 77:17-18).

In the second stanza, the poet's metaphor *"з земної утроби"* (line 3) is a figurative paraphrase of the context *"from the depths of the earth"* (Psalm 71:20). The word *"утроба"* is transferred here from other biblical contexts, where, usually linked with the heart, it refers only to human beings in the sense of *"reins"* or kidneys - the seat of man's feelings and conscience<sup>3</sup>, in biblical usage.

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<sup>1</sup> Similar contexts are: *"My heart... is melted in the midst of my bowels"* Psalm 22:14); *"My heart faileth me"* (Ps. 40:12); *"My heart was grieved"* (Ps. 73:21); *"Every man's heart shall melt"* (Isaiah, 13:7). In all these phrases, the intent is *"my heart swoons with grief and despair"*. In the Ukrainian version (American Bible Society, 1957), Psalm 61:2 reads: *"...бо серце моє ниє"*. Franko used the word *ниє* in the poem's original title: *Бувають хвили, серце ниє*. Cf. p. , note 2.

<sup>2</sup> That the Psalmist speaks of *sorrowful* thoughts follows from the second member of this verse: *"thy comforts delight my soul"*. So in the Ukrainian version: *"Як було важко мені на серці від натовпу думок моїх"*... The Polish version (Biblia Gdańska) reads here: *"W wielkości utrapienia mego, we wnętrzościach moich"*...

<sup>3</sup> For example, in the Old Church Slavonic translation of Psalm 26:2: *"Examine me, O Lord, and prove me; try my reins and my heart"*, the second member reads: *"РАЖДЪЗІ ЖТРОБЪ И СРЪДЪЦЕ МОЕ"*. Cf. *Psalterium Sinaiticum*, Psalm 25 (26), verse 2, in A. Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen (altkirchenslavischen) Sprache*, Heidelberg, 1922, p. 215.

In the third stanza, the phrasing of the poet's wish for "this earth" to be burnt down "in a twinkling" ("*І вмиг спалить всю землю тую*" - line 1) echoes the context "*That I may consume them in a moment*" (Numbers, 16:21) from the scene of the destruction of Korah, Dathan and Abiram.

In the fourth stanza the poet builds an individual image on the figurative elements of Psalm 12:6, but re-echoes the key-vocabulary of that verse: "*правда*" for "the words of the Lord", "*чиста*" for "pure", "*очиститься*" for "purified", "*в горнилі*" for "in a furnace of earth".

The poem's aesthetic quality lies in its vivid imagery. The entire "story" of the poem is represented in a continual three-phase (visionary) image, full of movement, colour and sound, and drawn by means of a series of "dynamic" verbs: *летить, гуркотить, прорвесь, спалить, перелама, засяє*. The first phase is an ominous phenomenon in heaven: "a black cloud covers the sky, and a thunder roars in it". In the second phase the imaginary "catastrophe" occurs. The third phase represents the coveted beneficial effect of the catastrophe.

The continuity of the image is produced by the Bible-patterned repetition of the conjunction "*і*" in every stanza, and the poem's imagery as a whole is enlivened by means of biblico-poetic devices. The metaphor is the poem's predominant trope: *серце мліє, мислей рій летить, німої злости, з земної утроби, перелама хаос... шкарпачу... землі, в не-вечерній силі, засяє правда*. Two instances of simile (*мов чорна хмара, наче золото в горнилі*) complete the rich pictorial substance of this short lyric.

The imprisoned poet's ideas of Truth and Justice, Freedom and Equality are further developed, and resound in sharper tones, in the poem Tovarysham<sup>1</sup>, composed shortly after Buvaiut' khvyli, sertse mliie.

This short lyric is addressed to the poet's real and imaginary ideological colleagues as well as to his actual and potential fellow-prisoners, who, like himself, are struggling for truth, justice and inter-human fraternity. The poet knows from personal experience that the banner-carriers of these ideals are treated as outcasts and subjected to humiliation and physical suffering in a society governed by falsehood and oppression. Nevertheless, he urges his likeminded comrades to go on struggling and paving the way for humanity's progress and happiness, in spite of the fact that they will neither be rewarded for their services nor live to see their ideals fulfilled. He expresses his conviction (which is the poem's central idea) that the sense of life consists in the work for noble moral ideals, and that the reward of the bearers of such ideals is in their very existence and in their consciousness of the future beneficial effect of their acts for all humanity.

The poem is heavily charged with elements of biblical diction and imagery, and strongly marked by an associative parallelism between contemporary and biblical events and situations. Like the preceding one, it must be quoted in full in order to bring its relationship to the Bible into view:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Tovarysham, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 39-40. Composed on April 19, 1880 (Buvaiut' khvyli, sertse mliie was written on April 2). First printed in the collection Z vershyn i nyzyn, 1893.

*І вас зі своїх зборів проженуть  
Старих порядків лицарі гордії,  
3 Ім'я і діла ваші прокленуть  
І крикнуть: "Зрада! Пагубній мрії!"  
І вашу добру славу оплюють  
6 Брехнею, й вас полічать між злодії,  
Отрутою, замучених, напоять,  
Надії ясні жовчею затроять.*

*На суд потягнуть вас, начинять вами  
Всі тюрми, все покличуть проти вас -  
3 Людей і Бога. Ділом і словами  
Не проминуть рани раз у раз  
М'якеє серце ваше, мов тернами.  
6 Подумаєш: "Оттак жить!" і не раз  
Самому страшно, защемить у груди...  
Чи ж так живуть з людьми-братами люди?*

*Не так повинні! Щоб не так жили,  
Щоб брата і в найменшому пізнали,  
3 За те якраз до бою ви пішли,  
На псклик правди проти брехні стали...  
Борітеся! Терпіть! По всій землі  
6 Рівняйте стежку правді! Де застали  
Лиш гложжя, терня, там по вас нехай  
Зазеленіє жито, наче гай!<sup>1</sup>*

The poet represents the fate awaiting his companions - the combatants for Truth, Justice and Brotherly Love - through allusions to events, scenes and situations relating to the life and teachings of Christ.

These form the setting and the atmosphere of stanzas 1 and 2. The lexical substance of the poem as a whole echoes pertinent contexts and images from the Gospels, which the poet intersperses with corresponding contexts drawn from biblical poetry.

Thus, the poet's description of the attitude and treatment his companions can expect in the existing social order is reminiscent of the

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *Tovarysham, Tvory*, Vol. 10, p. 39-40.

words of Jesus:

*"Blessed are ye, when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you from their company, and shall reproach you, and cast out your names as evil..."* (St. Luke, 6:22);

*"Are ye come out as against a thief... to take me?"* (St. Matthew, 26:55).

The phrasing of lines 5, 7 and 8 of the first stanza ("*оплюють*", "*отрутую, замучених, напоють*", "*жовчею затроють*") echoes scenes of humiliation and atrocity from the Gospels, such as:

*"And they spit upon him... and smote him on the head";*  
*"They gave him vinegar to drink mingled with gall"* (St. Matthew, 27:30,34)

The phrases: "*Зрада! Пагубні мрії!*" (line 4) and "*полічать між злодії*" (line 6) also echo contexts of biblical poetry:

*"Woe unto me! The treacherous dealers have dealt treacherously"* (Isaiah, 24:16);  
*"Their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity"* (Isaiah, 59:7);  
*"They cried after them as after a thief"* (Job, 30:5).

The contents of lines 1-5 of the second stanza (the forcible dragging to court, the putting in prison, the persecution "by word and by deed") are built on events and situations summoned from the life of Jesus (e.g., St. Matthew, 26:57-66; 27:2, 11-29).

Emotional experiences of the Psalmist reverberate in the poet's expression of his own feelings (second stanza, line 7):

*"My heart is sore pained within me... Fearfulness and trembling are come upon me, and horror hath overwhelmed me"* (Psalm 55:4-5).

The third stanza is built on two biblical themes. In lines 1-3 the poet postulates equality through "brotherly love", alluding (in line 2) to the Pauline words: "*Condescend to men of low estate*" (Romans, 12:16).

Line 4 links the theme of Fraternity-Equality to the theme of Truth, with which the poem ends. The poet represents the idea of Truth and of struggling for the establishment of Truth in the world (lines 5-8) - through the famous Isaian prophecy embodied in the image:

"[The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness,]  
*Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the  
 desert a highway for our God.*

[Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain  
 and hill shall be made low:] *and the crooked shall be  
 made straight, and the rough places plain*" (Isaiah, 40:3-4)<sup>1</sup>.

He exhorts his companions "to make straight the path" for Truth through struggle and suffering (lines 5-6). In lines 7-8 he builds an individual image on the Isaian context, paraphrasing "*the crooked*" and "*the rough places*" by the expression "*гложья, терня*" (equally an Isaian phrase: "*briers and thorns*" - Isaiah, 5:6, 7:24,25, 9:18, 27:4) to symbolize the existing ethico-social order, and adding the phrase of his own: "*Зазеление жито, наче гай!*" as a contrast to "*гложья, терня*", representing the effect and the reward - though posthumous ("*no vas*") of the struggle and sacrifice of the fighters for Truth.

In Tovarysham the poet has recourse to such biblical elements as reflect current events and situations in present-day life, and parallel his own thoughts and feelings evoked by these events and situations.

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<sup>1</sup> The image of "preparing the way", "making straight a highway" and "casting up the way" towards phenomena of highest spiritual significance recurs in Isaiah, 57:14 and 62:10. It also appears in Malachi, 3:1, and is referred to in all the Gospels: St. Matthew, 3:3, St. Mark, 1:3, St. Luke, 1:76, 3:4, St. John, 1:23.



The poem's biblical substance performs a triple function. First, the poet represents through it his personal experiences (implied in the words: "*I sac...*" of the opening line) as a combatant advocate of moral and social ideals. Secondly, through the evocation of parallel biblical events and situations, he generalizes his personal condition, making it represent the destiny of all actual and potential followers of his example, thus sounding his critical views on the existing ethico-social reality. Thirdly, he expresses, through a particular biblical context, his individual idea of a universal character: the idea of the unceasing work for noble ideals, which he embodies in the symbolic Isaian image of "preparing the way" and "making straight a highway" (Isaiah, 40:3). He sees the sense of life in paving the way for humanity's progress and happiness through the establishment of spiritual values - a work ever to go on, though never to be accomplished in the lifetime of the "pavers", who "die on the road". Here, he refers this idea to the struggle for Truth, under which he subsumes all the other moral values he aspires to: Justice, Fraternity, Equality.<sup>1</sup>

The poet appears to have lent his main attention to the ideological aspect of Tovarysham, and endeavoured to formulate his utterances in

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<sup>1</sup> The Isaian image of "making straight a highway" underlying, here, the poet's idea of incessant paving the way for Truth, pervades a considerable number of additional Frankian poems, and embodies a variety of the poet's moral and national ideas. It will be seen, at the end of this chapter, that the image of "making straight a highway for spiritual values... and dying on the road" became a basic element of the poet's final worldview in general, and of his conception of the historical task and destiny of a nation and of national leaders - in particular.

candid and rather blunt words ("проженуть", "прокленуть", "оплюють", "затроять", "потягнуть", "начиняють", "покличуть проти вас людей і Бога", "не проминуть раними", "старих порядків лицарі гордії"). Hence, the poem's aesthetic quality does not equal that of some of the preceding lyrics. Its main aesthetic feature is the poet's converting biblico-historical fact into images in general, and into images of contemporary reality in particular. Some instances of metaphor ("вашу добру славу оплюють брешнею", "на поклик правди", "рівняйте стежку правді"), simile ("мов тернами", "наче гай"), anaphora (the conjunction "і" in lines 4 and 5 of the first stanza), and the antithetical parallelism in lines 6-8 of the third stanza - mark the poem's artistic elaboration with figurative devices of biblical poetry.

A different way of representing the poet's views and ideas with regard to Truth marks sonnets 34 and 35 of the cycle Tiuremni sonety (1889)<sup>1</sup>, dating from the period of his third imprisonment<sup>2</sup>.

These poems do not deal directly with Truth, but with its opposite, falsehood, and particularly with the form of falsehood which was most odious to the poet: hypocrisy. The poet expresses his desire for Truth by attacking, in bold tirades of denunciation and reproof, both the phenomenon of hypocrisy and those responsible for its prevalence. He lays

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Tiuremni sonety, 34, 35, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 162. Both composed 9.9.1889. First printed in the collection Z vershyn i nyzyn, 1893.

<sup>2</sup> From 5.8.1889 to 20.10.1889.

bare the ostensible honesty of certain people, under which hides criminal hypocrisy, covered up by false pretence of "doing one's duty in good faith", or "being forced to act against one's conscience":

34. [1] Як я нена́виджу вас, ви машини,  
Що трéте кості, рвéте серце в грудях,  
Вбиваєте живу́ю душу в людях  
І потім кажете: "Що ж, ми невинни!"
- [2] "Нас на такі заведено пружини,  
Ми мусимо! В самих не раз вся суть, ах,  
Бунтується..."<sup>1</sup>

He denounces various unnamed contemporary leaders, public figures and influential persons as "wolves in sheep's skin":

35. [2] Що ширить тьму у рясі темнолюбець,  
Що кат у ф́раку точить кров, як пиво,  
Що злодій-фарисей основи живо  
Спаса - се зле, та злий в злім не проступець.<sup>2</sup>

But most severely he condemns the honest man who acquiesces in serving evil, letting his honesty be a coverage to meanness, and only "silently" feels sorry about it, without openly and actively resisting such service. This way of life is most contemptible to the poet, and evokes in his mind the image of Pilate:

- [3] Та чесний чоловік, що злomu служить,  
Своєю честю покриває мідний  
Лоб підлоти, а стиха плаче й тужить, -
- [4] Се вид, найвищої погорди гідний,  
Се вид Пілата, що Христа на муки  
Віддав, а сам умив прилюдно руки.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Tiuremni sonety, 34, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Tiuremni sonety, 35, Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ibid.

It is evident, from the fragments quoted above, that these sonnets differ from the earlier prison poems in tone, in language, and in figurative representation. Their tone is not plaintive or deploring, but accusatory and aggressive; their language is manifestly modern; and the building material for their imagery is drawn from the immediate present-day reality ("машини", "тружани", "темнолюбець в рясі", "кат у фракку точить кров, як тиво") - and from those phenomena of contemporary life which the poet abhors and denounces in particular. Yet, the Tiuremni sonety 34 and 35 have everything in common with the earlier prison poems from the point of view of the poet's recourse to the Bible. When he reaches the point of expressing his innermost feelings<sup>1</sup>, his world-view, or his work's central idea, the poet proceeds, in these sonnets as in the former poems, to the Bible for parallel facts and words on which to found his individual utterances.

Thus, in qualifying ostensible honesty as the most contemptible hypocrisy (which is the main intent and the central idea of these sonnets) in the lines: "СВОЮ ЧЕСТЮ ПОКРИВАЄ МІДНИЙ ЛОБ ПІДЛОТИ" and "Се ВИД ПІЛАТА, що Христа на муки віддав, а сам умив прилюдно руки", the poet re-echoes by an original metaphor the words which the prophet Isaiah employed in a simile in his strenuous censure of stubborn wickedness: "And thy neck is an iron sinew, and thy brow - brass" (Isaiah, 48:4), and evokes the image

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<sup>1</sup> From the personal-autobiographical point of view, these sonnets resound the poet's painful disappointment in certain persons, whom he had believed to be sincere and honest, but found to be double-faced hypocrites and to have had a hand in his imprisonment. Cf. the description of the circumstances of Franko's third arrest in P. Kolesnyk, Syn narodu, Zhyttia i tvorchist' I. Franka, Kyiv, Radians'kyi pys'mennyk, 1957, p. 97.

of Pilate's hypocritical behaviour (St. Matthew, 27:24-26).

The poet continues to represent the hideousness of ostensible honesty through the image of Pilate in a cycle of three sonnets (Tiuremni sonety, 36-38), which he composed on the same day as sonnets 34 and 35, and which he entitled Lehenda pro Pilata<sup>1</sup>. The narrative substance of this work is based on apocryphal writings<sup>2</sup>, and represents Pilate's act as more abominable than Cain's crime:

І Бог поклав клеймо на груди Пілата,  
Життя, смерть, тіло й дух його прокляв  
Гірш Каїна, бо Каїн, вбивши брата,  
Не мив рук з крові, винним чувсь, тікав.  
А сей, що правду чисту в руки ката  
Віддав, одвіт від себе відпихав...<sup>3</sup>

The end of Lehenda pro Pilata resounds, allegorically, the poet's regret of the fact that the Pilate-pattern continues to dwell in human nature:

Та повривались шнури конопляні,  
І труп Пілата, всій землі на горе,  
Ще й досі плавле десь по океані.<sup>4</sup>

Elements of biblico-poetic art enhance the aesthetic quality of Tiuremni sonety 34 and 35 and of Lehenda pro Pilata. They include: metaphor, comparison, repetition and anaphora ("*вся суть бунтується*" [34], "*своєю честю покриває мідний лоб підлости*" [35], "*правду чисту в руки ката*

<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Lehenda pro Pilata, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 162-164.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 459, note on the sources of the work.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 164.

віддав" [37]; "як на рабі тім нута золоті" [34], "точить кров, як тиво" [35], "тіло й дух його прокляв гіри Каїна" [37]; the repetition of the phrase "Як я ненавижду вас" [34, first lines of stanzas 1 and 3], of the words "що", "се вид" [35], "нішов" [36], and of the conjunction "і" in sonnets 37 and 38; the anaphoras of "що", "се вид" [35] and "і" [37]).

A particular feature of sonnet 35 is the series of Bible-patterned parabolical sayings in stanzas 1 and 2, by which the poet sets forth his thoughts and ideas in stanzas 3-4. In the first stanza the poet refers to the spontaneous, instinctive behaviour of animals:

[1] Що вовк вівцю їсть - жалко, та не диво,  
 На те він вовк, розбійник, душогубець;  
 Та якби віл, спокійний травоскубець,  
 Принявся враз живеє рвать м'ясиво?...<sup>1</sup>

The second stanza evokes images of intentional (and wicked) behaviour from the human world. These two stanzas prepare the logical ground for the poet's conclusions and ideas expressed in stanzas 3 and 4 (stanzas 2, 3 and 4 are quoted above, on page 164).

The biblical elements occupy a significant place in the ideological content and in the aesthetic elaboration of these poems, written in the period of the poet's inclination to socialism on the one hand, and full mastery of an individual poetic style and technique on the other. This attests to the depth and steadfastness of the biblical influence on his thinking and on his poetic expression.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Tiuremni sonety, 35, *Tvory*, Vol. 10, p. 162.

<sup>2</sup> The following statement of a Soviet Frankologist, relating to the poet's compositions during his third arrest, is noteworthy in this connection: "Писав він на клаттиках паперу, на полях грубого тома єврейського "П'ятикнижя", куди не раз любив заглядати." P. Kolesnyk, Syn narodu, p. 97.

A synthesis of the poet's thoughts, feelings and ideas, relating to his lifelong search of truth, justice and sincerity, and to his incessant struggle against falsehood in any form, manifests itself in the poem Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravyykh (1905)<sup>1</sup>.

Here, too, the poet sounds his contemporary ideas through ancient biblical statements. He precedes the poem with the first verse of the Psalms in the Church Slavonic version: "Блаженъ мужъ, иже не идетъ на совѣтъ нечестивыхъ" (Psalm 1:1) as a motto, and begins each stanza with the phrase "Блаженный муж". However, his linking the contemporary with the biblical is made in this poem not through an association by analogy, as in the preceding works, but through an association by contrariety. The opening line of the poem represents a reversal of the sense and intent of the underlying biblical context:

*Блаженный муж, що йде на суд неправих...<sup>2</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravyykh, *Tvory*, Vol. 11, p. 278-279. Composed 23.4.1905 (this date appears on the facsimile of the autograph in Anna Franko-Kliuchko, Ivan Franko i ioho rodyna; Spomyny, Toronto, Liga vyzvolennia Ukraïny, 1956, p. 15). First printed in LVN, Vol. 33, Book 1, p. 3, in 1906. Republished in the same year in the collection Semper tiro, cycle Na stari temy, 2.

<sup>2</sup> It should, however, be noted that this is not a reversal of the actual meaning of Psalm 1:1, but of a different interpretation of it, evidently caused by the Slavonic wording "на совѣтъ", which was understood as "to the council". The verse in question does not deal with "going to" or "participating in" a "council" of the ungodly, but with *walking* (conducting one's life) according to the *counsel* (advice) of ungodly men. [The English version (King James) translates correctly: "that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly". The Polish version (Biblia Gdańska) reads: "który nie chodzi w radzie niepobożnych". The Vulgate (old version): "qui non abiit in consilio impiorum"; (new version): "qui non sequitur consilium impiorum". The Ukrainian version (Kulish-Levyts'kyi-Puliui): "що не ходить на раду безбожних"; (new translation): "що за радою несправедливих не ходить"].

The poet's conception of the hero (who embodies his own life and work) diverges from the image of a mere avoider of sin presented in the first Psalm, and associates itself with the image of prominent biblical figures who exhibited extraordinary bravery and firmness as active fighters against falsehood, hypocrisy and injustice. His model types, alluded to in the poem, are the militant prophets, Jesus, and St. Paul.

The image of the prophet who combats immorality, who "*lifts up his voice* to show the people their transgression" (Isaiah, 58:1), and who attacks "*assemblies of treacherous men*" (Jeremiah, 9:2) with tirades of remonstrance, is reflected in the first stanza by the corresponding biblical contexts echoed in it:

Блаженний муж, що йде на суд неправих  
І там за правду голос свій підносить,  
Що безтурботно в сумнищах лукавих  
Заціплії сумління їх термосить.<sup>1</sup>

Lines 1-2 of the fourth stanza allude to the steadfastness of St. Paul, which he exhibited in his apostolic work in spite of the persecution and the physical suffering he had to endure, and echo such contexts as: "And they... lifted up their voices, and said, *Away with such a fellow from the earth...* (The Acts, 22:22); "... and, *having stoned Paul, drew him out of the city...*" (The Acts, 14:19):

Блаженний муж, кого за теє лають,  
Кленуть і гонять, і поб'ють камінням;<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravyykh, Tvo-ry, Vol. 11, p. 278-279.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 279.



Lines 3-4 of the fourth stanza echo the moral triumph which Jesus achieved in the case of the "woman taken in adultery", when He said, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her", "and they which heard it, *being convicted by their own conscience*, went out one by one" (St. John, 8:3-9):

Вони ж самі його триумф підготовляють,  
Самі своїм осудяться сумлінням.<sup>1</sup>

At the end of the poem (fifth stanza) the poet expresses in modern language the idea which he set forth in Tovarysham (1880) through the biblical image of "making straight a highway" (Isaiah, 40:3): the pavers of the way for Truth and Justice perish on the road, whether by the law of life or from the hands of their own society, but the sense of their life and work manifests itself in the posterior effect of their acts:

Блаженні всі, котрі не знали годі,  
Коли о правду й справедливість ходить:  
Хоч пам'ять їх загине у народі,  
То кров їх кров людства ублагородить.<sup>2</sup>

The moral ideas which the poet formerly sounded in separate poems at different intervals of time are set forth in this poem in a concentrated form manifesting a crystallized world-outlook. On the background of the biblical passage that inspired him (Psalm 1), the poet presents his independent speculation on the subject of truth and falsehood, good and evil. He opens the poem with a reversal of the sense and intent of the biblical motto, opposing active struggling for morality to passive avoidance of

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravyykh, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 279.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

immorality, and makes the modified meaning of the biblical verse into the poem's central idea. He stresses the intentional "going to the council of the ungodly" to fight evil within the camp of the wicked, and to sound truth from the platform of those who repudiate it. This is to him both the essential trait and the right way of acting of a truly sincere public worker or national leader. He develops this idea in the body of the poem with the help of associative contexts and images evoking the personalities and the acts of prominent heroic advocates of moral and spiritual values from the biblical world.

It will be appropriate to mention, in this connection, M. Vozniak's account of the genesis and purpose of this poem. M. Vozniak states that, while Franko was preparing for print, in 1905, the first volume of M. Drahomanov's letters to him, he came up against one (dated 15.12.1885) in which Drahomanov reproved him for being a contributor to Dilo and Zoria, the organs of the "narodovtsi", using the verse "Блаженъ мужъ, иже не идетъ на совѣтъ нечестивыхъ" as a "memento". Under the influence of the fresh reminiscence, and in order to declare his own position, directly opposed to that of Drahomanov's in that matter, Franko wrote this poem and made the biblical verse into its motto.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the thesis finds, however, that the purpose of this poem extends beyond a sporadic retrospective reaction to a past incident. The poem is concerned not only with the past, but also with the present and

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Vozniak, Veleten' dumky i pratsi, Kyïv, Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oi literatury, 1958, p. 188; Lystuvannia I. Franka i M. Drahomanova, letter No. 73, p. 142.

with the future. A considerable influence on its drift and scope is to be attributed to the fact that its composition in April, 1905 coincided with the poet's work (from January to July of that year<sup>1</sup>) on his greatest poem, Moisei. Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravyykh reflects some of the poet's main thoughts and ideas pervading Moisei, particularly as regards the rôle of moral and spiritual values in the life of a single nation and of all humanity, and the personality and destiny of a national leader. This thematic substance, comprising elements of the poet's autobiography, of his national thought and of his general speculation, imparts to Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravyykh a character which is at once personal, national and universal.

The poet's recourse to biblical poetry for figurative devices is rather limited in this poem. Only a few lines display metaphor (e.g., "Коли заглухне й найчуткіша совість" - second stanza, line 2; "поклониться злomu" - third stanza, line 4), and just one line contains a simile ("Стоїть, як дуб, посеред бур і грому" - third stanza, line 2). The poem's aesthetic quality consists in the neatness of the poet's blending its lexical texture with the underlying biblical contexts. These contexts, being in themselves picturesque and suggestive ("голос свій підносить", "в сонмищах лукавих", "кленуть і гонять, і поб'ють камінням", "самі своїм осудяться сумлінням"), contribute to the enrichment of the poem's imagery and to the embellishment of its verse.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the poet's note at the end of Moisei, Tvory, Vol. 12, p. 530.

Among the pre-Moisei poetic works sounding contemporary contents through biblical texts distinguishes itself the poem Na ritsi vavilons'kii (1901)<sup>1</sup> by the profundity of its national ideology and of the poet's insight into the soul of his people.

The poem is written under the inspiration of Psalm 137 and is mottoed with its first verse in the Old Church Slavonic version: "На рѣкахъ вавилонскихъ, тамо сѣдохомъ и плакахомъ". The image of an exiled and enslaved nation arising from this psalm, and the elements of the psalm's subject-matter: bondage, national pride, patriotic love, and vengeance on the captor, evoke in the poet's mind associations with past and present situations and phenomena in the life of his own people. However, while the poet's associative images are parallel to the situation described in the biblical passage, his associative ideas diverge from it. Therefore, in expressing his thoughts and feelings on the background of Psalm 137, it is only its narrative-descriptive elements that he renders with relative faithfulness, whereas its ideological substance is treated by him in a manifestly independent manner, marked by divergence, reshaping, and reversal.

In the narrative section (verses 1-4) of Psalm 137 the psalmist recalls the sorrowful state of his people's captivity<sup>2</sup>. He stresses in particular the dignified behaviour manifested by the captives when, required by the brutal heathen captor to make merry while they were plunged in grief, and to sing their national-religious songs, they hanged up their harps on

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Na ritsi vavilons'kii, Tvory, Vol. 11, p.286-288. First printed in LNV, 1901, Vol. 17, Book 1, p. 2-3. Republished in the collection Semper tiro, 1906, cycle Na stari temy, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm 137 dates from some time after the Babylonian exile.

willow-trees, "in the midst of Babylon" and in the presence of their conquerors, so as not to humiliate themselves and not to profane their sacred national and spiritual values:

1. *By the rivers of Babylon,  
there we sat down, yea, we wept,  
when we remembered Zion.*
2. *We hanged our harps  
upon the willows  
in the midst thereof.*
3. *For there they that carried us away captive  
required of us a song;  
and they that wasted us  
required of us mirth,  
saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.*
4. *How shall we sing the Lord's song  
in a strange land?*

The poet's paraphrase of this section of the Psalm, opening the poem, communicates his emotional experience of the biblical passage. The first two distichs of Na ritsi vavilons'kii reflect the atmosphere and the mood pervading the above verses. The poet speaks in the first person and from the position of a Babylonian exile. He, too, was sitting by the rivers of Babylon; he, too, was approached by the captor with a mocking demand:

*На ріці вавілонській - і я там сидів,  
1 На розбитий орган у розпуці глядів.*

*І ругався мені Вавілонців собор:  
2 "Заспівай нам що-будь! Про Сіон! Про Табор!"*

*"Про Сіон? Про Табор? Їм вже честі нема.  
3 На Таборі - пустель! На Сіоні - тюрма!"<sup>1</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Na ritsi vavilons'kii, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 286.

However, the substance of the captor's demand is different in the poem from what it is in the Psalm: not "*one of the songs of Zion*" is required of the captive-the poet, but "*a song about Zion, about Tabor*". Also the poet's reply and reaction to the captor's demand differ from those of the biblical exiles. These modifications prepare the way for the poet to unfold the further sections of the poem independently of the biblical text, and to express his associative sentiments and ideas in a way of his own.

The reshaped dialogue, and particularly the poet's reply, initiates an analysis of the psychology of slavery, which occupies the rest of the poem and constitutes the chief element of its subject-matter.

Unlike the biblical exiles, the captive of the Frankian poem does not refuse to comply with the captor's demand as such. On the contrary, apart from his innate slavish submissiveness, he appears to be anxious to present a picture of himself, and to communicate his innermost feelings, to the outside world, and particularly - to his own people. He only rejects the theme of the song proposed by the conqueror, substituting it by a different theme. His *Tabor*<sup>1</sup> and his *Zion*, which once embodied his people's freedom, strength, and dignity, have long since "lost their honour" and become monuments of its defeat and serfdom. He has no longer anything to say about his former glory, so he sings a song about his present dishonour.

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<sup>1</sup> Mount Tabor, in Lower Galilee, symbolizes heroism and victory. The Israelite tribes assembled on it under the command of Deborah and Barak, and descended upon their strong enemy, winning a brilliant victory. Cf. Judges, 4:6, 14-15. ("Tabor" is not mentioned in Psalm 137).

Thus, as from the fourth distich, the poet places the substance of the biblical psalm in the background, and has his protagonist present the story of his life, from birth, through childhood and adolescence, to the present stage. The initial part of the slave's "song" is an epitome of age-long bondage inflicted on his people by external powers, which passed throughout the ages from parents to offspring, and caused his own growing into a mean-spirited slave:

- 4 "Лиш одну хіба пісню я вмю стару:  
Я рабом уродивсь та рабом і умру!
- 5 "Я на світ народився під свист батогів  
Із невольника батька, в землі ворогів.
- 6 "Я хилиться привик від дитинячих літ  
І всміхаться до тих, що катують мій рід...
- 8 "І хоч зріс я мов кедр, що вінчає Ліван,  
То душа в мні похила, повзка, мов бур'ян.<sup>1</sup>

From here, the poet proceeds to look into the slave's inner world with a view to uncovering the roots of his servile personality. He finds and shows that the slave has no strength - spiritual strength - to counteract his plight. His occasional yearnings for freedom and desires for revolt and revenge - are only surreptitious emotions and underhand passions, which he can never bring himself to carry into effect. In his long-lasting condition of being subjugated and oppressed, he developed a self-induced inclination to submissiveness and to acquiescence in bondage:

- 10 "І хоч вирветься з уст крик: "Най згине тиран",  
То не крик се душі, тільки брязкіт кайдан.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Na ritsi vavilons'kii, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 286.

- <sup>11</sup> "І хоч душу манить часом волі приваб,  
Але кров моя - раб! Але мозок мій - раб!"<sup>1</sup>

The roots of his mean-spirited character lie in his complete lack of any aspiration to spiritual liberty. He does not feel himself inwardly free. Although he lives in outward freedom, he is steeped in inward slavery:

- <sup>12</sup> "Хоч я пут не ношу на руках, на ногах,  
Але в нервах ношу все невольницький страх.

- <sup>13</sup> "Хоч я вольним зовусь, а, як раб, спину гну  
І свобідно в лице нікому не зирну."<sup>2</sup>

The poet continues to lay bare the meanness of inward slavery, until the lyrical hero takes on the aspect of a most vile, downtrodden creature (distichs 14-20). At this point he returns to Psalm 137 to make a bold reversal of its concluding section's sense and intent.

The biblical psalm ends with a curse against the captor and with a cry for vengeance on him:

8. *O daughter of Babylon,  
who art to be destroyed;  
happy shall he be,  
that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us.*
9. *Happy shall he be,  
that taketh and dasheth  
thy little ones against the stones.*

The Frankian hero puts the blame for his condition not on the captor, but on himself. He does not wish even his enemy to be afflicted with inward slavery, which is to him the worst and most terrible curse:

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Na ritsi vavilons'kii, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



- 21 "Вавілонські жінки, відвернувшись, ідіть  
І на мене здивовано так не глядіть!
- 22 Щоб не впало прокляття моє на ваш плід,  
Не прийшлося би раба привести вам на світ.
- 23 "Вавілонські дівчата, минайте мене,  
Хай мій вид співчуттям серце вам не торкне!
- 24 "Щоби вам не судилась найтяжча судьба,  
Найстрашніша клятьба - полюбити раба!<sup>1</sup>

Under the inspiration of the biblical psalm evoking an image of inward freedom in outward servitude, the poet sounds his condemnatory views on inward bondage in outward freedom, which he perceives in the life of his people, and finds to impair its national honour and spiritual health.

Na ritsi vavilons'kii sounds like a vehement, almost abusive address, directed by the poet to himself, and through himself - to his own people. The poet appears to disregard the possibility of his contemporary readers getting hurt and irritated by the poignancy of his utterances and by the irony underlying the four concluding couplets. He deals merciless blows at the people's way of life marked by degrading servility, and does so with remarkable frankness, honesty, and courage. In this way he seeks to arouse and impress in the reader an inner experience analogous to that of his own, and to transmit his own feelings and ideas into the reader's mind.

Though the poem appears to be an intimate lyric of self-expression, it carries a message of high national significance. It expresses the poet's

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Na ritsi vavilons'kii, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 287-288.

profound solicitude concerning the future of his people as well as his spiritual struggle for his people's honour and dignity. This struggle pervades each line in the ascending scale of the depicted situations, along with which the poet's emotional tension mounts constantly, reaching its climax in his sarcastic outburst of self-contempt.

Simultaneously with his attack on inward slavery, the poet sounds a sharp protest against the subjugation and oppression of one people by another. But with the latter theme he dealt directly in other poems. In Na ritsi vavilons'kii he addresses the victims of subjugation and oppression, censuring them for their lack of the sense of inward freedom, because, in the particular circumstances, this deficiency precludes the possibility of his people's development and progress.

His remonstrance is aimed to exhort and encourage his people to emancipate itself from the mentality of inward slavery; to arouse its consciousness of the laudable qualities inherent in its national character, and to instil into it a sense of dignity and self-respect. Under the surface of his reproofs reverberate his love for his people and his faith in its potential.

From the compositional point of view, Na ritsi vavilons'kii basically follows the pattern of Psalm 137. The first distich parallels verses 1-2 with their elegiac mood and atmosphere. Distichs 2-3 introduce a dramatic episode - a dialogue between captor and captive, parallel to verses 3-4.

The poet omits verses 5-7, continuing the poem with the "song of the slave" (distichs 4-20), which has no connection with them or with the psalm as a whole. Finally, he returns to the biblical psalm, reversing the sense and intent of its last verses (8-9), and converting their vindictive utterance of a curse against the enemy into a cringing well-wishing warning in his favour (distichs 21-24). The omission of verses 5-7<sup>1</sup>, and the reshaping of verses 8-9, indicate the poet's departure from the second half of the psalm's idea-content, but do not constitute a withdrawal from its compositional and structural framework.

With the help of elements of biblical poetry, the poet adapts the stylistic and prosodic features of the poem to its character as "an old song" ("Одну хіба пісню я вмію *стару*") as well as to the dictional peculiarities of the "slave" who sings it. The poem moves in a steady rhythm of four-foot anapaestic distichs (the distichal strophic structure is most frequent in biblical poetry). The regular recurrence of the anapaestic cadences approximates the verse to a kind of rhythmic prose, and to the harsh, monotonous, more declamatory than melodious, tone of the slave's "singing". The language of the song displays no rhetorical devices of high aesthetic quality. It is, however, interspersed with elements of folk-idiom. Distichs 8, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 abound in comparisons, built on elements of the slave's immediate life-reality (service, labour, deprivation, discrimination). Anaphoras and repetitions occur in

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<sup>1</sup> Verses 5-7 read: 5. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. 6. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy. 7. Remember, O Lord, the children of Edom in the day of Jerusalem; who said, Rase it, rase it, even to the foundation thereof.

distichs 8-13 ("І хоч", "хоч", "трім", "крик", "раб", "ношу"). Eleven out of the poem's twenty-four couplets are concessive sentences, most of which display an antithetic parallelism of their constituent clauses, as, for example:

8 "І хоч зріс я мов кедр, що вінчає Ліван,  
То душа в мні пожила, повзка, мов бур'ян.<sup>1</sup>

It is noteworthy that Franko's views and ideas on the problem of physical and spiritual bondage, expressed in Na ritsi vavilons'kii, later found an echo in the dramatic works on biblical themes of Lesya Ukraїnka - Vavilons'kyi polon and Na ruїnakh (1904). The background of these two related dramatic poems is equally the Babylonian exile (though not the psalm that underlies the Frankian poem). In Na ruїnakh the poetess sets forth the idea that

The subjugation of any nation by a foreign power in no way decides its future. The strength of a nation resides within the nation itself, in its vitality, in its faith in itself... and in its optimism...<sup>2</sup>

The heroine of the drama, the prophetess Tirtsa, who embodies the unyielding freedom-loving spirit, declares to her people:

A slave is not a person who has been subjugated. He is only a person who, of his own free will, carries the yoke of slavery.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Na ritsi vavilons'kii, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> C. Bida, Lesya Ukraїnka. Life and Work, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968, p. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, ibid., ibid.

## B. Self-Expression through Biblical Idiom.

A series of poems of self-expression, dating from different periods of Franko's poetical production, are prominently marked by biblical diction and imagery. These poems represent moods, states of mind, and inner life processes, occasioned by his experiences in his personal life-career and in his relations with his surrounding, as well as by his meditations on his life and work.

Here, the biblical idiom finds its way into his verse in the form of associative images, phrases, words, and figurative devices, through which he expresses his sense of himself as an individual, a poet, and a man of spirit in his society and in his generation.

The poems: Vidtsuralysia liudy mene! (1880), Refleksiiia (1898), Ia ne skinchu tebe, moia uboha pisne (1900), and Bulo se try dni pered moim shliubom (1902) may serve as characteristic examples of Franko's self-expression through biblical idiom.

The short poem Vidtsuralysia liudy mene!<sup>1</sup> represents the poet's state of mind, shortly after his second arrest, in an atmosphere of distrust and disavowal on the part of his surrounding. Solitary, shunned by his acquaintances, he wanders about the streets of the city, yearning for company, for a friend with whom to share his sorrow. But society appears to have barred before him all passages from isolation to community.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Vidtsuralysia liudy mene! Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 26-27. First published in Svit, 1881, No. 3, p. 44.

The poet evokes an associative image of the emotional atmosphere of Psalm 31, where the Psalmist grieves over his solitary life amidst a diffident, hostile surrounding, complaining, in verse 11:

I was a reproach among all mine enemies,  
but especially among my neighbours,  
and a fear to mine acquaintance:  
they that did see me without fled from me.

Franko deplores his own situation in a similar tone, and in similar words:

- 1 Відцуралися люди мене!  
Сей та той надійде і мене!  
Тільки боязно скоса зирне...  
Чи бояться ті люди мене?
- 5 Самотою ходжу я, мов блуд,  
З горем в серці, нестерпно важким...  
Всі знайомі минають, ідуть -  
Поділитися горем ні з ким.<sup>1</sup>

Some devices of biblical poetry contribute to the aesthetic quality of the poem: the exclamations in lines 1 and 2, the rhetorical question in line 4, and the comparison in line 5. The poem is built on a progressive parallelism, each successive line taking the thought further and unfolding an additional element of the picture of isolation and sadness. The isolation is also accentuated through the verbs of movement (*надійде, мене*) in line 2, which recur in line 7 in an inversed order. In line 2, they refer to unidentified passers-by; in line 7 - to "all acquaintances".

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 26.

The poem Refleksiia<sup>1</sup> echoes the sharp conflict which arose in 1897 between Franko and the Ukrainian intelligentsia in consequence of the introductory passage entitled "Nieco o sobie samym", included in his book Obrazki galicyjskie<sup>2</sup>, published in the same year. Certain utterances occurring in this passage were falsely taken as expressions of hatred for the Ukrainian nation, and provoked angry reactions, which caused him severe distress.

Refleksiia expresses the thoughts and feelings of the poet, who loves his homeland and his nation genuinely, deeply and ardently, and serves them with unselfish devotion, but whose love and service are unappreciated, and whose reward is harassment and persecution. His love for the homeland is, however, stronger than his sense of personal distress. He is sincerely concerned about his nation's future, and he knows that it is such "sowers" of national and spiritual ideals as he is that pave the way for the nation's progress and success. He therefore addresses himself to his homeland with a blessing expressing a wish that it should not treat the future workers for its good with the "mockery and stoning" with which it has treated him:

Важке ярмо твоє, мій рідний краю,  
 Не легкий твій тягар!  
 Мов під хрестом, оце під ним я упадаю,  
 З батьківської руки твоєї допиваю  
 5 Затроєний пугар.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Refleksiia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 58-59. First published in the collection Mii Izmarahd, L'viv, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Obrazki galicyjskie, Lwów, Nakł. Księgarni Polskiej, 1897. "Nieco o sobie samym" is reprinted, in Ukrainian, in Tvory, Vol. 1, p. 25-29.

Благословлю тебе! Чи ждять тобі ще треба  
 Поваги й блиску від будущини,  
 Чи ні, - одного лиш тобі благаю з неба,  
 Щоб з горя й голоду не бігли геть від тебе  
 10 Твої найкращіі сини.

Щоб сіячів твоїх їх власне покоління  
 На глум не брало і на сміх.  
 Щоб монументом їх не було те каміння,  
 Яким в відплату за плодючеє насіння  
 15 Ще при життю обкидувано їх.<sup>1</sup>

In expressing his sense of himself as a man of spirit in his society and in his generation, the poet evokes associative images and scenes from the life of Jesus, which he finds to mirror his own situation by virtue of the common motive of suffering *out of* love and self-sacrifice, and *because of* love and self-sacrifice. His utterances are, however, characterized by an antithetical relation to the biblical statements reverberating in them.

The imagery of the first stanza is particularly marked by instances of antithesis to the biblical images alluded to. The poet describes himself as carrying "a heavy yoke and a weighty burden" (lines 1-2) in opposition to the context "*For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light*" (St. Matthew, 11:30). Jesus was given by hostile soldiers "*vinegar to drink mingled with gall: and when He had tasted thereof, He would not drink*" (St. Matthew, 27:34), whereas the poet must "drink to the bottom a cup of poison *from the fatherly hand* of his homeland" (lines 4-5).

In the last stanza, the poet phrases his wishes in the negative (щоб... не... - lines 11-13), echoing some biblical contexts phrased in

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Refleksiiia, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 58-59.



the affirmative, such as, "And Herod with his men of war *set him at nought, and mocked him...*" (St. Luke, 23:11); "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which... *stonest them that are sent unto thee...*" (St. Luke, 13:34).

The biblical words and phrases resounding in Refleksiiia (*yoke, burden, cross, cup of poison, sowers, mockery and derision, seed, reward*) constitute the bulk of the lexical texture by means of which the poet creates original images representing his state of mind, his thoughts, and his sentiments.

The short poem Ia ne skinchu tebe, moia uboha pisne closes the section Spomyny of the major poetical cycle Iz dniv zhurby<sup>1</sup>. In that section, the poet reminisces past and recent experiences in his life and in his work for the community and for the national cause, experiences that are mainly associated with trouble and suffering. He is filled with a desire "to pour out into the crystal jug of poetry" all his heart: his tears and sighs, his joys and sorrows, his hopes and disappointments, his past passionate love and short-lived happiness, and his present infernal, destructive suffering. But he is unable to carry this desire into complete fulfilment. The sad and painful experiences have weakened him, and broken the wings of his soul.

The poet represents the condition of his soul by means of a double comparison. On the one hand, echoing a Jeremian image of utter desolation: "For he shall be *like the heath in the desert...*" (Jeremiah, 17:6),

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Ia ne skinchu tebe, moia uboha pisne, Tvory, Vol. 11, p. 168. First published in the collection Iz dniv zhurby, L'viv, 1900.

he compares the dejected state of his soul to that of a lonely leafless tree in the steppe, beating and cracking during an autumnal storm; on the other hand, he compares it to that of an enfeebled, dormant swallow "hibernating in a brook":

*Мов дерево серед степу безлисте  
в осінній бурі б'ється і скрипить  
і скрип той чує поле болотисте, -  
отак душа моя тепер терпить  
слаба, безкрила, холодом пририта,  
мов ластівка у річці зиму спить.<sup>1</sup>*

These two concluding triplets display, besides the comparison, the biblico-poetical devices of parallelism, imagery, metaphor, and personification. A synthetical parallelism combines the pictorial elements of the double comparison into a unified image of the poet's soul: a soul downcast and rendered uncreative by solitude and suffering. The metaphor "душа слаба, безкрила" parallels the image "дерево безлисте", and evokes simultaneously the associative image of the "wingless swallow". The image of the tree that "beats and cracks in the autumnal storm", symbolizing the agitation and sighing of the suffering poet's soul, is paralleled by the statement "отак душа моя тепер терпить". The personification in the line "і скрип той чує поле болотисте" expresses the intensity of the tree's cracking (so loud that the muddy field can "hear" it through the noise of the storm), and of the poet's suffering. The phrase "холодом пририта" (the "cold" may allude to society's indifference to the poet) parallels "в осінній бурі б'ється" through the common element of coldness, and the common verb-root of "б'ється" and "пририта".

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *op. cit.*, *Tvory*, Vol. 11, p. 168. (According to a Ukrainian folk belief, "swallows hibernate in brooks". Cf. *ibid.*, p. 510).

Bulo se try dni pered moïm shliubom is the second of three related poems, composed in different years, which were posthumously combined into a cycle entitled Z knyhy proroka Ieremiï, and the only poem of this cycle to have been published in Franko's lifetime<sup>1</sup>.

In this poem Franko gives expression to his sense of himself as a poet-prophet - a motive which permeates his poetry as from the collection Mii Izmarahd (1898), reaches its highest manifestation in Moisei, and continues to resound in his post-Moisei poetical production till the last days of his life.

The poem's foundation is the scene of the consecration of the prophet Jeremiah (Jeremiah, 1:4-10), but the poet expands the biblical setting of the poem, enriching it with elements of the lives and the calls to prophecy of Moses, Elijah, Isaiah, Amos, and Ezekiel. On this biblical background, he represents his own experience of an inner call urging him to undertake the mission of a self-sacrificing and self-denying prophet of high ideals and spiritual values. He communicates this experience by means of his translation of corresponding biblical contexts relating to similar experiences. These translated contexts, incorporated in, and blended with, the poet's original verse, constitute the dominant ideological and compositional features of the poem.

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<sup>1</sup> Originally, Franko entitled this poem "Prorok", then he deleted that title, and replaced it by the heading На старі теми. Гласъ вопіючого въ пущахъ. Under this heading the poem was first printed in LNV, 1902, Vol. 19, Book 8, p. 91-92, and republished in the collection Semper tiro, L'viv, 1906, p. 81-83 as well as in Tvory, Vol. 11, 1952, p. 279-280.

The first poem, Ia Ieremiia..., bears no date. The third, Po kraiu idu..., bears the date 1906, and the heading "Z knyhy proroka Ieremiï". All the three poems appear in Tvory, Vol. 13, p. 322-325 as a cycle, under the title Z knyhy proroka Ieremiï, taken from the last poem. Cf. ibid., p.454.

The first poem of the cycle in question serves as a prologue. Here, the poet introduces himself, in accordance with the biblical text, as "*Jeremiah the son of Hilkiah, of the priests that were in Anathoth...*" (Jeremiah, 1:1), adding an individual description of his happy youth:

Я Єремія, син жерія Гількій.  
У Анатоті молодість моя  
Пройшла, немов рожеві, тихі мрії, -  
Незвісний світу, був щасливий я.<sup>1</sup>

The further details which he gives of his life prior to receiving the "call" echo the accounts of the lives of Moses, who "*kept the flock of Jethro his father in law*" (Exodus, 3:1), and of Amos, who "*was a herdsman*" (Amos, 7:14):

Хлопчиною гуляв я по долині,  
А потім нас батьківський стада...<sup>2</sup>

To co-ordinate the story of his own life-career with that of Jeremiah's, whom God commanded, "*Thou shalt not take thee a wife...*" (Jeremiah, 16:2), he tells of his frustrated plan to establish a family:

Я полюбив святу красу дівочу...  
Ще лиш три дні, три дні лише не стало,  
І шлюб святий мав нас злучити враз...  
Те щастя тихе, мозолясте, босе,-  
Ох, чом же не судилося мені?<sup>3</sup>

The inner call, which prevented his marriage, and which changed his life fundamentally, is the subject matter of the cycle's central poem, Bulo se try dni pered moim shliubom.

<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Z knyhy proroka Ieremiĭ, 1, Tvory, Vol. 13, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 322-323.

In the Bible, the consecration of Jeremiah is described in the form of a dialogue between God and the prospective prophet. God opens the dialogue, announcing that He has chosen Jeremiah, sanctified him, and appointed him a prophet:

*Then the word of the Lord came unto me, saying,  
Before I formed thee in the belly,  
I knew thee; and before thou camest forth  
out of the womb I sanctified thee, and  
I ordained thee a prophet unto the nations. (1:4-5).*

Jeremiah is reluctant, and, apparently, afraid to take upon himself the burden of prophecy. God reassures and encourages him, following up with a symbolic act of bestowing the power of prophecy on him:<sup>1</sup>

*Then said I, Ah, Lord God! behold,  
I cannot speak: for I am a child.<sup>2</sup>  
But the Lord said unto me, Say not,  
I am a child: for thou shalt go to all that  
I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command  
thee thou shalt speak.  
Be not afraid of their faces: for I am  
with thee to deliver thee, saith the Lord.  
Then the Lord put forth his hand, and  
touched my mouth. And the Lord said unto  
me, Behold, I have put my words in thy mouth.  
See, I have this day set thee over the  
nations and over the kingdoms, to root out,  
and to pull down, and to destroy, and to  
throw down, to build, and to plant. (1:6-10).*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H.M.I. Gevaryahu and Z. Zinger, The Nature of the Prophet (with special emphasis on Jeremiah), El Ha'ayin ("Back to the Sources"), No. 12 (Third Edition), Jerusalem, The World Jewish Bible Society and The Israel Society for Biblical Research, in Cooperation with the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora of the Jewish Agency, 1965, p. 1, 17-18.

<sup>2</sup> The correct translation of the closing phrase (from the Hebrew) is: "for I am a youth". See H.M.I. Gevaryahu-Z. Zinger, op. cit., p. 16.

The call of Jeremiah (and of all the other biblical prophets) comes from the outside - from God. The word of God overwhelms the chosen man's fear and reluctance, and the divine symbolic act of empowerment makes him realize that he has become filled with the spirit of prophecy, from which he can no longer divest himself. Henceforth, his work is that of a messenger, and his task - to convey the word of God to the world. In a true prophet, prophecy is not a personal gift, but an imposed mission; nor is it a subjective experience, but an objective event, initiated by God. Only a false prophet, as Ezekiel puts it, "prophesies out of his own heart", and "follows his own spirit" (Ezekiel, 13:2-3)<sup>1</sup>.

The above reference to the biblical view on the prophet will be found relevant to the ensuing discussion of the Frankian poem not only in itself, but also as one of the milestones on the road to Moisei. It may also be appropriate, in this connection, to cite the following two definitions of the nature of the prophet and of prophecy:

The noted American Bible scholar and archaeologist, Professor W.F. Albright, gives the following definition of the Biblical prophet: "The prophet was a man who felt himself called by God for a special mission, in which his will was subordinated to the will of God, which was communicated to him by direct inspiration."<sup>2</sup>

One of the last Jewish medieval philosophers, Joseph Albo (15th century), sums up the views on prophecy of the great Jewish thinkers as follows:

The principal purpose of the prophetic institution existing in the human race is not to foretell the future or to regulate particular matters that interest individuals, such as are communicated

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H.M.I. Gevaryahu-Z. Zinger, op. cit., p. 1-11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 4. (W.F. Albright's work quoted is not indicated).

by diviners and star-gazers, but to enable a whole nation or the entire human race to attain to human perfection.<sup>1</sup>

Franko's expression of his sense of himself as a poet-prophet concurs with the above definitions, and his conception of the prophetic mission coincides in particular with the philosophical view on prophecy.

Although he impersonates the prophet Jeremiah, he represents in his poem, in reality, a subjective spiritual experience of his own; but he imparts to it the character of an objective event by his poetical image of the external source from which his call comes. To Franko-Jeremiah this source is "a voice" - a still, ineffable, but most powerful voice, proceeding from an immaterial source, for it does not lend itself to sensual perception, but only to intuitive recognition: a voice "heard" by the heart, not by the ear. It is the same "*still small voice*" in which the prophet Elijah recognized the presence of God (1 Kings, 19:12-13), and in which God will speak to Franko-Moses in Moisei.<sup>2</sup>

Було се три дні перед моїм шлюбом.  
У чистім полі я пшеницю жав...

І враз почув я голос невимовний,  
Той голос, що його лиш серце зна,  
Для уха тихий, але сили повний,  
Що душу розворуше до дна.<sup>3</sup>

(Stanzas 1-2)

Stanzas 3-4 render the call and the poet's reaction to it in conformity to the Jeremian account:

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph Albo, The Book of Principles, III, 12 (Translation by I. Husik), quoted in Gevaryahu-Zinger, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> I. Franko, Moisei, Canto 19, Tvory, Vol. 12, p. 525.

<sup>3</sup> I. Franko, Bulo se try dni pered moim shliubom, Tvory, Vol. 13, p. 323.

"Заким ще ти почався в лоні мамі,  
Я знав тебе; заким явивсь ти в світ,  
Я призначив тебе перед царями  
Й народами нести мій заповіт".

І мовив я: "О Пане, глянь на мене!  
Простак убогий, молоде хлоп'я!  
Хто стане слово слухати невчене,  
Кого наверну, розворушу я?"<sup>1</sup>

In describing the authoritative reply of the "voice", which is to overwhelm his reluctance, Franko deviates from the Jeremian account in order to sound his individual ideas concerning the prophet's work, society's attitude to him, and the chances of his success. The "voice" foretells and warns him that "he will not convert anybody" (sixth stanza); he will "scatter the prophetic word in the wind, and preach to the deaf" (echoing the context "*O foolish people... which have ears, and hear not*" - Jeremiah, 5:21); he will be shunned and mistrusted (seventh stanza).<sup>2</sup>

However, the "voice" also disperses his fearful thoughts that he is being chosen "to do penance for the sins of all the people", and assures him that, in spite of all, "his work will not be without success" (stanzas 8-9).<sup>3</sup>

At this point Franko makes a further deviation from the Jeremian text, to express, through the "voice", the poem's central idea - of the nature and destiny of the prophet, revealing, at the same time, the spiritual image of himself. In stanzas 10-11 he sets forth the idea of the universality, in space and time, of the prophetic word and of its purpose.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *op. cit.*, *Tvory*, Vol. 13, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323-324.



In all the nations and in all the ages, the prophetic word inspires particular individuals, who become its "chosen combatants", marching on "thorny paths". They must learn to renounce material achievements and aspirations, "life and world", for the sake of high spiritual ideals, and to disregard present-day distress, concentrating wholly on the "bright goal" of establishing spiritual values, for humanity's progress and happiness:

"Твоїми говоритиму устами  
 До всіх народів і до всіх віків,  
 Твоїми я тернистими стежками  
 Вестиму своїх вибраних борців.  
 "Тобою я навчу їх відрікатись  
 Життя і світа для високих дум,  
 Сучасних нужд погорди не лякатись,  
 У світлу ціль зостріливши весь ум."<sup>1</sup>

Now the poet returns to the Jeremian text to undergo the divine symbolic act of touching his mouth (a similar act takes place in Isaiah, 6:6-7), and to have God's words in his mouth "made fire" (Jeremiah, 5:14). Whereupon he "falls upon his face", like Ezekiel (Ezekiel, 1:28), and begins at once "to hear" the voice of the Lord. He leaves his home, his bride and his work, never to see them again:

"*Ось твоїх уст я пальцем доторкнуся  
 І вложу в них своїх глаголів жар.  
 Наострю слух твій, щоб, як окликнуся,  
 Ти чув мій голос, наче грім у хмар".*  
*Я ниць упав. "О, чую, Пане, чую!"  
 І серп я кинув, і пшеничний стіг,  
 І батьків дім, невісту молодую,  
 І відтоді не бачив більше їх."*<sup>2</sup> (Stanzas 12-13)

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, *op. cit.*, *Tvory*, Vol. 13, p. 324.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *ibid.*

## C. Philosophical Speculations on Biblical Themes.

It is a significant coincidence that the composition of the poem Smert' Kaĭna<sup>1</sup>, the greatest pre-Moisei poetical work on a biblical motive, took place in the same year (1889) as Franko wrote his first major and programmatic critical essay, in which he set forth his approach to biblical motive representation in contemporary poetry. In this essay, dealing with the poetical cycle on biblical motives by Jan Kasprowicz, Franko stresses that the Bible comprises, among other things, legends and motives of a psychological character, which it treats in its particular manner, but which contemporary poetry has the possibility of representing in a different way, corresponding with present-day views on life and on human nature. He further points out that such an approach to the Bible opens a wide field for a poet's individual creativity. An example of individual creativity characterized by such an approach is, to him, Byron's Cain.<sup>2</sup>

In his Smert' Kaĭna Franko not only acts in full accordance with what he suggests to others in that essay, but also displays a remarkable degree of individual creativity in following the example of Byron.

Franko translated Byron's Cain into Ukrainian in 1879. This work influenced him strongly and instilled into his mind the idea of writing a poem of his own on the motive of the biblical Cain. The idea had, however, to wait for ten years to be realized in Smert' Kaĭna.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, Smert' Kaĭna, Lehenda, Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 369-392. First published as a separate booklet, L'viv, 1889.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 46 of this study.

Franko's poem is a continuation and a conclusion of the Byronian work. However, one of the essential differences between the two works is that, whereas Byron leaves Cain without a solution to the problem of the antagonism between knowledge and life, which constitutes his tragedy, Franko follows the hero to the end of the latter's life, and has him solve that tormenting problem. In the solution that Franko finds for his own Cain lies the main manifestation of his originality.

In that solution also lies the answer to the question of the relation of the Frankian poem to the biblical source of its motive, and to the Bible in general.

As far as the underlying sources of its plot are concerned, the poem betrays a combination of some details of the biblical story of Cain's life, and some details of an apocryphal legend about his death. The biblical details relate to the names of Cain, Abel, Adam, Eve, and Lamech. The name of Ada as Cain's "sister and wife" is imaginary. In the Bible, Cain has a wife, but her name is not mentioned (Genesis, 4:17), whereas Adah (so spelled in the Bible) is one of the two wives of Lamech (4:19). Further biblical details are, the Paradise, the serpent, the tree of knowledge and the tree of life, the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Paradise, the Cherubims and the "flaming sword which turned every way" (3:24), the fratricide, and the stigmatization and curse of Cain. A biblical passage, known as the song of Lamech, is partially used in the poem in reversed and rhymed form: paraphrasing the verse: "If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold" (4:24), Franko attributes "sevenfold" to Lamech, and "seventy sevenfold" to Cain.

The Bible tells that, after being cursed and stigmatized by God, Cain "dwelled in the land of Nod, on the east of Eden", established a family, and "builded a city" (Genesis, 4:16-17). Nothing is told in the Bible about the end of his life. The scene of the hero's death from the hand of the blind Lamech<sup>1</sup>, represented in the poem, is based on an apocryphal legend<sup>2</sup>.

However, besides the relationship with the biblical story of Cain, Smert' Kaĭna betrays a certain relationship with the Bible as such, which comes up into view in the poem's philosophical substance.

The Byronian Cain, a man of high intellectual faculties, is overwhelmed by his passion for knowledge, and is ready to face death, if only he could discover the mystery of life. This he hopes to achieve not by a dialectical examination of facts, but by a direct ascertainment of the principles governing human existence and destiny. Disappointed, he revolts against God, seeing in the Creator an autocratic authority, responsible for the limitation of human knowledge. Out of this revolt, and not out of jealousy, he kills his brother, whom he regards as a submissive slave of the Divine authority. However, neither this rebellious act nor his subsequent association with Lucifer as his mentor, afford him the possibility to bridge between his knowledge of the facts alone, and his desire to know what is underneath, inside and beyond them. This engenders a tormenting conflict in his soul.

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<sup>1</sup> So is the name spelled in the Authorized Version, after the usage of classical Hebrew, where the accentuated short vowel *e* is changed into the long *a* when the word is at the end of a sentence.

<sup>2</sup> This legend is included in Franko's Apokrify i lehendy, L'viv, 1896, p. 37-38.

With this inner conflict Cain appears in the initial passages of of the Frankian poem. He is deeply engaged in his gloomy thoughts, his mind and his heart filled with defiance and hatred towards God and humanity. However, Franko will liberate him from the conflict, and lead him to a successful solution of the problem that disrupts his peace of mind. The Frankian hero will be given a goal to pursue, in the form of an irresistible desire to see the lost Paradise. He will pass through a virtual hell of mental and physical suffering, eventually to get just a bird's-eye view, from the top of a mountain, of the Paradise and the life going on in it. But he will have seen enough for the confrontation with the paradisiac reality to engender in him a process of deep contemplation. He will analyze the events and phenomena observed, associate and compare them with past experiences, and appraise them. By this inductive examination of facts he will arrive at a principle - a truth, which will put an end to his wrangle with his problem. This will change his entire spiritual being, pull him out of his rebellious attitude to God and His authority, and drive him toward human habitation, with a consciousness of a mission and a destiny to spread that truth among humanity.

What Cain first sees in the Paradise is the tree of knowledge, with multitudinous crowds of people rushing towards it, each rusher fighting his way to get to its fruits. Having tasted the fruit, every man becomes a vicious killer, destroyer, and oppressor. Next, he sees the tree of life. Nobody rushes towards this tree. Only on a few occasions, particular individuals are seen to detach themselves from the crowd, and make for the tree of life. Then, whoever has tasted its fruit begins

to exhort all the others to follow his example, but comes under their cruel attack, with fierce beating and torture, as if he were the greatest of sinners.

Cain is at first unable to comprehend this dichotomy of knowledge and life. Knowledge appears to him as a destructive power, and an enemy of life. He thinks that this is the real work of God, and that God has deluded the human race with a false idea of Paradise:

І думав він: "Так от чим Бог дурих  
Вітця, мене і всіх людей! Бо ж певно,  
Що без його знання і волі се  
Не сталося би! Бо й хто ж роздер надвоє  
Життя і знання і ворогів заклятих  
Із них зробив?...<sup>1</sup>

However, after a deeper analysis of the intrinsic nature of knowledge in itself, he finds that it does not in reality seek to destroy life; on the contrary, it leads to life and protects life. Only - it may become good or evil, according as it is made use of, and by whom. At the same time, he recalls having noticed that those who had tasted the fruit of the tree of life brightened up, and, even under their deadly blows, they exhibited a blissful calmness, and were lovingly embracing their oppressors, without the fear of death showing on their faces. From this reminiscence he infers that the human being carries the source of life within himself, and that this source consists in his aptitude for great love, originating in his sentiment. Thus, he reveals a great truth: that the source of life is in man's heart - in his innate aptitude for loving, and that there is no antagonism between knowledge and life as long as

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., Tvory, Vol. 10, p. 383.

knowledge is linked with love.

This revelation is followed by a retreat from his former conception of God and His will and work. Cain now realizes that Paradise in the true sense of this concept is not a delusion, but a living high ideal which God implanted once and for all times in man's spiritual being, together with the sentiment of Love as a means by which to aspire to it. This sentiment is capable of growing, ramifying, and imparting to man the sense of Paradise, if cultivated and bedewed like a seed in the soil:

Чуття, любов! Так ми ж їх маєм в собі!  
 Могучий зарід їх у кожнім серці  
 Живе - лиш вишпекать, зростить його,  
 І розів'єсь!...  
 О Боже мій! Невже ж се може бути!  
 Невже ж Ти тільки жартував, як батько  
 З дітьми жартує, в той час, як із раю  
 Нас виганяв, а сам у серце нам  
 Вложив той рай і дав нам на дорогу!<sup>1</sup>

An interesting appraisal of Franko's conception of Love, sounded through the thoughts and feelings of Cain, is expressed in the following passage:

Зробимо застереження, що поняття любові у Каїновій модифікації якесь абстрактне, аморфне, розпливчате. Це скоріше недоношені ідеї, до яких він прийшов самотужки, у відриві від людей. Але для нас важливе те, що погляди цього шукача істини звернені на землю...<sup>2</sup>

This remark proves that it is not easy for the approach its author represents to cope with the ideology of Smert' Kaїna. Franko's idea of Love may appear less "amorphous" in the light of some biblical views on this subject.

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<sup>1</sup> I. Franko, op. cit., ibid., p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> A. Skots', "Frankova versia obrazu Kaїna v poemі Smert' Kaїna", Ivan Franko - Statti i materialy, Zbirnyk 8, L'viv, 1960, p. 108.

"Paradise" consists, in Franko's conception, in the co-existence and co-operation of reason and feeling, of knowledge and life. Such a co-operative co-existence contributes to the good of humanity. It can only be achieved by positive intentions and by the use of positive means, both of which are inseparable from the sentiment of Love.

To the transformed Cain, God is no longer the tyrant of Byron's Cain. He exists as the Creator, not the switchman of knowledge and life. Consequently, Cain has no longer any reason to revolt against God, he rather gets to understand Him. He realizes that man carries within himself innate faculties of both knowledge and feeling, and that the cultivation of these faculties is man's affair, not God's. Thus, Franko draws a distinctive line between submission to authority and free recognition of authority through independent thinking, between faith and philosophy.

But how does man cultivate the harmony between reason and feeling, how can he succeed in maintaining it and directing it to the good of humanity? Is he free to choose good and to choose evil?

The good and the evil are working in man at the same time. The human soul vacillates in an endless combat between the Divine light and the Satanic darkness, because the effect of the original sin is working eternally. A guideline for man's behaviour in his condition is contained in the following biblical context:

*See, I have set before thee this day life and good, and death and evil; (Deuteronomy, 30:15),  
... I have set before thee life and death, blessing and cursing: therefore choose life... (Deuteronomy, 30:19).*

At the same time, man is made to realize that he ought not to look up to heaven in order to comprehend God's word and how to comply



with it: it is right at his side, and within the limits of his ordinary experience:

*For this commandment which I command thee this day, is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off.*

*It is not in heaven... Neither is it beyond the sea... But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it. (Deuteronomy, 30:11-14).*

"Therefore choose life" is not a strict commandment, but a logical advice deriving from good will. However, it leaves man freedom of a special kind. His free choice consists not in his liberty to choose good or to choose evil, but in his liberty to struggle, in the depth of his soul, for a possibility to make his choice between the one and the other. Heaven does not interfere or intervene in man's inner struggle.

Naturally, the determinant agent in this inner struggle, in the domain of inter-human relations, is the existence of man's aptitude for love of humanity - in his own heart. But the mere existence of love is not what will make humanity better or happier. It must be a love that acts and works. Just as man ought to "love his neighbour as himself", he ought to spread the idea of mutual love among all his neighbours, and thus, among the whole human race.

In saying in his heart to God: "а сам у сердце нам вложив той рай і дав нам на дорогу", Cain links the idea of Paradise through great love of humanity - with God. At the same time he proves that, in the inner struggle which was going on during his wandering, and where his basic attitude to humanity and to God were at stake, he chose by himself. God did not reply to his requests to see the Paradise again. God made him struggle in himself and with himself, and make his own choice.

God also made him suffer, physically and mentally, during his inner struggle. Nevertheless, having realized the truth about Paradise, and discovered Paradise within his own heart, he understood it as a gift of God. He also understood that this gift ought to be "cultivated and bedewed" by himself for it to grow and develop, and that it constituted a kind of food ration "на дорозі" - to be used on his way in life. Thus, Cain recognized the authority of a superior spiritual Force without a sense of submission. Not only did he feel himself free, but he also experienced an urge to actively spread among all humanity the spiritual value of Love, which he re-discovered in himself.

It was a re-discovery, not a discovery of the feeling of love and of the sense of Paradise within himself. For Cain had known great love before - for his angelic wife, Ada,

Котру колись любив він більш вітця,  
І матері, і більш всього на світі...<sup>1</sup>

But this feeling remained dormant, and he believed it extinguished, while he was centred on himself in his conflict with - himself, which seemed to him to be a conflict with God and with all mankind.

His re-discovery was made through contemplation, while Cain stood on the soil of this world, and directed his inner eye to the hereafter. This was a union with the spirit, through which he began to regard himself as a messenger of the spirit.

But Cain did not live to bring the message of the spiritual value to the consciousness of humanity. An arrow of blind Lamech kills him on the very road which he was paving towards a better life.

There is an analogy between the philosophy of Love in Smert' Ka-  
'ina, which affects not only Love, but also a series of problems of human destiny, of the sense of life, of good and evil, and of mutual relations between man and man and between man and community - and the philosophical aspect of the biblical contexts quoted above. Before his transformation from the spiritual point of view, the Frankian Cain embodies the struggle in man's soul between Chaos and Cosmos, between the aspiration to harmony and the inclination to disharmony, between love of humanity and love of oneself, between good and evil. The former Cain takes into his own hand the liberty to choose between good and evil - and chooses evil. But the result of his wilful choice is disastrous both to himself and to humanity. He plunges in a state of self-imposed isolation, and, by the same fact, humanity becomes separated from him. Here, Franko shows the harmful sides of an egocentric attitude to life. The transformed Cain realizes the truth about what is above him, and what is within him. He no longer takes fundamental decisions into his own hands. He experiences an inner struggle, after which he finds the truth that the source of Love, which is within him, is a facet of the source of life, which is not within him. The suffering - the concomitant feature of his inner struggle, is, in the biblical view, an experience which ennobles the human soul. Thus, Franko shows the human being as only free to struggle for a possibility to choose between opposite values, good and evil, for which he has only an inherent aptitude, whereas the values themselves are not determined by him, but in a sphere which is above him and above matter as such.

In a broader sense, the message which Cain carries to humanity is not the idea of ordinary love, or of love alone. It is a message of self-sacrificing, self denying work for noble ideals and worthy causes, for truth and justice, for the good of one's own nation and of humanity at large. It is a message announcing that such work is successful if animated by spiritual values.

Smert' Kaĭna echoes tones, themes, and thoughts of previous Frankian Bible-pervaded poems, thus shedding additional light on the poet's life as well as on his spiritual image. One perceives in the hero's monologues the poet's sense of solitude from Vidtsuralysia liudy mene!, his yearning for Love and Light from Skhid sontsia, and his call for the promotion of spiritual values from Tovarysham and from Tiuremni sonety. The idea of love and self-sacrificing service, and the poet's insight into the nature of a true worker for high ideals for the good of his nation as well as into the problem of the man of spirit in his society and in his generation, will also reverberate in later pre-Moisei poems, such as Refleksiia, Z knyhy proroka Ieremii, or Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravvykh.

Smert' Kaĭna expresses in particular Franko's philosophy of life, and of the sense of life. One of the basic ideas of this philosophy is expressed in certain lines that often occur in his poems: "to pave the way for noble ideals and spiritual values - and die on the road". These lines are found, with reference to various particular values, in Kameniarri, Tovarysham, Blazhennyi muzh, shcho ide na sud nepravvykh. They equally underlie Smert' Kaĭna. But they will reach their fullest and deepest expression in Ivan Franko's greatest masterpiece - in the poem Moisei.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

No Ukrainian poet or writer before or after Ivan Franko has so constantly and so thoroughly searched the Holy Scriptures for themes or motives, or for the deeper truths concealed in them; and no one in Ukrainian literature has so extensively tried to interpret the Scriptures in a scholarly and a poetical manner concurrent with modern thought. However, knowledge of this aspect of Franko's genius is still incomplete.

The exploration of the topic of this study has led to a new look on the poetical production of Ivan Franko, and offered a series of significant insights into its foundations as well as into the poet's inner world and philosophy of life.

The poet's juvenile poetical production, hitherto unresearched for biblical influences, manifests itself as an important source of information on the beginnings of his interest in the Bible and on his initial recourse to it, which left a lasting mark on both his creative instinct and poetical output.

The line of development of Ivan Franko's relationship with the Bible runs from a romantic juvenile rapture with a concomitant conformance to traditional principle, through a passage to a secular approach when he falls under the influence of biblical criticism sweeping over the West, to a return to the juvenile idealistic, though continually unorthodox, reverence for the high moral ideals and spiritual values inherent in the Scriptures. From here, a natural development leads to a preconization of noble biblical principles and values through his works when he is at the height of his poetical maturity.

Spiritual values, summoned from all the corners of the Bible, enter his philosophy of life to find an ideological as well as artistic expression in great works reflecting his national thought and his outlook on the ways and means that are to bring about national progress and success in his homeland.

His poetical expression of the biblical material which fills his poems has all the qualities of uniqueness. He blends the biblical matter with the cogitational, lexical, and pictorial components of his verse, and makes it interact with it so as to produce an interfusion of contemporary individual ideas and original poetical art with the lyricism of the Psalm, the farsighted vision of Moses and the Prophets, and the fervent moral teachings of the Gospels.

The Bible is at the same time an important field of his scholarly activity, the fruits of which are a substantial number of volume-length, book-length, and other major and minor, scientific and popular writings in biblical history and literature.

Equally significant is the Bible's presence in his works in literary criticism, devoted to the art of biblical motive representation in modern literature, not only of his homeland but also in other countries. These works provide both knowledgeable comments and literary guidance to poets and writers.

This study deals with the pre-Moisei poems. Further research of the rôle of the Bible in Franko's life and work is bound to reveal additional<sup>facts</sup> about the unique character which the Scriptures imparted to the verse and thought of this great poet, thinker, leader and prophet of the Ukrainian nation.

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

<u>Ukrainian</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Ukrainian</u>	<u>English</u>
а	a	н	n
б	b	о	o
в	v	п	p
г	h	р	r
д	d	с	s
е	e	т	t
є	ie	у	u
ж	zh	ф	f
з	z	х	kh
и	y	ц	ts
і	i	ч	ch
ї	ĭ	ш	sh
й	i	щ	shch
к	k	ю	iu
л	l	я	ia
м	m	ь	'

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#### TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

AN	АН - Академія Наук.
ESEE	Etudes Slaves et Est-Européennes.
LDU	ЛДУ - Львівський Державний Університет.
LNВ	ЛНВ - Літературно-Науковий Вістник.
NTSh	НТШ - Наукове Товариство імени Шевченка.
Tvory	- - Твори в двадцяти томах, Київ, 1950-1956.
Tvory (New York)	- Твори, Видавниче Товар. "Книгоспілка", Нью-Йорк, т. 1-20.
UVAN	УВАН - Українська Вільна Академія Наук.
ZNTSh	ЗНТШ - Записки Наукового Товариства імени Шевченка.

## ABSTRACT

This study has explored the rôle of the Bible in the life and the poetical production of Ivan Franko (1856-1916) on the basis of a substantial selection of poems preceding his chef-d'oeuvre Moisei, and written between the years 1874 and 1905. The investigation of the topic proceeded in two main directions: historical, and literary-analytical.

A historical account of the ingrowth of the Bible into the sphere of the poet's intellectual pursuits provides preliminary information on the rise and development of his interest in the Bible, and on the manifestation of this interest in his works in the fields of biblical research, biblical translations, and literary criticism.

This is followed by a comparative analysis of the selected poems and the biblical material found to inhere in their respective ideological, lexical, and poetico-artistic constituents. For this purpose, the poems have been ordered in three thematic clusters, the criterion for classification being the predominant purpose of the poet's recourse to the Bible, characterizing the poems of each cluster. The first cluster consists of poems, where the poet resorts to the ancient biblical statements to sound contemporary ideas through them. The second includes instances of the poet's self-expression through biblical idiom. The third deals with the poet's philosophical speculations of biblical themes. The poet's employment of biblico-poetical and biblico-artistic devices is discussed in connection with each poem concerned.

The investigation by this procedure has revealed a number of significant facts hitherto unknown, or only partially known, concerning the

foundations of Ivan Franko's poetical production, his inner world, and his philosophy of life.

Franko's juvenile works have been found to display a strong literary and spiritual influence of the Bible, which left a lasting mark on his poetical production as a whole. The relationship between his poetical works and the Bible assumed different forms during his literary career. The line of development runs from a romantic juvenile rapture with a concomitant conformance to traditional principle, through a shift to a secular approach in his academic years, when he falls under the influence of biblical criticism sweeping over the West, to a return to the juvenile idealistic, though continually secular, reverence for the high moral ideals and spiritual values inherent in the Scriptures. From here, a natural development leads to a preconization of the noble biblical principles through his works when he is at the height of his poetical maturity. Spiritual values, summoned from all the corners of the Bible, find a high poetical expression in great works reflecting his true spiritual image, his crystallized world-outlook, and, above all - his national sentiment and his national ideology.