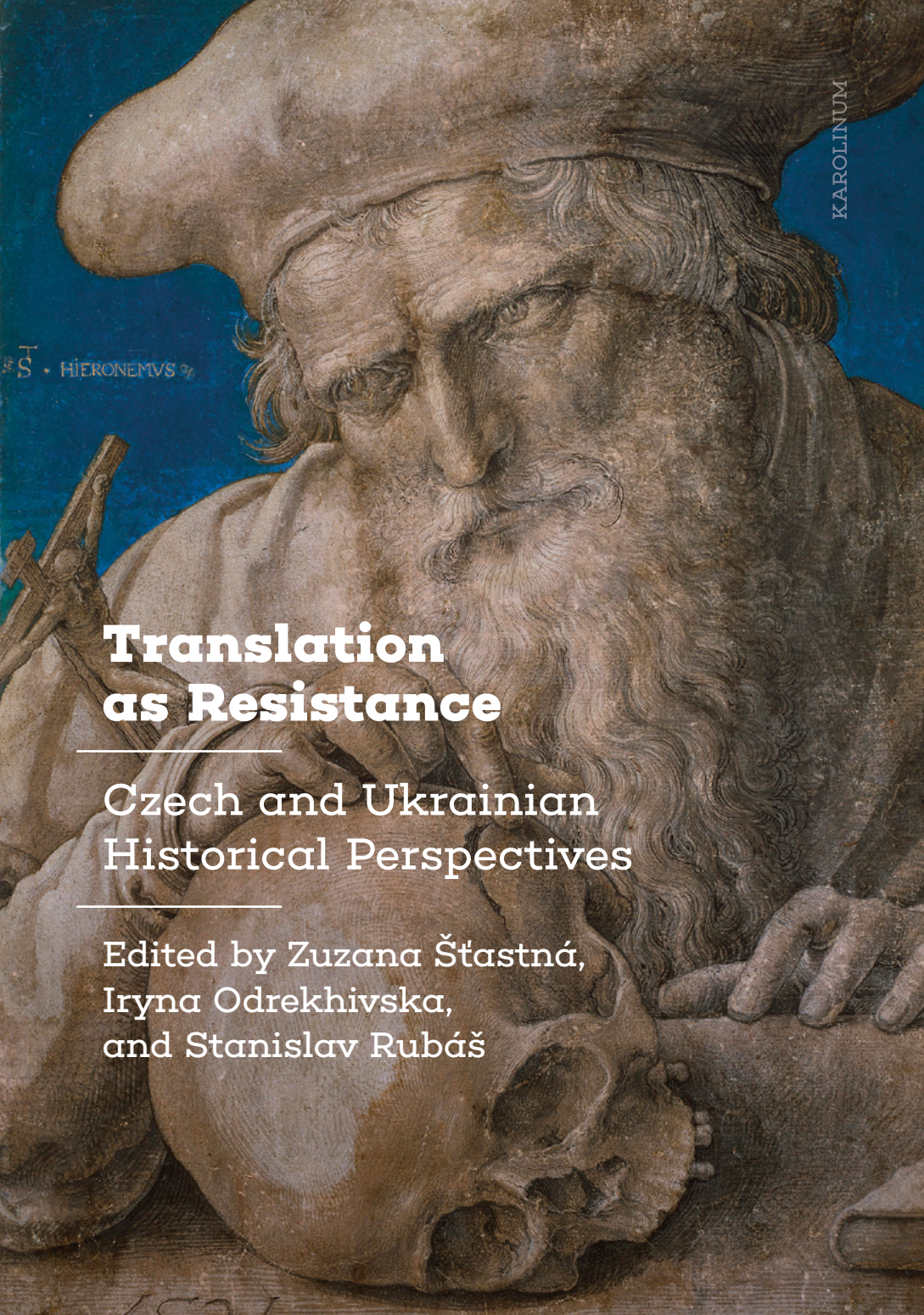


Translation as Resistance

Czech and Ukrainian Historical Perspectives

Edited by Zuzana Šťastná,
Iryna Odrekhivska,
and Stanislav Rubáš

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Zuzana Šťastná, Iryna Odrekhivska, Stanislav Rubáš (eds.)

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Introduction

Iryna Odrekhivska and Zuzana Šťastná

In a remarkable display of resilience, just three months after the outbreak of Russia's full-scale war in Ukraine in 2022, translation scholars from Ivan Franko National University of Lviv organized an international online conference, *Translation as Resistance: The Politics of Intercultural Mediation in East Central Europe* (Lviv/online, 7 June 2022), in partnership with the newly established International Network "History and Translation." It further solidified the recurring topos of translation and/as resistance, highlighting the crucial role translation plays in challenging oppressive regimes, countering imperialistic conduct and preserving culture during times of aggressive repression and war. The present volume grew out of the conference theme. Following two years of collaborative work, the book brings together scholars from Charles University of Prague and Ivan Franko University of Lviv to examine both past and present resistant translatorial practices in two Slavic cultures – Czech and Ukrainian. It offers novel perspectives and important insights into the complex phenomenon of resistant translation and also stands as a testament to solidarity with Ukrainian colleagues during this challenging period in 21st-century European history.

Resistance has been an important subject of discussion in translation studies, particularly over the last two decades. Given the inherent asymmetry and oppositional nature of translation, as put by Bandia (244), translations have been variously described as "records of cultural contestation and ideological struggle" (Tymoczko 3), "means of fighting censorship, physical coercion, and political dominance" (ibid.), "reframings to accentuate, undermine or modify the narrative(s) encoded in the source text or utterance" (Baker 151), or as "active interventions in existing state

of affairs" (Hermans 125), among other things. Bassnett and Johnston (4) even posit that translation is always "at the forefront of an epistemology of resistance, naturally in opposition to assumed authority."

Indeed, in cultures and communities that find themselves under pressure – whether from a powerful neighbour or a hegemonic ideology – translation takes on a special role as a "meaning-making practice of human relationality" (Ergun 114) to preserve and reinforce collective cultural identity. Translators, in turn, have often been seen as embodying resistance, especially during the worst periods of repression (Baer 539), ultimately forming an "alternative pantheon of heroes" (Baer 553). For this reason, translator activists have been pertinently characterized as "witness-bearers" and "voice-givers" who put into words the perspectives and experiences of oppressed and silenced peoples (Gould and Tahmasebian 2). By providing access to alternative ideas and values, or sometimes reinvigorating language itself, they help shape identity by independent choice rather than dictate, on individual, community, and national level.

For instance, in the early 19th century, both the Czech and Ukrainian languages held low status, as they were primarily spoken by peasants. As Mikanowski (154) argues, Czech translations during this period were often "revivalist," aimed at creating entirely new vocabularies, developing grammar and encouraging Czech intellectuals to return to their language from the dominant German. These translations served as "statements of intent," establishing a cultured reading public and an autonomous Czech intellectual sphere: "educated Czechs would arrive in time, and when they did, these texts would be waiting for them" (ibid.). The same held true for Ukrainian intellectuals who exercised artistic freedom in poetic licence and translated from Polish and Russian to develop the resources of the Ukrainian language. As a response to growing Ukrainian desire for cultural autonomy, the decree known as Ems Ukaz, issued in 1876 by Tsar Alexander II, severely restricted the use of the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire, prohibiting the publication of books and other texts in Ukrainian. The Russian government viewed the Ukrainian language and culture as threats to the imperial unity and sought to suppress them. While the decree was eventually repealed in 1905, its legacy continued to be felt. The tsarist censors did not consider even such a remarkable event as the 1907 establishment of the first stationary Ukrainian theatre under the lead of Mykola Sadovsky as reason enough to permit a staging of *Hamlet* in Ukrainian. Such a production, they argued, might arouse laughter by its presumption of presenting a world classic in a "peasant" language (Revutsky 72).

While translation can shape new realities, it is also simultaneously shaped by constraints of the moment: both translations and their paratexts are subject to forces that sometimes affect quality or limit freedom of expression even as translators seek to "bring home" the quality and expressive freedom of their originals. After the Second World War, in Warsaw Pact Czechoslovakia and Soviet Ukraine, translation was heavily influenced by the ideological constraints of the state. In Czechoslovakia, translations often had to align with Marxist-Leninist principles, while in Soviet Ukraine, they were additionally subject to the Soviet narrative of cultural unity under Russian dominance. After the Communist coup of 1948 – and once again after the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia – freedom of expression was severely curtailed in Czech society, forcing many cultural figures into exile or silencing them altogether. Similarly, most Ukrainian translators during the Soviet period had to resort to Aesopian translations whose aim, as Kevin Moss (21) suggests, was to "make the reader name, at least to themselves, the Soviet reality to which the text does not overtly refer." These translations contained messages that would have been censored or suppressed if they had been produced domestically.

By presenting Czech and Ukrainian histories of translational resistance side by side, respecting the distinct historical experience of each nation, the book enables readers to draw nuanced comparisons, and discover parallels and intersections between the strategies of resistance in the Czech and Ukrainian cultures of translation. The volume includes both case studies of individual translators subverting official ideology or facing off the pressure of a dominant language, and studies of more general phenomena such as Bible translation or translation in times of war, exploring how translation relates to such broader concepts as identity, memory, power or conflict.

The Ukrainian perspective, ranging from early modern Bible translations to the role of translation and interpreting in the current Russo-Ukrainian war, is represented by eight contributions that demonstrate how translation has served as a vital tool for resistance, identity formation, and intellectual agency across various historical and political contexts in Ukraine.

Oksana Dzera's chapter initiates the Ukrainian section by demonstrating the profound impact of Bible translations on the formation of Ukrainian national identity. From the 16th century onward, these translations resisted Russian cultural colonization, challenging the destructive gatekeeping policies of the imperial and Soviet governments, and countering the influence of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Oryslava Bryska explores the work of Mykola Zerov, a prominent figure of the Executed Renaissance generation in Ukrainian history. Zerov's pioneering contributions to translation theory and practice have significantly influenced the field and underscored the socially transformative role of translation. Bryska argues that Zerov's entire legacy was, in its essence, a mode of resistance against the Soviet-imposed narrow-minded vision of Ukrainian culture.

While Halyna Pekhnyk discusses the "silent" leadership and visionary translational agency of Hryhoriy Kochur, a 20th-century Ukrainian poet and translator censored during Soviet times, Valentyna Savchyn analyses how translation in post-Stalinist Soviet Ukraine became a tool of ideological control, used as an instrument of forced cultural change amid intensified persecution of dissidents. Despite government repression and extreme pressure, the Ukrainian writers discussed in these two chapters – Hryhoriy Kochur, Mykola Lukash, Vasyl Stus, and Ivan Svitlychnyi – used translation as a form of activism and cultural resistance, transforming it into a powerful means of opposing the totalitarian regime and preserving Ukrainian language and identity.

Olha Hrabovetska presents a study of the Ukrainian journal *Vsesvit*, founded in 1925, which played a crucial role in introducing Ukrainian readers to world literature by providing translations from around 100 languages, often publishing works first in Ukrainian before Russian. Hrabovetska argues that, despite repressive Soviet policies, the journal experienced a revival during the Khrushchev Thaw and became a key platform for Ukrainian translators, fostering an anti-colonial literary movement and helping shape Ukraine's cultural and intellectual landscape from 1925 to 1991 and beyond.

The next chapter, by Iryna Odrekhivska, analyses the redressive practices of literary translation in the Ukrainian diasporic cultural space from post-WWII until 1991, focusing on how translations in post-war Germany, Austria, the USA, and Canada carved an alternative path for Ukrainian literary development that was avant-garde, experimental and resistant to Soviet ideological influence. She argues that, in the early 1990s, these translations re-entered the Ukrainian discourse and played a crucial role in revitalizing cultural identity, rethinking entanglements with global literary movements and empowering a fundamental reorientation in the sociopolitical landscape of independent Ukraine, thereby distancing the nation from its Soviet past.

Anna Halas investigates contemporary Ukrainian theatre as a liminal space where social practices and art intersect, reflecting societal evolution

while striving to effect profound social transformations through creative expression and cross-cultural mediation. The chapter identifies three key research areas – Politics, Aesthetics, and Poetics – and examines how shifts in Ukraine's political landscape since independence have influenced aesthetic changes in theatre and the norms of translation, revealing a maturation of theatre translation that parallels societal changes from 1991 to 2022.[1]

Yuliia Naniak examines the surge of translation initiatives in Ukraine since Russia's military invasion on February 24, 2022, highlighting the collaboration between professional and amateur translators and interpreters in response to the war. She discusses the evolution of social media groups focusing on volunteerism, the establishment of the Lviv University's Translation Centre by students and faculty to provide crucial translation support, and the challenges translators face in maintaining accuracy and impartiality while conveying sensitive information about the ongoing war.

The Czech perspective presented in the volume likewise reflects the historical fortunes of the Czech nation. These have been, to some extent, determined by the geographical position of the Czech lands: their bordering on the large German-speaking territories in the north, west, and south, and proximity to the Russian Empire, later to become the Soviet Union, in the east. Resistance to Germanization has been a leitmotif throughout much of Czech history, often going hand in hand with religious dissent. The first complete Czech translation of the Bible from the original tongues was the Protestant *Bible of Kralice* (1579–1594), translated by the Unity of the Brethren, a Protestant church emerging from the early-Reformation Hussite movement. In 1526 the Czech estates elected a Habsburg ruler to the vacant Czech throne, and the lands of the Bohemian Crown entered into a personal union with the Austrian lands. However, the decisive increase of political and cultural dependence on the German-speaking world came only after 1620 when, in the early stages of the Thirty Years' War, the Czech Protestant estates unsuccessfully rebelled against Habsburg rule. The failed rebellion was followed by executions of Czech Protestant leaders and, over time, a large-scale exodus of the Protestant population, including many Czech-speaking intellectuals. This forced emigration as well as official Germanization severely affected the development and status of the Czech language within the

1 We are grateful to Anna Halas for her contribution to this volume. She passed away before its publication.

Habsburg Empire. What followed were approximately three hundred years of Austrian dominance until the Czechs regained independence in 1918. The first chapter of this volume focuses on a significant later period of this long era: Šárka Tobrmanová highlights the contribution of translations to the resurrection of literary Czech during the early 19th-century Czech national revival and beyond, beginning with a linguistically experimental translation of *Paradise Lost* (1811) and ending with an accomplished rendering of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1890). Her broader historical overview is combined with close readings of selected passages that seek to illustrate the translators' subtle patriotic emphases as well as their attempts to circumvent Austrian censorship. The following chapter, by the same author, discusses culturally significant translations between the turn of the century and the Second World War, once again highlighting moments when translating became a political stance, as was the case with Czech translations of modern French poetry during the First World War.

If during the Czech National Revival Russian was a source of linguistic borrowings that helped reinvigorate literary Czech, and in later decades Czechs translated many works of Russian literature, with the advent of Communist dictatorship in 1948 the country effectively became a Soviet satellite and Russian began to evoke institutionalized oppression. The number of translations from the language rose steeply at the expense of translations from Western literatures, most notably American literature. In two closely related chapters, Zuzana Šťastná shows how, from the mid-1950s, contact with the contemporary Western literary scene was gradually re-established through the tireless work of dedicated translators and editors. The first of these highlights the linguistic contribution of certain early post-Stalinist translations from English whose creative rendering of substandard speech countered the then-dominant purist approach to literary language, associated with Communist ideology. The second chapter introduces *Světová literatura* (World Literature), one of the key Czech literary periodicals of the late 1950s and the 1960s, and looks in some detail at the strategies used by the journal to promote hitherto unacceptable Anglophone authors and titles. Apart from commenting on the various modes of discourse camouflage (Tyšš 2017), it also employs the key term resistance in a slightly different context, looking at covert translator and editor activism as a way of making the *reader* resistant to indoctrination or aesthetic regimentation.

Pursuing the theme of resistance forward in time, Tomáš Svoboda and Tereza Musilová offer an investigation of Czech *samizdat* translations

from German, most of which were circulated in the so-called normalization period of the 1970s and 1980s, after the Soviet-led Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia. If the first four chapters focus predominantly on resistant practices within the field of literary translation, the chapter on *samizdat* enriches the volume by also highlighting the importance of non-literary texts (especially philosophy, theology, and psychology). In a reversal of historical roles, it also shows the German and Austrian cultures as sources of intellectual inspiration to a nation resisting the hegemonic Soviet influence.

In the last contribution to the Czech part, Stanislav Rubáš presents a case study of two civic-committed renderings of Shakespeare, broadening the geopolitical range of the volume with a Russian perspective. While Tobrmanová, in her discussion of the 19th century, highlights the appropriation of the Bard for the Czech national cause during Prague's 1864 Shakespearean festival, Rubáš shows how specific translation choices re-established "those tacit understandings between Shakespeare and his audience" hidden in the subtexts of his plays (Wilson 26), sharpening the political relevance of his *Hamlet* in Stalinist Russia and early post-Stalinist Czechoslovakia.

The history of translation as activism in East-Central Europe is indeed a common interest that unites many translation scholars in the region. The present volume attempts to advance scholarship on the theme of "resistance from below" by providing well-detailed case studies that illuminate micro-level practices, thereby revealing the macro trends in translation and sociocultural activism across Eastern and Central Europe. First and foremost, we wish to thank the authors of the chapters, who were gracious and scrupulous in their responses to editorial suggestions and patient in working together to bring this joint edition to light. Our gratitude goes to the reviewers of the volume who provided valuable feedback and helped improve the quality of the chapters. This book would also not have been possible without the generous support of Karolinum Press and the meticulous work of its staff. Oxford spelling is used throughout the volume.

On behalf of the Ukrainian contributors, we acknowledge with deep respect the service of the Armed Forces of Ukraine in defending the nation, which, alongside the unwavering international assistance, has enabled the continuation of scholarly pursuits amidst the ongoing war. We dedicate this volume to all translators in the Czech and Ukrainian tradition who demonstrated intellectual resilience and maintained their cultural expression in the face of oppression and adversity.

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Ukrainian Historical Perspective

Chapter 1
Ukrainian Bible Translation as an Act of Resistance and National Identity Making

Oksana Dzera

Since the 1990s, postcolonial methodology has been shaping academic advancements in the history and criticism of Bible translation. The focus of these studies is on the colonizers' misuse of biblical texts by making them "powerful rhetorical instruments of imperialism" (Dube 21) and the reaction of the colonized to the cultural hegemony of the occupying alien culture, namely "Christian West" (Ogden 275–276). This traditional "orientalist" approach to postcolonial Bible criticism leaves out Russia and its "white" colonies as an internal[2], contiguous, and thus, questionable type of expansion. Oksana Zabuzhko aptly outlines the reasons for this inequality of representation:

> First of all, they are "white," and this is somehow "a tiny bit non-canonical" for the colonies. Secondly, they are adjacent to "metropolitan" lands, which often gave the empire the opportunity to declare them "historically its own" (this argument appeared, among others, in relation to the Baltic countries during the "showdowns" over the map of the Second World War…). Well, thirdly, and the most inconveniently – in terms of their cultural and economic level, these "white colonies" at the time of their accession

2 First important studies of "internal colonialism" within Europe explored the Irish context (Michael Cronin's *Translating Ireland,* 1996 and Maria Tymoczko's *Translation in a Postcolonial Context,* 1999), Catalonian context (Lawrence Venuti's *Local Contingencies: Translation and National Identities,* 2005) and Russian imperial literary context (Ewa Thomson's *Imperial knowledge: Russian literature and Colonialism,* 2000). The latter analyses Russian colonial presence in the Caucasus and Poland, yet, regrettably, leaves out the issue of colonization of Ukraine, because, as the author explains, Russia perceived it as once lost and returned rather than conquered.

by the empire stood higher than the metropolis (Left Bank Ukraine in the 17th–18th centuries, Poland in the 19th–20th centuries) (Zabuzhko 2007)[3].

The third of the aforementioned reasons is brought to the fore in Vira Aheyeva's recent book: "Russia did not stand on much ceremony when it wanted to enrich and ennoble its history and culture with other people's victories and achievements, depriving Ukrainians of their past" (Aheyeva 11). To begin with, the Russian empire appropriated the Church Slavonic heritage of Ukraine[4] while disregarding its baroque secular and religious literature in Old Ukrainian (including multiple attempts at Gospels translation). Unlike the "orientalist" policy of imposing colonial values and imperial knowledge onto the colonized through Bible translation and interpretation, the religious policy of the "contiguous" colonizer of Ukraine has always lied in the unification with the colonized via the common Church Slavonic authorized version of the Bible in its Russian recension. In the hierarchy of languages outlined by Anthony Pym (207), for Slavia Orthodoxa the Church Slavonic language would rather occupy the position of divine or close-to-divine (as Greek and Hebrew) than merely authorized (as Latin).

When at the beginning of the 19th century the Holy Synod allowed translating the Bible into Russian and some languages of other ethnic groups of the empire, this by no means opened the door for Ukrainian Bible translations. The sacred status of the Holy Scriptures empowers the language of its translation, which becomes a decisive factor of national identity making. As Philip Noss asserts, "At a time when great numbers of the world's languages are in danger of dying, Bible translation, and the use of the Holy Scriptures by the communities, that speak the languages constitute an important deterrent to language death" (18). The "contiguous" imperial policy of assimilation and unification, on the contrary, was striving to lower the Ukrainian language to the status of a dialect, incapable of expressing any ideas above the colloquial level. It is not surprising that the first event on the list of 134 bans and restrictions

3 All Ukrainian sources have been translated by the author, unless stated otherwise.

4 The majority of manuscripts dating back to the periods of the Rus' state and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Rus' ended up in Russian museums and libraries as a part of Russian legacy. For example, the Ostromyr Gospels (1056–1057), the oldest East Slavic dated text, with Old Ukrainian phonetic, morphological and lexical features is deposited in the National Library of Russia located in Saint Petersburg. According to Russian Wikipedia, it is "a highly valuable monument of the Old Slavonic language of Russian recension."

on the Ukrainian language since Muscovy's accession of Ukraine, dates back to 1690[5] when the Moscow Church Council condemned and anathemized religious books with any traces of Ukrainian and ordered that they be cursed not only once, but thrice and many times (Ohiienko 141). For more than 300 years, until recently, Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine was persistently printing and distributing brochures on the inadequacy, indecency and "serious theological fallacy" of the Ukrainian language in church (Chyzhenko), while the Church hierarchs called Ukrainian undesirable to God and unacceptable for liturgy.

The chapter aims to reconsider and revisit the role of Bible translations as an engagement act of establishing and determining Ukraine's national awareness in the circumstances of Russian colonization. In the last two decades, a spate of research set up the Ukrainian tradition of postcolonial literary studies and elaborated a model of interpreting Ukrainian literature through the prism of its resistance to the empire and maintenance of the collective national memory (Riabchuk, Shkandrij, Hnatiuk, Zabuzhko, Yurchuk, Aheyeva). However, such a discussion within the framework of Ukrainian translation and, by extension, Ukrainian translations of the Bible has barely begun. Roksolana Zorivchak was one of the first to view the history of Ukrainian translation from the angle of resistance:

> Literary translation became mandatory for the national self-awareness and opposed the regime by the very fact of its existence. Translation played a significant role in the history of national resistance and national Renaissance. The role that has not yet been learnt. (Zorivchak 233)

Maksym Strikha, the author of the seminal book *Ukrainian literary translation: between literature and nation-building* (2006), which explores Ukrainian translation as a project of anticolonial resistance and formation of national identity, in his revised version of 2020 voices the urgency of the postcolonial approach to the history of Ukrainian translation:

> … so far, virtually no attempt has been made to systematically analyse the history of Ukrainian literary translation from the perspective of postcolonial methods, which have widely spread in the global context. Meanwhile, for Ukrainian translation, which developed almost throughout

5 In actual fact, the first prohibition of a Ukrainian book took place much earlier,, in 1627, when Kyrylo Stavrovetskyi's *Didactic Gospel*, a homological hit of its time, was tried for "much heresy and opposition" in Muscovy and sentenced to be burned at the stake.

> the modern era in the colonial (at best – postcolonial) situation, such an approach could prove extremely fruitful. ... All this, obviously, should become part of a future integral study on the history of Ukrainian literary translation. Such a study is all the more timely, because the "nation-building" era of the Ukrainian translation has come to an end. (Strikha 25)

Since the first day of the full-scale Russian invasion of Ukraine, the Ukrainian academia has been engaged in dismantling Russian imperial grand narrative and translating to the world our own knowledge of ourselves, which can combat the imposed stereotypes. The history of Bible translations (as well as non-translations) in Ukraine is bound to become an integral component of this multi-perspective Ukrainian discourse, as it reflects the overall history of Ukrainian colonial and anti-colonial narratives in microcosm.

Ukrainian Bible translation in the Age of Confessionalism. Peresopnytsia Gospel: translation as an act. Ukrainian versus Church Slavonic

Didacticism as well as theological and political orientation imbued translations of the Holy Scriptures in the age of Confessionalism, that is, the period of Reformation and Counter-Reformation, when inter-confessional conflicts and the formation of religious identity determined politics, culture and social relations, and, not infrequently, national identity. The activist strategy of these translations becomes visible within their extratextual and paratextual dimensions, such as: 1) the choice of the language of the translation; 2) the choice of the protograph, including relay sources; 3) individual versus collective agency; 3) notes on the margins (glosses) and prefaces directed at the believers of this particular confession in their strife with confessional competitors.

The mission to translate the Bible into vernaculars became decisive in the Protestant struggle against Catholicism. Concomitantly, the first partial translations of the New Testament (primarily, Gospels) into Ukrainian appeared in the second half of the 16th century under the influence of the Reformation ideas pervading Europe and fostering the process of translating the Holy Scriptures into national languages. The spread of Reformation ideas in Ukraine found its manifestation in two near-simultaneous translations of the Gospels: a printed one done in 1570

by Vasyl Tiapynskyi and the manuscript version by Valentyn Nehalevskyi in 1581. Both translators practised Socinianism (also known as "Polish Brethren"), a rationalist anti-Trinitarian current of Protestantism, and apart from reinterpreting and rationalizing theological dogmas, zealously championed the right of common people to read the word of God in their native tongue. In his preface and commentaries, Nehalevskyi emphasized that he had launched his project at the request and with encouragement of the believers who could not read in Polish or Church Slavonic (Vozniak 302). Tiapynskyi's Gospel was bilingual and supplemented with a handwritten *Foreword*, where he expressed regret about the Polonization of the native language in the "Ruthenian" land. The translator regarded himself as a "Rusyn" whose goal was to make a difference for his beloved Rus'. Vasyl Tiapynskyi condemned Church authorities for their ignorance of the local vernacular and reluctance to learn it. For Tiapynskyi, the Holy Scriptures in the understandable native language would contribute to the spiritual enlightenment and strengthen the faith of the "poor commoners" (Tiapynskyi). The parallel Church Slavonic text was to demonstrate its complexity as compared to the "Ruthenian script." Both translations were relays from Polish Protestant sources: Nehalevskyi's mediating source was the New Testament translated by Marcin Czechowic (1577) while Tiapynskyi relied upon the Bible translated by Szymon Budny (1570).

The translation of the Gospels into Ukrainian was a significant factor of shaping religious and national identity not only for Protestants but also for Ukrainian Orthodoxy. According to Ivan Franko's apt metaphor, the Reformation "... swept like a great fire, not only in Germany, but also across all its neighbouring regions ..., not bypassing our Ukraine, and everywhere under its breath we see the efforts of either units or larger corporations – to give the people a complete Bible, in their language" (Franko 403). Even such undeniably Orthodox translations as the Peresopnytsia Gospel (Peresopnytske Yevanheliie) and the Krekhiv Apostle (Krekhivskyi Apostol) are believed to have been (at least partly) mediated by earlier Protestant Polish versions (New Testament by Seklucjan, 1553 and Radziwill or Brest Bible, 1563 respectively).

The Peresopnytsia Gospel (1556–1561), the first known translation of the four Gospels into bookish Old Ukrainian, has acquired a special state-building status as the oath Bible of Ukrainian presidents. The text is deprived of a distinct liturgical history, because for two centuries after, Peter the First finally transferred the Metropolitanate of Kyiv under his control, it was tucked away in the library of the Pereiaslav monastery.

At the beginning of the 20th century the text evoked scholarly interest, yet with the advent of the Soviet period it once again fell into oblivion. Fortunately, however, it was preserved in the manuscript department of the Central Library of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

In 1991, before the inauguration of the first president of Ukraine Leonid Kravchuk, Roman Lubkivskyi, a renowned poet and a member of the inauguration committee, suggested that the oath be taken on the Bible. The Ostroh Bible (1581) was the most obvious option, the first complete printed Church Slavonic translation and the most authoritative text of the Holy Scripture for Slavia Orthodoxa. Yet from the symbolic state-building perspective, this choice would have been less than felicitous, as the authority of the Ostroh Bible had both deepened the gap between the Church Slavonic language and the vernacular and interrupted any further attempts to translate the Holy Scriptures into Ukrainian. Maksym Strikha rightly asserts that with time " … the Ostroh Bible rather established the idea of the Ukrainian and Russian unity, since this very text laid the foundation for the Moscow (1663) and St.-Petersburg (1751) 'canonized' editions of the Holy Scripture" (39).

The final choice fell on the Peresopnytsia Gospel, not least, because the home village of the president was located near Peresopnytsia, a small town where the book was created. Only after the rush of the inauguration, parliamentarians and the whole Ukrainian nation came to appreciate the unique beauty of the book's colourful miniatures and its historical associative layers, such as the fact that in 1701 it was donated to the Pereiaslav Episcopal See by Hetman Ivan Mazepa, Peter the First's adversary anathemized by Russian Church.[6] No less symbolic is the fact that on May 14, 1989, two years before the proclamation of Independence, a granite monument to the Peresopnytsia Gospel in the centre of Peresopnytsia village marked the beginning of a new era of national revival in Ukraine.

The Peresopnytsia Gospel perfectly fits the postcolonial framework outlined by Maria Tymoczko, according to which "… a translation is not merely a text but an act, where sometimes (though not always) the function is as important as the product itself" (Tymoczko 2010, 16).

Besides its symbolic state-building activist code, the Peresopnytsia Gospel demonstrates a clear-cut activist strategy at the paratextual level,

6 Had the parliamentarians, most of whom were communists, known this fact they would have definitely sabotaged the procedure (Mazanyi).

such as the identification of the language of the protograph and translation. In the final colophon record on sheets 481, 482 it is stated: "rendered from the Bulgarian language into the Ruthenian language," "translated from the Bulgarian language into the Ruthenian language" (Peresopnytske Yevanheliie 392–394). A distinct digression from the pervading principle of the collective and anonymous agency is self-presentation of scripter Mykhailo Vasylevych, son of the priest from Sianok, after each Gospel. At the end of the manuscript, the scripter paid tribute to the initiator and inspirer of the translation, Archbishop of Pereiaslav Hryhorii, who "arranged those books" and by whose "joy, vigilance and diligence everything was done." Recent studies state that Archbishop Hryhorii was a translator while Mykhailo combined the roles of an editor, co-translator, scripter and one of the illustrators (Chepiha 24–25).

By contrast, the Ostroh Bible, which would appear in print fifteen years later, exercised its authority, partly, through the collective agency of scholars of the Ostroh academy whose names were not mentioned in the paratext (obviously, with the exception of Duke Kostiantyn of Ostroh as the patron and the author of one of the two prefaces). In discussing the mistrust of Bible translation to the individual experience (at least, in Medieval and post-Medieval tradition), Anthony Pym draws the parallel between collective agency and authorization:

> With the notable exception of the Vulgate, authorization is mostly of collective translation. The great versions done by lone hands are rarely trusted to the same extent, and if they are trusted, it is only after control and revision. (Pym 210)

In emphasizing the direct link between translation and divine presence, Sherry Simon views collective translation of the Bible as the exertion of power and control: "Collective translation was also a way for institutional guidance and control to influence the translation process" (163). In the 16th–17th centuries, at the time of religious and cultural transition when Muscovy was going to great lengths to establish "The Third Rome" for all Slavs, the Ostroh Bible was meticulously annexed together with the Ukrainian territory and granted the highest authority with the status of "the second original"[7]. This created the situation when "… the fact

7 The most obnoxiously distinctive example of the colonizing policy implemented in the Moscow Bible is tempering with the preface, namely the replacement of the phrase in the preface

of authorization allows that, in the space of reception, the whole translation is magically accepted as if it were not a translation" (Pym 210). Interestingly enough, the celebrated translation of the Ostroh Bible into Ukrainian in 2006[8], on the one hand, endorsed its position of "the second original" but, on the other hand, challenged the deeply rooted idea of the sacred inviolability of the Church Slavonic language. Unfortunately, the power-conditioned monopoly set by Church Slavonic as the only one language for Slavia Orthodoxa interrupted the process of translating the Bible for three centuries and is still an issue under heated inter-confessional discussion.

Ukrainian Bible translations in the early 20th century: a case of individual agency, delayed production and shifted translation space

To reach the end-user, translators require a network of intermediary agents promoting, financing or simply approving their products for publication and distribution.

> If their work is to have an impact at all, they will still have to persuade an institution of power – if only a publishing house, or an editor of a literary journal – to disseminate the translation. (Lefevere 2012, 128)

Bible translation is particularly time-consuming and expensive, which is why not only the final product is beyond the translator/translators' control but also the very process can hardly begin without preliminary commitments of the parties involved. The translator's agency is even more restricted when the inexorably intertwined authority of the church and the state exercises "the undifferentiated patronage,"[9] not infrequently of a destructive nature. The Russian empire and Russian Orthodox Church were well aware of the empowering function of Bible translation and its

"народ руський" / Ruthenian people by "narod vielikorossijskij" / Great Russian people, a pretensious new coinage to name the nation so far known as "Moscovites."

8 Rafail Turkoniak (Torkoniak) who translated the Ostroh Bible was awarded the most prestigious state prize of Ukraine for works of culture – the Taras Shevchenko National Prize.

9 Undifferentiated patronage is typical for the system where the translator derives legitimacy, financial support and status from one person or institution (Lefevere 1992, 17).

ability to legitimize the language. This comprehension made them take a firm stand against such an endeavour.

Little did Pylyp Morachevskyi, a supervisor of a gymnasium in small town Nizhyn, know that his persistent attempts to publish his translation of the Gospels would be regarded as a subversive act and trigger the infamous Valuiev circular[10] of 1863.

Pylyp Morachevskyi made every effort to ensure multi-componential networking for his translation already at the early stages of his project. In 1860, he sent the finished translation of Gospels of Matthew and John for the consideration of St. Petersburg metropolitan Isidor. In two weeks, the Synod informed the translator that a Ukrainian translation of the Gospels done by him or anyone else could not be admitted for publication (Naumenko 467–469). Despite this major discouragement, Pylyp Morachevskyi completed the translation of the four Gospels into Ukrainian and sent them for scholarly assessment to the Imperial Academy of Sciences. A highly positive review by prominent specialists in Slavic Studies Izmail Sreznevsky and Alexandr Vostokov[11], most probably, played against the translation. The Holy Synod, Kyiv governor Annienkov and, eventually, the secret anti-Ukrainian Circular signed by the minister of Internal Affairs of the Russian Empire proved too insurmountable an obstacle for the modest enthusiast devoted to his mission.

Despite these hostile circumstances, in 1864–1865 Morachevskyi translated Psalter, this time without any hope to have it published during his lifetime. The Ems Ukas of 1876 signed by the tsar himself extended the publication ban to all books in Ukrainian and prohibited their importation. Ivan Puliui, a co-translator of the first complete Bible into Ukrainian, indignantly condemned this egregious shameful act on the part of the Russian empire: "In Russia one can distribute the Holy Scripture in almost forty languages and dialects. … only the coreligionist

10 The Circular proclaimed that "the Ukrainian language never existed, does not exist, and shall never exist" and prohibited the publication of secular and religious books (apart from light belles-lettres), on the premise that they might foster separatism. Vira Aheyeva calls into question the circular's efficacy neutralized by Kyiv-based Stara Hromada (Old Community), the then shadow government of colonized Ukraine. Members of Hromada successfully organized the book-printing base in Halychyna, distributed these foreign editions in the Left Bank Ukraine and, most importantly, bribed the St. Petersburg chief censor (Aheyeva 112). Yet the ban on Bible translation was too strict to break.

11 "Translation by Morachevskyi fully evidences the fact that the quality or character of Little Russian words and word-combinations reflect grandeur or content of the ideas expressed" (Naumenko 476).

30 million Ukrainian nation is forbidden to have the Word of God in its native language by the Tsar's decree of 1876" (Puliui 252).

Morachevskyi's translation of the Gospels had to bide its time for half a century before the Committee of Ministers, though reluctantly, cancelled the ban on the printed Ukrainian word under the pressure of the revolutionary events of 1905, a petition of the Ukrainian community of St. Petersburg and recommendation of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. This time the Synod and the Academy joined efforts to select the text among the available manuscripts, revise it and prepare for publication. On behalf of the Academy, Pavlo Zhytetskyi carried out a profound comparative philological analysis of Morachevskyi's manuscript and two translations of the 1903 – the manuscript by Mykhailo Lobodovskyi and the first complete Ukrainian Bible already published in Vienna. The reviewer concluded that the oldest version was the best from the viewpoint of textual criticism as well as language quality, and recommended it for publication. After a long and thorough editing process under the auspices of Podolsk bishop Parthenii Levytskyi, the four Gospels were published in 1906–1911 as bilingual Church Slavonic and Ukrainian versions. As Maksym Strikha notes, "… this translation blessed by the Synod immediately acquired the 'canonical' status" (Strikha 116), in particular, Ukrainian priests widely used it in their sermons. The revision completely erased Morachevskyi's individual copyright agency by the collective one – "the Synod edition." Subsequent reprinted or revised editions[12] did not rectify this injustice until 2007 when the tribute to Morachevskyi was duly paid in the preface to the reprint of the "Synod" translation done by the publishing house "Prostir" in Kyiv with the blessing of His Beatitude Liubomyr, the Supreme Archbishop of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Psalter in Morachevskyi's translation whose autograph is kept

12 After the declaration of the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in 1919–1921, Morachevskyi's translation retained its authorized status, first in the Soviet Ukraine during a short period of indigenization policy, known as the executed Renaissance, and then in the Right Bank Ukraine, which, under the terms of the Riga Treaty of 1921, became part of Poland. In the same year, all four Gospels translated by P. Morachevskyi came to print in Lviv under one cover without a parallel Church Slavonic text. In 1938, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw commissioned by the Polish Autocephalous Church and His Beatitude Dionysius published "The Alter Gospel," a revised "Synod edition" of Morachevskyi's translation. Subsequent editions appeared in print in 1948 in Winnipeg, Canada and in 1966 in Bound-Brook, the USA to serve the needs of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church in exile. In 2013 in Kyiv, the translation came out as an edition of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Moscow Patriarchate.

in the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences appeared in print only in 2015 in Kyiv, 150 years after the translation had been done.

Pylyp Morachevskyi was the first in the line of devoted individuals who spared neither time nor effort to fulfil their Christian and national identity making mission against all odds. Though, as the case of Morachevskyi confirms, their names were often not indicated on the front page or in the preface, they became inseparably linked to the sacred text they translated: we know their outcomes as Morachevskyi's Gospels, Kulish's Bible, Ohiienko's Bible, Khomenko's Bible. The posthumous fame of Ukrainian Bible translators stands in stark contrast with the far less celebrated status of translators from non-colonized European countries:

> I do not want to say anything bad about English, French or German translators, but they (unless, of course, they are recognized original writers or theorists of literature, such as Longfellow, an American translator of Dante, or Schlegel, a German translator of Shakespeare) never belonged to the first, representative row of figures of their national cultures. (Strikha 5)

In their professional profile, Ukrainian translators were often renowned authors themselves:

> The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian writers of the past regarded translation with ascetic devotion. As enlighteners of their people cherishing the idea of its unique cultural identity and, with time, national independence, they often chose translation – along with original creativity – as a weapon of their struggle. (Zorivchak 224)

Symbolically, the first full translation of the Bible into Ukrainian resulted from the joint efforts of the most celebrated Ukrainians of that time – the tandem of Panteleimon Kulish and Ivan Puliui (after Kulish's death, his part of the translation was completed by Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi). The translation was published in 1903 under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

In the 1920s–early 1930s, the neoclassic critics of the executed Renaissance granted Kulish an honourable place in the leading triad of the Ukrainian literary canon, alongside writers Taras Shevchenko and Hryhorii Skovoroda. In Soviet times, however, he was condemned as a bourgeois nationalist and ousted from the literary canon, his works being accessible only in archives under a special permission.

Ivan Puliui, a distinguished Ukrainian physicist and inventor as well as a scholar of ancient languages, has been championed as an early developer of the use of X-ray for medical imaging.

Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi, a classic author of Ukrainian literature, was regarded during the Soviet period as an author of stories on the life of Ukrainian peasants. Only recently, the critical focus has shifted to his urban and profoundly anticolonial novel *Clouds* where "dark clouds" symbolize the imperial policy of russification, cultural assimilation and destruction of Ukrainian democratic Europe-centric educational and religious institutions. Of particular interest is Levystkyi's article of 1878 *Uselessness of the Great Russian Literature for Ukraine and the Slavs*.

Since the 1860s when the project of the first Ukrainian translation of the Holy Scripture was launched, it has performed the distinct nation-building function: "… P. Kulish was guided by the desire to transform Ukrainians from an ethnic group into a political nation" (Zorivchak 132). Having no predecessors except Morachevskyi's unpublished translation of the Gospels, Kulish developed an original translation strategy, based on the Ukrainian folk poetics, high style and colloquial language.

Kulish's endeavours to circumvent the restrictions imposed by the Valuiev circular and Ems Ukas set up a sad yet efficient strategy of shifted translation spaces. Throughout its history, Ukraine was torn between states and empires whose attitude to the Bible in Ukrainian varied from absolute prohibition to reluctant permission. For this reason, the areas of its publication fluctuated and shifted, not infrequently behind the borders of those states and empires.

After the revolutionary events of 1848–1849 known as the "Spring of Nations" swept across the Austrian empire, the Ukrainian culture in Halychyna enjoyed relative freedom of print. In 1868–1869 Panteleimon Kulish cooperated with the Lviv-based periodic journal *Pravda*, which first published his translation of two Books of Pentateuch and two psalms and then the whole Pentateuch as a separate book. The title of this early edition *The Holy Scriptures, or the Complete Bible of the Old and New Testament; Pentateuch* clearly indicated the translator's intention to release the whole Bible in Ukrainian. Yet, wary of the potential reaction of the public and the church, Kulish prudently hid behind the pseudonym Pavlo Ratai and in the Preface called his translation "only a blueprint" for readers to make suggestions and corrections:

> In this blessed work, the editors of *Pravda* put their hopes in the clergy of Halychyna-Rus': that they will hold the new tidings of God's Word close

to their warm hearts, read this blueprint with great attention, and spare no time for correction (Sviate Pysmo. Perva chastyna 2).

In response to accusations of extreme indigenization of the sacred original, Kulish defined his subsequent translations of the Book of Job (Lviv, 1869) and Psalter (Vienna, 1871) as "perespiv" (transfusion). In the 1870s, Kulish made the first attempt to find financial support for his project from the British and Foreign Bible Society. The negative review of Franz Xaver Miklós, a recognized Viennese specialist in Slavic Studies, who characterized his rhymed translation of Psalter as a paraphrase, made Kulish change his translation strategy, aligning it with the principles of BFBS, and start his cooperation with Puliui. In 1880, the translators published the New Testament in Lviv at their own expense. Only in 1885 did the BFBS buy the rights to this translation and republish it twice in 1887 and 1893. After Kulish's death the Society bought the right to publish the Old Testament, making Kulish's widow and Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi who joined the project later, parties of the contract.

The first Ukrainian Bible came out in 1903 in Vienna. The target language is indicated on its title page ("in the Ruthenian-Ukrainian language"), and the back bears the names of the three translators. In the Table of Contents, each Book is marked with one, two, or three stars depending on who translated it. Notwithstanding, this translation implanted itself in the public consciousness as Kulish's Bible.

In the same year as the BFBS edition, the hierarchs of the Greek-Catholic Church initiated and published a parallel Ukrainian – Church Slavonic version of the New Testament and Psalter in Halychyna. The translation done by Oleksandr Bachynskyi combined local vernacular with Church-Slavonic high-flown vocabulary and, despite the Church's "imprimatur" given by Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi, never had great resonance among the believers.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian-language religious space on the territory of the Russian empire was virtually non-existent (except the short period of a moderate freedom of print in 1906–1911). As Puliui recollected in a letter, even the copy of the Bible intended for Kulish's widow was delivered in the false bottom of a box of cookies. "It is a shame, a great shame for holy Russia," wrote Puliui, "that in the twentieth century people had to smuggle the word of God across the border secretly, like thieves! It is disgusting even to think about the senseless, inhuman, shameless and barbaric state orders of that holy Russia" (Puliui 252).

Ukrainian Bible translations in exile: a case of inter-confessional cooperation / competition, patronage, and overt resistance strategy

Anti-Ukrainian and atheistic policies applied by the Soviet state displaced the production and distribution of the Ukrainian Bible translations even further behind the borders of Ukraine, especially after the annexation of Eastern Galicia (Halychyna) and Volhynia and the destruction of the Greek-Catholic Church in 1944–1946. Two nearly simultaneous translations of the compete Bible by Ivan Ohiienko, the metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, and Ivan Khomenko, a priest of the Greek-Catholic Church, were published in exile in the early 1960s. Subsequently, these translations, as well as a number of other partial translations of the Gospels and the Psalter, remained inaccessible for believers of Soviet Ukraine and failed to "be awoken" through their reading and interpretation.

The second complete translation of the Bible in Ukrainian also came out under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Back in 1921, Prof. Ivan Ohiienko, an outstanding specialist in Ukrainian linguistics, history of the Ukrainian culture and church history, and Minister for Religious Affairs of the Ukrainian People's Republic in exile, offered the Society his services as a translator. However, he received an official response from the BFBS only in 1935 with the help of the Protestants of Halychyna, who formed the backbone of the Translation Revision Commission.

By that time, back in 1923, Ivan Ohiienko had already published his translation of *Vespers and Matins (Sviata Vidprava vechirnia i rannia)* and a year later the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church in Poland[13] had granted him a Blessed Letter authorizing all his further translations of the sacred books.

On the eve of the Second World War, the Four Gospels (1937) and later the entire New Testament with the Psalter (1939) appeared in print. Over the years, Ohiienko's cooperation with the British and Foreign Bible Society had its vicissitudes, including a contract termination from

13 In 1924, the Polish Orthodox Church was granted a tomos on autocephaly by Ecumenical Patriarch Gregory VII on the premise that the accession of the Metropolitanate of Kyiv to the Moscow Patriarchate contradicted church canons. Concomitantly, the Orthodox Metropolitanate in Poland became a canonical successor of the Kyiv Metropolitanate.

1939 to 1941. At the stage of final preparations, the Revision Commission, headed by Pastor Levko Zhabko-Potapovych, had heated disputes with the translator, primarily about the degree of adherence to the Ukrainian academic spelling of 1929 prohibited in the USSR and the format of footnotes. Finally, as the translator recalled in his memoirs, "the greatest, brightest, and happiest day" of the publication came:

> Today, on June 12, 1962, the airmail delivered to me from London three copies of my translation of the Bible into Ukrainian from the "British and Foreign Bible Society."
>
> A big, bright and joyful day in my life!
>
> No, the greatest, brightest and happiest day in all my long and laborious life!
>
> My fifty-year-old dream and my thirty-year-old work have come true – here is my lifelong work on the table in front of me: the Bible in my native, dearest language, the Ukrainian language!
>
> The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is now full and complete: it has its own scholarly translation of the Bible into its native language!
>
> (Ilarion 220)

The scholarly approach Ohiienko applied in his translation is made manifest at two levels:

1) Translation strategy indicated on the title page ("translated literally from Old Hebrew and Greek into Ukrainian") and in the endnote after the Alphabetical list of abbreviations of the books of the Old and New Testaments: "*Everything that is typed here in italics (such as this) is not in the original – it is added for better understanding of the text*" (Bibliia 6). The translator's word-for-word strategy implied highlighting discursive words added to ensure textual cohesion;
2) The abundance of scholarly footnotes. The first Ukrainian Bible of 1903 had very few (about 30) footnotes to align with the major non-denominational and inter-ethnic principle of the British and Foreign Bible Society – "without notes or comments." However, after the founding of the United Bible Societies in 1946, the organization began to significantly revise this requirement, which in 1971 was reformulated as "without doctrinal notes and comments." Yet, as early as in 1958 Eugene Nida published his seminal article *Marginal Helps for the Reader* at the request of the Translation Commissions of the United Bible Societies, where he developed basic guidelines regarding permissible or desirable notes. According to Nida, explanatory

marginal helps include notes on a) alternative readings, b) alternative renderings, c) meanings that are obscured through the process of translation, such as explanation of proper names and play on words, d) meanings of transliterated expressions, e) explanation of cultural differences, f) references, where these are primarily designed to explain the text rather than to identify the source or parallel; g) introductory information explaining geographical or historical settings, h) illustrations together with captions and explanations (Nida 2). In ten years and almost intact, Nida's suggestions concerning "non-doctrinal" paratexts entered *Guiding Principles for Interconfessional Cooperation in Translating the Bible*. Ohiyenko meticulously used all the aforementioned types of footnotes in his translation of the Bible, which considerably increased its scholarly value.

Unfortunately, the name of Ivan Ohiienko did not appear on the title page of his translation, the tribute being solely paid to the British and Foreign Bible Society. The translator had to order a stamp and put down his name on the title page of his own copies. Dmytro Buchynskyi, in his 1963 review *The Bible Translated by Professor Ivan Ohiienko*, regarded this fact almost as a Protestant ploy against the Orthodox translator: "Today, it is a common practice that translators of the Bible are mentioned as authors. Their names are placed before title of the Bible and thus enter bibliographic library catalogs" (Buchynskyi 2). A few factors, though, testify against such a tendentious interpretation. Firstly, in the 1968 directive (and, presumably, sometime earlier), the UBS changed its stance concerning Bible translators' authorship: "It is not normally the practice of the Bible Societies to associate the names of translators or revisers with translations of the Scriptures" (Guiding principle 105). Secondly, immediately after the publication of Ohiienko's translation of the Bible, the British and Foreign Society in London issued a two-page leaflet entitled *New Ukrainian Bible*, which provided information about the translator: "In 1936, the British and Foreign Bible Society, by recommendation of Ukrainian Protestants, invited Professor Dr. Ivan Ohiienko as a translator." Since the 1990s, the Ukrainian Bible Society has been publishing this translation with the translator's name on the back of the title page.

Though Ohiienko as a translator of the Holy Scriptures shared decision-making responsibility with the commissioner and the publisher – the British and Foreign Bible Society – as well as the Protestant editors, his individual agency had been manifest long before the publication of the

translation. For decades, Ivan Ohiienko had researched old Ukrainian translations of the Holy Scriptures, developed scientific principles of Bible translation and made them public in his study of 1927 *Methodology of the translation of the Holy Scriptures and liturgical books into Ukrainian language* (*Duhovna besida* magazine, No. 19–27) and in the articles of 1933–1939 published in the monthly *Ridna mova*. As a scholar and statesman, he set the following requirements for the translation: modern Ukrainian language of the translation, since the language of Bible translations has always been "a cornerstone in the development of literary languages" (Ohiienko 1934, 132); enrichment of the national language, in particular through the reproduction of the rich synonymy of the Bible; the inadmissibility of colloquial elements in the biblical text; metrical verse. Ivan Ohiienko fully realized all these principles in his translation of the Bible.

In 1963, only a year after the publication of Ohiienko's translation of the Bible, St. Basil's Monastic Order in Rome brought out the Greek-Catholic translation. The publishers went to great lengths to make this new Ukrainian Bible stand out, even from an aesthetic point of view. The red cover of this edition (also known as the "cherry Bible") had the golden inscription *Holy Scripture* as a contrast to the BFBS edition with its black binding and the golden inscription *Bible* on the spine.

The publishers were not restricted by the requirements of the United Bible Societies, therefore, the translation had distinct confessional and national paratextual dimensions. The main text is accompanied by a thorough preface *General information about the Bible* divided into separate subsections: formal information about the Bible (information about the canons, the division of books and previous translations), additional remarks about the Bible (authorship, inspiration, hermeneutics, revelation and biblical problems) and Ukrainian translations of the Holy Scriptures, starting with the Ostromyr Gospels and ending with the new translation defined as the *Roman Bible* (the name coined to make the translation distinctive). The preface emphasized the twelve-year-old devoted work of translator Ivan Khomenko, a good scholar of ancient and modern languages, as well as the contribution of stylistic editors – renowned Ukrainian writers and translators in exile Ihor Kostetskyi, Vasyl Barka and Mykhailo Orest-Zerov (Sviate Pysmo XVI–XVII).

The Roman Bible contains two types of paratexts, which are inadmissible for the United Bible Societies editions:

1) Doctrinal intra-confessional paratexts:
   a) mention of the Second Vatican Council on the title page;

b) reference to the First Vatican Council in the preface regarding the authorship of the Holy Scriptures and the Catholic views on inspiration;
c) reference to the conclusions of the Biblical Pontifical Commission of 1906 regarding the irrelevance of doubts about Moses' authorship of the Pentateuch;
d) supplements, such as readings at matins and vespers.

2) National paratexts with an overt resistance strategy actualized:
a) a patriotic anti-Soviet poetic prayer on the first page of the book;
b) Introduction by Pavlo Myskiv, the protoarchimandrite of the Basilian Order, who expresses hope that the new translation of the Holy Scriptures will be able to unite the Ukrainian people, scattered all over the world, into one Christian family;
c) the history of Ukrainian translations of the Bible in the preface[14];
d) the summary to the Psalter which regards psalms as a source of inspiration for Ukrainian writers: "In particular, in Ukraine, their influence on literature was and remains decisive from the most ancient times to the most recent ones. Psalms were daily bread for prince Volodymyr Monomakh, a great writer of the Ukrainian Middle Ages, who included them in his texts. His famous *Instruction* written at the beginning of the 12th century contains quotations from the following Psalms: 41 (12), 36 (1; 9-7; 21-27), 55 (11-12), 58 (1-4), 62 (33), 32 (2), – side by side with the practical and moral advice rewritten from the *Instruction* of St. Basil the Great. And the paraphrases of the psalms created by such masters of our word as Shevchenko and Lesia Ukrainka, are in sight and on the lips of almost every educated Ukrainian" (Svyate Pys'mo 618–619);
e) the summary to the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah which mentions Yuriy Klen, a renowned Ukrainian writer in exile, the only neo-classicist who survived Soviet repressions: "Texts from Jeremiah were set to music many times, they inspired and continue to inspire poets of all nations. In Yurii Klen's unfinished poem *Ashes of Empires* there is a monologue-lamentation paraphrasing the themes from Jeremiah" (Sviate Pysmo 869).

14 Compare with the United Bible Societies' requirement: "To serve the purpose of joint Roman Catholic and Protestant editions, a preface, if desirable, should be restricted to a commendation of the Holy Scriptures to the reader and should omit appeals to ecclesiastical authority" (Guiding principle 105).

At the textual level, the Roman Bible reverberates with images borrowed from the Ukrainian folklore and Ukrainian classical literature, which makes the translation strategy closer to domestication[15].

Reception of Bible translations in Soviet Ukraine: a case of unrealized intentionality, lingual intervention and meta-biblical literary canon

In the introductory chapter to the seminal monograph *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (2010) Maria Tymoczko wrote: "What is not translated in a particular context is often as revealing as what is translated. Thus the silences and gaps in specific translated texts – like the non-translation (or zero translation) of entire texts – are fundamental in revealing the politics of translation in a particular cultural context" (6). No less revealing are translations with unrealized intentionality, that is, directedness at the reader, or in other words, translations, which remained incomplete in terms of their reception by the targeted audience.

The silence surrounding Ukrainian Bible translations and gaps in their reception by the targeted receiver reflect the politics of translation in the colonial religious and cultural contexts. Arguably, a translation of the Bible that does not fulfill its liturgical function (reception by the believers) or, by extension, literary function (citations in literary or media texts) is only a dormant code anticipating its concretization and interpretation. This experience is embedded in the broader historical context where Soviet authorities played the role of the gatekeeper denying Bible translations the entrance into the Ukrainian cultural space.

The sole exception was the Soviet policy of "indigenization" announced in 1923. Along with the promotion of native languages in education and publishing, at the workplace, in government and even in church, it inaugurated a comparatively favourable period for religious literature in Ukrainian. At the early stage, the anticlerical offensive of the Bolsheviks chose as its primary target the Russian Orthodox Church, a hyperconservative organization in the service of the collapsed Russian empire, since the newly created state wanted to sever the bonds between the two. Despite repeated criticisms in the official documents of the time,

15 Ivan Khomenko expressed utter dissatisfaction with this strategy and accused the editors of "spoiling" his translation.

the Soviets displayed a rather neutral attitude to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church, which in 1921 declared its independence from the Moscow partriarchate in the All-Ukrainian Sobor in Kyiv. The Church positioned itself as a modernistic Ukrainian institution. One riveting example of its progressive stance may be the fact that its metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi asserted that women could be consecrated as priests and even metropolitans because there were no gender distinctions for God (Lypkivskyi 162). The church brought out Ukrainian translations of Chasoslov (A Book of Hours), Trebnic (A Liturgy-Book) and Prayer Book. In 1926 in Kyiv and Kherson the Translation Committee under the auspices of archbishop Nestor Sharaivskyi published the Gospels and Psalter in Ukrainian. The Gospels were a revised version of the "Synod edition" of Pylyp Morachevskyi's translation.

The 1920s policy of Ukrainization was not only nominally approved but also actively and purposefully implemented by the All-Ukrainian Union of Christian-Baptist Association. The Baptist Church was, the only one among the Protestant churches of Ukraine, to support this course, largely on the pages of its journal *Baptist of Ukraine*. In 1928, they reprinted the first Ukrainian Bible of 1903 in an edition of 5,000 copies.

Unfortunately, Ukrainian religious activists soon fell victim to the atrocious act of elimination of Ukrainian intellectuals known as the executed Renaissance. On April 8, 1929, the so called law on religious congregations destroyed the Church and interrupted any further attempts to translate or at least officially use and distribute the Ukrainian Bible. Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi was arrested and executed in 1937.

The curtailment of this short-term Ukrainization and the spread of the atheistic ideology resulted in an almost complete removal of the Holy Scripture in the native language from Ukrainian religious and cultural spaces, which lasted until the last two decades of the 20th century.

There is, however, a unique example of an officially commissioned though unrealized project of Bible translation in Soviet Ukraine. The project was initiated in the early 1970s by Petro Shelest, the pro-Ukrainian First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. This is how the story is related by the ex-patriarch of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate Filaret (Denysenko) who participated in the project:

> When Shelest was the first secretary, he had some pro-Ukrainian sentiments. As his Ukrainian consciousness began to assert itself, I was summoned to the Council for Religious Affairs, and they said that we could

> translate the Bible into Ukrainian. I said, the Bible is a big book, it cannot be translated quickly – it takes many years to translate it, but we can translate the New Testament. I assembled the committee and we began translating the New Testament. We translated the book, and then Shelest was dismissed from his position. By dismissing Shelest they also "buried" this translation of the New Testament. When fifteen years later the preparations for celebrating the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus' began, I asked permission to publish the Prayer Book and the New Testament. When everything was agreed upon, we feared that the translation was lost, because after Shelest's dismissal all traces of Ukrainization were erased. But I kept one copy, so we quickly revised it and had the New Testament brought out by the Millennium. (Kmet')

Thus, the implementation of this project in the 1970s was prevented by the removal of Petro Shelest, who acted as a patron, and the translation came out in 1988, the year of the great spiritual elevation and church revival.

Until that time, despite the existence of three complete and several partial Ukrainian versions of the Holy Scriptures, Bible translation in soviet Ukraine remained a blank spot due to the lack of a feedback, both at the level of the believers' response to the Lord's Message in their native language and at the level of critical translation analysis.

The reception history of the Ukrainian Bible in the Soviet period is limited to random accounts of dissidents, mostly in their memoirs and letters. These records evidence the fact that Ukrainian intellectuals and religious activists managed to find ways and means to circumvent the ideological restrictions and find access to the Bible in Ukrainian not only in the "big zone" of soviet Ukraine but also in the "small zone" of Soviet labour camps.

Yevhen Sverstiuk, a philosopher, literary critic, publicist and Soviet political prisoner, recalls in his memoirs how attempts to overcome bans and to spread the Bible in the "small zone" mirrored the situation in the "big zone" (Sverstiuk 1999). Despite the prohibition on religious books in labour camps, the inmates who represented unorthodox currents kept their handwritten Gospels. In the same way, in the "big zone" the leaders of the Protestant churches, using their inter-church and international connections, were the first to get the opportunity to read the Bible in Ukrainian.

In 1989, on the eve of the collapse of the USSR, Yevhen Sverstiuk would become the founder and chief editor of the religious newspaper *Nasha Vira (Our Faith)*, the organ of the renovated Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. Yet he received his first Gospel in Ukranian (Ohiienko's translation) in the Kolyma labour camp as a gift from his co-prisoner Vasyl Stus, a gifted rebel poet and a symbol of the Ukrainian dissident movement.

How did Ukrainian dissidents obtain Ukrainian translations of the Holy Scriptures published abroad? The books crossed the border owing to the efforts of representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, such as poet and translator Vira Vovk, who breathed her last in 2022 at the age of 96. In the 1960s she paid a few visits to Ukraine and got acquainted with leading Ukrainian artists, including the most outstanding Ukrainian translators of the time – Mykola Lukash and Hryhorii Kochur. In one of her interviews, Vira Vovk describes the ingenious ways she used to circumvent the constant attention of Soviet customs officials who checked her luggage "to the fullest": "They even squeezed the toothpaste out of the tubes, scraped the powder out of the powder case," and confiscated soviet newspapers used as a wrap for her shoes. Nevertheless, Vira Vovk managed to bring three Bibles to Ukraine:

> I took one in my hands and threw a coat over it. They searched my luggage, well, they didn't look at my hand... They found one Bible in the suitcase – the Roman edition, which begins with a prayer: "God, have mercy on Ukraine: free it from the communist shackles..." etc. I asked to give me this Bible back, but they said: you know, there is such an introduction... I asked for a pair of scissors and suggested, if so, cutting out the "introduction", because I needed this Bible for translators. The customs officers agreed. (Vovk)

These memories surprisingly echo the conspiratorial manipulations that Ivan Puliui had to invent sixty years before in order to send at least one copy of the translation of the Holy Scriptures to the widow of his co-translator Panteleimon Kulish.

Vira Vovk handed over the copies of the Holy Scriptures salvaged at the customs to Mykola Lukash, a translator from 18 languages, a person of encyclopaedic knowledge, an eccentric, a hipster and a rebel. The continuation of this story can be found in the memoirs of Leonid Cherevatenko:

> Lukash immediately pounced on them. The books were brand new – crisp paper, colour maps, hard covers (black and red). And all this smelled of fresh paint. Mykola Oleksiyovych even sniffed them, and then took them home. He studied them for a long time, gave emotional exclamations and compared them. And in the end he gave his verdict: "But Kulish is still better! No, none of them can compare to Panko Olelkovych!" (Cherevatenko 601)

The unquestionable preference Lukash gave to the earliest translation over the recent ones may seem surprising, as even Kulish's contemporaries, such as Ivan Franko, often criticized his version of the Bible for the artificial style and archaic language. In Soviet times, his works were accessible only in archives under the special permission, as he was condemned as a bourgeois nationalist and ousted from the literary canon.

Yet in the 1920s and early 1930s the neoclassic critics belonging to the generation of the executed Renaissance granted Kulish an honourable place in the leading triad of the Ukrainian literary canon. Mykola Lukash supported this opinion and even compared Kulish's translation of the Bible to Shevchenko's "Kobzar." In one of his interviews during the Khrushchevian Thaw period, he called for the publication of Kulish's translations: "He is such a rare connoisseur of the language" (Perepadia 412).

Though the publication of Kulish's Bible in the USSR was an unimaginable thing, through Lukash's mediation Ukrainian readers inadvertently got the feel of these proscribed texts. Lukash interspersed his own translations of Grimmelshausen, Boccaccio, Cervantes and others with phrases from the Bible by Kulish who, in his turn, had explored the prolific legacy of the Ukrainian baroque literature. This skilful translation technique of lingual intervention became an ingenious tool of cultural liberation under the circumstances of the russification policy targeted at marginalizing authentic Ukrainian words and annihilating the linguistic identity of the Ukrainian nation. These reverberations were consonant with Lukash's language-shaping and intertextual principle "… to shovel out the language treasures acquired by our predecessors, put them into circulation, transfer them from the Liabilities to the Assets" (Perepadia 412–413).

Mykola Lukash, in this case through the mediation of his great predecessor, ventured to disregard restrictions and gave new life to unduly neglected Ukrainian words that had fallen victim to the repressive measures of the Russian linguocide.

Even translators who were more loyal to the regime than the renowned rebel Lukash had to refer to the Holy Scripture in the cases of Bible allusions and quotations in the texts they were translating. The analysis shows that the most common source for them was the Bible translated by Ivan Ohiienko, which had the largest though underground circulation in Soviet Ukraine. This Orthodox translation published under the auspices of the British Bible Society and edited by Protestant pastors was if not authorized than at least approved by Protestants and distributed at their international congresses, which Ukrainian religious activists were sometimes allowed to attend.

According to Yevhen Sverstiuk, in the mid-1980s, when the project of the first Bible translation in the USSR was revived, the Kyiv Exarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church addressed, first of all, the Writers' Union, which suggested only one possible candidate for the translator – Lukash. As Sverstiuk recalls, "… the latter refused the 'good earnings' in embarrassment and sorrow," realizing that "… the Master cannot take up the task which is not his" (Sverstiuk 2009, 595).

Unfortunately, we do not find any other mention of this attempt at cooperation between the Church and the Writers' Union anywhere else, numerous interviews with Patriarch Filaret including.

Yet the personality of Mykola Lukash absolutely fits into this unconfirmed account. In the era of spiritual crisis and rupture of religious tradition, "he was a spontaneous Christian, an organic product of Christian culture, he carried the phantom pain of blurred faith," and would never consider himself worthy of this sacred God-inspired mission (Sverstiuk 2009, 595).

Despite bans and restrictions, no totalitarian regime or atheist ideology is powerful enough to erase from the national memory the Book of Books, the nuclear text imprinted in the people's consciousness and permeating their language and culture. The banned, limited-circulation Book lingered in the public consciousness in the form of quotations, idioms, and plots. Even apologists for atheism and communism often used biblical aphorisms and quotations to fortify their own ideology: the appeal "to plunder the plundered" refers to numerous Old Testament threats to the unrighteous; "he who is not with us is against us" alludes to the words of Jesus "He who is not with me is against me" [Mt. 12: 30; Lk. 11: 23]; "he who does not work, does not eat" refers to II Thessalonians 3:10.

Even at the time when the word *Bible* was spelt only with a small letter, in the broad sense it remained the most widely translated book in Ukraine, as the Ukrainian literature abounds in subtle and overt attempts

"to translate" Biblical images, Biblical wisdom or even phrases traceable to the Bible. The officially approved triad of the literary canon – Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko and Lesia Ukrainka – created powerful and profound Biblical metatexts, though most of them were not included in the school readers. A kobza player weeping over the suffering of serf peasants (Shevchenko), Kameniar, the revolutionary Stone-Breaker (Franko) and Prometheus' Daughter (Lesia Ukrainka) – that is how the canon triad was presented to the Soviet readership. Yet the masks failed to disguise Taras Shevchenko as the author of the poem *Maria*, a free version of Virgin Mary's story, as the imitator of the Book of Prophets and translator of Psalms; Ivan Franko, primarily, as the author of the poems *Moses* and *The Death of Cain*; and Lesia Ukrainka as the playwright who created a new feministic approach to Biblical stories of Mary Magdalen (*The Possessed*), *Johanna, the wife of Chusa* and first Christian female martyrs (*Rufin and Priscilla*).

Arguably, *Kobzar* has always functioned in the mind of the Ukrainian reader as a national Bible. Oksana Zabuzhko rightly pointed out that in the text of *Kobzar* you can "read" comments and apocryphal appendices to the Holy Scriptures, which, together with the "hagiographic" biography of Taras Shevchenko, create a space for religious and emotional reception and can become the subject of a thorough philosophical and anthropological research (Zabuzhko 2009, 13). Numerous biblical maxims became popular in the form of a quote from Shevchenko rather than from the Church Slavonic or Ukrainian translations of the Holy Scriptures.

Not infrequently did Biblical idioms enter the cognitive apparatus of Ukrainians indirectly through the mediation of literature. These idioms tended to completely or partially lose connection with the biblical source in the minds of readers, so it's more appropriate to term them "meta-Biblical." For example, Soviet pupils were absolutely unaware that the title of Panas Myrnyi's must-read novel *Do oxen low when mangers are full?* (1875) referred to the Book of Job 6.5, presumably, because at that time the author, in tandem with his brother, was translating the first chapters of Job.

Meta-Biblical idioms repeatedly used in the texts of authors of Soviet Ukraine have acquired the status of national cultural concepts. For example, in modern English and Ukrainian languages the Biblical idiom *burning bush / neopalyma kupyna* denotes the indestructibility of God, and therefore, stability in a broad sense, something which cannot be destroyed and is marked by holiness. In addition, it is a restricted

religious symbol: in the Orthodox tradition, primarily in iconography, the unburnt bush is one of the Old Testament images of Virgin Mary. However, in the Ukrainian culture, the burning bush (or to be more precise, the unburnt one) symbolizes the indestructibility of Ukraine and Ukrainian people, as an analogue of the ancient Phoenix bird, renewed and reborn from the ashes.

For example, at the time of the Second World War Maksym Rylskyi in his poem *The Unburned Bush* (1943) predicted death in the eternal fire to the invaders and revival to the Motherland. Oleksandr Dovzhenko encodes the same meaning in the title of the film story *Ukraine on fire* (1943) and explicates this symbol in the text: "And Ukraine stands before our spiritual sight on fire, like an unburnt bush." For the generation of the 1960s and 1970s, the expression *unburnt bush* is primarily associated with the title of the semi-proscribed collection by Yurii Kolisnychenko and Serhii Plachynda *The Unburned Bush / Neopalyma Kupyna* (1968). The collection includes stories about prominent Ukrainians (Roksolana, Yelyzaveta Hulevichivna, Feofan Prokopovych, Maksym Berezovskyi and Artem Vedel) whose names in the Soviet time were in oblivion or their Ukrainian identity was denied in favour of the Russian one.

Until the collapse of the USSR, uninitiated Ukrainian readers were absolutely unaware of the Biblical metatexts created by dissident poets of the 1960s and 1970s – Ihor Kalynets' cycle *Trenos*[16] *over one more Way of the Cross* describing ten passions of Ukraine and *The Veil of Veronica* where martyrs of the Soviet regime are compared to Jesus; Iryna Kalynets' cycles *Oranta*, *The Altar* and *Ikoses*, Hrytsko Chubai's cycles *Jeremiah's Lamentations* and *Pentateuch*. These authors persecuted by the regime gave new life to the genres of Trenos (Lamentation) and Ikos (a long song sung during a festive religious event). As Marko Pavlyshyn aptly asserts, "... the main addressee of these neo-baroque poets is God while any human audience is of secondary importance. Consequently, imprisonment or exile does not threaten the poet's existence as a poet" (Pavlyshyn 269). In alliance with Ukrainian translations of the Bible published in exile, the complex meta-Bible created by Ukrainian dissidents in the USSR remained a dormant code anticipating its concretization and interpretation.

16 Lamentations.

Conclusions

The colonial policy of the Russian Empire and the atheistic and assimilation policy of the USSR made the Ukrainian Bible a banned book that existed outside the Ukrainian cultural and religious space up until the last decade of the 20th century. Translations of the Bible done and distributed outside Ukraine were inaccessible for native believers and, consequently, incomplete and unrealized in terms of their intentionality.

Unlike Western European and transatlantic translations of the Holy Scriptures, Ukrainian translations, although created under the auspices of Bible societies or the church, were the result of devoted and ascetic work of charismatic individuals for whom this project became the work of a lifetime. After the declaration of independence, the translations by Pylyp Morachevskyi, the tandem of Kulish – Puliui – Nechui-Levytskyi, Ivan Ohiienko and Ivan Khomenko finally found their way to the Homeland.

The research highlights the resistance strategy actualized in Ukrainian Bible translations overtly through defiant paratexts and covertly via the lingual intervention targeted at promoting Ukrainian lexical resources, which fell victim to the repressive measures of imperial linguocide. The translation process and production of the Holy Scripture in Ukrainian was highly influenced by the historical, linguistic, cultural and political factors. The history of the Bible translation into Ukrainian has broad implications for Ukrainian national awareness and national identity making.

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