

A LITERATURA COMO FORMA DE PRESERVAÇÃO DA MEMÓRIA NA DIÁSPORA UCRANIANA DO ESTADO DO PARANÁ (BRASIL)

LITERATURE AS A FORM OF MEMORY PRESERVATION IN THE UKRAINIAN DIASPORA OF THE STATE OF PARANA (BRAZIL)

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Resumo: Este artigo problematiza a questão da existência da literatura como forma de preservação da memória nacional na diáspora ucraniana do Brasil. Foram analisadas as peculiaridades das publicações em língua ucraniana e portuguesa, foram estabelecidos os princípios de compilação de textos para uso na comunidade e para a popularização da cultura entre representantes de outras nações. Foi estabelecido que os textos selecionados não são acompanhados de um amplo comentário literário, não fornecem explicações abrangentes sobre a essência da identidade ucraniana etc. Preservam uma lista limitada de símbolos nacionais, memórias do país de origem e traumas históricos, o mais importante deles é o Holodomor (1932-1933). As publicações raramente são representadas em bibliotecas devido a um método específico de distribuição e raramente são utilizadas para o estudo da literatura ucraniana em instituições de ensino superior. Isto permite dizer que o principal destinatário da literatura diaspórica são os portadores da identidade ucraniana. Os resultados do estudo dão motivos para dizer que tal forma de formação da literatura na diáspora leva ao aparecimento de livros, principalmente para uso doméstico, para preservar e transmitir a memória cultural e não contribui para a sua divulgação entre leitores de diferente identidade nacional.

Palavras-chaves: Diáspora. Identificar. Memória da cultura. Trauma. Lugares de memória.

Abstract: This article problematizes the question of the existence of literature as a form of preservation of national memory in the Ukrainian diaspora of Brazil. The peculiarities of Ukrainian-language and Portuguese-language publications were analyzed, the principles of compiling texts for use within the community and for the popularization of culture among representatives of other nations were established. It was established that the selected texts are not accompanied by a broad literary commentary, they do not provide comprehensive explanations of the essence of Ukrainian identity, etc. They preserve a limited list of national symbols, memories of the country of origin and historical traumas, the most important of which is the Holodomor (1932-1933). Publications are rarely represented in libraries due to a specific method of distribution and are rarely used for the study of Ukrainian literature within institutions of higher education. This makes it possible to say that the main recipient of diasporic literature is the bearers of Ukrainian identity, community members, etc. The results of the study give reason to say that such a way of forming literature in the diaspora leads to the appearance of books mainly for home use to preserve and transmit cultural memory and does not contribute to its dissemination among readers with a different national identity.

Key words: Diaspora. Identify. Memory of culture. Trauma. Places of memory.

Introduction

Studies on the literature of national diasporas in the world have gained great popularity in recent years. Thus, there are many developments in scientific circulation that examine the

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role of national communities in other countries (KUMAR, 2022) and nation building (BAER, 2019). At the same time, some researchers focus on the issue of translations and representation of texts, including in the diaspora (KHALAF, 2014; MOSENDZ, FILIMONOVA-ZLATOHRUSKA, PANKIV, BANNIKOVA, VLASIUK, 2022), compilation of anthologies (HALETA, 2013). Important in this context are those works that focus on the canon of literature (MOVCHAN, 2018; YEFREMOV, 1995; ARNALDI, 2022), the history of Ukrainian national literature (GRABOWICZ, 1981, PAVLYSHYN, 2016) and the issue of creating stereotypes through diaspora literature (SHAI, 2019).

Throughout its existence in various countries (Canada, Brazil, USA, Germany), the Ukrainian diaspora played a special role in the preservation and popularization of national culture, and in the context of general studies on communities that exist outside the borders of the native country, it is one of the most representative. In fact, thanks to her, in the 20th century, it was possible to preserve the rich literary heritage of repressed authors, examples of applied art, collections of folk ornaments, etc. Due to the efforts of various centers of the diaspora (Canadian, German) in the 90s, numerous archives of artistic texts, personal documents, etc. were returned to Ukraine, many key works were translated, etc. In addition, the diaspora represented authentic Ukrainian culture in other countries.

In general, according to Avinach Kumar, a similar representative function is assigned to all national cells in other states. The researcher writes about this: "The Diasporic communities provide an outlet to their wit through different means, and fiction is one way to preserve their identity, resulting in multiculturalism occurring at various levels throughout the whole globe." (KUMAR, 2022, p 12)

The Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil had a special role in the mentioned processes. In the 20th century, representatives of the community in the state of Parana managed to reproduce an important complex of Ukrainian works, translate them and, to some extent, popularize them. However, the diaspora did not have significant success in the last issue. Vira Selyanska noted in her interview: "nasha hromada, na zhal, zavzhdy na marginesi, mizh inshymy natsiiamy, mizh inshymy etnosamy v Brazyl'ii"³ (KOSTYUCHENKO, 2008).

However, in recent years, more works have appeared in circulation, dedicated either to single Ukrainian immigrants, or to the history of one of the greatest national traumas - the Holodomor. The most representative in this regard are "O silêncio do Leste: refúgios do

³ our community, unfortunately, is always on the margins, between other nations, between other ethnic groups in Brazil" (KOSTYUCHENKO, 2008) [the translation is ours].

stalinismo no Paraná" (SALIS, 2020), dedicated to the crimes of the Bolshevik regime on the territory of modern Ukraine, and "Holodomor (1932-1933): repercussões no jornal ucraniano-brasileiro Pracia" (PRADO, 2018) The appearance of such intelligence relatively recently (2018, 2020) speaks of interest in this topic in society and its relevance.

However, insufficient attention was paid to the study of the literary component in this matter. Hardly anything is said in modern Ukrainian scientific discourse about the issue of selecting texts for publication in Portuguese, Ukrainian identity in Brazil, symbols of memory, principles of compiling anthologies in the diaspora, conducting cultural dialogue, etc. and this has already caused certain problems in the representation of Ukrainian production in other countries. Even though Ukrainian literature works with various genres and themes, has a wide stylistic palette, in other countries, unlike the same Russian, it is generally not represented. The problem here, obviously, is not in the financing of publications, but in the principle of text selection, book formation, etc. It is here that the answer to the question of why no work of Ukrainian literature has entered the world context, at least outside of Europe, has not been included.

The purpose of this article is to analyze the role of Ukrainian literature as a tool for preserving national memory and identity in the diaspora. In order to realize the goal, the following tasks were completed: Ukrainian diaspora publications stored in private collections and library funds were analyzed; the features of the presented texts and their influence on the cultural life of the diaspora are determined; the key themes and symbols that are central to this Ukrainian cell have been established; the role of literature in the formation and preservation of national memory, as well as establishing ties with representatives of other nations, is summarized.

A series of Ukrainian books was taken as the object of the research. For a deeper analysis of the proposed material, reference literature on the history of Ukraine were involved.

Cultural memory of Ukrainians in Brazil: specifics

The Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil before the start of the full-scale war between Ukraine and Russia was the second largest⁴ (about 500,000 people). At the same time, almost all the

⁴ Currently, it is quite difficult to establish the exact number of Ukrainians in individual national centers of different countries. This is connected with the migration processes provoked by the war. The number of citizens of Ukraine in the countries of the European Union is constantly changing, besides, they are not always registered to obtain official status. Approximate estimates of Ukrainian refugees are given by the ONU: <https://data.unhcr.org/en/situations/ukraine>. However, they also cannot be taken as a basis for calculating the number of the Ukrainian diaspora, because not all persons who currently migrate from Ukraine have a Ukrainian identity and wish to maintain ties with the diaspora as a cultural center in the future.

time it remained the most detached from mainland Ukraine - first from Ukraine as part of the Soviet Union, and later from independent Ukraine.

The Soviet period was quite difficult for communication between the Ukrainian diaspora in the West and representatives of the intelligentsia in Ukraine itself. Censorship worked both ways. T.V. Dobko and O.Ya Dudnik wrote that even bibliographic indexes compiled on the basis of foreign publications were subject to censorship (DOBKO, DUDNIK, 2022). Those books that were printed in the diaspora did not reach the readers, but, for the most part, ended up in closed library funds for further research by authorized persons⁵.

The scientific review of Ukrainian literature in the Brazilian diaspora is complicated by the fact that the archives of the Ukrainian-Brazilian representation, separate series of publications, etc. have not been properly digitized. Most of the materials, although stored in the archive of the Ukrainian representation, are not exhaustive. Representatives of the diaspora have separate books in their home archives, texts of personal research that were not republished as separate books, etc.

Before turning to the quality of such literature, it is worth focusing on the issue of text selection. The analysis of books published in Brazil made it possible to establish that currently there are three types of publications in the Ukrainian diaspora according to linguistic features: Ukrainian-language books; bilingual books, including textbooks on learning Ukrainian for Portuguese speakers; Portuguese-language Ukrainian books.

According to the types of publications, you can distinguish fiction books without comments, with lengthy introductory articles. In this context, special attention should be paid to the content of those critical articles that accompany the publication of iconic Ukrainian texts (for example, the poems "Dream" by Taras Shevchenko or "Moses" by Ivan Franko). In most editions, such articles are absent, or they represent a short bibliographic summary (FRANKO, 1981), or they give a mediocre comment, focused not on the aesthetic and symbolic features of the work, but on a historical excursion aimed at explaining to the reader the peculiarities of Ukraine as a state, the history of its formation (CHEWTCHENKO, 1980).

Among the special topics covered by these editions, one can single out folk crafts (mainly the making of Easter eggs), stories of individual immigrants, as well as books about

⁵ It was extremely important that the person who undertook the research of Ukrainian foreign publications should be well versed in the political situation, postulates of the party, etc. such a person had to have an unblemished biography, not to belong to the nationalist movement, etc. according to the testimony of researchers, for example, V. Prokopchuk, repressions in the library business in various periods of the existence of the Soviet Union also took place (PROKOPCHYK, 2021).

the Holodomor as the greatest tragedy of the Ukrainian people. Separate editions are dedicated to learning the Portuguese language, etc., but they are presented in single copies.

Judging by the translated books, the emphasis was placed on highly social things, such as the poem "Dream" by Taras Shevchenko with a sharp criticism of the social system of the Russian Empire and "Moses" by Ivan Franko with the declared need to create one's own state (FRANCO, 1981), it can be assumed that translators, patrons and members of the community⁶ used the principle of formation of the canon of Ukrainian literature, proposed by Serhii Yefremov in the 20s of the 20th century.

Serhiy Yefremov formed it in the following way in his work:

Cherez tse vlasne element borotby z tymy chy inshymy formamy hromadskoho ladu, a znachyt i vyzvolna ideia — raz-u-raz buly dominantoiu v ukrainskomu zhytti, odbyvaiuchys i v pysmenstvi... <> „Element svobody” dlia liudyny, nevpynna vyzvolna techiia — tse persha, ideia, yaku mozna prostezhyty v istorii nashoho pysmenstva. (YEFREMOV, 1995, p. 10)⁷.

Traditionally, when we talk about the literature of the Ukrainian diaspora, we note that it was free from the pressure of censorship of the Soviet Union. In some centers, for example, in German, this led to the creation of a large number of both artistic and journalistic works that publicly condemned the Soviet state system, openly talked about repression, etc. in the same cells, archives of representatives of the Shot Renaissance were kept, works written on the territory of Soviet Ukraine in the 20s and 30s of the 20th century, but removed from the literary process under the pressure of censorship, were published. An example of such a publication is Yuri Lavrinenko's anthology, which presents the texts of Mykola Khvylovy, Mykola Kulish, Mykhailo Semenko, and other figures banned at the time in the Soviet Union. There are quite a lot of such cases. In particular, Ivan Bagryany's novel "The Hunters and the Hunted" (1944), which deals with political persecution in the Soviet Union, was published abroad, and before the collapse of the Soviet Union, this text was much better known in Germany than in Ukraine. Even though during translation this text was censored for the German audience⁸.

⁶ Most of the Ukrainian books published in the diaspora contain information about the organizations that contributed to the publishing of the publication. For example, in the Vertep series it is Sociedade dos Amigos da Cultura Ukrainana (Franco, 1981).

⁷ Because of this, the element of struggle against certain forms of social order, and therefore the idea of liberation, was dominant in Ukrainian life time after time, fighting back in writing as well... <> The "element of freedom" for a person, the unceasing liberation current, is the first, an idea that can be traced in the history of our writing. (Efremov, 1995, p. 10) [the translation is ours]

⁸ «The Hunters and the Hunted» was translated into German from English, not from Ukrainian, as might be expected given the presence of a large Ukrainian diaspora in New Ulm (Bavaria). At the same time, the work was somewhat shortened, the emphasis was shifted to the adventures of the main character, and not to descriptions of political persecution, etc.

One could assume that the Soviet censorship could not have any influence on the literature of the diaspora in Brazil. But it is not quite so. If we analyze in detail the composition of those publications that are kept in personal archives and libraries, we will see the same canon of Ukrainian literature that was built in the USSR before 1990. A few exceptions are the works of those authors who worked directly in Brazil or had close ties with Vira Vovk⁹. I would like to point out that she translated several important works, such as Ivan Franko's poem "Moses", published books and wrote prefaces with brief explanations of individual textual features, etc.

N. Rudnytska noted that Vira Selyanska cooperated with Soviet translators in the preparation of individual texts:

Working in collaboration with other diasporic literati and translators from the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, she aimed at making contemporary world literature accessible to Ukrainian readership and presenting Ukrainian literature in its entirety to Western readers (RUDNYTSKA 2022, p.3).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Vera Vovk actually worked with the canon and those symbols that were acceptable to the USSR. For example, when describing the life and work of Ivan Franko, she uses the signifier "Prometheus"¹⁰, which is typical for presenting this author in the Ukrainian tradition.

Regarding this canon of Ukrainian literature, which was adopted by R. Movchan in her article "Canon of the Ukrainian Classics and its Functioning in the Modern School" writes:

Radianskyi kanon zakladavsia vzhe v 1920-kh rokakh, a ne vid 1934 r. (tobto persho ho ustanovchoho zizdu radianskykh pysmennykiv), yak vvazhav M. Pavlyshyn. Vin buv ukorinenyi u narodnytskomu kanoni y zvodyvsia do takykh imen: Shevchenko, Franko, Lesia Ukrainka, Tychyna, Rylskyi, Sosiura, Bazhan, Malyshko, Holovko, Stelmakh, Honchar. (MOVCHAN, 2018, r. 13)¹¹.

If we analyze in detail both presented canons - in the version of Soviet literary studies and in the version of Sergei Yefremov (whom R. Movchan also calls a populist in his article and notes that this type of canon always put the author, his life path, the embodiment of the thoughts and hopes of the common people at the center in his work (MOVCHAN, 2018, p.

⁹ The real name is Vira Selyanska (1926-2022). In the Brazilian transliteration, Wira Wowk. Ukrainian writer, translator. Reference:

<https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CV%5CO%5CVovkVira.htm>

¹⁰ Compare with the title of the article by S. KOVALENKO (KOVALENKO, 2006). In general, Ivan Franko in the Ukrainian Soviet discourse had two characteristic nouns that were used to denote his figure: "Prometheus" and "stone mason".

¹¹ The Soviet canon was established already in the 1920s, and not from 1934 (that is, the first constituent congress of Soviet writers), as M. Pavlyshyn believed. It was rooted in the populist canon and consisted of the following names: Shevchenko, Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, Tychyna, Rylskyi, Sausyura, Bazhan, Malyshko, Golovko, Stelmakh, Gonchar. (MOVCHAN, 2018, p. 13) [the translation is ours].

12), they will turn out to be quite similar. The fact is that the same principle is placed in the middle of them – the principle of struggle. But, if S. Yefremov focuses on the national struggle (YEFREMOV, 1995), then the Soviet one - on the struggle for revolution, restoration of social justice and overthrow of the state system (MOVCHAN, 2018).

It should be noted that there existed and still exists another version of the history of Ukrainian literature, which focuses not only on the populist position of the authors, but on the aesthetic qualities of the works, and has the idea of the changing times. It is presented in the work of H. Grabovich "Toward a History of Ukrainian Literature" (GRABOWICH, 1981). However, it is not as widely used as the populist version.

This phenomenon has two reasons. First: the availability of books for translation into Portuguese or reprinting in Ukrainian. Those texts that were included in the canon of Soviet literature could be found in libraries. Some of them were kept in private archives of migrants. Accordingly, given the absence of any Ukrainian texts in the diaspora at the beginning of the 20th century, the choice of translators primarily fell on those who were better known and better represented.

The second is the need to create imprints of cultural memory that would preserve the Ukrainian identity. And it was expressed to a greater extent in the works dedicated to the national struggle.

It is interesting that certain things and names that at a certain time already fell under the ban of the Soviet authorities. They managed to get into the Brazilian diaspora of Ukraine. An example of this is the works of Ivan Dzyuba¹² and Ivan Svitlychny¹³, contained in the book "Girassol. Antologia da Moderna Poesia Ukrainiana" (WOWK, 1966). Both men represented the dissident movement and were for a long time deleted from literary life. However, the diaspora book, which could not be censored, remained. In this way, diaspora literature could preserve those figures that were removed from the discourse of Soviet Ukraine.

Domestic literature or literature for export: Ukrainian texts in the cultural life of the diaspora

One of the first tasks for immigrant literature is the formation of a safe, already familiar world for representatives of one nation who have found themselves in another

¹² A member of the dissident movement, arrested in 1972. Reference: <http://museum.khpg.org/1113910617>

¹³ A member of the dissident movement, arrested in 1972. Reference: <http://museum.khpg.org/1113995279>

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country. A similar thesis can be found in the article "Relevance of Diasporic Literature in the Globalized World" (KUMAR, 2022):

The migrants of one such country unite to make communities, which later on are joined by the people of similar communities in other countries, creating a composite society. The adopted country's cultural discourse influences the thinking, way of life, priorities, work and identity. (KUMAR, 2022, p. 13).

The construction of such a space takes place, among other things, at the expense of reproduction of samples of national culture. For Ukrainians, these were the reprints of books, the creation of museums and spaces of memory. They paid special attention to their language. In the work "Pessanka - da Ukraina para o Brasil" it is stated: "A grande Conquista para a cultura ucraniana no Brasil foi a vinda de padres missionários ucranianos, que mantiveram a unidade da língua falada e escrita" (KOTVILSKI, 2004, p. 20)¹⁴.

Meanwhile, as of 2023, in the general discourse, Ukrainian-language publications are mainly represented by books by Vera Vovk and Olena Kolodiy. They were published in the second half of the 20th century. Among the books presented to a wide range of readers, these samples are a minority¹⁵. Individual works found in general circulation are either bilingual or Portuguese. This is due to the partial assimilation of Ukrainians with Brazilians, the language of mixed families, in which the leading language of communication is no longer Ukrainian, but Portuguese.

The preservation of national identity in this case did not occur at the expense of Ukrainian-language texts, as one might expect, but at the expense of the preservation of individual symbols, for example, Easter eggs (KOTVILSKI, 2004). The lack of contacts with the territorial part of Ukraine partially led to the halting of the organic development of the language in the diaspora, however, these processes require separate detailed consideration and are not the object of research in the presented article.

Portuguese-language Ukrainian books, which represent a much wider array of texts, should build a connection with the culture of Brazil, and represent it for the local reader in the widest possible way. One would expect that this type of literature would promote certain ideas of the nation, even in translation (because of which, of course, a certain part of symbols, etc.

¹⁴ The great achievement for Ukrainian culture in Brazil was the arrival of Ukrainian missionary priests, who maintained the unity of the spoken and written language (KOTVILSKI, 2004, p. 20). [the translation is ours]]

¹⁵ We are currently talking about those publications that were already published on the territory of Brazil, and not transported by migrants from Ukraine. Books from Ukrainian publishing houses are found only in private collections, and it does not seem possible to systematically assess their composition and contents due to the dispersion of the Ukrainian diaspora.

is lost). After all, the following tasks of translated literature, its inseparability from national ideology, are noted in scientific studies:

Ideology and literature have always been closely intertwined. As literary texts are preserved on the basis of language, which in turn carries a culture, i.e. an ideology, we maintain that texts carry ideologies. It appears virtually impossible to mark off literary texts from their spatial and cultural context. (KUZDEROVÁ, BEDNÁROVÁ-GIBOVÁ, 2021, p.33)

However, apart from the works dedicated to the Holodomor, which will be discussed later (they stand apart from the main body of texts), books that would show exactly the Ukrainian position, reveal the Ukrainian identity, the Ukrainian political program (as it happened in the diaspora in Germany) in Brazil are almost there is no The main body of texts are Portuguese-language editions of iconic Ukrainian works in accordance with the contemporary literary canon. Among the features of such publications, we should note the following.

The first feature that catches the eye when analyzing sources is the presence of one text or a collection of poems in books dedicated to one author. This approach to the formation of publications is typical for Brazil, but not typical for Ukraine. In the second case, we will have mainly large editions that cover a significant part of the creative output (if not all of it, as in the case of Taras Shevchenko).

The second feature. Introductory articles to such editions (in those books in which they are included) mainly bibliographic information relating to this or that author is presented. At the same time, the peculiarities of Ukrainian images-symbols, traditional themes and plots are almost not considered. This makes literary texts more closed for the Brazilian reader, who obviously does not have knowledge of Ukrainian culture. Folklore texts are especially difficult to read in this context, as even in Ukraine they require a thorough commentary.

The third important point that should be noted in the context of the conversation about Ukrainian literature in the diaspora is the use of stereotyped images-symbols to promote culture, again, without detailed commentary. For example, in the edition of the poem "Moisey" in the preface, Vira Selyanska uses the image of Prometheus, which was often used in literary studies "O mito de Prometeu e o mito de Ivan Franco". Such an image, on the one hand, should make the writer closer to the reader, explain the essence of his work in a certain cultural context. However, the created image is largely unclear. The fact is that for Ukrainians who have been studying the work of Ivan Franko in schools since childhood and know his work from a series of different types of texts, the connection between Ivan Franko and the hero of ancient Greek myths is more understandable, especially considering what Franko

himself mentions Prometheus in one of his works. As for the reception of readers from other countries, who receive only one of his texts, and one that does not contain such images, for them such allusions do not add any additional meaning to the understanding of creativity. On the contrary, they make individual figures of Ukrainian literature more abstract.

In general, the peculiarities of the representation of Portuguese-language Ukrainian literature in Brazil do not make it possible to widely popularize it in society and create competition on the book market, at least for Russian texts (which contributes to the popularization of narratives about the allegedly absent Ukrainian literature and the complete domination of Russian culture and language on the territory of Ukraine. A similar situation is explained by several factors. The first is the lack of translators who would specialize in Portuguese-language artistic texts (meaning those translators who would be well acquainted with Ukrainian literature and could prepare not only high-quality texts, but also relevant comments).

In her interview, Vira Selyanska noted that she had plans to train Ukrainian translators, but they were not implemented:

Vzhe byly hotovi plany. Ya perehovoryla i domovylyasia z dyrektorem Instytutu ukrainoznavstva v Kyievi. Vsi papery byly pidpysani, i my nadislaly yikh do Kyieva. Nashi chotyry vykladachi zbyralysia pryikhaty do Kyivskoho universytetu. My chekali vidpovidi, ale yii ne bulo. Ne znaiu, chy ne zatsikavleni byly, chy brak koshtiv (KOSTIUCHENKO, 2008)¹⁶.

The second is the lack of adequate financing of state programs for the translation and popularization of the cultural heritage of Ukraine abroad. The third is a limited circle of persons who could do such things abroad. Most of the translations, which are currently presented in the libraries of Brazil, were carried out by Vira Selyanska¹⁷. In her interview on this topic, she wrote, "Chytachi v Brazyl'ii i Portuhal'ii maiut odne dzherelo, to ye moi vydannia. Ya namahalasia yaknaishyshe rozpovsiudyty ukrainsku literaturu, ale naibilshe v akademichnykh kolakh, sered moikh koleh po universytetu ta moikh studentiv" (KOSTIUCHENKO, 2008)¹⁸. This phrase also says a lot about the ways Ukrainian literature reaches the reader. In fact, these are university libraries. But even there, the popularity of

¹⁶ Plans had already been prepared. I talked and agreed with the director of the Institute of Ukrainian Studies in Kyiv. All the papers were signed, and we sent them to Kyiv. Our four teachers were going to come to Kyiv University. We waited for an answer, but there was none. I don't know if they were not interested or if there was a lack of funds (KOSTIUCHENKO, 2008) [the translation is ours].

¹⁷ Some translations were made with the help of other representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, for example, the prologue to Ivan Franko's poem "Moses" was made by Olena Kolodiy. As for Taras Shevchenko's texts, most of them were translated by Emilio Gavdyda.

¹⁸ Readers in Brazil and Portugal have one source: my publications. I tried to spread Ukrainian literature as widely as possible, but mostly in academic circles, among my university colleagues and my students (KOSTIUCHENKO, 2008) [the translation is ours].

Ukrainian texts is not too great, because the corresponding literature course is available only in some institutions. Therefore, most readers did not even receive information about such literature. We are talking, of course, about people who do not study Slavic studies.

The topic of the Holodomor in the Ukrainian diaspora

One of the most represented phenomena in the literary heritage of the Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil is the Holodomor. This is a common place of memory for many Ukrainians who live outside their country of origin. It is officially recognized as a genocide of the Ukrainian people at the municipal levels in Brazil: in the city of Prudentópolis, in the city of Rio de Janeiro¹⁹. Among other South American countries, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 was recognized as genocide of the Ukrainian people by Colombia, Paraguay, and Peru²⁰. It is worth noting that during the times of the Soviet Union, famine occurred on the territory of Ukraine more than once. Forcible seizure of grain from peasants, which led to mass deaths, was carried out both in the 1920s and in the 1940s (generally throughout the country due to drought and low harvests, locally as punishment for cooperation with representatives of other states)²¹. The grain obtained from the peasants was used as assets for the purchase of equipment, as well as to help to establish relations with neighboring states - at that time - Romania, Czechoslovakia, etc.

However, among all episodes of artificial famine, the Holodomor of 1932-1933 was the most difficult for Ukrainian cultural memory. We will not go into a detailed analysis of this phenomenon in the political and social life of the USSR in this investigation. Let's focus on the reception of the Holodomor in the Ukrainian diaspora of Brazil, because it, in our opinion, occupies one of the prominent places of memory²².

Why this event, and not the revolution and World Wars (both took place on the territory of Ukraine)? There are several explanations for this. The first is the sacred meaning

¹⁹ Holodomor Museum: <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/en/recognition-of-holodomor-as-genocide-in-the-world/>

²⁰ Holodomor Museum: <https://holodomormuseum.org.ua/en/recognition-of-holodomor-as-genocide-in-the-world/>

²¹ For example, during World War II, a part of Odesa region was under the control of the Romanian state for some time. After the return of Soviet power to these territories, an artificial famine was arranged, which led to the extinction of a significant number of peasants. In 1947, in this region, as well as in other regions of Ukraine, the norms of grain delivery to the state were several times overstated. The state did not provide any support to the peasants. As a result, numerous cases of starvation, dystrophy, and about 16 cases of cannibalism were recorded in the Izmail district alone. Link to the archive: <https://archive.ph/20130423172330/http://www.history.org.ua/?hrono&inyear=1947>

²² It is presented not only in Ukrainian books, but also in the Brazilian press: <https://portalbrasilempresarial.com.br/livro-inedito-sobre-o-genocidio-ucraniano-e-lancado-no-brasil/>

of land and bread in Ukrainian culture. To understand this phenomenon, it is worth turning to Ukrainian folklore sources. Sadovenko Svitlana writes that folk creativity has always had a great influence on the lives of Ukrainians and still determines important aspects of their behavior, the formation of new cultural elements, etc. (SADOVENKO, 2019).

Regarding the importance of bread for Ukrainian culture, Svitlana Khrypko and Olena Aleksandrova write the following in their research:

Bread is a sacral phenomenon, traditional artifact, moral and spiritual standard of relations, the main value factor of ethnic culture, holy criterion of metaphorical language, a symbol of any tradition that is reflected in any culture, particularly, in the Ukrainian culture. (KHRYPKO, ALEKSANDROVA, 2020, p 334)

Considering the great dependence of Ukrainians on folk culture, we can say that the fact of seizing bread and subsequent starvation due to lack of food was perceived by them as a manifestation of God's punishment, etc. This view is recorded in novels that were written in exile (for example, "The Yellow Prince" by Vasyl Barka). As for documentary comments about this, they have not survived. The reason for this is the lack of proper documentation of the Holodomor (which is also recorded in the work of SALIS, 2020).

The second factor that turned the Holodomor into a great tragedy for Ukrainians is the type of people who died during this period. Ludmila Kloczak in her research writes about this phenomenon: "Só então, pude compreender, em toda a sua dimensão dramática, a fome de 1933. Horrorizar-se com o porquê do desaparecimento das pessoas mais preparadas, mais cultas da aldeia, de todas as aldeias e cidades." (KLOCZAK, 2002, p. 70)²³.

Reflections on the Great Famine in the diaspora in 1932-1934 were recorded in the magazine "Labour", published at that time in Paraná. However, this magazine was published at that time exclusively in Ukrainian (PRADO, 2018, p.105). This led to preservation of the Holodomor theme as a certain closed, "home" theme, because it was not replicated to the public. It can be assumed that this situation led to a negative effect: since the Portuguese-speaking public, for the most part, did not know about such publications in 1932-1934 (the information was not translated), but received it in a consolidated form much later, already after the collapse of the USSR, in Brazilian readers may be prejudiced against this information. It could be perceived as unreliable, which further influenced the perception of this topic in general and the non-recognition of the Holodomor as a genocide of Ukrainians at the state level. This situation makes it possible to draw the following conclusion: that part

²³ Only then can you understand, in all its dramatic dimension, the famine of 1933. Be horrified by the disappearance of the most prepared, most cultured people from the village, from all the villages and cities. (Kloczak, 2002, p. 70) [the translation is ours].

of diaspora literature, especially journalism, which has been transmitted for a long time only within the limits of a narrow audience, will continue to have problems entering the discourse of the state in which the diaspora is located. That is why the books about the Holodomor, which are published now, do not arouse the interest of public.

At the same time, it is surprising that the books about the Holodomor, which were published in Europe (“The Yellow Prince” by Vasyl Barka, “Mary” by Ulas Samchuk), were not properly translated and circulated in the Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil. Even after the collapse of the USSR in 1991, when it seemed that Soviet censorship no longer affected the processes of popularization of individual texts, there was no recorded information about the existence of amateur translations into Portuguese of at least excerpts. This creates another problem in the assimilation of the Holodomor theme by the Brazilian community. This form of presentation, presentation in the form of individual newspaper clippings (PRADO, 2018) or dissertations (again, a limited form) creates the impression among readers that we are talking about a historical fact very distant in time. For them, there is no personal story behind this, which could be understandable to them in view of general human values, which they could deeply empathize with. There are no stories that present the Holodomor as a great generational trauma (which it is). Although there are examples of such Ukrainian literature, they are also represented in other diasporas²⁴.

Therefore, the Holodomor is discussed to a greater extent from the position of the chronicle and personal life experience. Those subtexts that are present in this discourse, for example, in the German diaspora: the story of the infernal origin of Bolshevik power, absolute evil, are insignificant in the Brazilian context. Most of the works, in particular “Holodomor (1932-1933): repercussões no jornal ucraniano-brasileiro *Pracia*” (PRADO, 2018), focus on the established causes of the famine, the search for material evidence of this fact of genocide, and the clarification of the reasons. The main goal of such investigations is to find an explanation as to why this event happened in the first place, and whether it could have been helped.

Therefore, we can say that the Holodomor is spoken about in the literature of the Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil rather limitedly and cautiously (considering not the number, but

²⁴ The recognition of the Holodomor (1932-1933) as an act of genocide against the Ukrainian people has a certain correlation with what exactly Ukrainian literature was presented there in the diasporas on this topic. So, for example, in Canada (the largest Ukrainian diaspora), information about this tragedy was presented at the level of personal stories and works of art. The country recognized the Holodomor as an act of genocide in 2003.

the type of publications). Accordingly, this trauma has not yet been fully worked out, although it is recorded as a special form of national trauma.

We would like to note that in the work of other centers of the Ukrainian diaspora, no less attention is devoted to the issue of the famine. We are talking not only about works of art ("The Yellow Prince" by Vasyl Barka), but also about a few journalistic articles. However, the Holodomor is not the central place of memory there. Along with it, such problems as the loss of the Ukrainian national state in the 1920s, the shooting of a generation of poets, etc., are analyzed. These topics are much more narrowly represented in the Brazilian diaspora. They are most fully represented by the intelligence of Ludmila Kloczak *Ucrânia: tempo de reinscrever lembranças* (Kloczak, 2002), which reveals various important periods in the history of Ukraine, including the issue of persecution of people for their political views *Proletariado ou nacionalismo burguês* (Kloczak, 2002, p.52-54), the final loss of independence of the Hetmanate²⁵

Final considerations: prospects for the development of culture in the diaspora

The analysis of Ukrainian publications in Brazil gives grounds to generally say that they serve to create literature for home use. That is, one that can be spread only among representatives of the diaspora, their close friends, students (if we are talking about teachers). As for the representation of the Ukrainian heritage for a wide Portuguese-speaking audience, the presented sources, given their specificity, cope worse with this. Some exceptions in this matter belong to the literature devoted to the topic of the Holodomor, as it is devoted, firstly, to a large-scale historical event, which is still debated, and secondly, it is understandable even without considering the national specifics. As for other topics, they are hardly represented in the local literary discourse. The study confirms that the perception of both artistic texts and important historical topics by representatives of other nationalities depends on how correct editions are formed, what types of texts are chosen for translation, and how widely they are represented.

However, I would like to point out that the Ukrainian diaspora in Brazil, despite social problems, partial loss of ties with the country of origin and partial assimilation, still retains an important layer of cultural memory. There are many publications that are representative of Ukrainians themselves. These are the texts of Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko, Lesya

²⁵ The Hetmanship is a Ukrainian autonomous state of the 17th-18th centuries, which was part of the Russian Empire, but had an independent government.

Ukrainka. Although they are not included in the literary discourse of Brazil, they allow representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora to keep in touch with their native culture.

In the conditions of the modern "great" war between Russia and Ukraine, those funds that currently exist outside the borders of our country are gaining special importance. After all, while libraries, museum funds and private archives are being destroyed in Kharkiv, Dnipro, Kyiv²⁶ and other cities, diaspora cultural centers remain relatively safe. In this case, the issue of implementing surviving samples into Ukrainian culture is only to restore ties and establish close cooperation between mainland Ukraine and communities in other countries. In the case of the communities of the state of Paraná, an important condition for productive work is the understanding of the Brazilian context, the processes of mutual influence between the two cultures, which are also little analyzed in the scientific literature.

The considerations presented in this work can be used in the analysis of the activities of not only Ukrainian, but also other diasporas formed on the national principle. It seems appropriate to pay special attention to the issue of selecting texts for translation in other countries, forming commentaries, introductory sections, etc., as well as creating not just a series of individual texts, but a systematic image of one's culture that could be interesting for other peoples. Obviously, the literary canon should be rethought and expanded so that the Ukrainian diaspora (as well as other diasporas of the world) could present another example of what a person can be, considering the national identity but not limited to it.

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²⁶ UNESCO confirms the destruction of 53 Ukrainian cultural centers from the beginning of 2022 due to Russia's war against Ukraine: <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-unesco-endangered-sites-russia/31782483.html>

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