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RELEVANCE AND EVOLUTION OF TAGOREANA IN UKRAINE: MAJOR TRAJECTORIES

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Using newly available materials not studied and researched before, this paper attempts to systematize the century old Ukrainian Tagoreana. The paper proposes the process of reception of Rabindranath Tagore, hitherto not done in Ukraine due to historical reasons, to be divided into six periods, from 1913 till today. In attempting this, it also explains what the concept Tagoreana implies, and why it should be used to trace and define the major trajectories in Ukraine which are rooted in philosophical enquiry, and include translation, interpretation and research of Tagore's texts, audio-visual and performing arts, as well as their aesthetic appreciation through original creations. Such periodization reveals the hermeneutic evolution of Tagoreana: until 1930s, unlike in the West, Ukraine's reception was not “orientalist”, Ukrainians upheld Tagore's wisdom, non-western approaches to empires, deep commitment to harmony between nature and humans, education for enlightenment. Later, Tagoreana was controlled by the state as Soviet power was consolidated over Ukraine. Tagore's Moscow visit was carefully planned by the Soviet authorities in 1930 for winning international recognition. Yet, during 1929–1955 Tagore's works were not published in the USSR, including Ukraine.

On the one hand, till the 1960s, the decades were full of terror against intellectuals, who played a big role in the reception of Tagore like Yukhim Myhayliv, Yuriy Siriy, Pavlo Ritter, Yevhen Pluzhnyk and Myhailo Ivchenko, and on the other hand, there was totalitarian state control, which used Tagore as an anti-imperialist and anti-colonial poet in the light of Soviet state ideology. The thaw of the 1960s and then perestroika of the 1980s led to some freedom, bringing poets and translators such as Victor Batiuk into limelight, although censored and banned writings of Tagore continued to be distributed underground among dissidents. Finally, the independence of Ukraine gave wider freedom and opportunities for reception of Tagore to be transformed from state-governed enterprise with political agenda to individual creative freedom and private initiatives. Analysis of Tagoreana trends shows that after the Russian aggression against Ukraine, reception of Tagore opens yet another dimension; it enables Ukraine's postcolonial literary dialog with India as well as with the Global South on an equitable, non-hegemonic keel, which provides possible cultural bases for decolonization.

Keywords: decolonization; humanism; Indology in Ukraine; postcolonial research; reception of Rabindranath Tagore; Tagoreana; translations

Rabindranath Tagore's towering personality and literary genius was opened to the world as a result of his winning the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913 as the first non-European native from a far off British colony, what was then India. This event renewed and stimulated intellectual interest that shook the whole of Europe from the second decade of the twentieth century and stretched beyond, to other continents, to give birth to what has come down till present times as Tagoreana¹, a well-defined stream or practice of studying and researching Tagore's creative world and ideas, in other words, all the intellectual outputs of Tagore [Ray 2011]. The term Tagoreana, in the narrow sense was used first by the Visva-Bharati University set up by Tagore in Santiniketan, a city some 200 kilometers from Kolkata, which was the family estate of the Tagores, to indicate all publications of Tagore, in other words, the literary and intellectual heritage of Tagore [Ray 2011, 257]. In 1922, Tagore gave all rights of his works to Visva-Bharati and in 1923 the Visva-Bharati Grantham Vibhaga (VBGV), whose director Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis, in consultation with Tagore and eminent philologists like Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay, Kalidas Nag set the standards of spelling, publication ethics and norms for Tagoreana. VBGV was the pioneer institution for setting the standardized trends of Tagoreana [Ray 2011, 258]. Over time, study of Tagore in other places in India and countries of the world had focused on these traditions of Tagoreana, but stretched beyond to imply reception and creativity not only of Tagore, but also inspired by Tagore, as demonstrated by representatives of second and third generation Indian diaspora and India experts². The more conventional words in Ukrainian "Tagoroznavstvo" ("таґорознавство") or "Tagoroznavchi studii" ("таґорознавчі студії") or Tagore Studies also encompass curricular scientific study of Tagore's works as object, their reproduction and application. Thus, Tagoreana is widely used to also include the philosophy, spirit and style of Tagore and its adaptation to various other original creations of the subjects, who are studying Tagore. It is in this wider sense that the word Tagoreana (Таґоріана) is used in this paper on Ukraine.

Aimed at an analysis of the relevance, evolution, sources and trajectories of Tagoreana in Ukraine, a key state in East Europe, selected original writings, translations, depending on their availability over a period of hundred years have been attempted from the point of chronology and history. This attempt focuses on the major trends of history and accompanying socio-political realities, and does not detail on the literary merits of individual authors, translators and analysts of Tagore. To understand these developments within Ukraine, it is also necessary to have an overview of the historical processes as well as Tagore's reception by intellectuals at that time in Europe.

Emerging from the philosophical and psychosocial juxtaposition of the Orient and the Occident, certain stereotypical receptions of Tagore's persona refer to him as a mystic, or in some cases, a wise man from the East, a messiah with charismatic personality in long robes, resembling a saint. Tagore's reception of this kind in Europe was partly a continuation of the intellectual euphoria, expressed by Raymond Schwab in his foundational treatise *The Oriental Renaissance: Europe's Rediscovery of India and the East 1680–1880*, about those generation of researchers of the Orient between 16th to 19th century Europe, who focused on studying, translating and interpreting ancient Sanskrit literature, philosophical and religious texts [Tribedi 2007, 126]. However, what Schwab upheld as an influence of India on the West in 1950, Edward Said saw it through the prism of his tenets laid down in his work *Orientalism*, in the European management of the "exotic other" or the East, although he praised the English translation of Schwab's book in 1984 in the foreword he authored. To them, Tagore, the "other" wise man, was a mystic from the East.

There were also voices that attributed Tagore's genius and talent more as product of influence and exposure to Western and Christian values than the intrinsic wealth of knowledge of the East [Dissanayake 2015], precisely because of the fact that Tagore was

considered a product of the Bengal or Indian Renaissance, a movement of comprehensive intellectual, cultural and social reform, at the helm of which stood the westernized as well as the local educated elite.

Amidst this swing of different opinions, academic and literary pursuits in Europe somehow concurred in understanding Tagore's non-religious, unorthodox spirituality, the deep concept of freedom, the alignment with reality and humanism that contrasted with the then war-mongering and colonial Europe and added a modernized dimension to Indology. Notably, it enhanced the human face of Indology or Indic studies. Suffice it to mention Tagore's historic dialogue on the nature of reality with Albert Einstein in 1930 that upheld humanism to greater philosophical heights [Ghose 2016, 221]. In this context, it needs to be highlighted that the countries of East and Central Europe added a newer dimension in their reception of Tagore, what can be viewed from a decolonizing perspective, in the context of the geopolitical and cultural realities faced by their societies, being the "other", the "East" of Europe. It is this socio-political humanist reception that Tagore enjoyed from scholars of Central and Eastern Europe, devoid of orientalism, who saw him as the only beacon with the required intellectual and moral strength to bridge the East-West divide, or as a correctional mirror for western orientalism. One of the first translators of Tagore from original Bengali to Czech and eminent Indologist, Prof. Vincenz Lesny in his book *Rabindranath Tagore, his Personality and Work* [Lesny 1939], wrote:

"The process of his development is in harmony with the tradition of Indian philosophy, from insight into the beauty of nature he arrived at a feeling of confidence in the destiny of mankind, from a conviction of the nobility of man's mission in the world, he derives a wise philosophy, which culminates in his unhesitatingly positive attitude towards life and in his later conception of the divine nature of mankind. He is not interested in heaven or celestial deities. It is in this world that man's progress towards perfection must take place, and therefore, life in this world is the object of his preoccupations" [Lesny 1939, 285–286].

Renowned Czech scholar on Tagore Martin Hribek also points out this sociopolitical context, adding that the reception of Tagore in Czechoslovakia was related to the Czech national revival, which coincided with the Bengal Renaissance in the 19th century [Hribek 2014, 333]. Tagore's communication with countries of Europe in the 1920s was neutral towards political developments, but towards the mid-30s, his stand against fascism became stronger. Few isolated cases prove this fact. On October 15, 1937, five paintings of Tagore, titled *Mask*, *Girl in a red robe*, *Mask*, *Two birds* and *Portrait*, gifted by him, on display at Berlin's Baroque Crown Prince Palace, which also housed the National Gallery, were included in the "deportation list" to be removed and later in 1941–1942, were included in the inventory "degenerative art" to be destroyed or abandoned³. Two days after the Munich agreement was concluded on September 30, 1938, whereby Czechoslovakia was occupied by Hitler, on October 2 Tagore wrote a poem "Prayoshchitto" (প্রায়শ্চিত্ত, "Atonement"), foretelling the coming of justice and condemning the growing bloodthirst of Nazism⁴. The world is aware of the volumes of translation of Tagore's works made in pre-World War II Poland, and their popular appeal, albeit the tragic history of the orphans staging Tagore's drama "The Post Office" under the tutorship of Janusz Korczak, prior to their annihilation in the Treblinka concentration camp. The drama "The Post Office" was translated five times by different translators in Poland. However, Tagore's works were not published during the Second World War. Elsewhere, in the Balkans, in Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, the reception of Tagore was one of situational identification, when particular historical experiences of the locations or countries of reception find its association with the ideas of Tagore. Reception was followed by assimilation and universalization [Jelnikar 2010, 93]. According to Imre Bangha, who observed the

very different receptions in Hungary, notably, Tagore was first received enthusiastically as an old wise man from the East, only to sink into oblivion a few years after; he was later resurrected as an anti-fascist and anti-imperialist during the communist rule in USSR and East Europe. He writes, “the fact that Tagore’s oeuvre lends itself to interpretations so different from each other shows the truly universal nature of the Indian poet’s writing” [Bangha 2010, 57]. Indeed, Tagore developed the concept of world literature in his 1907 essay “Viśvasāhitya”, according to which, world literature is not “an addition of the national literatures of the world” – that is a “very provincial approach”; rather, it is a philosophical notion based “upon his advice to find the world in the self”. Thus, being universal, it also emphasizes on particularity and the “individual as it exists in relation to the whole” [Chaudhuri 2021, 261].

Be that diverse as it may, reception of Tagore in Ukraine followed its own geopolitical course and the analysis here will be based on historicism and will be hermeneutical, focusing on the interpretations during each period of reception of Tagore. Being under imperial influences, Ukraine, parts of which were split among the pre-1917 Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, Tagore’s ideas were met with openness and reverence. This reverence is not exactly similar to the reception of Tagore among non-European nations-colonies, such as the Arab world, which found in Tagore a person championing the cause of oppressed nations, apart from the fact that Tagorean philosophical and literary traditions were thought to have been influenced by Sufi mystics like Jalaluddin Rumi and Hafiz Shirazi [Rahman 2022]. Nor was it fully identifiable with the Central European national movements, although significant communication, scholarly exchanges existed between Ukrainians and East and West European academic circles. Ukrainian intellectuals of the early 20th century, involved in studying, translating and researching Tagore, perceived his works as conspicuous, containing no apologetic justification for “*servitude*”, and this was applied to their cause against oppression, be it under Czarism, or Austro-Hungarian domination, or the lordship of the Polish “*szlachta*”. These intellectuals belonged mostly to the modern era in Ukrainian literature and culture, for whom Taras Shevchenko’s monumental legacy, Ivan Franko’s and Lesya Ukrayinka’s profound erudition and vibrant works paved the road for embracing modernity, that is, taking into account the positive Western ideas, but adding a decolonizing or “national awareness” (which really translated into mother language awareness, due to absence of full statehood) element to it. It may be stated that linguistic awareness was congruent to national identity. Despite language censorship and control over centuries by Czarist Russia, Ukrainian literature was a world level *fait accompli*, or established fact, which showcased the existence of the Ukrainian nation even under different empires, without enjoying statehood. The stress on Ukrainian language as *lingua franca* determined the future statehood and identity issues. This was reflected in the intellectual movements based in Lviv, Kyiv or Kharkiv, no matter under whose governance these regions were.

Ukrainian intellectuals approached Tagore, first of all, as a unique person from the East with a new message for the civilization. With this core realization in mind, over the past century, Tagoreana in Ukraine evolved at par with global and European historical events, the two World Wars, rise and fall of communism, affecting Ukraine’s destiny as a state and nation. The 20th century brought such event in the world of Tagoreana as the centenary of Tagore, as well as literary movements in Ukraine, like the “*shistdesyatniki*”, liberal literary wave during the thaw of the 60s, and the “*visimdesyatniki*”, another wave of free expression during perestroika of the 80s, and thereafter the complex process of nation building, democracy and the open market etc. after 1991. Embarking on the 21st century, Ukraine’s interest in Tagore did not wane, his relevance is analyzed and newer efforts of Tagoreana were born.

Based on these historical criteria and on an analysis of available works of selected intellectuals, writers and poets (because not all works are catalogued and systematized;

many were lost because of totalitarian torture and incarceration of intellectuals), the main stages or periodization of Tagoreana, running in parallel to historical periods of Ukrainian literature, may be attempted as follows.

Opening Tagore in Ukraine: First Generation of Tagoreana

First period begins with the opening of Tagore after his Nobel award, the first translations, appreciations by poets and writers as well as their own reflections and creations on Tagore that lasted from 1913 till the entry of Ukraine into USSR. This period was especially dramatic, the Russian empire faced the First World War, the October Revolution, calling for an end of Czarism, Ukraine had a short lived independent state, and then was entangled in civil war and finally, Soviet Russia emerged. The first period shows the pioneers of Tagoreana, among them are the first translators: Yukhim Myhayliv⁵ (1885–1935), Yuriy Tyshchenko⁶ (1880–1953), Mykola Holubets⁷ (1891–1942), Myhailo Lototskiy⁸ (1885–1978), Mykola Kovalchuk⁹, Myhailo Rudnytskiy¹⁰ (1889–1975), Pavlo Ritter (1872–1939), Ivan Stavnychiy¹¹ (1891–1973). Those who analyzed his creativity were Andriy Nikovskiy¹² (1885–1942), Lyudmila Starytska-Chernyakhivska¹³ (1868–1941), Prof. Sophia Rusova¹⁴ (1856–1940), Josafat Skruten¹⁵ (1894–1951), Oles Babiy¹⁶ (1897–1975). Apart from translating Tagore, Myhailo Rudnytskiy and Pavlo Ritter also analyzed and wrote about Tagore and his ideas and philosophy [Gabor 2023, 11]. The task of this paper is to analyze the macroscopic or major trends of each period, not the creations of individual authors; therefore it was considered reasonable to provide short biographic information for each of the above authors in the form of notes at the end of the paper.

Compiled and edited by Vasyl Gabor, a volume “Rabindranath Tagore: v ukraïns’ko-mu literaturnomu dyskursi pershoïi tretyni dvadtsiatoho stolittia. Proba antolohii”, was published in 2023, where he traces the development of Ukrainian Tagoreana during the first three decades of the 20th century [Gabor 2023]. According to this publication, the first publications about Tagore appeared in 1913 in the December 15 issue of the Lviv based journal *Iliustrovana Ukraina* and an article by Andriy Nikovskiy in the December 1913, issue 64 of *Literaturno-Naukovy Visnyk*. It discusses various news of literary life – futurism, Tagore and Vasilisk Gnyedov’s creations. Thereafter, there were multiple reviews and literary criticism of translations of *The Gardener* in 1918. A translation of first Indian writer in English Dhan Gopal Mukherjee’s (1890–1936) essay “Tagore: A Portrait of the Poet” by Myhailo Lototskiy was published in the 142nd Issue of *Ukrainskiy Visnyk* in Lviv in the year 1921. In Ukrainian translation the title of the essay was “Індія Рабіндраната Тагора” (“India Rabindranata Tahora” – “India of Rabindranath Tagore”). An essay on Tagore’s educational philosophy by Prof. Sophia Rusova was published in Prague in 1929 in the Ukrainian M. Drahomanov Pedagogical Institute’s journal, where the said Institute was then relocated [Gabor 2023, 236–237]. Oles Babiy’s article “Дещо про Рабіндраната Тагора” (“Deshcho pro Rabindranata Tahora” – “Some words about Rabindranath Tagore”) was first published on 30 July 1921, in 148th issue of *Ukrainskiy Visnyk* in Lviv. On another occasion, with great pleasure and emotion, Babiy describes witnessing the mesmerizing effect of Tagore’s speech and recitation of own poetry in Prague [Gabor 2023, 15]. In an article published on October 15, 1926, in *Dilo*, Babiy writes:

“Хто не чув Такура – той не знає, що є краса слова, що є мистецтво!... Яке вульгарне все наше революційне і пролетарське мистецтво. Аж соромно за нас!” (“Who did not hear Thakur, does not know what the beauty of the word means, what art means! ... How vulgar is all our revolutionary proletarian art. It is so shameful!”) [Gabor 2023, 195].

One observation with regard to the above quote is that Rabindranath’s family name, which in Bengali is pronounced as “Thakur”, was anglicized into Tagore in Europe by

the poet himself as well as his ancestors. They used the surname Tagore in all communications with Europe and the world. However, it is in the Czech language that “Thakur” is used. It was started by the great linguist and orientalist Vincenz Lesny, first translator of Tagore from Bengali original works in Europe, who brought Czech Tagoreana closer to original by following the Bengali pronunciation. Titles of his works reflect this de-anglicizing approach closest to phonetics and orthography in Bengali: *Ukázky poesie i prosy – Rabindranáth Thákur; z bengálštiny. Praha: Orientální bibliotéka, 1914 (Selected poems and prose – Rabindranath Thakur: from Bengali. Prague: Oriental Library, 1914)*. Later, we know that a street honoring Rabindranath in Prague is called “Ulice Thákurova” (“Thakur Street”)¹⁷. Oles Babiy’s above article in Ukrainian refers to his impressions after listening to the poet’s speech in Prague, where Ukrainian intellectual life thrived through intensive communication with their peers. Babiy studied in Prague. Therefore, it may reasonably be concluded why Babiy wrote Rabindranath’s surname as Thakur in Ukrainian. Result of use of a second language for translating Tagore’s works – one of the major impacts of not knowing Bengali, a language in which Tagore wrote the main body of his works – was that there were different spellings and transliterations of his name – Rabindranath Tagore. Overall, there are 18 variations of spelling Rabindranath Tagore in Ukrainian from 1913 till 1939 [Gabor 2023, 15].

The above period 1913–1932 in focus is crucial: pre-Soviet, pre-revolutionary; as well as the period following the 1917 revolution was full of radical opinions. True to the spirit of these times, the abovementioned authors appreciated Tagore and their Ukrainian translations, despite difficulties of going through third languages, reflected their deepest regard. There were also those who were critical of Tagore, such as Dmytro Dontsov, who, as editor of *Literaturno-Naukovy Visnyk* during 1922–1932 did not publish translations or materials on Tagore and other foreign authors, arguing that the said journal was not for these modernist “fame-seekers”. Josafat Skruten, who belonged to the Christian clergy himself, in the March issue of Lviv based students’ journal *Postup* in 1922 wrote a long essay on Tagore, not denying his greatness, but limiting it to the fact that Tagore “is yet to understand the Christian spirit, although he is very close to it”. Skruten associated Tagore with somewhat irrational and mystical, which made him have different expectations. At first, he utterly identified Tagore with godliness and prophecy, but ultimately, he could discover a simple mortal man in Tagore, not a prophet, and hence his critique in this essay [Gabor 2023, 185–192].

Most of the above mentioned authors, except Pavlo Ritter were never included in the anthologies published during the Soviet times as well as during the years of Ukraine’s independence after 1991 until recently. Most of the representatives of this period, who opened Tagore to Ukraine, had tragic end of their lives, being persecuted, sentenced, killed under terrible circumstances of Stalinist terror, or were forced to flee abroad. Among them were victims of Stalinist terror: Yukhim Myhayliv, Pavlo Ritter, Andriy Nikovskiy, Lyudmila Starytska-Chernyakhivska, Yevhen Plyuzhnyk, Myhailo Ivchenko. Those who migrated and could never come back to Ukraine were Yuriy Tyshchenko (USA), Oles’ Babiy (USA), Myhailo Lototskiy (USA), Prof. Sophia Rusova (then Czechoslovakia), Ivan Stavnychiy (USA).

The first translations of Tagore in Ukrainian by Yukhim Myhayliv (who used two pseudonyms Yu. M. and Yu. Mikh) (see Ill. no. 1) appeared in 1917, entitled *Уривки з “Місячного серпа” / Уривки з “Misyachnoho serpa”* (English translation of the Ukrainian title in the journal – *Excerpts from the Lunar sickle*), consisting of three poems in the May issue of the journal *Шлях / Shlyakh (Way)*, which was published in Moscow and then in Kyiv. A fuller version in the form of a book *Місячний серп / Misyachniy serp* (English translation *Lunar sickle*) appeared in 1918. Using his pseudonym “Yu. M.”, Yukhim Myhayliv wrote a foreword “Раб-ін-Дранат Тагор: Критичний етюд” / “Rab-in-Dranath Tagor: Krytychniy Etyud” (English translation of the title of the foreword –

“Rabindranath Tagore: Critical Study”) to this book, where he described the contents of forty poems about the life and thoughts of children, translated into English by Tagore himself in prose form [Gabor 2023, 10]. The title of the book reflects the way the crescent moon is described in Ukrainian language, looking like a scythe or sickle, and therefore this book may be identified as translation of Tagore’s “The Crescent Moon”. It is also interesting to observe the way Mykhayliv wrote Tagore’s name, breaking it into syllables. This demonstrates the many ways the surname and name of Tagore were written in Ukraine and other countries, described in this paper earlier [Gabor 2023, 15]. Mykhayliv suffered repression, was exiled later to Russia and died there due to failing health. Another translation by Mykola Holubets, “Під небом Індії. Огородник” / “Pid Nebom Indii. Ohorodnyk” (“Under the Indian sky. Gardener”) appeared in the Lviv journal *Shlyakh* in 1917, and in 1918 in the same journal, Holubets published his second translation, “Під небом Індії. Поет” / “Pid nebom Indii. Poet” (“Under the Indian Sky. Poet”). Yuriy Siriy’s translation of “The Gardener”, under the title “Садовник” / “Sadovnyk”, also was published in 1918 [Gabor 2023, 11] (see Ill. no. 2). Many more translations appeared in the 1920s, most of them from English, some from German, by Ivan Kedryn and Yaroslav Mandryukov. Interestingly, Russian as a language was not used, because Russian translations in their turn were made from English or French or German texts of Tagore. Most translations also were prose versions or lyric miniatures [Gabor 2023, 12].

There are works of translation found recently, which are still not analyzed or have not entered any collection until now. The Lviv based journal *Svit* published translations of Tagore’s poetry in prose form in its 10th issue in May of 1928, the author of these translations is Dr. M. Halyn¹⁸. These translations are under the heading “Fragments” and are grouped as “Song for the Child”, “First Jasmine”, “Gift” and “I am from”.

In another 13–14 issue in July 1928 of the same journal another Tagore’s publication is seen, entitled “Stealer of Sleep” by the same translator, Dr. M. Halyn.

It was not until Pavlo Ritter (1872–1939), the great Indologist, well versed in Sanskrit and also Bengali, entered the horizon in the 1920s that original translations of Tagore were made available of eight poems in 1927 in the first issue of *Shidnij svit* (*The World of the Orient*), later published as a volume of the All-Ukrainian Scientific Association of Oriental Studies [Ritter 1927]. The following year Ukrainian translation of five more poems from *Gītāñjali* (*Song Offerings*), (verses No. 17, 18, 19, 21 and 63 in the original Bengali edition, published in Calcutta, as Ritter himself indicated in endnotes) as well as Tagore’s essay in Bengali on Kālidāsa’s “Meghadūta” (“Cloud Messenger”) from the journal *Prācīn Sāhitya* (*Ancient Literature*) (Calcutta 1914), were published [Kovalivskiy 1961]. Recognition of Ritter’s translation of “Meghadūta” into Ukrainian in verse form from original Sanskrit and Tagore’s essay from Bengali was acknowledged in bibliographic analysis by Bengali litterateur Sushil Kumar De in his book *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa* in 1957. This may be considered to be the first recognition of Ukrainian translations from original texts in foreign Indology [Ohnieva 2023, 7]. Reception of Tagore by Pavlo Ritter deserves a deeper treatment into a separate publication. Within the scope of this article, several aspects are worth mentioning. First, Ritter’s strong command over Sanskrit enabled him to learn, understand and translate Bengali, a rarity in Europe of those times, not to speak of that part of the Soviet Union which was Ukraine. Second, the choice of the eight verses is spectacular in revealing the Tagorean spirit [Ritter 1927, 3–6, 8]. All but one are songs, melodies composed by Tagore, and Ritter, himself a good musician, studied the melodies in the published volume “Music of Hindostan”, where also the lyrics in original as well as their English translations by Tagore were printed [Strangways 1914]. Ritter revealed the musician in Tagore, apart from the poet. The songs cover different themes, ranging from individual freedom (If no one responds to your call then go on alone; Коли на твій заклик не відкликається ніхто, Іди один. যদি তোর ডাক শুনে কেউ না আসে তবে একলা চলা রে) dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi; freedom of will, overcoming

superstitions and false rituals (Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! Благання і обряди, молитви, поклони. Облиш їх всі! ভজন পূজন সাধন আরাধনা সমস্ত থাক পড়ে), beauty of the nature (Ось на ланах рижових промінь сонячний і тіні в хованки граються! আজ খানের ক্ষেতে রৌদ্র ছায়ায় লুকোচুরির খেলা রে ভাই, লুকোচুরির খেলা), universalist values (On the seashore of endless worlds children meet. На березі край світового океану зійшлися діти, জগৎ পারাবারের তীরে ছেলেরা করে মেলা।). Ritter also translated poetry in prose forms. Notwithstanding the few number of Tagore's works, the quality of reception of Tagore through Ritter's translations from the original Bengali, be it in poetry or prose form, can be viewed as foundational for Ukrainian Tagoreana, mainstreaming its innate spirituality. One of the brilliant approaches of Ritter was to translate Tagore's essay in Bengali on Kālidāsa's "Meghadūta" (Cloud Messenger) from the journal *Prācīn Sāhitya* (Calcutta 1914), thereby showing the effectiveness of how Indian poets received each other; he preferred not to interpret works of Kālidāsa from the standpoint of European scholarship [Kovalivskyi 1961, 77–78]. Another case in point is his remark on comparative literary analysis from the historical perspective: «who knows such stories of Tagore as the "Hungry Stone" or his novel "Home and the World", or "Gora", will find clear connections in them with that of the novels of Dandin, where, the ancient art of Indian storytelling was developed, both for maestros as well as for amateurs» [Kovalivskyi 1961, 5–6].

This period also marks the rise of two other Ukrainian poets Pavlo Tychyna (1891–1967), Yevhen Pluzhnyk (1898–1936), who admired Tagore and wrote poems, appreciating and addressing him. In 1924, Pavlo Tychyna wrote "Viter z Ukrayiny" ("The Wind from Ukraine"), where he contrasts the buoyant revolutionary spirit like a gusty wind from Ukraine with the gentle life like a still, calm breeze of Bengal, "where Tagore lives, no rebellions there: a man made of clay"¹⁹, (сидить у Бенгалії Рабіндранат, нема бунтарства у нас: людина з глини), a man malleable and composed. In another poem in 1925, "Do koho hovoryt" ("To whom to say"), he underlined the problems within the party and leadership of the Soviet Union. This is surely a monumental poem, where he appeals to a non-western, world-renowned poet Tagore in the absence of the Russian poet Alexander Blok (1880–1921), who had died by that time, or because of the conspicuous silence of Maxim Gorky (1868–1936), who did not protest at that time. In this poem, Tychyna questions the falsehood, arbitrariness, inequality of "one class" rule (then dictatorship of the proletariat), and asks: "Rabindranath dear, where are our sickle, hammer and fields?" (Рабіндранате-голубе, та де ж той серп нам, молот і лани?), making a faint tangential reference to faltering reforms in agriculture²⁰. However, ideological orthodoxy was only hardened for collectivization and caused famine of the 1920s, on which Tychyna wrote his saddest poems, "Загупало в двері прикладом, заграло, зашкрябало в шибку". (A rifle-butt hammered at the door, knuckles rapped on the window), describing the horrors of children being eaten up by parents. Holodomor of 1932–1933 followed later.

Tychyna's creations in later years raise controversies; critics point out his compromise of being both "national-Ukrainian" as well as "soviet" and adaptation to the state and party regulated conditions and framework of the USSR. However, they also confirm, that it is in Tagore that Tychyna found harmony in connecting with God, Universe and his own self. Critics also find the prose like form in Tychyna's poetry to have been derived from Tagore, and opine, that Tychyna united western and eastern ideas and forms and synthesized them into his original works [Kharchuk 2010]. Another curious fact for researchers is that, according to Yuri Lavrinenko, who extensively researched and published literary criticism of creative works of Tychyna, possibly none else than Pavlo Ritter acquainted Tychyna with interpretation of original texts of Tagore, because the first translations of Tagore's "The Gardener" and "The Crescent Moon" into Russian (*Lunnyy serp* or *Vozrozhdayushchaya luna*) and Ukrainian (*Misyachniy serp*) were of poor quality.

This fact is mentioned by a senior researcher of the Institute of Literature of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Dr. Roksana Kharchuk in her article as follows:

“1916 у Москві з’явився переклад зб. індійського й бенгальського поета ‘Гітанджалі’ (Жертовні пісні) (1912) за ред. Ів. Буніна. ... Саме з англійського прозового підрядника, що не передавав музичності першовзору (відомо, що Тагор не так декламував, як співав свої твори), й здійснив переклад М. Пушешніков. Українською мовою у Києві 1918 року вийшли дві зб. Тагора ‘Садівник’ і ‘Місячний промінь’ у слабких, за спогадом Лавріненка, перекладах. Цей же дослідник твердив, що познайомити Тичину з бенгальським оригіналом міг його приятель, знавець і перекладач санскриту Павло Ріттер” [Kharchuk 2010]. (“In 1916 in Moscow, a translation of the collection of Indian and Bengali poet ‘Gitanjali’ (Song Offerings) (1912) appeared, edited by Ivan Bunin... It is from the prose translations in English, which did not convey the music of the original (it is a known fact that Tagore did not just recite his works but he sang them) that M. Pusheshnikov translated. In 1918 two collections of Tagore were published in Kyiv in Ukrainian, ‘Sadovnyk’ (the Gardener) and ‘Misyachniy promin’ (the Crescent Moon), the translations, according to Lavrinenko were of poor quality. He also confirmed that Tychyna might have been acquainted with the contents of the Bengali originals by Pavlo Ritter, his friend, expert and translator of Sanskrit”) [Kharchuk 2010].

The fact of connection between Pavlo Tychyna and Pavlo Ritter cannot be excluded because Tychyna, from the year 1923, was relocated in Kharkiv, which was then the capital of Soviet Ukraine. He actively participated in the literary society “Vilnoyi akademii proletars’koyi literatury (VAPLITE)” (“Free Academy of Proletarian Literature”) [UINP 2023]. Tychyna returned back to Kyiv in 1934 [Zahorulko 2021]. It is during this period from 1923 to 1934, that Tychyna wrote his famous poems, appealing to Tagore – “Viter z Ukrainy” in 1924 and “Do koho hovoryt?” in 1925. Notably, Ritter also was active in Kharkiv and his translations of the poems of Gitanjali were published in 1927 and in 1928. These biographic coincidences in timeline and the above quote from the article of researcher Dr. Roksana Kharchuk, referring to Yuri Lavrinenko’s assertion (Yuri Lavrinenko²¹ studied in Kharkiv and wrote a book on Tychyna’s works), indicates real connection between these two personalities. Although this is a topic of separate and detailed research, not the focus of this paper, some light can be thrown based on original sources.

To expedite this connection between Tychyna and Ritter, below is a quote from a book, which contains a collection of a series of articles by Yuri Lavrinenko, published in the journal *Suchasnist (Modernity)*. The book, published in 1980, during Lavrinenko’s lifetime, is entitled *Pavlo Tychyna ta yoho poema “Skovoroda” na tli epokhy (spohady i sposterezhennya) (Pavlo Tychyna and his poem “Skovoroda” against the background of an era (reminiscences and observations))*, describing Lavrinenko’s reflections on personal encounters and discussions with Tychyna [Lavrinenko 1980]. During a trip to a resort in Georgia in 1931, Lavrinenko happened to be in the same sanatorium “Noviy Aphon” with Pavlo Tychyna. In the first chapter “Na novomu Aphonі” (“At the Noviy Aphon”) of this book, Lavrinenko devotes the sixth section “Skhodoznavchi vizii” (“Oriental visions”), where he writes the following:

“Що Тичина був ентузіаст (і, скільки мені відомо, також і знавець) грузинської і вірменської мов – це було відомо. Знаний був і його не абиякий внесок у розгортання українського сходознавчого руху 1920-их років: в оті сходознавчі технікуми, в Українську асоціацію сходознавства, з її об’ємистим двомісячним журналом *Східній світ* (Харків, 1927–1931, потім перейменовано на *Червоний Схід*, потім закрито). Відомо була дійова дружба Тичини з найчільнішими тоді вченими-сходознавцями як Агатангел Кримський, Андрій Ковалевський, Павло Ріттер, знавець і перекладач санскриту, поеми Калідаси ‘Хмара-Вістун’, бенгальської прози та віршів Рабіндраната Тагора. Я знав Ріттера як професора Харківського університету. Павло Григорович висловив з приводу Ріттера захоплення, – як багато мертвих і живих мов може людина активно

тримати в живій пам’яті”. (“It was known that Tychyna was an enthusiast (and, as far as I know, also an expert or connoisseur) of the Georgian and Armenian languages. His significant contribution to the development of the Ukrainian Oriental studies movement of the 1920s was also known: in particular to the Oriental studies technical school, to the Ukrainian Association of Oriental Studies, with its voluminous bimonthly journal *Shidnij svit* (*The World of the Orient*), (published from Kharkiv during 1927–1931, later renamed *Chervony Shid* (*Red Orient*), later closed). Tychyna’s active friendship with the then most prominent scientists-orientalists such as Ahatanhel Krymskiy, Andriy Kovalivskiy, Pavlo Ritter, an expert and translator of Sanskrit, Kālidāsa’s poem ‘Khmara-Vistun’ (Cloud Messenger), Bengali prose and poems by Rabindranath Tagore was well known. I knew Ritter as a professor of the Kharkiv University. Pavlo Hryhorovych expressed his admiration for Ritter – how many dead and living languages a person can actively keep in his living memory”)²² [Lavrinenko 1980, 17].

The above testifies to the fact of intellectual friendship between Ritter and Tychyna. This is also supported by O. D. Ohnieva in her article on Pavlo Ritter, stating that the archives of Pavlo Tychyna and Maksym Rylskiy may provide information on Ritter as they were connected by joint work within the framework of oriental studies institutions, such as “Vseukrayins’ka asosiatsia shodoznavsiv”, in particular, its Turkish, Persian and Japanese departments [Ohnieva 2023, 11]. Tychyna was more fascinated with “Gītāñjali” (“Song Offerings”), influence of which is reflected in his “Sonyachni klarnety” (“Clarinets of the Sun”), published in 1918. However, in later years, this face of Tychyna is not found as he adapted to the needs of the hour.

Another young Ukrainian poet, Yevhen Pluzhnyk (1898–1936) also appealed to Tagore’s creations; his poem “Sira mzhychka za viknami” (“Gray drizzle outside the windows”) is a wonderful lyric composition in his poetry book *Rannya osin* (*Early autumn*) in 1927, given in original and my translations in Bengali and English below.

<p>Сіра мжичка за вікнами. Ніч. Кімната. І сьогодні таке, як вчора... Перегортаю Рабіндраната Тагора. Крізь щілини віконниці ніч знадвору: Доле людська, чудна яка ти, – На сторінках чужого твору Правду свою шукати!</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1927 Євген Плузник</p>	<p>Gray drizzle outside the window. A quiet night inside. Today, the same, as the day before... I turn the pages of Rabindranath Tagore. Through the window panes peeps the night: Wonders of the fate humane, seek for thee, – On the pages of an alien craft I look for my Truth to be! (translated by Mridula Ghosh)</p>	<p>ঈশে গুঁড়ি জানালার পারে। রাত্রি নিবিড় এ ঘরের ভিতরে। কালকের মত আমার মত আছে... রবীন্দ্র রচনার গুঁড়ায় পাতার ভেঁজে।</p> <p>রাত্রি দেয় গুঁড়ি জানালার ফাঁকে নিয়তির গতি, কি অপূর্ণ অতি, – ভিনদেশী সৃষ্টির গহন পল্লীরে অনন্দের সত্য খুঁজি ফিরে</p> <p style="text-align: right;">বাংলা অনুবাদ - মৃদুলা ঘোষ</p>
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Pluzhnyk’s lyric poem reflects on the warm reception of Tagore as to search for the eternal truth even in the works of an alien poet from a faraway land, amidst the dull daily life, gray mist and droplets of drizzle. Vasyl Gabor refers to commentary by Ukrainian poet Leonid Cherevatenko to this poem above, published in the collected works of Yevhen Pluzhnyk in 1988. Cherevatenko recalls reminiscences of Maria Yurkova (sister of Pluzhnyk’s wife), according to which, Myhailo Ivchenko (1890–1939)²³, an Ukrainian writer of those times, who communicated with Tagore directly in the 1920s was the inspiration behind this poem in particular, and in general, behind encouragement for Tagoreana in Ukraine. The fascinating story is that Ivchenko, while visiting Pluzhnyk, used to ring the doorbell three times rhythmically, resembling the music of the syllables “Rabindranath-Tagore”, and Pluzhnyk opened the door, pronouncing the name of Tagore in the

same rhythm [Gabor 2023, 16]. Unfortunately, Pluznyk was arrested in 1934 under charges of nationalistic terror, and was sentenced to death; later this sentence was changed to long term imprisonment in Solovki camp, where he succumbed to tuberculosis [Tokman 2013].

No archive materials exist to substantiate Myhailo Ivchenko's correspondences with Tagore, except for occasional episodic mention of it [Ivchenko 1946]. However, it can be assumed that his quest for harmony between humanism and nature explains his interest in Hryhoriy Skovoroda as well as Tagore. For ignoring the post-1917 proletarian spirit and inclining towards intellectualism and deep philosophical musings [Savchenko 1927, 189–190], he was persecuted as early as 1929 along with nine other writers for the “*Union for Liberation of Ukraine*” (*Spilka vizvolennya Ukrainy*), a mythical “counter-revolutionary organization”, used for staging a show trial and intimidation to stop Ukrainization. They were charged with counter-revolutionary activities, but were given a suspended sentence. Later, in 1934, after the shooting of such Ukrainian intellectuals as G. Kosinka, D. Falkivskiy, O. Vlyzko, K. Bureviy, and the arrest of Yevhen Pluzhnyk, Mykola Kulish, and other writers, Mykhailo Ivchenko left Ukraine for the Caucasus, where he died of sudden illness in 1939 [Shevchuk 1993].

Many poets and writers of this period of Tagoreana in Ukraine are now being studied and analyzed. Their names were wiped off from history as a result of persecution and terror, and this vacuum for many years has led to marginalization of Ukraine as well as countries of the post-Soviet space among the world scholarship of Tagoreana. Vasyl Gabor's book fills up a blank that existed in Ukrainian Tagoreana up to the end of the 1920s, beginning of the 1930s [Gabor 2023].

Ukrainian Tagoreana under Stalinist terror and prohibition

The second period is from Tagore's visit to Moscow in 1930, till the end of the 1950s, which is marked by overarching state control over freedom of speech, narratives, social messages, creativity, centralization and russification of academic discussion and censorship by Moscow, a process of revolutionary expediency that began after 1917, but intensified in Ukraine at the end of the 1920s to seek legitimization and world recognition of the Soviet state. International contacts and prominent figures, used for this purpose, included leftist forces in the capitalist West as well as leaders and opinion makers in non-Western societies. Tagore as a towering figure was a possible target and his visit was carefully orchestrated by the Soviet authorities. From this period starts the state “ownership” of reception of Tagore, or certain objectification of Tagore that continued till the thaw of the sixties.

During his visit to Moscow in 1930, Tagore's interview to the state newspaper *Izvestia* was banned for publication by Stalinist regime; it was not published until 1988 during perestroika [Sen 2005, 113]. However, it was published in *Manchester Guardian* soon in 1930, where Tagore said,

“I must ask you: Are you doing your ideal a service by arousing in the minds of those under your training anger, class-hatred, and renegefulness against those whom you consider to be your enemies? ... Freedom of mind is needed for the reception of truth; terror hopelessly kills it... For the sake of humanity, I hope you may never create a vicious force of violence, which will go on weaving an interminable chain of violence and cruelty... You have tried to destroy many of the other evils of [the tsarist] period. Why not try to destroy this one also?” [Sen 2005, 113].

His essay “Letter from Russia” was banned by the British after it was published in English translation in 1931. The Soviets disliked it too. Only in 1956, with serious censoring and editing, this travelogue was published for Soviet readers in Russian language. As pointed out by Prof. Sergei Serebriany of the Russian State Humanities University,

the Letters in original are numbered, unlike in the Russian version, and the Letter No. 13, criticizing the Soviet regime, as well as the conclusion, the longest part, were omitted [Som, Serebriany 2016, 178]. Tagore's dual reaction to the Russia of 1930, expressed in praise and criticism arose from "two of his strongest commitments: his uncompromising belief in the importance of 'freedom of mind' (the source of his criticism of the Soviet Union), and his conviction that the expansion of basic education is central to social progress (the source of his praise, particularly in contrast to British-run India)" [Sen 2005].

Between 1929 and 1955, no books of Tagore were published in Russian [Som, Serebriany 2016, 176]. The same was true for Ukraine. In Russia and Ukraine it coincided with the start and end of Stalin's rule – a time of total persecution of the intelligentsia, severe purges, terror, the Second World War, and post war division of Europe into political East and the West. Additionally for Ukraine, it was the policy of discrimination of the Ukrainian language, Holodomor, to exterminate the rural middle class, and break the backbone of the "bread-basket" of Europe, as well as the repression of everything bearing Ukrainian identity: language, culture, education. Paradoxically, Tagore visited Moscow in 1930, the same year, when a show trial, the largest of its kind was held in Kharkiv, which accused intelligentsia and writers, among them were those, who translated and/or wrote on Tagore, of being "counter-revolutionary" and "enemy of the people".

Tagore's remarks that his poems are for native speakers of Bengali, while his paintings are for everyone, were meaningful for his trips to foreign lands in the 1930s, opening another route of dialog with people. Exhibitions of his paintings were organized in each country he visited, paintings were gifted, sold and money was raised for Santiniketan, the first private university in India. Notably, as mentioned earlier in this paper, Tagore's stand against fascism and Nazism grew stronger and until his demise in 1940; through his famous essays and poems he condemned fascism and the war. His works were not published in Nazi occupied Europe; paintings gifted by him to German museums were removed [Sen 2005].

East Europeans' reception of humanist Tagore encouraged them in fighting fascism and totalitarianism during the war, which afterwards crystalized into a non-Western, anti-colonial and anti-fascist figure more than the spiritual mystic from the East, not without the intervention of socialist governments, ideologically loyal to the Soviet bloc.

Soviet Union's reception of Tagore during the post-Stalin era of thaw, in the late 1950s was also such a carefully prepared image of an anti-fascist and anti-colonial poet, at par with the official political Cold war era Soviet ideology. His spiritual texts with reference to God were less prioritized than his socio-political and other writings. The presence of almost colonial-like Russian hegemony over other nationalities in the USSR and Soviet hegemony over countries of the Socialist bloc was never allowed to be in public discourse. Ukrainian Tagoreana during this period could not objectively develop due to the same reasons. Additionally, most of the Ukrainian creative elite being killed and destroyed, original creations in Ukrainian language were censored and approved from Moscow. During the thaw after 1955, certain loosening of control was there, in Ukraine, the journal of world literature, *Vsesvit*, which was closed in 1934, was revived again in 1958 and the foundation for publishing translations into Ukrainian were opened again, as explained later in this paper [Mykytenko, Hamaliy 2004, 5].

Three decades of Ukrainian Tagoreana: Revival in spite of State Control

The third period started with the worldwide celebration of Tagore centenary in 1961 and lasted till 1991, the demise of the USSR and emergence of independent Ukraine. The celebration of Tagore's centenary was a memorable event in the USSR almost at par with the most important event of the year – Yuri Gagarin's spaceflight on April 12. Preceding Tagore's centenary in 1961, the Soviet government had set up a committee for celebrating his jubilee. A 12-volume collection of his works was published in 1961; a special

stamp and a commemorative medal were released. Plays and ballets based on Tagore's works were staged all over the USSR. Tagore's name was everywhere: on television and the radio, his portraits and poems were printed in all the magazines and newspapers. In 1961 Matvei Volodarsky, a movie director, made a documentary called "India's Great Son: Rabindranath Tagore in the USSR" [Kononov 2016, 166]. A volume dedicated to the centennial celebrations, published in 1961, included an article from the writers of the USSR, members of the Soviet committee set up for Tagore centenary, among the co-authors of which was Pavlo Tychyna, the Ukrainian poet, also a member of the centenary celebration committee. Giving quantitative statistical accounts in the style of government reports, the article stated:

"In the Soviet Union, Tagore's books have been published 180 times in 18 languages of the peoples of the USSR, in an edition totaling about three million copies. These figures are eloquent evidence of the tremendous popularity of Tagore in our country" [Auezov et al. 1961, 301–305].

After the centenary celebrations, during the thaw of the 1960s in Ukraine, those who appreciated Tagore like Pavlo Tychyna (1891–1967), Mykola Bazhan (1904–1983), Vasyl Mysyk (1907–1983), Maksym Rylskyi (1895–1964) were joined by new names of the younger generation like Ilye Mazorye (1938), Borys Oliynyk (1935–2017), Ivan Drach (1936–2018), Dmytro Pavlychko (1929–2023), Victor Batiuk (1939–1996), Les Taniuk (1938–2016) and others.

In this context, it needs to be mentioned that the Ukrainian journal of foreign literature *Vsesvit*, which was revived in 1958, played an important role in publishing translations into Ukrainian from foreign languages. Started in Kharkiv in the 1920s, it was closed in 1934. Since 1958, occasionally throughout this period, it published translation of Tagore as well as works on Tagore, contributing to Tagoreana. In 1958, it published Tagore's poetry translated by Myhailo Ihnatenko (1919–2004) in Issue 3, and translations of Tagore's poems from English by Lesya (Olena) Trebins'ka (1885–1967)²⁴, in Issue 10 in 1960 (although, most of Trebins'ka's Tagore translations were never published), and by Mykola Bazhan in Issue 1 in 1963 [Mykytenko, Hamaliy 2000, 39]. In 1961, in the Tagore centenary year, *Vsesvit* published an essay on Tagore by famous translator and poet Hryhoriy Kochur (1908–1994) in its Issue 5 and an interview with Maitreyee Devi, a close associate of Tagore in Issue 9 entitled "I was Tagore's assistant". In 1971, during Tagore's 110th birth anniversary, *Vsesvit* also released a special Issue 1 "Testament of Rabindranath Tagore". Volodymyr Polyek wrote an article "Wise music of poetry" dedicated to the 110th birth and 30th death anniversary of the poet in Issue 8 in 1971. Translations of Vasyl Mysyk appeared in the same journal in 1978, that of Victor Batiuk in 1976, 1983 and 1987 [Mykytenko, Hamaliy 2000, 39]. In 1986, Ukrainian poetess and translator Natalka Bilotserkivets (born 1954) dedicated her essay on the 125th birth anniversary of Tagore, "Nazustrich liudyny maibutn'oho" ("Facing a person from the Future") in Issue 5 [Mykytenko, Hamaliy 2000, 152].

However, these publications were episodic and occasional. Comprehensive and holistic reception of Tagore all over the USSR was state controlled and managed mainly through Russian language translations only. Tagore was read in Russian translations all over the Soviet Union and hence, there was some kind of linguistic "Russification" of Tagoreana for the people of the fourteen other republics. In addition, censorship was exercised with regard to the content of Tagore's works. Fragments and parts from Tagore's works which explicitly expressed the poet's positive attitude to private property, freedom of expression, spirituality were censored. These censorships of the 1960s were looser and not as tight as during the 1930s–1940s; his anti-colonial image was emphasized more as anti-imperialist and anti-war, clearly fitting to the needs of Soviet foreign policy, building alliance with India as a key non-aligned country during the Cold war. Tagore's universal

humanist messages were not banned, nor were the study of Bengali among Indologists and scholars. The second 12-volume edition of collected works of Tagore was published in 1965 in Russian. In the 1970s during the Bangladesh liberation war, the fact that for singing Tagore songs, people were jailed and attacked, enraged most Soviet citizens [Kononov 2016].

Official delegations included writers from friendly countries, who visited the USSR. The editorial office of *Vsesvit* hosted such delegations [Mykytenko, Hamaliy 2000, 683–693]. In spite of that, writers in the USSR were unable to communicate, travel and exchange opinions with their Western and Eastern counterparts as freely as they did during the beginning of the 20th century, opportunities for accessing Tagore in other European languages were limited in the USSR. Translations of Tagore in Western European languages were not available for public use, except rarely in old book stores or private collections. Most writers had the limited choice of communicating with their East European counterparts or colleagues in other republics of the USSR. The medium was crucial and more often than not, it was Russian. It restricted access, communication and impacted creativity. Suspicion regarding the authenticity of Russian translations of Tagore without censorship was also high among the writers, for this reason they communicated with students from India and Bangladesh, studying in the USSR and asked them to bring originals, English translations and also explain them the meanings [Taniuk 2001, 7].

Despite these obstacles of communication, Tagore was read by all educated people, and was especially revered in dissident circles, who resorted to reading in *samizdat/samvydav*, which means informal typed versions of underground literature (for example, the essay “Nationalism”) or, rarely, Tagore’s works and translations, smuggled from abroad. The name of Les Taniuk, Ukrainian dissident, theater and film director as well as multiple times member of the Ukrainian Parliament, deserves mention in this context. In a conversation with the author of this paper, Taniuk noted that Vyacheslav Chornovil, another prominent Ukrainian dissident, was interrogated after the police found a typed *samvydav* copy of Tagore’s essay “Nationalism” in his suitcase²⁵. In the Foreword entitled “Flowers from India” to his translations of Tagore, which was published after thirty years only in 2001, as Taniuk was not allowed to be published during Soviet times, he explains how, as director of the “Klub tvorchoi molodi” – “Club of the Creative Youth” (later banned by the authorities), he felt emotionally close to Tagore while conducting performances, staging some poems of Tagore with Cambodian, Indian and Bangladeshi students, who brought the Bengali originals from their motherland [Taniuk 2001, 7]. Taniuk invited writer and translator Mykola Lukash at one of the rehearsals and the latter was said to have acknowledged the proximity of Ukrainian and Bengali cultures. Taniuk mentions about the fact that a series of radio programs with his recitation and reception of Tagore were recorded by Nina Novoselytska in 1968, but due to the Prague Spring that year, he was fired from the Moscow theater for signing the protest petition and the road to clearance of these radio programs was forever blocked [Taniuk 2001, 8].

Taniuk also pointed out the intent of his generation to create authentic cultural products in Ukrainian, including reception of Tagore. Commenting on his approach to Tagore, he stated that they were more interpretative than direct translation, because of his being a theater director, who interprets a play, rather than the litterateur, who translates it philologically. Thus, Taniuk’s works from the point of poetic purity might not be ideal translations, but their interpretative value cannot be undermined. He confirmed the forever sacred essence and the highest form of aesthetics that Tagore symbolized for his generation of Ukrainians, and wrote:

“Мені хотілося, щоб це був Тагор для України... Мені важливо було, щоб ці тексти сприйняли – як власні – друзі з мого кола: Алла Горська, Іван Світличний, Борис Нечерда, Славко Чорновіл, Неля Корнієнко, Василь Стус, пані Оріся Стещенко – наша славна остання українська княгиня з роду Старицьких, Володя Прядко. Поступово

з'ясувалося, що в Тагора справді багато спільного – з українським мелосом, з українською символікою, що він дуже надається для української мовної мелодики”. (“I wanted that this Tagore should be for Ukraine... It was important for me that these texts will be taken as their own by my friends: Alla Gorska, Ivan Svitlichnyi, Borys Necherda, Slavko Chornovil, Nelya Kornienko, Vasyl Stus, Madam Orysia Steshenko, last princess of the House of Starytsky and Volodya Pryadko. Gradually, a conclusion could be drawn that Tagore’s works have a lot of common elements with us – with Ukrainian music, Ukrainian symbols, metaphors and the melody of the Ukrainian language”²⁶) [Taniuk 2001, 7].

After Prof. Pavlo Ritter, another translator of Tagore into Ukrainian from original Bengali language is Victor Batiuk, a Ukrainian diplomat and poet. Batiuk’s excellence in translation of Tagore is based on his deep, academic knowledge of Bengali, the language of Tagore. Knowledge of English and French as well as international exposure as a diplomat allowed him significant degree of open communication (see Ill. no. 3). Many poetries, proses and essays of Tagore were translated by Batiuk, one of the first poetry collection was released in 1981 with a preface by him, where he acknowledges his teacher, Alexander Gnatyuk-Danilchuk (1923–2008), a revered Indologist, expert in Sanskrit and Bengali, a Tagore scholar in Moscow, for having inspired him, a student from the land of Taras Shevchenko, to engage in Tagoreana [Batiuk 1981a, 24]. True to the spirit of thaw of the 1960s and the 1980s, Batiuk’s attempt was to always translate from the original and occasionally he resorted to help of the author of this paper for translation and contextual explanation. During the years of perestroika and glasnost, Batiuk translated Tagore’s *Letters from Russia* exclusively from the Bengali original²⁷ and pointed at several passages missing (censored) in the Russian version translated by M. Kafitina, published in 1956 (the year of 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, formally announcing Khrushchev’s thaw and destalinization), then republished in 1957 and the last time in 1965 in the 12 volume *Collected Works of Tagore* [Tagor 1956]. Another important issue, as pointed out earlier in this paper, is that, in the original Bengali, the letters are numbered, while in the Russian version not, and Letter no. 13 and the conclusion, the longest critical part, are missing [Serebriany 2016, 178; Tagor 1956].

Batiuk’s reflections of Tagore are deep in scholarship and intellectualism, demonstrated in the Foreword he wrote for his Tagore translations, which is relevant today. In the 1940s, members of the Marxist Cultural movement of the 1940s Bengal, were critical of Tagore, applying Marxian methodology [Ghosh 2020, 108], and Bimalchandra Ghosh, a prominent poet of that movement, opined that in the poem “Shahjahan”, Tagore praises the Emperor, ignoring the lives of hundreds of workers, whose hands built the wondrous piece of architecture. Citing the criticism as untenable, Batiuk cites the poems of Tagore “People at work”, “Universal harmony”, which express the opposite. Pointing out the danger of interpreting Tagore from a definite political standpoint, with a very subtle reference to the official Soviet Tagoreana, he writes:

“Марно б ми намагалися викласти тут зміст і суть усіх праць Тагора, та й немає потреби це зробити. Сам поет, крім деяких тлумачень алегорій.... своїх поезій не пояснював, за його переконанням, художні твори мусять самі за себе промовляти. Словами Тагора: Будь-яке намагання розтлумачити картину виявить її минуцність, але не прилучить нас до радості художника. Отож, провівши тебе до дверей внутрішнього святилища, тут я прощаюсь з тобою, мій читачу” [Batiuk 1981b, 22–23]. (It is pointless to explain the contents and essence of all the works of Tagore, there is no need for it. The poet himself, apart from explanations of some allegories... did not explain his poetry – he was convinced that literary works speak for themselves. In the words of Tagore: “Any attempt to explain a painting will reveal its transience, but will not allow us to partake the happiness of the painter. So, getting you to the doors of this internal sanctorum, my reader, I bid goodbye to you”²⁸).

As mentioned earlier, in 1987, the year of the Festival of India in the USSR, the famous journal of Ukraine for foreign literature called *Vsesvit* published several issues with Batiuk's translation of Tagore's such works as the dance drama *Shyama*, many poems and the novel "Ghare baire" [Mykytenko, Hamaliy 2000, 39]. This period of great activity and looser state control in modeling the reception of Tagore soon paved its way to the fourth period, which starts with the full independence of Ukraine in 1991.

Widening Tagoreana into different genres

During the fourth period from 1991 till 2010, post-independence Ukraine faced tougher realities in its search for a new identity in the international community, building the state, democracy, free speech and the market economy. An essay by the celebrated writer of Ukraine Oles Honchar, "Тагор приходить на Україну" ("Tagore is coming to Ukraine"), written in 1991, published many times in periodicals as well as in publications of Tagore translations of Batiuk as preface in 1997 [Batiuk 1997] and as afterword in translations of Taniuk in 2001 [Taniuk 2001], aptly characterizes this period of rediscovering Tagore. A review of this book published on 21 August, 1997, in the Ukrainian daily paper *Den* by Inna Dolzhenkova entitled "Рабіндрнат Тагор у вишиванці" ("Rabindranath Tagore in vyshyvanka") imagines Taras Shevchenko in Indian attire "dhoti" and Tagore in Ukrainian traditional shirt "vyshyvanka" and proposes to look not at the West but at India for explaining Ukraine's problems²⁹. Certain inertia of reception of Tagore as an anti-colonial and anti-war poet was present, but the social, aesthetic and philosophical aspects were highlighted more as the overall state control was gone. This gave rise to enormous creativity in Tagoreana, which stretched beyond the world of poetry, translation and literature through private and non-governmental initiatives for the first time after many decades. These years of transition in Ukraine also saw two publications, a collection of translations by Victor Batiuk and other authors in 1997, published posthumously after Batiuk's tragic accidental death, and another one "The Gardener" by Les Taniuk in 2001, with a foreword "Flowers from India" by Taniuk and the article by Oles Honchar, mentioned above.

Tagore's ideas of integral education in the milieu of nature and in consonance with universalism are propagated and to some extent implemented in the central Ukrainian city of Kropyvnytskyi (formerly Kirovohrad) at a private institution, the Pedagogical Academy, by its then Rector, Prof. Volodymyr Vasylenko, an admirer of Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi's ideas himself. Vasylenko analyzes Tagore's positive impact on Gandhi in his book *Pedahohika nenasylstva (Pedagogy of Non-violence)* [Vasylenko 2008]. Scientific articles and research on Tagore's literary works in Ukraine did not stop, although their scale and scope became somewhat less. "Gītāñjali" and "The Gardener" continued to evoke interest, through which researchers try to analyze Tagore's experiments with form and imagery in twentieth century Bengali literature [Gilevych 2009].

Audio visual performing arts constitute an important aspect of Tagoreana. Rabindrik form of dance, that was conceived by Tagore by fusion of classical and folk dance forms of India under the tutorship of Uday Shankar, and performing art was also of great interest to Ukrainians. In 1998, a group of final year students of the Kyiv National I. K. Karpenko-Karyi University of Theatre, Cinema and Television, under the guidance of their teacher Yuri Nepsha and the author of this article as consultant, staged the dance drama "Tasher Desh" ("The land of cards") as part of their graduation performance, which was praised by theatrical critics. The group was from the minority community of Hungarians from the Transcarpathian city of Berehovo and they translated dialogues in the play in their language [Kononov 2016, 167].

Another novelty was that the poems of Tagore often became lyrics of songs set to tunes of their own by composers from various parts of the world. In Ukraine the name of the famous music composer and director Ivan Karabyts, also spelt Karabits (1945–2002)

is famous for setting to tune five poems of Tagore, to be sung as songs (see Ill. no. 4). In his website karabits.com they are enlisted: “Несе нас кохання одвічна ріка...” (Nese nas kohannya odvichna rika) soprano; “Ти на березі у пісні...” (Ty na berezi u pisni) tenor; “Хоча свята відсвяткували...” (Khocha svyata svyatkuvaly) bass; “Знов у небі заспівала флейта...” (Znov u nebi zaspivala fleyta) baritone; “Чуттям ненависна олжа...” (Chuttyam nnavisna olzha) mezzo soprano. Dates of creation of these works are unknown, but their popularization took place after 1991³⁰.

Efforts of enthusiasts from the civil society also gave birth to the Tagore Center, a project of the East European Development Institute in 2009, aimed at supporting Tagoreana, learning of Bengali language, supporting newer translations of Tagore into Ukrainian, uniting literati – poets, writers, researchers, social scientists, Indologists, performing artists, painters and politicians. Yearly celebration of Rabindra Jayanti, part time evening course in Bengali, repertoire of Tagore songs by a lead soloist of the National Opera, Mariya Kononoff, release of a disc with Tagore’s songs 24 tracks were valuable inputs, which later matured into Tagore’s 150th birth anniversary celebrations in 2011 [Som, Serebriany 2016, 14].

Increase in non-state initiatives of Tagoreana

Marking the fifth period of Tagoreana in Ukraine (from 2011 till February 24, 2022), celebrations of the 150th anniversary of Tagore in Ukraine, unlike fifty years back, was mainly a non-governmental initiative, in partnership with the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts in Kyiv and media partners, like the newspaper *Den*, *BBC Ukraine*, TVi channel, Radio Kultura and others. A Three Week Event “Where the Mind is Without Fear: The Creative World of Rabindranath Tagore” from September 21 till October 9, 2011 started with opening of the first ever exhibition of reproductions of Tagore’s paintings on September 21 in Kyiv³¹, with greetings from Ms. Mamata Banerjee, Chief Minister of West Bengal to Tagore Center and visits by Indian dignitaries. This exhibition of Tagore’s paintings was the first venue that the Minister of Tourism of India, Mr. Subodh Kant Sahai, during his official three day trip to Ukraine visited, and he was warmly greeted with traditional bread and salt in the Ukrainian way³². Apart from the usefulness of public private partnership between Tagore Center and the National Museum, media coverage opened new trajectories of reception of Tagore. The Ukrainian daily newspaper *Den* published an analysis of the significance of the 150th anniversary of Tagore’s birth celebrations in Ukraine “У пошуку гуманістичних ідеалів” (article “In Search of Humanist Ideals”) by journalist Mariya Semenchenko³³. Other articles by the same author emphasized on the paintings “Мистецтво заради інтелекту” (article “Art for the Intellect”) and the personality (article “Wonder Person Rabindranath Tagore”)³⁴. A Ukrainian TV channel “TVi” made a nationwide advertisement of the event through an interview with the author of this paper on September 8, 2011³⁵. Among information partners of the event was *BBC Ukraine*, which also published a report “Lessons for Ukraine from Tagore”³⁶.

Within the framework of these celebrations, on September 30, 2011, an evening of poetry, “Від поета до поета” (“From the poet to the poet”) was held, where poets of the old and new generations offered tributes by reciting their translations of Tagore or own verses dedicated to Tagore. Dmytro Pavlychko recited his translations of “Bird in a golden cage and a bird from the forest” (“Khachar pakhi o boner pakhi”), “Remembering mother” (“Mone pora”) and “Sudden meeting” (“Train-er kamaray hothat dekha”), made for this occasion. Les Taniuk read out his translations of the poet. Another celebrated poet of Ukraine, Ivan Drach recalled his visit to Jorsanko in the late 80s with a delegation to Kolkata. New generation poets included Oleh Kotsarev, Vano Krueger, Iryna Shuvalova and others, and they read out their poems dedicated to Tagore. A detailed reporting summarized these recitations by the Ukrainian national TV channel UTR³⁷.

In the year 2012, Ukraine's national poet Taras Shevchenko's 200th Anniversary was duly observed by the Tagore Center through displaying the paintings of Tagore in the National Shevchenko Museum in Kyiv during the period from August 9 till September 9, 2012. The main presentation ceremony was opened by Bohdan Hawrylyshyn, renowned Ukrainian Canadian and Swiss economist and world figure, who in his speech on August 14, 2012, recalled the role of Tagore in opening and knowing India in his life³⁸. Series of events including a discussion on the role of Tagore and Shevchenko for India and Ukraine respectively, flute concert, workshops of painting and performing arts were held.

Similar events with this exhibition of paintings in partnership with regional museums were organized in several cities of Ukraine, such as Lviv, Lutsk, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Vinnytsya and Khmenlnitskiy during 2014–2016, with writers, poets and intellectuals. Popularity of this exhibition is proven by the fact that it was repeatedly displayed in Kyiv again in 2016. International poetry reading and appreciation was also attempted through presentations of Rumi, Kahlil Jibran and Tagore in 2016, celebrating the 155th birth anniversary of Tagore³⁹.

Focus on Tagore during this period also resulted in opening a parallel between Tagore's creations and Taras Shevchenko of Ukrainian literature, primarily due to the 200th birth anniversary of the latter in 2014; one such comparative research by Olha Kolomyiets, an ethnomusicologist from Ukraine, who has also researched Indian classical music, attempted an analysis of the musical traditions of Tagore and Shevchenko as factor of national recognition and awareness [Kolomyiets 2014, 126], offering an inward look into the genre-based musical significance of their creations in their respective societies as elements of cultural revival. Even earlier, drawing such parallels can also be found in a review of the collection of Tagore's works published in 1997. Media reports of the 2016 exhibition in Kyiv of the Tagore Center also characterized Tagore as "Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko", making it easier for the people to fathom the importance of Tagore in India, as reported by Mariya Katayeva in the newspaper *Vechirniy Kyiv (Evening Kyiv)*, dated 28 July, 2016⁴⁰ and by Yelyzaveta Krasnichenko in the 29 July, 2016 issue of the magazine *Kultura i zhyttia (Culture and Life)*⁴¹.

It is only towards the end of 2014 that the Ukrainians came to know about Paraska Plytka-Horytsvit, who lived a life of recluse in the Carpathians, being incarcerated under false charges during Stalin's regime and not able to get educated beyond fourth grade in elementary school. However, her quest for knowledge in general made her the best ethnographer of the Hutsuls, a special sub-group of Ukrainian ethnos and she was called the "Homer of Hutsulshchyna". Her interest in particular about India was unique, and lay beyond the institutional framework of academia. It is demonstrated in her hand made books and writings on Brahma Samaj, Rammohan Roy and Tagore, including drawing of two portraits of Tagore and her own translations of Tagore's verses. Her archives are still being systematized⁴².

One of the interesting developments in the world of music is that, in 2018, Lyudmila Kerekesha made a Ukrainian version of the lyrics of a fragment from "Shesher kobita" ("The Last Poem") by Tagore. The roots of this creation go deep into the Soviet past. The same fragment of Tagore's poem was adapted into a Russian language song lyric by Adelina Adalis, and was used in the film "Vam i ne snilos" ("You would not have dreamt of it"), released in 1981, in the USSR⁴³. Olexander Ksenofontov translated the same into Ukrainian earlier in 1998, which was sung by the famous Ukrainian singer Ruslana Lyzhychko in 1998⁴⁴. Both these translations by Kerekesha and Ksenofontov were made from the Russian and not from Bengali. The fascinating story of this song is that the lyrics, translated and adapted by Adelina Adalis were set to music by Alexei Rybnikov in 1970, but the song became very popular after it was sung in the above-mentioned film by Iryna Otiyeva and Vera Sokolova. Uzbek vocal group "Yalla" and its lead singer Farukh Zakirov added some eastern style of rendition. Later, it was sung by many famous

singers, made Tagore more popular in the USSR, and is still known in the post-Soviet space⁴⁵.

Despite these efforts, today in Ukraine, young people are not that aware of Tagore as it was some 35 years ago, the fact acknowledged by young people themselves and by their parents as well. To make the difficult task of remembering and pronouncing Tagore's name easily, people resort to a riddle. Shocking as it may seem to many, the riddle is – to remember Tagore's name, one has to mention three red things – *Rubin* (Ruby in Russian and Ukrainian), *Granat* (pomegranate in Russian and Ukrainian) and *Kagor* (Sweet red wine in Russian and Ukrainian) – and joining these, it makes – Rubin-Granat-Kagor, which is a clue to – Rabindranath Tagore [Kononov 2016, 168].

The above mentioned facts mar the image of the encyclopedic personality of Tagore, whose ideal of humanity being in agreement with nature and the role of education for nation building are as indispensable for any state during its formative period as sun for the plants. On its way to transformation for the past thirty years, Ukraine is not only constantly confronted with the juxtaposition of opposites, but had to face Russian intervention in its language policy, in its political choice, that led to occupation of Crimea and proxy war in Donbas in 2014.

Ukrainian language contribution to Tagoreana was not mentioned in papers by Russian intellectuals, while they referred to Russian language translations made in Odesa and Kharkiv, both Ukrainian cities [Som, Serebriany 2016, 180, 184], although the volume “Tagore and Russia”, in Section 4: Relevance of Tagore Today, includes a chapter (Chapter X) which deals with the study of Tagore in Ukraine, written by a representative of the Tagore Center. No other chapter from the post-Soviet space was included.

Another illustration, a special volume, dedicated to the centenary of Nobel Prize award to Tagore, published in 2014 under the title “Rabindranath Tagore. One Hundred Years of Global Reception”, had inputs from scholars from all regions of the world [Kampchen, Bangha 2014]; from the former Soviet space, only Russia and Latvia were included, although translation and reception of Tagore was overwhelming in many republics in their respective languages. Exclusion of Ukraine, with its rich tradition of Tagoreana from this world level volume shows why Tagoreana needs to be systematized, researched, and promoted in Ukraine.

Revisiting Tagore – Call for the Present and Future

This mixed period with positive and negative developments for Tagoreana ushered into a new period, when Russia attacked Ukraine on February 24, 2022, and Europe became a theater for full scale war after the end of the Second World War. The new period started amidst existential threat for the Ukrainian state and identity. Shocks of death, destruction and displacement could not disengage scholars from pursuing their research, and in 2022, a translation of Tagore's “Релігія людини” (“Manusher Dharma”, “The Religion of Man”) by Leonid Pedan was published in Kyiv [Tahor 2022]. The invaluable collection of translations, compiled by Vasyl Gabor came out in 2023 and was already discussed in detail above [Gabor 2023]. Apart from a renewed interest in Tagore that was visible in the earlier stages, this period, lasting till the present, hinges on the real decolonizing aspect of studying Tagore in Ukraine, not the Sovietized anti-colonial poet that Tagore was portrayed to be.

Tagore's ideas and their relevance to decolonization and post-colonial identity provide resources, especially in relation to: state and nation building; patriotism and nationalism as ideologies; harmony of Nature and Human society – and in relation to that the issues of economic development, in rural areas; issues of sustainable development; humanism and freedom, celebrating universal principles – especially in education; relation between the individual spirit and the societal obligations and last, but not the least, Tagore's travelogues open the essence of each civilization and culture.

To mention a few, study of less known works of Tagore like “The Religion of Man”, “Crisis in Civilization”, the “Sadhanas” is very important, as well as revisiting “The Home and the World” to analyze globalization and a new nationalism [Li, Zheng 2003]. Of particular interest are the scholarly discourses on Tagore and nationalism by Isaiah Berlin [Berlin 1996], Ashis Nandy [Nandy 1994], Saranindranath Tagore [Tagore 2008] in the context of Ukraine’s dialog with the Global South. Tagore’s writings revisited in a new spirit to evaluate the fact that to Tagore, patriotism did not mean cultural isolation also point at the non-hegemonic relations between Ukrainian and Indian literatures. Ukraine’s interest in the southern hemisphere of the globe as part of what Tagore called “Viśvasāhitya”, or world literature, decolonization and postcolonial identity, is a basis for delinking from the colonial matrix of power [Novillo-Carvalan 2020, 166]. In this sense, Tagore resonates with the ideas of several Ukrainian writers and thinkers, from universalism of Hryhoriy Skovoroda, Ukraine’s identity shaped by Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Franko as well as ideas of modern writers.

Conclusions

Periodization of Tagoreana in Ukraine into 1913–1930, 1930–1960, 1961–1991, 1991–2011, 2011–2022 years and from February 24, 2022–till now, shows that the first years of reception of Tagore up to 1930 were closer to spontaneous European trend. Individual and independent, scholarly and creative reception by Ukrainian intellectuals was focused on Tagore’s non-western, while at the same time, not anti-western personality, stimulating them culturally into producing Ukrainian intellectual translations and writings, being under different empires.

However, with inclusion into the USSR and after Tagore’s visit to Russia, state-based totalitarian ideological control, interpreting Tagore’s ideas through political ideology and expediency of the ruling regime, rose rapidly and systematically. It was rather opposed to individual initiatives than complementing them, running contrary to world trends. This gave rise to underground dissident receptions and reflections, although some modification, softening and sophistication were observed during the sixties and the eighties, giving space for individual initiatives. Independence of Ukraine potentially paved the way for a holistic reception of Tagore, major trajectories were widened and ranged from literature to visual and performing arts till February 24, 2022. In the words of Victor Batiuk: “The figure of Tagore is monumental, towering above all others. The higher the tower, the broader is its base, said Tagore. So, the base for Tagore’s creation is endless, its depth unfathomable, ranging from the traditions of the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, Kalidasa’s classical legacy, influence of medieval Bhakti movement, to modern ideas of Bengal Renaissance, of Ram Mohan Roy and Bankimchandra Chattopdhyay” [Batiuk 1981b, 13]. Add to that the best Western literary and cultural traditions that Tagore studied in original.

The aggression of Russia against Ukraine, on the one hand, has disrupted Ukrainian intellectual life, but on the other hand, has made it resilient. A quest for reviving all lost literature and translation of Tagore is being undertaken. Tagore’s writings are also reinterpreted in the face of newer challenges. The planetary world of Tagore’s creativity today enables Ukraine’s prospects of real decolonization from a non-western point of view, promoting intertextuality and cultural dialog, while also bearing the risks of state-orchestrated, utilitarian approach to Tagore, potent with sweeping generalizations or popularizing Tagore to the level of the masses. Rather, reformulating the existing social and philosophical questions and not seeking easy solutions is where the path and future of Tagoreana in Ukraine lie.

¹ Author's note: Tagoreana in various countries have taken different forms, in some it is institutionalized within educational and research institutions, supported by respective governments, in others it is non-governmental initiatives of groups forming into cultural centers, yet, in many others, it is individual efforts of writers, poets and researchers. In some countries, Tagoreana is supported by the Bengali diaspora from South Asia.

² Mukherjee-Pandey J. (2012), "TNN 'Tagoreana' brings Netaji grandson to city", *Times of India*, January 24, available at: http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/articleshow/11609587.cms?utm_source=contentofinterest&utm_medium=text&utm_campaign=cppst (accessed December 10, 2023).

³ Soutik B. (2022), "Rabindranath Tagore: When Hitler purged India Nobel laureate's paintings", *BBC News*, November 21, available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-india-63651606> (accessed August 23, 2023).

⁴ Prayoshchitto, প্রায়শচিত্ত, available at: <https://www.tagoreweb.in/Verses/nabajatak-129/prayoshchitto-1807> (accessed April 15, 2023).

⁵ Yukhim Spiridonovych Myhayliv (born on September 27 (15), 1885, in Oleshky, Tavria governorate, Kherson oblast) was a Ukrainian painter-symbolist, poet and art expert, translator. He was a victim of Stalinist repression and died on July 15, 1935, in Kotlas, Russia. He was more venerated as a great painter. The less known fact is that he was the author of the first translations of Tagore in 1917 as "Uryvky z Misyachnoho serpa" (English translation of the Ukrainian title – "Excerpts from Lunar sickle"), which was part of Tagore's "The Crescent Moon", published in a journal in 1917 and the full version was published as a book in 1918. For his biographic records: *Central State Archive Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine*, available at: <https://csamm.archives.gov.ua/2019/08/16/1454/> (accessed December 12, 2023); for records of his translations of Tagore – see: [Gabor 2023, 10–11].

⁶ Yuriy Tyshchenko was born on May 4, 1880, in Zaporizhzhya oblast and died on December 5, 1953, in the US. He was also known by his pseudonym Yuriy Siriy, as a publisher, book collector, publicist, writer, journalist, translator and public figure. He traveled abroad to escape persecution, was often in disguise in Kyiv or Lviv, tried to be in disguise. He published the first translations of Tagore, *The Gardener*, in 1918; all the 85 verses were translated in prose versions (*Ukrainoznavchyi Almanac*, available at: <https://ukralmanac.univ.kiev.ua/index.php/ua/article/view/357> (accessed December 12, 2023)). (In Ukrainian)).

⁷ Mykola Holubets' (born on December 15, 1891, in Lviv – died May 22, 1942, Lviv) – Ukrainian historian, archivist, ethnographer, art expert, poet, writer, publicist, editor, translator, and bibliographer. Author of one of the first translations of Tagore. He was also author of 84 publications dealing with Ukrainian literature and culture. After 1939 annexation of Lviv into the USSR, he worked at the city archives (*Encyclopedia of the History of Ukraine*, 2004, Vol. 2: H-D, available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20170118052556/http://resource.history.org.ua/cgi-bin/eiu/history.exe?Z21ID=&I21DBN=EIU&P21DBN=EIU&S21STN=1&S21REF=10&S21FMT=eiu_all&C21COM=S&S21CNR=20&S21P01=0&S21P02=0&S21P03=TRN=&S21COLORTERMS=0&S21STR=Golubec_M (accessed December 12, 2023)). (In Ukrainian)).

⁸ Myhailo Lototskiy (born on November 14, 1885, in Tseniv, died on May 8, 1978, in Philadelphia, US) was a Ukrainian journalist and public figure, who also translated some verses of Tagore as well as an essay by Dhan Gopal Mukherjee "India of Rabindranath Tagore" from English. Till 1939, he worked in the paper *Dilo*, but thereafter, it was shut down. After World War II, he immigrated to the US and worked till his death in 1978 as one of the most active correspondents of the paper *Svoboda* (*Svoboda*, 1978, No. 104, available at: <https://web.archive.org/web/20131113025544/http://www.svoboda-news.com/arxiv/pdf/1978/Svoboda-1978-104.pdf> (accessed December 12, 2023)). (In Ukrainian)).

⁹ Kovalchuk Mykola, whose date of birth and demise are not available, also translated Tagore's lyrical drama "Chitra" as mentioned in the following bibliographic citation: Kurylyshyn K. Chasopys *Dilo* (Lviv, 1880–1939): materials for bibliographics of National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, V. Stefanyk National Scientific Library of Lviv. Drohobych: Kolo, 2022. Vol. 7. 1914–1923. 796 p. On page 287 the following information is cited: 1002. Kovalchuk Mykola. Works of Fiction: Kovalchuk M. Smert'; I vony heroiy (And they were heroes). 1916. August 27. No. 210, p. 3. Rubrics: Small feuilleton; "Chitra. Lyrical one act drama" of Rabindranath Tagore. Translated by Mykola Kovalchuk (Original: Курилишин К. Часопис *Діло* (Львів, 1880–1939 pp.): матеріали до біобібліографістики / НАН України, Львівська національна наукова

бібліотека України ім. В. Стефаніка. Дрогобич: Коло, 2022. Т. 7: 1914–1923 pp. 796 с. На с. 287 подано таку інформацію: 1002. Ковальчук Микола. Художні твори: Ковальчук М. Смерть; І вони герої. 1916. 27 серп. Ч. 210. С. 3. Рубр.: Малий фейлетон; “Чітра. Лірична драма в 1 дії. Рабіндраната Тагора”. Переклав Микола Ковальчук. Gabor, 2023).

¹⁰ Mykhailo-Lev Ivanovych Rudnyiyskiy (born on January 7, 1889, Pidhaytsi in Ternopil oblast and died on February 1, 1975, in Lviv) – Ukrainian literary critic, writer, poet, translator, doctor of philosophy (1914). He knew ten languages and occupied top academic posts in Lviv, despite being persecuted during the 1950s, but afterwards was rehabilitated. He translated three poems of Tagore in prose versions in 1925 as well as some aphorisms (*Shevchenko Encyclopedia*, 2015, Vol. 5, p. 577, available at: <https://archive.org/details/shevch05/page/577/mode/1up?view=theater> (accessed December 12, 2023)). (In Ukrainian).

¹¹ Ivan Stavnychiy (born on July 6, 1891, in Tovste, Halychchyna and died on October 2, 1973, in Cleveland, USA) – journalist, editor, translator, publisher, cultural figure and educationist of Stanislavshchyna. He edited the monthly *Prolom* (1919), official weekly of the Ukrainian People’s council *Stanislavskiy holos*, weekly *Stanislavski visti*, worked at *Stanislavske slovo* and was correspondent of the Lviv-based bi-weekly *Svit* (1926). Translated Victor Hugo, Knut Hamsun as well as three short writings of Tagore from French. During World War II, he organized the library of “Prosvita” and headed its main collection and research archives. Arrested by Gestapo, he was later freed and left for Krakow, then to Germany and finally in 1950 to the US. He was active among the diaspora, was head of the local Scientific Taras Shevchenko Society, available at: https://shron1.chtyvo.org.ua/Zhdan_Mykhailo/Ivan_Stavnychiy_1891-1973.pdf?PHPSESSID=pmgfhcj0epkrsjpb8srpsibk0 (accessed December 12, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

¹² Andriy Vasylyovych Nikovskiy, born on October 14 (26), 1885, in Maliy Buyalyk of Kherson Governorate and died in 1942 in Leningrad, was a public and political figure, litterateur, linguist and journalist. As Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian People’s Republic, he migrated to Poland in 1920. After return to Ukraine in 1923, he continued his literary and research pursuits, was active member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS). But Soviet authorities were suspicious of him, and together with Serhiy Yefremov, UAS head, he was arrested in 1929 and was charged in 1930 as one of the leaders of “The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” (“Spilka vyzvolennya Ukrayiny”). His death sentence was changed to eight years of imprisonment, which he served and was released in 1940, but in 1942 he died during the siege of Leningrad. He pioneered an article on literature of Tagore in Ukraine (*Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine*, available at: https://web.archive.org/web/20161010215803/http://history.org.ua/?encyclop&termin=Nikovskiy_A (accessed December 12, 2023)). (In Ukrainian).

¹³ Lyudmila Starytska-Chernyakhivska was born August 17 (29), 1868, in Kyiv and died in 1941. She was a Ukrainian writer, poetess, dramatist, translator, public figure of the Ukrainian women’s movement. Her review of the first translation of Yuri Siiy was published in magazine *Knyhar* in 1918 and was extremely critical of the prose translations. Her objectivity was beyond question. Lyudmyla was first arrested and convicted during a show-trial of “The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine” in 1930, with 44 other defendants. She was imprisoned and exiled in Donetsk. Later she was released. In June 1941 she was again arrested, accused of carrying out anti-Soviet activities, and tortured. She died during the journey to exile in Kazakhstan and her body was thrown from the train at a location still unknown, available at: <https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pagesSTStarytska6CherniakhivskaLiudmyla.htm> (accessed December 12, 2023).

¹⁴ Sofia Fedorivna Rusova (born on February 18, 1856, in Oleshnya, Chernihiv Governorate and died on February 5, 1940, in Prague) – pedagogue, prose writer, litterateur and public figure, one of the founders of the women’s movement in Ukraine. Since 1881, she was persecuted because of her connections with the Russian revolutionaries. She devoted her attention to education and upbringing in mother tongue and spoke in favor of Ukrainian language. In 1917 she was a member of the Ukrainian Central Council and headed the Teachers Union. From 1922 she was relocated to Prague and taught at the Mykhailo Drahomanov Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute. She addressed the international community for help during Holodomor in Ukraine, appealed to the League of Nations. Her focus was education and character building, and she wrote on educational ideas of Skovoroda, Shevchenko and Tagore (The Ukrainian History and Education Center, available at: <https://www.ukrhec.org/stories/sofia-rusova> (accessed December 11, 2023)).

¹⁵ Ivan Josafat Skruten' (born on February 24, 1894, in Parkhach (Mezhyrichchya), Sokalskiy district and died on October 12, 1951, in Rome) was a Basilian priest, church historian, and journalist; full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society from 1930. He studied at the Gregorian University in Rome and at Lviv University and was ordained in 1918. He edited the journal *Postup* (Lviv) (1921–4) and coedited the newspaper *Nyva* and the theological journal *Bohosloviia*. From 1928, he was professor of philosophy at the Greek Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv. Founder of the Ukrainian Theological Scholarly Society (1923). In 1939 he left Lviv for Germany, where he stayed till 1949 and then relocated to Rome. He was chaplain of Saint Josaphat's Ukrainian Pontifical College. Skruten' published several articles and reviews on the history of the Basilian monastic order, on other subjects in the history of the Ukrainian church. His appreciation of Tagore was based on the positions of Christianity, available at: <https://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pagesSKSkrutenYosafat> (accessed December 9, 2023).

¹⁶ Oles Babiy (Olexander Iosypovych Babiy) was born on March 17, 1897, in the village Serednya, Kalus district of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast, and died on March 2, 1975, in Chicago, USA. He was a writer and litterateur, doctor of literary studies, author of the anthem of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) "We were born at a great hour", *Zrodylys my velykoii hodyny* ("Зродились ми великої години"). After the First World War, he went for studies to Prague, which was the center of intellectual life for the Ukrainians. It is here that he heard the speech and saw Tagore. He studied and wrote on Tagore's thoughts on education, referring to him as Thakur, not Tagore. He translated Tagore's famous poem "Prayer" (Where the mind is without fear) under the pseudonym "O-sa" in 1919 and published it in "Strilets'ka dumka". Upon return he was arrested by Polish police in 1931 and served a jail term, when his song was played as an anthem of the OUN. After the Second World War, he went to Poland, then in 1944 to Germany and in 1948 to the USA (Vseukrainska elektronna biblioteka, available at: <https://youalib.com/content/%D0%BE%D0%BB%D0%B5%D1%81%D1%8C-%D0%B1%D0%B0%D0%B1%D1%96%D0%B9> (accessed December 10, 2023)). (In Ukrainian).

¹⁷ Vaughan D. (2011), "Rabindranath Tagore: an Indian poet who inspired a Czech generation", Report on Czech Radio dated October 15, 2011, available at: <https://english.radio.cz/rabindranath-tagore-indian-poet-who-inspired-a-czech-generation-8559768> (accessed December 9, 2023).

¹⁸ The author is thankful to Vasyl Gabor for providing the illustrations of the journal *Svit*, May, 1928.

¹⁹ Author's translation.

²⁰ Author's translation into Bengali of this poem of Tychyna appeared in an anthology of Ukrainian poetry *Ukrayinskiy Vizerunok – Ukrayina Alpona* published in 2011.

²¹ Yuriy Andrianovych Lavrinenko (born in Cherkasy oblast on May 3, 1905 – died in New York, US on 14.12.1987) was a Ukrainian literary critic, publicist, essayist, editor and researcher of the "Rostrylyane vidrozhennya" (Shot or annihilated generation of literary revival). He studied literature and history in Kharkiv during 1925–1930 and as a post graduate student he wrote a book on Tychyna in 1930. For his critique of socialist realism, he was persecuted, arrested and was incarcerated in Norilsk labor camp during 1935–1939. After release, he lived in Nalchik, but later, in 1944 he immigrated to Austria and then to the US, where he lived till his death. His monumental work inspired and guided by Jerzy Giedroyc was "Rostrylyane vidrozhennya" in 1959, which is a collection of literary works of Ukrainian writers and poets of the 1920s and 1930s. To him people were not only physically killed but there were those who were morally broken, so he also included earlier works of Pavlo Tychyna, Maksym Rylskiy, Mykola Bazhan, Volodymyr Sosyura and others. Tychyna and Bazhan translated Tagore. Lavrinenko recalls in his reminiscences that Tychyna had friendship with orientalist like A. Krymsky, Pavlo Ritter and others [Lavrinenko 1980]. See also: Rublyov O. S. (2009), "Lavrinenko Yuri Andrianovych", in *Encyclopedia istorii Ukrainy*, Vol. 6: La-Mi, V. A. Smoliy et al. (eds), Naukova dumka, Kyiv, available at: http://www.history.org.ua/?termin=Lavrinenko_Yu_A (accessed December 26, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

²² Translated by the author of the article.

²³ Mykhailo Ivchenko (1890–1939) – Ukrainian writer. Before the Revolution of 1917 he worked as a statistician in the Poltava region and wrote articles on economics, natural science, and the national question for periodicals such as *Rada* (Kyiv) and *Khutorianyn*. A Soviet "fellow traveler" in the 1920s, member of the literary organizations *Muzahet* and *Aspys*, he was the author of the impressionistic prose collections "Shumy vesniani" (The Murmurs of Spring, 1919),

“Imlystoiu rikoiu” (Along the Misty River, 1926), “Porvanoiu dorohoiu” (Along the Broken Road, 1927), and “Zemli dzvoniat’” (The Lands Peal, 1928). His most significant work, the novel *Robitni syly* (The Work Forces, 1929), portrays allegorically the fostering of national consciousness. A defendant at the show trial of the *Spilka vizvolyteliv Ukrainy* in 1930, he received a conditional sentence. To avoid another arrest, in 1934 he left Ukraine for Moscow and then settled in Vladykavkaz in Caucasia. He translated into Ukrainian the prose of Rabindranath Tagore with whom he corresponded in the 1920s. See: Ivchenko M. (1946), *Napoeni Dni*, Novi dni, Salzburg, 88 p., available at: <https://www.rare-paper.com/pages/books/181/mykhailo-ivchenko/napoeni-dni-povist?soldItem=true> (accessed September 5, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

²⁴ Lesya (Olena) Trebins’ka (1885–1967) was a doctor, litterateur and public figure born to a wealthy noble family in the city of Irkliiv, Cherkasy region. Her parents, Mykola Viktorovych and Maria Mykolayivna, were doctors. Her mother was engaged in social activities. Olena Trebins’ka took interest in medical science since childhood and graduated from Kyiv higher medical courses. She combined medical activity with science, worked part-time at the *Encyclopedic Dictionary* editorial office. She translated literature from English and French. In particular, she translated into Ukrainian the lyrics of Rabindranath Tagore from English. Her translations were perfect as noted by the famous Ukrainian poet Maksym Rylskyi. Some of these Tagore translations were published in the magazines *Fatherland*, *Dnipro* and *Vsesvit*. But majority remained unpublished. She compiled them into a manuscript, which, after her death was in the custody of her associate Borys Fedorovych Matushevskyi. After his death in 1977, the fate of these manuscripts is unknown. Trebins’ka wrote her own poems, short stories and novellas and worked on memoirs of P. Saksaganskyi, M. Kotsyubynskyi, and M. Rylskyi. The fate of all these works is also unknown: *Central State Archive Museum of Literature and Art of Ukraine*, Personal File No. 91, available at: <https://csamm.archives.gov.ua/> (accessed December 20, 2023).

²⁵ Testimony provided by Les Taniuk during private conversation with the author; Taniuk also publicly spoke about these in Literature festival and events of the sesquicentennial organized by the Tagore Center, Ukraine during 2011 (UTR Channel Report, 30 September, 2011).

²⁶ Translated by the author of this article.

²⁷ Ghosh M. (2003), “What do You Need that Language for?”, *Hazeta Den*, No. 7, February 25, available at: <https://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/day-after-day/what-do-you-need-language> (accessed November 20, 2023).

²⁸ Translated by the author of this article.

²⁹ Dolzhenkova I. (1997), “Rabindranat Tahor u vyshyvantsi”, *Hazeta Den*, No. 148, (1997), August 21, available at: <https://day.kyiv.ua/article/kultura/rabindranat-tahor-u-vyshyvantsi> (accessed August 31, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

³⁰ “Karabyts Ivan, kompozytor: Kamerno-vokalni tvory (okremi pisni) (karabits.com)”, available at: https://www.karabits.com/artworks/index.php?SECTION_ID=12 (accessed July 8, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

³¹ Tagore Center FB page: (21.09.2011), Opening of the Exhibition, September 21, 2011, available at: <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Центр-Таропа-Тогоре-Сентер/234831486568327?sk=wall> (accessed October 8, 2023).

³² Tagore Center FB page: (25.09.2011), Minister of Tourism visits Exhibition in Kyiv, September 25, 2011 – Tagore 150 years, available at: <http://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.241815449203264.72412.234831486568327&type=1> (accessed October 8, 2023).

³³ Semenchenko M. (2011), “U poshuku humanistychnykh idealiv”, *Hazeta Den*, September 27, available at: <https://day.kyiv.ua/article/den-ukrayiny/u-poshuku-humanistychnykh-idealiv> (accessed October 8, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

³⁴ Semenchenko M. (2011), “Mystetstvo zarady intelektu”, *Hazeta Den*, September 30, available at: <https://day.kyiv.ua/article/naprykintsi-dnya/mystetstvo-zarady-intelektu> (accessed October 8, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

³⁵ Tagore Center archives.

³⁶ Lebed R. (2011), “Uroky Tahora dlia Ukrainy”, *BBC*, Kyiv, September 21, available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukrainian/entertainment/2011/09/110921_tagore_pavlychko_rl.shtml (accessed June 12, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

³⁷ UTR Channel Report (2011), Tagore Center Ukraine celebrates the 150th anniversary of Rabindranath Tagore, September 30, available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9dy7SqOTqj4> (accessed October 8, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

³⁸ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.426183097433164&type=3> (accessed December 20, 2023).

³⁹ <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.1174869322564534&type=3> (accessed December 20, 2023).

⁴⁰ Kataieva M. (2016), “Indiiskyi Taras Shevchenko”, *Vechirnyi Kyiv*, July 28, No. 30 (19212), p. 23. (In Ukrainian).

⁴¹ Krasnichenko Y. (2016), “Indiiskyi Shevchenko”, *Kultura i zhyttia*, No. 31, July 29, p. 12. (In Ukrainian).

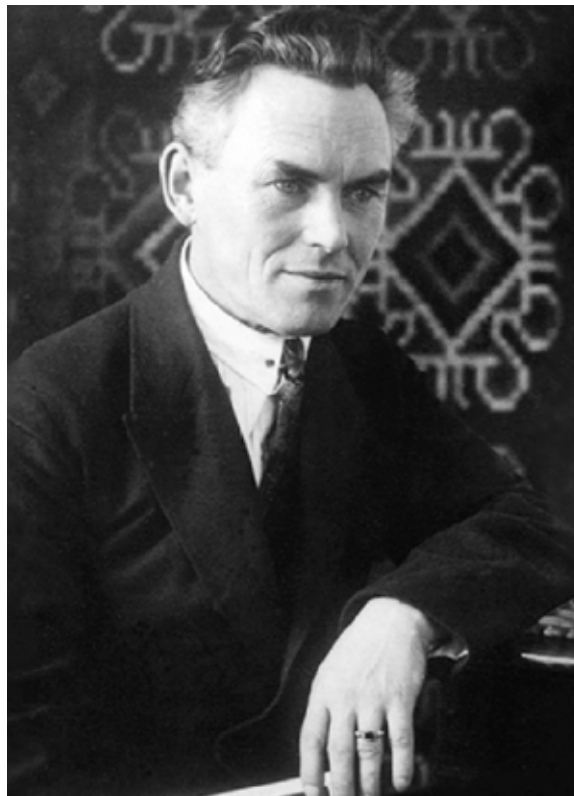
⁴² Ghosh M. (2019), “Vilnyi Universytet Parasky Horyttsvit”, *Journal Tyzhden*, No. 43 (623), October 24, available at: <https://tyzhden.ua/vilnyj-universytet-parasky-horyttsvit/> (accessed March 30, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

⁴³ Tagor R. (2018), *Ostannia poema* (The Last poem), pereklad Liudmyly Kerekeshi. Muzyka Oleksiia Rybnikova. Mizhnarodnyi khorovyi festyval “Muzychni zustrichi” z nahody 50 richchia stvorennia Khorovoi kapely “Dzvinochok”, Kyivskiy palats ditei ta yunatstva, May 7, available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-04Sd3UoE18> (accessed August 27, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

⁴⁴ Ruslana – *Ostannia poema* (Pisnia iz kinofilmu “Vam i ne snylosia”), available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3DtJ_uon4s4 (accessed August 27, 2023). (In Ukrainian).

⁴⁵ The film was made in 1980, and the premiere took place on March 23, 1981 and on March 5, 1982 in New York, under the title “Love & Lies”. Ruslana’s song was recorded during a concert in the Carpathians in 1998. The lyrics, translated and adapted by Adelina Adalis were set to music by Alexei Rybnikov in 1970, but the song became very popular after it was sung in the film by Iryna Otiyeva and Vera Sokolova. Uzbek vocal group “Yalla” and its lead singer Farrukh Zakirov added some eastern style of rendition. Both Otiyeva and Zakirov were finalists of the yearly contest “Pesnya goda-1981” (Song of the Year-1981). Performers of this song included Litsisyan sisters, Varvara, Valeria, Lena Perova of the rock group “Animation films Hi-Fi”, Ukrainian Ruslana, and Uzbek Sevara Nazarxon. The song is popular in the post-Soviet space.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Ill. 1. Yukhim Myhayliv (1885–1935), writer, painter, one of the first translators of Tagore into Ukrainian



Ill. 2. Yuriy Siriy (Tyshchenko) (1880–1953), poet, publicist,
one of the first translators of Tagore into Ukrainian



Ill. 3. Viktor Batiuk (1939–1996), Ukrainian diplomat, litterateur,
translator of Bengali original texts of Tagore into Ukrainian



Ill. 4. Ivan Karabits (1945–2002), Ukrainian composer and music director, composed music for selected verses of Tagore

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M. Gouh

Релевантність та еволюція Тагоріани в Україні – основні напрямки

У цій статті на основі нових, донині не введених у науковий обіг матеріалів зроблено першу спробу систематизувати столітню традицію української Тагоріани – процес рецепції Рабіндраната Тагора, який досі не здійснювався в Україні через історичні причини. Здійснено періодизацію Тагоріани – на шість історичних періодів, від 1913 року до сьогодні. Також подається тлумачення концепції Тагоріани; пояснюється, чому саме цей термін варто використати для дослідження основних траєкторій, що ґрунтуються на філософських дослідженнях, охоплюють переклади, інтерпретації та дослідження текстів Тагора, його творів з аудіовізуальних та сценічних мистецтв, а також їхнє естетичне сприйняття через власні твори українських авторів і митців. Згадана вище періодизація розкриває герменевтичну еволюцію української Тагоріани з певною відмінністю: до 1930-х років, на відміну від країн Заходу, рецепції Тагора в Україні не притаманний “орієнталізм” (за концепцією Едуарда Саїда). Українці позитивно сприйняли мудрість Тагора, його незахідні підходи до імперськості, глибоку прихильність до гармонії між природою та людиною, до потреби широкого доступу до освіти для всіх. Пізніше, зі зміцненням радянської влади, спостерігається державний контроль над Тагоріаною. Візит Тагора до Москви був ретельно спланований та зрежисований радянською владою в 1930 році з метою здобуття міжнародного визнання і

позиціонування радянської Росії як держави, що солідаризується з колоніальним народом та виступає проти імперіалізму. Проте до 1955 року творів Тагора не друкували в СРСР, бо в них були думки вільного світу та дух свободи особистості.

Протягом наступних десятиліть, з одного боку, здійснювався терор проти українських інтелектуалів, які відіграли чималу роль у рецепції Тагора, а саме проти Павла Ріттера, Юхима Михайліва, Юрія Сірого, Євгена Плужника, Михайла Івченка та багатьох інших; з іншого боку, тоталітарна влада вміло використала постать Тагора як “антиімперіалістичного” та “антиколоніального” діяча, у радянському антизахідному розумінні цих термінів. І хоч згодом “відлига” 1960-х, а потім “перебудова” 1980-х років і привели до певної вільної атмосфери, коли твори деяких поетів і перекладачів опинилися в центрі уваги, проте ті твори Тагора, що були цензуровані та заборонені радянською владою, і далі поширювалися підпільно серед дисидентів. Зрештою, незалежність України дала ширший спектр та можливості для рецепції Тагора. Тагоріана має перетворитися з державного агентства з політичним порядком денним на вільний простір індивідуальної творчої свободи та ініціатив. Аналіз тенденцій попередніх років спадщини Тагоріани доводить, що після російської агресії проти України у 2022 році подальша рецепція Тагора створює ще одну перспективу – це усвідомлення можливості постколоніального літературного діалогу Індії з Україною на основі рівності культур, які пройшли через досвід колоніалізму. Це також стосується діалогу України з країнами Глобального Півдня.

Ключові слова: гуманізм; індологія в Україні; деколонізація; переклади; постколоніальні дослідження; рецепція Тагора; Тагоріана

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