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Allusion to the Trojan myth in the legendary toposphere of Kyiv

Abstract. The study is devoted to the examination of allusions to the Trojan myth in the legendary toposphere of Kyiv, the foundation of which goes back centuries and is immersed in the mythological layer of the historical development of mankind. Kyiv has become not only the centre of structuring the proto-state of Ukraine but also a symbol of the establishment of the socio-cultural identity of its inhabitants. Therewith, for centuries Kyiv has had a special place in a number of iconic cities on the European continent, which determines the relevance of the study of its cultural topoi. The purpose of the study is to identify, analyse, and synthesise mythological patterns on Trojan issues in the socio-cultural landscape of the city of Kyiv and their influence on the processes of forming collective self-consciousness and proto-national identity. The study analyses the reception of the Trojan myth based on Kyiv toponymy and mythopoetics, chronicle sources, and literary works, which allows for constructing its mythological palimpsest, which without the Trojan theme would be devoid of an expressive layer. The study traces the transformation of mythological representations from the era of Kyivan Rus, which were later in demand on the territory of Ukraine during the Baroque period. Ultimately, a retrospective study of the field of proto-national myth in variations of mythologems as its constituent elements allows for reaching a deeper level of collective mentality, which is the basis for the development of national identity through awareness and adaptation of deep symbolic structures. The Trojan theme has not yet been represented in urban studies of Kyiv, although it has a certain number of manifestations in the cultural environment of the city. The study is based on the use of general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis of cultural information. The interpretive method is used for modelling theoretical constructs. From special methods, mythorestavration was chosen as a priority. The hypothesis presented in the study and its approbation are authentic and are presented for the first time

Keywords: geoculturology, mythogeography, mythopoetics, topos, space, palimpsest

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INTRODUCTION

The search for identity in Ukraine has acquired various forms since ancient times, which confirms the relevance of proto-national discourse, which is primarily associated with understanding one's own territory, which is first separated from someone else's and then filled with evaluative interpretations, descriptions, stereotypes, ideas, and myths. Thus, a certain space exists in various angles and connotations, including mythopoetic ones, hence the multi-layered landscape shells of old cities, because every myth

is multivariate. The city as a cultural phenomenon now highlights the theme of the urban myth of urban civilisation, which encourages further studies in this area.

Spatial mythopoetics coexists with a new humanitarian field – mythogeography, which is a special view of space as a text in the context of versatile interpretations. Moreover, this applies to the space of culture, which was noted and justified by Florensky (1993), in particular: "All culture can be interpreted as an activity of organising space".

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Mythogeography is not so much a scientific approach to the examination of spatial myths as a specific view of space as a text, which allows exploring how multiple realities can co-exist in one place, transforming and interacting with each other. However, within its framework, they operate not with objective realities, but rather with the realities of diverse representations, so there is not only a translation of spatial myths but also an ordering of spatial interpretations and their structuring in accordance with the existing toposphere. As a result, a multidimensional semiotic structure constructed on the principle of the palimpsest model can be perceived differently, which makes each place a special and unique world.

Mythogeography is a relatively new area of geoculturology (Zamyatin, 2006), which is in its infancy, however, it is based not so much on descriptionism as on the interpretation of spatial images. One of the founders of mythogeography, I. Mitin (2005), defines as its object territorial and cultural systems consisting of a set of artefacts and mentefacts represented in the landscape. That is, the territorial and cultural system includes not only (and not so much) the territory, but also ideas about it, its characteristics, and spatial images. Spatial images represent a system of characteristic features that includes symbols, visual signs, and various texts that comprehensively denote real territories, localities, and countries.

In the post-Soviet scientific field, the problems of space functioning are examined by O. Lydov (2012), who started the scientific field of "hierotopy". The researcher developed a special terminology and categorical apparatus, where hierotopy is positioned both as the creation of sacred spaces, considered as a special type of creativity, and as a special area of research, in which examples of this creativity are identified and analysed. Given that this subject is only being developed, today there is a lack of systematic studies, although this area has attracted the attention of well-known researchers.

In particular, in Ukraine, the subject of sacred space is actively investigated by M. Nikitenko (2020) and O. Osadcha (2018), and abroad – S. Avanesov (2018), A. Okhotsimsky (2016), and N. Isar (2004). The first international conference on this issue, where reports of leading experts were presented, was held in Belgium (the city of Leuven) only in 2017 (Lidov *et al.*, 2017). However, the above authors analyse the sacred subject exclusively using Christian material, sacred loci – relics, icons, iconostases, temple complexes, caves, mountains; and sacred intentions – consecrations, processions, pilgrimage. The connection of hierotopy with mythogeography is evident, but within the framework of these scientific areas, various aspects of modelling and functioning of space are investigated. For example, in the context of hierotopy, the origin of Kyiv is considered from the "Andrew's legend" – the consecration of a place on the Kyiv mountains by the Apostle Andrew, which marked the beginning of the structuring of the sacred space of the city.

The socio-cultural perspective of the development of the space theme is presented by O. Borodenko (2018), who analyses the ideas of members of society about the national territory as a kind of locus, where a symbiosis of the real and imaginary is formed.

However, there is still a lack of comprehensive studies of mythological patterns of historical cities, in

particular, Kyiv, which determines the relevance of the proposed study, including in the mode of modernity. Ultimately, the landscape of the city is an external reflection of the internal processes of urban life, saturated with mythologems that explicate at the level of the country and affect the formation of identity. In general, the structure of ethno-national identity is arranged hierarchically, and the city is an axial element in this hierarchy, which simultaneously accumulates and translates genius loci.

The material of the proposed study is on the one hand the Trojan myth, and on the other – the city of Kyiv, as an informational-semiotic text. The study uses methods of analysis and synthesis to correlate mythological themes and cultural texts, in particular, in the Troy-Kyiv communication; an interpretive method that determines the interpretation of texts and the area of cultural monuments, including landscape zones of the semiosphere of Kyiv. The special method of mythorestavration is used, which allows in any cultural form to distinguish mythological features, allusions, images, and plots that show a multi-layered content of phenomena, which is generally contaminated with the concept of "mythopoetics". The expediency of using and effectiveness of this method was proved by the author earlier (Krisuk, 2019).

The scientific originality of the study consists in identifying various modifications of the "Trojan myth" in relation to the cultural landscape of Kyiv based on the analysis and synthesis of the corresponding toponymy and mythopoetic ideas from the Middle Ages to the Modern era.

Trojan mythological discourse turned out to be quite stable in the Ukrainian cultural landscape, because it is caused by the literary myths of Ivan Kotlyarevskyi (1842) and Lesya Ukrainka (1908), who symbolically positioned Ukraine as a new Troy, which already directly concerns the actual problems of national identity.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the mythological toposphere of Kyiv, in particular, the reception of the "Trojan myth" in the socio-cultural space of the city.

MYTHOPOETICS OF TROY

A special place in mythogeographic systems is occupied by "legendary cities", which are an integral part of the spiritual culture of peoples. "Legendary cities" should be understood as historically known, mentioned in certain primary sources, but not reliably localised and not identified on the ground settlements, endowed with exceptional significance in the past, which received a stable fixation in the historical memory of the population (Atlantis, Gilea, Ophir, Hyperborea, Shambhala, Thule, Lemuria, El Dorado, etc.). Although some of them were later localised, in particular-Chersonesos (1827), Carthage (1858), Troy (1873), Knossos (1900), Hedeby (1930), Sokhof (1967), Dwarka (1979), Yumna (1990), Atil (2008) (Afanasiev & Trotsenko, 2013).

As for real historical cities, their origin also usually has a legendary justification. In particular, the name of Kyiv was interpreted in a contradictory way from the times of Ancient Rus, for which Nestor Pechersky was forced to give a special explanation, linking the legendary founders of the city – Kiy, Shchek, Horiv with the toponyms and hydronym known to Kyiv residents (the corresponding hills and the Lybid river), that is, rooting the myth in real space (Myshanych,

1989). At first glance, the problem of any contact seems quite fantastic, like the “Hyperborean version” of communication between the peoples of the ancient world and the population of the Northern Black Sea Region territories. However, now there are archaeological studies that connect Troy with the autochthonous population of the Northern Black Sea Region from pre-Scythian times (Pit Grave historical community) (Pustovalov, 2019).

Troy or Ilion – an ancient fortress site on the Asia Minor coast of the Aegean Sea, sung by Homer in the poems “Iliad” and “Odyssey” is included in the list of published legendary cities. In the middle of the 19th century, archaeologist H. Schliemann connected a settlement found on The Hill of Gisarlyc, on the peninsula of Troad (Troy VIIa) to the era of the legendary Trojan War (1300-1200 BC), which still causes a number of refutations and alternative hypotheses, the assessment and characterisation of which is beyond the scope of this study (Ivik, 2020; Bebyk, 2022). Notably, the contamination proposed by H. Schliemann, is hypothetically conventional (although probable), and the artefacts found in some places were deliberately adjusted to it, as evidenced in particular, by the famous Priam’s Treasure, which really has nothing to do with the King Priam mentioned by Homer (David, 1997). However, the heroic epic that formed the patriotic foundations of the Hellenic worldview determined the archetypal nature of the “Trojan myth” over the following centuries and its spread among different peoples.

The subject of mythogeography can be both the analysis of modelling spatial images and structuring spatial myths in various fields of culture (in particular, in urbanism). The mythogeography of cities has the development of mental spaces and representations that originate from certain “sacred themes” as prototypes of future cities. However, the mythical matrix somehow acquires prolongation in real space – the creation of a spatial myth that leads to an interpretation of the final phenomenon of a particular city. For example, there is a myth about the conscious choice by Emperor Constantine The Great of the place of the foundation of the new capital of the Roman Empire, Constantinople, on the former site of Ilion – Troy, because the Trojans were considered the progenitors of the Romans, according to the iconic epic of Virgil, although they were of Hellenic origin, which fueled the idea of a unifying mission of the diverse lands of the Empire:

*Expell'd and exil'd, left the Trojan shore.
Long labors both by sea and land, he bore,
And in the doubtful war, before he won
The Latian realm, and built the destin'd town;*
(Publius, 1972).

Trojan allusions are also characteristic of Prague, where there is a suburban area on the banks of the Vltava River, which has the name “Troy”, which is believed to originate from Troy Castle (17th century). Ultimately, the Czechs were directly related to the “Roman myth” according to the “Czech Chronicles” (second half of the 1350s) of the Holy Roman emperor and the Czech King Charles IV, where they derived their ethnogenesis from the grandson of Noah, Javan, whose descendants – the Italic peoples presumably were the direct destroyers of Troy. Such an

original Helleno-praising concept was made public in a speech by Jerome of Prague at the Council of Constance in 1415, where he noted that “the Czechs are descended from the Greeks” (Melnikov, 1998). Such representations supported spatial myths, because according to the studies of researchers regarding imaginative thinking, it was identified that the human brain continuously reviews the images of the external world that it perceives, and compares images of the past with images of the current moment (Bloom *et al.*, 2000). Time becomes a natural parameter of this process, and spatial images acquire a historical continuum.

MYTHO GEOGRAPHY OF KYIV

I. Mityn (2005) considers the key concept of mythogeography to be the palimpsest model (from Latin palimpsestus – again scraped). Since antiquity, this is how a manuscript written on used parchment was designated because the material was too expensive, so it was reused after the destruction of the previous text. Various texts interacted, layered on a common primary basis. Thus, the mythogeographic model of reality, organised according to the palimpsest principle, is based on an informational approach, which, due to interpretations, creates many realities of geographical space. In different approaches to the perception of space, there is an inevitable deformation of reality. A place as a palimpsest is characterised as “the sum of heterogeneous contexts, each of which focuses on its dominant (main feature), and, under certain conditions, covers the rest”.

Ancient toponymy, especially one that lost its landscape objects over time (destroyed hills, dried-up rivers, disappeared tracts), contributed to the spread of mythogeographic connotations. For example, the name of the biblical Mount Horeb, or God’s Mountain, where Yahweh was revealed to Moses (2 M, 3:1) was transformed on ancient Slavic soil in the name of Prince Horeb, one of the legendary founders of Kyiv, who “sat on the mountain” (Myshanych, 1989). Perhaps this was due to the Khazar ethnic component of the Jewish religion, which was so influential in Kyiv that it caused the name of the Chronicle tract “Kozare” (Kozare conversation, Kozare settlement) at the mouth of the Pochaina river (Zheleznyak, 2014). However, evidently, when the age of the pagan Rus began, the incomprehensible at the time name of the mountain – “Horevitsa” – was interpreted in the conventional way of correlating with the mythical ruler.

In connection with the stated subject, it is worth highlighting the toponym “Troieshchyna” – an area on the outskirts of Kyiv. It is clear that allusions will be considered, not real correspondences. If the accompanying name “Vygurivshchyna” was carefully examined by a well-known Kyiv scholar M. Rybakov (1990), and based on archival documents is associated with the name of the nobleman Jan Vygura, the toponym “Troieshchyna” does not have certain references, but correlates with the Trinity Monastery, although the presence of such a monastery as the root cause of naming the site has not been proven. In particular, M. Rybakov cites an excerpt from the Charter of Tsar Fyodor Alekseevich in 1680, confirmed in 1720 by the charter of Peter I, where it is indicated that the land was transferred to the hospital monastery: “...they were ordered to confirm Our Dather’s former gift charter ...to

own on this side of the Dnieper in the Kievsky Uyezd by the village of by the name of Troieshchyna” (Rybakov, 1990).

However, the Bolnitsky Monastery of the Kyiv Pechersk Lavra was more often called Bolnitsky-St. Nicholas than Trinity, that is, the mentioned name has a strong reference to the territory, settlement, and not to an architectural object. Although this does not exclude the reverse explanation of the mythonym in the 17th-18th centuries as the most adequate according to the palimpsest principle when the monastery coordinates on land law based on its devotion. That is, by definition, the land plot should belong to the Trinity Monastery, considering the contamination of names. But in the message of the “Kyiv diocesan statements” only the “soil” is mentioned when delineating the territory of the Troieshchyna, while the monastery is left out.

However, geographical areas are not two-dimensional, but are multidimensional, because they contain a number of spaces – real, semantic, textual, imaginary, which arise only in the synergy of the object with the subject as a certain cultural world, which should be analysed in the field of geoculturology. The spatial myth is only one of the layers of the geographical palimpsest (Mitin, 2005).

Although R. Barthes (2013) believed that “everything covered by discourse” can become a myth, however, myths differ in the stability parameter. Testing the Kyiv reception of the Trojan myth, it is worth noting: ordinary residents of old Kyiv really believed that it appeared on the site of Troy, as the Gdansk merchant Martin Gruneweg wrote in his travel notes: “The Rusyns know what a powerful city Kyiv was, and that it was the capital of their princes, that the city is often mentioned in the Chronicle in connection with wars and important events. Even today, they still see the precious structure of Saint Sophia Cathedral, and for several miles around, the destroyed walls are visible. Therefore, they say that the city stretched for 7 German miles, many of them also believe that Troy stood in the same place... This is a gross mistake of ordinary people (which should not surprise us) as if Kyiv had an area of 7 miles. It is also known that Troy lies in Asia Minor, about 300 miles from Kyiv” (Gruneweg, 1981). The European merchant debunks the delusion of simple-minded citizens, which was quite persistent.

The testimony of Gruneweg, who visited Kyiv in 1584, is not one of a kind, in particular, such ideas inherent in the people of Kyiv are given by the poet Jan Dąbrowski, author of the poem “Camoenae Borysthenides” in 1618) (Shevchenko, 2001). Unfortunately, historiography previously introduced Polish figures of the Renaissance (the “Golden Age” of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) exclusively to Polish literature, because everything non-Orthodox was traditionally considered hostile, given the confessional pseudo-patriotism. However, many of them – Catholics who wrote in Latin or Polish (Sebastian Klonowic, Szymon Szymonowic, brothers Szymon and Bartłomiej Zimorowic, Mikołaj Sep Szarzyński, Adam Czahrowski, Szymon Pękala) were fans and sung of Rus-Ruthenia-Roksolania, which they identified with Sarmatia, but was geographically separated (Yakovenko, 2002).

The poem-greeting of Jan Dąbrowski, written before Bohuslav Rodoshky-Bokshi ascended to the episcopal cathedra in Kyiv, goes beyond the genre, because it is historical and, by definition of N. Yakovenko (2002) – “kyivocentric”,

which aims to familiarise the bishop with the city of his appointment:

*The blooming and quiet land will you roam,
And not luxurious in Kyiv will you see the buildings, but poor,
People who still dream of Phrygian ancient Troy
Their life is far from modern (Shevchenko, 2001).*

Thus, the eulogy by Ya. Dombrovsky begins by debunking the “dreams” of ordinary Kyivans due to the discrepancy between Kyiv and the glorious Troy. However, the author of the poem glorifies “those Rusyns – the glorious throne that they once had”, he describes the history of the land outside the Polish borders, the capital of which was Kyiv. Kyiv for the author is a spiritual centre, a glorious city that once united all lands of Rus:

*It once had great power, when monarchs of Kyiv
Had all the Rusyns under control.
These are the princes who made Kyiv the capital
Centre of the state; when in the lands of Boreas
ruled over all the tribes of Sarmatia and Meskhians
(Shevchenko, 2001).*

This exaltation of Kyiv came from the practice of glorifying Troy, as reflected in mythopoeics at that time. Ultimately, the mythical lineage of the Rusyns was derived by Nestor Pechersky from the Old Testament realities (from the son of Noah Japheth), which was not questioned by Baroque writers. In particular, the famous Kyiv polemicist Zacharias Kopystensky in “Palinodia” (1621) characterises the Rusyns as “the people of Japhetho-Russyn Slavic”, identifies them with the Sarmatians: “August the Caesar... did not want war with Sarmatians, that is, the Rusyns or the Slavs...” (Kopystensky, 1878). This was consistent with Polish Renaissance myths about the “noble origin” of peoples from the Sarmatians from ancient sources. Moreover, the very name “Slavs” is etymologically derived from the term “slava” (glory), because: “The people of Japhet were great in number, and slaven (glorious), for which they were called Slavic. That people were also courageous and glorious to the knight’s honour during the Trojan War” (Kopystensky, 1878), directly introducing the Slavs to Trojan mythology.

In Ukraine, since the Old Rus era, a translation of the Byzantine Chronicle of John Malalas with a description of the Trojan War (the 5th book “About the Trojan times”) (Malala, 1968), which was distributed as part of various written monuments up to the 18th century (Shustorovich, 1969) which confirms the relevance of this problem, has become popular.

Since the 15th century, the work “Parable of the Kings” has been distributed – a special edition of Trojan stories, inserted into separate lists of the Slavic translation of the Chronicle of Manasseh (Ukrainian translations of the Parable are supplemented from The Chronicle of M. Bielski, are known in the lists of the second half of the 17th century). In the second half of the 16th century, a Ukrainian translation from the West Slavic source of the story of the Sicilian Guido De Columnis “Historia de bello Trojano” (13th century) appears. In the text of the translation (unfinished), attempts are noticeable to give Trojan

images and events a local flavour – features of Ukrainian noble life (Column, 1967). The archetypal Trojan myth was palpable and in demand in the Ukrainian open spaces. In particular, during the period of Enlightenment, the Trojan theme acquired patriotic extrapolation as “Ukraine – New Troy” in the poems of “Eneida” (1842) by I. Kotliarevsky and “Cassandra” (1908) by Lesia Ukrainka.

On the other hand, from the era of Kievan Rus, the intentions of identity formation in the mode of the Christian tradition originate, which caused the mythologeme “Kyiv – second Jerusalem”, as already mentioned (Demchuk, 2017) Both mythological discourses – religious (“Jerusalem”) and secular (“Trojan”) – are based on the “Holy Land” archetype, where the singularity of Kyiv is explicated in space and time (Fig. 1).

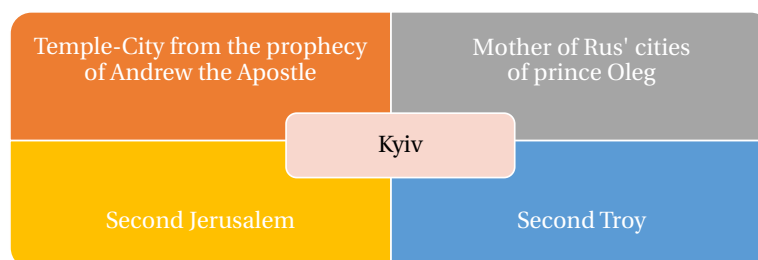


Figure 1. The mythological continuum of Kyiv

The leading Christian mythologemes are visually marked on the left; the leading pagan mythologemes are visually marked on the right, which clearly shows the mythological palimpsest of Kyiv as a result of their layering.

The variation of mythologemes on the example of Kyiv proves that mythology in general is an integral mental quality of any community and a trigger for its cultural dynamics. In the 17th century, the old Ukrainian socio-cultural system acquired a well-established form, which was evidenced by the multifaceted culture of the Ukrainian Baroque, which developed based on the Ukrainian mentality. Each epoch has a priority cultural myth and its own artistic method of connecting the mythopoetic context to spatial representation, and the development of culture, based on the concentration and transformation of the acquired experience, is reduced to rethinking the existing mythological clusters in a new perspective.

CONCLUSIONS

Therefore, based on the study, it can be concluded that the mythogeography of Kyiv corresponds to the palimpsest model, where spatial images from antiquity are temporally layered on the matrix of the cultural landscape.

Allusions of Kyiv to Troy take place from antiquity, as can be traced in the toponymy of the city. The ancient name of the area “Troieshchyna” can be associated with this, which is consistent with the above analogies, in particular, on the example of the city of Prague. It is known that translations of the Byzantine Chronicle of John Malalas with the story of the Trojan War on the territory of Kievan Rus were distributed, which could be due to the certain

interest in this subject of the people who ordered the books.

During the late Middle Ages and the Ukrainian Baroque, the Trojan myth was activated, which is consistent with the Renaissance European tendencies to search for the ancient lineage of cities, states, and peoples. Since the 15th century, national interpretations of the course of the Trojan War can be traced, in particular, “Parable of the Kings”, where the Ukrainian flavour is noticeable. Since the 16th century, Ukrainian translations of Guido De Columni’s “Historia de bello Trojano” have appeared, which confirms the popularity of the Trojan theme. Zachary Kopistensky in the “Palinodia” of the 17th century not only connects the Slavs with the ancient Sarmatians, which was a generally accepted interpretation at that time but also connects them to the events of the legendary Trojan War. Therefore, the glorification of Kyiv by the people of Kyiv can be connected with its mythological identification with Troy, confirmed by Martin Gruneweg in travel notes of the 16th century and indicated in the poems of Jan Dąbrowski of the 17th century. The results of the study allow considering Kyiv in the context of pan-European cultural trends of the Renaissance and Baroque as a landmark European city.

The study of the mythological continuum of Kyiv is also promising from a practical standpoint. Mythology in its modern representation is used as the verbal basis of architectural and urban planning concepts, which allows for broadcasting its legendary image and preserving its unique flavour. In general, cultural research in the field of proto-national myth allows reaching a deeper level of formation of socio-cultural identity, which determines the trajectory of each nation in the universe of humanity.

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Алюзія «Троянського міфу» у легендарній топосфері Києва

Анотація. Статтю присвячено дослідженню алюзій Троянського міфу у легендарній топосфері Києва, чие заснування як міста сягає глибини віків і занурене до міфологічного шару історичного розвитку людства. Київ став не лише осередком структурування протодержавності України, але й символом становлення соціокультурної ідентичності її мешканців. Водночас протягом століть й дотепер Києву належить особливе місце у низці знакових міст Європейського континенту, що обумовлює актуальність дослідження його культурних топосів. Мета роботи полягає у виокремленні, аналізі та синтезі міфологічних патернів з троянської проблематики у соціокультурному ландшафті міста Києва та їхньому впливові на процеси формування колективної самосвідомості та протонаціональної ідентичності. У статті проаналізовано рецепції Троянського міфу на підставі київської топонімики та міфопоетики, літописних джерел та літературних творів, що дозволяє сконструювати його міфологічний палімпсест, який без троянської теми був би позбавлений виразного шару. У межах дослідження простежено трансформацію міфологічних уявлень від доби Київської Русі, що надалі були затребувані на теренах України за доби Бароко. Адже ретроспективне дослідження царини протонаціонального міфу у варіації міфологем як його складових елементів, дає змогу вийти на глибший рівень колективної ментальності, яка є основою формування національної ідентичності шляхом усвідомлення та адаптації глибинних символічних структур. Троянська тема досі не була репрезентована в урбаністичних дослідженнях Києва, хоча має певну кількість маніфестацій у культурному середовищі міста. Дослідження ґрунтується на використанні загальнонаукових методів аналізу та синтезу культурної інформації. Інтерпретаційний метод застосовано для моделювання теоретичних конструктів. Зі спеціальних методів як пріоритетний обрано – міфореставраційний. Наведені у дослідженні гіпотеза та її апробація є авторськими і висуваються уперше

Ключові слова: геокультурологія, міфогеографія, міфопоетика, топос, простір, палімпсест