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Arnold McMillin
London

"Where Are You, Kastuś Kalinoŭski?": Overt and Covert References to Kalinoŭski and His Fate in the Work of Young Belarusian Poets

"Дзе ты, Кастусь Каліноўскі?": яўныя і прыхаваныя згадкі пра Каліноўскага і яго лёс у творах маладых беларускіх паэтаў

Kastuś Kalinoŭski and his fate on the gallows have attracted the attention of Belarusian poets from Adam Hurynovič (1869–1894), himself a rebel, to the present day.[1] A multitude of poets in the twentieth century found inspiration in this national hero[2], and in the post-Soviet period the theme of gallows has become widespread, with the reference to Kalinoŭski clearly understood. Two of the landmarks of the last century were the dramatic poem of Arkadź Kuliašoŭ (1914–1978) *Chamucius* and the poems, plays and novels of Uladzimir Karatkievič (1930–1984) who, with Uladzimier Arloŭ (b. 1953), is the greatest teacher of Belarusian history through literature. Although both of these writers fall beyond the main focus of this paper, they will nonetheless be mentioned again, as they have exerted considerable influence on the young poets of today.[3]

[1] The first account of the tragedy, written soon after the events, describing them as a Polish uprising, and published in France was unlikely to be available to Hurynovič: A. Giller, *Historia powstania narodu polskiego w 1861–64*, Paris 1867. Kalinoŭski's fate was, however, known to many Belarusians in the late nineteenth century, and Frańcišak Bahuševič (1840–1900) actually played a part in the uprising himself: see *Balada Frańciška Bahuševiča* in *Balada kamianioŭ* (Miensk 2006, 20) by Viktar Šnip (b. 1960).

[2] Many but by no means all of these Belarusian poems, as well as a few Lithuanian ones, are to be found in Jazep Januškievič (comp.), *Tvaram da šybienicy: Veidu į kartuves:Kastuś Kalinoŭski i Paŭstańnie 1863–1864 hadoŭ u bielaruskaj i lietuviskaj paezii: Antalohija*, Rakaŭ 2013 (hereafter Januškievič). Viktar Šnip 's *Volia Kastusia Kalinoŭskaha*, and *1864* by his wife, Liudmila Rublieŭskaja (b. 1965) are amongst the omissions.

[3] For instance, the journal "Polymia" (2011, 2) contains an extensive interview with Kuliašoŭ's daughter, Valiancina, by one of the most promising young poets of today Rahnied Malachoŭski (b. 1984) (128–132), as well as an interesting article by Sierž Minskievič (b. 1969), *Duša hieroja pavodlie Arkadzia Kuliašova* (133–140).

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Some contemporary poets address the insurgent directly, others covertly, some through ludic verse, and others indirectly by reference to the earlier works mentioned above, and most of all through the theme of gallows, which by extension recalls not only Kalinoŭski but the many martyrs of the present day.

One of the most direct verses by a young poet, Taćciana Siviec (b. 1982), provides the title of this paper. It comes from her first book, *Lipeńskaja navaĺnica* (A July Thunderstorm, 2003): *Dzie ty, Kastuś Kalinoŭski?* (Where Are You, Kastuś Kalinoŭski?):

Дзе ты, Кастусь Каліноўскі?

Хутка Радзіма голасам боскім
Зноўка пакліча: „Кастусь Каліноўскі!"
Шмат „абаронцаў", ды сэрцы іх з воску –
Дзе палымяны Кастусь Каліноўскі?

Невінаватых за кратамі мноства –
Ты не баішся, Кастусь Каліноўскі?
З праўдай ідзем на ілжывыя войска –
Сцяг утрымай наш, Кастусь Каліноўскі!

Годзе гібець нам у крыўдзе і горы!
Час ужо кропкі ставіць – не коскі!
Хтосьці іншы ты быў яшчэ ўчора –
Сёння ты – мужны Кастусь Каліноўскі![4]

Questions are characteristic of Siviec's early work as a whole, but she is not one of the most consistently outspoken or angry of the young generation of Belarusian poets, and occupies a number of official literary positions. Nonetheless distress is manifest at the state of her country, as may also be seen in a powerful triolet beginning: "Крыжы над плошчай – гэта наш канец / Або працяг атрутнага шаленства",[5] or another poem

Still further from the temporal and generic boundaries of this paper, but undoubtedly of interest, are two early visual works: first, the play by Jeŭścihniej Mirovič (real name Dunaev), *Kastuś Kalinoŭski* (1923), which was taken off in the 1930s; for more information about this play and some illustrations from a production of it, see Andriej Moskwin, *Teatr białoruski 1920–1930: Odrodzenie i zagłada*, Warsaw 2013, 98–103. Secondly, Vladimir Gardin's silent film 'Kastuś Kalinoŭski' of 1928, information about which may be found in A.V. Machereta, *Sovetskie khudozhestvennye fil'my: Annotirovannyj katalog*, vol 1, Moscow, 1961, 200–201. Clips from the film may be seen at: http://yandex.ru/video/search?text=Кастусь%20Калиновский&filmld=jaa33A108gE.

[4] Quickly the Fatherland in the voice of God / Will again call: "Kastuś Kalinoŭski!" / There are many "defenders", and their hearts are of wax – / Where is the fiery Kastuś Kalinoŭski? // There are many innocent people behind bars – / Are you not afraid, Kastuś Kalinoŭski? / We go with truth against the forces of lies – / Hold our banner, Kastuś Kalinoŭski! // We have had enough suffering in insults and grief! / It is now time to put full stops – not commas! / Even yesterday you were someone else – / Today you are the valorous Kastuś Kalinoŭski!: T. Siviec, *Lipieńskaja navaĺnica*, Miensk 2003, 53.

[5] 'Crosses on the square – that is our end / Or the continuation of poisoned brutality': T. Siviec, *op. cit.,* 81. Her other triolets and poems in the classical forms canonized by Bahdanovič are far more lyrical than indignant.

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U palonie (In Captivity), which begins with similarly arresting lines that rhyme the words for prison bars and executioners, not for the first or last time in Belarusian prison poetry: "хаваныя ценямі кратаў, / Вечна ў цемрадзі згубаў і лютасці катаў".[6] "Dzie ty, Kastuś Kalinoŭski", the most recent poem quoted in Januškievič's anthology, presents the martyr as a fiery and bold embodiment of Belarusian ideals that are very relevant today.

The second book of Anatoĺ Ivaščanka (b. 1981), *Chaj tak* (So Be It, 2013), contains a poem *Kalinoŭski* in its section entitled *Son u śnie (kaviery i pieraklady)* (A dream in sleep [covers and translations]). It is a free version of *Dubrovskii*, a song by the well-known Russian bard Boris Grebenshchikov (b. 1953), replacing Russian place-names with Belarusian ones and the name Dubrovskii with Kalinoŭski, but otherwise remaining close to the words of the 'father of Russian rock music'.[7] Źmitrok Kuźmienka (b. 1980) writes in *Pakuĺ žyvu, spadziajusia…* (For as Long as I Live, I Shall Hope…, 2012) of Belarus's need for equality and freedom, seeing Kalinoŭski as the embodiment of his country, and expressing this idea through rhyme in the third stanza of his verse *Belaja Ruś* (White Ruś):

Роўнасць і воля –
Мёртвый Кастусь.
Чорная доля –
Белая Русь.[8]

The inclusion of this Belarusian martyr in a list of losers by the young poet and critic, Maryja Martysievič (b. 1982) in her supposedly humorous prose piece, *Mužčyny, jakich my vybirajem* (The Men We Choose, 2006), seems silly rather than offensive when his fellow 'failures' include such illustrious figures as Maksim Bahdanovič (1891–1917), Vaclaŭ Lastoŭski (1883–1938) and Maksim Harecki (1893–1939), to name but three.[9] There are, however, several successful examples of ludic writing even on such a theme as Kastuś Kalinoŭski. In a poem by Źmicier Plian (b. 1984), '…miane zlavili…' (…they caught me…), for example, the lyrical hero undergoes a series of painful indignities like having his ears cut off and having a piece of sausage stuffed in his mouth, ending with his becoming a mummy wrapped in lavatory paper and introduced to Kalinoŭski who, however, gives him short shrift:

пазнаёмілі з
кастусём каліноўскім
ён спеў мне песьню
і сышоў[10]

[6] 'hidden by the shadows of prison bars / Eternally in the darkness of sacrifices and the ferociousness of executioners': T. Siviec, *op. cit.,* 52.

[7] Grebenshchikov, clearly popular in Belarus, also appears in Chadanovič's *Listy z-pad koŭdry*.

[8] 'Equality and freedom – / Dead Kastuś / Black fate – / White Ruś': Źm. Kuźmienka, *Pakuĺ žyvu, spadziajusia*…., Miensk 2012, 69.

[9] M. Martysievič, *Cmoki liatuć na nierast*, Miensk 2008, 107.

[10] 'they introduced me / to kastuś kalinoŭski / he sang me a song / and departed': Źmicier Plian, *Taksidermičny praktykum*, Miensk 2004, 14.

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Best known as a humorous poet and brilliant translator is Andrej Chadanovič (b. 1973) whose references to the martyr and the related theme of gallows is often but not always dressed in humorous guise. It was in an interview in 2002 that he observed that nowadays, if you were to write verses like Kalinoŭski, you would be taken away on the next day, going on to say that, although he has his own political position, he chooses to express it in a different form[11], perhaps the most obvious example of this being the title of his 2004 collection, *Listy z-pad koŭdry* (Letters from Beneath a Blanket)[12] a clear reference to Kalinoŭski's *Listy z-pad šybienicy* (Letters From Beneath the Gallows).[13] In another interview with Śviatlana Kurs, Chadanovič underlines that as one of the new generation of poets he prefers to write about Kalinoŭski as a private person rather than as part of a collective, as in the past.[14] Chadanovič will be returned to in the second part of this article, which will consider Kalinoŭski's fate rather on the gallows rather than the martyr himself.

* * *

The theme of Kalinoŭski's letters from beneath the gallows in contemporary Belarusian literature has been comprehensively studied by Jaraslava Ananka and Heinrich Kirschbaum, and their admirably exhaustive work has taught the present writer a great deal, as well as reminding him of some of his own earlier writing.[15] The starting point of their article is the remarkable poem by Vera Burlak (who often writes under the name Dżeci) (b. 1977), *Vierš pra šybienicu* (A Poem about Gallows), a work also noted as referring to Kalinoŭski and his fate by other scholars, including the present writer.[16] This seminal work is, indeed, rich in references that are picked up by other poets:

Верш пра шыбеніцу

У двары на вуліцы Каліноўскага
Для дзяцей паставілі шыбеніцу.
Якую спісалі з турмы,
Бо яна састарэла маральна.

[11] "*Pišu dlia adukavanych var'jataŭ*". Z Andrejem Chadanovičam hutaryć Śviatlana Kurs, "Arche", 3 (22), 2002, 32–41 (37).

[12] A. Chadanovič, *Listy z-pad koŭdry*. Miensk, 2004 (hereafter Chadanovič, *Listy*). Before it appeared in Miensk, this book was published in Ukraine.

[13] *Paŭstańnie na Bielarusi 1863 hodu: "Mužyckaja Praŭda" j listy "z-pad šybienicy"*, edited and with commentary by Jan Zaprudnik and Thomas E. Bird, New York 1980.

[14] Andrej Chadanovič in interview with Śviatlana Kurs, *Maje vieršy jak listy ščaścia*, "Naša Niva", 10, 2004, 2, 12 (2).

[15] Y. Ananka, H. Kirschbaum, *Briefe vom Galgen: Gewaltnarrative in der weißrussischen Gegenwartsliteratur*, [in:] *Verbrechen-Fiktion-Vermarktung. Gewalt in der zeitgenössischen slavischen Literatur*, eds. L. Burlon, N. Frieß, I. Gradinari, K. Różańska, P. Salden, Potsdam 2013, 87–101 (hereafter Ananka and Kirschbaum).

[16] A. McMillin, *Writing in a Cold Climate: Belarusian Literature from the 1970s to the Present Day*, London 2010, 880.

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І адразу прыбеглі дзеці,
Каб гайдацца на ёй і падцягвацца,
Каб поўзаць на ёй і караскацца
І займацца карыснай гімнастыкай.
А бацькі былі ўжо ня радыя,
Бо забылі дзеці пра мульцікі,
Пра ўрокі і пра кампутары –
Прыляпіліся сэрцам да шыбеніцы.
Мамкі-нянькі грукаюць шыбінамі
І крычаць ім: „Хутчэй дахаты!"
І хвалююцца: што зь іх вырасьце? –
Баючыся вымавіць „шыбенікі".
Ды, здаецца мне, лепей шыбенікі,
Так, я думаю – лепей шыбенікі,
Лепей, лепей дакладна шыбенікі,
Лепей шыбенікі,
чым каты.[17]

***

Andrej Chadanovič has written two poems (both dated 2001) that refer indirectly but unmistakeably to Kastuś Kalinoŭski: *Śpieŭ ab maim suicydzie* (Song about My Suicide) and 'dans makabr'(dance macabre), whilst an earlier poem, *Paslańnie da bielaruskaha pošt-madernista* (Letter to a Belarusian Postal-Modernist, 2003) expresses scorn for fellow-writers who dramatise their own position. In the best-known of these verses, *Śpieŭ ab maim suicydzie*, after noting that real heroes (*zmahary*) do not do away with themselves, giving as examples, victims of the guillotine and Joan of Arc burned to death by the English, he turns to the question of hanging, using words that recall those of Vera Burlak:

Самы цымус – ня зіркаць углыб:
кожны вечар фіранкі зашморгвай,
бойся, шыбенік, позірку шыб!

[17] A Poem about Gallows // In a yard on Kalinoŭski street / They put up for children some gallows / That had been written off from a prison, / Because they had aged morally. / And immediately children ran to them / To swing on them and pull themselves up / To climb on them and clamber / And do useful gymnastics. / But their parents were not at all glad, / For the children had forgotten about cartoons, / About their lessons and about computers – / Their hearts had become attached to the gallows. / Mummies and nannies banged the window panes / And shouted to them: "Come home quickly!" / And were anxious: What would they grow into? / Fearing to say the word "hanged". / Well, it seems to me, better hanged, / That's what I think, better hanged, / Better, definitely better hanged / Better hanged / than executioners..: Dżeci (Vera Burlak), *Za zdarovy lad žyćcia*, Miensk 2003, 86. It may also be noted that Viera and her husband Viktar ŽybuĹ named their son, a prodigious young poet himself, Kastuś.

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Ды пагляд занураецца ў шкельца
і ў вірох захлынаецца тых.[18]

The association with gallows and window panes may be simply a natural assonantal coincidence or possibly a light reference by Chadanovič to Burlak, one of his most talented protégées. Earlier in this poem is an example of the ironic humour, very characteristic of the older writer, who comments on the number of ghosts from war and peace commemorated in literature, nonetheless emphasizing indirectly the endurance of Kalinoŭski's memory:

Колькі прывідаў войнаў ды міру
Паўстае з рукапісных папер!..
Што тэатрам было за Шэкспіра,
Мыльнай опэрай стала цяпер![19]

Curiously the version of this poem in *Listy* omits one stanza that appeared in the original journal version. The latter is worth citing, as it has direct relevance to the hangman's noose and also quotes the last line of Bahdanovič's *Pahonia* (The Pahonia,1916), one of the most patriotic poems in Belarusian literature:

Палка прагнуў далёкай вандроўкі –
і знайшоў пуцяводную ніць.
А чароўнасьці мыльнай вяроўкі
не разьбіць, не стрымаць, не спыніць!..[20]

In the earlier poem, *Paslańnie da bielaruskaha pošt-madernista*, Chadanovič refers directly to Kalinoŭski, while railing at those who lament their lot (for example, visiting their grandfather in a village) whilst those that wrote letters with a noose around their necks were in a far more difficult plight:

Твой <ex infernis> – амаль што <з вёскі ад пэўнага дзеда>:
Хочаш адказ атрымаць – адрас зваротны пакінь!
А рэпартажы зь пятлёй на шыі, з-пад шыбеніц пісьмы
Твой папярэднік табе ў горшых варунках пісаў.[21]

[18] 'The most important thing is not to look into the depths / every evening pull the curtains shut, be fearful, hanged one, of the gaze of the window panes! // And the gaze of the glass is lowered / and chokes in those whirpools': A. Chadanovič, *Listy*, 36.

[19] How many ghosts of wars and peace / Arise from manuscript papers!.. / What was a theatre for Shakespeare / Has now become a soap opera!: A. Chadanovič, *Listy*, 36.

[20] The stick longed for a long journey – / and found a guiding thread. / But the charm of a soapy rope / cannot be destroyed, held up or stopped!..: A. Chadanovič, *Vieršy*, "Kalośsie", 9, 2001, 31.

[21] 'Your "ex infernis" is almost the same as "from a certain granddad in the village": / If you want to get a reply, give a return address! / And a report with a noose arou nd the neck, letters from beneath the gallows / Your forebear wrote to you in worse circumstances': A. Chadanovič, *Staryja vieršy*, Miensk, 2003, 59.

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'Dans makabr' contains a number of apparent references to Kalinoŭski, such as a tie compared to a noose, and word play between *visieĺnia* (gallows) and *viasielia* (wedding celebrations)[22]. As part of the fantasy he writes whimsically about writing songs and sending e-mails from beneath the gallows:

мы з табой цудоўныя песьні
ў паражні парахні і плесьні
зацягнулі б нібы пятлю
як павешаны на перадвесьні
раз памёршы ўжо не ўваскрэсне
ды на пальцы камень ня трэсьне:
спадзяюся помню люблю
вам з-пад шыбеніц шлем і-мэйлы[23]

Chadanovič's translations from French literature clearly add to the theme of gallows and executioners, seeming to have been particularly chosen for that purpose. The titles of these versions are eloquent: François Villon's *Epitafija Vijona* (An Epitaph for Villon) is subtitled *Balada šybienikaŭ* (Ballad of the Hanged); Charles Baudelaire, *Taniec śmierci* (Dance of Death); and Arthur Rimbaud's *Baĺ šybienikaŭ* (Ball of the Hanged).[24]

* * *

Just before turning to the immensely influential figure of Karatkievič, it may be noted that little interest in the other rebels has been shown in contemporary Belarusian poetry although the excellent story *Piać mužčyn u leśničoŭcy* (Five Men in a Woodsman's Hut, 1985) by Uladzimier Arloŭ uses genuine historical figures for his picture of the plight of his followers. Uladzimir Karatkievič made what Stanislaŭ Stankievič, prompted by Adam Maĺdzis, described as a cult of Kastuś Kalinoŭski:[25] with his novel *Kalasy pad siarpom tvaim* (The Spikes under your Sickle, 1965),[26] the play *Kastuś Kalinoŭski: Śmierć i nieŭmiručaść* (Kastuś Kalinoŭski: Death and Immortality, 1963)[27] and several powerful poems about the rebel, such as *Paviešanym 1863 hoda* (To the Hanged of 1863).[28] He, moreover, wrote about Ryhor Čachoŭski, one of Kalinoŭski's followers,

[22] A. Chadanovič, *Listy*, 138.

[23] 'you and I wonderful songs / into emptiness, rotten wood, mould / we dragged just like a noose / like a hanged man in early spring / once dead he will not rise again / and a stone will not shatter against his fingers: // I hope I remember I love // we are sending you e-mails from beneath the gallows': Chadanovič, *Listy,* 139.

[24] A. Chadanovič, *Pieraklady*, "Arche", 3 (23), 2002, 80–84.

[25] S. Stankievič, *Uladzimier Karatkievič i jahony kuĺt Kastusia Kalinoŭskaha*, *Belarus*, 1979, 268, 6.

[26] It may be noted that the novel is mainly about Kalinoŭski's supporters rather than the leader himself.

[27] Kalinoŭski's monologue from Act III is also known as a separate poem under the title *Prarok* (The Prophet).

[28] For more detail about Karatkievič's historical poetry see Arnold McMillin, *Byŭ. Jość. Budu… Historyja i kuĺtura, jak temy paezii Uladzimira Karatkieviča*, „Termapily", 2, 1999, 104–113.

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in a semi-dramatized poem *Slova pra čalaviečnaść* (A Word about Humanity, 1960); and *Niavieście Kalinoŭskaha* (To Kalinoŭski's Bride, 1962), is a lament for the women left behind after the uprising. Thus, it is not surprising that Karatkievič has served as an inspiration for younger writers and poets like, for instance, Siarhiej Koŭhan (n.d.) in his verse *U. Karatkieviču* (To U. Karatkievič) in which he thanks the older writer for giving him love and understanding of his native country and its heroes. Here is the second stanza:

> Павагу да нашых славутых продкаў,
> Што край баранілі ад ворагаў лютых
> І смерць напаткалі на гэтых узгорках,
> Крывёю і потам народа палітых.[29]

Koŭhan is also the author of a fiercely patriotic poem 'Himn paŭstancaŭ' (Hymn of the Insurgents) in which he calls for inspiration not from Kalinoŭski but from another hero (of about three centuries earlier) in Karatkievič's novella *Sivaja liehienda* (A Hoary Legend, 1961): Raman Rakuta, who was half-executed, accidentally or deliberately, by his enemies:

> Ракутовічаў лёс
> Нас на подзвіг заве
> І да самых нябёс
> Нашы словы нясе.[30]

Another link between Karatkievič and the younger generation may also have an indirect connection to Kalinoŭski. The title of the novel *Saroka na šybienicy* (A Magpie on the Gallows, 2007–09) by Alhierd Bacharevič (b. 1975) takes its title from a painting of 1568 by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, but seems otherwise unconnected with it. There may, however, be a connection with Karatkievič's verse *Tryźnieńnie mužyckaha Brehielia* (The Delirium of the Peasant Bruegel, 1960), although Bacharevič is not generally inclined to acknowledge Belarusian influences on his writing, so this connection may be a chimera.

Finally, an interesting poem, *Čužyniec* (The Alien) by Vika Trenas (b. 1984) seems to use hanging to represent all oppression from abroad. After describing the nature of the addressee's alienness, she writes of the consequence of unwanted foreign interference. It could be Russification and, by extension, with the reference to a noose, allude to Murav'ev the Hangman:

[29] Respect for our glorious forebears, / Who defended the country against fierce enemies / And met their death on these hills, / Soaked in the blood and sweat of the people: S. Koŭhan, *Pieršyja kroki*, St Petersburg 2002 (hereafter Koŭhan). NB some of the now-banned Lohvinaŭ publications, like this one, are labelled "Nevskii proctor", St Peterburg, rather than Miensk as a kind of mystification.

[30] Rakuta's fate / Calls us to heroic deeds / And to the very heavens / Bears our words: Koŭhan, *op. cit.,* 21.

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Чужынец
Ты мне чужы. Як першы снег, што хутка тае.
Ты мне чужы, як выпадковыя дажджы,
І кроў мая, сваёй ахвярнасцю святая,
На твой каўнер зусім па-здрадніцку імжыць.
Тваю пятлю з замілаваннем стрэне шыя,
Ды покуль кроў мая дажджыць, хачу дажыць
Ты мне чужы, бо ўсе табе чужыя,
Бо мне чужыя ўсе, ты мне чужы.[31]

* * *

Kastuś Kalinoŭski and his fate on the gallows undoubtedly had a huge effect on the national consciousness of Belarusians as reflected by their literature. His example is, regrettably, all too relevant to Belarus today, with its election demonstrations, imprisonments and even deaths. Returning to Chadanovič first, and to dispel any idea that his love of wordplay shows a lack of serious concerns, may be mentioned his *Pramova na Ploščy 20 sakavika 2006* (Speech on the Square on 20 March 2006) and other poems of the same time, such as *Pamiaci namiotaŭ na pliacy Kastusia Kalinoŭskaha* (To the Memory of the Tents on Kastuś Kalinoŭski Square).[32] The relevance of Kalinoŭski to the protesters in 2006 is entirely self-evident in, apart from anything else, their re-naming of October Square as Kastuś Kalinoŭski Square for the duration of their tented demonstration there. A short untitled poem by Aleś Arkuš (b. 1960) places the 19th-century insurgent together with two other Belarusian national heroes, who also fell victim to lies and worse:

у хлусьні кароткія рукі
каб схаваць Каліноўскага
каб прымусіць маўчаць Купалу
каб забраць грамадзянства БНР
у Ларысы Геніюш.[33]

[31] The Alien // You are alien to me. Like the first snow that quickly melts, / You are alien to me like sudden rains / And my blood, sacred in its sacrifice, / Drips on your collar utterly treacherously. / My neck meets your noose with emotion, / And for as long as my blood falls like rain, I want to live. / You are alien to me, for all people are alien to you, / For all of you are alien to me, you are alien to me: V. Trenas, *Cud kanfiskavanaha dziacinstva*, Miensk 2005, 23.

In a well-known poem, *Śmiarotnaja strata (1 sakavika 1881h.),* Karatkievič celebrates the revenge on Tsar Alexander II and, by implicatio, Murav'ev, with the epigraph: "To Ihnat Hryniavicki who with his explosion took revenge on Alexander II for the year 1863": U. Karatkievič, *Zbor tvoraŭ u vaśmi tamach*, ed. S.A. Andrajuk et al., Miensk, 1987–1991, 1 (1987), 281–282.

[32] Anon (Žyćcio), *Repartaž z miesca padziejaŭ: Vieršy i pieśni Ploščy*, Miensk [plošča Kalinoŭskaha, 1], 2006 (hereafter *Repartaž*), 21, 25–26.

[33] 'a lie has short arms / to bury Kalinoŭski / to drive Kupala to silence / To remove the citizenship of the BNR / from Larysa Hienijuš': *Repartaž*, 20. The theme of lies is also prominent in Chadanovič's 'Pamiaci namiotaŭ'.

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Kalinoŭski continues to be associated with the considerable number of political prisoners of today and, indeed, with the memory of the two who were accused of terrorism in the Miensk metro and executed (by shooting) in 2012 under disputed circumstances, Uladzislaŭ Kavalioŭ and Dźmitry Kanavalaŭ.[34] It is hard to imagine a time when the name of Kastuś Kalinoŭski will not be associated with Belarus's long and beleaguered path to political freedom.

Рэзюме

Зацікаўленасць вобразам Каліноўскага расла ў беларускай літаратуры на працягу XX-га стагоддзя, асабліва вялікі ўплыў на грамадства зрабілі творы Уладзіміра Караткевіча. Прыцягвае постаць героя і маладых беларускіх паэтаў XXI ст. Прамыя згадкі пра Каліноўскага сустракаюцца ў творах Таццяны Сівец, Анатоля Івашчанкі, Змітрака Кузьменкі. Сярод тых, хто іранічна абыгрывае спадчыну Каліноўскага – Андрэй Хадановіч. Тэмы шыбеніцы і пятлі бясспрэчна злучаюцца з лёсам Каліноўскага ў творах Веры Бурлак, Андрэя Хадановіча і іншых бунтароў на Плошчы ў 2006 годзе.

[34] I am grateful to Ananka and Kirschbaum (98–99) for a reminder that Russophone Belarusians are not excluded from all national traditions, an example being the poet Dźmitry Strocaŭ (Dmitrii Strotsev, b. 1963) who at the time of sentencing the alleged bombers wrote a letter to the President of Belarus requesting the he be executed together with Kavalioŭ and Kanavalaŭ. The letter may be found in his blog: <http://strotsev.livejournal.com/200944.html> [accessed 21 December 20013]. As with the Moscow theatre siege in 2002, so a minority of commentators suspected that the crime may have been executed by the security forces for their own reasons.