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GEORGE PERFECKY, WASYL I. HRYSHKO, LEO RUDNYTZKY,
WOLODYMIR T. ZYLA, LUBA DYKY, ALEXANDER DOMBROWSKY,
IHOR ŠEVČENKO, THEODORE MACKIW, OREST SUBTELNY.

BOOK REVIEWS: PAUL MAGOCSI, T. HUNCZAK, IHOR KAMENETSKY.

CHRONICLE

OBITUARIES

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Ancestry of Mykola Gogol (Hohol)*

OLEKSANDER OHLOBLYN

To my son Dmytro

I

"Ah, the good old days! What joy, what giddiness seizes the heart when you hear what went on in the world long, long ago, with no year nor date to it. *And should some relation, a grandfather or great-grandfather, be mixed up in it in addition—well, then, you may as well throw up your hands: may I choke on the akathist to the great martyr Barbara, if it doesn't almost seem as if you were doing it yourself, as if you had clambered into your ancestor's soul or your ancestor's soul were carousing in you...*"—so writes Mykola Gogol (Ukrainian form: Hohol'; Russian: Nikolay Gogol') in *The Lost Deed*.¹ These words, which Gogol's biographers have noted long ago,² sound almost as if they were an autobiographical avowal. Instead, Gogol was a historian who knew and loved his country's—Ukraine's—past.³ Historical topics and what Gogol called a "clairvoyance into the past"⁴ were proper to his works, particularly during his first period, when the writer sensed especially keenly his links with his country's and his nation's past; when Russian contemporary life, that "base contemporary life," as Gogol would say,⁵ did not yet so oppress his soul and his inspiration.

* Translated from Ukrainian (*Predky Mykoly Hoholya*, Munich-New York, 1968, 38 pp.).

1 N. V. Gogol', *Sobranie sochineniy*, Volume I, Moscow, 1950, p. 80. Italics ours throughout.

2 Cf. V. Chagovets, "Semeinaya khronika Gogoley; po bumagam semeynago arkhiva," *Chteniya v Istoricheskom Obshchestve Nestora-Lyetopistsy*, Book XVI, Kiev, (1902) part III, pp. 3–40. In further references as: V. Chagovets.

3 The Soviet historian L. V. Cherepnin in his article "Istoricheskie vzglyady Gogolya" (*Voprosy istorii*, 1964, I, pp. 75–97) commented on the question of Gogol's interest in and studies of Ukrainian history in too cursory a manner. Cf. also Leonid I. Strakhovsky, "The Historicism of Gogol," *The American Slavic and East European Review*, v. XII, (1953), pp. 360–370.

4 V. Gippius, *Gogol'*, Leningrad, 1924, p. 132.

5 N. V. Gogol'. *Materialy i issledovaniya*, V.I, Leningrad-Moscow, 1936, p. 50 (letter to M. P. Pogodin, 28 November 1836).

Gogol always, both in his younger years and when he, prematurely, considered himself old—having never really reached old age, possessed a strongly developed sense of belonging to a particular family, which in time became his idea. It was one of those ideas which, according to the apt remark of Andrey Belyy, who calls Gogol an “advocate of family patriotism”⁶ appear so prominently in his creative work, especially in its Ukrainian aspect. This sense of ancestry was in Gogol’s case organically linked with his own Ukrainian origins, with his descent from old and distinguished Ukrainian families.⁷ To be sure, Gogol believed that “every name and every family can be ennobled,”⁸ but he took pride in his lineage, although, perhaps, he did not have an exact knowledge of it and imagined some things quite incorrectly.

Thus it is understandable that Gogol’s biographers and students of his work have long ago called attention to the question of Gogol’s ancestry. Beginning with P. Kulish, V. Shenrok, V. Kallash, V. Chagovets, quite a number of authors, Ukrainian, Russian and other, have shown an interest in Gogol’s lineage and ancestors, both near and, to a certain extent, distant.⁹ Of course, this problem has also been taken

⁶ Andrey Belyy, *Masterstvo Gogolya. Issledovanie*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1934, p. 67. In further references as: A. Belyy. The influence of this idea on Gogol’s work is also acknowledged by the French biographer of his father, Robert Triomphe (*Revue des Études Slaves*, v. XXIV, Paris, (1948), pp. 103–104).

⁷ “Gogol loved his family’s past,” writes V. Chagovets, “and his sensitive ear eagerly caught every legend, every anecdote relating to this past...” and he adds that “interesting documents concerning the writer’s ancestors for a period of over a century, from the battle of Poltava to his own times, were kept in the Hohol’ family archives.” (V. Chagovets, pp. 4, 6). For the later fate of the Hohol’ family archives (*Arkhiv Golovni*) cf. A. A. Nazarevskiy, “Iz arkhiva Golovni,” *N. V. Gogol’. Materialy i issledovaniya*, I, pp. 315–319; *Lichnye arkhivnye fondy v gosudarstvennykh khranilishchakh SSSR. Ukazatel’*, Volume I, Moscow, 1962, pp. 187, 195.

⁸ *Sochineniya N. V. Gogolya*, ed. by V. V. Kallash, Brockhaus-Ephron, v. X, *Pis’ma*, p. 143.

⁹ Besides older works, by P. Kulish, V. Shenrok, V. Kallash, V. Chagovets, P. Shchegolev and others, mention must also be made of the writings of S. Durylin (*Iz semeynoy khroniki Gogolya*, Moscow, 1928), V. Veresaev (*K biografii Gogolya, Zametki in Zven’ya*, v. 2, Moscow 1933, pp. 286–293; and *Gogol’ v zhizni*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1933), A. A. Nazarevskiy (“Iz arkhiva Golovni” in *N. V. Gogol’. Materialy i issledovaniya*, v. I, Moscow, 1936, pp. 315–357), Robert Triomphe (“La père de Nicolas Gogol,” *Revue des Études Slaves*, v. XXIV, Paris, 1948, pp. 82–106), Leon Stilman (*Nikolai Gogol: Historical and Biographical Elements in his Creative Personality*, dissertation, Columbia University, 1952; “Nikolaj Gogol and Ostap Hohol,” *Orbis Scriptus Dimitrij Tschizewskij zum 70 Geburtstag*, München, 1966,

up by historians-genealogists, notably by A. Lazarevskiy and V. Modzalevskiy. The former has given us, in his *Ocherki malorossiyskikh familiy*, a short genealogy of Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family (to which Mykola Gogol belonged),¹⁰ and eventually a study of the sources concerning Gogol's ancestors.¹¹ The latter (Modzalevskiy) has made a scholarly study of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy genealogy.¹² It would seem as if the question of the great writer's genealogy had already been solved, and that the family ties of his ancestors had been more or less clarified.

But this is far from being the case. The researchers, the literary experts as well as the historians, regarded it from the traditional aspect of formal genealogy: the research concerned only the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava and, in a cursory manner, some lines of consanguinity of Gogol's near ancestors. There is less concerning Gogol's more distant ancestors. The question of the connection between the Hohol' family of Poltava and that of Volyn'¹³ and the often discussed question whether the Podillya colonel Ostap Hohol' was an ancestor of the writer are still unsolved. Not enough attention has been directed to the Lyzohub and the Tans'kyy families, ancestors of Mykola Gogol.¹⁴ In general, however strange it may seem, there is still no scholarly biography of Gogol.¹⁵

pp. 811-825), as well as the pertinent chapters in general biographical works on Gogol.

¹⁰ A. Lazarevskiy, *Ocherki malorossiyskikh familiy*, 8, "Gogoli-Yanovskie," *Russkiy Arkhiv*, 1875, I, pp. 451-452. In further references as: A. Lazarevskiy, *Ocherki*.

¹¹ A. Lazarevskiy, "Svedeniya o predkakh Gogolya," *Chteniya v Istoricheskom Obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsa*, bk. XVI, Kiev, 1902, pp. 3-12. In further references as: Lazarevskiy, *Svedeniya*.

¹² V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Rodoslovnik*, v. I, Kiev, 1908, pp. 292-295. In further references as: V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*.

¹³ The article of V. Senyutovych-Berezhnyy: "Do henealohiyi Mykoly Hoholya" (*Ukrayinets'-Chas*, 1950, no. 19/85, p. 5), "Volyns'ki Hoholi" (*Ukrayinets'-Chas*, 1950, no. 39-40/205-206, p. 6), "Rid Hoholiv na Volyni" (*Litopys Volyni*, no. I, New York-Winnipeg-Buenos Aires, 1953, pp. 37-47) and "Rod Gogoley Rodoslovnnoe izsledovanie" (*Novik*, 1957, New York), which brought out an interesting collection of information about the Hohol' family of Volyn', did not solve the question of their relationship with the Hohol' family of Poltava.

¹⁴ The only exception is the article of V. Chagovets "Semeynaya khronika Gogoley" (cf. footnote 2).

¹⁵ "It will not be too great an exaggeration to say that not only has no scholarly biography of Gogol yet been written, but even the necessary prerequisites for its appearance do not exist," writes the editor of the Gogol section in volume 58 of *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, I. Sergievskiy (*Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, v. 58, Moscow,

This has had its somewhat unexpected consequences. Russian (both Soviet and emigre) and foreign experts on Gogol continue to be interested in Gogol's genealogy.¹⁶ Actually, there is very little of new material in their works. On the other hand, a new, at times negative, approach, to Gogol's lineage can be discerned. While the official Soviet Gogol scholarship is limited to ascertaining (inaccurately, as a matter of fact) that Gogol is supposed to have come from the "small landed gentry,"¹⁷ some studies devoted to him show a marked tendency to lower the Ukrainian writer and to place him as low as possible on the social scale of his times.

This tendency is particularly evident in the monograph of the well-known Russian writer Andrey Belyy (Boris Nikolaevich Bugaev, 1880–1934) *Masterstvo Gogolya* which appeared in 1934.¹⁸ "The Hohol' family," writes Belyy, "were small landed gentry of recent origin. Gogol's grandfather, Opanas Demyanovych, was a seminarian who abandoned a clerical career in favor of a position in an army office; he became an army clerk; Gogol's father tried to serve . . . in a Little Russian post office in a capacity over and beyond the ordinary staff." "His mother, Mariya Ivanivna, was the daughter of the postal official Kosyarovs'kyy." "His grandmother's grandfather, Lyzohub, a Wallachian, was sentenced to Siberia for profiteering. Gogol's kinsman Troshchyns'kyy climbed up the 'ministers' from among the lackeys; a certain archpriest, a kinsman of Gogol, brought a suit against the Hohol' family concerning a share in the inheritance; there was also Polish blood: Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy. Gogol dressed up the obscurity of the Hohol' family by propagating a fiction of high birth . . ." ¹⁹ Belyy concludes from all this: "The Hohol' family, which came from the lower classes, was,

1952, p. 533). This important gap has not been filled even by the rather numerous publications about Gogol on the centenary of his death (1952) and the 150th anniversary of his birth (1959).

¹⁶ Cf. footnote 9.

¹⁷ *Ukrasyins'ka radyans'ka entsyklopediya*, v. 3, Kiev, 1960, p. 321 ("in a family of a Ukrainian small landed proprietor"). The Hohol' family, however, had (in the 1830's) over 400 serfs and about 2,970 acres of land, and A. A. Nazarevskiy is quite justified in writing that "we should acknowledge the Hohol' family as belonging to the middle group of landed proprietors, standing in certain respects closer to the large rather than to the small establishments of their times" (A. Nazarevskiy, op. cit., p. 349. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 334–335, 346).

¹⁸ Cf. footnote 6.

¹⁹ A. Belyy, p. 29. This grandfather of Gogol's grandmother (née Lyzohub) was not a Lyzohub, but a Tans'kyy. In fact, the Lyzohub family was of Ukrainian descent.

so to say, 'burghers among the gentry' (not by mode of life, but by origin) among the aristocracy of the landed gentry; a lordling-Latinist used to appear in the circle of Foma Hryhorovych, the cantor of the church in Dykanka who is described in *Evenings at Khutor near Dykanka*, and would call the grandmother 'babus' instead of 'baba' . . . ; this could have been: Gogol's grandfather or even 'Nikosha' Gogol himself, drawn to the clerks and cantors by the force of blood ties, as later he was drawn to his countrymen by the force of national relationship; the Great Russian aristocrat, a 'boyarin' by blood, and Gogol were worlds apart; among village cantors he felt at ease; here he could 'edify' and show off 'the ways of the world,' putting 'one's finger up and looking at its tip,' to call the 'baba' 'babus' and the spade 'lopatus' instead of 'lopata' and to nettle those who wipe their noses with their hems, to astound all by pulling out 'a neatly folded white handkerchief . . . and having done what ought to be done, to fold it again into a twelfth part and to put it away' . . . "20

"Gogol ridicules the salons with the gilded 'Indices and Persias'; but his simple relations with his relatives 'become less and less . . . sincere.' He breaks with the circle of Foma Hryhorovych just as later his imperialistic ideology breaks with the future proponents of independence and the austrophiles after the type of Hrushevs'kyy and Antonovych."21

"The dichotomy in Gogol is, first of all, a mingling of bloods, imbibed with his mother's milk; secondly, symptoms of the rising class war; despite the striving to 'spiritualize' the life of the petty gentry there is felt an attraction to the class of townspeople and easy intimacy with the mode of life of clerks and priestlings."22

"An exhausted personality sought an equilibrium between the hopak and a 'pose'; but the lack of balance was predestined: by the lack of equilibrium in the social conditions that gave birth to Gogol; the hopak-dancing clerk protected himself by assuming a nobleman's grandness; and a 'petty nobleman' oushed his way up to the generals to admonish 'their excellencies': 'vast, great is my work . . . Yet new classes will rise against me . . . Someone invisible is writing in front of me with a powerful staff' . . . "23

20 A. Belyy, p. 30.

21 Ibid., p. 31.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid., p. 32.

We have purposely cited these long passages from A. Belyy's book, which is interesting from many aspects. Because such poppycock, to translate Gogol's term 'okolēsina,'²⁴ was recorded not by some ignoramus or an unfinished product of village schools, but by one of the most distinguished Russian writers of the twentieth century, a symbolist poet, a person of high, refined culture, a scholar and aesthete, the son of a well-known Moscow professor of mathematics, a member of the real elite of Russian pre-revolutionary culture. Not by chance was Andrey Belyy's book published in Moscow in 1934, with a preface by L. Kamenev (which perhaps redounded on the fate of the book). It came to Ukraine at a time when the Ukrainian voice, the voice of truth and of protest against the mutilation of scientific and historic truth, could no longer be heard.

The works of Russian scholars in the free world about Gogol's ancestors are more seemly. Here too some inaccuracies can be found and even more, a lack of understanding of life in 18th century Ukraine but at least this is presented in a calm, academic tone and style. For instance, there is the monograph of Vsevolod Setchkarev about Gogol's life and works, which appeared first (1953) in a German and recently (1965) in an English edition.²⁵ In it the founder of the Hohol' family of Poltava is called "Andrey" Hohol', colonel of Mohyliv.²⁶ His descendants were, according to Setchkarev, "without exception, priests—a fact which speaks strongly against the nobility of the family."²⁷ Mykola Gogol's great-grandfather, the village priest Demyan, was the first to add on his father Ivan's polonized name Yanovs'kyy, and from that time the surname Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy remained with his descendants until Mykola Gogol discarded the affix.

Gogol's grandfather, Opanas Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy, according to Setchkarev, was the first to abandon the clerical estate and to enter the army, Russian, of course, where he attained the rank of major. But he also studied in a religious seminary, where he acquired a good knowledge

²⁴ N. V. Gogol', *Sobranie sochineniy*, v. V, Moscow, 1949, p. 209.

²⁵ V. Setchkareff, *N. V. Gogol, Leben und Schaffen*, Berlin, 1953. Vsevolod Setchkarev, *Gogol: His Life and Works*, New York, 1965. We shall cite the English edition in further references.

²⁶ This is, of course, Ostap Hohol'. The misunderstanding concerning the name had already been clarified by Lazarevskiy (*Svedeniya*, p. 8, footnote 3). M. Gogol himself called his ancestor the colonel 'Yan Hohol', although he knew about Ostap Hohol'.

²⁷ V. Setchkarev, *Gogol*, p. 4.

of Russian, Latin, Polish, German and Greek. Perhaps in compliance with the wishes of his father-in-law (Lyzohub) he abandoned a clerical career. As a seminarian who knew foreign languages he had taught the children of a noble family nearby and had fallen in love with his pupil Tetyana Lyzohub, the daughter of a distinguished Ukrainian nobleman and his wife, who came from old Polish nobility; therefore, Gogol on this side had Polish blood. Setchkarev then reports the old family tradition concerning the marriage of Opanas Demyanovych with Tetyana against the wishes of her parents, who came to accept it only when their son-in-law "gave up the clerical estate," which, he says, "was not very highly respected" at that time. Thus "the poor seminarian" Opanas Yanovs'kyy "came to gain possession of land," embarked on a military career and, perhaps, received "a title of nobility." "A forged document," not hard to obtain, proved his consanguinity with "the unauthenticated and somewhat legendary" Andrey Hohol'. On the basis of this name his was inscribed in the book of nobility of the Kiev province on 15 October 1792. For a long time the marriage was childless, and only in 1777 a son, Vasył', Mykola Gogol's father, was born.²⁸

All this, despite a series of inaccurate and contradictory statements (as we shall see later), corresponds, generally speaking, with the actual state of things. Yet even in this account of a more or less objective scholar one perceives an insufficient familiarity with an understanding of Ukrainian life and conditions of those times.

II

There is no doubt that the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava came from a clerical background.²⁹ It is not known who its founder,

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 4-5. Setchkarev's information about Gogol's ancestors from the west of the Dnieper (op. cit., p. 3) are not quite accurate. For instance, he thinks that the appointed temporary hetman Hohol' (Ostap) and the colonel of Mohyliv (Podillya), whom Setchkarev calls Andrey and whom he considers to be the founder of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava, were two different persons, representing two separate lines of the Hohol' family. But below he speaks of "the unauthenticated and somewhat legendary Andrey" (p. 4).

Setchkarev's assertion that Gogol on his grandmother Lyzohub's side "has Polish blood," because her mother came from old Polish nobility (p. 4), is equally inaccurate. In general, a Polish patent of nobility did not necessarily presuppose descent from ethnic Poles.

²⁹ There were several Yanovs'kyy families, or priests, townspeople, Cossack officers, of different origins in Ukrainian territories east of the Dnieper in the seventeenth

Yakiv, was. He lived somewhere in the second half of the seventeenth century. But his son, Ivan Yakovych (his surname is not mentioned in the documents), who is supposed to have "come from Poland" (that is, of course, Ukrainian territory west of the Dnieper), was curate of the Trinity church in Lubni (1697) and then pastor of the church of the Assumption in the village of Kononivka, Lubni regiment (1723). From him and his younger brother, Fedir Yakovych, sprang the two main lines of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava: the older from Ivan Yakovych's son Demyan Yanovs'kyy, who was educated at the Kiev Academy and eventually became a priest at the Assumption church in Kononivka (1731, perhaps in his father's place), one branch of which (in the male line) ended with the death of Mykola Gogol in 1852,³⁰ and another branch of which, the Yanovs'kyy family of priests, from Demyan's younger son Kyrylo, who inherited his father's parish, lasted to the beginning of the twentieth century;³¹ and the younger line of Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family, descendants of Petro Fedorovych and his son, the army doctor Ivan Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy, which also survived into the twentieth century.³²

Was there any consanguinity between the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava and the Hohol' family of Volyn', which belonged to the

and eighteenth centuries. There were numerous Yanovs'ki in the regiment of Pryluky (A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie Staroy Malorossii*, v. III, *Polk Prylutskiy*, Kiev, 1902, pp. 66, 72, 73, 268-269, 285). Yanovs'ki (not related perhaps with the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family) were also found in the Lubni regiment (cf. L. Okinshevych, *Znachne viys'kove tovarystvo v Ukrayini-Het'manshchyni XVII-XVIII st.*, *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, volume 157, Munich, 1948, p. 74: military companion M. Yanovs'kyy in Lohvytsya, 1760). Cf. also A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie Staroy Malorossii*, v. I, *Polk Starodubovskiy*, Kiev, 1888, p. 335; V. Lukomskiy and V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Gerbovnik*, St. Petersburg, 1914. For the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family, see V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, pp. 292-295.

³⁰ On the female side the descendants of M. V. Gogol's sisters Mariya Trushkovska, Yelysaveta Bykova and Ol'ha Holovnya survived to the twentieth century.

³¹ Kyrylo Demyanovych Yanovs'kyy's son Merkuriy was, like his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, a priest in the village of Kononivka. Kyrylo's second son Sava Yanovs'kyy was a priest in the village of Olefyryvka, district of Myrhorod, and his son Volodymyr was also a priest in the Myrhorod district at the beginning of the twentieth century. Cf. A. Petrovskiy, "K voprosu o predkakh Gogolya," *Poltavskiya Gubernskiya Vedomosti*, 1902, no. 36 (reprinted in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1902, III, pp. 174-176).

³² 11 May 1794 Opanas Demyanovych Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy gave Ivan Petrovych Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy a certificate testifying that the latter was his second cousin. Concerning the descendants of Ivan Petrovych, cf. V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, p. 292.

nobility (coat of arms Lyubych) and was well-known in the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries,³³ and in particular, with Ostap Hohol'.³⁴ As is well known, the Hohol' family of Poltava tried to prove towards the end of the eighteenth century that it sprang from Ostap Hohol'. The Commission on Nobility of the Kiev vice-regency recognized this claim and entered the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family in Part I of the Genealogical register. This version was confirmed by A. Lazarevskiy,³⁵ and even V. Modzalevskiy, who derives the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy genealogy from the Lubni priest Ivan (Jan) Yakovych, does not reject this possibility and therefore mentions also Ostap Hohol' in his genealogy, but among those who were not included in the lists.³⁶ Some Polish historians-genealogists (notably Juljan Bartoszewicz and Count Severyn Uruski) allows the possibility of this consanguinity.³⁷ Similarly, V. Senyutovych-Berezhnnyy does not exclude it in his articles about the Hohol's family of Volyn'.³⁸ Nevertheless, the greater number of

³³ Cf. V. Senyutovych-Berezhnnyy, "Rid Hoholiv na Volyni," *Litopys Volyni*, I, 37-46.

³⁴ V. Lypyns'kyy in the *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, gave detailed information about Ostap Hohol'. The Volyn' nobleman O. Hohol' commanded the 'armored Cossacks (light cavalry) in Uman' before the revolt of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyy in 1648. After the battle of Korsun' he went over to the Cossacks and was colonel of Vinnytsya (1649), then of Uman', and eventually of Podillya, or Mohyliv (or Mohyliv-Podnistrya, 1654-1676, with interruptions) and of Bratslav (1664). In 1686 he, together with Danylo Vyhovs'kyy and Pavlo Yanenko-Khmel'nyts'kyy, tried to drive out the Russian forces from Kiev, although, according to Lypyns'kyy, he was a supporter of the Union of Hadyach. In 1660, near Chudnov, he accepted the Polish orientation and in 1661 he was raised to the nobility (actually, his rights as a noble were removed). He was then an adherent of Hetman Petro Doroshenko and professed his Turkish orientation. In time Hohol' returned to the Polish camp and helped the Poles in the struggle against the Turks, for which aid he received the royal deed to the village Ol'khyvets' in 1674, and in 1676 the Diet again conferred on him patents of nobility. But he was dissatisfied with Poland's policies towards Ukraine and intended to go over to Hetman Ivan Samoylovych. This did not happen, and Hohol' was assigned temporary hetman of the Cossacks west of the Dnieper who were of Polish orientation (1676), with residence at Dymer near Kiev. He died in Dymer in 1679 and was buried in the Mezhyhirs'kyy Monastery in Kiev. (*Z dziejów Ukrainy*, Kiev (Cracow), 1912, p. 296. This also has references to source materials, mostly in archives, and some bibliography.) Cf. also V. Senyutovych-Berezhnnyy, "Rid Hoholiv na Volyni," *Litopys Volyni*, I, pp. 40-42; O. Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, series *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, v. 170, New York-Paris-Toronto, 1960, p. 245.

³⁵ A. Lazarevskiy. *Ocherki*, 451-452; A. Lazarevskiy, *Svedeniya*, 10-11.

³⁶ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, I, 295.

³⁷ Cf. V. Senyutovych-Berezhnnyy, op. cit., 37, 42.

³⁸ Ibid.

modern Gogol scholars categorically deny any consanguinity of the Holol'-Yanovs'kyy family with Ostap Hohol'.³⁹

In connection with this the question was raised about the authenticity of the royal decree given to Ostap Hohol' in 1674, which Gogol's grandfather Opanas Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy cited as evidence when he sought confirmation of his rights as a nobleman.⁴⁰ The older experts, particularly Lazarevskiy, considered this decree authentic and attached special importance to the fact that it was in the archives of Opanas Demyanovych. Modern scholars, on the other hand, for the most part refuse to accept it as proof of the consanguinity of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family with Ostap Hohol', and some of them (Veresaev in particular) carry their scepticism so far as to consider this document a forgery.⁴¹ In fact, Mykola Gogol's great-great-grandfather, the priest Ivan Yakovych, can scarcely be considered to be Ostap Hohol's grandson, the son of his son Prokop, as the Hohol' family tradition asserts.⁴²

On the other hand, the original of the 1674 decree has not come to us: we have only the copy which Mykola Gogol's grandfather pre-

³⁹ V. Veresaev, *K biografii Gogolya*, in *Zvenya*, II, 290-291; L. Stilman, *Nikolaj Gogol and Ostap Hohol*, 825.

⁴⁰ The (incomplete) text of the decree of 1674 was published, according to the materials of the Archives of the Poltava Assembly of the Nobility, by A. Lazarevskiy in *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1875, I, pp. 451-452, and in *Chleniya v Istoricheskomo Obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsy*, XVI, p. 7, footnote 1.

⁴¹ V. Veresaev, op. cit., 291 ("a hastily concocted document"). Cf. V. Setchkarev, 4 ("A forged document").

⁴² Yet the family version of the consanguinity of Ivan Yakovych and Prokop Hohol' cannot be entirely disregarded. Putting aside possible inaccuracies in the documents (or in the perusal of them by non-professionals), the custom, fairly widespread in Ukraine in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, of using two Christian names must be kept in mind. Examples of this are: Prince Vasyi'-Konstantyn Ostroz'kyy; Hetman Zynoviy-Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyy; Stepan-Adam Mazepa, the father of Hetman Ivan Mazepa; "Wasil dictus Adam" Volodyyevs'kyy, a landowner of the Bar county (second half of the sixteenth century); Volodyslav-Volodymyr Borozdna, a Starodub noble of the latter part of the seventeenth century; "Vladymyr Myrovych, also Vasylii" (1716, son of the Pereiaslav colonel Ivan Myrovych); Andronyk-Andriy Kandyba, general judge (1729-1730); and many other instances, which not infrequently present Ukrainian genealogists with great difficulties. In fact, even Mykola Gogol's great-grandfather, Semen Lyzohub, also had another name, Symon.

From this it is clear why in the patronymics of that time there occur such inconsistencies as, for example, general judge Mykhaylo Vasylovych Vuyakhevych-Vysochyns'kyy having the patronymic Yakovych in some documents (cf. our work *Do istoriyi Ruyiny*, in the series *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, book XVI, Kiev, 1928).

sented in the 1780's as evidence of his nobility. But already Lazarevskiy had proved rather convincingly the authenticity of this document, and this view is also accepted by the modern student of this question Leon Stilman, although he rejects the possibility of consanguinity between the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family and Ostap Hohol'.⁴³ After all, as Lazarevskiy justly noted, there was no need of such falsification since M. Gogol's grandfather possessed a rank which gave him incontestable rights to be listed among the gentry and, together with this, to possess landed property.⁴⁴

In our opinion, consanguinity of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava with the Volyn' Hohol' family and, in particular, with Ostap Hohol', is quite possible. In the first place, the family tradition cannot be entirely disregarded, which connected the Yanovs'kyy family of priests with the Hohol' gentry family perhaps even before there arose the necessity of proving this connection and giving it legal precision.⁴⁵

⁴³ A. Lazarevskiy, *Svedeniya*, 7-8. L. Stilman (op. cit., pp. 813-814: "undoubtedly authentic") gives additional considerations in favor of the authenticity of the 1674 document.

⁴⁴ A. Lazarevskiy, *Svedeniya*, 7. L. Stilman's opinion that Gogol's grandfather was seeking recognition of belonging to the *hereditary* gentry because he, in consequence of his marriage with Lyzohub's daughter, became an owner of an estate with about 300 serfs (op. cit., 811) is scarcely justified. First of all, this estate (the village Keleberda, the khutir Kupchyn, etc.) did not belong to Opanas Demyanovych but to his wife Tetyana Semenivna, who received it from her father (as her mother's legacy or as dowry), according to documents dated 3 May 1776 (perhaps at her marriage) and 21 June 1781 (the will, obviously). In addition, the "Kupchyn khutir" in the Shyshats'ka sotnya of the Myrhorod regiment was still reckoned as belonging to Semen Lyzohub, Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy's father-in-law, in 1780. (A. Lazarevskiy, *Svedeniya*, p. 12, footnote 1). Only Vasyi', the son of Opanas Demyanovych and Tetyana Semenivna Hohol'-Yanovs'ki, acquired in time full rights of ownership over this property. But even then his mother had her own possessions there. In addition to this, to belong to the *hereditary* gentry was not a prerequisite for the possession of an estate (even with serfs) in Ukraine towards the end of the eighteenth century: the deciding factor was the legal nature of the ownership and, of course, the owner had to belong to the gentry.

⁴⁵ V. L. Modzalevskiy, the best authority in the realm of eastern Ukrainian genealogy, confessed that "when I began my work on family histories I too treated family traditions and documents based on them negatively," "but later I came to the conclusion that, generally speaking, such traditions are based on trustworthy facts which only later become distorted" (*Trudy Chernigovskoy Gubernskoy Arkhivnoy Komissii*, v. X, Chernihiv, 1913, Protocols of the Commission for 1912, 16, V). Even A. M. Lazarevskiy, who considered "information about the origins of families" "as least certain when it comes to the gentry" (letter to Count G. A. Myloradovych, 26 October 1890, *Ukrayins'kyy Arkheohrafichnyy Zbirnyk*, v. II, Kiev, 1927, p. 329), thought also that "there is a grain of truth in the traditions which

Furthermore, it is indeed important that the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family (in particular, Opanas Damyanovycĭ) had in its possession the decree (or a copy of it) of the Polish king Jan Sobieski dated 6 December 1674 which granted "him who was called Hohol," colonel of Mohyliv (this is obviously Ostap Hohol') and his descendants the village Ol'khivets'.⁴⁶ After Ostap Hohol's death (1679) this document must have been in his family (in 1674 he had a wife and a son, Prokop⁴⁷) about whose further fate we have no certain information. Ostap's son could have gone to the Hetman State and settled there (in particular, near Lubni), which was a common occurrence in those times. It is hardly likely that he left any male descendants, although we meet with the surname Hohol' (rarely, to be sure), in addition to Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy in the Hetmanate: for instance, Fedir Hohol', army clerk, who signed the order of the Kiev nobility to the Commission for the drawing up of the New Statutes in 1767.⁴⁸ On the other hand, the Hohol' family of gentry existed in Volyn' in the eighteenth and nineteenth (first half) centuries.⁴⁹

We think that the Yanovs'kyy family of Poltava (Lubni) could have become related with the Hohol' family of Volyn', in particular, with Ostap Hohol', towards the end of the seventeenth century through the marriage of one of the Yanovs'ki (perhaps Ivan Yakovych) with some descendant of Ostap or, strictly speaking, of his son Prokop. According to a rather widespread custom in the Hetmanate at that time,⁵⁰

many families have concerning their founders" (ibid., p. 346, letter to Count G. A. Myloradovych, 22 September 1894).

In connection with this, the opinion put forward by O. Ya. Yefymenko and still very popular in literature on this subject, that there were was widespread falsification of documents by the descendants of Cossack officers concerning their gentry origins, can scarcely be accepted. Naturally, there were cases of this, rather numerous in fact, but it is wrong to generalize from this. Cf. also L. Okinshevych, op. cit., pp. 168-170.

⁴⁶ We accept the opinion of Lazarevskiy and other scholars who regard this document as authentic and as rightfully belonging to the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family.

⁴⁷ "To him (Ostap Hohol') . . . as well as to his present wife, and after their death their own son Prokop Bałaczko (or Batacko) Hohol . . ." (A. Lazarevskiy, *Svedeniya*, p. 7, footnote 1). Ostap Hohol' really had a son, who in 1664 was studying in Lviv (N. Kostomarov, *Istoričeskiya monografii i izsledovaniya*, v. XV, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 38).

⁴⁸ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, I, 295.

⁴⁹ V. Senyutovych-Berezhnyy, op. cit., 42.

⁵⁰ The use of the wife's or mother's surname instead of the father's (or the family's in general) or together with it was rather widespread in the Hetmanate in

this Yanovs'kyy (or one of his descendants) added to his surname the name of his wife or mother (or grandmother), who represented the old gentry (and Cossack officer) Hohol' family, and thus there appeared the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family. However it is possible that both Opanas Demyanovych and his second cousin Ivan Petrovych already bore the

the eighteenth century, especially in families of officers, Cossacks and priests. We give only a few examples.

Ivan Semenovych Lashkevych, bunchukovyy companion, whose mother's maiden name was Rubets', sometimes signed his name as 'Lashkevych-Rubtsov' (1729, V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Rodoslovnik*, v. III, Kiev, 1912, p. 27).

Mykhaylo Artemovych Lashkevych, military companion, was married to the daughter of bunchukovyy companion Petro Stepanovych Butovych (son of the general osaul Stepan Ivanovych Butovych and his wife Mariya Yakivna, née Lyzohub). Their sons Osy and Ivan Mykhaylovychi were called Lashkevych-Butovych (*ibid.*, 30, 46).

A daughter of the Poltava colonel Ivan Iskra (grandson of Hetman Yakiv Ostrianyn) married (1708) the Poltava burgher (or, perhaps, Cossack) Demyan. Their son Vasyly' Demyanovych, a judge of the municipal court (1759) and later mayor (1761) of the Poltava municipal council, was called Demchenko, while their grandson, Demyan Vasylovych, a second lieutenant (1796), signed himself Demchenko-Iskra. Cf. V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, II, 251.

The nobleman Antin Drahomyrets'kyy, who came to the Left Bank Ukraine from Galicia in the 1730's, married there the daughter of the Cossack Matskevych. Their son Ivan, who eventually retired as captain, was called Matskevych or (later) Drahomyrets'kyy-Matskevych; only in 1788 was he permitted, at his request, to call himself Drahomyrov (his grandson Mykhaylo Ivanovych Drahomyrov was the well-known military figure and writer). Cf. our article "Rid Drahomyrovkyh," *Ovyd*, (1964), no. 2, pp. 56-57.

The descendants of the bunchukovyy companion Hryhoriy Kyrylovych Trots'kyy, who was married to a Senyutovych, came to be called Trots'ki-Senyutovychi. The Trots'ki were a family of Cossack officers of burgher origins. Hryhoriy Kyrylovych's father, Kyrylo Trokhymovych Trots'kyy, was sotnyk of Bakhmach, then of Novi Mlyn and bunchukovyy companion (he is the founder of the Trots'kyy gentry family of Chernihiv), while his brother, Fedir Trokhymovych Trots'kyy, was a priest in Novomlyn'ske (A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie Staroy Malorossii*, v. II, *Polk Nezhytskiy*, Kiev, 1893, pp. 290-292; V. Lukomskiy and V. Modzalevskiy, *Gerbownik*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 187).

Mykhaylo Khudorba, a select Cossack of the village of Koman' of the Novhorodsivers'k sotnya, of an old Cossack family ("a Cossack since olden times"), was called Mykhaylo Omelyanenko ("Omelyanenk") from the name of his wife, daughter of the Cossack Hnat Omelyanenko, in the Rumyantsev's survey of 1767. But in the registers of the gentry of the Novhorodsivers'k viceregency of 1790, when he was already a retired military companion, he is entered as Mykhaylo Khudorba. His children also, in particular his son Arkhyy, a premier major, author of a *History of Ukraine*, signed themselves Khudorba (or Khudorbiy). Cf. our work *Lyudy Staroyi Ukrainy*, Munich, 1959, pp. 289-290.

The father of the military companion 'Danylo Antonovych Hudyma-Mosendzovs'kyy (1783) "Anton, assumed also the surname Mosendzov from his wife; his

surname Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy.⁵¹ Later the way this consanguinity originated was lost sight of, and Opanas Demyanovych traced his genealogy from Colonel Ostap Hohol' not in the female line, as it perhaps actually was, but simply in the male line. This then raised doubts in the minds of later scholars as to the genuineness of this genealogy. If this was so, then the fact that the royal decree of 1674 was in the hands of the Hohol's-Yanovs'kyy family can be explained very easily.⁵²

proper surname is Hudyma" (1788. A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie Staroy Malorossii*, volume II, *Polk Nezshinskiy*, Kiev, 1893, p. 490).

Ulas (Vasyl') Pavlovych, son of the priest Pavlo Korotkevych, married a "Cossack daughter" Hladkyy and began to serve "Cossack-fashion" after the example of his father-in-law (in time he became khorunzhyy of the Novhorodsivers'k sotnya and had the rank of cornet), in connection with which he added to his family name (which, incidentally, was of the nobility) the surname of his father-in-law or used the latter alone, signing himself 'Hladkyy-Korotkevych' or simply 'Hladkyy'. His descendants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were called Korotkevychi-Hladki (from materials in our family archives).

The surnames of the well-known gentry families of Chernihiv of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Kulyabko-Korets'ki, Pokors'ki-Zhoravko, Yen'ko-Darovs'ki and others are of similar origin.

⁵¹ Nevertheless, even in our branch (M. Gogol), the surname 'Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy' was not easily grafted on. Opanas Demyanovych and his wife Tetyana Semenivna used Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy (cf. A. Nazarevskiy, op. cit., p. 334, footnote 2, 347). But Vasyl' Opansovych and his wife were generally called Yanovs'kii (ibid., 351-352). M. Gogol in his Nizhen and early Petersburg period called himself (and was called) either Yanovs'kyy or Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy. Only later, when he was already a well-known literary figure, did he cast off the second part of this name, and his closer relatives followed suit. But the descendants of Ivan Petrovych, second cousin of Opanas Demyanovych, continued to be called Hohol'-Yanovs'ki.

⁵² We have something similar in the history of the Petrovs'kyy (Mynkovych-Petrovs'kyy) gentry family of Poltava, who was seeking recognition of its gentry rights almost at the same time as the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family. The Petrovs'kyy family traces its origins from the Pavoloch colonel of the Khmel'nyts'kyy era Ivan Kuchevych-Mynkovs'kyy (who died around 1657). One of his son, Petro Ivanovych Mynkovs'kyy, (according to the account of his descendants) "during the disturbances and oppression of the people and uneasiness which would occur in olden times because of the wars against the Turks left all his possessions, both those that had been conferred on him and those he had bought, there in Poland and came with his son Stefan over to this side of the Dnieper into Little Russia, to the Lubni regiment, where he settled down in the town of Horodyshche..." and became a priest there (this fact was ignored by his descendants). His son, Stepan Petrovych, "who was still a minor when his father died, was called Petrenko after his father by the townspeople, from which nickname Stepan, when he came of age, according to the simplicity of those times was called Petrovs'kyy and signed his name, thus abandoning his proper surname Mynkovych." In an official document of 1671, when he was regimental osaul of Lubni, he is called "Stefan Popovych" (obviously, after his father's profession). His descendants, the Petrovs'kyy family, created a whole

It would be a great mistake to think that the priestly estate in Ukraine during the Hetmanate was very remote from the nobility and, all the more so, from the class of Cossack officers and, in general, was "not very highly respected," as Setchkarev maintains,⁵³ or to equate it with Gogol's Foma Hryhorovych, cantor of the church at Dykanka, ascribing to Gogol "an attraction to the class of townspeople and easy

'dynasty' of sotnyks of Horodyshe (1694–1766) and occupied a prominent position among the officers of Lubni and later among the gentry of Poltava.

As proof of their descent from the Pavoloch colonel Ivan Kuchevych-Mynkovs'kyy the Petrovs'ki submitted, among other things, copies of (two) proclamations of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyy, dated 19 June 1657, and of Ivan Vyhovs'kyy of 1 August 1659, which confirmed the rights of the colonel's children to the family estates west of the Dnieper. These proclamations do not arouse any doubts as to their authenticity (the original of one of them exists to this day). More about this in: V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Rodoslovnik*, v. IV, Kiev, 1914, pp. 25–26, 828–829; *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho, 1648–1657*, Kiev, 1961, pp. 593–594.

In general, it must be remembered, as V. Lypyns'kyy has already pointed out, that "the use of patronymics in place of family names occurs very frequent in those times . . ." (V. Lypyns'kyy, *Ukrayina na perelomi, 1657–1659*, Vienna, 1920; reprint, New York, 1954, p. 277, footnote 158).

Opanas Demyanovych Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy explained the loss of the surname Hohol' by the fact that his father, Demyan Ivanovych, "when he came to the Kiev Academy . . . assumed the name Yanovs'kyy after his father Yan" (A. Lazarevskiy, *Ocherki*, 452). This was a rather common phenomenon in those times, and not only in Ukraine. In general, in Eastern European schools (especially theological schools) the family name (or patronymic) was frequently exchanged for one quite different, derived usually from church literature. The classic example of this is the case of the well-known Russian statesman of the first half of the nineteenth century, Count Mikhaylo Mikhaylovich Speranskiy. I. I. Dmitriev, the Russian poet and statesman, writes in his memoirs: "His (Speranskiy's—O.O.) father was a priest of the Vladimir eparchy, but his grandfather, as he himself used to tell me, was a khorunzhyi in the Cossack army of Little Russia. His family name was Hrammatyn (was it not rather Harmatyn or Harmashyn, Harmash?—O.O.). He was renamed Speranskiy in school, no doubt because of the hopes placed in his talents" (I. Dmitriev, *Vzglyad na moyu zhizn'*, Moscow, 1866, p. 196).

As if recalling their ancestors' family surname, in the second half of the eighteenth century some Ukrainian officer families (or separate branches of them) began to use it together with the usual one. For example, Vasyl' Yakovych Lyzohub (1751–1800), great-grandson of the general quartermaster Yakiv Yuhymovych Lyzohub, used the name Kobyzevych-Lyzohub, and this double name passed on to his daughters (he had no sons) until their marriage. Of course, he had in mind the fact that one of his ancestors was raised to the nobility precisely under this surname. But all his kinsmen and their descendants used only the name Lyzohub. Cf. V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, III, 110–111; Count G. A. Miloradovich, *Rodoslovnaya kniga Chernigovskago dvoryanstva*, v. I, St. Petersburg, 1901, part 2, p. 328. Something similar could have happened in the case of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family.

⁵³ C. Setchkarev, op. cit., 4.

intimacy with the mode of life of clerks and priestlings" as Andrey Belyy does.⁵⁴

Actually, the position of the clergy in the Hetmanate was quite different and, in fact, did not resemble that of the Russian clergy. The Ukrainian clergy, especially the secular clergy, represented a separate social class, which enjoyed a by no means negligible influence in the social, economic, cultural, and even political life of the Cossack Hetman state. Naturally, it was not a ruling class, but its place on the social scale was by no means so very low. A series of historical conditions contributed to this: the fact that ethnically the clergy was almost exclusively Ukrainian; the official status of the Orthodox Church in the Hetmanate; the concentration of parishes in the hands of a few priestly families; the hereditary nature of parishes, which passed from father to son (or to son-in-law); the close ties of the clergy with local farming and land ownership, connected with the fact that the (secular) clergy possessed land by rights of private possession and infrequently even had 'subjects' or tenants; the traditional election of Ukrainian parish (especially village) clergy, which strengthened the bonds between it and the community; the family ties of priestly families with local Cossack families, town patricians and Cossack officers, and even with the nobility; the good, often high level of education among the clergy; finally, a kind of 'dynasticity' of the clergy in eastern Ukraine and, founded on this, the growth of distinctly dynastic feelings and traditions.⁵⁵ A considerable number of priests came from the families of officers or even from the nobility. Frequently a Cossack officer (or his son) would enter the priesthood (or become a monk); candidates for the priesthood would marry daughters of officers, the children of a priest would marry the children of officers or of the nobility.⁵⁶ It

⁵⁴ A. Belyy, 31.

⁵⁵ For more on this, cf. our article "Do isto-riyi ukrayins'koho dukhovenstva na Het'manshchyni XVIII stolittya," *Bohoslov*, v. I, New York, (1951), pp. 57-64.

⁵⁶ Innumerable examples could be cited which testify to the fact that the clerical class was very close to that of officers and gentry in the Hetman Ukraine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. M. E. Slabchenko is quite right in saying that "there was a constant displacement from clergy to the ranks of the Cossacks and from the Cossacks to the clerical estate" (M. Slabchenko, *Maloruskyy polk v administrativnom otnoshenii*, Odessa, 1909, p. 249, footnote 1). It will suffice to mention Hetman Ivan Samoylovych, in whose case the fact that he came from a family of priests was no obstacle to forming family ties with the princes Svyatopolk-Chetvertinski and the Russian boyars Sheremetev; Khmel'nyts'kyy's well-known colonels Syluyan Muzhylovs'kyy and Ivan Avramovych (Popovych), colonel of Cher-

was precisely this tie with Cossack officers and the nobility that indirectly opened for Ukrainian clergy the path to acquiring Russian nobility. This path was taken by Mykola Gogol's grandfather, Opanas Demyanovych Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy, a priest's son who became a Cossack officer—and eventually received the rights of nobility.

To traverse this path Gogol's grandfather, first of all, had to finish the Kiev Academy, where his father also studied. It was a great error,

nihiv; the Pereyaslav families Butovych (descendants of archpriest Hryhoriy Butovych) and Dobronyz'kyy (a family of priests related to the Polubotok family); the Velychkovs'kyy family of Borzna, the Tryfanovs'kyy family of Pryluky, the Svit family of Romen, the Staryts'kyy family of Poltava, the Tumans'kyy family of Pereyaslav (from the town of Basan'), the Poltorats'kyy family of Sosnytsya, etc.

On the other hand, we frequently see Cossack officers passing over to the clerical estate. Here we can cite: the author of the *Litopys Samovydytsya* (Chronicle of an Eyewitness) Roman Rakushka, who was a general treasurer and then became first an archpriest in Bratslav and later a priest in Starodub; the sotnyk of Vybli Stepan Shuba (father-in-law of general quartermaster Vasyly Dunyn-Borbovs'kyy) who was later a priest in Chernihiv; the sons of general judge Ivan Domontovych: colonels Petro Roslavets' of Starodub and Pylyp Umanets' of Nizhen, regimental judge Roman Lazarevych of Nizhen, the Krolevets'kyy sotnyk Ivan Makovs'kyy, and others, who became priests; the brothers of the general osauls Dmytro Maksymovych and Stepan Butovych who were priests; the families of Hetmans Doroshenko and Khanenko, some branches of which passed over to the clerical estate; and many others. Their descendants were either priests or became officers.

The case of Pavlo Samiylovych Dobronyz'kyy, son of an archpriest of the church of the Transfiguration in Pereyaslav and brother-in-law of Hetman Pavlo Polubotok, is rather characteristic. He was first an army clerk and military companion and later took his father's place in the parish. His son, Oleksiy Dobronyz'kyy, was also a priest at the same church.

Many members of the clergy were of noble descent (for example, the Butovych family of Chernihiv and the Konys'kyy and Yavors'kyy families of Nizhen) and some of them received Russian patents of nobility (the Zaruts'kyy family). The clergy (especially the secular clergy) in the Hetmanate possessed landed property and had 'subjects' and, eventually, serfs. The Zaruts'kyy family of Cossack officers of Hlukhiv, which gave three generations of archpriests to Novhorodsivers'k, had great estates, confirmed by the proclamations of hetmans and the decrees of tsars. From this aspect the history of the Lysanevych family of Pryluky is also interesting. Ihnat Lysanevych had "come from Polish lands (perhaps from Right Bank Ukraine territory—*O.O.*) to Little Russia and began to serve as a Cossack according to this inclinations and after some time a clerk of the Pryluky regiment (1706) and later, with the knowledge and permission of Hetman Skoropads'kyy, received the clerical tonsure in 1710," becoming eventually an archpriest in Pryluky (1731). Skoropads'kyy's proclamation of April 27, 1710 confirms the village Yuvkivtsi as the property of "Ihnat Lysanevych, priest in Pryluky, in consideration of his labors in the post of clerk of the Pryluky regiment." After Ihnat Lysanevych's death this property (and others) came into the possession of his son, Mykhaylo Lysanevych, who was also an archpriest in Pryluky (1753.—A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie*, III, p. 146).

We leave aside the rather widespread phenomenon in the Hetman Ukraine of

unforgivable as far as scholarship is concerned, on the part of some Gogol experts to call the renowned Kiev-Mohyla Academy of the eighteenth century "a religious seminary."⁵⁷ On the contrary, it was a school of higher studies for all classes and offered a general education, and only courses in theology (obligatory only for those who chose a clerical career) constituted a specifically theological education. Almost all Ukrainian hetmans of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a whole series of general officers and colonels, and a host of prominent figures in national and religious life, of scholars, artists, writers and the like, Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian (Russian in particular), received their education at the Kiev-Mohyla College, later Academy. These are facts admitted by scholars for ages, and to call it "a religious seminary" in the middle of the twentieth century is downright unscientific.

It is precisely his education at the Kiev Academy and his knowledge of five languages, and not his marriage (much later)⁵⁸ with the daughter of the well-known and wealthy *bunchukovyy* companion Semen

the entrance of members of gentry and officers' families in the monastic life (especially the higher stages).

Under such conditions, there can hardly be talk of a supposedly impassable barrier between the clergy and the class of gentry and officers in the Cossack-Hetman State, nor can one conclude that "the clerical estate . . . was not very highly respected" in Ukraine (V. Setchkarev, 4). Not without reason did the well-known Russian diplomat of Ukrainian extraction, Petro Ivanovich Poletika (1778-1849), write in his Memoirs (1843) that ". . . in Little Russia the priesthood was never considered an obstacle to the attainment of the dignity of nobility. All Little Russians know this" (*Vospominaniya Petra Ivanovicha Poletiki, Russkiy Arkhiv*, 1885, volume 3, p. 307).

⁵⁷ V. Setchkarev, 4 ("a religious seminary"); R. Triomphe, op. cit., 82 ("l'Académie ecclésiastique"). V. Veresaey (obviously under the influence of V. Shenrok) writes thus about Opanas Demyanovych: "the son and grandson of priests, he attended a *seminary* and received his higher education at the Kiev *religious academy*" (V. Veresaev, op. cit., 280. Cf. Veresaev, *Gogol' v zhizni*, p. 15). There were no "seminaries" in Ukraine at that time, only colleges in Chernihiv, Pereyaslav and Kharkiv. Religious seminaries appeared in Ukraine only towards the end of the eighteenth century, while the Kiev Academy was turned into a religious academy in 1819.

⁵⁸ V. Modzalevskiy puts down 1776 as the date of marriage of Opanas Demyanovych and Tetyana Lyzohub (*Rodoslovnik*, I, 292; III, 109). Unfortunately, the date put forward by V. Chagovets, "around 1768-9," is not supported by documents (op. cit., 25). O. V. Hohol'-Holovnya says that Vasyl' Opanasovych was born "in the fourteenth year" after his parents' marriage (V. Veresaev, *Gogol' v zhizni*, 17), therefore they were probably married around 1763. The question can be resolved only on the basis of new materials from the archives.

Lyzohub, that opened the doors of the General Army Office for Gogol's grandfather. It was the highest institution of the Hetmanate in the eighteenth century, although the Russian author obviously considers to be an ordinary office.⁵⁹ Perhaps Russian Gogol scholars do not know that an "army clerk" of the Hetmanate was not an ordinary "scribe" of the army section ("army scribe"), as Andrey Belyy states,⁶⁰ but was bestowed on selected clerks of the General Army Office, and then ordinarily only after some years of service in this institution. Ya. Syd(ore?)nko, the author of an interesting article "O prezhnikh chinakh v Malorossii" printed in the *Russkiy Vestnik* in 1842 ("On former ranks in Little Russia"),⁶¹ writes thus:

"31. Army clerk. This title cannot be equated with the title of clerk which exists today in Great Russian bureaus. The position of army clerk was the same as of these latter, but they enjoyed incomparably greater esteem and honor; the children of even the most prominent gentry and officials of Little Russia did not scorn this position. All young people, after they finished their education in the schools, would be employed in the General Army Office and after they had prepared themselves through a familiarity with all the affairs of their country they would proceed to various offices and positions. Their number was not fixed. At times it reached one hundred and more persons, for many members of well-to-do and highly esteemed families served in this post, without any remuneration, simply for the honor. Clerks made use of this name and rank not only in the General Office and the General Court, but they were distributed throughout the districts; in the regiments they were subject to superior clerks, and those in the General Army Office to the General Clerk and those in the General Court to the Court Clerk. Since all civil administration was under the authority of the military, and in general all were considered army personnel, so the clerks too were regarded as army men."⁶²

For his long service in the General Army Office Opanas Demyanovych received the rank of *bunchukovyy* companion (7 August 1781)⁶³

⁵⁹ A. Belyy, 29. V. Chagovets, on the basis of Opanas Demyanovych's "service record" says that he took up a post in the Myrhorod regimental office in 1757 and passed to the General Army Office in 1758 (V. Chagovets, op. cit., 27).

⁶⁰ A. Belyy, 29, 31.

⁶¹ Ya. Syd-nko (Sydorenko?), "O prezhnikh chinakh v Malorossii," *Russkiy Vvestnik*, 1842, nos. 5 and 6, part II, pp. 205-226.

⁶² Ibid., 221.

⁶³ V. Chagovets, op. cit., 27.

and the rank of regimental secretary on 1 June 1782.⁶⁴ The same author writes thus about this rank:

"23. Regimental secretary. The third official among regimental officers performed the same duties as did the general secretary in the General Army Office. On the basis of the supreme 'ukaz' of 28 June 1783 of General Field Marshall Count Rumyantsov-Zadunayskiy secretaries were appointed to their posts by captains of the cavalry, while those who did not want to continue in the service were discharged as second majors. . . ."⁶⁵

Thus it is obvious that Opanas Demyanovych was discharged with the rank of second major (1794–1798), which he held to the end of his life.⁶⁶ It was this rank that gave him a right to a Russian patent of nobility.

III

The marriage of Opanas Demyanovych Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy with Tetyana Semenivna Lyzohub was a great event in the history of the Poltava Hohol' (Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy) family.⁶⁷ The marriage was really unusual—and rather unequal. Opanas Demyanovych, who was born in 1738, was considerably older than his wife.⁶⁸ But what is more important, they were unequal socially and economically. Tetyana Semenivna's father, Semen (Symon) Semenovych Lyzohub, belonged to one of the wealthy, aristocratic families of the Hetmanate and was, moreover, the great-grandson of Hetman Petro Doroshenko and grandson of Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyy. Her mother, Anna Vasylovna Tans'ka, came from the Tans'kyy gentry family and on her mother's side was granddaughter of the Nizhen colonel Stepan Zabila and great-granddaughter of the general quartermaster Petro Zabila. These ties of blood and marriage increased the already considerable wealth of the Lyzohub fam-

⁶⁴ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, I, 292. In works on the subject it has often been repeated (since the days of Kulish) that Opanas Demyanovych, after his term in the General Army Office, received the rank of "army khorunzhyy" (V. Veresaev, *K biografii Gogolya*, 289; R. Triomphe, 83). There was no such rank in the eighteenth century. The rank of regimental khorunzhyy is meant, for which he was commended, but which he did not receive (V. Chagovets, 27).

⁶⁵ Ya. Syd-nko, 218–219.

⁶⁶ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, I, 292.

⁶⁷ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, I, 292; III, 109.

⁶⁸ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, I, 292; III, 108. The date of Tetyana Semenivna Lyzohub's birth is not definitely known. Modzalevskiy places it "after 1760" (*Rodoslovník*, III, 108), but perhaps she was born earlier, some time in the 1750's.

ily. In contrast to this, Opanas Demyanovych's own (hereditary) estate—5 serfs of both sexes in the village Kononivka (1788)⁶⁹—appeared quite paltry. So the Hohol' family tradition surrounded this marriage with a romantic legend, which Gogol scholars are fond of connecting with the story *Old World Landowners*.

Gogol's biographers have shown little interest in his Lyzohub ancestors. But this distinguished family has an independent claim to a historian's attention. Already the founder of the Lyzohub family, Kindrat Ivanovych Kobyzenko, was a person of no ordinary stamp. As a Cossack of the town Helmyaziv, of the Pereyaslav regiment, he was forced (perhaps after the defeat of the Cossack revolts of the 1630's) to go to the Don, where he became ataman of the so-called 'vorovski' ('thieving,' the Russian name for the free Cossacks). Cossacks, mostly emigrants from eastern Ukraine, who were active in northern Caucasus and in the region of the Caspian Sea (up to Baku and Persia), where they did great damage to Russian-Iranian trade and caused great anxiety to the respective governments. To the complaints and protests of the Iranian government Muscovy replied that "a great state is not without thieves,"⁷¹ and that those Cossacks are "neither from Astrakhan nor from Terek (territories ruled by Muscovy—O.O.); they come from the Don to rob; they rob and kill not only the subjects of the shah and the great tsar." But in 1650, during a sea storm, Kobyzenko's detachment was driven to shore, and its remnants, together with the ataman, were captured by the Muscovites. Kobyzenko and two of his helpers were put to death in the little town Ters'k in the presence of the Iranian ambassador; the rest either died in prison or were deported to Muscovy.⁷² This was the first, but not the last tragic meeting of the Lyzohub family, Mykola Gogol's relatives, with the Muscovite world.

Kindrat Kobyzenko left grown up sons in the Pereyaslav region, two

⁶⁹ A. Lazaravskiy, *Ocherki*, 452.

⁷⁰ Was not this Kindrat Ivaniv, sotnyk at the time of Hetman Ya. Ostroynyn, who, after the defeat of the revolt, went with him to Slobozhanshchyna in 1638. Cf. M. Hrushevs'kyy, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*, v. VIII, part 2, New York, 1956, p. 75, footnote 1.

⁷¹ This was the traditional formula of reply to similar protests by neighboring states: "You can't have any state without thieves" (1592.—G. N. Anpilogov, *Novye dokumenty o Rossii kontsa XVI-nachala XVII veka*, Moscow, 1967, p. 43).

⁷² S. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii s drevneyshikh vremen*, book VI, Moscow, 1961, pp. 560–562. Researchers of the Lyzohub genealogy (A. Lazarevskiy, Count G. Myloradovych, V. Modzalevskiy) mention Kindrat Ivanovych Lyzohub, Cossack of Helmyaziv, Pereyaslav regiment, but obviously do not know his unfortunate end.

of whom were entered in the Cossack registers in 1649: Ivan Kobyzenko (Kondratyev) as Cossack of the Roskchenko *sotnya* of the Kaniv regiment and Yakiv (Yatsko) Kobyzenko as Cossack of the Helmyaziv *sotnya* of the Pereyaslav regiment. These were the future prominent figures of the Cossack Hetman State: Ivan Kindratovych Kobyzevych-Lyzohub, sotnyk of Kaniv (1658), colonel of Kaniv (1659, 1662–1663) and of Uman' (1659–1661), raised to the nobility by King Jan Casimir (1661), who was an opponent of Russian and Polish rule in Ukraine and who was shot in Chyhyryn at the beginning of 1663 by order of Hetman Yuriy Khmel'nyts'kyy, who was then subject to Polish authorities; and Yakiv Kindratovych Lyzohub (died 1698), colonel of Kaniv (1665–1669), general *osaul* of Hetman Petro Doroshenko (1669–1674), on whom Muscovy bestowed gentry rank and to whom she offered the scepter of hetman of Right Bank Ukraine (1674), who eventually became colonel of Chernihiv (1687–1698) and was active in political and military affairs of the Mazepa era.⁷³ This was one of Mykola Gogol's ancestors.

Yakiv Lyzohub's only son, Yukhym Yakovych Lyzohub, who was married to Hetman Petro Doroshenko's daughter Lyubov Petrivna,⁷⁴ was general bunchuzhnyy (1688–1691) and general khorunzhyy (1691–1698) and, after his father's death, colonel of Chernihiv (1698–1704).⁷⁵ Of his three sons the middle one, Yakiv Yukhymovych Lyzohub (1675–1749), who received his education at the Kiev Academy and became general bunchuzhnyy (1710–1728) and general quartermaster (1728–1749), was one of the most prominent figures in national affairs in the Hetmanate in the first half of the eighteenth century. For a long time he headed the Ukrainian administration. In 1723, as deputy of Hetman Pavlo Polubotok and his trusted helper, he was deported to Russia, was imprisoned in Petersburg for a few years (to 1726) and came close to being sent to Siberia. From 1728 to 1743 he, as a well-known jurist, was the leading member of the codification commission which

⁷³ For the Lyzohub family, cf. A. Lazarevskiy, *Lyudi Staroy Malorossii. Lizo-guby*, in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, I, pp. 101–125; V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, III, 96–122. For Yakiv Kindratovych Lyzohub and his son Yukhym, see our work *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, index, *sub voce*.

⁷⁴ Lyubov Petrivna Doroshenko (died in 1708) was the Hetman's elder daughter (from his first marriage; her mother's name is unknown). Her marriage with Yukhym Yakovych Lyzohub took place in Kaniv in January 1673 (V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, 354; III, 99).

⁷⁵ Cf. footnote 73.

was compiling the *Laws According to Which Court Cases of the Little Russian Nation Are to be Tried*. In the 1740's he headed the official Ukrainian delegation to Petersburg, which conducted talks concerning the restoration of the Hetman government. He is regarded as the author of the so-called Lyzohub Chronicle, written in a spirit of Ukrainian autonomism.⁷⁶

Yakiv Yu. Lyzohub's younger brother, Semen Yukhymovych Lyzohub (c. 1680–1734) did not attain a brilliant career, although he was Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyy's son-in-law (he was married to his elder daughter, Iryna Ivanivna).⁷⁷ In the tragic months of the Ukrainian-Russian War of 1708–1709 he was at the side of Hetman Mazepa. Together with him he viewed the smoldering ruins of Baturyn, which are so vividly described (perhaps by him) in the Lyzohub Chronicle, and went over to the new administration only on the eve of the battle of Poltava. For some time he was under arrest in Kiev, but he was soon amnestied, obviously due to the intervention of his father-in-law. However, he remained a bunchukovyy companion ("distinguished") and took part in several military campaigns (notably, against Iran), as 'commander' of the bunchukovyy's company. He had finished his education at the Kiev Academy (1699) and was dissatisfied with the dependence of the clergy in the Hetmanate on the Russian Synod and preferred to have contacts with ecclesiastical circles of the neighboring Right Bank Ukraine and Byelorussia.⁷⁸ He died during the Polish campaign of 1734 in Grodno and was buried there "in the monastery of the Basilians to salvos from cannons and small arms with cere-

⁷⁶ Cf. footnote 73. For the Lyzohub chronicle, cf. D. Doroshenko, "A survey of Ukrainian Historiography," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. V–VI, No. 4 (18)–1, 2 (19–20), New York (1957, pp. 54–55; M. Marchenko, *Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya*, Kiev, 1959, pp. 80–81; O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, p. 365. In our opinion, Yakiv's brother, Semen Yukhymovych Lyzohub, was co-author of this work.

⁷⁷ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, III, 103. Iryna Ivanivna Skoropads'ka (c. 1679–1760) was the Hetman's daughter from his first marriage, to Pelahiya Nechypyryvna Kalenychenko, daughter of the Chernihiv regimental quartermaster (V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, v. IV, Kiev, 1914, pp. 662, 663).

⁷⁸ For S. Yu. Lyzohub, besides the works mentioned in footnote 73, cf. our work *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, p. 365; S. Solov'ev, *Istoriya Rossii*, book X, Moscow, 1963, pp. 310–311; N. Kostomarov, *Istoriicheskiya monografii i izslyedovaniya*, v. XVI, *Mazepa i Mazepintsy*, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 557, footnote 2 to p. 554; *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, v. IX, second part, Moscow, 1952, pp. 1154–1155.

mony," as Yakiv Markovych narrates in his Diary.⁷⁹ This was Mykola Gogol's great-great-grandfather.

Mykola Gogol's great-grandfather, Semen (Symon) Semenovych Lyzohub (c. 1708, 1709–c. 1871) was of a different temperament and from a different, post-Poltava era. A distinguished and wealthy man, he belonged to the *bunchukovyy's* company his entire life, while his time was devoted mostly to family affairs and matters concerning his estate. He received his education, like his father, grandfather and brothers, at the Kiev Academy⁸⁰ and was greatly concerned with cultural and religious problems. V. Chagovets, who had access to the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy archives, where S. S. Lyzohub's papers were also kept, characterizes him as an intelligent, educated, very pious man, of good, gentle disposition. Chagovets notes in him "a knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, evident in all his writings, which are filled with quotations from the sacred books and permeated with a spirit of Christian patience and goodness." "All . . . his money, except for what was strictly necessary, he spent on works of charity . . . Even utter strangers would often turn to him with their requests and would never meet with a refusal. . . ." His letters "are permeated with a religious-mystical spirit, and with the exception of some archaic expressions, remind one of the works of N. V. Gogol from the last period of his life: the same teaching of love of neighbor, the same humble acquiescence to the will of God and an expectation of punishment for sins . . . This religious spirit, which passed from father to daughter, Tetyana Semivna, who lived to a ripe old age⁸¹ in the Hohol' home, was subsequently developed there, in our writer's family . . ."⁸² Even if this description of S. S. Lyzohub is somewhat exaggerated, it portrays rather faithfully the moral and cultural constitution of Gogol's great-grandfather. In any case, one may completely agree with V. Chagovets when

⁷⁹ V. Modzalevskiy, III, 103.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 102, 104, 105, 106. Cf. O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, 271.

⁸¹ T. S. Hohol'-Yanovs'ka's testament, drawn up 20 June 1825, speaks of her "ripe old age and poor health" (*Chteniya v Istoricheskoy Obshchestve Nestora Letopistsy*, XVI, part III, pp. 43–45). It seems that she was still living in 1826 (cf. Gogol's letter to his mother of 12 September 1826, *Sochineniya N. V. Gogolya*, Brockhaus-Efron, v. 9, p. 16). Perhaps she died sometime in 1828 because Gogol speaks in a letter to his uncle, Petro Petrovych Kosyarovs'kyy, of 8 September 1828 of "the estate belonging (to him) according to the testament" (clearly, his grandmother's. Ibid., p. 40; cf. *ibid.*, p. 230).

⁸² V. Chagovets, pp. 18, 21–24, 36–37, 40.

he says that "a religious feeling passing at times into mysticism is one of the Hohol' family traits and has its origins in the Lyzohub family."⁸³

Semen Semenovych Lyzohub's family life, on the other hand, was not very happy, because his wife, Anna Vasylovna, the only daughter of the Pereyaslav colonel Vasylov Tans'kyi, was of an entirely different temperament,⁸⁴ which was perhaps inherited from her ancestors, the Tans'ki and the Zabila.

V. Chagovets, in his *Semeynaya khronika Gogoley*,⁸⁵ has portrayed the tragic figure of Vasylov Mykhaylovych Tans'kyi, Mykola Gogol's great-great-grandfather in vivid (perhaps even too vivid) detail. Vasylov Tans'kyi, who came of a Polish gentry family (coat of arms Nalench) perhaps of Moldavian origin,⁸⁶ younger brother of Anton Tans'kyi,

⁸³ Ibid., 24.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 17, 19, 22-23. The details of the marriage of A. V. Tans'ka with S. S. Lyzohub in 1742 are based on documentary evidence—cf. ibid., 17-18.

S. S. Lyzohub's wife and Tetyana Semenivna Hohol'-Yanovska's mother, M. Gogol's grandmother, has caused historians and genealogists some perplexity. The documents which were published by A. Lazarevskiy (*Ocherki*, 452), V. Naumenko (*Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, no. 10, pp. 13-16: V. N. "Pis'mo Ivana Tanskago k V. A. Gogolyu") and, especially, V. Chagovets (*Semeynaya khronika Gogoley*, pp. 8-21) confirm, without leaving a shadow of doubt, that Lyzohub was married to Anna Vasylovna Tans'ka, and that Tetyana Semenivna, who became the wife of O. D. Hohol'-Yanovskiy, was born to them. On the other hand, Count G. A. Myloradovych, who had access to the files concerning the noble rank of the Tans'ki in the archives of the Chernihiv Assembly of the Nobility, in his genealogy of the Lyzohub family writes that S. S. Lyzohub's wife was Anna Antonivna Tans'ka, daughter of the Kiev colonel Anton Mykhaylovych Tans'kyi, elder brother of Vasylov Tans'kyi, and granddaughter (on her mother's side) of Semen Paliy (Count G. A. Miloradovich, *Rodoslovnaya kniga Chernigovskago dvoryanstva*, v. II, St. Petersburg, 1901, part 6, p. 103). This introduced complications into the genealogy of the Tans'kyi and Lyzohub families and, therefore, of the Hohol' family. V. Modzalevskiy, who in the Lyzohub genealogy in the third volume of his *Rodoslovnik* correctly wrote that S. S. Lyzohub's wife was Anna Vasylovna Tans'ka (*Rodoslovnik*, III, 106), but was mistaken in taking her to be the widow of S. I. Sulyma and S. Myronovych (actually this was Anna Antonivna Tans'ka), in the fourth volume of the *Rodoslovnik*, in the Sulyma genealogy, acknowledged his mistake and called Anna Antonivna Tans'ka Sulyma's wife and then Myronovych's, but also assigned to her a third husband, S. S. Lyzohub (*Rodoslovnik*, IV, 807) which, of course, was erroneous.

Unfortunately, the fifth volume of Modzalevskiy's *Rodoslovnik*, which was to have contained a detailed genealogy of the Tans'ki, has remained unpublished. The manuscript is in the Manuscript division of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev.

⁸⁵ V. Chagovets, 8-21.

⁸⁶ The ethnic origins of the Tans'ka are not quite clear. They are generally considered to have come from Moldavia—cf. A. Lazarevskiy, "Anton Tanskiy,

a company colonel of the Mazepa era (1706–1708) and later colonel of Bila Cerkva (1710–1712) and of Kiev (1712–1742),⁸⁷ began his career during the Ukrainian-Russian War of 1708–1709 as captain of the Moldavian ‘company’ of cavalry in the Russian army. Later, when Ivan Skoropads’kyy was hetman, he was a “distinguished military companion.” He was resolute, courageous and adroit, in addition to being well educated and knowing languages (he could speak several, Latin and French in particular).⁸⁸ In 1726 the Russian administration named him colonel of Pereyaslav. Earlier he had received great estates from the hetman and tsarist governments in consideration of his merits during the Swedish and Turkish wars and he set about enlarging them so persistently and unscrupulously that both his neighbors, even owners of great estates (as, for instance, the Vyduhets’kyy Monastery of Kiev)⁸⁹ and, especially, the Cossacks and peasants of his regiment felt his power; according to the apt remark of V. Chagovets, he was “a

polkovnik Kievskiy (1712–1734),” *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, no. 4, p. 146. But some descendants of the Tans’ki at the beginning of the nineteenth century thought that their ancestors were originally from the Plock palatinate in Poland and later emigrated to Moldavia. Cf. V. N(umenko), “Pis’mo Ivana Tanskago k V. A. Gogolyu,” *Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, no. 10, pp. 13–16. The fact that the Tans’ki brothers (Vasyl’ in particular) were Moldavian colonels (or captains of the cavalry), that is, they commanded Moldavian standards (mercenary detachments, which existed at the beginning of the eighteenth century not only in Ukraine, but also in Lithuania and in the Muscovite and Swedish armies) cannot be a sure proof of their Moldavian ethnic origins.

⁸⁷ For A. M. Tans’kyy, cf. A. L(azarevskiy), “Anton Tanskiy, polkovnik Kievskiy (1712–1734),” *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, no. 4, pp. 146–151; also his “Dopolnenie k svedeniyam ob Antonye Tanskom i ego teshchye,” *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, no. 2, pp. 65–66. Antin Tans’kyy was married to Mariya Semenivna Paliy, daughter of the famous colonel of Fastiv (Bila Cerkva) Semen Paliy. Cf. “Dyelo o dvoryanstvye Tanskikh” of 1804 (Kiev Central Archives of Old Acts, collection of the Archeographic Commission, no. 958). For the coat of arms of the Tans’kyy family, cf. V. Lukomskiy and V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Gerbovnik*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 179.

⁸⁸ V. Chagovets, 8.

⁸⁹ V. Tans’kyy received the village Ozeryany in the Pereyaslav regiment from Hetman Ivan Skoropads’kyy in 1715 (the Hetman’s proclamation is dated 3 December 1715. *Chteniya v Istoricheskom Obshchestve Nestora-Letopistsa*, book XVI, part III, 41–42) and in 1716 he attacked the neighboring property of the Vyduhets’kyy Monastery of Kiev, the village Yaroslavka. “You overran cultivated fields of Yaroslavka with armed men, wreaking havoc, and autocratically ordered,” wrote the Hetman to Tans’kyy on 2 September 1716, “several hundred sheaves of wheat of the inhabitants of Yaroslavka subject to the same monastery to be taken and brought to your estate Ozeryany, threatening, in addition, to kill the monks” (this document was in our manuscript collection in Kiev).

despot in his regiment as well as on his estates.”⁹⁰ This continued with impunity for a long time because both the administration of Hetman Danylo Apostol and that of Russia supported Tans’kyy. However, the numerous complaints and protests against Tans’kyy’s actions finally forced the government to order an investigation. He was deported to Moscow in 1734 and exiled to Siberia the following year. Tans’kyy was amnestied only in 1741 and returned to Ukraine in 1742. Although he did not receive any official post, large estates in the Pereyaslav regiment (in particular the town Yahotyn, the village Keleberda, the *khutir* Kupchyn and others) were conferred on him. He died in 1763.⁹¹

The genealogical problem of the Tans’ki, Gogol’s ancestors, has become rather unexpectedly and, as we shall see later, unjustifiably, a historico-literary problem. We know that in the first half of the eighteenth century there was in Ukraine “a famous versifier of coarse style, after the manner of Plautus.”—Tans’kyy. Opanas Lobysevych, in his letter to the Byelorussian archbishop Heorhiy Konys’kyy of September 30, 1794 conjectures that Tans’kyy could have been the author of interludes to Konys’kyy’s tragicomedy *Resurrection of the Dead*.⁹² M. I. Petrov considers him to have been Gogol’s ancestor.⁹³ As a result of Petrov’s groundless comment, biographers of Gogol and students of his work began to look on Vasyl’ Tans’kyy, the Pereyaslav colonel, as the author of Ukrainian interludes, and V. Gippius, for example, traces the “aesthetic and, one might say, literary succession” in Gogol’s family from Vasyl’ Tans’kyy.⁹⁴

This, of course, is a misunderstanding. In the first place, the ‘versifier,’ Tans’kyy’s first name is not known. Furthermore, Gogol’s ancestor, Vasyl’ Tans’kyy, could hardly have occupied himself with literature: we have no evidence for this. This ‘versifier’ was, perhaps, someone from the younger generation of the Tans’ki—descendants of Vasyl’s brothers Anton, whose sons studied at the Kiev Academy, and

⁹⁰ V. Chagovets, 11.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 11–21.

⁹² *Arkheograficheskiiy Sbornik dokumentov, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Severo-Zapadnoy Rusi*, v. II, Vilna, 1867, pp. 145–148.

⁹³ N. Petrov, *Ocherki iz istorii ukrainskoy literatury XVIII vyeaka*, Kiev, 1880, pp. 112–113.

⁹⁴ V. Gippius, *Gogol’*, Leningrad, 1924, p. 10. Gippius here has in mind, in addition to Tans’kyy, M. Gogol’s uncle on his mother’s side, Ivan Kosyarovs’kyy, who was the author of a number of Russian verses and the poem *Nina* (1826). Cf. P. Fylypovych, *Ukrayins’ka stykhiya v tvorchosti Hoholya*, Winnipeg, 1952, p. 6.

Mykhaylo, regimental quartermaster of Nizhen, or a member of some different line or even of some different Tans'kyy family. In any case, he was not Gogol's ancestor.⁹⁵

Vasyl' Tans'kyy was well-matched with his wife, Anna Stepanivna, née Zabila, daughter of the Nizhen colonel Stephan Zabila and granddaughter of the general quartermaster Petro Zabila. For some reason this line of consanguinity of the Hohol' family has escaped the attention of scholars. But here too, among the Zabily, Mykola Gogol's ancestors, we see several interesting historical figures. Gogol's ancestor Petro Mykhaylovych Zabila (1580–1689), who belonged to the petty nobility (of officials; coat of arms *Ostoya*), was 'administrator of the royal estates' in Borzna up to the Khmel'nyts'kyy period. He was one of the first in Left Bank Ukraine to go over to the Cossacks and in 1649 was assigned temporary colonel of Borzna and, from 1654 to 1661, *sotnyk* of Borzna. Zabila headed his regiment in military and diplomatic feats and on the Lithuanian and Byelorussian front in the 1650's and many times rode as messenger to Moscow. He was such a well-known and influential person in the Chyhyryn region that already in 1656 the Russian government gave him a tsarist deed to five villages in the vicinity of Krolevets'. Nevertheless, he fought together with Hetman Ivan Vyhovs'kyy against Muscovy in 1659. He managed to survive the *Chorna Rada* of 1663 and was general judge during the time of Hetman Ivan Bryukhovets'kyy. In 1665 he went with Bryukhovets'kyy to Moscow and there received a patent of nobility. He survived Bryukhovets'kyy, whose revolt against Muscovy he had supported. In 1669 he became general quartermaster and was the most prominent Ukrainian figure during the negotiations with Muscovy that ended in the Treaty of Hlukhiv (1669). As leader of Left Bank Ukraine officers Zabila headed the conspiracy against Hetman Demyan Mnohohrishnyy in 1672 in the hopes of receiving the hetman's scepter himself. However, Muscovy did not forget the role he had played during the hetmanates of Vyhovs'kyy and Bryukhovets'kyy, and it was Ivan

⁹⁵ For more on this, cf. our work *Opanas Lobysevych, 1732–1805*, Munich-New York, 1966, pp. 59–62.

On the other hand, the Hohol' family was related by blood with another distinguished representative of Ukrainian baroque literature, Heorhiy Kony'skyy, who on his mother's side, née Mokriyevych, daughter of Yevfrosyniya Nechypirivna Kalenychenko, was second cousin of Semen Semenovych Lyozhub, M. Gogol's great-grandfather.

Samoylovych who became hetman. Neither Zabila nor his family could ever forgive him this. He reached Methushael's age and died in 1689,⁹⁶ leaving numerous descendants behind, who not only were in command of the Borzna *sotnya* to the end of the Hetman State, but many of whom were also prominent figures in national affairs, especially as general officers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁹⁷

His son, Stepan Petrovych Zabila (died in 1694), Gogol's ancestor, resembled his father. He was sotnyk of Borzna (1674–1678) and general khorunzhyi (1678–1683) and took part in the Chyhyryn campaigns of 1677 and 1678. Opposition to Samoylovych interrupted S. Zabila's career, and he remained only a "distinguished military companion," especially during the Crimean campaign of 1687 when he, together with the superior officers and with the help of the Russian government, participated in the Kolomats'kyy coup. For this the new Hetman, Ivan Mazepa, made him colonel of Nizhen and gave him a number of estates. As colonel of Nizhen (1687–1694) Stepan Zabila was a prominent figure of the early Mazepa era. However, being ambitious and energetic, he joined the officers' opposition to Mazepa, who, especially in the eyes of the Left Bank Ukraine officers to whom the Zabila belonged, was a 'foreigner' (from Right Bank Ukraine). In the papers of one of Zabila's relatives there is a rumor that Stepan Zabila "has served quite enough in his post; he received the supreme (that is, the tsar's) favour equal to that of the hetman, for which he was poisoned out of hatred" (somewhere around 1695).⁹⁸ His daughter, Anna Stepanivna, whose first husband, Fedir Bykovych, belonged to an old patrician family of Kiev, remarried (c. 1715), her second husband being Vasyl' Tans'kyy.⁹⁹ She was a great-great-grandmother of Mykola Gogol.

Gogol could hardly have known when he was living in Nizhen that an ancestor of his (his great-great-great-grandfather) had been a Nizhen colonel, and that Count Illya Bezborodko, who founded the Nizhen

⁹⁶ For P. M. Zabila, cf. A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie*, v. II, pp. 135–137; V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, v. II, pp. 74–75; *Z dziejów Ukrainy*, 284; M. Hrushevs'kyy, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*, v. IX, New York, 1957, index, *sub voce*.

⁹⁷ A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie*, II, 138–140; V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, II, 75g.

⁹⁸ A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie*, II, 11–12; V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, II, 75; O. Ohloblyn, *Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, 36 and index, *sub voce*.

⁹⁹ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, II, 79, 695.

Gymnasium of Higher Studies, where Gogol was educated, was also a descendant of the general quartermaster Petro Zabila.¹⁰⁰

Through the marriage of Opanas Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy and Tetyana Lyzohub the Hohol' family became related, in addition to their relationships with the Lyzohub, Tans'kyy and Zabila families, with several other aristocratic families, notably with families of hetmans, with the Doroshenko and Skoropads'kyy families in particular. Thus Mykola Gogol was a direct descendant of the Hetmans Mykhaylo and Petro Doroshenko (great-great-great-grandson of the latter) and of Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyy (his great-great-great-grandson). Even Andrey Belyy—had he known this—would have had to retract his words about “putting forth a fiction of high birth.”¹⁰¹

However, the matter does not end here. After all, Gogol himself in all probability knew nothing of his descent from Hetman Petro Doroshenko (maybe he was aware of the consanguinity of the Lyzohub and Skoropads'kyy families). Perhaps he also did not know that the famous beauty Natalya Nikolayevna Pushkin, née Goncharov, the wife of A. S. Pushkin, was also a descendant (great-great-great-granddaughter) of Petro Doroshenko—and was conscious of it.¹⁰² The correspondence of

¹⁰⁰ The mother of Prince Oleksander Bezborodko and his younger brother, Count Ilyya Bezborodko, Yevdokiya Mykhalivna Zabila, daughter of the general judge Mykhaylo Tarasovych Zabila, was great-granddaughter of the general quartermaster Petro Zabila. Thus the Bezborodky were third cousins of Tetyana Semenivna Hohol'-Yanovs'ka.

¹⁰¹ A. Belyy, 29. In fact, P. Kulish already had said, having in mind the fact of the consanguinity of the Hohol' with the Lyzohub and Tans'kyy families, that “Gogol, according to his lineage, belonged to the upper class in Little Russia, and among his ancestors were several persons notable in history” (V. Veresaev, *Gogol' v zhizni*, 17).

¹⁰² Natalya Nikolayevna Pushkina, née Goncharova, (1812–1863) was the daughter of Nikolay Afanasyevich Goncharov (1787–1861), a descendant well-known prosperous manufacturers of Kaluga, and Natalya Ivanivna Goncharova, née Zagryaz'ka (1785–1848). Her grandfather, Ivan Oleksandrovych Zagryaz'skyy (died 1807), was the son of general lieutenant Oleksander Artemovych Zagryaz'kyy (1716–1786) and his wife, Kateryna Oleksandrivna Doroshenko (born in 1720), the only daughter of the Hetman's elder son, Oleksander Petrovych Doroshenko, and his wife, Praskoviya Fedorivna Pushkina. The Hetman's estate, the village Yaroपोlets' near Moscow, became through these marriages and legacies the property of the Goncharov family, who remained in possession of that part which contained the grave of “great-grandfather Doroshenko” (as Pushkin used to call his wife's ancestor) up to the revolution in 1917. Cf. V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, 453, 455; B. Modzalevskiy, “Rod Pushkina,” (A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy*, Brockhaus-Efron, v. I, St. Petersburg, 1907), p. 11, footnote 1; A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy*, v. X, Moscow, 1966, p. 439 (letter to his wife of 26 August 1833).

Gogol with Pushkin shows that the two distant relatives, although unaware of their kinship, felt a mutual sympathy.¹⁰³

One other relationship played a role, in this case a fatal role, in Gogol's life. As is generally known, Gogol died in Moscow in the home of his friend Count Aleksandr Petrovich Tolstoy. Gogol's relations with Tolstoy have not yet been sufficiently clarified.¹⁰⁴ Gogol's tragic end, the loss of volume II of *Dead Souls*, and the writer's death, all connected with the Tolstoy home, have thrown a somber shadow on their acquaintance. Already Gogol's contemporaries, in particular the Aksakov family, saw in Tolstoy that "black spirit" which was the cause of Gogol's tragedy, and this view also dominates the modern literature of Gogol.¹⁰⁵ Some (for example, Yevhen Malanyuk) regard Tol-

¹⁰³ *Sochineniya N. V. Gogolya*, ed. by V. V. Kallash, Brockhaus-Efron, v. 9, *Letters*, p. 57 (Gogol's letter to Pushkin of 21 August 1831), 80 (Gogol's letter to Pushkin of 7 October 1835).

A. S. Pushkin, *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy*, v. X, p. 378 (Pushkin's letter to Gogol of 25 August 1831).

¹⁰⁴ Besides the source study of E. Nekrasova "N. V. Gogol'. Ego otnosheniya k grafu A. P. Tolstomu" (*V pamyat' S. A. Yur'eva. Sbornik, izdannyy druž'yami Pokoynogo*, Moscow, 1890, pp. 239-245; republished in 1891) it seems there is nothing specifically on this theme in scholarly literature on Gogol.

¹⁰⁵ S. T. Aksakov (in "Istoriya moego znakovstva s N. V. Gogolem") says: "... I consider this acquaintance (with Count A. P. Tolstoy—O.O.) definitely disastrous for Gogol" (cf. E. Nekrasov, op. cit., 239). "We have been utterly, irrevocably orphaned, and Tolstoy by his hypocrisy has deprived us of our last treasure... Why did he rob us of another part of *Dead Souls*?" write M. G. Kartashevskaya to her uncle, S. T. Aksakov, in March 1852 (*N. V. Gogol'. Materialy i issledovaniya*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1936, p. 188). "The fatal role that A. P. Tolstoy, the future chief procurator of the Holy Synod and one of the most repulsive representatives of the reactionary priest-dominated society played in Gogol's life is well known," writes I. Sergievskiy (*Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, v. 58, 538-539. Cf. *ibid.*, 755).

V. Gippius gives a calmer and more objective evaluation of Gogol's relations with Count A. P. Tolstoy: "The close relations between Gogol and Count Aleksandr Petrovich Tolstoy (1801-1878), who was at that time a retired official and later became chief procurator of the Holy Synod, began around 1843; they were based on common experiences, Count Tolstoy doubtlessly sustaining Gogol's ascetic inclinations in their orthodox religious form..." (*N. V. Gogol'. Materialy i issledovaniya*, I, 112). However, these inclinations had already been characteristic of Gogol before this. Everything points to the conclusion that this was a family tradition (cf. above, footnotes 82 and 83). In any case, those of Gogol's letters to Tolstoy that have come down to us testify to the intimate and cordial character of their relations (at least on Gogol's side). Moreover, Gogol's acquaintance with Count A. P. Tolstoy began already in the 1830's (E. Nekrasova, op. cit., 243). It must also be observed that Gogol was acquainted not only with A. P. Tolstoy and his wife, Ann Georgievna (née Princess Gruzinska, 1798-1889), but also with his

stoy as "actually a government agent" sent to spy on Gogol.¹⁰⁶ Of course, Count A. P. Tolstoy's (1801–1873) 'official list' contributed to this. The fact that he was a retired general (1840–1855), former governor of Tver (1834) and military governor of Odessa (1837), then a privy councillor, chief procurator of the Holy Synod (1856–1862), a person deeply interested in religious and moral problems, a mystic, well-disposed towards Catholicism,¹⁰⁷ not to mention his aristocratic lineage—all this could hardly have pleased many contemporaries as well as Gogol biographers and scholars (especially those in the Soviet Union).

We neither can nor need to examine here the relations between Gogol and Count A. P. Tolstoy. But we must point out that they were kinsmen, although they might not have been aware of this. They were both descendants of Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyy. Gogol was descended from Hetman's elder daughter (from his first marriage),¹⁰⁸ Iryna Ivanivna Skoropads'ka, whose husband was Semen Yukhymovych Lyzohub. Count A. P. Tolstoy was a descendant (great-grandson) of Count Petr Petrovich Tolstoy, colonel of Nizhen (1719–1727), who was married to Ulyana (Anastasiya) Ivanivna Skoropads'ka (1703–1733), the Hetman's younger daughter (from his second marriage—her mother was Anastasiya Markivna Markovych).¹⁰⁹ It was useless of Andrey Belyy to write that "the Great Russian aristocrat, a 'boyarin' by blood" and Gogol, "the burgher among the gentry" "were worlds apart" and that Gogol was not admitted to those aristocratic salons to which Count Leo Tolstoy had easy access and in which he moved freely.¹¹⁰

In any case, the great Ukrainian-born writer's life did not end in a stranger's house and among strangers. Two of his kinsmen were at

brothers, Counts Alexey and Ivan Petrovich, and with his sister, Sofiya Petrovna Apraksina, and her family (E. Nekrasova, *op. cit.*, pp. 243, 244).

¹⁰⁶ Ye. Malanyuk, *Knyha sposterezhen'. Proza*, Toronto, 1962, p. 210.

¹⁰⁷ Andrey Belyy calls Count A. P. Tolstoy a Catholic (*op. cit.*, pp. 192–193).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. footnote 77.

¹⁰⁹ V. Modzelevskiy, *Rodoslovník*, IV, 663. Count Aleksandr Petrovich Tolstoy was the son of Count Petr Aleksandrovich Tolstoy (1769–1844), the grandson of Count Aleksandr Petrovich Tolstoy (1719–1792), and the great-grandson of Count Petr Petrovich Tolstoy (died in 1728), Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyy's son-in-law. Cf. V. V. Rummel' and V. V. Golubtsov, *Rodoslovnnyy sbornik russkikh dvoryanskikh familiy*, v. II, St. Petersburg, 1887, pp. 496, 499, 502, 510; Vel. Kniaz' Nikolai Mikhailovich, *Moskovskii Nekropol*, vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1908, p. 213.

¹¹⁰ A. Belyy, 30.

the bedside of the dying Gogol: Count Aleksandr Petrovich Tolstoy, a descendant of Hetman Skoropads'kyy, and Ivan Vasil'ovych Kapnist, a descendant of the Hetmans Doroshenko.¹¹¹

IV

Gogol's parents, especially Vasyl' Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy, a Ukrainian writer of the early nineteenth century, have been treated more favorably in literature on Gogol. Yet Andrey Belyy does not leave even them in peace. "Gogol's father," he writes, "tried to serve . . . in a Little Russian postoffice in a capacity over and beyond the ordinary staff; a sickly dreamer, he wrote verses and arranged, like Manilov, various 'vales of tranquillity' and was a great master of little things." "His (M. Gogol's) mother . . . Mariya Ivanivna was the daughter of the postal official Kosyarovs'kyy."¹¹² Thus, it is the same world of "clerks and priestlings," that is, "the lower classes," from which, according to Belyy, the Hohol' family, Mykola Gogol among them, came.

Andrey Belyy bases these statements on the outdated information of V. Kallash, a popularizer at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Modern works (in particular those of Professor A. A. Navarevskiy¹¹³ and Robert Triomphe, the French author of an article devoted to the elder Hohol',¹¹⁴), not to mention the genealogy of the Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy family published long ago (in 1908) in the *Rodoslovník* of Modzalevskiy, paint an entirely different picture. Mykola Gogol's father, Vasyl' Opanasovych, was born in 1777; he studied, as did also I. Kotlyarevs'kyy, in the Poltava seminary (which was, incidentally, not an exclusively ecclesiastical school) and in 1787 was listed as a *znachkovyy* companion (an interesting example of the bestowal of this title, as a rank, on a minor). On November 27, 1787

111S. N. Durylin, "‘Delo’ ob imushchestve Gogolya," *V. N. Gogol'. Materialy i issledovaniya*, I, pp. 366-367, 371-373.

Ivan Vasil'ovych Kapnist (1794-1860), a civil governor of Moscow at that time, was the son of the poet Vasyl' Kapnist, whose mother, Sofiya Andriyivna, née Dunyn-Borkovs'ka, was a great-granddaughter of Yukhym Yakovych Lyzohub and his wife, Lyubov Petrivna Doroshenko, the Hetman's daughter.

112 A. Belyy, 29.

113 A. Nazarevskiy, "Iz arkhiva Golovni," *N. V. Gogol'. Materialy i issledovaniya*, I, 315-357.

114 Robert Triomphe, "Le père de Nicolas Gogol," *Revue des Études Slaves*, XXIV, 82-106.

115 V. Modzalevskiy (*Rodoslovník*, I, 293) gives 1780 as the date of birth. But the date on the tombstone is 1777 (V. Veresaev, *K biografii Gogolya*, 292).

his title and rank was changed from *znachkovyy* companion to cornet. An attempt to continue his studies (at the University of Moscow) or to enter the Guards was unsuccessful,¹¹⁶ and in 1799 Vasyľ Opanasovych was listed as a titular councillor of the Little Russian Post Office.¹¹⁷ Undoubtedly this post, beyond the staff, and, of course, without pay, was purely nominal, which he needed only to acquire the rank of collegial assessor, with which he retired in 1805. Civil service did not appeal to the elder Hohol', whose interests lay in entirely different fields, management of his estate and culture; he also married at that time.¹¹⁸ Later, 1815–1818, by election of the local gentry, he was *khorunzhyi* of the Myrhorod district,¹¹⁹ at times fulfilling the duties of the district marshal.¹²⁰ For the most part he lived at his estate, the *khutir* Kupchyn's'kyy, which he renamed the village Vasylivka, but he spent longer periods of time at Kybyntsi, the estate of his kinsman Troshchyn's'kyy, whose affairs he managed. Andrey Belyy writes about the Russian verses of the elder Hohol',¹²¹ but for some reason fails to mention that he was also the author of several comedies in Ukrainian, one of which, *The Simpleton*, has come down to us.¹²² Vasyľ Opanasovych died in 1825.

Mykola Gogol's mother, Mariya Ivanivna (1791–1868), came from the Kosyarovs'kyy family. They were a family of Cossack officials in the Poltava region, related to the Troshchyn's'kyy, Lukashevych and other families of the officer class and were descended from Leontiy

¹¹⁶ P. E. Shchegolev, "Otets Gogolya," *Istoricheskiy Vestnik*, 1902, no. 2, 657–660; R. Triomphe, op. cit., 84–86. V. Modzalevskiy states that V. O. Hohol' was made cornet in 1797 (*Rodoslovnik*, I, 293). These (and other) inconsistencies in the service dates of V. O. Hohol' can be clarified only on the basis of archive materials. But its general course and character does not call forth any doubts: it was purely nominal.

¹¹⁷ P. Shchegolev, op. cit., 660; V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, 293. Of course, the support of D. P. Troshchyn's'kyy, an old acquaintance of O. D. Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy, was of help here.

¹¹⁸ P. Shchegolev, 659–660; V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, 293; R. Triomphe, 85–86. Vasyľ Opanasovych married Mariya Ivanivna Kosyarovs'ka in 1805 (V. Veresaev, *K. biografii Gogolya. Zametki in Zvenya*, Moscow, 1933, v. 2, pp. 291–293).

¹¹⁹ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, I, 293.

¹²⁰ P. Shchegolev, 660. Cf. V. V. Kapnist, *Sobranie sochineniy*, v. II, Moscow, 1960, pp. 489–490, and footnote on pp. 604–605 (Kapnist's letter to V. Hohol' of 10 February and 11 April 1815).

¹²¹ A. Belyy, 29.

¹²² Printed in *Osnova*, 1862, II. New edition: Vasyľ Hohol', *Prostak. Komediya na l diyu*, Kiev, 1955.

Pavlovych Kosyarovs'kyy, a prominent military companion of the Lubni regiment (1710).¹²³ After his military service the father of Vasyl' Hohol'-Yanovs'kyy's wife, Ivan Matviyevych Kosyarovs'kyy, was not an ordinary "postal official," but postmaster of the Kharkiv province—a rather prominent position at the close of the eighteenth century. The postal administration of the Russian empire, which had previously been connected with the College of foreign affairs, was reorganized by Ukrainians—Oleksander Bezborodko (from 1781) and Dmytro Troshchyns'kyy, who was at first (from 1793) a member of the General Postal Administration and then its head (1796–1799); chief director of the post offices 1801–1802). It had an important economical, and even political significance (especially in Ukraine), because in addition to its proper postal functions, it oversaw the overland transportation of the whole empire. Bezborodko took a great interest in it, filling responsible posts with his men, especially his own relatives and friends. At that time men prominent in cultural life, such as Nikolay A. L'vov and Vasil' V. Kapnist, served in the general offices of the Postal Administration in Petersburg. All assignments of postal directors and postmasters came from Petersburg. The postal director of Little Russia (in Chernihiv) was at first Lavrentiy Yakovych Selets'kyy, an old acquaintance of Bezborodko, married to Ulyana Vasyl'ovna Lyzohub (cousin of Tetyana Semenivna Hohol'-Yanovs'ka),¹²⁴ and then Hryhoriy Petrovych Myloradovych, who belonged to the well-known gentry family of officers of the Hetman State and was a descendant of Hetman Pavlo Polubotok and nephew (on his wife's side) of Prince O. Bezborodko and cousin of vice-chancellor Count Vyktor Kochubey, as well as being an alumnus of the Universities of Königsberg and Göttingen.¹²⁵ The assistant of the postal director was the well-known authority on Ukrainian history and owner of a large collection of historical materials Adriyan Chepa.¹²⁶ The Kiev postmaster at that time (early nine-

¹²³ V. Lukomskiy and V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Gerbovník*, p. 81. In 1780 military companion Ostap Kosyarovs'kyy had tenants in the Krasnokolyadyns'ka sotnya of the Pryluky regiment (A. Lazarevskiy, *Opisanie*, III, 248).

¹²⁴ For L. Ya. Selets'kyy, cf. V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, IV, 591–592.

¹²⁵ For H. P. Myloradovych, cf. V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, III, 523; D. Oljančyn, "Aus den Kultur- und Geistesleben der Ukraine," *Kyrios*, 1937, Heft III, 276; Heft IV, 356.

¹²⁶ For A. Chepa, cf. the articles by A. Lazarevskiy in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, V; 1891, I; and by V. P. Gorlenko in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1893, I, and his *Yuzhno-russkie ocherki i portrety*, Kiev, 1898.

teenth century) was Osyp Savych Bazhanov, a person of very great culture and an old friend of V. Kapnist ("an unchanging and sincere friend," as Kapnist used to call him), who consulted him when he was writing his interesting, recently published commentaries on *The Igor Tale*.¹²⁷ The postmaster of Pereyaslav was Fedir Nazarovych Tymkovs'kyy, father of well-known figures in Ukrainian and Russian cultural life of the first half of the nineteenth century and grandfather of Mykhaylo Maksymovych.¹²⁸ Perhaps their Kharkiv colleague, Kosyarovs'kyy, related to Troshchyns'kyy by marriage,¹²⁹ who helped him to get this influential and at that time highly esteemed position, was not very different from them.

All this was very far removed from the type of little-cultured provincial postal official, known to A. Belyy. That type appeared in Russia later and was regarded with barely concealed irony by Russian society and, beginning with the skillful pen of Gogol himself, the literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The family ties of the Hohol' and Troshchyns'kyy families have already been sufficiently elucidated in literature. There is not the slightest doubt that they played a major role in the life of the writer's family. Perhaps this role was somewhat exaggerated in older literature, and the nature of the relations of Gogol's parents with the influential Russian grandee and those around him in Troshchyns'kyy's Myrhorod estate, the village Kybyntsi, were somewhat idealized, as was also the appraisal of Kybyntsi as the 'Ukrainian Athens.'¹³⁰ Nevertheless, the tendency to diminish as much as possible and even to belittle both Troshchyns'kyy himself and the importance of the Kybyntsi center in the history of Ukrainian culture as well as their influence on the Ho-

¹²⁷ Cf. V. Kapnist, *Sobranie sochineniy*, II, 460-461.

¹²⁸ For F. N. Tymkovs'kyy, cf. Count G. A. Miloradovich, *Rodoslovnaya kniga Chernigovskago dvoryanstva*, v. II, "Dopolnenie," pp. 297-299.

¹²⁹ I. M. Kosyarovs'kyy's sister, Anna Matviyevna Kosyarovs'ka (died in 1833), was married to Andriy Prokopovych Troshchyns'kyy, D. P. Troshchyns'kyy's brother. Their son, Andriy Andriyevych Troshchyns'kyy (1774-1852), a major general, was his uncle's heir. But the affinity of the Hohol' family with the Troshchyns'ki was older: the daughter of Stepan Troshchyns'kyy, colonel of Hadyach (cf. below), was married to bunchukovyy companion Stepan Stepanovych Zabila, whose sister, Anna Stepanivna Zabila, was the wife of Vasyl' Tans'kyy, colonel of Pereyaslav (V. Modzelevskiy, *Rodoslovnik*, II, 695).

¹³⁰ V. Chagovets, *Semeynaya khronika Gogoley*, 38. Troshchyns'kyy bought Kybyntsi from bunchukovyy companion Sokhans'kyy in 1787 (A. Popov, p. 6, footnote *).

hol' family, which is maintained so tediously in Russian (particularly Soviet) works of the twentieth century,¹³¹ is unfounded as far as scholarship is concerned. This is especially the case with Andrey Belyy, from whose entirely inadmissible mutilation Dmytro Troshchyn'skyy emerges as having "climbed up to the 'ministers'" (the quotation marks are Belyy's—O.O.) from the *kazachki*,¹³² that is, from among the lackeys of the great proprietors.

This is undoubtedly a fiction. First of all, the Troshchyn'ski were an old Ukrainian gentry family (coat of arms Sheliga).¹³³ Vasyľ Troshchyn'skyy (Troshchyn'skyy) was among the "nobility of the Bila Cerkva district" which swore loyalty to the Russian tsar in 1654.¹³⁴ His descendant (son or grandson) Stepan Troshchyn'skyy, a nephew (perhaps once removed) of Hetman Mazepa, was a military companion (1693), a 'courtier' of the Hetman and master of the castle in Hadyach (1690–1697), quartermaster of the Hadyach regiment (1697–1704) and colonel of Hadyach (1704–1708). During the Ukrainian-Russian hostilities of 1708 he happened to be with his regiment in Right Bank Ukraine and could not join the Hetman. Troshchyn'skyy was arrested by the Russian government as a relative and supporter of Mazepa and died under imprisonment in Kiev in 1709.¹³⁵ He was married (1690) to

¹³¹ This is especially striking in the works of S. Durylin (*Iz semeynoy khroniki Gogolya*, Moscow, 1928, pp. 14–21), A. Nazarevskiy (op. cit., pp. 321–323) and, of course, in Soviet popular biographies of Gogol.

¹³² A. Belyy, 29. The myth about the "poor Cossack boy" (D. P. Troshchyn'skyy) has its origins in Kulish (cf. V. Veresaev, *Gogol' v zhizni*, 19) and is repeated in a number of later works (for example, *Akty i dokumenty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Kievskoy Akademii*, part II, v. IV, ed. by M. Petrov, Kiev, 1907, 337–338: "son of the Cossack Troshchyna"). But well-informed contemporaries of Kulish already corrected this myth. Anna Vasyľovna Hohol' (the writer's sister) wrote to S. P. Shevrev in April 1852: "Troshchyn'skyy was not the son of a simple Cossack, on the contrary, his father had 100 serfs, which means he belonged to the gentry, and his brother was sotnyk . . ." (*Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, v. 58, 763). In fact, D. P. Troshchyn'skyy's 'service record' says that he came from "Little Russian nobility" (A. Popov, p. 3). Cf. *Russkaya Starina*, 1882, no. 6, p. 641.

¹³³ V. Lukomskiy and V. Modzalevskiy, *Malorossiyskiy Gerbovník*, 188.

¹³⁴ *Akty, otnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoy i Zapadnoy Rossii*, v. X, St. Petersburg, 1878, pp. 781–790.

¹³⁵ For him, cf. A. Lazarevskiy, *Lyudi Staroy Malorossii. Troshchinskie*, in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, no. 11, pp. 371–372; N. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i Mazepinstsy*, p. 655, footnote 1; O. Ohloblyn, *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba*, pp. 149–150; *Pis'ma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, v. VIII, part 2, Moscow, 1951, pp. 892, 941, 948. Lazarevskiy (op. cit., 372) erroneously says that S. Troshchyn'skyy spent his last year on his estate, the village Ruchky of the Hadyach regiment.

Mariya (died in 1718),¹³⁶ daughter of the company colonel Illya Novyts'kyy (of a Ukrainian gentry family). Of Stepan Troshchyns'kyy's two sons the elder, Andriy (died 1740), was an army clerk (1712–1725) and *bunchukovyy* companion (1725–1740) and had an estate in the Hadyach regiment, as did also his brother Ivan, a *bunchukovyy* companion (1733) who died childless during the Polish campaign of 1733.¹³⁷ After that the Troshchyns'kyy family became impoverished and declined somewhat Andriy Stepanovych Troshchyns'kyy left three sons, Prokop, Martyn and a third, whose name is unknown, who were ordinary military companions (1752)¹³⁸ and had property in the vicinity of Myrhorod (“in the Myrhorod *sotnya* in the villages Petrivtsi and Cherevky”).¹³⁹ Of Prokop Andriyevych's four sons the eldest, Andriy, was *sotnyk* of Yares'kyy (1771);¹⁴⁰ the two in the middle, Yukhym and Dmyan, did not hold any posts, and only the youngest, Dmytro, had a brilliant career.

Dmytro Prokopovych Troshchyns'kyy was born in 1749, studied at the Kiev Academy, and then, from 1766, held the office of clerk in the Little Russian College, receiving the rank of regimental clerk in 1769. He took part in the Russian-Turkish war and he “was employed in the internal affairs of the Moldavian Duchy” in 1773 and 1774. In 1774 he was assigned as aide-de-camp “with the rank of captain” to the staff of General Prince N. V. Repnin and was his secretary when the Prince was extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador in Constantinople 1775–1776. Together with Repnin he was at the peace congress in Teshen in 1779 and with the reserve corps in Poland in 1783. In 1784 Troshchyns'kyy became director of the office of Count O. Bezborodko, his distant relative,¹⁴¹ and accompanied him during the trip of Catherine II to the Crimea in 1787. Thanks to his own talents and Bezbo-

¹³⁶ V. Modzalevskiy, *Rodoslounik*, III, 672.

¹³⁷ A. Lazarevskiy, *Lyudi Staroy Malorossii. Troshchinskie*, p. 371; L. Okinshevych, op. cit., 202. Stepan Troshchyns'kyy also had two daughters: one was married to S. S. Zabyla (cf. footnote 129), and the other to Oleksander Sytens'kyy, regimental clerk of Hadyach (A. Lazarevskiy, op. cit., 371, 372).

¹³⁸ A. Lazarevskiy, op. cit., 371.

¹³⁹ L. Okinshevych, op. cit., 216.

¹⁴⁰ A. Lazarevskiy, op. cit., 371. Lazarevskiy erroneously calls him the son of Ivan Stepanovych Troshchyns'kyy, who (according to Lazarevskiy's own words) died childless (ibid., 372).

¹⁴¹ Mariya Illinychna Troshchyns'ka, née Novyts'ka, the great-grandmother of D. P. Troshchyns'kyy, was the aunt of Prince O. Bezborodko's mother, Ye. M. Bezborodko, née Zabyla, whose mother's name was Novyts'ka.

rodko's support, Troshchyns'kyy quickly attained an influential position at the Court and in the administration. In 1793 he was named state-secretary of Catherine II and he fulfilled these duties also during the reigns of Paul I and Alexander I. Paul I made Troshchyns'kyy a senator and head of the Postal Administration, but suddenly recalled him from both posts in 1800. Troshchyns'kyy, who in general played a significant role in the political events of those times,¹⁴² took part in the conspiracy against Paul I. After the coup of 1801 he was again reinstated in his posts, received the rank of actual privy councillor and was named a member of the State Council. From 1802 to 1806 Troshchyns'kyy was minister (without Belyy's quotation marks!) of the "udyely" (government properties), and from 1814–1817 Minister of Justice. In the meanwhile he had been elected marshal of the nobility of the Poltava province (1812–1814) and had taken an active part in the organization of the Poltava Cossack regiments during the Napoleonic War. In 1817 Troshchyns'kyy finally presented his resignation and, having great estates in the regions of Poltava, Kiev, Podillya and Voronezh,¹⁴³ spent his last years (he died in 1829) in Kybyntsi, surrounded by wealth, luxury and culture.¹⁴⁴ He was a close friend of

¹⁴² Troshchyns'kyy (and O. Bezborodko) were of considerable help to Ukrainian officers (particularly general Pavlo Bilukha-Kokhanovs'kyy and captain Fedir Lukashevych) who took part in the so-called conspiracy of Smolensk of 1797–1798 (cf. T. G. Snytko, "Novye materialy po istorii obshchestvennogo dvizheniya kontsa XVIII veka," *Voprosy istorii*, 1952, no. 9, pp. 111–122).

It must also be mentioned that it was Troshchyns'kyy who helped such persons of Ukrainian extraction as M. M. Speranskiy (cf. above, footnote 52), V. N. Karazin, and others to achieve prominence.

Recently published materials testify to the fact that Troshchyns'kyy helped A. Radishchev to be recalled from exile in 1801 (D. S. Babkin, *A. N. Radischev. Literaturno-obshchestvennaya deyatel'nost'*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1966, p. 244).

¹⁴³ In 1793 Troshchyns'kyy received 500 serfs in Left Bank Ukraine and in 1795 5,000 serfs in Right Bank Ukraine, in particular the Verbovets'ke and Khreptivys'ke "Starostwo" in Podillya and the Kaharlyts'ke "Starostwo" in the Kiev region (A. Popov, pp. 5, 6, footnote **); *Russkaya Starina*, 1882, no. 6, p. 645), which was still held by his heirs in the second half of the nineteenth century. In addition to this, Paul I bestowed on Troshchyns'kyy the little town Verkhnyaya Tishanka and the village Iskorets' near Voronezh with 81,000 acres of land and 2,000 serfs in 1797 (*Russkaya Starina*, 1882, no. 6, p. 647). All together, Troshchyns'kyy possessed over 189,000 acres of land, houses in Kiev and Petersburg and movable property worth a million (*Russkaya Starina*, 1882, no. 6, p. 656).

¹⁴⁴ For D. P. Troshchyns'kyy, cf. A. N. Popov, "Zapiska Dmitriya Prokof'evicha Troshchinskago ob uchrezhdenii ministerstv," *Sbornik Imperatorskago Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva*, v. III, St. Petersburg, 1868, pp. 1–22; "Dmitriy Prokof'evich Troshchinskiy, 1754–1829," *Russkaya Starina*, 1882, no. 6, 641–682.

many Ukrainian autonomists, notably of Vasyl' Kapnist, Pavlo Koropchevs'kyi, Mykhaylo P. Myklashevs'kyi, and others.¹⁴⁵ He was a member of the Russian Academy and a patron of Ukrainian culture—literature, art, theater, music, and supporter of the composer Artem Vedel',¹⁴⁶ his kinsman the writer Vasyl' Hohol', Prince Mykola Tsereteli, and other persons prominent in Ukrainian cultural life.¹⁴⁷

Such was the "minister from among the lackeys," as Andrey Belyi calls him.

*

The problem of Mykola Gogol's ancestors and of the influence of family relations and traditions on his life, spiritual outlook and work can be solved only on strictly scholarly—historical and genealogical grounds. We have attempted to do this on the basis of documentary facts, rarely making any assumptions, and then only when these were warranted by facts.

The general picture is quite clear. The Hetmans Mykhaylo and his grandson Petro Doroshenko, Hetman Ivan Skoropads'kyi, colonels Yakiv and his son, Yukhym, Lyzohub of Chernihiv, general quartermaster Petro Zabila and his son, colonel Stepan Zabila of Nizhen, colonel Vasyl' Tans'kyi of Pereiaslav, possibly colonel Ostap Hohol' of Podillya, and many other distinguished statesmen and military figures of the Cossack Hetman State, and even the Cossack ataman Kindrat Kobzyenko—this is the world and circle of Mykola Gogol's ancestors. It was a purely Ukrainian world and not "a mingling of bloods, imbibed with his mother's milk (?!—O.O.)."¹⁴⁸ Mykola Gogol, in whose

1754 is usually given as Troshchyns'kyi's date of birth. But the date Popov gives is more credible, as he made use of pertinent documents, in particular, of Troshchyns'kyi's "service record." In addition, Popov gives an exact date: 26 October 1749. Popov doubts that Troshchyns'kyi studied at the Kiev Academy have no foundation (op. cit., p. 21).

¹⁴⁵ Cf. our book, *Lyudy Staroyi Ukrayiny*, pp. 104, 108, 125, 155, 157–159, 161.

¹⁴⁶ Ihor Sonevyts'kyi, *Artem Vedel' i yoho muzychna spadshchyna*, New York, 1966, pp. 70, 101–103, 113, 128. Incidentally, Yakiv M. Markovych dedicated to Troshchyns'kyi his *Zapiski o Malorossii* (St. Petersburg, 1798).

¹⁴⁷ Troshchyns'kyi's active participation in Ukrainian cultural and, perhaps, political life deserves a separate study. It is not surprising that his contemporaries (and especially M. Gogol) called him "the benefactor of Little Russia" (cf. *Sochine-niya N. V. Gogolya*, Brockhaus-Efron, v. 9, *Pis'ma*, p. 18: M. Gogol's letter to his mother of 15 October 1826).

¹⁴⁸ A. Belyi, 31.

The assertion of V. Chagovets (*Semeynaya khronika Gogoley*, 4, 8, 22) that the

"gentry body" there really lived a "Cossack soul,"¹⁴⁹ was on terms of easy intimacy with this Cossack gentry world and not with the "mode of life of clerks and priestlings" as the Russian poet (A. Belyy) says.

Grigoriy Petrovich Danilevskiy, the well-known nineteenth-century Russian writer of Ukrainian extraction, has an interesting and colorful work dealing with the manners and customs of Ukrainian gentry of the first half of the nineteenth century *Ne Vytantsovalos'*.¹⁵⁰ The hero of this story, a young landowner, state councillor Hovorukha-Shchebetkovskiy, a descendant of old Ukrainian families (the author is obviously alluding to Hetman Pavlo Polubotok), was publicly humiliated and insulted—and not without cause on his part—in the home of neighboring gentry. And then during the night, in heavy half-sleep, it seems to him that his famous ancestors come to him and severely upbraid him for the shame and disgrace brought on their renowned family by a witless descendant—and he could not say anything in his defense.

His "ancestor's soul caroused" also in Gogol, and ancestors' voices spoke out forcefully to him. But Mykola Gogol *did not bring shame* on his ancestors, his family, or his nation.

Polubotky ("partly Polubotok") were among M. Gogol's ancestors appears to be a misunderstanding. His source is perhaps Prince A. B. Lobanov-Rostovskiy's book (*Russkaya rodoslovnyaya kniga*, v. II, St. Petersburg, 1895, pp. 119–120, 225), who erroneously regarded the Kalenychenko family as a "second branch" of the Polubotok family and put down that Ivan Illich Skoropads'kyy's first wife was "Pelihiya Nikiforovna Polubotok." In fact, there was no consanguinity between the Lyzohub and Skoropads'kyy and the Polubotok families (but only a rather distant affinity).

Apropos this a contemporary Soviet historian (V. H. Sarbey) writes: "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists (?!—O.O.), in popularizing Polubotok, have created a legend, as if he were one of the ancestors of the great writer M. V. Gogol. Lazarevskiy uncovered the falsity of this fiction also and proved by documentary evidence that Polubotok was not an ancestor of Gogol" (V. H. Sarbey, *Istorychni pohlyady O. M. Lazarevskoho*, Kiev, 1961, p. 86. The author is here referring to A. Lazarevskiy's article "Polubotok v 'okovah,'" *Kievskaya Starina*, 1902, no. 4, p. 13, footnote, and to Lazarevskiy's works about Gogol's ancestors mentioned above).

¹⁴⁹ "The Cossack soul has flown out of the gentry body" ("Strashnaya mest'," N. V. Gogol', *Sobranie sochineniy*, v. I, Moscow, 1950, p. 164).

¹⁵⁰ G. P. Danilevskiy, *Sochineniya*, v. 24.

The Igor' Tale As A Historical Document*

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For Roman Jakobson

The *Igor' Tale* is first and foremost a historical document, regardless of whether that work is authentic or falsified. The real task of the historian—in my opinion—is to explain its origin.

Thus I considered this, i.e., the problem of the provenance of the *Igor' Tale*, to be the most important subject of scholarly research about it, and to this subject I have devoted a separate study which will go to print probably not later than at the end of this year.

From the beginning of this paper I wish to strongly emphasize that my position in the dispute over the authenticity of the *Igor' Tale* is one of complete neutrality. To me it makes no difference whether the work originated in the 12th, the 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, or the 18th century. The important thing is to prove beyond any doubt its belonging to a given century.

Therefore I must ask you to forget this evening that 170 years have passed since the publication of the *Igor' Tale* and to allow me to disregard all the scholarly literature on the question of its authenticity. I propose to begin *ab ovo*, as if the first edition of the *Igor' Tale* had appeared only several weeks ago and as if the manuscript on which the edition was based had also been destroyed at the same time.

When we examine a new historical source which has reached us not in the original but only in a printed copy, we must rely on the method

* This article was read at the plenary session of the Academy on May 1, 1965, and at the Seminar on Slavic History and Culture, Columbia University, on February 13, 1970.

It is a chapter of a book under the same title, which soon will be published. Therefore I omit here the more exact documentation.

The vast literature on *Slovo* (until 1960) is reviewed in two books by F. M. Holovenchenko (Golovenchenko) *Slovo o polku Igoreve. Istoriko-Literaturnyi i bibliograficheskii ocherk*. Moskovskii Gosudarstvennyi Pedagogicheskii Institut. *Uchenye Zapiski*, vol. 82: [part one until 1954], 486 pp.; vol. 198 [part two until 1960], 358 pp.

of internal textual analysis if we wish to determine its date of origin.

Of course, the data contained in a given source may or may not be sufficient for such study. My paper is an attempt to make just such an analysis of the *Igor' Tale*.

I

Roman Mstislavich was until 1199 a prince of Volhynia. As such he had a common boundary with Baltic peoples, Lithuanians and the Yatvingians and—quite obviously—had military encounters with them.

In the *Hypatian Chronicle* there is an entry about the campaign of Roman against the Yatvingians to avenge their frequent raids. This campaign took place in the winter of 6704, that is January 1197 (see N. G. Berezhevskiy, pp. 196–198).

Concerning Roman's struggle with Lithuanians there is testimony in the saying, noted by the Lithuanian-Polish historian of the 16th century Maciej Strykowski (vol. 1, p. 202):

“Romanie, Romanie! Lichym się karmisz,
Litwuję oreż!”

‘Oh Roman, Roman, you live evil, You plow using Lithuanians as draught animals.’

This is what the annalist write about Roman: “For he aimed at the pagans like a lion, he was angry as a lynx, and laid waste like a crocodile, and he passed through their land like an eagle, for he was brave as an aurochs, for he was jealous of his grandfather Monomakh, who destroyed the pagan Ishmaelites, called Polovtsi.”

Not until 1199 did Roman occupy permanently the Galician throne, where not the Baltic peoples, but the Altaic steppe-dwellers, nomads, were the chief source of danger.

It is no wonder, therefore, that until 1199 in the sources there is no mention whatever of the direct participation by Roman in the anti-Polovtsians campaigns.

According to the testimony of the *Laurentian chronicle* Roman twice marched against the Polovtsians.

Already the very composition of the participants of the *second* campaign (in the winter of 1203/1204);* in which besides Roman participated the Princes of Kiev (Ryurik Rostislavich) and of Periaslav

* Concerning the date see M. Hrushevsky, vol. 2, p. 227.

(Yaroslav Vsevolodovich) shows that this was one of the common South Russian campaigns directed towards the basin of the Don.

Let us now go over the first campaign. The *Laurentian chronicle*, among the events of 6710 (of the Byzantine era) presents such a piece of news, undoubtedly of Southern origin: "That winter Prince Roman marched against the Polovtsi and took the Polovtsian tents and brought back many captives, and a multitude of Christian souls in captivity among them. And there was great rejoicing in the Russian land."

The investigations of V. G. Vasil'evskii (pp. 209–210), M. Hrushevsky (vol. 3, pp. 9–10) and especially of N. G. Berezhkov (p. 87) showed that the usual correspondents of 6710 of the Byzantine era, that is the winter of 1202/1203 is out of question here. The *Laurentian chronicle* using within the entries 6679–6714 the so-called Ultra-March (calender) style applied for the southern events given in the March style, its own Ultra-March style; the winter of 6710 of the Ultra-March style corresponded to the second half of 6708 of the March style (and to the first half 6709 of the September style). Therefore the campaign of Roman took place not in the winter of 1202/1203 but in the winter of 1200/1201.

The eighties of the 12th century were times of struggle for the independence of Bulgaria (against the Byzantine Empire) and ended with the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire. The main supporters of the rebellious Bulgarian Asen brothers were the Wallachians and the Polovtsians. Therefore in the Titulature we find formulas like this: "Ego Calojohannes imperator Bulgarorum et Blacorum" (see Zlatarski, 1933, p. 45). We know little about the Wallachians of the 12th century. But doubtlessly the Polovtsian element had to play a leading role among them, as it did later in the times of the Bes-sarabians.

The very name of the dynasty, *Asēn* (1185–1280) and the strong interest of the Polovtsians in the Bulgarian revolution indicates that we have in Bulgaria an Asēn branch of the Polovtsian *Kai* (*Qāy*) dynasty, then reigning in the Ukrainian and South Russian steppes.

As the contemporary Byzantine historian, Nikitas Choniates (*Historia*, pp. 691–692), informs us, at the beginning of the Byzantine (September) year 6709 (that is in the fall of the year 1200) the Wallachians and the Polovtsians again attacked the Byzantine provinces and would have approached the Gates of the imperial capital, Constantinople,

had not Roman Mstislavich unexpectedly attacked the Polovtsian lands and overcome them.

Choniates openly asserts that Roman with his campaign, saved Byzantium from a very difficult situation, having forced the Polovtsians to abandon plundering the Byzantine territories.

We agree completely with V. G. Vasil'evskii (pp. 209–210), M. Hrushovsky (vol. 3, p. 9) and V. Zlatarski (vol. 3, pp. 135–136), that the Roman's campaign of the *Laurentian chronicle* of 6710 is the same one which is mentioned by Choniates. By the way, this is the only Rusian anti-Polovtsian campaign attested in Byzantine sources. Choniates writes: "Roman entered without obstacles into their [the Polovtsians] land, plundered it, and sacked it. Having repeated this several times to the glory and greatness of the pure Christian faith, he impeded the raids of the Polovtsians . . ." (*Historia*, pp. 671–672).

From this information it follows that here not *one* attack is under consideration but a whole series of attacks, which were obviously directed at various points of gravitation of the Polovtsians. We unfortunately cannot reconstruct the topography of the whole series of attacks directed by Roman, but the very loci of the events shows that at least one of his attacks, that which forced the Polovtsians to withdraw from the Gates of Constantinople—was directed toward the Danubian lands.

Besides this, the following facts prove that Roman in the winter of 1200/1201 had to attack the Danubian territories of the Polovtsians.

The vital interests of the Galician lands were directed toward the Danube. The traderoads led there, there was an access to the sea and Galician ports, there the Galicians obtained fish, etc.

Under the year 6667/1158 the *Hypatian Chronicle* gives some interesting economic data in connection with the war of the pretender to the Galician throne, Ivan Rostislavich Berladnik with Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl: "Then Ivan having become frightened rode into the steppe toward the Polovtsians and having gone forth with the Polovtsians he made a stand in the Danubian cities, and he destroyed two ships and took many goods from them and did harm to the Galician fishermen."

In the description of the battle on the river Kalky (1223) details on one of the Galician trade routes are given: "The Galicians came along the Dniester and went into the sea . . . and entered into the

Dnieper, and went to the cataracts and stood at the river Khortytsya on the ford near the inlet."

It is not without reason that in the *Voskresenskii Lĕtopis*, which preserved many of the South Ruśian items absent in the *Hypatian chronicle*, there is a list of names "of cities of the Ruś more distant and nearer" which beings with a list of Danubian and Dniestrian cities. Among those cities are named: The Market of Roman on the river Prut (of the Galician rulers there was only *one* Roman, the very Roman Mstislavich. Was this Market of Roman not set up by our hero, after the victory over the Polovtsians, with the aim of creating a new base for the Galician Black Sea trade?).

Soon after the death of Jaroslav Osmomysl (October 1, 1187) Roman Mstislavich of Volhynia tried in 1188 to seize the Galician throne—unsuccessfully, however. Only when Volodimer Yaroslavich died, not having left legitimate heirs, Roman finally succeeded in establishing himself in Halich.

In Halich however, there existed apparently quite a strong one—a party favoring the sons of the brother-in-law of the last Galician prince, the hero of the "Igor' Tale"—Igor' Svyatoslavich.

In the *Hypatian chronicle* thus we read under the year 6710: "After a short time had passed (after Roman's death), they [the Galicians] brought Kormil'chich (tutor) whom the great prince Roman had ters, Jaroslav Osmomysl and also after his death the weak Volodimer Igorevich."

This is one of very few data preserved in the old chronicles on the role of political publicists in the Old Ruś. The other one is the story with the famous poet Mitusa of Peremyshl' of 1241 who refused to serve Danilo Romanovich.

Undoubtedly, Roman had to exert himself to a rank, with which he could impress the powerful Galician boyars (peers). And such as he was strong physically, brave and of a lively disposition—obviously he had to turn his attention to Danubian-Dniestrian lands, this active nerve center and base of the prosperity of the Galician boyars.

Occupied in the last years of his rule with turbulent family matters, Jaroslav Osmomysl and also after his death the weak Volodimer Yaroslavich—who as a matter of fact occupied the Galician throne against the will of his father—could not take an active part in the events of the Danubian lands, events which led to the creation of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

In the contemporary sources, therefore, as for instance in the *Lógos* of Nikita Choniates, written in 1186 (ed. F. Uspenskii, *prilozheniya*, p. 35), the Galician rulers are not mentioned, but only as the helpers of the Bulgars and enemies of Byzantium: Polovtsians and their vassals οἱ ἐκ Βορδόνης (Brodniki) = Deremela.*

Roman's campaign of winter 1200/1201 had a very interesting pre-history.

In May 1200 we see Roman's embassy in Constantinople headed by a Tverdyata Ostromirich.

A curious point is that the head of the embassy was apparently not a Galician, but a Novgorodian for both names *Tverdyata* (a diminutive form from *Tverdislav*) and *Ostromir* are typical Novgorodian names, not in usage in Galicia.

Also it will evidently not be accidental that at that same time—besides Roman's embassy there was visiting in Constantinople as a pilgrim a Novgorodian boyarin Dobrynya Yadreikovich (d. 1232); later under the monk name of Anthony he served first as the Bishop of Galician Peremyshl', and then as Archbishop of Great Novgorod.

By the way, Dobrynya/Anthony is also the author of "The Pilgrim" (*Palomnik*) in which the information about that Roman's embassy is preserved (ed. Kh. M. Lopar'ev, p. 15).

Evidently there must have been some important reason for the new ruler of Galicia to send immediately after occupying the throne an embassy to Constantinople and to put a Novgorodian at its head.

Roman, the oldest son of the Kievan Prince Mstislav Izyaslavich, following old family tradition began his political career as the Prince of Great Novgorod (1169–1170). Mstislav Monomakhovich (d. 1132), so beloved by the people of Great Novgorod, was his great-grandfather in direct line.

As a *sui generis* new variant of the trade route from the Varangians to the Greeks close ties between the mercantile aristocracy of the republic of Great Novgorod and the Galician boyars went on.

Obviously, as the Galicians, so also the Novgorodians were interested in peace in Danubian lands. Yet the pacification of conditions in that territory was an imperative of Byzantine policy. Thus the Bulgarian revolutionary war and the stirring up of emotions in Danubian lands were uncomfortable for all those named partners.

* Cf. O. Pritsak, "Deremela = Brodnyky."

Choniates mentions that Roman's help came to Byzantium unexpectedly. This is understandable—if we take into consideration the above mentioned passivity of many years on the part of the predecessors of Roman on Galician throne in matters concerning Danubian lands.

Thus we can accept with complete certainty that the aim of Roman's embassy in Constantinople in May 1200 was the coordination of actions against the Polovtsians and Brodniki/Deremela. It is no wonder that the campaign which took place nearly a half a year later brought not only a great military success but also—that which Roman needed—great fame: Roman became the new Monomakh, with his name the Polovtsians frightened their children.

Our results have significance for the question of the date of compilation of the *Igor' Tale*.

The author of the *Tale* already knew about the victorious campaign of Roman against the Polovtsian and the Brodniki/Deremela. Therefore *terminus post quem* is March 1201.

II

Commentators of the *Igor' Tale* usually take for granted that in the Igor's campaign of 1185 four princes took part:

1. Igor' Svyatoslavich;
2. Vsevolod Buy-Tur (Wild Bull), his brother;
3. Svyatoslav Ol'govich, his nephew;
4. Volodimer Igorevich, his son.

In the *Laurentian chronicle*, however, and in V. N. Tatishchev's source, it is clearly stated that there were *five* participants. The enumerations begin there as follows:

“Igor' with *two* sons from Novgorod Severskii.”

This information deserves complete trust because it is also attested in a source which is completely independent of the *Laurentian chronicle*: in the Peremyshl' collection of the Galician Prince Lev Danilovich, preserved in excerpts in Johannes Długosz's *Historia Polonica*, liber VI (tomus II, p. 151).

This means that in Igor's campaign another Igorevich—son of Igor'—took part: namely, Oleg Igorevich.

Only now can we understand verse 103 of the *Igor' Tale*:

Тьмѣно бо бѣ въ третии днь: двѣ сълньци помъркоста, оба
багряная стълпа погасоста и въ мори ся погрузиста, и съ
нима молодая мѣсяця тьмою ся поволокоста.

"Indeed dark it was
on the third day [of battle]:
two suns were murked.
Both crimson pillars
were extinguished,

And with them both young moons,
Oleg and Svyatoslav
were veiled with darkness
and sank in the sea."

Roman Jakobson in his editions of the *Tale* discarded the name, "Oleg" and "Svyatoslav" as insertions.* Yet both names stand in the editio princeps of Musin-Pushkin from 1800 (p. 25) and in the Catharinas copy (f. 31 = ed. p. 147).

We can, therefore, repeat the word of the commentator D. L. Likhachev (p. 428): "Before us there is a conscious omission of the name of Volodimer Igorevich which obviously could be explained by the very fact, that in Kiev the people knew about Volodimer's marriage to the daughter of (the Polovtsian Khan) Konchak in captivity, and consequently, could not consider him as a sacrifice of the campaign. It would hardly be appropriate to speak of Volodimer as of a moon veiled with darkness at the same time when at the head-quarters of Konchak nuptial songs were being sung to him."

Nevertheless D. S. Likhachev also, in another place (p. 402) forgets his words and does not speak about the participation of Oleg Igorevich in the campaign, and therefore, gives an incorrect explanation for verse 44 where the mentioning is of four and not five sons:

Чърныѣ тучѣ съ моря идуть, хотятъ приккрыти чѣтыри сълнь-
ця, а въ нихъ трепещють (трепечють) синѣѣ мълниѣ.

"On the next day very early
bloody efulgences
herald the light.
Black clouds come from the sea:
They want to cover
the four suns,
and in them throb blue lightnings."

* *La Geste*, texte p. 58, altérations du texte, p. 88. See also his *Selected Writings*, Vol. 4, p. 141.

Quite evidently here also one and the same participant of the campaign is left out: Volodimer Igorevich.

In the light of these facts verses 215–216 of the *Tale* demand a new interpretation:

Пѣвъше пѣснь старымъ кнѣземъ, а по томъ молодымъ пѣти.
Слава, Игорю Святославичъ, буи туře Вьсеволоде, Владимѣре
(Володи-) Игоревичъ!

“[As formerly] the glory of the older princes was sung,
so now has come the turn of the young:
Glory to Igor’ son of Svyatoslav,
to Wild Bull Vsevolod;
to Volodimer son of Igor’.”

Who are the “old princes” and who the “young princes”? Why is Volodimer Igorevich’s, whose name and even his participation in Igor’s campaign the author of the *Tale* continually kept silent, mentioned here like a “*deus ex machina*”-

We do not know and maybe never will be able to establish with certainty the name and origin of the author of the *Tale*. One thing is certain, however: whoever he might have been in writing the poem about the prince of a Chernigov he held himself to the traditions and concepts of Chernigov military aristocracy (*druzhina*).

In the Chernigov land (*zemlya*) until the death of Mstislav Svyatoslavich (1223) the system of the seniority (the concept of ladder descent [*lestvichnoe voskhozhdenie*])—was observed very exactly.

After the separation of the province Ryazan’—Murom—accomplished by Yaroslav Svyatoslavich (d. 1129)—the Chernigov land was composed of two chief principalities: that of Chernigov and that of Novgorod Seversk.

The highest ranking prince in the Chernigov principality and the senior over the Chernigov land—was Prince of Chernigov, and the highest ranking prince in the principality of Novgorod Seversk was Prince of Novgorod Seversk; the latter one in the system was only one rank below the Prince of Chernigov.

We can trace back—although the information of our sources is far from being complete—how the former Prince of Novgorod Seversk—after the throne of Chernigov became vacant—automatically goes over there.

It should be remembered that beginning with the year 1139 the

throne of Chernigov often became vacant because its holders were invited to serve as Grand Princes of Kiev.

In the Chernigov principality the most important throne—after Chernigov—was that of Kozel'sk, the capital of the Old Vyatichi, and in the Novgorod—Seversk Principality—the most important—after Novgorod—was the capital of Seim-lands (Posem'a)—Kursk.

We have here—borrowed from the Eurasian nomadic steppe empires—a tetrarchy, or system of four chief thrones, of which each one is one degree (rank) higher than the previous one. Among the Old Turks of the 6th-8th century A.D. (*Türküt*) this system was defined by the *Terminus tört bulung*, four corners of the world. To be more specific, the system itself is first attested in the empire of the Asiatic Huns (Hsiung-nu) in the third century B.C.*

The father of Igor' Svyatoslavich in 1146 was prince in Kozel'sk; the following year he transferred to Novgorod Seversk, where he remained until 1154, that is to the time when the reigning Prince of Chernigov, Izyaslav Davidovich (1151–1194) became the Great Prince of Kiev and the throne of Chernigov automatically passed to him, i.e. Svyatoslav Ol'govich (1154–1166).

After the death of Svyatoslav (1166) who was the youngest Ol'govich (son of Oleg Svyatoslavich) the throne of Chernigov passed to the member oldest by rank of the new generation, that is to the oldest son of the oldest Ol'govich (Vsevolod), Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich, who until that time had ruled in Novgorod Seversk (1154–1166). When he in his turn became the Grand Prince of Kiev in 1176, the oldest son of the Ol'govich second in line (Svyatoslav), Oleg Svyatoslavich (1176–1180) who from 1166 had been Prince of Novgorod Seversk (and began his career in 1161 as Prince of Kursk) received the throne of Chernigov, while Yaroslav Vsevolodovich (1176–1180), the second son of the oldest Ol'govich became Prince of Novgorod Seversk.

In 1180 Oleg Svyatoslavich of Chernigov died. Yaroslav Vsevolodovich of Novgorod Seversk went over to Chernigov (1180–1299) and the next in line Svyatoslavich, Igor', now became the Prince in Novgorod Seversk (1180–1199), so that after the death of Yaroslav Vsevolodovich he himself could go over to Chernigov in 1199.

The concept of the Tetrarchy of the Chernigov land and mutual relations of the two branches of the Dynasty in the second half of the

* See e.g. O. Pritsak: "Die 24 Ta-ch'ên."

12th century are colorfully transmitted by Svyatoslav Vsevolodich of Kiev, having gathered in 1180 his Chernigov dynasty before the campaign against Vsevolod of Suzdal'; he said, "I am older than Yaroslav [of Chernigov, his own brother], and you Igor' [of Novgorod Seversk] are older than Vsevolod [Igor's brother, Prince of Kozel'sk]. Now I am taking the place of your father, I order you Igor' to remain here with Yaroslav and to guard Chernigov and all of your lands; . . ."

In 1185 the chief four thrones in the land of Chernigov were occupied as follows:

The branch of Vsevolodichi had the thrones No. 1 (Chernigov: Yaroslav Vsevolodovich) and No. 3 (Kozel'sk: Vsevolod Svyatoslavich, son of the Prince of Kiev); to the branch of Svyatoslavichi belonged the thrones No. 2 (Novgorod Seversk: Igor' Svyatoslavich) and No. 4 (Kursk: Vsevolod Svyatoslavich, brother of Igor').

About the younger ranking thrones of both principalities we know little. We have nevertheless basis to assume that in the principality of Chernigov to that category belonged: Starodub, Gomiy and Vshchizh (probably in such order), and in the principality of Novgorod Seversk belonged: Trubchesk, Ryl'sk and Putivl'.

The chief heroes of the *Igor' Tale*, both Svyatoslavichi, Igor' and Vsevolod, who in 1185 occupied thrones from the category of the four main thrones of the Chernigov Land, that is the thrones—second in rank (Novgorod Seversk) and fourth (Kursk)—could not be included by the person who knew the system of ladder descent (*lestvichnoe vovkhozhdenie*)—which undoubtedly the author of the *Igor' Tale* was—in the category of *young princes*. All the more so, since both of them belonged to that same generation as both of the Vsevolodichi, Svyatoslav of Kiev and Yaroslav of Chernigov. By the way, *Velikii Vsevolod* of the *Tale*, i.e. Vsevolod Georgievich of Suzdal', also belonged to the same generation as all four above mentioned members of the Chernigov dynasty; even Vsevolod of Suzdal', born in 1154, was three years younger than Igor' Svyatoslavich and one year younger than Igor's brother Vsevolod.

Volodimer Igorevich therefore, is named in verse 216 as the only representative of the category of "younger princes." His share in 1185 was "younger ranking principality of Novgorod Seversk" Putivl'; there he returned in 1207 when his brother Roman drove him out of Halich.

After the death of Igor' Svyatoslavich (1201), who like his father never ruled in Kiev, and because of this the system of balance between

the two branches of the Chernigov dynasty was broken. Three of the main thrones of the Chernigov Tetrarchy passed over to the sons of Svyatoslav of Kiev: Vsevolod became prince in Chernigov, Gleb in Novgorod-Seversk and Mstislav in Kozel'sk.

To the Igorevichi (the branch of Igor' Svyatoslavich) was left only the fourth main throne: Kursk. Igor' Svyatoslavich left four sons: Volodimer, Oleg, Svyatoslav and Roman. The oldest—Volodimer, became the chief of the branch.

Indeed at the council of Chernigov in 6714/1206 we see (*Hypatian chronicle*) two branches of the Chernigov dynasty (Ol'govichi) gathered: "All the Ol'govichi gathered in Chernigov for the council: Vsevolod Chermnyi with his brotherhood (*s svoeyu bratneyu*) and Volodimer Igorevich with his brotherhood."

The Igorevichi were sons of Yaroslavna, that is grandsons of Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halich. After the death of Volodimer Yaroslavich, who driven away by his father, found asylum at the court of his brother-in-law—Igor' Svyatoslavich, the Igorevichi decided to try their luck beyond the domains of the land Chernigov, where there were no great opportunities for them, for as we have seen—the three most important thrones went to another branch of the dynasty in accordance with the law.

We have seen already that in Halich (after 1199) the party of the Ol'govichi was active—the activity of Volodislav Kormil'chich—and Roman Mstislavich had many troubles with it.

After the unexpected death of Roman (1205), Volodimer with his brothers Svyatoslav and Roman quickly assumed possession not only over Galicia, but also over Roman's fatherland—Volhynia.

In that struggle for Roman's succession the second Igorevich, Oleg, does not take part. Why? On account of this, that he still was tied to the land of Chernigov even in 1226. It is clear, therefore, that besides him, three other Igorevichi went out of the system of "ladder descent" of the land Chernigov.

It is also clear to us now that after the death of Igor' in 1201, the new chief of the branch Volodimer, left behind him in the system of the Land Chernigov just one of the younger principalities (Putivl'), so as not to be an *izgoi*, and become the chief of the pretenders to the inheritance of Yaroslav Osmomysl.

Above we had shown that the *terminus post quem* for the finishing of the *Igor' Tale* was March, 1201.

Regretably, we do not have the exact date of the death of Igor' Svyatoslavich. Basing ourselves on results of the researches done by the chronologist N. G. Berezhevskiy (p. 87) concerning the Southern data in the entry 6170 in the *Laurentian chronicle*, we can assume that this had taken place between the first of March and the fifth of August, 1201.

Obviously the death of Igor' was an unpleasant surprise for the author of the *Igor' Tale*.

The throne of Chernigov went over to Vsevolod Svyatoslavich, for whom the poetical work about the campaign of Igor' against the will of Vsevolod's father, "the great Svyatoslav," could not evoke any special enthusiasm.

The same must be believed about the two other Svyatoslavichi: Gleb in Novgorod-Seversk and Mstislav in Kozel'sk.

The only one to whom the author could offer the *Igor' Tale* and could count on his appreciation was to the new chief of the Igorevichi, the same Igor's son Volodimer about whose participation in the campaign the author of the *Tale*—because of the reasons mentioned above—kept completely silent in his poem.

The author apparently valued too highly his chief d'oeuvre to make changes and, therefore, was looking for and found a very clever solution: he simply put at the end of his poem the name of Volodimer as the chief of the young princes, who similarly as the generation of older princes (Igor' and Vsevolod) were preparing themselves for a romantic unknown: the fathers ("the older princes") wanted "to drink the Don with helmets," while the sons ("the younger princes") decided to try their luck in distant Halich.

Volodimer—interested mainly in the propaganda of the name of his dynasty in Galicia—apparently did not bestow great meaning to the omission of his name in the poem itself; the important thing was that the author mentioned him in the epilogue, which was by the same time the prologue for Volodimer's Galician undertaking.

Thus we come to the completely natural explanation of the unexpected appearance of the name of Volodimer Igorevich in verse 216 of the *Tale*.

In this connection I want to turn your attention to the very fact that here the author of the *Tale*—as in other places—is very consistent in his parallelism.

The antithesis given in verse 215:

- (a) Пѣвше пѣснь старымъ княземъ.
- (б) а по томъ молодымъ пѣти, i. e.:

(a) "[As formerly] the glory of the *older* princes was sung [namely in the 'Igor' Tale]."

(b) "So now has come the turn of the *young* [*princes' Tale*; namely the future Tale about the Galician undertaking]."

The antithesis given in verse 215 has its correspondent in verse 216:

- (a) Слава Игорю Святъславичъ.
Буй Туру Всеволодъ!
- (б) Владиміру Игоревичъ!
- a. "Glory to Igor' son of Svyatoslav,
To Wild Bull Vsevolod"
- b. "[Glory] to Volodimer son of Igor'."

This means that just as earlier he had composed a song for the *olders* princes, old in rank, that is, for Igor' Svyatoslavich and the Wild Bull (Buy-Tur) Vsevolod Svyatoslavich, now it is necessary to praise the *young* ones. And Volodimer Igorevich is named as *the* representative of these young princes, for whom the *Tale* has not yet been composed, but for whom *undoubtedly* it will be necessary to compose one about the planned Galician enterprise.

The older princes, that is, Igor' Svyatoslavich (d. 1201) and Vsevolod Svyatoslavich (d. 1196), were also by-gone princes—in 1201 both of them were no longer among the living.

Precisely because the author of the *Igor' Tale* left the text of his work as it had been written for Igor', we have to conclude that he had finished his *Igor' Tale* before he received the message about the death of his hero and had offered it to *Igor's* son Volodimer adding in the epilogue only promises of new *Tale* for the latter (Volodimer).

This means that the *Igor' Tale* was finished not later than August 1201.

III

When did the author start writing his Igor' Tale?

D. S. Likhachev in his commentary very correctly characterizes Igor' as a person with an inferiority complex (pp. 243–244). Having become in 1199 the highest ranking prince in the Chernigov land he obviously gave the command to revise the Chronicle of Chernigov in his own

spirit especially the story about the most staggering event of his life: the campaign of 1185.

Typical of the version of the Igor' campaign in the *Hypatian chronicle* are passages containing very personal confessions of Igor' himself.

These confessions, however, were only partly sincere. When remorsefully recounting his pillage of the Pereyaslav Region, he could admit all his cruelties and unnecessary evil deeds.

His pride as military commander, however, prevented him from admitting his errors and neglect in his defeat to the Polovtsians.

He makes no mention of the time he lost by first celebrating for three days his first success, and then taking no decisive action for another four days, which gave the enemy time for reinforcement to launch another attack. To the contrary, he attempts to create the impression that the entire campaign lasted only three days and events moved so rapidly against him, leaving him no chances to take the initiative.

The same *misrepresentation* of the campaign we find in the *Igor' Tale*.

Igor's version of the entry 1185, written 1199, has been in principle preserved in the *Hypatian Chronicle* and in V. N. Tatishchev's source, both utilizing the Chernigov-Kievan collection (*izvod* prepared for Mstislav Vsevolodovich of Chernigov ca. 1240).

It is significant that the *Laurentian Chronicle* does not have Igor's version of the campaign 1185 but its own. We do know the reason. The text of the *Laurentian Chronicle* up to 1194 is based on the Collection of Vsevolod Georgievich Bol'shoe Gnezdo of Suzdal'. After the death of the Great Svyatoslav Vsevolodovich of Kiev in 1194, Vsevolod Georgievich became de facto senior among the Rus'ian princes. By the way, the *Igor' Tale* Vsevolod is addressed as "Great Vsevolod"; such an address with regard to his person was impossible during the lifetime of Svyatoslav, that is until 1194. Svyatoslav of Kiev used to address him as "brother and son"; now he is using the same address with regard to the Prince of Kiev.

To demonstrate his exceptional position among the Rus' princes—Vsevolod of Vladimir had to possess his own *izvod*, an all Rus'ian collection of chronicles.

The usual source of information on the events in the Southern Rus' for the editor of the *izvod* for Vsevolod was the Chronicle of the deeds of Volodimer Glebovich, prince of Pereyaslav (Rus'skii). M. D. Pri-

selkov (pp. 49–50, 63–64) proved beyond any doubt that the story about the campaign of 1185 in the Vladimir *izvod* was also taken from the *Pereyaslav Chronicle* which ended in 1187 (death of Volodimer Glebovich), i.e., has been composed ca. 1185 and 1187. That version survived in *Laurentian Chronicle* on one side and in Długosz on another.

Scholars many times before have discussed the dependence of the *Igor' Tale* on the narration about the Igor's campaign in the 1185 entry of the *Hypathian chronicle*.

Now we can understand the reason.

From the former part of this paper it is clear that the author of the *Igor' Tale* did not have to be a participant of the campaign and that the *Tale* was not written immediately after the campaign.

We have the right to assert that it was precisely Igor', who being so interested in the revision of his image in the imagination and in the hearts of his contemporaries as well as future generations, and who upon becoming 1199 the highest ranking prince in Chernigov resolved that the story about his campaign of 1185 has to be rewritten in the Chernigov chronicle, who urged the author of the *Igor' Tale* to take his revised official version about his campaign as the outline for his poem.

The author of the *Tale* obviously could also have made use of other sources. For example, the relations of the eye-witness still living—but his basic source remained the revised version in the *Chernigov chronicle* (*Hypathian Chronicle*), written not earlier than 1199.

Summarizing what has been said, we arrive at the conclusion that the *Igor' Tale* was written between the years 1199 and 1201, and taking into consideration the contents of the apostrophe to Roman—it is possible to limit the date of completion of *Igor' Tale* to the period between March and August of 1201.*

* Usually scholars regard the year of Yaroslav Osmomysl's death—1187—as the *terminus ante quem* in dating the *Igor' Tale*. This due to the fact that the author of *Igor' Tale* dedicated one of his apostrophes to Yaroslav. However, this in itself is no criterion for dating. The *Igor' Tale* is a poem about a campaign which took place in 1185. An apostrophe is dedicated to Yaroslav not because he was still alive in 1187, but because he was a participant of the campaign in 1185. Moreover, the *Igor' Tale* is not a historical chronicle, but a literary work. Therefore, its author, as all poets throughout the ages, addresses himself to the living, the dead, and the unborn.

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Studies on the Galician Volynian (Volhynian) Chronicle

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1. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The Galician Volynian Chronicle (GVC), a record of events in South-western Rus' encompassing the years 1201–1292,¹ consists of two sections: the Galician from 1201 to 1260 and the Volynian from 1261 to 1292.² It has the dubious distinction of being the most highly ornamented and most poetic of the early Eastern Slavic Chronicles and at the same time the least studied from the linguistic point of view. As the following outline on the state of research will show, the predominant majority of the relatively few studies that have appeared are historical treatments of the GVC. Discovered by Nikolaj Karamzin, the GVC forms the third and final section of the so-called Hypatian text, named after the Monastery of St. Hypatius at Kostroma where it was discovered; it also contains the Primary and Kievan Chronicles. The Hypatian text dating from the early 15th century is the earliest copy of a late 13th century southern Eastern Slavic original compilation which has not survived. In addition to the Hypatian there are four other copies of the original text: (1) the 16th century Xlebnikovskij text (X) which is textually better than the Hypatian and like it is also a direct copy of the original; (2) the 17th century Pogodinskij text (P) made from a copy of the Xlebnikovskij which at the time of copying was in better condition than the present-day copy; (3) the Cracow text (C) dating from the end of the 18th century, which is a greatly distorted copy of the Pogodinskij text and is written in Latin script; and (4) the Ermolaevskij text (E), which in its narration follows the Xleb-

* In this article the system of transliteration used internationally in Slavic Philology, has been followed.

¹ See essay 3 *Chronology* for information concerning the inaccuracy of these dates.

² See essay 2 *Authorship and Competition* for controversy as to the exact border between the two sections.

nikovskij copy but with great abbreviations and distortions; apparently it is a copy of some other non-surviving text.

The Hypatian text of the GVC had been published five³ times to date; three times as the second volume of the *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej* (in 1843 and 1908 with a reprint of the 1908 edition in 1962) and twice separately in 1871 (once by the Archeographical Commission and once privately by A. . Petruševič who reprinted the 1843 edition preceding it by a short historical commentary).⁴ The 1843 edition had variant readings from the X and E texts, the 1908 edition (as its 1962 reprint) from the X, P, and E texts, and the separate Archeographical Commission edition of 1871—from the X and P texts.

In 1871 Klevanov⁵ published a Russian paraphrase of the events found in the Primary, Kievan, and Galician-Volynian Chronicles based primarily on the Xlebnikovskij text, for the 1871 edition of the Hypatian text published by the Archeographical Commission was very poor. Although a pioneering work, Klevanov's paraphrase was deficient in many respects. It had no notes whatsoever and the meager preface concerned itself primarily with Nestor and the Primary Chronicle and devoted almost nothing to the Kievan Chronicle or to the GVC. In the paraphrase of the GVC which I examined, entire passages in-

³ The third edition of the Hypatian text which appeared in 1923 under the editorship of A. Šaxmatov did not carry the text of the GVC, since it took the Hypatian text only up to the year 1146. Its bibliographical reference is: *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. Vypusk pervyj. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, izdavaemoe Gosudarstvennoju arxeologičeskoju komissieju Rossijskoj Akademii Nauk, vol. 2, edition 3, Petrograd, 1923.

⁴ The Hypatian text of the GVC had been published five times as follows:

(a) *Ipatievskaja letopis'*. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, izdannoe po vyšajšemu povoleniju Arxeografičeskoju komissieju, vol. 2, edition 1, St. Petersburg, 1843.

(b) *Volynsko-Galickaja letopis'*, *sostavlenaja s koncom 13 v. 1205–1292*. Izdal i ob"jasnil A. S. Petruševič. Lvov, 1871 (a reprint of the 1843 edition).

(c) *Letopis' po Ipat'skomu spisku*. Izdanie Arxeografičeskoj komissii. St. Petersburg, 1871 (a separate edition).

(d) *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, izdannoe po vyšajšemu povoleniju imperatorskoju Arxeografičeskoju komissieju. vol. 2, edition 2, St. Petersburg, 1908.

(e) *Ipat'evskaja letopis'*. *Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury Instituta istorii AN. SSSR., vol. 2, Moscow, 1962, (a reprint of the 1908 edition).

⁵ Klevanov, A., *Letopisnyj razskaz sobytij Kievskoj, Volynskoj i Galickoj Rusi*, Moscow, 1871.

comprehensible to Klevanov were omitted and many words were left untranslated in their East Slavonic form. However, credit must be given to Klevanov for his endeavor, which would doubtless have succeeded better if he had had at his disposal Sreznevskij's *Materialy*,⁶ which were not to appear until three decades later. Klevanov's work was followed by four historical studies by Petrušević (1871), mentioned above, Scharanewitsch (1872),⁷ Daškevič (1873),⁸ and Bestužev-Rjumin (1886)⁹—all interested primarily in the sources of the GVC and in the GVC itself as a source of history. The last study, being a general survey of Eastern Slavic chronicles, devoted only six pages to the GVC.

In the 1890's the first two linguistic studies of the GVC appeared. In 1896 Makaruška¹⁰ in his doctoral dissertation on the syntax of participles in the GVC, came to the conclusion that the bookish dative absolute construction was a "slavish imitation of the Greek pattern."¹¹ He was criticized by Hruševs'kyj for basing this conclusion "on comparison with the present day vernacular and not paying enough attention to the historical evolution of the language."¹² In 1899 Nikol'skij published the first general description of the phonology, morphology, syntax, and style of the Hypatian text.¹³ By comparison with the Primary and Kievan Chronicles, he gave comparatively few examples from the GVC. And quite a few of those that were labelled by him as taken from the GVC were from the Primary and Kievan Chronicles, since he did not distinguish properly among the three component parts of the Hypatian text.

⁶ Sreznevskij, A., *Materialy dlja slovarja drevnerusskago jazyka po pis'mennym pamjatnikam*. I-III *Dopolnenija*, St. Petersburg, 1893-1903.

⁷ Scharanewitsch, I., *Die Hypathoschronik als Quellen-Beitrag zur österreichischen Geschichte*, Lvov, 1872.

⁸ Daškevič, N., *Knjaženie Danila Galickogo po russkim i innostrannym izvestijam*, Kiev, 1873.

⁹ Bestužev-Rjumin, K., *O sostave russkix letopisej do konca 14 v.*, St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 151-157.

¹⁰ Makaruška, O., "Skladnja pryčasnykiv v Volyns'ko-Halyc'kij litopysi starorus'kim pamjatnyku 13 viku", *Spravozdannje l'vivs'koji akademičnoji gimnazii za 1896 rik*, Lvov, 1896, pp. 3-32.

¹¹ Hruševs'kyj, M., *Istoriia ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 3, Kiev-Lvov, 1923, p. 155. Hruševs'kyj must have based his quote on Makaruška's unpublished dissertation, since these words do not appear in its abstract. See footnote 10.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹³ Nikol'skij, A., "O jazyke Ipatskoj letopisi", *RFV*, vol. 41, Warsaw, 1899, pp. 238-275, and vol. 42, pp. 23-110.

Also in the 1890's and in the first two and a half decades of the 20th century appeared the articles and studies of the GVC by Ukraine's greatest historian, M. Hruševs'kyj, who did most to stimulate historical and literary interest in the GVC.¹⁴ In the third volume of his *History of Ukrainian Literature*¹⁵ in 1923 he complained that historical and literary studies would have to remain somewhat general in nature until detailed linguistic studies of the GVC were made and stated that Makaruška's 1896 doctoral dissertation, the only linguistic study of the time, was not enough to remedy the situation. In addition to his historical and literary commentary on certain passages of the GVC which he translated in the third volume of his *History of Ukrainian Literature*,¹⁶ Hruševs'kyj's main contribution to the study of the GVC is the establishment of the correct chronology in the chronicle through comparison with other East Slavonic chronicles and foreign sources mentioning the same events. Where Hruševs'kyj's predecessors, Scharanewitsch and Daškevič, who were well aware that the chronology of the GVC was not authentic, stated that the chroniclers of the GVC were responsible for this error, Hruševs'kyj proved that the chronology was put in by a later copyist of the GVC.¹⁷ By comparing the Hypatian text of the GVC with its suprious chronology with the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts, which are without chronology, and by going directly to the text of the GVC to the lines "xronografu že nužda est' pisati vse i vsja byvsaja, ovogda že pisati v perednjaja, ovogda že vostupati v zadnjaja" and "vsja že lěta spišem', roščetše vo zadnjaja",¹⁸ Hruševs'kyj was able to demonstrate that the GVC was composed in imitation of Greek chronographs which were organized around events and not years and that the first chronicler planned to supply the years after finishing his work, but never fulfilled his promise, and his successors followed suit.

¹⁴ Hruševs'kyj's "Prymitky do tekstu Halyc'ko-volyns'koji litypysy", *ZNTŠ*, vol. 8, Lvov, 1895, pp. 1-5, began this series of articles and studies devoted to the GVC.

¹⁵ Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, p. 144. An historical analysis of the events in the GVC is given by Hruševs'kyj in his *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy*, vol. 3, Lvov, 1905, pp. 1-108.

¹⁶ Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, pp. 144-203.

¹⁷ Hruševs'kyj, M., "Xronol'ogija podij Halyc'ko-volyns'koji litypysy", *ZNTŠ*, vol. 41, Lvov, 1901, pp. 1-72.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1, ". . . a chronicler has to write down everything that happened, sometimes running a bit ahead of himself and sometimes turning back a bit . . . We will write down all the years which we will calculate [once the chronicle is finished". (Hypatian, 1254).

In 1926 appeared Orlov's article¹⁹ which—as his later article in 1947²⁰—treated the Chronicles of Malalas and Hamartolos, the *Jewish War* by Josephus Flavius, and the *Alexandria (The Tale of Alexander the Great)* as sources of the GVC. In 1936 Kostruba²¹ published a popular Ukrainian translation of the GVC—in the author's own words one “intended for the general public”. Although much better than the above-mentioned free-translation by Klevanov, it is still deficient. Because of its intended purpose it has neither a bibliography nor scholarly notes, but only footnotes at the bottom of each page with the author's explanations of unclear places for the reader. Although Sreznevskij's *Materialy* were available to Kostruba, he made either no use or poor use of this standard reference work, often giving modern Ukrainian meanings to East Slavonic words. For his translation Kostruba used the Xlebnikovskij text and turned to the textually poor 1871 edition of the Hypatian text only for those passages he found either incomprehensible or missing in the Xlebnikovskij text. His achievement lies in his application of Hruševskij's reconstructed chronology of the GVC to his translation and in his index identifying certain princes and place names in the chronicle. Kostruba's study was followed by Čerepnin's article (1941)²² and Pašuto's article (1948)²³ and his study (1950)²⁴—all primarily interested in GVC as a source of history. Pašuto's article has been incorporated into his later study. Seven years later Pašuto's and Hruševskij's treatment of the chronicle's Volynian portion was criticized by Erëmin.²⁵

Linguistic interest in the GVC seems to have risen in the late 1940's and 1950's, but the articles and studies are still relatively few. The

¹⁹ Orlov, A., “K voprosu ob Ipat'evskoj letopisi”, *IORJaS*, vol. 31, Leningrad, 1926, pp. 93–126.

²⁰ Orlov, A., “O galicko-volynskom letopisanii”, *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury AN. SSSR*, vol. 5, Moscow, 1947, pp. 15–35.

²¹ Kostruba, T., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys*, Lvov, 1936.

²² Čerepnin, L., “Letopisec Danila Galickogo”, *IZ*, No. 12, Moscow, 1941, pp. 228–253.

²³ Pašuto, V., “Kievskaja letopis' 1238 goda”, *IZ*, No. 26, Moscow, 1948, pp. 273–305.

²⁴ Pašuto, V., *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volyns'koj Rusi*, Moscow, 1950.

²⁵ Erëmin, I., “Volynskaja letopis' 1289–1290 gg. kak pamjatnik literatury”, *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury (Puškinskij Dom) AN. SSSR*, vol. 13, Moscow-Leningrad, 1957, pp. 102–117.

first of these was Svencic'kyj's article of 1949²⁶ which dealt with the extremely difficult²⁷ problem of the Galician and Volynian origin of certain vernacular lexical items as for example *sulicja* "spear", *taran* "catapult", and *xorugov* "standard". It was followed by Tschizewskij's 1953 article²⁸ on the distribution of the dative absolute construction in the chronicle and Worth's 1960 article²⁹ plotting the occurrences of thirteen phraseological units in the Galician and Volynian sections of the GVC by means of the technique of distributional stylistics as well as his 1962 article³⁰ on the structure of the GVC. The bulk of linguistic investigation of the chronicle, however, has been carried on by one man in Ukraine—Hens'ors'kyj, who in the span of six years has published two articles (1955³¹ and 1957³²) and three studies of the GVC (1957,³³ 1958,³⁴ and 1961³⁵). Of these the most important are the studies: the first treats the meaning of the past tenses, the second, based on textual analysis of the entire chronicle, designates the literary sources used by its compilers and on the basis of the different political views found in the text and information furnished by other East

²⁶ Svencic'kyj, I., "Mova Halyc'ko-Volyns'koho litopysu", *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*, vol. 2, Lvov, 1949, pp. 123-135.

²⁷ For the difficulties that this problem presents, see Bulaxovs'kyj, L., *Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins'koho movy*, Kiev, 1956, pp. 96-104.

²⁸ Tschizewskij, D., "Zum Stil der Galizisch-Volynischen Chronik", *Südostforschungen*, vol. 12, Munich, 1953, pp. 79-109.

²⁹ Worth, D., "Phraseology in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle", *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, New York, 1960, pp. 55-69. Worth's 1964 article—"Linguistics and historiography. A problem of dating in the Galician-Volynian Chronicle", *Indiana Slavic Studies*, vol. 3, Bloomington, 1964, pp. 173-185, is really an expansion of this article. See footnote 81.

³⁰ Worth, D., "Zur Struktur des Vergleiches in der Galizisch-Volhynischen Chronik", *ZsLPh*, Band 30, Heft 1, Heidelberg, 1962, pp. 74-86.

³¹ Hens'ors'kyj, A., "Sposterežennja nad vžyvannjam povnoholosnyx i nepovnoholosnyx form u Halyc'ko-Volyns'komu litopysu", *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*, vol. 4, Lvov, 1955, pp. 81-98.

³² Hens'ors'kyj, A., "Redakcii Halyc'ko-Volyns'koho litopysu", *Doslidžennja z movy ta literatury*, Kiev, 1957, pp. 68-82.

³³ Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Značennja form mynuloho času v Halyc'ko-Volyns'komu litopysu*, Kiev, 1957.

³⁴ Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys (Proces skladannja: redakcii i redaktory)*, Kiev, 1958.

³⁵ Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys (Leksyčni, frazeolohični ta stylistyčni osoblyvosti)*, Kiev, 1961.

Slavonic chronicles and Długosz,³⁶ isolates the different redactions and names its authors, while the third compares the Galician with the Volynian part with respect to lexicon, phraseology, and style. Hens'ors'kyj's 1955 article has been incorporated into his 1961 study, while his 1957 article has become part of his 1958 study. The most recent article devoted to the GVC is Shevelov's genetic analysis³⁷ of the vocabulary of two short passages—one from each section of the chronicle—undertaken to show an objective method of collecting evidence for a “study of the character of the literary language of Old Rus’”.³⁸

2. AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION

The lack of agreement among investigators as to authorship and number of redactions noted by Erëmin³⁹ over a decade ago when he compared Hruševs'kyj's and Pašuto's treatment of the chronicle's Volynian portion exists to this day with regard to both component parts of the GVC.⁴⁰ Since then another solution to the problem has been proposed by Hens'ors'kyj⁴¹ but, although without any doubt the best and most informative of the three studies, it too is unconvincing. The following summary and critical evaluation of each solution will substantiate my position.

Hruševs'kyj viewed the Galician portion of the GVC as a single redaction encompassing a time-span of fifty years from the death of

³⁶ Ioannis Dlugossii, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, ed. A. Przezdziecki, vol. 2, Cracow, 1873 (the edition used by Hens'ors'kyj).

³⁷ Shevelov, G., “On the Lexical Make-up of the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle” in *Studies in Slavic Linguistics and Poetics in Honor of Boris O. Unbegaun*, ed. R. Magidoff, New York, 1968, pp. 195–207.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 204. In 1962 the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR made a photomechanical reprint of Šaxmatov's 1908 edition: *Ipat'evskaja letopis'. Polnoe sobranie russkix letopisej*, Izdatel'stvo vostočnoj literatury Instituta istorii AN. SSSR., vol. 2, Moscow, 1962.

³⁹ Erëmin, I., “Volynskaja letopis' 1289–1290 gg. kak pamjatnik literatury”, *Literatura Drevnej Rusi*, Moscow, 1966, p. 154 (first published, however, in *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury (Puškinskij Dom)* AN. SSSR, vol. 13, Moscow-Leningrad, 1957, pp. 102–117.

⁴⁰ Hruševs'kyj, M., *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury*, vol. 3, Kiev-Lvov, 1923, pp. 142–203.

Pašuto, V., *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 68–133.

⁴¹ Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj Etopyś (Proces skladannja; redakcii i redaktory)*, Kiev, 1958.

Prince Roman Mstislavovič in 1205⁴² to the winter of 1254–1255 when Prince Danilo's son Roman in an unsuccessful attempt at the Austrian throne was besieged in the castle of Himberg (Hypatian "Ineperec"). The last ten years of the redaction were written at the same time the events occurred, while everything before 1245—the year of the Battle of Jaroslav' in which Danilo defeated Rostislav Mixajlovič for the throne of Galič—was composed in retrospect as shown by references to future events.⁴³ Not finding any evidence in the text, Hruševs'kyj wisely did not attempt to guess the identity of its author, but simply stated that he was a well-read secular follower of Danilo, who quoted from and alluded liberally to the Bible, "especially its gnomic and heroic sections"⁴⁴ and made use of the "*Pčela* [*The Bee*]" and military tales which apparently served as models of his style as well as form and contents of his narrative."⁴⁵ However, Hruševs'kyj erred grossly in designating Roman's "Austrian affair" (Hypatian 1257) as the end of the Galician redaction and what followed it, which he called "The Narrative about Kuremsa and Burondaj", as the first redaction of the Volynian portion of the GVC. As pointed out already by Erëmin,⁴⁶ Hruševs'kyj, relying on the purely speculative assumption that each redaction of the chronicle should be characterized by a single theme (in this case the "Tatar" theme), disregarded the fact that the part dealing with Kuremsa was stylistically⁴⁷ identical with the Galician redaction and hence constituted its final portion, while the part dealing with Burondaj was characterized by the style of the Volynian chronicle which it consequently began. Hruševs'kyj's attempt to explain the difference in style between the Kuremsa and Burondaj portions of "The Narrative about Kuremsa and Burondaj" as an overpowering yet gradually disappearing influ-

⁴² Hruševs'kyj used the dates of his reconstructed chronology (See essay 3, *Chronology*).

⁴³ Hruševs'kyj, p. 152.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 161.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁴⁶ Erëmin, p. 167.

⁴⁷ With no specific study of every aspect of style yet undertaken, this statement as well as all others is based on what is known about the general differences in style between the Galician and Volynian portions of the GVC. See Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys (Leksyčni, frazeolohični ta stylistyčni osoblyvost,i)* Kiev, 1961, pp. 225–282, as well as Hruševs'kyj's own interesting comments, pp. 155–162 and 201.

ence of the style of the Galician chronicler upon the part dealing with Kuremsa⁴⁸ is simply unconvincing. Moreover, there is no unity of theme here as suggested by Hruševs'kyj. The "Tatar narrative" is riddled by interpolations such as the founding of Xolm (Hypatian 1259) and campaigns against the Lithuanians (Hypatian 1260). The author of the "Narrative" Hruševs'kyj described as a local inhabitant of Xolm—in all probability a priest judging by the detailed description of Xolm's churches.⁴⁹ However, as has just been shown, there is no evidence to single out "The Narrative about Kuremsa and Burondaj"; its first portion belongs to the pen of the Galician author, while the latter portion to that of the Volynian chronicler.

Continuing with the same speculative assumption that a different theme signified a different author, Hruševs'kyj identified the next redaction of the Volynian portion of the GVC as "The Narrative of events in Lithuania after Mendog's death"⁵⁰ beginning with the circumstances of the latter's death and continuing to Vojšelk's murder⁵¹ by Prince Lev. Yet the probability of its separate existence is also doubtful. Not only does it continue the style of its predecessor, thus showing an organic unity with it, but it is also characterized by "non-Lithuanian" interpolations such as the marriage of Prince Roman of Brjansk, the news of Danilo's death, and the appearance of a comet—all unconvincingly explained by Hruševs'kyj as later additions. While the supposition that it was written in Xolm because of the attention devoted to Švarno is at best probable, Hruševs'kyj's conclusion that it was written by someone other than the author of the first redaction (because of the lack of interest shown in Tatars) is pure conjecture. The chronicler noted a revolt among the Tatars in 1264, and there is no evidence that it was a later addition as Hruševs'kyj tried to show.

The last redaction of the Volynian section of the GVC, according to Hruševs'kyj, was "the Narrative about Volodimer Vasil'kovič", which began with the news of Švarno's death in 1268–1269 and included the rest of the chronicle "with the exception perhaps of its very last items [Mstislav's erection of a stone chapel over the tomb of his grandmother and the 'obituaries' of Prince Juriј of Pinsk and Prince Ivan of

⁴⁸ Hruševs'kyj, p. 181.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186

⁵¹ See essay 4, *Bias in the GVC*.

Stepansk^{52]} and a few other possible interpolations”⁵³ not identified by Hruševs’kyj. It was written by the scribe Fedorec’, the author of Prince Volodimer’s testaments, whom he identified as Fedorok Jurjevič, David’s grandson⁵⁴ (mentioned in Volodimer’s second testament in the GVC), from whom the prince bought the village of Berezoviči for his Monastery of the Holy Apostles. The supposition that he was the author of this third Volynian redaction has been successfully refuted by Erëmin,⁵⁵ who pointed out the difficulty in assuming that the scribe Fedorec’ would write about himself in the third person, since this was not characteristic of East Slavonic scribes. Furthermore, the text itself does not differ stylistically from its two predecessors which it continues and hence cannot be treated as a separate redaction simply because it centers around Prince Volodimer.

Like Hruševs’kyj’s, Pašuto’s solution is also based on the contents of the text rather than the text itself. The Galician portion of the GVC Pašuto divided into two redactions which he called “The Compilation of 1246”⁵⁶ and “The Chronicle of Bishop Ivan”.⁵⁷ The first ended immediately before the departure of its author Metropolitan Kuril for Nicaea in 1246 and the second—with the meeting of Danilo and Vasilko and their sons with Bolesław in Ternava in 1262–1263. The sources of Pašuto’s Compilation were the still hypothetical Kievan Chronicle of 1238⁵⁸; the account of Danilo’s conflict with the Černigov

⁵² Erëmin, p. 165.

⁵³ Hruševs’kyj, p. 188.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202. He should have written Fedorok Davidovič the grandson of Jurij—i.e. Jurjevič—in keeping with the order found in the text. The identity of this Fedorok’s courageous grandfather has been conclusively established by Hens’ors’kyj in his 1958 study, p. 53.

⁵⁵ Erëmin, p. 182.

⁵⁶ Pašuto, p. 68.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 21–67. Pašuto based his hypothesis of the existence of a separate Kievan Chronicle of 1238 which supposedly continued the events described in the Kievan Chronicle from 1200 (the year the latter ended) to 1238 on the fact that the *History of Poland* by the medieval Polish historian Długosz did not know of the destruction of Kiev by the Tatars in 1240 and the last “Tatar” news from Rus’ it cited was their invasion of Černigov and Smolensk in 1238. Since the GVC does know of the fall of Kiev which it recorded, Długosz must have had some southern East Slavonic source which did not survive. This source Pašuto cleverly surmised must have been the Kievan Chronicle of 1238. However, while there is no doubt that Długosz had some East Slavonic chronicle or compilation in his hands which did not reach us, this is still no proof that it was the source

princes; separate reports of military actions by the voyevoda Demjan, the dvorskij Andrej, Kuril, and others; the introductory tale of Anna and her young sons—Danilo and Vasilko; military tales of their campaigns in Poland and Lithuania; and documents from Danilo's archives.⁵⁹ It is doubtful, however, that this varied content of the first Galician redaction alone warrants calling it a compilation. Moreover, the fact that there is no difference in style between it and the text that follows refutes Pašuto's reasoning that the Battle of Jaroslavl' in 1245 motivated the writing of such a "compilation" the following year, since it was the culmination of Danilo's struggle for Galič. Pašuto's statement that the *Compilation* is free of the customary religious influence found in chronicle writing of that time because it reflected Metropolitan Kuril's recent secular past⁶⁰ is also without substance, but easily explainable by Pašuto's Soviet background. One has only to point to the stylistic imitation of Isaiah 36.13–15 by its author when he described Bela's siege of Galič (Hypatian 1229).

Finding the limits of the second Galician redaction—i.e. "The Chronicle of Bishop Ivan"—posed great difficulties for Pašuto, who believed that it as well as "The Compilation of 1246" were completely reworked by the scribes of Prince Vasilko and his son—Prince Volodimer.⁶¹ (This revision, however, did not hinder him from singling out his "compilation"!) By excluding the Volynian redactions of the GVC and the "compilation", he finally defined "The Chronicle⁶² of Bishop Ivan" (whose authorship is also doubtful since there is no direct evidence of it in the text) as the period covering the years 1247 to 1262–1263. It made no difference to him that the beginning and the end of the redaction contrasted sharply in style, yet were identical with the text that followed each respectively. Quite

proposed by Pašuto, and he himself despite painstaking analyses of northern chronicles which also did not know of the fall of Kiev in 1240 and hence in his view used the 1238 chronicle as a source grudgingly admitted the difficulty in presenting conclusive evidence for his hypothesis. Consequently, it is also doubtful that the Kievan Chronicle of 1238 was a source of the GVC.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶² Pašuto's designation of this redaction as a separate chronicle (p. 101) also begs the question. The fact that it forms a continuous narrative with the "compilation" which it supplements is not a convincing argument for such a designation.

obviously Pašuto's difficulties were the result of his own faulty analysis.

The unreliability of Pašuto's analysis of the Volynian portion of the GVC has already been convincingly demonstrated by Erëmin,⁶³ who showed that the latter's subdivision of the Volynian Chronicle into the "court chronicles" of Prince Vasilko Romanovič, Prince Volodimer Vasil'kovič, and Prince Mstislav Danilovič was based on the erroneous assumption that "in ancient Rus' each prince kept his own local chronicle,"⁶⁴ which ended with his death, when the chronicle of his successor then began. Thus, in keeping with this "formula", Pašuto's first "court chronicle" ended with the news of Vasilko's death in 1269 and was immediately continued by that of his son Prince Volodimer which covered the period from 1269, the beginning of his reign, to 1289—the date of his interment. This in turn was continued by the chronicle of Danilo's son Prince Mstislav of which, according to Pašuto, only a fragment survived. All three "court chronicles" together formed the Volynian compilation of the GVC which, Pašuto believed, was begun upon the initiative of Bishop Evstignej of Volodimer'.

Unfortunately this orderly presentation lacks conclusive evidence as shown by Erëmin. First of all, there is no proof of a separate "Chronicle of Prince Vasilko Romanovič". The dominance of Vasilko over Danilo and his sons at the beginning of the Volynian portion of the GVC is obviously the work of his supporter, but that is no proof that it was done at Vasilko's court. It could very well have been written later at the court of his son Volodimer! Second, neither is there any reason to view the very short text relating the beginning of Mstislav's reign as the start of another redaction since stylistically it is like the preceding text. And indeed Pašuto himself stated that both the chronicle of Prince Volodimer and that of Prince Mstislav shared the same author,⁶⁵ but nevertheless considered each a separate redaction—thus implicitly contradicting his own statement. Moreover, he

⁶³ Erëmin, pp. 169–174 and 182–3.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶⁵ Pašuto, p. 130. He proposed Bishop Evstignej as the author of both redactions. However, while there is no doubt that the author was a clergyman (all three investigators—Hruševs'kyj, Pašuto, and Hens'ors'kyj—agree on this point), one could argue as well that he could have been Bishop Mark to whom Prince Volodimer entrusted the Volodimerians when he left for Ljuboml' or even his father confessor. (With no evidence in the text, Pašuto wisely did not attempt to identify the author of the "Chronicle of Prince Vasilko Romanovič").

considered "The Chronicle of Prince Mstislav Danilovič" a fragment and cited the two "obituaries" ending the GVC as evidence of this."⁶⁶ Yet this is no proof at all, but simply the imposition of our own twentieth century rules of logic and aesthetics upon a much different time, and as stated already by Erëmin,⁶⁷ one could very well argue that the "obituaries" provided an appropriate end to the GVC.

Appearing almost a decade after Pašuto's, Hens'ors'kyj's study seemed at first glance to be the long-awaited analysis of the text itself which would solve the problem of authorship and composition once and for all. Yet, despite the great number of answers the study provided to questions indirectly connected with it, it did not give a conclusive solution to the task it imposed upon itself because Hens'ors'kyj resorted to certain subjective criteria in isolating the various redactions and identifying their authors. In his textual analysis, which was not the hoped for study of the chronicle's style,⁶⁸ Hens'ors'kyj gave primary consideration to contrasting political and ideological views (which can but need not always imply a different author!) and passages which he considered interpolations in the text as well as information from other East Slavonic chronicles and from Długosz's *History*. All of these criteria resulted in the following conclusions.

According to Hens'ors'kyj, the GVC was not the mechanical joining of different chronicles by a single man, but a work compiled, rewritten, and continued by five different authors who produced five separate redactions.⁶⁹ The first redaction ended with 1234 and was composed in Xolm in 1255 by Bishop Ivan of Xolm—Danilo's former royal groom, Ivan Mixalkovič Skula. Hens'ors'kyj came to this conclusion after comparing the beginning of the GVC with the so called *Volodimerian Polychron*, which became the foundation of such later compilations as the Voskresenskij, Tverskij, and Nikonovskij texts and contained an unknown southern chronicle which recorded events in Galicia and Volynia, many of which were not mentioned in the GVC. Since the GVC used information from this unknown chronicle from 1235 onward (e.g. the campaign of Jaroslav Vsevolodovič of Suzdal'

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁶⁷ Erëmin, p. 172.

⁶⁸ In my opinion—style is the only objective and concrete criterion for this task as far as composition is concerned.

⁶⁹ Hens'ors'kyj, p. 99. Hens'ors'kyj used Hypatian dates to mark the end of each redaction.

upon Kiev the same year), while the latter apparently used the GVC as a source up to 1234 (e.g. identical description of the Battle of Kalka), and since interest in Danilo's horses did not go beyond 1234, Hens'ors'kyj concluded that the first redaction of the GVC ended that year.⁷⁰ The second redaction extended up to 1265–1266. It was also written in Xolm in 1269 by Danilo's trusted boyar Dionisij Pavlovič, who continued the work of his predecessor. Evidence was an external source again—this time the so called *Compilatory Chronograph* of the 13th century which contained the Chronicles of Ioannes Malalas and Georgios Hamartolos, the *Jewish War* by Josephus Flavius, and the *Alexandria*. This chronograph was part of a larger Galician-Volynian anthology which found itself in the hands of the author of the 1265–1266 redaction and in all probability contained also the *Pčela* and the interpretative *Apocalypse*.⁷¹ Since the lexical and stylistic borrowings from the *Compilatory Chronograph*—especially from *Malalas*, *Hamartolos*, and the *Alexandria*—stopped with the year 1265,⁷² Hens'ors'kyj concluded that the second Galician redaction ended either at that point or the following year. The political evidence which in the words of Hens'ors'kyj “was common to the authors of both Xolm redactions”⁷³ was the propagation of Danilo's supremacy over both Galicia and Volynia as well as the “Theory of Galič as the second Kiev”⁷⁴ and support for a Union with Rome and Danilo's coronation.

⁷⁰ Hens'ors'kyj, pp. 17–24.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁷² This was demonstrated first by Orlov in his 1926 article in which on the basis of these borrowings (found also before 1234!) he designated the text from 1201 to 1265 as the Galician redaction of the GVC.

⁷³ Hens'ors'kyj, p. 100.

⁷⁴ The origins of this theory are to be found in 1201 when Prince Roman Mstislavič took Kiev and placed his viceroy Prince Ingwar Jaroslavič in it. In its final form, however, it did not appear until the destruction of Kiev by Batu. According to it, Galič (and later Xolm) became the only heir of Kiev. In the words of Hens'ors'kyj (p. 87), it and “the Galician-Volynian principality inherited not only the position, importance, and all other functions as well as the outer emblems of old Kiev (Cf. the eagle on the tower in Xolm, Hypatian 1259), but also the name ‘Rus’ itself, not in the wide dynastic-administrative (political) sense [Sic: in which it applied to Galicia-Volynia also], but in the more narrow one which was applied earlier primarily to the population of the Kiev region.” The frequent use of the designations *Rus'* and *rus'kij* by the authors of both Xolm redactions Hens'ors'kyj found particularly interesting because of the almost complete absence of these terms in northern chronicles of the thirteenth century.

The next redaction was that of 1285, Hens'ors'kyj argues, since the last line under that year is incomplete. It was composed in Peremyšl' around 1286 by its bishop—Memnon—or by one of his clergymen. Support for this position Hens'ors'kyj saw in the fact that news from Galicia and Volynia ended in Długosz's *History* with the plague in Rus' and Poland, found in the GVC under 1284. In its ideology the redaction merely continued its two predecessors, supporting the claims of Danilo's heir—Prince Lev—to both Galicia and Volynia. However, only traces of this redaction can be found in the text since the author of the following 1289 redaction revised it as well as the last four years of its predecessor, thus giving the entire text from 1261 to 1289 a purely Volynian character. This 1289 redaction was composed by some clergyman in Ljuboml'—the city in which Prince Volodimer passed away. Hens'ors'kyj's reason for ending the redaction that year was the presence of several interpolations⁷⁵ between 1287 and 1289, which he considered the work of the last author of the GVC, as well as a complete change of political orientation.⁷⁶ The last redaction (1292) took the text to the end of the chronicle and was composed by an inhabitant of Pinsk. Hens'ors'kyj's reasons for isolating it as a separate redaction were (a) the fact that the text from 1289 to 1292 was free of interpolations with the exception of the two at the very beginning of 1289 showing a negative attitude toward Lev and his son Jurij, and (b) the fact that, excluding these two statements, Prince Lev and his family, were again presented in a positive light, in contrast with the preceding redaction.

However, the above solution—enticing as it may seem because of its completeness—is unacceptable as it stands. If Hens'ors'kyj had gone just one step further beyond his analysis and had demonstrated five or even four⁷⁷ different styles ending with the years he proposed for

⁷⁵ An example of such an interpolation is the description of Gaj under 1287. Since the first reference to it was "a certain city" and only then the description followed, Hens'ors'kyj concluded that it was later added by the author of the next redaction.

⁷⁶ The author propagated the supremacy of Volynia over Galicia basing his position on the fact that the progenitor of the Romanovič dynasty—Prince Roman Mstislavič—began his political career in Volynia. While glorifying Vasilko and then Volodimer, he not only concealed the activity of the last years of Danilo's life, but was openly hostile to his sons Lev and Švarno, whose images he distorted in the chronicle.

⁷⁷ The style of the redaction of 1285 cannot be reconstructed, since as already mentioned it was revised by the author of the following redaction.

his redactions, his conclusions as to composition would be hard to refute. However, he did not, and so both they and his analysis itself are open to argument on several counts.

One general objection is to Hens'ors'kyj's frequent use of external sources—i.e. the *Volodimerian Polychron*, the *Compilatory Chronograph*, and Długosz's *History*—as primary evidence in determining the composition of the GVC. The primary evidence for this should have been the text itself! A more specific objection is to Hens'ors'kyj's selective use⁷⁸ of Orlov's study which showed that the lexical and stylistic borrowings from the Chronicles of Malalas and Hamartolos, and the *Alexandria*—as found in the *Compilatory Chronograph*—appeared in the text before and after 1234! Would this not cast doubt on Hens'ors'kyj's 1234 redaction, based partially on the observation that the interest in Danilo's horses ended that year and partially on evidence from the *Volodimerian Polychron*? Moreover would not the same political ideology of both Xolm authors—stressed by Hens'ors'kyj himself—be also an argument in favor of uniting both redactions into one? Neither is his evidence for considering a separate redaction of 1292 convincing. The two negative statements about Lev and Jurij are not interpolations⁷⁹ by a different author but proof that the same man wrote both the 1289 and 1292 redactions. And the fact that in the latter half of 1289 the attitude of the author toward Lev and his family became positive and remained positive to the end of the chronicle is no contradiction! It merely reflects a mellowing attitude on the part of his "kind-hearted" master Prince Mstislav toward his own brother Lev and this the chronicler recorded.

All of these counter-arguments as well as what is known about the general differences in style between the chronicle's two main subdivisions lead one to believe that the GVC consists of only two redactions—the Galician from the beginning of the chronicle in 1201 to 1260⁸⁰ and the Volynian from 1261 to its end in 1292. A detailed study

⁷⁸ Hens'ors'kyj used only the fact that these borrowings ended in 1265 as support for his 1265–1266 redaction.

⁷⁹ As far as an interpolation such as the description of Gaj, is concerned, one could very well argue that it had been added later by the same author after he had learned more about this city from someone who had been there.

⁸⁰ In his 1953 article in *Südostforschungen* Tschizewskij reached the same conclusion about the extent of the Galician redaction by plotting the distribution of dative absolute constructions throughout the GVC.

of all aspects of its style,⁸¹ however, is still needed as conclusive proof. With no direct evidence in the text, the identity of its authors is open to debate.

3. CHRONOLOGY

As already mentioned in essay one, the chronology of the GVC, which begins with 1201, is spurious and was inserted by a later copyist, who placed it haphazardly⁸² throughout the chronicle, paying no attention to its contents and thus often stretching an event which happened in one year over several years or conversely assigning one year to events occurring in different years. This fact has been known to Nikolaj Karamzin⁸³ (*Istorija gosudarstva Rossijskogo*, vol. 3, St. Petersburg, 1816), but it was Hruševs'kyj who almost a century later conclusively proved in his monograph⁸⁴ that the authors of the chronicle purposely composed it without years in imitation of Greek chronographs, which were pragmatic narratives, organized around important events and not years. Hruševs'kyj also showed that since in the later Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts the GVC was without chronology, the person responsible for its faulty chronology in the Hypatian text was neither the one who attached the GVC to the Kievan Chronicle (KC), which ended with the year 1200, nor its last author, for both men were very well aware of the fact that the KC and GVC were separate works, and hence that their respective chronologies were independent of each other. This was an important conclusion for before Hruševs'kyj's monograph the prevailing view was that the chronology for the GVC was supplied by the person who attached it to the KC (e.g. Bestužev-Rjumin⁸⁵ was a strong supporter of this view).

⁸¹ The technique of "distributional stylistics" introduced by Worth in his 1960 article seems a promising method for this study if as stated by Worth himself it "can be refined and broadened to include phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon, as well as phraseology." Tšchiževs'kij's conclusion was reaffirmed by Worth in his 1964 article "Linguistics and Historiography...", in which, taking up his own suggestion, he analyzed the distribution of a limited number of morphological, syntactic, and phraseological criteria in the GVC. The analysis of the phraseological criteria represented a condensed version of his 1960 article.

⁸² The only exceptions were a few dates such as the coming of Batu (1237) and the siege of Kiev by the Tatars (1240), known to him from northern chronicles.

⁸³ Hruševs'kyj, *Xronologija*, p. 3.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-72.

⁸⁵ Bestužev-Rjumin, p. 153.

And finally like Petrušević before him, Hruševs'kyj refuted the view that the "first half" of the GVC was lost and traces of it could be found in the KC of the twelfth century. S. Solov'ev (*Istorija Rossii s drevnejšix vreměn*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1851) and N. Kostomarov (*Lekcii po russkoj istorii*, St. Petersburg, 1862) had propagated this view, but Hruševs'kyj correctly pointed out that the KC lacked the rhetorical style so characteristic of the Galician portion of the GVC.

In his monograph Hruševs'kyj was especially critical of these two historians as well as of M. Pogodin (*Issledovanija, zamečanija i lekcii o russkoj istorii*, vol. 4, Moscow, 1850) and Bestužev-Rjumin, who were not really interested in the GVC and, devoting only very little space to it, disregarded Karamzin's remark about its chronology, calling it either "incomplete" or "awkwardly-placed" and often even accepting it without question.⁸⁶ Only D. Zubryč'kyj showed a distrust of the chronology of the GVC, treating it in his *Istorija drevnego Galicko-russkogo knjažestva*, vol. 3, Lvov, 1855, and began to date the chronicle by comparing its years with those in other sources. But this he did only sporadically and for the last years of the GVC he too accepted its chronology. In the 1870's two independent studies by Scharanewitsch and Daškevič⁸⁷ appeared which dealt more closely with the chronology of the GVC and continued the trend started by Zubryč'kyj. The author of the first corrected the chronology on the basis of Polish, Hungarian, and German sources which mentioned events found in the Hypatian text, but he did not always deduce the correct date. Furthermore, he considered the authors of the GVC and not some later copyist responsible for the faulty dates and tried to explain them mainly by conversions from the "January-" to the "September-year"⁸⁸ and the authors' attempts to render a pragmatic narrative. Daškevič, on the other hand, took a much firmer stand. He found the years of the GVC to be the untrustworthy work of a later copyist and turned to foreign sources and other East Slavonic chronicles to reconstruct the correct chronology of the GVC. Both these studies, however, as

⁸⁶ Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, p. 4.

⁸⁷ See essay 1, p. XX.

⁸⁸ Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, pp. 4 and 57. The beginning of the year in the GVC was not January 1st but September 1st, and it lasted to the 31st of August, instead of the 31st of December. Thus, April 6, 6796—the date of Prince Volodimer's interment—was not in 1288 arrived by subtracting 5508—the hypothetical number of years since the Creation to Christ's birth—but the following year—1289. But this did not always apply (see p. XX, lines X-X).

well as Zubryc'kyj's were not exclusively devoted to chronology, and although they did provide future researchers with several dozen dates, some of them even correct, they gave no motivation for them, and, worst of all, the dates themselves could not be easily located, for they were scattered mainly in footnotes throughout the above-mentioned three studies. Hruševs'kyj's monograph corrected this situation.

The monograph consists of a commentary to each year of the GVC followed by a chronological table listing from left to right (a) the correct date⁸⁹ of the event in question, (b) a short description of the event, (c) line and year (in parentheses) in the Hypatian text (1871 edition), and (d) page in the monograph where the event is analyzed. In the monograph Hruševs'kyj reconstructed the chronology of the GVC by comparing the years found in it with contemporary Hungarian, Polish, German, and even English sources⁹⁰ as well as native

⁸⁹ In the table Hruševs'kyj distinguished (a) dates taken from reliable sources (in block numbers and underlined) (b) deduced dates, but authentic without any doubt (block numbers alone), (c) probable dates (in italics), and (d) hypothetical dates (in italics and followed by a question mark). I have avoided such an unwieldy presentation in my translation, where Hruševs'kyj's chronology appears in the left margin. I have combined his first three distinctions into one and contrasted it with his fourth. All future investigators are referred to his *Xronol'ogija*, pp. 61–72, for the original distinctions. For my translation, see Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, volume 16.

⁹⁰ Hruševs'kyj's bibliographical references are unfortunately always consistently incomplete. The missing information, hence, has been taken from the *Očerki po istorii Galicko-Volynskoj Rusi* by Pašuto, who used many of the same sources as Hruševs'kyj; from *Monumenta Poloniae historica Pomniki dziejowe Polski*, abbreviated here as MPH; and from the *Library of Congress Catalog*:

(a) *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus Continuatus*, ed. G. Wenzel, vol. 7 (1235–1260), in *Monumenta Hungariae Historiae*, vol. 12, Pest, 1869.

(b) *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. G. Fejer, vol. 2–4, Buda, 1829.

(c) Ioannis Dlugossii, *Historiae Polonicae libri XII*, ed. A. Przezdziecki, vol. 2, Cracow, 1873.

(d) Matthae Parisiensis, *Historia Anglorum (Historia Minor)*, in *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages*, ed. F. Madden, London, 1869.

(e) *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*, vol. 9, Hannover, 1860, and vol. 20, 1892.

(f) *Rocznik cystersów Henrykowskich 970–1410, Rocznik franciszkański krakowski 1202–1288*, and *Rocznik Krasieńskich do roku 1351*, ed. A. Bielowski in MPH, vol. 3, Lvov, 1873.

(g) *Rocznik Traski*, ed. A. Bielowski, in MPH, vol. 2, Lvov, 1872.

East Slavonic chronicles⁹¹ and the *History of the Mongols* by Plano-Carpini,⁹² dating or alluding to events described in the GVC. His arguments *pro* and *contra* the reliability of these sources with regard to each event in the Hypatian text were embodied in his commentaries to each year. His detailed analysis of them revealed that certain important events were omitted by the authors of the GVC (e.g. Prince Rjurik's second campaign against Galič in 1206), while others did not follow in the right sequence. (E.g. According to the account in the chronicle Roman's wife escaped with Danilo and Vasilko from Galič apparently after the Galicians summoned the Igorevič princes, while in reality the opposite was true). These contributions laid the groundwork for all further studies of the GVC which had to be based, according to Hruševs'kyj, on the 16th and 17th century Xlebnikovskij or Pogodinskij texts. These he felt were closer to the non-surviving 13th century prototype since, despite some later interpolations not found in the Hypatian text, they were free of the stylistic changes⁹³ made by the copyist who supplied the chronology. His point of view is perfectly understandable since he had only the textually poor 1871 edition of the Hypatian text at his disposal. Today the Šaxmatov edition of 1908 of the Hypatian text is considered the best for any study of the GVC. It has variant readings from the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts at the bottom of each page.

4. BIAS IN THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN CHRONICLE

This essay is an attempt to demonstrate the tendentiousness of the authors of the GVC and the unreliability of certain information in

(h) *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, Vol. 1, Rome, 1859.

(i) *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae Gentiumque Finitimorum Illustrantia*, ed. A. Theiner, vol. 1, Rome, 1860.

⁹¹ The Suzdal' Chronicle (Laurentian text, 1846), the Voskresenskij text (1856), the Nikonovskij text (1862), and the Tverskij text (1863) published in the *Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej* by the Archeographical Commission in St. Petersburg as well as the First Novgorod Chronicle published separately in St. Petersburg in 1888 by the Commission.

⁹² Giovanni Plano-Carpini de, *Histoire des Mongols que nous appelons tatares* in *Recueil des Voyages anciens et modernes*, ed. E. Charten, Paris, 1863,—in all probability the edition used by Hruševs'kyj.

⁹³ These changes consisted of deletions of such phrases as "v" ta že lěta" (in those years) and "v" to že vremja" (at that time) which the copyist replaced by years. Hruševs'kyj, *Xronol'ogija*, p. 3.

it by an analysis of the text itself—without any aid from outside sources. In my analysis I have omitted such obvious exaggerations as the statement that 500 pro-Hungarian Galician boyars were killed by the Igorevič princes (1208)⁹⁴ and meaningless phraseological clichés like “a countless number” found throughout the text as well as such reflections of the author’s piety as the line attributing the loss of the princes of Rus’ to the Tatars at Kalka to their sins (1224) or the obvious consequences of the “sin of boasting” and implications of good and evil omens (1249). I have come to the conclusion that not only is there less bias in the Galician section than the Volynian (i.e. as expected, the bias is directed at elements hostile to Danilo and Vasilko), but also that it is distinctively different in each section of the chronicle.

In the Galician section this bias is directed only against the pro-Hungarian Galician boyars and their frequent ally, Prince Alexander of Belz and, of course, against the Tatars. Bias against other “enemies” is incidental and this is borne out by the fact that it appears only sporadically and follows no discernable pattern. Thus, the chronicler has several negative epithets for the pro-Hungarian boyars, calling them either “godless Galicians” (1202) or “godless Galician boyars” (1230, 1241) as well as “faithless (or unfaithful) Galicians” (1208, 1231, 1235, 1238, 1240) and “cunning Galician boyars” (1226) and never fails to point out their treachery (1209). Moreover, he singles out their leaders for special censure. Thus, when after Roman’s death the Galicians brought back the Kormiličič [boyars] he explains that “Great Prince Roman had banished them for their treason: they had extolled the Igorevič princes” (1202). The most infamous of the two Kormiličič brothers was Volodislav, who managed for a short time to capture Galič for himself. After he had been taken captive, the chronicler remarked apparently with some satisfaction: “The [sic Hungarian] king sent him into exile where he died bringing misfortune upon his children and kin because he wished to rule. And this is why all the princes looked with disfavor upon his children” (1211). No less a scoundrel in the eyes of the chronicler was Prince Alexander Vsevolodovič of Belz, who acted against Danilo and Vasilko sometimes alone and sometimes with the “faithless Galicians”. Already under 1210 he mentions that “Alexander . . . disliked [Prince] Roman’s

⁹⁴ Hypatian dates are cited for quick location in the translation.

family and wished them ill." This is reiterated under 1221 where he writes "[At that time] Alexander had betrayed [Roman's sons] and concluded peace with Lestko, Koloman, and the proud Filja; he constantly wished them ill" and again under 1225: "[Prince] Alexander always felt [great] enmity toward his 'brothers' Danilo and Vasilko Romanovič"; here the chronicler reported that he incited Prince Mstislav Mstislavič to turn against Danilo, but his treachery was soon disclosed. However, this did not stop Alexander. When the first attempt at Danilo's life planned by the unfaithful boyars of the Molibogovič family failed (1230), Alexander conspired with the "godless Filip" and other boyars to murder Danilo in the castle of Višnja, but fortunately Danilo was forewarned of this plot (1230). The "traitor Volodislav Jur'evič who conspired with them," pretended to be loyal and pursued Alexander to the Hungarian Gates in the Carpathians (1231). Thus, as can be seen above, the Galician boyars did not lack leaders after Volodislav Kormiličič. And there were many others! Thus, under 1226 we learn of the "false Žirolav", who was "a cunning swindler" and an "ardent liar", and of Sudislav, who with "treachery in his heart" kept Prince Mstislav Mstislavič from delivering the final blow to Andrew II and his Hungarians after he had defeated them, and together with Gleb Zeremevič was responsible for Mstislav's decision to bequeath Galič to Andrew's son Andrew instead of Danilo—a decision which, in the words of the chronicler, Mstislav regretted making. Before he died, Mstislav wanted to see his "son" Danilo, but Gleb Zeremevič would not let him (1227). When Danilo wrested Galič from the Hungarians, their ally—the above-mentioned Sudislav—was banished from the city by its inhabitants who threw stones at him and said: "Depart from our city, you instigator of rebellions in our land" (1229). But under 1234 we find Sudislav again in Galič together with the Hungarians under the king's son Andrew and the voyevoda Dianiš, besieged by Danilo and Vasilko and their new ally—Prince Alexander: "Sudislav cunningly sent word to Alexander that he would give him Galič if he deserted his 'brother' [sic Danilo]. And Alexander indeed deserted". But this was of no avail. Andrew died during the siege and the city surrendered, and Sudislav had to flee to Hungary again. However, this did not break the boyar opposition and under 1240 the chronicler reported: "The Galician boyars called Danilo their prince, but ruled the whole country themselves: [the boyar] Dobroslav Sadič, a priest's grandson, had occupied the prince's

throne and plundered the whole land . . . while [the boyar] Grigoriĭ Vasiljevič planned to appropriate the hilly region of Peremyšl' ". However, he ended this episode by noting that they accused each other before Danilo of unfaithfulness and "in view of their lawlessness [sic Danilo] was forced to order their imprisonment". The boyars and their allies—the Hungarians, Poles, and Prince Rostislav Mixajlovič of Černigov were convincingly defeated at the battle of Jaroslavl', and "the evil [Galician boyar] Volodislav [Jur'jevič] who had caused the rebellions in the land . . . was executed" (1249). After this the boyars were no longer any threat to Danilo and Vasilko.

The same negative epithets which the chronicler used to describe the Galician boyars, he used for the Tatars, but with one important difference. These epithets are found side by side with biblical designations for the Tatars, the first two times that they invaded Rus'. Thus, under 1224 we find: "An enemy, hitherto unknown, appeared: the godless Moabites called Tatars", and under 1237 both "the godless descendants of Ishmael" and "the godless sons of Hagar". After this the biblical designations cease, but the epithets remain and are used also to single out their leaders. Thus, we find "the godless Tatars" (1238, 1240, 1259), "the lawless Burondaj" (1237) as well as "the godless and evil Burondaj" (1260), and as he did for the Galicians, the chronicler here too does not fail to point out the new enemy's treachery (1224). But the brunt of his attack falls on Batu Khan, who "like a wild beast showed no pity for the youth" of Prince Vsevolod Jurjevič of the Suzdalian Volodimer' "and ordered him to be slaughtered right before his eyes" (1237) and later again "flew into a rage like a wild beast" and had Prince Mixail Vsevolodovič of Černigov and his boyar Fedor killed in his presence (1245). The best proof of the chronicler's tendentiousness, however, appears under the year 1250, where he describes what Danilo saw among the Tatars and which ends with his reaction to the "honor" shown Danilo by Batu: "At that point he began to grieve even more for he saw that they were ruled by the devil; [he witnessed] their foul pagan acts of fornication and Genghis Khan's flights of fancy [such as] his disgusting bloodsucking and endless sorcery. Emperors, princes, and nobles, who came there—all were led around a bush to worship the sun, the moon, the earth, and the devil, [as well as] their deceased fathers, grandfathers, and mothers who were [all] in hell . . . Oh, the greatest disgrace is to be [thus] honored by the Tatars. Danilo Romanovič—the great prince who ruled the land of Rus'—Kiev, Volodimer', and Galič—and other lands

with his brother is now on his knees and is called a slave! [The Tatars] demand tribute from him, and he cannot be certain of his life, which is [constantly] threatened. Indeed, the greatest disgrace is to be [thus] honored by the Tatars! His father was the emperor of Rus' who conquered the Polovcians and waged war against all the neighboring lands. If his son could not be honored, then who else can?"

In the Volynian section of the GVC, in contrast with the Galician, the chronicler's bias is quite unexpectedly directed against Danilo, his sons, and even his grandson. All his other antipathies including his hostility toward the Tatars form no such discernable pattern. In an obvious attempt to propagandize the dominance of Volynia and its rulers Vasilko and his son Volodimer over Galicia, the chronicler presents Danilo and his family in a negative light. Thus, already under 1261 we learn that when told by Bishop Ivan of Xolm of Burondaj's rage at Vasilko and Lev, "Danilo became frightened and fled to Poland, and [then] from Poland he fled to Hungary", and immediately afterwards under the same year that Vasilko (and not Danilo!) saved Danilo's city of Xolm from Burondaj by throwing a stone thrice on the ground, while he asked for its surrender, thus letting its inhabitants know that they should not pay any attention to his words, but continue resisting, since he was forced to say what he did by the presence of the Tatars with him. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that in the very short and restrained "obituary" to Danilo, the chronicler purposely omitted the very important fact that he was Roman's son and minimized the importance of Danilo's death altogether by making it part of a passage glorifying Vasilko: "While Vojšelk was reigning in Lithuania, Prince švarno and [Prince] Vasilko began aiding him, for he had called Vasilko his [adopted] father and master. At that time [also] King [Danilo] had contacted a grave illness. [He did not recover from it] and passed away. He was placed in the Church of the Blessed Mother which he had built himself. This King Danilo was a good, brave, and wise prince, who founded many cities, built churches, and embellished them in many different ways. He was renowned for his [exemplary] brotherly love for Vasilko [and] was second only to Solomon [in wisdom]" (1264). That this was an intentional omission can be seen by comparing Danilo's obituary with that of Vasilko where this important reference occupies a prominent position: "The faithful and Christ-loving Vasilko, Great Prince of Volodimer' and son of the Great Prince Roman, passed away, and his

body was interred in the Church of the Blessed Mother in the bishopric of Volodimer' " (1271).

Danilo's sons—Švarno, Lev, and even Mstislav, Prince Volodimer's heir to his Volynian principality—and Danilo's grandson Jurij received an even harsher treatment by the chronicler. Thus, under 1268 we find the chronicler's sympathies on the side of the Polish prince Bolesław, who sent an envoy to Švarno accusing him of waging war against him together with the Lithuanians and taking his land. Under the same year also he placed the blame of the Russes' loss to the Poles at Vorota on Švarno for failing to obey Vasilko's orders to attack the Poles only after they had entered their own country and split up into smaller detachments. So negative was the chronicler's attitude toward Švarno that he did not even devote the customary laudatory "obituary" to him when he died: "After Vojšelk, Švarno reigned in the Lithuanian land, but he reigned [only] a few years and then passed away. His body was buried in the Church of the Blessed Mother near his father's grave" (1268).

However, the brunt of the chronicler's attack almost to the very end of the Volynian section is directed against Prince Lev. According to the chronicler, Lev murdered Vasilko's guest, Vojšelk, in a monastery of Volodimer' because "he had given the Lithuanian land to his brother Švarno [and not to him]" (1268). Under 1274 he criticized Lev for deceiving his "brothers" and capturing the outer city of Novgorodok without the knowledge of Mstislav and Volodimer, and under 1280 for desiring "to conquer part of the Polish land for himself—[in particular] the cities on the borderland [between Poland and Rus']" after the "good, quiet, gentle, meek, and kind-hearted" Bolesław had passed away (1279), and for turning to the "godless and cursed" Nogaj for aid in his endeavor. The chronicler sarcastically noted that "Lev and his son Jurij marched gladly in Tatar company, but Mstislav, Volodimer, and Mstislav's son Danilo went [only] because they were compelled to do so by the Tatars" (1280) and ended the episode by reporting with evident satisfaction that Lev "returned with great dishonor", having been defeated by the Poles. The chronicler expressed similar satisfaction at the failure of Lev's son Jurij and Prince Mstislav at Goroden. Like Lev, Jurij and Mstislav "concealed their plans from Volodimer and sent the voyevoda Tujma to ravage [the outskirts of Goroden]", but he and his men were attacked in their camp at night and badly defeated since they had posted no sentries

(1277). Mstislav was also criticized by the chronicler for his attempt to give the city of Vsevolož to the boyars and to distribute Volodimer's villages among them while Volodimer was still alive (1287). But the censure of Mstislav—the future heir of Volodimer's principality—was mild by comparison with the chronicler's censure of Juriĭ and Lev for the attempt they made to wheedle Brest away from the dying Volodimer (1288). Lev was even accused of greed since he ruled over “three principalities—those of Galič, Peremyšl', and Belz”. When after Volodimer's death Juriĭ indeed seized Brest for himself, Mstislav threatened both him and Lev that he would send for the Tatars if Brest were not returned (1289). And “Lev was greatly frightened by this, for the bitter taste of Telebuga's campaign [was still in his mouth]”. He ordered his son to leave Brest immediately and warned him that he would side with Mstislav if he didn't. Thus, “Juriĭ left the city in great shame. [Before this, however,] he pillaged all of his uncle's buildings so that not one stone remained upon another in Brest, Kamenec, and Bel'sk” (1289). Probably because Lev was responsible for Juriĭ's capitulation, Mstislav's attitude toward his own brother mellowed, and thus under 1291 when Lev supported Bolesław militarily against Henry IV of Silesia for the throne of Cracow, the chronicler described Lev as a “wise and valorous prince [who was] strong in battle, having shown great courage in many engagements” and referred to the great honor bestowed upon him by the Czech king Vaclav II later that year.

As I tried to show above, the tendentiousness of the authors of the chronicle can be demonstrated conclusively by a meticulous reading of the text itself. My attempt to demonstrate the unreliability of certain statements using the same approach, however, proved an impossible task. Without the help of outside sources all I could do was isolate “suspicious” statements, and even then I could not be sure whether I was not making a subjective judgment. Thus, the extremely short “Kineka”, or as my further investigation showed “Kinga”, fragment (1207) seemed to be out of place, appearing between the chronicler's report of the Hungarian king's attempt to marry his daughter to Danilo (1206) and the murder of the pro-Hungarian boyars of Galič by the Igorevič princes (1208). Nor in another place could I be sure that, as the chronicler claimed, Pope Innocent IV really “cursed all those who abused the true Greek faith” (1225)—to cite just two ran-

dom examples. Not being an historian and having primarily a philological interest in the GVC, I leave this problem to historians.

5. LANGUAGE

The language⁹⁵ of the GVC lies "on the boundary line between Old Russian and Middle Ukrainian, though tenaciously rooted in the tradition of Old Russian".⁹⁶ In this survey of the chronicle's most salient linguistic features I have tried to separate the bookish Church Slavonic (Ch S) from the vernacular East Slavonic (E S) elements where possible,⁹⁷ and from the East Slavonic to extract features which are representative of the beginnings of Middle Ukrainian (M U)⁹⁸ as well as those which entered the chronicle as a result of its "emigre"⁹⁹ status. Consequently, throughout my description I have tried to label each feature as either Ch S, E S, M U, or "emigre", and have summarized the M U and "emigre" features in my conclusions to this essay. In a general sense M U represents the language of all the texts from the

⁹⁵ All examples appear in transliterated form. The front nasal vowel ę, however, is transcribed by *ja* which was its phonetic value on Eastern Slavic soil with the exception of the Ch S ę or *ja* vs. ES *ě* orthographic opposition where ę is retained (See section on morphology, p XX). Numbers in parentheses refer to columns in the Hypatian text from which examples are taken. The front jer is transliterated by ' and the back jer by ". The symbol ^ indicates the loss of ' or " as well as of other sounds (See p. xx). On p. xx it indicates omission of prepositions. Brackets indicate phonetic transcription. [Ø] indicates zero phonetic value. Note that after a vowel *i* represents [j] and *e* represents [je]. In the same position as an ending, however, *i* is always [ji]. Thus, although both the nom. and loc. sg. of the word for "uncle" are transliterated as *stryi*, the first is phonetically equal to [stryj] and the second to [stryji].

⁹⁶ Shevelov, *On the Lexical Make-up of the GVC*, p. 196.

⁹⁷ The Ch S — ES contrasts are based on Bulaxovskij, L., *Istoričeskij kommentarij k ruskomu literaturnomu jazyku*, Kiev, 1958, pp. 447-465.

⁹⁸ A fragment from the chronicle's Volynian section appears as the first illustrative example of MU in *A Reader in the History of the Eastern Slavic Languages: Russian, Belorussian, Ukrainian* by G. Shevelov and F. Holling (Columbia University Press, New York, 1958, pp. 48-49).

⁹⁹ The GVC, as an integral part of the Hypatian text dating from 1425 (see 1962 edition, p. vi), originated in Ukraine—in Galicia and Volynia—but was found in central Russia in the Hypatian Monastery at Kostroma on the Volga, to which it "emigrated" apparently via Novgorod and Pskov—i.e. the territory of the north-western dialects of Old Rus' (see cogan'e, p. xx). Because of this I am referring to the central and north-western Russian linguistic features as "emigre" in opposition to the native MU Galician-Volynian features.

14th to the 18th centuries—chronicles, charters, deeds, letters, plays, and tales, and in the first six decades of the 16th century even ecclesiastical literature—bearing a sufficiently high number of characteristically Ukrainian¹⁰⁰ features, as for example, a new ě, a new ō, the confusion of y with i, and a dative singular in -ovi (-evi). In a more exact definition one would also have to account for another wave¹⁰¹ of Church Slavonization of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, Polonization and Latinization of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries which were the cause of this Church Slavonization, and Russianization of the 18th century. For the language of the GVC which lies on the border between the two periods, the general definition of M U is sufficient. The question of M U and “emigre” lexical items has been excluded from this description not only because this would mean reaching conclusions on the basis of a single text and Sreznevskij (thus erroneously assuming that he glossed every distinct item from all the extant texts), but also because, as is well-known, lexical items are both acquired and lost relatively quickly by language. Thus, the presence of a word in the GVC and its absence from other extant texts is still not definite proof that it is of MU origin since it is a known fact that many texts did not reach us. Furthermore, the presence of a word in the GVC and in Modern Ukrainian (both standard and dialects) but not in Modern Russian (both standard and dialects) does not necessarily mean that it didn’t once exist in Russian. And, of course, the opposite situation is also true. One likewise cannot be sure whether certain words appearing in both southern and northern texts were not brought to the north by southern emigres, fleeing from the Tatars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I have no intention of resurrecting the old Sobolevskij-Kryms’kyj controversy about the Russian or Ukrainian origin of the lexicon of the early texts.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Sometimes the same linguistic feature is shared by Ukrainian and Belorussian—e.g. the form of the preposition *z* as a result of the merger of the prepositions *iz* and *s*. However, because of the origin of the GVC I will refer to such a shared feature as Ukrainian.

¹⁰¹ I.e. after the Second South Slavic Influence. See *Phonology* which follows.

¹⁰² See Sobolevskij, A., “Drevne-kievskij govor”, *IORJaS*, vol. 10, book 1, St. Petersburg, 1905, pp. 308–323 and Kryms’kyj, A. “Drevne-kievskij govor”, *ibid.*, vol. 2, book 3, St. Petersburg, 1906, pp. 368–411. Note mistakes made by Sventic’kyj, I., “Mova Halyc’ko-Volyns’koho litopysu”, *Voprosy slavjanskogo jazykoznanija*, vol. 2, Lvov, 1949, pp. 123–135—an article which was not available to me, but the contents of which I know from Bulaxovs’kyj, L., *Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins’koji movy*, Kiev, 1956, pp. 96–97.

Phonology

1. As one would expect, the GVC is characterized by the loss of jers in weak position and their vocalization into *e* and *o* in strong position—a common East Slavonic feature.¹⁰³ Thus, in the Galician section one finds for example *odolěv*Λ*ša* with the loss of " (715) gen. sg. 'who conquered', but *posol*" (719) acc. sg. 'envoy' and *vo Ugry* (728) acc. pl. 'to Hungary' with its vocalization; *Kamen*Λ*ca* (729) gen. sg. 'Kamenec', but *Kamenec*' acc. sg. 'Kamenec'; and in the Volynian section *k*Λ*to* (849) nom. sg. 'who', *m*Λ*ně* (849) dat. sg. 'to me', but *vozvratisja* (822) aor. 3sg. 'returned'; *těm*Λ (934) instr. sg. 'because of this', but *ves*' (935) nom. sg. 'the entire. . .'. However, despite the fact that jers were lost as vowels, they appear occasionally word medially and quite often word finally after a hard consonant¹⁰⁴ in both parts of the GVC. This can be simply attributed to tradition, intensified by the so-called Second South Slavic Influence of the late 14th and early 15th centuries, and such jers no longer represented vowels. The front jer became a marker which indicated that the preceding consonant was soft, while the back jer was simply redundant: e.g. Galician *s bratom*" *Vasilkom*" *ko Gorod*"*ku* (749) 'with . . . brother Vasilko to Gorodok' and Volynian *no strěly rat'nyx*" *ne dadjaxut*' *ni vyniknuti iz zaborol*" (886) 'but the soldiers' arrows prevented . . . from even peering out from behind the ramparts'. And indeed the fact that when written, jers were occasionally confused serves as proof that they were no longer vowels as, for example, in the Galician section: *brat*' *mi esi* (731) 'you are my brother'; *pridem*' *na tja voinoju* (775) 'we will come and wage war against you'; and in the Volynian: *aki vsju zemlju vzem*' (888) 'as if he had taken the whole land'; *se jaz*" *knjaz*' *Volodimer*' . . . *daju* . . . *svoi gorod*" *Volodimir*" (903) 'behold I, Prince Volodimer . . . bequeath . . . my city of Volodimer' '; *uslyša věst*' *o stryi svoim*"¹⁰⁵ (928) 'he heard the news about his uncle'.

In the position before [j.] before which jers are characterized as "tense", the GVC shows both the ES *o* and an *y* reflex of the tense back jer, which *may* be considered either Ch S or already MU since both have the same reflex. In the Galician section, however, only *y* is rep-

¹⁰³ Borkovskij, V., *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkogo jazyka*, Moscow, 1965, pp. 99ff.

¹⁰⁴ Here, of course, a back jer was usually written.

¹⁰⁵ The appearance of final -m" for -m' serves as evidence of the hardening of final -m'. Borkovskij, p. 120.

resented: *ne ostal'* živyi (788) 'not one person remained alive'; *korol'* Ugor'skyi (794) 'the Hungarian king'. In the Volynian, on the other hand, both the *o* and the *y* reflex are found for the word 'uncle': *stryi*, nom. sg. and loc. sg. (three times in column 913 and once in 928); *stryja* (913, 928, 931) gen. sg.; *stryevi* (932) dat. sg.; and *stroja* (866) gen. sg.; *stroju* voc. sg. (once in 883 and twice in 911); and *stroevi* (911) dat. sg. Of interest is the fact that in the verb *pokryet'* (916) 'will cover', in which *y* acted just like a tense back jer, *y* is not cited as *o* but as *y*.

The tense front jer, on the other hand, is represented by both ES- $[\emptyset]$ with preceding palatalization and ChS *i* in both sections of the chronicle: e.g. Galician *zel'ja* (716) gen. sg. 'prairie grass'; *Ilija* (722) nom. sg. 'Ilya'; and *kopiēm'* (780) but *kop'em'* (781) instr. sg. 'by storm (literally by the spear)'; and in the Volynian: *s xorugov'ju* (853) instr. sg. 'with a banner'; *množestvo ljudii* (854) gen. pl. 'a multitude of people'; and *ljud'e* (877) nom. pl. 'people'. The ES reflex dominates in the Volynian section, but in the Galician it seems to appear about as often as the Ch S reflex.

The loss of jers, as is well-known, resulted in consonantal assimilations and dissimilations as well as in simplifications of consonantal clusters. These changes are well documented in the GVC. Thus, representative of assimilative changes as to voicing one finds in the Galician section: *zgljadanie* (756) acc. sg. 'inspection'; *svadbu* (758) acc. sg. 'marriage'; *is Kamenca* (729) gen. sg. 'from Kamenec'; *is čreva* (761) gen. sg. 'from . . . skin'; *is Kyeva* (766, 782) gen. sg. 'from Kiev'; *vol'žby* (806) acc. pl. 'acts of sorcery'; and in the Volynian *is konči* (873) gen. pl. 'from the horses'. *bes konca* (918) gen. sg. 'without end'; *cernorisci* (920) nom. pl. 'monks'; *lěsti* (893) 'to climb'; *vylěsti* (894) 'to climb up'; *zběgošasja* (896) aor. 3 pl. 'they flocked hastily'; *i_Aščervena* (865) for *iz Červena* gen. sg. 'from Červen'. All of these are regressive assimilations. However, two cases were found which appear to be examples of progressive assimilation—Galician *okrest' krada* (943) gen. sg. 'around the city' and Volynian *tverdost' koroda* (851) gen. sg. 'fortification(s) of the city'. Because they are isolated instances, one can consider them scribal errors as one would—the word *posluž'stvo* (837) acc. sg. 'testimony'. Surprisingly enough the city of *Spiš* does not show assimilation in all three texts—i.e. Hypatian, Xlebnikovskij, and Pogodinskij which have *v Z'piši* (731) loc. sg. 'in Spiš'. Assimilations as to place of articulation are also well represented as for example

Galician *i*_Λšjums'ka (725) gen. sg. 'from Šumsk'; c'tja (736 for testja) acc. sg. 'father-in-law'; o o_Λčine svoei (790) loc. sg. 'about his native land'; be_Λsvěta (765) gen. sg. 'without consultation; and Volynian iš' šjum'ska (849) gen. sig. 'from Šumsk'; i_Λščervena (865 for iz Červena) gen. sg. 'from Červen'; švarnom (865 for s švarnom) instr. sg. 'with švarno'; i_Λcěliti (875) 'to cure'; ižžoša (886) aor. 3 pl. 'they burned'; i_ΛSoxačeva (887) gen. sg. 'from Soxačev'. Not as well represented are dissimilations e.g. Galician pošto (766) 'why', xto (815) 'who'; Volynian što (851, 852, 880) 'what', xto (932) 'who', and simplifications of consonantal clusters e.g. Galician praznik (806) acc. sg. 'feast', representing zdn>zn and Volynian ko Lucku (908) dat. sg. 'to Luck', representing čsk>csk>ck since the original form was Luč'sk" which gave Lučesk, also found in the chronicle (727).

Connected with the loss of jers is the formation of the preposition *z*. In the Volynian section *z* is the result of assimilation by voicing because of the loss of the jer which once followed it: *z* dary (892) instr. pl. 'with gifts' < s" dary; ž dan'ju (903) instr. sg. 'with tribute' < s" dan'ju. In the Galician *z* may serve as evidence that in the language of the scribe the prepositions *iz* and *s* had already merged into one preposition: *z* svoimi (752)¹⁰⁶ instr. pl. 'with . . . own' and hence may be considered a MU feature.

2. The GVC shows an etymologically correct use of *ě* as well as the confusion of *ě* with *i* and with *e*. It also bears witness to the appearance of a new *ě* in place of etymological *e* (but not *e*<'!)¹⁰⁷ in new closed syllables as the result of the loss of following '. In new closed syllables this *ě*<*e* appears also before *i* which was already [j] since *i* here before the loss of jers represented the syllable [j']. The correct use of *ě* is well documented by both sections of the chronicle. Thus, in the Galician one finds tobě (719) dat. sg. 'to you'; běda (721) nom. sg.

¹⁰⁶ The example is taken from the Xlebnikovskij text. In the Hypatian the preposition is missing altogether. The Xlebnikovskij version has been included here because it is quite probable that the non-surviving protograph of the Hypatian text, being of southern origin, had the preposition *z*.

¹⁰⁷ Because *e* < ' was shorter than etymological *e* and its lengthening produced a vowel of the same length as *e* (See Durnovo, N., *Očerķ istorii russkogo jazyka*, Moscow, 1924—photomechanical reprint, Monton 1962—pp. 193–194), while the new *ě* was a new *ē* (Bräuer, H., *Slavische Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1961, p. 109) which in later Ukrainian narrowed to *i*.

'misfortune'; v zemlě¹⁰⁸ Volodimer'stěi (721) loc. sg. 'in the Volodimerian land'; vo gradě Kyevě (722) loc. sg. 'in the city of Kiev'; vo gory Ugor'skyě (760) acc. pl. 'into the Hungarian Mountains'; i vběžaša v města lěsna (841) 'and fled to wooded places'; and in the Volynian: vozlězosta (852) 3 dual 'they climbed up'; v gorodě (853) loc. sg. 'in the city'; slugy že bojar'skiě (854) nom. pl. 'the boyars' servants'; tělo (869) acc. sg. 'body'; strěly (886) nom. pl. 'arrows'; i ne mogoša eě pereiti (893) 'and they could not cross it'; so sta po dvě lukně¹⁰⁹ medu (932) 'about two hundred kegs of mead'. The confusion of *ě* with *i*, on the other hand, appears in the following three positions: (a) before *j*, regardless of stress, (b) not under stress, word finally or before a hard consonant, and what is of utmost importance, (c) under stress, word finally or before a hard consonant. Thus, in position (a) one finds in the Galician section bojarě Ugor'stěi (723) nom. pl. 'the Hungarian boyars'; vsix knjazěi (741) gen. pl. 'of all the princes'; bojare Galič'kěi (765) nom. pl. 'the Galician boyars'; iněi že Ugrě (769) nom. pl. 'but other Hungarians'; and in the Volynian: knjazěi (848) gen. pl. 'of princes'; aki borově veličěi (885) 'like dense pine forests'; kormiti libyvěi koně (893) 'to feed . . . ailing horses'; složim" s sebe sorom" sěi (888) 'let us cast off this shame'; a těi ot moroza izomroša (894) 'and they died from the cold'; věrně že samogo Gospoda glagol" (915) 'but more appropriate are the words of Our Lord Himself'.

Position (b) is supported by the following examples: Galician po smerti že Volodimerě (716) 'after Volodimer's death'; i prosiša Romanovyi knjagini (720) 'and they entreated Roman's princess'; na Suxoi Dorogvi (732) loc. sg. 'on the Suxaja Dorogva'; vědalě (756) 'they knew'; Volodimīr" nom. sg. 'Volodimer'; i episkopa pripodobnogo Semeona ubiša (782) 'and they killed the blessed bishop-Semen'; o bidě ego (808) loc. sg. 'about his misfortune'; and Volynian: a byšasja peredalě (851) 'that they would surrender'; ože izbitě bojarě vsi Mstislavlě i Lvově slugy vsi izbity (877) 'that all of Mstislav's boyars and Lev's servants had been killed'; ože vsi dobrě sdorově (886) 'that all were in good health'. For nouns and adjectives the interaction of

¹⁰⁸ In zemlě the presence of *ě* for etymologically correct *i* is the result of interaction between hard and soft stem declensions. See section on morphology.

¹⁰⁹ Originally dvě < d'vě was common for both the neuter and feminine genders as evidenced by the above example with the acc. dual: dvě lukně (sg. lukno) and only later became limited to the feminine gender (Bajmut, T., et al., *Porivnjal'na hramatyka ukrajins'koji i rosijs'koji mov*, Kiev, 1961, p. 140).

hard and soft stem declensions was probably the reason for the appearance of *i* for the etymologically correct *ě* and vice-versa. (See *Morphology*) It could, however, also represent the *i* reflex of *ě* characteristic of southern manuscripts of position (c).

In that position one finds in the Galician section: *s kim*" (769) instr. sg. 'with whom'; *do rěķě Dunaja* (787) gen. sg. 'as far as the Danube River'; and in the Volynian *s kim*" (860). The example *do rěķě Dunaja* could also be treated under morphology (influence of soft stems on hard stems).¹¹⁰

The confusion of old *ě* with *i* in all positions, of which the most important is the one under stress before a hard consonant, serves as proof that the phonetic value of old *ě* was already [i]. This phonetic value of *ě* as [i] was also known in Novgorod, but in view of the other features, and the fact that the GVC was written in Galicia and Volynia, one can consider it a MU feature here.

In direct contrast with *ě* and *i*, *ě* and *e* are confused in the following positions: (a) before a soft consonant other than *j*, regardless of stress, and (b) not under stress, word finally or before a hard consonant. Thus in the Galician section for position (a) one finds *po smerti že Volodimerě*¹¹¹ (716) loc. sg. 'after Volodimer's death'; *pěśni Polovčickija* (716) acc. pl. 'Polovcian songs'; *s vėliko;u radost'ju sretoša i* (721) 'with great joy they met him'; *k detem' Romanovoe* (729) 'to the children of Roman's wife'; *poveleniem'* (735) intr. sg. 'by the will'; *koněč'* (759) nom. sg. 'the end'; *Kameněc'* (782) acc. sg. 'Kamenec'; *ověc'* (783, 826) gen. pl. 'of the sheep'; and the Volynian: *ko Volodimerju* (850) dat. sg. 'to the city of Volodimer' '; *koněc* (855); *u Volodimeri* (899) loc. sg. 'in the city of Volodimer' '; etc. Position (b), on the other hand, is represented by Galician *prexožaše* (716) imperf. 3 sg. 'he would pass through'; *bojarě Ugor'stěi* (723) nom. pl. 'the Hungarian boyars'; *Ljaxově* (720, 725) nom. pl. 'the Poles'; *Volodimer"* (720) nom. sg. 'Volodimer'; *xorugve svoe otbeže* (725) 'left his standard behind'; *k detem' Romanovoe* (729) 'to the children of Roman's wife'; *borzosti radi kon'skoe* (734) 'because of the speed of his horse'; *poem' voe svoe* (755) 'having taken his soldiers'; *na vragi moe* (763) acc. pl. 'against my enemies'; and the nom. pl. *Galičaně* (771) 'Galicians'; and the Volynian: *Tatarově* (852) nom. pl. 'Tatars'; *na . . . lovex"* (906) loc. pl. 'on . . . hunting expeditions'; *aby tobě šžalilosja moe služby*

¹¹⁰ See p. XXX, item 6.

(911) 'so that you would take pity on me for my service'; *popově* (919) 'priests'. Note that *svoe* and *moe* are exceptions being under stress, but here the confusion of *ě* with *e* could be the result of analogy with pronominal adjectives which have final vowels not under stress e.g. *novyě*.

The Galician section has four examples of the MU new *ě*, but for the Volynian I found only one. E.g. Galician: *i obnaživšu měč* *svoi* (762) 'and having bared his sword', repeated in column 768: *obnaživ* " *měč* *svoi*; *kto v něi xodit* (770) 'whoever walks in it'; *a na něm* " *orel*" *kamen*" (845) 'and on it an eagle carved out of stone'; and Volynian: *Posla Bog*" *na nas*" *měč* *svoi* (897) 'God sent his sword upon us'.

3. Parallel with the lengthening of *e* to new *ě* as a result of the loss of jers, the GVC bears witness to the lengthening of *o* to *ō* (written *oo*). The Galician section offers one isolated case of this MU lengthened *o*: *i plěniša vsju voot_Λčinu ix*" (819)¹¹² 'and they devastated their whole country'; no examples were found in the Volynian part of the chronicle.

4. The change of *ō* > *u* of the type *dobrovul*'no 'voluntarily', *torguvlja* 'trade', present in Galician-Volynian manuscripts since the 12th and 13th centuries,¹¹³ was not found in the GVC.

5. Both sections of the GVC show examples with both *ky*, *gy*, *xy*, and *ki*, *gi*, *xi*. Since *ky*, *gy*, *xy* had changed to *ki*, *gi*, *xi*, which appear in southern manuscripts since the 12th century,¹¹⁴ one has to agree with Obnorskij¹¹⁵ and view the examples with *ky*, *gy*, *xy* as the result of the so-called Second South Slavic Influence on Eastern Slavic orthography.¹¹⁶ The spoken language both in the south and in the

¹¹¹ In Volodimerě *ě* = [i].

¹¹² Like the new *ě* in later Ukrainian this *o* narrowed to *i*. Compare later Ukrainian *vitčyna* 'native land'.

¹¹³ Sobolevskij, A., *Lekcii po istorii russkago jazyka*, Moscow, 1907 (photo-mechanical reprint, Mouton, 1962), p. 67.

¹¹⁴ Černyx, P., *Istoričeskaja grammatika russkago jazyka*, Moscow, 1962, p. 144.

¹¹⁵ See the description of the language of 'Slovo o polku Igoreve' by S. Obnorskij in his *Izbrannye raboty po russkomu jazyku*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1960, p. 47.

¹¹⁶ Another striking feature of the Second South Slavic Influence is the writing of non-iotized vowels which is found sporadically throughout the chronicle and seems to become more frequent as one nears the end of the GVC. E.g. *bolšaa polovina Galiča* (771) 'the greater half of Galič'; *ne prestaže* (772) 'would not stop'; *knjagini moa mila* (901) 'my dear princess'; *pošli so mnoju svoego Dunaa* (909) 'send your Dunaj with me'; *ideže erěi sovlačaxu rizy svoa* (916) 'where the priests would take off their chasubles'.

north by this time had only *ki*, *gi*, *xi*.¹¹⁷ Thus, in the Galician one finds *pěsni Polovčekiĭa* (716) acc. pl. 'Polovcian songs'; *vo gradě Kyevě* (722) loc. sg. 'in the city of Kiev'; *na . . . mogylě*, but *na . . . mogilu* and *o . . . mogilě* (722) loc. sg. 'on, to, and about the burial mound'. The Volynian, on the other hand, has: *pokoršago vorogy* (856-857) acc. pl. 'who had conquered his enemies' but *rosylaja slugi svoě* (905) 'sending forth his servants' and *Stepanskii knjaz'* (938) nom. sg. 'the prince of Stepansk'.

6. Both sections of the chronicle also show the MU confusion of the vowels *y* and *i* which serves as evidence of their merger. E.g. Galician *rosmyjavsja* (757) 'he broke out in laughter'; *ostavšusja . . . otrok" věrnix"* (763) 'the . . . retainers who had remained faithful'; *oružnikom že ne byvšim* (for *bivšimsja*) *s nimi* (833) 'the soldiers would not engage them'; and Volynian; *ustroeno različnymy xoromy* (908) instr. pl. 'embellished by different buildings'; *poroky i samostrěly . . . velikimi i malymy* (935) instr. pl. 'by catapults and large and small . . . crossbows'; *mir" derža s okol'nymy storonami* (933) instr. pl. 'he lived in peace with the surrounding lands'.

7. However, only the Volynian shows the MU confusion of initial *u-* with initial *v-*, thus probably testifying to the bilabial pronunciation of *v-*. All examples except the first show *v-* in place of *u-* and hence are treated as characteristic of MU: *i ne možaxu umestitisja vo vorota* (853) 'and they could not fit into the gates'; *Posem že Lev" vosxotě sobě . . . goroda na V"kraini* (881) 'Afterwards Lev wanted . . . the cities on the borderland for himself'. (Compare with: *zane věst' bjaxut' podali im Ljaxove Ukrainjane* (864) 'because the border Poles had let them know'); *selo na V"krainici* (889) 'a village on the borderland' (or perhaps 'V"krainica River' as suggested by *Bulaxovs'kyj*¹¹⁸); *vostani, nisi bo v'merl"*, *nesi bo ti umereti* (923) 'Arise, for you are not dead, for it is not right that you should die'.

8. Only the Volynian shows the loss of initial *g*, which may be interpreted as the MU southern pronunciation of *g* as [ɣ]: *Λospodine!* (857) voc. sg. 'Master!', and *k Λospodinu svoemu* dat. sg. 'to his master'.

9. On the other hand, both sections of the GVC are characterized by *cokan'e* or the confusion of *c* with *č*. This is an "emigre" vernacular

¹¹⁷ Černyx, p. 144.

¹¹⁸ *Bulaxovs'kyj, L., Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins'koji movy*, Kiev, 1956, p. 96.

feature in the GVC characteristic of Novgorod and Pskov—the territory of the northwestern dialects of Old Rus'. E.g. Galician *vovzed* "i na Galicinu mogilu (722) 'having taken him to the Galician burial bound'; i pustišasja jako děti ko otčju (777) 'and they ran like children to their father'; suličami mečjušče (810) 'hurling spears'; a tri otroči ego (830) 'and three of his retainers'; and Volynian: na synovča svoego na Kondrata (880) 'against his nephew Konrad'; v" Kameněč" (899) 'into the city of Kamenec'; vo Xrista, vsemu miru živodavča (923) 'in Christ, the giver of life to the entire world'. In many examples *č* has been corrected to *c* apparently by a later copyist. (See the 1962 edition of the Hypatian text, column 885, notes *g*, *e*, *z*, *i*, and *k*.) However, since the text bears the uncorrected forms, I have used them for my examples.

It is interesting to note that the conjunction *či* appears only as *ci* and hence is not *cokan'e*. E.g. *ci inogo strannici esmy* (756) 'are we foreigners?'; and Volynian: *m'ci* (for *mi ci*) *iskati po tvoem' životě* (898) 'when you die, am I to seek . . .'; *ja sego ci xotěl* (902) 'did I want this?'; *ci li veleniem' otca svoego* (939) *ci li tvoim* "poveleniem" (930) 'was it by the will of his father, or by your will?' As *ci* this conjunction is found today in the Belorussian language. In linguistic literature, according to Bulaxovs'kyj,¹¹⁹ *ci* is also cited as characteristic of Ukrainian Carpathian dialects as well as Galician in Hrinčenko's dictionary. However, one cannot safely consider *ci* as a common Belorussian-Western Ukrainian feature since in the 14th century it was known also in the area of Moscow.¹²⁰ Apparently both variants, *či* and *ci*, were known throughout the Eastern Slavic area at first. As noted by Bulaxovs'kyj the details of this problem still need to be solved. Consequently, for the GVC *ci* is posited as either East Slavonic or a MU feature with the above reservations in mind.

Morphology

1. Both parts of the GVC are characterized by the preservation of the dual number. There are several cases of the substitution of the plural for the dual. However, the fact that these cases can be found shows that this preservation was an attempt by the scribes to continue the Ch S tradition and not a reality in their spoken language.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

Thus, one finds Galician: *dva knjazja . . . potkosta na pěš' čě i ub'ena bysta konja pod nimi* instead of *pod nima* (717) 'two princes . . . attacked the infantry, but their steeds were slain beneath them'; i *privedoša kormiličiča iže bě zagnal* "velikyj knjaz' Roman nevěry radi, slavjuxu bo *Igoreviča*, poslušav že ix" *Galičkyi bojare i poslaša po nix*" (718) 'and they brought back the Kormiličič [boyars], whom the Great Prince Roman had banished for their treason: they had extolled the Igorevič [princes]. Upon their advice the boyars of Galič sent for them'. (Proof that *kormiličiča* is acc. dual and not animate acc. sg. is the 3 pl. imperfect *slavjaxu* instead of the expected 3 dual *slavjasta* or *slavjašeta*, while proof that *Igoreviča* is acc. dual and not the animate acc. sg. is the 3 pl. acc. pronoun *ix*" instead of the expected 3 dual masc. acc. *ja*); *zatvorila bo sja bějasta vo gradě* (776) 'for they had barricaded themselves in the city'. The Volynian section, on the other hand, has: *s oběima synoma* (848) 'with both sons'; *svoima očima* 'with both of his eyes'; *i ubi ego i oba syna ego* (860) 'and he killed him and both his sons'.

2. Both parts also show a preservation of the vocative—five cases in the Galician and over fifty in the Volynian. No substitutions of the nominative for the vocative were noted. Consequently, this form must have been natural to the speech of the scribes and may be considered a MU feature. E.g. Galician *brate* (766) 'brother!'; *Dobroslave* (789) 'Dobroslav!'; *knjaže* 'prince!'; and Volynian: *xolope* (851) 'slave!'; *ospodine* (857) 'master!'; *stroju* (883) 'uncle'; *synu* (891) 'son'; *Olgo* (901) 'Olga!'; etc. Because the voc. today is characteristic of Ukrainian, I have considered it a MU feature, although all of these forms were still found in Russian texts up to the 16th century; in all probability, however, the Russian forms were no longer reflections of the spoken language.

3. The Galician and Volynian sections show quite a number of examples with the confusion of the preposition *u* and *vo*,¹²¹ as a result of the MU confusion of the genitive with the locative and accusative cases. This confusion is found in both *o* (*jo*) and *a* (*ja*) stem nouns. E.g. Galician *ne xotě stati v' goroda* (758) 'he did not want to camp by the city'; *korolju stojašču vo Volodimerja* (766) 'while the king was camping near Volodimer'; *i priběgšim že u vorota* (833) 'and when

¹²¹ Of interest also is the writing of both prepositions together: e.g. *stojašču že emu uv grada* (800–801) 'while he was camping by the city' clearly a further indication of their confusion.

they came to the gates'; and Volynian: *svadba byst' u Vasilka knjazja u Volodimerě* (848) 'Prince Vasilko was holding a wedding in Volodimer'; *byvšu emu u Grabovci* (865) 'while he was in Grabovec'; *privez"šim" že i vo Volodiměr" u episkop'ju* (918) 'they took him to the Cathedral Church in Volodimer'.

In connection with the confusion of the gen. with the loc. cases which resulted in the interchanging of the prepositions *u* and *v*, I would like to mention here four examples of the loc. sg. in the Volynian section and two in the Galician of place-name nouns in *-s'k*". These are *o-* stem nouns which appear to have the *jo-* stem loc. sg. ending *-i*, hence by analogy as a result of the interaction of *o* and *jo* stems, although I would not exclude the possibility of a phonetic explanation i.e. the change of *ě* > *i* as has already been cited under phonology. In all probability both analogy and the change of *ě* > *i* influenced the appearance of this loc. sg. ending. The Volynian examples are cited first since the Galician need more explanation: *i srěte i u Šum'ski* (849; with confusion of the prepositions *u* and *v*) 'and he met him in Šum'sk'; *byvšu že emu v Lucki* (908) 'while he was in Luck'; *ože uže zasada Jur'eva v . . . Bel'ski* (928) 'that Jurij's garrison was already in Belsk'; *i zasadu posadi v Bel'ski* (932) 'and he placed his garrison in Belsk'. The two Galician examples represent the loc. sg. without the preposition and apparently are an orthographic substitution of *ky* for *ki* as a result of the so-called Second South Slavic Influence: *byvšju emu Šum'sky* (726)¹²² 'while he was in Šumsk' and *bě bo v to vremja knjagini ego Pryn'sky* (778) 'at that time his princess (i.e. wife) was in Pryn'sk'. It is interesting to note that in the later Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts all these examples are cited with the *u-* stem loc. sg. ending preceded by the preposition *v*.

4. Both parts also show the use of *u-* stem endings of the gen. sg. *-u*, dat. sg. *-ovi* (by analogy also *-evi* for the "soft" declension), loc. sg. *-u*, nom. pl. *-ove* and gen. pl. *-ov*" (by analogy also *-ev*" for the "soft" declension) in both *u-* stem and *o-* stem nouns. This widespread use of these endings in masc. nouns is a MU feature. Thus, for the gen. sg. one finds Galician *koněč' mostu* (759) 'the end of the bridge' vs. Volynian *ne bojarin*", *ni dobrogo rodu* (853) 'not a boyar, nor of noble birth'; dat. sg. *Lestkovi* (719) 'to Lestko', *ko vuevi* (817)

¹²² Nikol'skij considered this example under phonology as representative of the Galician-Volynian confusion of *y* with *i*. See Nikol'skij. A., "O jazyke Ipat'skoj letopisi", *RFV*, vol. 41, Warsaw, p. 261.

'to his uncle' vs. *po ledovi* (881, 893) 'on the ice'; loc. sg. *v piru* (763) 'at a feast' vs. *u Belsku* (925) 'in Belsk'; nom. pl. *Ljaxove* (730) 'the Poles' vs. *borove* (866) 'pine forests'; and gen. pl. *Kondrat'* *poběže do Ljaxov*" (775) 'Konrad fled to Poland' vs. *ot ogněv*" (853) 'from the fires'.

5. One example in the Volynian section shows the MU instr. sg. form *svoim*" for the prep. sg.: *i Jur'i uslyša věst' o stryi svoim*" (928) 'and Jurij heard the news about his uncle'.¹²³

6. The GVC also bears witness to the influence of other stems on each other, but this interplay is not as well-represented as the above expansion of *u-* stem endings and simply serves as an indication of the general East Slavonic change of stem to gender declension and fewer declensional patterns. Thus, one finds the influence of soft stems on hard stems and vice-versa. E.g. (a) *ja* on *a*: Galician *blagoslovenie ot papě* (826) 'blessing(s) from the pope' with *-ě* instead of *-y*; (b) *jo* on *o*: Volynian *brata svoego Volodimerja* (928) 'of his brother Volodimer' with *-ja* instead of *-a*; (c) *a* on *ja*: Galician *v'dasta emu xoditi po zemlě* (783) 'they allowed him to wander through the land' with *-ě* instead of *-i*; and *o* on *i*: Galician *poide ko t'stu svoemu* (771) 'he went to his father-in-law' with *-u* for *-ju*; as well as the influence of *i-* stems on *jo-* stems: Galician *imena že Litov'skix*" *knjazei* (735) 'the names of the Lithuanian princes' with *-ei* for the original zero ending and Volynian *do Suždalī* (884) 'to Suzdal' with *-i* for *-ja*; and *i-* stems on consonantal stems: Galician *togo že dni* (734) 'that very day' and Volynian *na kanun*" *Ivanja dni* 'on the eve of the feast-day of St. John', both with *-i* instead of *-e*.

7. Both parts of the GVC also show examples with the Church Slavonic ending *-ę* and its East Slavonic reflex *-ja* contrasting with the native East Slavonic *-ě* in the fem. gen. sg. and nom.-acc. pl. and the masc. acc. pl. of "soft" declension nouns and in the same cases in pronominal adjectives, pronouns and participles. Thus, in the Galician section one finds *samoderžca vseę Rusi* (715) 'the Autocrat of all of Rus' '; *poi že emu pēsni Polovčekija* (716) 'sing Polovcian songs to him'; *na cerkvi prečistoe* (for *ě*) *vlađičica* (for *ja*)¹²⁴ *našeę Bogorodica*

¹²³ As in all isolated examples, the probability of a scribal error for this form is not excluded.

¹²⁴ One might be tempted to use this example as proof that *c'..c* in the GVC since *a* and not *ja* appears after *c*. That this not true can be seen from spellings such as *gud'cju* (716) and *licju* (740). Hence, one can ascribe this appearance

(for *ja*) (737) 'on the Church of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary'; všed"šu že emu vo gory Ugor'skyě (760) 'when he entered the Hungarian Mountains'; and in the Volynian: Tatarově že načáša lestvice pristavlivati (852) 'but the Tatars began to set up ladders'; i položiša tělo eja (863) 'and they placed her body'; bisja s nimi i pobědi ē (896) 'he fought them and defeated them'.

8. And finally within the noun, the GVC shows a constant animate acc. for masc. proper names in the sg. and for masc. sg. nouns denoting socially high-placed personages. E.g. Galician *prijal bě Danila* (717) 'he had received Danilo'; *Danila posla Lest"ko vo Ugry i s nim" poslal" . . . Vjačeslava Lysogo* (719) 'Lestko sent Daniel to Hungary and with him he sent Vjačeslav the Bald'; *episkopa ostaviša živa* (782) 'the bishop they left alive'; and Volynian: *ubil" ja knjazja ix" Voišelka* (891) 'I killed their prince—Vojšelk'. For all other categories of nouns there is vacillation between the use of the animate and inanimate acc. in sg. and pl. Thus, Galician *i s nim" poslal" posol" svoi* (719) 'and with him he sent his envoy'; but *posla voev"* (724) 'he sent his soldiers'; *ne sii li izbiša otci vaši* (724) 'were they not the ones who killed your fathers?' and Volynian: *nesjaxu pered nimi deti ix"* (854) 'they carried their children before them'; *knjagini že posla posla po n'* (909) 'the princess sent a messenger for him'. And, of course, for animals the inanimate acc. is dominant. E.g. Volynian *kormiti libyvěi koně* (893) 'to feed . . . ailing horses'; *Volodiměr" že prisla kon' svoi emu dobryi* (908) 'Volodimer sent him his good steed'. These generalizations represent a common ES feature and hence cannot be considered as specifically MU.

9. In the adjective the GVC bears witness to ES pronominal forms which have endings of the MU demonstrative pronoun *t"j*¹²⁵ in the gen., dat., and loc. sg., as well as endings of the older Ch S pronominal forms. Thus, for the masc.-neut. gen. sg., used both for the gen. and the masc. anim. acc., one finds in the Galician section: *velikago Romana* (721) 'the great Roman'; *velikogo dvorskogo Pota* (724) 'the

of *a* after *c* to later northern copyists and treat this as an "emigre" feature in the GVC.

¹²⁵ That the form was *t"j* (which later gave *toj*) and not the reduplicated *t"t"* (which later resulted in the Russian *tot*) can be seen from the Galician: *i byst' mylost' velika nad" korolem' vo den' t"j* (833) 'and [God's] grace shone that day upon the king'; and Volynian *t"j bo ēžděl" bjašet" ko Lvovi* (931) 'for he had gone to see Lev'.

great *dvorskij Pot'*; and in the Volynian: *dobrogo rodu* (853) 'of noble birth'; *Boga, stvoršago predivnaja, pokoršago vorogy* (856–857) 'God, who had performed such marvelous deeds and had humbled his enemies'. Hence, both the ES *-ogo* and Ch S *-ago* are represented.¹²⁶

In one example of the Galician section *-ogo* appears in its "soft" variant not as *-ego* but *-evo*: *lovja jati voroga svoevo* (847) 'to capture his enemy'. This is an "emigre" feature in the GVC, characteristic of central Russian dialects and must be attributed to a later Russian copyist.

All the other cases are represented as follows: (a) masc.-neut. dat. sg.: Galician *Danilovi že moljaščusja Bogu, svjatomu arxierěju Nikolě* (775) 'Danilo prayed to God and to the blessed archpriest [St.] Nicholas'; and Volynian: *i tako byst' končē' Sudomirskomu vzjat'ju* (855) 'and that is how Sudomir was finally taken'. I did not find any examples with Ch S *-umu*; (b) fem. dat. sg.: Galician *k velikoī knjagini* (735) 'to the great princess'; *priěxav že ko vsi rekomēi Boldikišča* (832) 'having come to a village called Boldikišča'; and Volynian: *u episkopju ko svjatoē Bogorodici* (918) 'to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin'—here by mistake gen. *-oē* instead of dat. *-oi*. This confusion of the gen. with the dat. cases *Nikol'skij* identified as a Novgorod feature¹²⁷ which consequently has an "emigre" status in the GVC. The Ch S *-ēi* is also found: *preda . . . gorod . . . svjatēi Bogorodici* (923) 'he dedicated . . . the city . . . to the Holy Mother of God'; (c) masc.-neut. loc. sg.: Galician *na Krovavom brodu* (734) 'on the Krovavyj Brod'. I did not find any examples with Ch S *-ēm'*; and (d) fem. loc. sg., which like the dat. shows the juxtaposition of ES *-oi* with Ch S *-ēi*: Galician *na Suxoi Dorogvi* (732) 'on the Suxaja Dorogva'; *na rēcē rekomēi Polci* (787) 'on the river called Pol'ka'; and Volynian: *priěxa na svjatoī nedeli* (868) 'he came during Holy Week'; and *vo cerkvi svjatēi Bogorodicē*.¹²⁸

10. In the pronoun, the nom. sg. of the first person and the dat.-loc. sg. of the second person personal and reflexive pronouns are important for the ES-Ch S opposition. The Galician section of the chronicle records only the ES *jaz*"; *jaz*" ne pomjanux" svady Romanovy (719)

¹²⁶ The fem. gen. sg. had already been discussed in section 7.

¹²⁷ *Nikol'skij*, vol. 42, p. 67.

¹²⁸ Note that *svjatēi Bogorodicē* is not the expected gen. but either (a) the loc. sg. (hence it is in apposition with *cerkvi* and governed by the preposition *vo*) or (b) a dat. poss. See section on syntax.

'I have forgotten my dispute with Roman', while the Volynian has both *jaz*" and *ja* which developed from it, thus testifying that the spoken language already had *ja*. Of the two forms *ja* occurs much more often: *ne voeval" jaz" tebe* (864) 'I have not waged war against you'; but *ja rad*" (865) 'I am glad'; *a se ja gotov" tobě na pomoč*" (883) 'behold I am ready to help you'. I found only one example of Ch S *az*" (Volynian 898) in direct discourse where it is completely out of place with the rest of the passage. Apparently *a se cesar*', *a se az*" 'here is the emperor, and here am I' must have been part of some traditional formula put into Prince Volodimer's lips.

As for the dat.-loc. of the 2 sg. personal pronoun and the reflexive pronoun, both sections of the GVC record only the ES *tobě, sobě*: Galician *tobě bo drug*" *bě* (719) 'for he was your friend'; *Danił" že privede k sobě Ljaxy* (761) 'but Danilo brought the Poles to his side'; Volynian *aby tobě šžalilosja moee služby* (911) 'that you might take pity on my service'; *pomysli v sobě* (858) 'he thought to himself'.

11. Since the verb in the GVC—specifically its past tenses—has already been the object of a special study,¹²⁹ I am limiting myself here to a general juxtaposition of ES and Ch S forms of the present and past tenses as recorded by the chronicle. In the present tense¹³⁰ this concerns the 2 sg. ending as well as the endings of the 3 sg. and pl. The 1 pl. present tense, infinitive, and 2 pl. imperative are also treated for they can shed light on the MU and the "emigre" forms.

In the Galician section the Ch S 2 sg. *-ši* is dominant: *vosxoščeši* (750) 'you will wisk'; *možeši* (750) 'you can'; *vnideši* (788) 'you will enter'; but *možeš*' (750), while in the Volynian the reverse is true: *pobudeš*' (874) 'you will spend'; *projaviš*' (875) 'you will show', but *vedaeshi* (880) 'you know'. On the other hand, in both sections of the chronicle the ES 3 sg. and pl. ending *-t*' is found everywhere except for one case in the Galician section. Thus, one finds *stoit'* (732) 'stands'; *idet'* (873) 'goes'; *ležat'* (877) 'are lying', but *brat" ti biet'sja nazadi* (751) 'your brother is fighting in the rear' in which *-t*'—is clearly of Ch S origin.

One example of the MU 3 sg. present tense of the verb "to be" was

¹²⁹ See Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Značennja form mynuloho času v Halyc'ko-Volyn'skomu litopysu*, Kiev, 1957.

¹³⁰ Whether the verb is of imperfective or perfective aspect, as far as the ending is concerned, I am treating both as present tenses.

found in the Volynian section (column 884): *no nekol' e m'* (for *mi*) 'but I have no time'.

For the 1 pl. of athematic verbs the ending *-my* was found. E.g. *damy* (879) 'we will give'; *esmy* (889) 'we are'. Since it served as an alternate form already in Old Church Slavonic, it must be considered of Ch S origin. Elsewhere, in thematic verbs, the ending *-m* common to ES and Ch S appears. No 1 pl. in *-me* characteristic of Novgorod and Pskov nor in *-mo* characteristic of Ukrainian were found.

The GVC has examples of the "shortened" ES form of the infinitive in *-t'*. E.g. *ěxaša Ljaxově vovevat'* (732) 'the Poles came to wage war'; *poed' knjažit' k nam* (909) 'come and reign over us'. This must be considered the work of Russian copyists of the Hypatian text. For MU one would expect the preservation of the ending *-ti* which is indeed also found throughout the chronicle. E.g. *ašče ne priimete brata moego knjažiti* (718) 'if you won't accept my brother to [come and] reign . . .'; *mysljaše oderžati* (789) 'he planned to appropriate . . .'; *i nača molviti* (909) 'and began to speak'; etc. As seen from the examples the infinitive serves also as a replacement for the supine. This is treated under syntax.

According to Nikol'skij, a MU feature common to Ukrainian and Belorussian dialects seems to be the use of the suffix *ě* in the 2 pl. imperative.¹³¹ E.g. Galician *izěidete na Galič i priimete zemlju Ruskuju* (760) 'March against Galič and occupy Rus'. That the italicized *e* in the examples stands for *ě* can be seen from the Xlebnikovskij and Pogodinskij texts which have *ě*.

12. For the aorist both parts of the chronicle are best represented by the productive *-x*" type and the forms used most often are those of the 3 sg. and pl. E.g. Galician *ěxa Vasilko Suzdalju* (758) 'Vasilko went to Suzdal' and Volynian *ubiša bo Ljaxově ot polku ego mnogy bojary* (882) 'for the Poles killed many boyars from his regiment'. Both parts are also represented by the 3 sg. aorist of athematic verbs characterized by *-st'* from the present tense: Galician *i vdast' Kyev*" v rucě Dmitrovi (782) 'and entrusted Kiev in Dmitro's hands'; and Volynian *i ne byst' kto pomiluja ix*" (854) 'and there was no one to show them mercy' as well as by a number of anomalous aorists with the ending *-t'* characteristic of a few Ch S verbs whose aorist stems were mono-

¹³¹ Nikol'skij, vol. 41, p. 256.

syllabic: Galician *i načat*” *peremol*”*vlivati*¹³² *ljudi* (786) ‘and he began persuading the people’ and Volynian *i načat*” *povědati o byvšem*’ (877) ‘and he began to relate what had happened’. However, only the Galician section has examples of the Ch S imperfective aorist of the verb “to be”: *togda že vo Krakově běša posli papini* (826) ‘for at that time the pope’s envoys were in Cracow’.

13. For the imperfect both parts of the GVC are represented by the “contracted” ES forms with and without *-t* for the 3 pl., to which it came from the present tense. As for the aorist, the most common forms are those of the 3 sg. and pl.: Galician *i prexožaše zemlju ix*” *jako i orel*” (716) ‘and he would pass through their land like an eagle’ and Volynian: *bjaxut*” *že stanove v gorodě solomoju činene*” (853) ‘there were houses in the city built of straw’. They are also represented by the Ch S “uncontracted” imperfect of which there are more examples in the Galician section. E.g. *běasta bo mlada sušči* ‘for they were young’.

14. For the present perfect the Galician and Volynian sections have forms with and without the auxiliary “to be” in the present tense: E.g. Galician *pride věst*” . . . *jako Rostislav*” *sošel*” *est*” *na Litvu* (777) ‘the news came . . . that Rostislav had (lit. has) gone against the Lithuanians’ and Volynian *ubil*” *ja knjazja ix*” *Vojšelka* (891) ‘I killed their prince—Vojšelk’.

15. For the past perfect the Galician section is represented by three types, two of which are Ch S and one ES. The Ch S past perfects are (a) the *l*-participle plus “uncontracted” imperfect of “to be” as auxiliary and (b) the *l*-participle plus “contracted” imperfective aorist of “to be” as auxiliary, while the ES past perfect is (c) the *l*-participle plus “contracted” imperfect of “to be” as auxiliary. Type (a) is represented by *běaše bo korol*” *iznemogl*”*sja* (749) ‘for the king had become exhausted’; type (b)—by: *bě bo gorod obišla voda* (755) ‘for the water had surrounded the city’; and type (c)—by: *Danil*” *že v to vremja šel*” *bjaše* . . . *Ugry* (776) ‘but Danilo had gone to Hungary at that time’. The Volynian section, on the other hand, knows only the two ES types of past perfect. The first type, just described above in the Galician section, is represented by: *izběgli bo sja bjaxut*” *v gorod*” (864) ‘for they had flocked into the city’. The second type which

¹³² This inf. shows the aspectual iterative Russian suffix *-iva-* and hence according to Nikol’skij would represent an “emigre” feature in the GVC. For additional examples, see Nikol’skij, vol. 42, p. 72.

consisted of the present perfect of "to be" plus *l*-participle is found here with just two *l*-participles without the auxiliary: *otnimaet' u mene gorody, čto mi byl' dať* (911) 'he is taking from me the cities which he had given me'.

16. And finally both sections know the common Ch S-ES form of the conditional which uses the *l*-participle plus the perfective aorist of "to be" as auxiliary. E.g. Galician *ašče ne byl' by srodnik' ix' s nimi Oleksandr'*, to ne *perešli byša ni Buga* (720) 'if their relative Alexander had not been with them, they could not have even crossed the Bug'; and Volynian: *rad' ti byx' pomogł' za tvoju soromotu* (884) 'I would gladly help you because of your shame'; and a *byx' s nim' rjad' učinil'* (901) 'that I might make peace with him'—the last example perhaps already pointing to the loss of verb function by the auxiliary.¹³³

However, as shown already by the afore-mentioned study by Hens'ors'kyj, all of these past tenses were elements of the bookish literary language, while in the spoken language of southwestern Rus' of the 13th century the past tense form in *-l'* without the auxiliary was already dominant. Also according to Hens'ors'kyj, some forms of the aorist and imperfect may have been preserved in the spoken language, but only as archaisms and not productive forms of the past tense verbs.¹³⁴

Syntax

This section has received a limited treatment by comparison with phonology and morphology because the only salient MU feature evident in syntax is the use of the preposition *do* in the meanings of *v* and *k*.

1. The Galician part of the chronicle has several examples of the "second nominative", "second dative" and "second accusative" cases. In the Volynian I found only the "second accusative". (a) second nominative: *v to že vremja voevaša Litva Ljaxy, mnjašče mirni sušče* (754) 'at that time the Lithuanians were waging war against the Poles, thinking that they were at peace . . .'; (b) second dative: *da luče est' na svoei zemlě kost'ju leči i ne li na čjuže slavnu byti* (716) 'It is bet-

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 95. Note that all propositions and conjunctions are treated in the section on syntax which follows as is the replacement of the supine by the infinitive.

¹³⁴ Hens'ors'kyj, pp. 85–86.

ter to die in one's native land than to achieve fame in a foreign one'; jako uzrěvšu Galič, ne byti emu živu (748) 'that if he were to see Galič, he would not remain alive'; (c) second accusative: i ja Romana v bani myjuščasja (722) 'and captured Roman bathing in a bathhouse'; and Volynian: narekl" bo bjašet' Vasilka otca sobě (862) 'for he had called Vasilko his [adopted] father'. These so-called "second cases" in all probability existed in the spoken ES since they are recorded in deeds.¹³⁵ Their functions were later absorbed by the instrumental case.

2. Both parts of the GVC know the ES "dative possessive" E.g. Galician Volodimerci rekušče se synovec' Romanovi (720) 'the Volodimerians . . . saying: 'It is Roman's nephew'; and Volynian i položiša tělo eja vo cerkvi svjatěi Bogorodicě (863)¹³⁶ 'and they placed her body in the Church of the Blessed Mother'.

3. Both parts also show the MU use of the preposition *do* in the meanings of *v* and *k*. E.g. Galician a Kondrat" pobeže do Ljaxov" (775) 'but Konrad fled to Poland'; ědušču emu do Grubeševa (830) 'while he was going to Grubešev'; and Volynian: i po sem' ide Voišelk" do Galiča k Danilovi knjazju i Vasilkovi (859) 'and then Vojšelk went to Prince Danilo and Vasilko in Galič'; uteče do goroda (877) 'he fled into the city'; and počxa do Berest'ja (884) 'he went to Brest'. The frequency of this usage of *do* is greater in the Volynian section.

In contrast with the Volynian, the Galician section is characterized by the ES absence of prepositions, characteristic of an older stage of the spoken language. Rjurik" že vorotisja ʌKyevu (718) 'but Rurik returned to Kiev'; Izjaslav" bisja ʌNezdy reky (726) 'Izjaslav fought by the Nezda River'; in the Volynian such usage without prepositions is rare: materi plakaxusja ʌčad" svoix" (854) 'mothers cried for their children'.

The Volynian, on the other hand, is characterized by the repetition of prepositions—also an ES feature. Černyx sees this phenomenon not as much an attempt to emphasize each element of the object of the preposition as a different manner of thinking in Old Rus'.¹³⁷ E.g. a Lev" nača knjažiti v Galičě i v Xolme po brate po svoem' po švarně (870) 'and Lev began to reign in Galič after his brother švarno'; i poide na brata na svoego na Kondrata k gorodu ko Ezdovu (883) 'and

¹³⁵ Borkovskij, p. 393 ff.

¹³⁶ See footnote 127.

¹³⁷ Černyx, p. 325.

marched against his brother Konrad to the city of Ezdov'. In the Galician this repetition was not found.

4. Both sections of the chronicle bear witness to the ES replacement of the supine by the infinitive. Thus, one finds the supine correctly used in the Galician section in *prišli sut' videt'* oljadii (742) 'they have come to see the boats', but replaced by the infinitive in Kondratovi že *priëxavšu mirit'* Lest'ka i Danila (737) 'Konrad came to make peace between Lestko and Danilo'; and in the Volynian; *Idoša Litva na Ljaxy voevat'* (885) 'the Lithuanians marched to wage war against the Poles', but *ëdu gospodine do Sužzdali ženit'sja* (884) 'Master, I am going to Suzdal' to get married'.

5. The GVC knows the following bookish Ch S uses of the nominal pr.a.p.:

In the Galician section the nominal pr.a.p. occasionally functions like the infinitive, while in the Volynian this usage is very limited. E.g. Galician *ne vedjaxu bo kamo bezašče* (719) 'for they did not know where to run'; *ne prestajaše klevešča* (753) 'he would not cease to slander'; and Volynian: *ne prestajašet' zloe tvorja* (891) 'he would not cease to do evil'.

Both parts of the chronicle know the construction *kto* plus nominal pr.a.p. in attributive function. E.g. Galician *něst' kto izbavljaja i ot ruku mojeju* (760) 'there is no one who could save them from my hands' and Volynian *i ne byst' kto pomiluja ix* (854) 'and there was no one who could show them mercy'.

However, only the Galician seems to know the construction *bě* plus nominal pr.a.p. as predicate attribute: *bě bo Volodislav' lestja mezi ima* (719) 'for Volodislav was the one who plotted mischief between them'.

6. Both sections of the GVC have examples which bear witness to the ES adverbialization of the nominal pr.a.p. and p.a.p. The adverbialization is shown by the lack of agreement of these participles with their antecedents. E.g. Galician *Poslušav* (instead of *Poslušavše*) *ix* Galyckyj bojare (718) 'taking their advice, the Galician boyars. . .'; *ottuda že poidoša, plenjači* (instead of *-e zemlju* (772) 'thence they marched laying waste the land'; *oni že šzaliivši* (instead of *šzaliivšesi*) *o byvšix*", *predaša grad*" (724) 'after grieving over what had happened, they surrendered the city'; and Volynian *a družii polči stojaxu nedvižimi stereguči* (instead of *-e*) *vnezapnogo naezda ot'* Ljaxov"

(885) 'and other regiments stood motionless, guarding against a sudden attack by the Poles'.

7. Both parts of the chronicle also show the bookish Ch S use of the forms of the pronominal participle as substantive. E.g. Galician *da budet' dvor' ego pust' i v selě ego ne budet' živuščago* (748), masc. gen. sg., pr. a. p., 'May his household be empty and may there not be a living soul in his village'; *zane prel'sčaše ne tokmo čjužix no i svoix vozljublennyx*" (748) gen.-acc. pl., p. p. p. 'because he cheated not only strangers but also his loved ones'; and Volynian *i nača emu povědati o byvšem* (850) loc. sg., p. a. p. 'and he began telling him what had happened'.

8. Like other Eastern Slavic chronicles of its time, the GVC in both its component parts is characterized by the ES absence of indirect speech since—as is well known—indirect discourse as such was a much later development. E.g. Galician: *Danila posla Lest'ko vo Ugry i s nim" poslal" posol" svoi Vjačeslava Lysogo reky korolevi jaz" ne pomjanux"* *svady Romanovy* (719) 'Lestko sent Danilo to Hungary and with him he sent his envoy Wjacesław Łysy, saying to the king: 'I have forgotten my dispute with Roman . . .'; and Volynian: *Švarno že sja zaprě emu tako reka ne voeval" jaz" tebe, no Litva tja voevala* (864) 'But Švarno denied [this] to him, saying thus: 'I did not wage war against you, but the Lithuanians did.'

9. In contrast with the Volynian part of the GVC, the Galician is characterized by an overwhelming use of hypotactic constructions, of which the most widespread is the bookish dative absolute construction inherited from Church Slavonic. It appears most often as a temporal subordinate clause and less often as a main clause of a complex sentence. E.g. *malu že vremeni minuvšu* (718) 'after some time had passed'; *edučju Dobroslavu vo odinoi soroččě gordjašču ni na zemlju smotrjaščju, Galičanom" že tekušćim" u stremeni ego* (790) 'Dobroslav rode wearing only a tunic and with such an air of importance about him that he would not even look down at the ground, while the Galicians ran by his stirrup'.

Other hypotactic constructions in the Galician section are introduced by the subordinating conjunctions *ašće, aže (až), at', bo, da (daby), iže, jako*, and *ože*. Of these *ašće, da (daby=da by), iže*, and *jako* are of Ch S origin; *aže (až), at'*, and *ože* of ES origin; while *bo*, according

to Bulaxovs'kyj, of either Ch S or ES crigin.¹³⁸ E.g. *ne imat' ostatisja grad" vaš, ašče mi ne vydaste Romanovičju, ašče ne priimete brata moego Svjatoslava knjažiti v Volodimerě* (718) 'your city will not remain (i.e. will perish), if you won't surrender Roman's two sons [and] if you won't accept my brother Svjatoslav to reign in Volodimer'; *aže dasi korolevičju, kogda vosxeščeši, možeši li vzjati pod" nim"* (750) 'if you give [it] to the king's son, you can take [it] from him, whenever you wish'; *až' Bog" vosxočet', poidive na nja* (752) 'if God so wishes, let us march against them'; *dai nam" otčiča Galičju Danila, at' s nim" priimem' i ot Igorevičev"* (724) 'Give us Danilo the heir of Galič, so that with him we could wrest it from the Igorevič [princes]'; *predneje bo imja ei Kineka* (723) 'for her former name was Kineka (i.e. Kinga); *i vdst' im", da vladeet' imi* (721) 'and he gave him to them, that he might rule over them'; *prosjaxusja, da by k nim" prislal" Kondrait" Pagoslava i Mstiuja* (756) 'they requested that Konrad send Pakosław and Mstij to them'; *ne bě bo v zemlě Ruscěi pervee, iže bě voeval" zemlju Č's'sku* (821) 'for there was no one before him in the land of Rus', who had waged war against the Czech land'; *uzrev", jako koněč' mostu ugasl" est'* (759) 'upon seeing that the end of the bridge stopped burning'; *onem že ěduščim" napred nimi k Ljutoi rěčě, ože byša ne priěxale Ljaxove i Rus'* (725) 'but they fled from them to the Ljuta River because the Poles and the Russes had not yet arrived'.

The Volynian, on the other hand, shows either (a) a combination of paratactic and hypotactic constructions—hence a blending of the vernacular ES and bookish Ch S traditions or (b) paratactic constructions alone—characteristic of the spoken ES. The following best exemplifies the first type of language: *onomu že priěxav"šu k nemu*¹³⁹ *i poča dumati Tovtovil" xotja ubiti Trenjatu a Trenjata sobě dumašet' na Tovtivila pak"* (861) 'When Tektivil arrived, he began scheming [how best] to kill Trenjata, but [the latter] already

¹³⁸ See Bulaxovs'kyj, *Pytannja*, p. 94, and Sreznevskij's *Materialy* for these conjunctions.

¹³⁹ A dative absolute construction. It is interesting to note that the Volynian section, which uses the dative absolute infrequently by comparison with the Galician has examples also of this construction preceded by *byst'*. E.g. *byst' iduščim" polkom" mimo Soxačev gorod"* (887) 'and it happened that while the regiments were marching past the city of Soxačev'. This type of dative absolute construction is not found in the Galician section.

had the same designs on [his life]'. Type two is found most often in direct discourse of which there are very many examples in the Volynian section. E.g. *i posla ko bratu svoemu Volodimerovi reka emu tako, brate slozim" s sebe sorom" sěi, pošli vozvedi Litvu na Boleslava* (888) 'and he sent to his brother Volodimer, saying thus to him: 'Brother, let us cast off this shame, go and summon the Lithuanian against Bolesław'. Even when hypotactic constructions are used, many of the hypotactic conjunctions introducing the subordinate clauses are of ES origin. E.g. *at' inaja detii ne cvelit'* (860) 'that another might not torment the children'; *poěd' proč, aže budet' ti kamenem"* v čelo (852) 'Go away or you'll get a stone in your head'; *a kolī ti budet' ljuho, togda s nimi poidi* (884) 'march with them whenever you like'; *děti našě vidělē, ože rat' stoit' za goroju* (872) 'our children (here soldiers; vanguard) saw that an army was standing beyond the hill'. The use of *čto* as a relative pronoun (i.e. instead of *iže*) is also unmistakably of ES vernacular origin: *otnimaet' u mene gorody, čto mi byl"* dal" (911) 'he is taking away the cities from me, which he had given me'. Of the Ch S hypotactic conjunctions used the Volynian section seems to show an inclination toward *a* and *zane*. E.g. *molvi gorožanom"*, *a byša sja peredalě* (851) 'tell the inhabitants to surrender'; *ne byst' kto knjaža v Ljad'skoi zemli, zane ne byst' u nego syna* (881) 'there was no one who could reign in the Polish land, because he had no son'.

Conclusions

The language of the GVC is a learned language basically Ch S (better preserved in the chronicle's Galician than its Volynian section) into which elements of not only that ES vernacular, which was common to both the North and the South of the Eastern Slavic territory, but also specifically local features have crept in. Of these, extremely well represented are MU features and only sporadically those which I have labelled as "emigre".¹⁴⁰ It is this great number of characteristically "Ukrainian"¹⁴¹ features that allows one to place

¹⁴⁰ See introductory statements to this chapter, p. xxx, to avoid any confusion in my use of this term. The Polovcian, Tatar, Jatvingian, Polish, Czech, German, and Hungarian borrowings treated by Hens'ors'kyj in his *Leksyčni osoblyvosti*, pp. 95-103 and 138-140, are too few to change the above definition of the language of the GVC.

¹⁴¹ See p. xxx, footnote 100.

the GVC as the first document representative of the beginnings of MU. As a basically learned language penetrated by Ukrainian features, the language of the GVC is not yet the Galician based (with its great number of Polonisms) nor the Volyno-Polisian-Belorussian based form of MU.

In recapitulation these MU features are: (a) in *phonology*: 1. the γ reflex of the tense back jer (γ);¹⁴² 2. the appearance of a new $\dot{\epsilon}$; 3. the appearance of a new $\bar{o}$; 4. the confusion of γ with i ; 5. the confusion of initial u -with initial v -; 6. the phonetic value of g as $[\gamma]$; 7. the phonetic value of the old $\dot{\epsilon}$ as $[i]$; (b) in *morphology*: 1. the form of the preposition z (γ); 2. the form of the conjunction ci (γ); 3. the preservation of the voc. case; 4. the confusion of the prepositions u and v , resulting from the confusion of the gen. with the loc. and acc. cases; 5. a wide-spread use of u - stem endings in masc. nouns, especially the dat. sg. $-ovi$ ($-evi$) which of the three Eastern Slavic languages is found only in Ukrainian; 6. the form of the instr. sg. poss. adj. $svoim$; 7. the form of the demonstrative pron. $t''j$; 8. the preservation of the inf. ending in $-ti$; 9. the appearance of suffix $\dot{\epsilon}$ in the 2 pl. imperative; 10. the form of the 3 sg. present tense of "to be": e ; and (c) *syntax*: 1. the use of the preposition do in the meanings of v and k .

The "emigre" features, on the other hand, are: (a) in *phonology*: 1. $cokan'e$; 2. the confusion of $\dot{\epsilon}$ with e ;¹⁴³ 3. hard c ; and (b) in *morphology*: 1. confusion of the gen. with the dat. cases; 2. the form of the inf. ending in $-t'$; 3. the appearance of the iterative suffix $-iva-$ of imperfective verbs;¹⁴⁴ 4. the appearance of the ending $-ego$ as $-evo$ in $svoevo$.

A detailed study of every linguistic feature of the GVC including style is still needed to solve the problem of the chronicle's composition, which was not the aim of this short discussion of the chronicle's most salient linguistic features. It is hoped that Worth's technique of distributional stylistics¹⁴⁵ can indeed be successfully expanded and refined to solve this important problem.

¹²⁴ (γ) refers to uncertainty of item. See appropriate section in essay for items marked (γ).

¹⁴³ Nikol'skij, vol. 41, p. 263.

¹⁴⁴ See p. xxx, footnote 132.

¹⁴⁵ See p. xxx.

Nikolai Gogol' and Mykola Hohol'

Paris 1837

A chapter from the study into Gogol's "two souls" complex

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At the end of February 1837,¹ before leaving Paris after a four month's stay on the way to Rome for the long years of self-imposed exile from Russia, Gogol left in the apartment of his Ukrainian fellow countryman, a well-known Polish poet and "Ukrainophyle" Josef Bohdan Zaleski,² a small letter in *Ukrainian* signed by its author with the correct *Ukrainian* form of his name; i.e., by that form which was usually used by himself and his Ukrainian countrymen: *Mykola Hohol'*.³ This letter, so extremely rich in Ukrainian idioms that it is almost untranslatable, can be rendered in English most closely to the original as follows:

"What a great, great pity that I did not find you, my fellow countryman, at home. I heard that you were attacked by some kind of illness, something like *sonyashnytsya*⁴ or *zaviynytsya* (let them

* This essay is complete text of a paper read in abridged form at the tenth annual meeting of the Far Western Slavic Conference at Stanford University, April 25, 1969.

¹ According to A. A. Nazarevskii's bio-bibliographical comments in the Russian academic edition of Gogol's complete works, "in the second half of February 1837," but "immediately preceding Gogol's departure from Paris," hence at the end of February 1837. See N. V. Gogol: *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*. Moskva, Akademiya nauk SSSR, 1952. v. 11, p. 383.

² Josef Bohdan Zaleski (1802-1886), born in the Ukraine, one of the group of 19th century Polish poets from the Ukraine which is usually referred to in the history of Polish literature as the "Ukrainian school."

³ Gogol's use of his Ukrainian form of name is documented in many memoirs of his contemporaries (G. Danilevskii, N. Ivanitskii, P. Annenkov and others). See V. Veresaev: *Gogol' v zhizni*. Moskva, Academia, 1933; V. Gippius: *N. V. Gogol' v pis'makh i vospominaniyakh*. Moskva, Federatsiya, 1931; N. Brodskii: *Gogol' v vospominaniyakh sovremennikov*. Moskva, Gos. izd-vo khudozh. lit-ry, 1952.

⁴ N. V. Gogol': *Polnoe sobranie sochineii*, op. cit., v. 11, p. 88. *Sonyashnytsia*, *zaviynytsia* — Ukrainian names of certain illnesses.

both see a bold-headed devil in their dream), but now, thank God, according to what I heard, it looks like you are already quite all right. I pray to God that you would be able for a long time, and to the glory of Cossak land, to kick out (in original "*davav by chernets'-koho khliba*"—W. H.) all kind of illness and misery. And I hope, as well, you will not forget us and will send us some letters to Rome. It would be great if some day you might come there personally. *Your very, very close fellow countryman, and even more close to you in heart than by country alone. Mykola Hchol' "* (talics are mine—W.H.).

In spite of its small size and the limitedness of its content, this letter, or rather simply friendly note, has nevertheless an important value as a document for the study of the problem which is the subject of our interest here. In the first place, of course, it is one of the documentary evidences of the fact that the author of the famous "*Ukrainian stories*," written in heavily "Ukraininaized" Russian, was really a master in his native Ukrainian, both conversational and written (although this fact, actually, hardly needs any more proof since it was proven over a hundred years ago by M. Maksymovych, a philologist and one of the most intimate of Gogol's Ukrainian friends.)⁵ However, it is not the language that interests us here, but what is said in this letter,—because, limited in its contents as it is, it still contains some details which represent by themselves a kind of documentary evidence to prove something of special importance to us here.

This "something" belongs directly to that problem of Gogol's "two souls" which arose and became a prominent part of Russian literature on Gogol at the end of the last and the beginning of the current century, having actually been one of the most controversial problems in Russian studies of Gogol at that time, especially in connection with the studies of *Dead Souls*. This problem of "two souls" was, of course, the complex problem of Gogol's split personality in general; but the first and the basic element of this problem was recognized at that time as duality of nationality of the great Ukrainian who by virtue of historical-biographical circumstances became one of the greatest Russian writers. This Ukrainian-Russian duality, which made him the most controversial writer in Russian literature both during his life-time and after his death, was traced by Russian literary critics

⁵ M. Maksimovich: *Ob istoricheskom romane Kulisha...* — In *Russkaya beseda*, 1898, v. 9, pp. 25–26.

in all of his works—from the *Evenings*, generally accepted as “purely Ukrainian,” to the admittedly not so “purely Russian” *Dead Souls*. And it is this duality that is revealed, however accidentally and indirectly, by his Ukrainian letter to Zaleski, as it lifts a little the veil over that second, less known half of his dual life, in which, as was in the case with this letter, he appeared outside his usual Russian surroundings openly as a Ukrainian, and even a “Ukrainophile,” *Mykola Hohol*, while at the same time, as a Russian *Nicolai Gogol*; he was very busy writing his first work on a really Russian subject, announced by himself to all his Russian friends as the most Russian of all his works.

It should be pointed out here that the Ukrainian letter to Zaleski was written exactly at that time when Gogol's work on *Dead Souls* during his stay in Paris was in full swing. The work was started in 1835 during the writer's journey from Petersburg homeward to the Ukraine and on the way back, but soon afterwards it was dropped because of his work on *The Inspector General*. It was resumed not until after the writer actually ran away from Russia abroad in the summer of 1836 with a bitter feeling of extreme frustration caused by the unfriendly reaction of Russian society to his otherwise successful comedy. It was just before he left for Paris from Vevey in Switzerland that Gogol resumed his work on *Dead Souls*, and this was announced by him in a letter of October 23, 1836 to his best friend and relative from the Ukraine, A. S. Danilevskii, who was waiting on him in Paris. “I send you this letter,” he wrote, “and I follow it by myself, speeding up my way to Paris . . . There were almost no Russians in Vevey, but I liked this town . . . I became even more Russian in Vevey, instead of becoming a Frenchman, and all this happened to me just because I started again and continued here my *Dead Souls* which was abandoned by me till now. But . . . the rest I will tell you after we see each other.”⁶

And three weeks later he wrote already from Paris in a letter of November 12, 1836 to his older Russian friend and protector in Petersburg, V. A. Zhukovskii: “Paris is not as bad as I imagined . . . The *Dead ones* flow in a lively way, more freshly and briskly than in Vevey, and it seems to me really as if I were in Russia: before my eyes there are all the people of our country, our landowners, our

⁶ N. V. Gogol: *Poln. sobr. soch.* op cit., v. 11, p. 72.

officials, our officers, our peasants, our huts, in a word—the whole Orthodox Russia. It even amuses me when I think that I am writing *Dead Souls* in Paris . . . Now I am completely engrossed in *Dead Souls*.”⁷ In the same letter to Zhukovskii, writing excitedly almost on *Dead Souls* alone, Gogol especially emphasized the wholly Russian character of this work, and having evidently attached to this fact a special importance for his future as a *Russian* writer, he wrote: “The whole of Russia will appear in it! It will be the first decent thing I have written, a thing which will make my name famous.”⁸ Likewise, using even similar expressions, Gogol wrote in his letter of November 28, 1836 to his Moscow friend, M. P. Pogodin about the work on *Dead Souls* in Paris: “The thing over which I am now sitting and toiling and which I have been long pondering, and which I will be pondering for a long time yet, does not resemble either a story, or a novel; it is long, long, in several volumes: its name is *Dead Souls* . . . If God helps me to complete my epic poem in the way it should be, it will be my first respectable creation. The whole Russia will be echoed in it.”⁹

Thus, according to Gogol's letters from Paris during the time of his temporary stay there from the beginning of November 1836 till the end of February 1837, he was at that time “completely engrossed” in the work on his “wholly Russian” (and because of this—“first respectable”) creation. And this was also what his closest friend and room-mate of that time, A. Danilevskii, said in his recollection of their life together in Paris during the winter of 1836–1837: “We met in Paris. He lived with me at first, then he took a room in hotel, where he froze because his room had no stove, but only a fireplace. At last we found a warm flat at the corner of the Place de la Bourse and Rue Vivienne. Here Gogol spent most of his time writing *Dead Souls*. I did not interfere with him because he was always busy.”¹⁰

But, contrary to what Gogol wrote to Zhukovsky in his letter from Paris about his feeling there “as if I were in Russia,” in fact his life in Paris at that time was filled with an atmosphere which was quite far from being either Russian or Orthodox. To begin with, this atmosphere was mainly a Ukrainian one, since the immediate en-

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁰ V. Shenrok: *Materialy dlya biografii Gogolya*. Moskva, 1895, v. 3, pp. 149–150.

vironment in Gogol's every day life was Ukrainian even in the narrowest sense: i.e., as a circle of people coming from the same part of the native country. Besides Danilevskii, who shared the room with Gogol, another fellow countryman from the Ukraine, who was also a schoolmate of both Gogol and Danilevskii from Nizhyn, I. P. Simonovskii, showed himself in Paris at that time, and for the time being he even joined his friends as their room-mate. Thus, a small "Ukrainian circle" was formed in Paris, one similar to that of which Gogol was a center in Petersburg at the time he was writing his Ukrainian stories.¹¹ Even some outward features of the way of life led by the small "Ukrainian circle" in Paris during the winter of 1836-1837 were reminiscent of those characteristic for the larger circle of young Ukrainians in Petersburg at the end of the 20s and the beginning of the 30s: the same gaiety of still young people (Gogol was 27-28 years old in 1836-1837), and the same attachment to the memory of their Ukrainian past, especially to the spirit of their youthful friendship, unbroken since the time of their life together in Nizhyn *bursa* (the word *bursa* being understood in its traditional Ukrainian meaning of dormitory at school or of any kind, as well as a group of young people in general)¹² There is even a mock poem *Long live Nizhyn bursa*, composed by Gogol and Danilevskii in their small Paris *bursa* of 1836-1837, which sounds exactly like some of those collective mock poems which were composed by Gogol and his Ukrainian friends during the joyful meetings of their Petersburg *bursa* in the apartment of the young author of the first *Ukrainian stories*.¹³

No wonder that Danilevskii, who accompanied Gogol through the whole period of his young life, both in the Ukraine and, after the time they left together their native country, in Petersburg, while recollecting later their life together in Paris during the winter of 1836-1837, made this characteristic remark: "In Paris I recognized in him a former Gogol"¹⁴ Since this remark was made by Danilevskii in conjunction with his observation of those changes which became

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 151; also V. Veresaev: *Gogol' v zhizni*, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

¹² Comp. *Slovar' Ukrainskogo yazyka, sobrannyyi redaktsiye zhurnala "Kievskaya starina"* (ed. by B. Hrinchenko). Kiev, 1907, v. 1, and *Slovar' russkogo literaturnogo iazyka* by Akad. nauk SSSR, 1930, v. 1.

¹³ N. V. Gogol': *Poln. sobr. soch.*, op. cit., pp. 11-12, 615-616; also N. Brodskii: *Gogol' v vosp. sour.*, pp. 255-257.

¹⁴ V. Shenrok: *Materialy*... op. cit., p. 149.

noticeable in Gogol even in Petersburg before he decided to go abroad, (mainly in connection with his feeling of disappointment after the critical reception of *The Inspector General*) the "former Gogol" obviously meant for Danilevskii the one before *The Inspector General*, i.e. the author of the Ukrainian stories, or, so to say, the "Ukrainian Gogol."

It is interesting to note that in fact, the same "Ukrainian Gogol" appears also in a recollection of the same period of Gogol's life in Paris by the best Russian friend of Gogol, Alexandra Smirnov, who met him in Paris during the winter of 1837 and whose house in Paris was at that time the only place where Gogol had a chance to see some other Russians. After all, Alexandra Smirnov (maiden name—Rosset), who was born and spent her childhood in the Ukraine, considered herself also a "Ukrainian fellow-countryman" of Gogol's; therefore in her company in Paris Gogol sometimes found himself in a kind of "Ukrainian atmosphere." Actually, it was common sentiment towards the Ukraine that was the main, if not the only thing in common between Gogol and Alexandra Smirnov at that time, because otherwise, even according to her own account, the attitude towards Gogol in her house (i.e. in her family, including herself, as well as among those Russians who were close to her in Paris at that time) was a rather forbearing one, as to somebody for whom, in her own words, "we did not care a straw." On this and on some other things concerning the "Ukrainian Gogol" during the time of his writing of *Dead Souls* in Paris, 1837, Alexandra Smirnov wrote in her memoirs:

"The winter of 1837 I spent in Paris. At the end of the winter we were visited by Gogol who came to us with his friend Danilevskii. He paid us visits about three times and we already treated him as one with whom we were very well acquainted, but for whom, as the saying is, "we did not care a straw." All this is strange, because we read with delight his *Evenings on a Farm near Dykanka*, and this book so briskly has carried me into that magnificent Ukraine. Since the time I left that country, while still a child, I always had some extraordinary feeling listening to everything which reminded me of that country, and *Evenings in a Farm* makes one feel even that country's lively breathing. During our talks with Gogol at that time in Paris I used to let the conversation fall on that subject, talking about all reeds, about *buryan* (weeds), about white cranes (storks) with red feet,

and their habits of coming at evening and staying on the roofs of those *khata* (peasant cottage) they used to know; about *halushky* (small boiled dumplings) and *varenyky* (curd dumplings); about thin grayish cloudlets of smoke streaming out of the chimneypot of each *khata*. I sang for him *Ne khody, Hrytsko, na vechornytsi* (*Oy ne khody, Hrytsyu, ta na vechirnytsi*, a popular Ukrainian song—W.H.). Most of the time he listened to me, because I talked too much; but once he described to me in his own words an evening in a Ukrainian village, when the sun is setting, droves of horses are coming back from pasture driven home by herdsmen, and those horses which have fallen behind are running at top speed, raising the dust up with their hooves and followed by an elderly *khokhol* (Russian nickname for a Ukrainian—W.H.) with a *chupr* (tuft of hair) on top of his head and with a whip in his hand. He described this vividly, filled with love of it, although he spoke in a broken voice and his expressions were short.”¹⁵

This recollection by Alexandra Smirnov, as is indicated in the passage quoted above, refers to the time “at the end of winter, 1837,” which means—up to the end of February 1837, or in other words,—exactly to that “second half of February 1837” to which Gogol’s Ukrainian letter to Zaleski belongs. And here we come again to the question of that alleged “Russian” and “Orthodox Russian” spiritual atmosphere which was so emphasized by Gogol as he described in his letter to Zhukovskii his own frame of mind at the time of his most absorbing work on *Dead Souls* in Paris during 1837. As far as the general atmosphere of his life in Paris at the time is concerned, it’s at least doubtful Russian character has already been pointed out here by noting some facts which show us the actually “Ukrainian Gogol” at that time. However, these facts alone, of course, are not so important, inasmuch as they are related mainly to the externals of Gogol’s life at that time, showing its Ukrainian side merely from the point of view of his immediate Ukrainian surroundings and his simply sentimental attachment to the Ukraine in general. But now, as we again consider Gogol’s Ukrainian letter to Zaleski, we face another, for the most part hitherto hidden, side of the “Ukrainian Gogol” at the time of his writing *Dead Souls*. And this side, which formally can be called also “Ukrainian-Polish,” is not merely Ukrain-

¹⁵ A. O. Smirnova: *Zapiski, dnevnik, vospominaniya, pis'ma*. Moskva, *Federatsiya*, 1929, pp. 311–312. (Transl. and remarks in parentheses are mine — W.H.)

ian (or "Ukrainian-Polish," and in this sense non-Russian), but it is even "Ukrainophile," which at that time in Russia meant "Ukrainian nationalistic" and because of this—anti-Russian.

It is significant that neither in the memoirs of Alexandra Smirnov, nor in the memoirs of any other Russians who knew Gogol well and saw him in Paris in 1836–1837, is there any mention or other trace of any kind of Gogol's Polish connections at that time. No single reference to anything like this can be found in the whole correspondence between Gogol and his Russian friends and acquaintances, nor in correspondence of the latter on Gogol between themselves during that time. And this is in spite of the fact that Gogol's Polish connections, which became known to the Russian public much later, mostly through Polish sources, were quite active at that time, and they included connections not only with his Ukrainian fellow countryman, Zaleski, but also with the great Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz and his Polish circle of anti-Russian political refugees. The strange silence on this fact in all Russian sources on Gogol's life at that time, including Gogol's own letters of that time to his Russian friends, is even more conspicuous considering that many of Gogol's Russian friends and acquaintances of that time were themselves personally acquainted with Mickiewicz (and some even kept friendly relations with him) since the time of his temporary stay in Russia as a half-exile (1824–1829). More than that, even some of those Russians whom Gogol saw in Alexandra Smirnov's house in Paris during the winter of 1837, as for instance A. I. Turgenev, had meetings with Mickiewicz abroad, including some in Paris in 1837. Nevertheless, it seems as if none of them knew at that time of Gogol's relations with Polish poets and Polish circles at the same time, since nobody mentioned this in any kind of written document of that time, and the most silent on this subject at that time was Gogol himself (but only in correspondences with his *Russian* friends and acquaintances, because this matter was not secret at all to his *Ukrainian* friends, starting, of course, from Danilevskii). It was only much later in Rome that Gogol for the first time in his correspondence with Russian friends mentioned the name of Mickiewicz in a letter to S. Shevyrev (1839), asking him "to hug Mickiewicz for me strongly," by occasion of Shevyriev's possible meeting with the Polish poet in Paris. But all the same, the circumstances and the real nature of Gogol's relations with Mickiewicz,—

to say nothing of the very fact of Gogol's connections with Zaleski and other Polish refugees of Mickiewicz's circle in Paris (and later in Geneva and Rome—from 1836 up to 1841) remained unknown to his Russian friends and to the Russian public in general through the whole Gogol's life-time and even long after his death. In any case, it was a real discovery in Russian literature on Gogol when at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries the first facts on this matter were revealed by V. Shenrok in his 3 volumes of *Materials for a Biography of Gogol* (1892–1898) and in his first complete collections of Gogol's letters (1901). Here for the first time important Polish sources on Gogol's life in Paris and Rome were used and Gogol's Ukrainian letter to Zaleski was published. And an even more important source was presented in the form of a personal account of Gogol's life of this period by his most intimate friend and Paris roommate A. Danilevskii, who was actually an every-day witness of Gogol's life in Paris.

As to the facts related to that period of Gogol's life in Paris, when sometime "in the second half of February" 1837 he wrote his Ukrainian letter to Zaleski, of special importance to us is what Danilevskii, as an everyday witness of Gogol's life at that time, reported about the really close ties of friendship between Gogol and the two Polish poets in that particular "second half of February." Thus, after describing how Gogol was deeply impressed by the news of Pushkin's death on February 10, 1837 (or—on January 29, according to the Old Style, used in Russia of that time), and stating that after that, Gogol, being already prepared to leave for Rome, lost interest in everything in Paris, Danilevskii said: "The only thing which still kept Gogol in Paris during the time immediately before his departure for Rome was probably the opportunity to see *frequently* Mickiewicz who was living in Paris at that time, not being as yet a professor at College de France, and also to see another Polish poet, Zaleski."¹⁶ In his account Danilevskii even went into such details as the language of conversations during their meetings, indicating that because of Gogol's difficulties with Polish they tried Russian, but "mostly they talked in Ukrainian."¹⁷

More details about these meetings and conversations between Gogol,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

¹⁶ V. Shenrok: *Materialy*... op. cit., p. 149 (Italics are mine — W.H.)

Mickiewicz and Zaleski are found in a long letter, written especially on that matter by Zaleski on February 19, 1859 to the well known Polish political writer and historian Franciszek Duchiniński¹⁸; but this very private letter was published in the Polish press only in 1899, many years after the deaths of all those to whom it pertained, and more than half a century after those meetings and conversations in Paris which were described in it. What Zaleski wrote about his Paris meetings with Gogol was a real revelation, but the main content of this letter will be discussed here below. And what is important to point out here is the striking similarity between Zaleski's version of Gogol's relation with Mickiewicz and himself, and that of Danilevskii, down to a coincidence even in the wording of some details. Here is, for example, how Zaleski on his part presented the same facts reported by Danilevskii in his story of Gogol's staying in Paris before his departure for Rome in 1837: "Approximately 25 years ago,"¹⁹ Zaleski wrote, "the famous Russian poet Gogol was our guest in Paris. There was a *close friendship* between him and Mickiewicz, as well as between him and myself, his Ukrainian countryman. We used to see each other *frequently* at that time, having evening meetings for *literary and political talks*."²⁰

Thus Zaleski, confirming the facts reported by Danilevskii, has at the same time affirmed beyond any doubt that the relation between Gogol and both Mickiewicz and Zaleski in Paris during 1837 was of such a nature that it can be defined only as a "*close friendship*," and that their meetings at that time were not just some occasional social events, but real friendly meetings of closely associated people who saw each other frequently and talked freely on all matters of their interests, which included, besides literature, also political matters. The latter is especially important to note, because it seems that exactly this *political* aspect of Gogol's friendship with the Polish poets, who were also political refugees and prominent figures of the Polish anti-Russian

¹⁸ Franciszek Duchiniński (1817–1892). Polish professor of history. Author of *Zasady dziejów Polski i innych krajów słowiańskich* (Paris, 1858, 3 vols.), *Pologne et Ruthénie Origines Slaves* (Paris, 1861) and other works in the field of Polish and Slavic history; known mainly for his controversial theories of non-Slavic origin and character of Russians.

¹⁹ Actually, exactly 22 years from the date of Zaleski's letter (1859).

²⁰ Quoted from Russian translation re-printed from *Novoe vremya* (no. 9483, 1902) in *Kievskaya starina*, v. 78, no. 9, 1902. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

movement at that time (i.e. at the time after the crushed Polish anti-Russian revolt of 1830-1831), is the foremost clue to the mystery already pointed out above: the mystery of the complete absence of any reference to Gogol's friendship or any connection and meetings with the Polish poets in all contemporary Russian sources on Gogol's life in Paris at that time, including Gogol's own correspondence of this period with his Russian friends.

This mystery can be explained only by one of the following two reasons: either Gogol deliberately concealed from Russians in general the very fact of this friendship and meetings with the Polish poets at that time, or those Russians who knew this, also deliberately kept silent on this. But, it seems, both of these possibilities are not excluded in this case, because both of these possibilities have actually one and the same background, which is the common desire of both Gogol and his Russian friends and acquaintances, however differently motivated, not to touch this delicate question. The fact is that there was an element involved in the question of Gogol's friendship with the Polish poets and anti-Russian political refugees, which made this friendship look from the Russian *official* point of view at that time, as something suspicious and reprehensible, and from the Russian *popular* point of view at that time, as something also generally unacceptable. This element was, of course, the logically presupposed chance of a Polish-Ukrainian accord, in this case on the basis of common anti-Russian feelings to which Gogol showed a definite inclination in his Ukrainian stories of 1831-1835 and which were noticed in many Russian reviews of them.²¹ And this was exactly the opposite to that image of Gogol as a *Russian* writer (and a *Russian* in general) which he himself tried very hard to create in his Russian friends' minds at the time of his work on *Dead Souls* (as is shown by his letters to Zhukovskii and Pogodin, partly quoted above, as well as in many other letters of that time, not quoted here). But on the other hand, it was also something contrary to what Gogol's Russian friends and Russian public in general expected of him as their "Russian Gogol," since this was the image of him in which they would like to believe.

The truth is however, that the element of a Polish-Ukrainian accord on the basis of common anti-Russian feelings, as it was suspected or

²¹ See V. Zelinskii: *Russkaya kriticheskaya literatura o proizvedeniyakh N. V. Gogolia*, v. 1-3, Moskva, 1893-1895 (esp. reviews by N. Polevoi, O. Senkovskii, V. Bulgarin).

apprehended by Russians, in fact, *did* play a role in Gogol's relation with Polish poets and political refugees in Paris during 1837, as well as a few years after this in Rome. And there *are* some quite concrete evidences of this in various, but mostly Polish, sources to Gogol's biography, mainly connected with biographies of Mickiewicz and Zaleski and the activities of those circles of Polish political refugees in Paris and later in Rome which were most closely connected with Mickiewicz and Zaleski during the years 1837-1841. Strangely enough, these evidences, as well as the whole question to which they pertain, have not been studied yet as such in either the Russian or the Polish literature on Gogol. This is true even in the case of Gogol's Ukrainian letter to Zaleski, to say nothing of Zaleski's letter about Gogol to Duchiniński which provides the only proper background against which the real significance of Gogol's foregoing letter can be understood. The political implications of the conspicuous lack of interest in this subject in both Russian and Polish literature on Gogol are so much the more clear considering that there *are* more than enough references in both literatures to the fact of friendly relations between the great Russian writer and the greatest poet of Poland. But these references in most cases (and especially on the Russian part) are used simply for the purpose of stressing the so called "Russian-Polish friendship" (or, sometimes on the Polish part, as an episode of the Polish-Russian struggle within the Slavic world), with little, if any, attention to the Ukrainian aspect of this relation, as a part of the least studied Gogol's Ukrainian-Russian complex. And this is at least one important reason why it should be given special attention here.

The principal facts to be studied in this connection are, of course, those revealed in Zaleski's letter to Duchiniński, which are to be proved or disproved, but cannot be ignored or simply dismissed under the label of "Polish anti-Russian fabrication," without any serious attempt even to take a close look at it (as was the usual practice of those Russian authors who at least touched upon this subject in passing). In fact, the only case in which there was a more or less complete report on this subject in the Russian literature on Gogol, was the first publication in Russian translation of Zaleski's letter itself, which appeared with some comment in the newspaper *Novoe vremya* in 1902, 10 years after it was published for the first time in the Polish magazine *Przewodnik naukowy i literacki* (v. 32, no. 6, 1899),

a supplement to *Gazeta Lwowska* in L'vov (at that time—Lemberg, Austria). It was reprinted from *Novoe Vremya*, without any change, in *Kievskaya starina* (a magazine of history and literature, published in Russian in the Ukraine) under the title *Gogol's Ukrainophilism* (*Ukrainofil'stvo Gogolya*), in 1902. And it is this source that is used here for quotations from the Russian translation of the document and from the Russian commentary on it, signed by the initials A. L. (apparently A. N. Lisovskii, an author of some works on Gogol and the Russian-Polish-Ukrainian problem, published in Russian periodicals of that time).

The initial part of Zaleski's letter has already been quoted here as a documentary proof of that "close friendship" and those "frequent meetings" of Gogol and the Polish poets in Paris during 1837, which were also described in the same words by Danilevskii. What goes next in the letter, after Zaleski's description of the nature of their meetings as "literary and political talks," is this:

"Of course, we talked mostly about Russians who were as much distasteful to him (i.e. to Gogol—W.H.) as they were to us (i.e. Mickiewicz and Zaleski—W.H.). The question of their Finnish (i.e. Ural-Mongolian—W.H.) origin was always the subject of our discussion. Gogol corroborated this vehemently with all his Ukrainian wholeheartedness. He had with him ready at hand extremely interesting collections of folk-songs in various Slavic languages. Thus he wrote and read to us an excellent article on the question of the Finnish origin of the Russians. In that article, after a thorough comparative analysis of Czech, Serbian, Ukrainian and other Slavic folk songs—on the one hand, and those Russian—on the other, he came to the conclusion that there are striking differences in spirit, in customs and in moral views and values between Russians and other Slavic peoples. To demonstrate characteristic features of feelings expressed in folk-songs, he selected and contrasted two parallel groups of typical songs in each category: on the one side—our Slavic, sweet and tender; and on the other side—Russian, morose, wild and not seldom cannibal ones, in short—evidently Finnish. Dear fellow countryman (here Zaleski addresses himself to Duchński—W.H.), you can easily imagine how this article made Mickiewicz and myself really joyful."

"Many years later in Rome,"—Zaleski continues,—"I hoped to get that comparative analysis from Gogol himself, but it was too late . . . What happened to that article, after all? Is it possible that it is not

included in the posthumous edition of Gogol's collected works and there is nothing like this? That article would serve as a wonderful confirmation of your conclusions. In any case, regardless of whether or not that article can be found among Gogol's work, it would be not too difficult to compile similar parallel (groupings of folk-songs). But how regrettable it is that many characteristic anecdotes and jokes about Russians, which only Gogol could know and he alone would be able to narrate with that sharp wit so peculiar to him, are lost."²²

Although this revelation about Gogol became known in Russia only a half century after his death and more than a half century (65 years) after those Paris meetings described in Zaleski's letter, it still was shocking news for the Russian public, and its reaction was reflected in some emotional expressions of "indignation," published in the Russian press of that time and directed, of course, against "Ukrainophiles" and "Polish-Ukrainian anti-Russian intrigue" etc. Nevertheless the commentary to Zaleski's letter even in *Novoe Vremia*, where it appeared for the first time in Russia, was surprisingly "non-militant," in contrast to the generally over-nationalistic and notoriously "Ukrainophobic" line of this popular Russian newspaper. The commentator, demonstrating a certain degree of objectivity, as one who knew the facts very well, did not even try to deny Zaleski's story, but simply sought to interpret it in such a way that Gogol's "Ukrainophilism" could be reduced to a minimum, more or less suitable for the Russian popular image of Gogol. This interpretation was given in the form of the commentator's own version of what could actually have happened during those meetings of Gogol with the Polish poets in Paris which were told about in Zaleski's letter.

"Their friendly meetings," the commentator wrote, "were often combined with Gogol's entertaining the company by telling humorous stories..." External in Zaleski's recollection of these meetings are *verisimilar* (in Russian—"pravdopodobny"—W.H.). It should be assumed, however, that Gogol used in his humorous stories various comical episodes not only from the life of Great Russians alone (the commentator uses this name for Russian nationality in the ethnical sense—W.H.), but from the life of other nationalities as well. Gogol's article *On Ukrainian Folk-Songs* does not suggest the same thing which Zaleski talks about. Could it be possible that Gogol would write

²² *Kievskaya starina*, v. 78, no. 9 (September), 1902, pp. 116-118.

an article of the same content and character as one which is described by Zaleski in his intimate letter to Duchinski? We think that such an article could be a work of Gogol's pen, but its harshness was seemingly exaggerated by Zaleski.

"It appears to us," the commentator proceeded, "that the whole of this situation may be presented in a different way. Gogol, who always was extremely enthusiastic about Ukrainian folk poetry and valued it most highly, might not have done justice to Great Russian folk poetry, relatively little known to him. For the purpose of comparative study of the Ukrainian songs he might be using very rich collections of Czech, and especially Serbian songs, having not been able to use as many Great Russian songs, because they were represented quite poorly and in small quantity at that time. This explains why, after comparing the two groups of folk songs, his conclusion in respect to the Great Russian songs was negative, although he was just not familiar enough with the richness, in both quantity and quality, of the Great Russian folk lyric. And, of course, to present Great Russian folk poetry as "wild," "morose" and especially "cannibal" (?) (question mark by the author of commentary—W.H.) now is impossible. If in that article of Gogol, of which Zaleski writes in his letter, there was really presented an idea of the superiority of the Ukrainian songs in comparison to Great Russian ones, then it would seem to be an echo of that *moderate Ukrainophilism* which could be noticed in some of Gogol's letters, especially in his letters to his fellow countrymen. To prove that a moderate Ukrainophilism was not something strange in Gogol, we can point out those fragments of letters to Maksymovych which were omitted in the Kulish edition of Gogol's letters, since in the editor's opinion they were too harsh (as regards to Russians)"²³

The fragments of Gogol's letters to Maksymovych, mentioned and quoted by the commentator, belong to that period when Gogol in Petersburg was especially longing for the Ukraine and passionately rushed to go to Kiev, dreaming about a professorship in the Ukraine's capital, where his best Ukrainian friend has already been appointed as a professor of Kiev University. Expressing his impatience to leave Russia for the Ukraine as soon as possible and urging his friend to do so without delay (because Gogol's future in Kiev depended very much on his friend's being there first), Gogol used in his intimate

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 118. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

letters to him even language typical of nationalistic minded Ukrainians, calling Russia (i.e. Great Russia) by its Ukrainian derogatory name *Katsapiya* ("the land of longbearded goats") while glorifying the Ukraine by its historical name (of the time before it lost its autonomy at the end of 18th century), *Hetmanshchyna* ("the Hetman Domain," derived from the name of the Ukraine's own rulers of that time, *hetmans*). "Turn your back on *Katsapiya* and go to *Hetmanshchyna*," Gogol wrote to Maksymovych on July 1833. "I myself am prepared to do so and want to flee from here next year. How stupid we really are, if you only think it over earnestly enough. For the sake of what and *for whom* are we sacrificing everything? Let us go away!"²⁴ And then, in his letter of November 9, 1833 he wrote about his writing of the history of the Ukraine, expressing a real national-missionary enthusiasm about this: "Now," he wrote, "I have begun writing the history of our poor, beloved Ukraine . . . I can't help feeling that I shall write it and that I shall say many things that have not been said before me."²⁵ And finally, writing about Kiev, Gogol advanced an emphatically non-Russian view of the Ukraine's capital, as he denied any Russian claim to it. "Go there, go there!"—he wrote in a letter of December 20, 1833. "To Kiev, to ancient, beautiful Kiev! It is *ours*, not *theirs*, isn't that so? . . . It was there or around it that the great deeds of *our past* did take place."²⁶

To this should be added also two other letters to Maksymovych, written next year, in 1834. Here, in the first one, expressing again his impatience with the temporary delay of Maksymovych's departure for Kiev, Gogol actually wrote about Russia (using for it the usual Ukrainian name *Moskva*—i.e. Muscovy) something reminiscent of what Zaleski revealed about Gogol's attitude towards Russians during their Paris meetings. "Now, what?"—he wrote on March 12, 1834. "Do you go or not? It looks like you really have fallen in love with *Moskva*, that old fat *baba* (here the word is used in one of its Russian meanings, i.e. simple vulgar woman—W.H.) from whom you can expect nothing but *shchi* (Russian popular soup of the simplest kind—W.H.) and *matershchina* (Russian bad language in which mother is obscenely abused—W.H.)"²⁷ And in contrast to this in the second letter,

²⁴ N. V. Gogol': *Poln. sobr. soch.*, v. 10, p. 273. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 288. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 301.

sent to Maksymovych in Kiev soon after he started his career there as a professor of Slavic philology, Gogol addressed himself to his friend as one Ukrainian to another Ukrainian, referring to the Ukraine and everything Ukrainian as to something most sacred and dear to them. "In the name of everything which is *ours*," he wrote on June 27, 1834, "in the name of *our Ukraine*, in the name of *our ancestor's graves*, I ask you not to spend too much of your time sitting at books . . . Be always yourself, speak out your own thoughts, and at the same time try to say as little as possible."²⁸

These and other similar expressions in Gogol's letters, as well as some expressions of the same kind in his Ukrainian stories (as, for instance, unnecessary hits against Russians, referred to as "*cursed katsaps*,"²⁹ even in such a "neutral," in respect to the nationality element, story as *Ivan Fedorovich Shponka and his Aunt*) were considered in Russian literature on Gogol for a long time as the "words by which he could be taken for a *really true Ukrainophile*."³⁰ And this is what the commentator on Zaleski's letter in *Novoe Vremya* had in mind, when he saw in Gogol's possible prejudice against Russians during his meetings with the Polish poets in Paris nothing more than just "an echo of that moderate Ukrainophilism" which was noticeable in Gogol previous to the time of the Paris meetings. But to say only this actually means to avoid facing the problem presented by Zaleski's revelation, for it cannot be solved by mere reference to Gogol's "really true" or "moderate" Ukrainophilism of the earlier period. And this is what actually happened to this problem in Russian literature on Gogol: it became simply a "forgotten" problem, put aside right after it appeared and never really looked into since that time.

Because of this we have no choice now but to pick up this old problem right where it was left at the beginning of our century, and to take a new look into it, starting from the revision of those arguments and conclusions presented by the first and, in fact, up to now the last Russian special report and comment on it. As has already been pointed out here before, the basic conclusion, to which even the commentator of the Russian conservative-nationalistic newspaper arrived, is this: the article with that highly unfavorable, for Russians,

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 326. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

²⁹ *Katsap* is Ukrainian mocking nickname for Russians.

³⁰ A. Pypin: *Istoriya russkoi literatury*. S. Peterburg, 1898, v. 4, p. 485.

comparative analysis of Slavic folk poetry and Slavic people's characters, which, according to Zaleski's story was written and read by Gogol to Polish poets during their meetings in Paris of 1837, "*could* be a work of Gogol's pen." But this purely hypothetical assumption is actually brought to naught by the commentator's interpretation of this possibility as something like a by-product of simple "humorous story-telling" by Gogol, combined with his wrong opinion of Russian folk-poetry, which was very little known to him. In addition to this, the whole story is made to look doubtful by the suggestion of Zaleski's exaggeration of everything concerning Gogol's negative view of Russians in the light of their folk-songs, as compared to those of other Slavic peoples. And special doubt is thrown on Zaleski's statement about Gogol's characterizing Russian folk-songs as "wild," "morose" and even "cannibal," the latter being put under a question mark as something definitely improbable, improper and simply ridiculous in this case.

Of course, it is much easier to express doubts, and on this ground to reject as unreliable such a document as Zaleski's letter to Duch-
iński, than to try to use it in support of a certain argument in the study of Gogol, as we are trying to do here. The main reason for this is that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to prove convincingly by documentary evidences that information on Gogol which is presented in this letter. Especially important is the fact that the principal and the most vital document, namely—that article of Gogol which is described in Zaleski's letter, is as yet not discovered and probably never will be. Since Zaleski, and especially Duch-
iński, are well known for their pronounced anti-Russian attitude, it is enough to point out this fact in order to discredit the document coming from this source, as one-sided, non-objective, and therefore—hardly useful. This is the formal reason why it is ignored in Russian studies of Gogol, and this argument certainly will be used against our attempt to revive it here.

But, nevertheless, although there are no clear-cut documentary proofs of those facts which Zaleski revealed about Gogol in his letter, still there is a way to prove that those facts are definitely in complete accord with all other facts connected with them, and even much more than that: confrontation of all these facts with the circumstances surrounding them shows clearly and persuasively such a degree of correspondence to each other, that against this background there is nothing left in Zaleski's story which could be earnestly doubted. And

this refers even to such a most unbelievable and doubtful (at least from the point of view of the Russian commentator of Zaleski's letter in *Novoe Vremya*) detail in Zaleski's story, as Gogol's mention of the "cannibal" element in Russian folk songs. Actually, all these facts are well supported not only by "circumstantial evidences" or the "logic of facts" alone, but also by indirect documentary evidences which are present among various materials related to Gogol's and his Polish friends' lives and works of the time to which these facts belong. In fact, except for that article of Gogol which is described in Zaleski's letter, all the other necessary documentary evidence is available, but it is still to be studied much more closely and deeply than it has been up to the present.

In the first place, special attention should be paid to the very first document to be studied more closely in this connection, that is—to that small Ukrainian letter of Gogol to Zaleski, quoted at the beginning of our study here, which is the most neglected in Russian studies of all Gogol's letters, although this letter is unique by itself at least for the fact that it is the only one written in Ukrainian. To begin with, it is written with such an ease and intimate friendly spirit, full of that special Ukrainian humour, so characteristic for Gogol's letters to his most intimate *Ukrainian* friends (Danilevskii, Maksymovych, Prokopovych), that there is no doubt at all that the relation between Gogol and Zaleski was really close and intimate. And this fact is stressed very emphatically in the last sentence of the letter which reads as follows: "Your *very, very close* fellow countryman, and *even more close to you in heart than by country alone*." The latter is an especially important statement, for it is absolutely clear what Gogol had in mind defining his closeness to Zaleski as something much more significant than that simple feeling of closeness of an Ukrainian to his fellow countryman from the Ukraine. By the way, speaking in terms of geographical-territorial closeness, Gogol and Zaleski were actually not very close as fellow countrymen, because they were from different parts of the Ukraine: Gogol was from the so-called "Left-bank Ukraine" (i.e. the eastern part in relation to the Dniepr river which divides the Ukraine in two parts) while Zaleski was from the "Right-bank Ukraine" (i.e. the western part); and the regions where they were born and brought up (Poltava region, in the first case, and

Uman region, in the second case) are quite distant from each other. And as far as ethnical and religious closeness is concerned, there was nothing close between them at all: one was a Ukrainian and Greek-Orthodox, while the other one was a Pole and Roman Catholic. Then what kind of closeness was between them which Gogol was writing about? Of course, what Gogol meant here was in the first place the closeness of their spiritual relation to their common native country, the closeness of their attitudes in that sphere of ideas, which was related to the Ukraine and its immediate Slavic neighbors, Poland and Russia. That is what Gogol was especially stressing in the second half of the sentence, stating that they were "even more close in heart than by country alone." But what exactly was there in their hearts that made them so close to each other at that time.

As is known, Zaleski, who was called by Mickiewicz in his course of Slavic literature (which he taught at College de France in 1840-1842) "the Ukrainian poet,"³¹ was a real poet of the Ukraine in Polish literature, and in this respect his role in Polish literature was parallel to that of Gogol as a poet of the Ukraine in Russian literature. But he was also a real Polish Ukrainophile in the political sense. In his personality there were organically combined both true Polish national consciousness and devotion to catholicism with a passionate love for the Ukraine. His love for the Ukraine was so great that when he was approaching the end of his life he wrote in one of his poems: "O, God, my God! I pray to you: when I die, give me the Ukraine in heaven"³² The Ukraine was for him first of all the fatherland of freedom-loving Cossacks whom he idealized and glorified in his Romantic poetry, influenced by Ukrainian folk-songs ("My mother Ukraine swaddled me, her baby, with her song," he wrote in one of his poems."³³ In the same way as Mickiewicz he saw Russia foremost as an oppressor of other nations, especially Poland and the Ukraine, and therefore he took a very active part in the Polish anti-Russian revolt of 1830-1831, fighting under the famous slogan of J. Lelewel, "For your and our freedom!", which meant for him also the Ukraine's freedom (and the Polish insurgents, as is known, called Ukrainians

31 A. Mickiewicz: *Literatura słowianska wykładana w Kolegium Francuzkiem*, Poznań, Nakł. J. Zupańskiego, 1865, v. 1, p. 5.

32 M. Giergielewicz: *Literatura Polska*. Londyn, Orbis, 1961, p. 50.

33 A. Pypin i V. Spasovich: *Istoriya slavianskikh literatur*. S. Peterburg, izd. Stasyulevicha (2nd ed.), 1881, v. 2, p. 620.

to join their fight.) Living in Paris as a political refugee after the revolt was crushed, he became the closest friend of Mickiewicz, who for some time even lived in Zaleski's Paris apartment. Since Mickiewicz at that time became a real spiritual leader of Polish political and intellectual life abroad, Zaleski was his closest associate and upholder, sharing most of Mickiewicz's ideas of that time, especially the idea of Poland's historical mission in the Slavic world. This was both a political and a moral-religious idea of Slavic union on the basis of the Polish concept of democratic freedom and Christian brotherhood, as opposed to Russian autocratic power and worship of it under the guise of Christian orthodoxy. Mickiewicz made this idea a kind of a new prophetic revelation of the revival of the Slavic and Christian world in general by way of moral-religious self-perfection which, he taught, should be initiated by martyred Polish freedom-fighters in exile, starting from themselves. Among the most ardent adherents of this idea and Mickiewicz himself in Paris, the formation of a new movement of the so-called "Resurrectionists" started in 1835-1836, at first as a small circle of initiators, one of whom was also Zaleski, and which, accidentally, included mostly Polish refugees from the Ukraine, such as P. Semenenko and H. Kajsiewicz, who later became the most active promoters of the new movement and made a great effort to involve Gogol in it.³⁴

Both the political and religious aspects of this movement had a clearly anti-Russian character, and since the idea of messianic Slavism was one of the main parts of it and the problem of the relation between Slavic peoples was the most frequently discussed subject in Mickiewicz's circle in Paris, it always was a tendency in this discussion to consider Russians as such actually non-Slavic or at least half-Slavic people. Therefore it was just natural that the question of the non-Slavic origin and character of Russians, as is stated in Zaleski's letter, was often raised during Gogol's meetings with Mickiewicz and Zaleski (probably not without the participation of some other members of Mickiewicz's circle). And the very fact that Gogol did take part in these discussions, having been very eager to do so (as follows from Danilevskii's story about Gogol's being especially interested in these meetings) bears witness to at least a compromise, if not a complete accord, between Gogol's and his companions' positions on this ques-

³⁴ Shenrok: *Materialy*... v. 3, p. 549; also A. Kochubinskii: *Budushchim biografam Gogolya* (in *Viestnik Evropy*, Fevral', 1902, pp. 650-675).

tion. This assumption is even more supported by the fact that later on in Rome, in 1837–1841 Semenenko and Kajsiewicz were very serious about Gogol's being almost ready to join their movement after they continued the same kind of anti-Russian conversations with him on the question of the "Slavic problem" which was discussed in Paris.³⁵ But Gogol's statement on his feeling himself "very, very close" to Zaleski "more in heart than by country alone," in view of the very well-known position of Zaleski in respect to Slavic, Ukrainian, and Russian questions, discussed during Paris meetings with Gogol in 1837, suggests definite agreement between them. But how serious was Gogol about all this at that time?

It should be pointed out here that the notion of Gogol's role in the Paris meetings and discussions with Polish poets in 1837, as simply a "humorous story-teller," as it was interpreted by the commentator of Zaleski's letter in *Novoe Vremya*, cannot be taken seriously, because it is not only unsupported by any of the facts which are known in connection with the foregoing Paris meetings, but on the contrary—these facts deny such a notion. In the first place, all the facts related to the time immediately preceding Gogol's going abroad in 1836 clearly indicate that at that time Gogol was especially interested in the comparative study of Slavic folk-poetry and in the history and ethnography of Slavic peoples, as he was at that time gathering all kinds of material on this matter, and, in particular, was very busy rewriting out fair and copying his huge collection of Ukrainian folk-songs, and at the same time starting to make his own collection of Russian songs as well.³⁶ It is important to know, that it was about at this time (in the middle of the 1830s, according to the latest special study of Gogol's activity in the field of Ukrainian and Russian folklore)³⁷, that Gogol got some Russian folk-songs from P. V. Kireevskii, in exchange for some Ukrainian ones he sent him before. At about the same time he studied Polish sources on Slavic folk-songs, taking special interest in the book of Wacław Zaleski "*Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu Galicyjskiego*" publ. in L'vov 1833, and also in unpublished materials on Slavic folklore (mostly Ukrainian and Russian) gathered by Zoryjan Dolega (Dolenga—W.H.) Chodakowski, also in the field of Ukrainian

³⁵ Kochubinskii, op. cit., pp. 663–672.

³⁶ *Pamiati V. A. Zhukovskogo i N. V. Gogolya*, S. Peterburg, 1902, v. 2, pp. 10–15; also *N. V. Gogol': materialy i issledovaniya*, Moskva, Akad. nauk SSSR, 1936, v. 2, pp. 377–406.

³⁷ *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, Moskva, Akad. nauk SSSR, 1968, v. 79, p. 136, 234.

and Russian folklore.³⁸ There is no doubt that making a special effort in studying Ukrainian, Russian and Polish sources on folklore immediately preceding his going abroad, well after the time he wrote the last Ukrainian stories, and after *The Inspector General* was already written and *Dead Souls* was started, Gogol had in mind something special, connected with the comparative study of the Slavic peoples.

More than that: as is evident from Gogol's letters to M. Pogodin in 1836, written just before he announced his decision to go abroad, he was readying himself for some kind of very serious comparative study of Slavic peoples and for this purpose was making a stock of materials and information on this subject, especially in Slavic history and ethnography, probably having in mind some work he planned to do abroad. Thus in his letter of January 18, 1836 he wrote to Pogodin: "Good bye! . . . Could you find for me something on *Slavs*? Maybe you have made some passages copied out from any kind of trash, especially about Galicia, ancient or new. Is there somewhere some descriptions of customs, rites, etc."³⁹ A similar request is repeated also in a letter to Pogodin of February 1836 (by the way, on February 10 Gogol announced his decision to go abroad in a letter to his mother): "Could you, please, send me a catalogue of books, those you have or you just know about, *concerning the Slavic world*, on history and literature,—I would be very obliged to you for this,—and, if possible, two or three words from yourself about the value of each of them and, in what respect it could be useful."⁴⁰ Gogol's special interest in Slavic studies at this time, and his particular interest in Galicia, which is the meeting point of Ukrainian East-Slavic and Polish West-Slavic elements, was apparently connected with his study of such Polish sources, as Waclaw Zaleski's book, mentioned above.

And it is interesting to note that Gogol was the first who noticed this source and informed Maksymovych about its value for the study of the Ukrainian folklore in 1834. And after he found himself unable to buy this book in Petersburg, because after the Polish revolt in 1830–1831 the selling of all Polish books was prohibited in Russia, he wrote with indignation about this to Maksymovych: "For *Pieśni polskie i ruskie ludu Galicyjskiego* I sent request to Warsaw . . . Those beasts, the booksellers here, are so much afraid of everything published in Polish, that it is impossible to find here even a primer in Polish: "For-

³⁹ N. V. Gogol': *Poln. sobr. soch.*, op. cit., v. 11, p. 32. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

bidden," this is the only answer they give you, looking so grand."⁴¹ Here, by the way, Hohol also showed a clearly negative attitude towards that anti-Polish chauvinism which was so widespread among Russians after the Polish revolt of 1830–1831.

It was this special interest of Gogol in the Slavic world in general, in Slavic folklore in particular, and in Ukrainian-Polish-Russian inter-relations, as one of the complex Slavic problems in all respects, that was the main ground on which he and both Mickiewicz and Zaleski found so much in common between themselves. In the first place it was, of course, their common interest in literature, and as all three of them were poets and Romanticists, this naturally meant for them the common interest in the folk-poetry of the Slavic peoples. And the more natural it was that it was exactly at the time of their meetings in Paris in 1836–1837 that all three were engaged in some kind of work connected with Slavic studies: Zaleski had just finished his Polish translation of Serbian folk-songs, Mickiewicz was writing *The History of Poland* (which he never completed, just as Gogol did with his *History of the Ukraine*), and Gogol, besides writing *Dead Souls*, was preparing for publication (as he promised to Maksymovych) his huge (over 1,000 pieces, according to various sources)⁴² collection of Ukrainian songs and, probably, made a comparative study of Slavic folk-songs in connection with this. Of course, all three were very serious about all these things, and there is no question that their discussions of the subject of their common interest was very serious business, not just entertaining each other by telling "humorous stories" about some funny "episodes from the life of various Slavic peoples." And it is the most probable thing that they read each other some pieces of their works and discussed them. In this connection, there is no reason to doubt the story Zaleski told in his letter about Gogol's reading an article on Slavic folk-songs, illustrating it with comparing certain groups of songs of various Slavic peoples, taken from his extremely interesting collection of folk-songs he had with him ready "at hand," as Zaleski put it. It is known that Gogol really had "with him at hand" abroad at least part, if not all, of his folk-song collections, especially those Ukrainian and Russian songs he was rewriting out fair and copying just before he left abroad,⁴³ as well as those materials connected with them. Therefore it is most probable that Gogol was

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, v. 10, p. 312.

⁴² *Literaturnoe nasledstvo*, op. cit., pp. 234–235.

⁴³ *Pamiaty V. A. Zhukovskogo* ... op. cit., pp. 10–15.

reading an article he wrote before he left or sometime after he left Russia, and it was of that type Zaleski wrote about. But how about its content? Could it be proven by any means that Gogol really had those ideas which, according to Zaleski, were expressed in that article?

Since among Gogol's articles published in the complete collection of his works there is only one, which is more or less close to the subject of the article allegedly read by Gogol in Paris during 1837, and this is *On the Ukrainian Folk-Songs* published in 1834, it is usually pointed out, as the commentator of *Novoe Vremya* did, that "it does not suggest the same thing which Zaleski talks about." Devoted exclusively to glorification of the Ukrainian folk-poetry, this article contains a few passing remarks about the difference between Ukrainian and Russian folk-songs, but these remarks are mainly about differences in folk-melodies. What is important to note, however, is that this article represents just a part of a larger work of which it is a fragment. Actually this is, according to Gogol's own words in his letter to I. Sreznevskii, "simply an introduction" to an article which was not completed,⁴⁴ and the incompleteness of this introductory fragment is clearly evident from its ending which, in fact, is not an ending at all, but the beginning of a further development of Gogol's observations on the subject, and it was cut short right after the subject of comparative analysis of the Ukrainian and Russian folk-songs was approached. Even more important is the fact, that the manuscript of this introductory fragment is lost; therefore this introductory fragment itself is known to us only in its printed version, and nobody knows how it looked in its original form, how much and what exactly was skipped by the author in preparation for publication, or was not permitted to be published by the censorship. It also is unknown in what relation this fragment is to other manuscript materials of the author (those which are preserved and those which are lost).

The latter is especially important, because this fragment by its content and by its character is definitely connected with another fragment written and published in the same period under the title *A Glance at the Composition of the Ukraine* which is the part of Gogol's never completed work on the history of the Ukraine. As is known, Gogol always stressed the exclusive importance of the Ukrainian songs as a source of the history of the Ukraine, and this idea is especially emphasized in the fragment *On the Ukrainian songs*, so that this fragment even looks like a part of an introduction to his unfinished

⁴⁴ N. V. Gogol': *Poln. sobr. soch.*, op. cit., v. 8, p. 760.

work on Ukrainian history. And as for the foregoing fragment from the history itself, it is actually built around the idea of the different origin and character of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. There is even a thesis about the "pure Slavic" ancestry of the Ukrainians in contrast to the "mixed half-Finnish" origin of the Russians. Thus, describing how people from other Slavic countries were settled in the Ukraine at the time the Ukrainian nation was forming, Gogol states that they "were settled in this land, the *real fatherland of Slavs*, the land of ancient *polane, severiane, pure Slavs*, which there in Great Russia began already to be mixed with Finnish people; but here they were preserved intact, as they were before, with their traditional beliefs of pagan origin, with their childish popular superstitions, their songs, tales, Slavic mythology, which in such a natural way became blended with Christianity" (italics are mine—W.H.).⁴⁵

And then, developing further this thesis, Gogol all the way emphasizes differences, the historical rupture of relationship, the separate ways of development of the character of two nationalities which, according to Gogol, began after the time of the Tartar invasion, when the Ukraine was included in the Lithuanian kingdom (which later was united with Poland), in which Gogol saw a blessing for the Ukraine. "Then,"—Gogol continues, "the South *Rus'* under the mighty protection of the Lithuanian princes completely separated itself from the North. Every bond between them was broken; *two nations were formed* under the same name *Rus'*, one under the Tartar yoke, the other under common rule with the Lithuanians. But actually they had no relation with one another: different laws, different customs, different aims, different bonds and different activities gave them *wholly different characters*" (italics are mine—W.H.).⁴⁶ And although Gogol speaks also about the later influence of Oriental elements in the Ukraine during the Cossack period, nevertheless he again stresses the dominance of "pure Slavic" element in Ukrainians. "The majority of this society,"—Gogol says about the Ukrainian Cossacks, "was composed, however, of original, native people of Southern *Rus'*. Evidence of this—their language, which, in spite of the presence in it of many Tartar and Polish words, has always been *purely Slavic in its basic character*."⁴⁷

It is evident from this article, which was written and published at

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47. (Italics are mine — W.H.)

the same time and in connection with the article *On the Ukrainian Folk-songs*, that Gogol, while working on the history and ethnography of the Ukraine had always been not only interested in the problems of the Slavic world and especially in the question of the relation of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples to it and to each other, but he actually was pretty much absorbed by this problem, considering it very important. This is also clearly shown in his notes and various materials connected with this work on history. Here are for example some questions which Gogol put for himself in planning his work on history: "Who are Slavs? Their character, original, really purely Slavic elements . . . Their love for music. Summary of Slavic character . . ." ⁴⁸ There are also many notes on those ancient Eastern Slavic tribes which are usually identified as ancestors of the later Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians, and what is characteristic in these notes is the special emphasis put on contrasting differences between the South-Western tribes who lived on the territory of today's Ukraine, and those North-Eastern tribes, who lived on the territory of today's Russia. "Among the Slavs,"—one note says, "those in the South were undoubtedly superior to those in the North, as they were more civilized, more mild in their character, more refined in their customs . . . Those in the North . . . primitive, less developed. No sense of shame. There was no shame and purity in marriage . . . etc." And describing *vyatichi*, one of those tribes who constituted the basic elements of today's Russians, Gogol states: "*Vyatichi* were doubtfully Slavic people." ⁴⁹

All these and many other notes and remarks in Gogol's materials to his work in history and ethnography, connected with his article on the Ukrainian folk-songs (made mostly in 1835 during his work as a history professor in Petersburg) clearly indicate that his way of thinking on the subject of Slavs and Russians was not so far away from that which, according to Zaleski, was expressed in the article allegedly read by Gogol during their Paris meetings in 1837. And against this background the possibility of Gogol's reading such an article looks much more real than it might be thought from the Russian traditional point of view on Gogol.

And finally we may point out one more detail which shows how real this possibility is. This detail is concerned with the most doubted of Zaleski's allegations as to the actual content of Gogol's article under

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 9, p. 31.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

question, namely with the supposed remark by Gogol about some "cannibal" elements in Russian folk-songs which is foreign to the songs of other Slavic peoples. Since Zaleski especially stressed in his letter how Mickiewicz was pleased with Gogol's findings and conclusions about the Russian "Finnish origin" traced in Russian folk-songs, it is important to point out the fact that Mickiewicz actually used in his course of Slavic literature, which he thought in the College de France, the argument about the "Finnish origin" of the Russians, and illustrated this by the "cannibal motif" found in Russian folk-songs, derived from Finnish folk-lore. Here is what Mickiewicz said: "Among Russian folk-songs (in the Polish original—"wielko-rosyjskiemi," i.e. Great Russian—W.H.) there are some which evidently have a Finnish character. One of these songs is a kind of a riddle which is set by a girl, left by her boy-friend, to her girl-friends. She says: "My love abandoned me; but I found a way out of my grief; and now I sleep on my love, I cover myself with my love, I dress myself in my love and I have light from my love." In order to understand what this means, one should know, what use is made by Northern Finns of a reindeer: they eat its meat, they sleep on its skin, they make their clothing from its skin and they use its tallow for their night-light. So, the Finnish girl killed her unfaithful lover and made the same use of his dead body as she used to do with reindeer. Such is the answer to the cannibal riddle in this song. If we compare this poetry with the beauty and tenderness of Serbian folk-songs, taken as an example, we will find the whole difference between the yellow Finnish and Slavic races. And this race, dominant in those areas which were the base of the Muscovy state formation, became the basic element of a new power."⁵⁰

Now, the question is: what was the source from which Mickiewicz took this illustration for his argument? When Zaleski wrote his letter to Duchński in 1859 he knew, of course, the content of Mickiewicz's course in Slavic literature which was recorded in manuscript forms and became widely known for many, besides those who heard Mickiewicz's lectures in Paris. And as the closest friend of Mickiewicz and a poet himself, who had a special interest in various Slavic folk-songs which he translated into Polish, Zaleski could not be unaware of Mickiewicz's original source of the Russian "cannibal song." And if he specially remembered Gogol's description of the non-Slavic char-

⁵⁰ A. Mickiewicz: *Literatura Słowiańska*, v. 1, op. cit., p. 225.

acter of some Russian folk-songs, including some with "cannibal motifs," and how Mickiewicz was pleased with this, then there must be something true about this episode. But there is also other evidence that leads us to Gogol as the probable source of information for Mickiewicz in this case.

First of all, it is true what the commentator of Zaleski's letter in *Novoe Vremya* wrote about the situation with regard to the representation of Russian folk-songs at that time. Besides popular books of various songs, there was no real collection of Russian folk-songs in existence in the 1830s. Actually, P. V. Kireevskii with his group of collaborators (among them, first of all, the poet N. M. Yazykov) was the first one to start really collecting and preparing for publication Russian folk-songs as folklore literature. But his collection was not published during Gogol's and Mickiewicz's lifetimes. And those materials, including old popular books of songs, which were gathered by Kireevskii and Iazykov, were unknown to anybody, except Kireevskii's friends and collaborators. One of them was Gogol, personally acquainted with Kireevskii since 1832 and partly involved in Kireevskii's project, supplying Kireevskii with Ukrainian folk-songs (because Kireevskii at first planned a collection of Russian folk-songs in the old Russian meaning of the word "Russian," i.e., including Ukrainian and Belorussian). And since Gogol was close to all of Kireevskii's circle in Moscow (the Aksakovs, Yazykov, Shevyrev and others), it is most probable that Gogol got that "cannibal song" either from Kireevskii, or from another person of his Moscow circle. And, after all, spending years in studying folk-songs, including Russian, Gogol himself might be in the possession of one of those older Russian popular books of songs, from which (besides direct recording from the people) Kireevskii and others had taken material for the first "complete" collection of Russian folk-songs.

In any case, there are more than 10 versions of Russian "cannibal song" and 4 of them were in Kireevskii's collection: 2 written down directly from people (one of them by N. M. Iazykov and other one by Iu. V. Zhadovskaia)⁵¹ and 2 in popular Russian books of songs, issued in 1810 and 1829.⁵² In all of them is repeated with some variations the same "cannibal riddle," but even more cannibalistic than it sounds in Mickiewicz's version of its content in his lecture. Besides,

⁵¹ *Lit. nasledstvo*, op. cit., pp. 357, 571.

⁵² *Velikorusskie narodnye pesni, izdannye A. I. Sobolevskim*, S. Peterburg, 1895, v. 1, pp. 211-213, 218-219.

in the Russian original all 10 versions of this song have a typical Russian setting and details, having nothing specifically Finnish, except, perhaps, the Finnish origin of the riddle and the way it is solved (in all Russian versions the riddle is solved clearly as murder and cannibalism). And, by the way, in footnotes to both Iazykov's and Zhadovskaia's versions of this song in Kireevskii's collection, published for the first time in 1768, this song is called "widely known song-ballad on "cannibal treating," appeared in popular books of songs since the beginning of the 19th century."⁵³

Thus there was actually nothing strange, or even inconsistent, in Zaleski's story on Gogol's presentation of these facts to his Polish friends in Paris. Of course, the conclusion drawn from these facts by Gogol's Polish friends may be prejudiced against Russians and even wrong. But this is another question, which is not the subject of discussion here.

⁵³ Lit. nasledstvo, op. cit., p. 572.

Думе, думе було такно що не зарене
 пана Зиничка дома буветь що на
 пана щось панало не та сокасаице
 не то завбий вил / дай прохвильсья їй
 ивство дитко / та тепер спасибі тобі
 пав будиць камінь ровень дубів
 дай ти бачи щоб на диво, казаву
 уїї хоризкий хити і давати до берки
 хого ямбів вилки боїжми и зиди
 Дай і пав до не хрещав, пискриві
 в Ринд смелу. Добрає було зиди
 а саві туді кони медуді примидр.
 Думе думе белскій земляд, а
 посереду ще бивийїи ринд по землі.-
 Микола Топаль.

Plate I:

Gogol's Ukrainian letter to J. B. Zaleski (see pp. 113-114).

Ivan Franko—A Translation of German Literature*

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The manifold activities of Ivan Franko have been the subject of countless scholarly investigations over the past sixty years. Franko's achievements as a poet, novelist, dramatist, literary critic, scholar, and journalist as well as an organizer of political parties have been critically evaluated by students of various disciplines. Little of consequence, however, has been written about his achievement as a translator of literary works.

In spite of his other activities and in spite of the adverse circumstances which prevailed during his entire life, Franko found the time to translate into his native Ukrainian some of the best works of such artists as Homer, Sophocles, Dante, Calderon, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, Lessing, Goethe, Heine, Hugo, Zola, Twain, Pushkin, and others. If one were to collect all his translations and arrange them chronologically, one would compile an extensive anthology of world literature ranging from Homer to early twentieth century authors, which would contain selections of some of the best literary creations of mankind.

Besides the works of well-known authors, Franko also translated numerous anonymous works of various nations: epics, tales, legends, ballads, and folksongs. His achievement as a collector and a translator of folksongs is comparable only to that of Johann Gottfried Herder whose collection *Volkslieder* (1778/79) made the treasury of international folklore accessible to the German public.

There are many studies of Franko's translations in various countries of Eastern Europe and especially in the Soviet Union, where the study of Franko's life and works is considered practically a separate discipline (*frankoznavstvo*). Most of these studies, however, do not analyze his work *per se*, but rather dialectically exploit the political aspects

* In this article the system of transliteration internationally used in Slavic Philology has been followed.

and implications of his translations by attempting to portray Franko as a precursor of Communism. Because of this propagandistic approach, the many studies done in the Communist world have contributed little to the critical evaluation of Franko's accomplishment as a translator of literary works.

Outside the Communist Bloc the study of Franko's translations is still in its embryonic stage.¹ One can expect, however, that the recent efforts of Soviet critics to evaluate Franko's translations will provoke students of Slavic and comparative literatures in the West to reevaluate and reinterpret Franko's work in this field.

Before venturing into our brief consideration of Franko's translations from German literature let us first pose the question why did Franko, a poet of great and original talent, devote so much time and effort to such a thankless task as translation?² The answer to this question is twofold. His proficiency in practically all the modern European languages and his insatiable appetite for reading brought him into direct contact with the greatest of world classics. A poet himself, Franko felt the basic artistic urge to communicate, to share with his countrymen his aesthetic experiences in their native tongue. Thus Franko's motives were, at least in regard to his translations of the works of the previously mentioned authors, of a purely artistic-aesthetic nature and had little or nothing to do with his alleged desire to further the struggle of the working masses against the bourgeois-capitalistic order of his native West Ukraine,³ at that time a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The second motivating factor is, though related to the first, of a

¹ To our knowledge there is only one outstanding contribution in this area, namely: Mykhailo Sonevyytskij, "Frankovi pereklady z antychnykh literatur," *Zapysky NTS*, CIXI, 90-140. Also worthwhile is Orest Starchuk, "Ivan Franko: A Ukrainian Interpreter of Shakespeare," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* (1957), II, 106-110.

² The well known dictum of Croce that translation is either faithful ugliness or faithless beauty (Benedetto Croce, *Aesthetics*, translated by Douglas Ainslee. Second edition. New York, 1953, p. 68) emphasizes this point as does the following statement by Belloc: "The art of translation is a subsidiary art, and derivative. On this account it has never been granted the dignity of original work, and has suffered too much in the general judgment of letters." (Hilaire Belloc, *On Translation*, Oxford, 1931, p. 3.)

³ According to contemporary Soviet criticism this was the chief reason for Franko's literary translations. See L.D. Ivanov, "Borot'ba Ivana Franka proty anti-realistychnykh naprjamiv u zaxidnoevropejskij literaturi kincja XIX st.," *Tvorčist' Ivana Franka* (Kyiv, 1956), p. 360.

somewhat different nature. Franko was keenly aware of the generally underdeveloped *Weltanschauung* of his countrymen and attempted through his translations to raise their intellectual level, to broaden their cultural horizon and to enlighten them politically. This social-didactic factor frequently motivated his translation of works of lesser artistic value but of ideological content which, in his opinion, enhanced the political and social maturation of the people.⁴

This dual motivation determined his choice of German literary works for translation and, to a large extent, even his manner of translation. On surveying Franko's work in German literature we see once again that the works translated comprise a comprehensive anthology, i.e., from the *Hildebrandslied* (810/20) to the works of Detlev von Liliencron (1844–1909) and his contemporaries.

In this paper we shall limit ourselves to the presentation of an overall view of his work in this area by attempting to classify and categorize his translations according to the two principles established above and to point out some of their outstanding features. Such a presentation, we feel, will provide the reader with an approach to this relatively unknown side of Franko's work.

Generally speaking, Franko's translations from German literature are characterized by an earnest attempt to preserve the content and form of the original without committing undue violence to the Ukrainian language. In those instances where translation appeared impossible, because of the different character of the two languages, Franko sacrifices form in order to preserve meaning. Thus his translations of the *Hildebrandslied*, the *Muspilli* and of other literary monuments of Old High German literature do not preserve the alliterative verse of the originals. Similarly his fragmentary translation of the *Nibelungenlied* shows no trace of the highly stylized stanza, either in structure or rhyme, of the so-called "Kürenbergstrophe" which characterizes the original. Each of these translations, nonetheless, accurately conveys the meaning and, to a certain extent, the ethos of the German epics and provides the Ukrainian reader with an insight into Old High German and Middle High German literatures.

On the other hand, whenever Franko attempted to retain the form of the original at all costs, the translation displays certain stylistic im-

⁴ It seems *àpropos* to mention here that some of the greatest original writers were also very competent translators. This group includes Chaucer, Milton, Goethe, Schiller, Gide, Proust, and the Ukrainians M. Zerov and M. Ryl'skyj.

perfections which seriously impair its aesthetic value. This is the case in his translation of Goethe's *Faust* I. Throughout the translation Franko, for the most part, faithfully reproduced the poetic meters, the images, and the content of Goethe's work but at the expense of the Ukrainian language. The German language contains a greater number of monosyllabic and dissyllabic words than Ukrainian, and Goethe throughout his work employs such words to maintain the metric structure of *Faust*. In order to reproduce the original as faithfully as possible Franko very frequently used archaic or dialect forms, vulgarisms, Polonisms and other lexical forms⁵ not indigenous to literary Ukrainian. The abundance of such forms significantly lowers the aesthetic worth of the translation.

Another characteristic of the translation which diminishes its effectiveness results from Franko's inability to render Goethe's lines as separate, independent entities. The first stanza of Margarete's song "Der König in Thule" can serve as an example. In the original we read:

Es war ein König in Thule
 Gar treu bis an das Grab,
 Dem sterbend seine Buhle
 Einen goldnen Becher gab. (I. 2759-2762) ⁶

Franko translated:

Buv v Tuli car, ščo virnist'
 Do smerti doxovav
 Vid vmeršoji koxanky
 Vin zlotu čarku mav. (XV, 398) ⁷

The second half of the stanza is faithfully reproduced; the translation of the first two lines, however, has definite shortcomings. The logical content of the second line of the original is in translation divided into two lines (first and second). As a consequence the first line of the translation is overloaded, for in addition to the person (car) and the place (Tuli) a totally new element (virnist'-faithfulness) has

⁵ Listed below are some of the most common words belonging to this category: *mni* and *my* instead of *meni* (to me); *dorohov* instead of *dorohoju* (instrumental case of *doroha*—the way); *no* instead of *ale* (but); *žyzn'* instead of *žyttja* (life); *krem* instead of *spravdi* (indeed), and *s'katy* instead of *šukaty* (to seek).

⁶ The lines given after quotations from the original are cited in accordance with the sixth edition of the "Hamburger Ausgabe" of Goethe's works.

⁷ All quotations of the translations are from Ivan Franko, *Tvory v dvadtsjaty tomax* (Kyjiv, 1950-1956). Volume and page are cited in the text.

been added which deprives the line of its logical unity. The second line, on the other hand, lacks an essential element and therefore loses its organic wholeness.

Instances of such *enjambement* are rather frequent in Franko's translation of *Faust* I and the resulting breach in the harmony between form and content seriously impairs the value of the translation.⁸

Other characteristics of the translation are the results of Franko's efforts to render Goethe's work more accessible to Ukrainians. Thus very frequently Goethe's abstract expressions appear in concrete form. The German word *Urquell* (I. 324), for example, becomes *svitlo* (XV, 319) i.e., light in Ukrainian; the words *alle Näh und alle Ferne* (I. 306) become quite tangible *nebo i zemlja* (XV, 319) i.e., heaven and earth, etc. For this same reason most of the songs found in the drama are rendered in the manner of Ukrainian folksong;⁹ some of the minor characters are completely Ukrainianized (e.g. the shepherd in the scene "Vor dem Tor", is portrayed as a Ukrainian Hutsul); all the spirit and ghosts are interpreted according to Ukrainian daemonology, and the locale, the German mountain Brocken in the scene "Walpurgisnacht", has become the Ukrainian *Lysa Hora* (XV, 442). Such imbuing of the translation with Ukrainian local color frequently deprives the work of its German atmosphere, so that Franko's version of *Faust* I is in part more an adaptation than a translation. Franko's decision to translate the above mentioned works was determined exclusively by aesthetic considerations; his manner of translation, however, particularly of *Faust* I, displays his adherence to the social-didactic principle.

Social-didactic considerations are dominant in most of the translations of the works of Heinrich Heine (1797–1890), Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825–1898) and other German writers of the nineteenth century. The majority of Heine's poems translated and published by Franko are satirical and express strong criticism of the political and social conditions of the times. By using Ukrainian idioms and through the Ukrainization of locale and personages, Franko makes Heine's

⁸ Cf. J.J. Jarema, "Ivan Franko i Faust Hete," *Doslidžennja tvorčosti Ivana Franka* (Kyjiv, 1956), p. 103.

⁹ Employing the manner of Ukrainian folksongs, Franko also translated a good number of old German folksongs from Arnim and Brentano's famous collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1806) and from the collection *Deutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1843).

social criticism applicable to conditions prevailing in the Western Ukraine during his times. Franko's manner of translating Heine's poetry and especially his *Deutschland. Ein Wintermärchen*, is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as that of *Faust I*, with one important exception: in *Faust I* the adaptation of the subject matter to a Ukrainian milieu was done to make the work more comprehensible to the reader; in the translations of Heine's poetry it is done for the sake of social criticism.¹⁰

In much the same manner Franko also translated individual poems of Nikolaus Lenau (1802–1850), Georg Herwegh (1817–1875), and Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810–1876) gearing the social criticism expressed in their work to conditions prevailing in Ukraine under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

Although the social element is also emphasized in translations of the works of Gottfried Keller, the translations *per se* contain fewer Ukrainianized passages and quite adequately convey the stylistic features of the originals. Besides three minor poems, Franko also translated in 1900 two stories (*Die Jungfrau und die Nonne* and *Tanzlegendchen*) from the collection *Sieben Legenden* (1872) and in 1906 *Das Meretlein*, a short story from Keller's autobiographical novel *Der grüne Heinrich* (1855). In translating the latter, Franko encountered considerable difficulties in his attempts to convey in Ukrainian the lexical peculiarities of the original. In Keller's language Latin and French words abound, endowing the work with a particular archaic style, reminiscent of the early eighteenth century. In order to recreate the atmosphere of the original, Franko constructed an artificial language in which Church Slavic elements and antiquated Ukrainian lexical forms were skillfully interwoven. In this manner Franko not only preserved the unique spirit of Keller's work but also its numerous literary devices. In all his translations from Keller's work Franko emphasizes the author's critical view of organized religion and frequently makes his criticism more direct and more pointed.

Similar but less direct emphasis on the criticism of religion characterizes Franko's translation of twelve poems by C.F. Meyer as well as

¹⁰ It should be noted here that these translations of Heine's works were done immediately after Franko's first imprisonment (1877–1878) and doubtlessly reflect his bitterness toward the Austrian regime. His later translations of Heine, for instance, the poem *Die Grenadiere* (tr. 1904) and the novel *Florentinische Nächte* (tr. 1906), are free of such excesses and artistically superior to the earlier efforts.

his translation (1913) of the novel *Das Amulett* (1873). In translating Meyer's poems Franko successfully recreated the plasticity of their language and preserved the form and content of the original. Yet the dynamic tone of those translations contrasts sharply with the static language of the original. This dynamic element, which is also found in the translations of Keller's poems, results partially from the inclusion of various interjections which do not occur in the original. The translation of Meyer's poem *Die Füße im Feuer*, for example, contains the word "os" (behold! there!) six times, whereas the original contains no equivalent of that form.

Among Franko's best translations must be included the third act of *Faust* II, translated and published in 1899. None of the flaws which mar the translation of *Faust* I are present here. The language is clear and natural; non-literary forms are few; content and form are well preserved without the presence of *enjambement* or changes in personages and locale. Equally excellent with regard to content and form is Franko's translation (1913) of Goethe's epic *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797). Franko succeeded admirably in recreating Goethe's hexameter and in preserving the Homeric ethos of the original.

In these translations as well as in those of some of Goethe's poems (*Der Fischer*, *Prometheus* and others) the aesthetic considerations are reflected both in the choice of work and in the manner of translation. Here the translator concentrates on producing a Ukrainian version which would equal the original without making any concessions to his readers and without placing undue emphasis on any ideological values.

To this category belong also his translations (1906) of the "Parable of the Three Rings" from Lessing's drama *Nathan der Weise* (1779) and of Schiller's philosophical poem *Der Spaziergang* (1795). These are truly exemplary reflections of the originals. The translation (1903) of Kleist's novella *Die Marquise von O . . .* must also be considered successful, although the involved Kleistian style is not always faithfully reproduced.¹¹ Very faithful reproductions, on the other hand, are Franko's versions of three short war stories by Detlev von Liliencron *In der Mittagsstunde* and *Verloren* from the collection *Kriegsno-*

¹¹ Kleist's comedy *Der zerbrochene Krug* (1808) was performed (1905) in the Ukrainian theater of Lviv in Franko's translation, which dates back to 1884. This translation, however, was never published and Franko's manuscript is no longer extant.

vellen (1895) and the short tale *Der Narr*, translated and published in 1895. Franko admirably reproduces the rich, melodious prose of the original and especially Liliencron's characteristic rhythmic staccato.

The present study of Franko's translations is by no means an exhaustive one. Many of Franko's translations still await their publication in the archival collections in Lviv. These as well as other translations of minor works were not discussed here. Due to space limitations we have also refrained from analyzing the effects of Franko's translations on his development as a writer as well as the influence of the works translated on his original work, although such a study would be extremely worthwhile.

The brief observations presented here indicate the magnitude of Franko's achievement in this area. They emphasize also that the Ukrainian poet and thinker found the literary efforts of the German people a most congenial vehicle for his didactic purposes as well as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for his own artistic endeavors.

Ivan Franko's Studies in Ukrainian Onomastics

(A Tribute on the Occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Death)*

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Ivan Franko (1856–1916) was a literary universalist in the cultural development of the Ukraine. His work depicting the common life was dedicated to the cultural betterment of his nation, and in Ukrainian literature he is secondary in importance only to Taras Ševčenko. Franko began his literary career at the age of fifteen, and before he reached twenty he had already published a considerable amount of poetry and a historical novel of the romantic type. In his literary production which amounts to about 10,000 separate items² he appears as a poet, dramatist, novelist, short-story writer, translator, editor, linguist, critic scholar, journalist, philosopher, politician, and an onomatologist. Concerning his diversity of interests he said the following: "I tried to encompass the whole round of human interest and experiences. Perhaps this lack of concentration harmed me as a writer; nevertheless, among us there is a great need for such as myself who are engaged in building the foundations of a finer and nobler life."³

Despite Franko's versatility in prose and other wide interests, it was his later lyrical and philosophical poetry that raised him to a position of eminence attained by no other Ukrainian poet of his generation. His two great poems, "Ivan Vyšens'kyj" and "Mojsej," are considered the highest achievement in Ukrainian literature. They are written with a superb faith in the author's message and with the conscious

* In this article the system of transliteration internationally used in Slavic Philology has been followed.

¹ This paper in essentially its present form was read at the Annual Meeting of the American Name Society in New York, December 30, 1966.

² O. Dej et al., "Do pytannja pro vyvčennja spadščyny Ivana Franka." *Slovo pro velykoho kamenjara*, II, Kiev, 1956, p. 551.

³ From Franko's address delivered during the celebration of the 25th anniversary of his literary career in the fall of 1898.

moral purpose of uplifting and instructing. His short stories and novels, which deal mostly with the hard life of the peasants and workers, also show a keen psychological inquiry into the characters involved.

Franko's numerous scholarly works are characterized by a deep insight into and a broad treatment of his subject. Franko also made unique contributions to the field of Ukrainian onomastics. "He was a pioneer in the field of onomastics in the Ukraine in both anthroponymy and toponymy," says Professor Rudnyc'kyj.⁴

Franko's first onomastic study, "Uvahy pro poxodžennja nazvy 'bojky'," was published in *Žyttje i slovo*.⁵ In this work Franko, like Volodymyr Oxrymovyč,⁶ derives the name "bojky" from three syllables *bo* + *i* + *je*. He discusses the meaning of this word and shows the exact area where it is used among the Ukrainian mountaineers. He also stresses the psychological features of the name "bojky" which, in his opinion, were not related to the name itself, but were transferred from the people to the name. The negative characteristics involved in these features were rather the result of the attitude of the people of the plains toward the mountaineers whom they considered less culturally developed than themselves and of minor importance in human affairs.⁷ The scholarly stand taken by Franko in this study was so well presented that it is still respected.

A unique position in the study of the development of Ukrainian anthroponymy is held by Franko's "Pryčynky do ukrajins'koji onomastyky."⁸ This work was first published in 1906 in *Naukovyj zbirnyk NTŠ*, and was dedicated to the Ukrainian historian Myxajlo Hrušev-s'kyj. In this work Franko showed a deep understanding of the surname and emphasized its importance as valid historical evidence. According to Franko, the surname is not only a valuable source material for philologists who study its language structure, but also for historians and ethnologists. A historian, Franko points out traces

⁴ J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, "Ivan Franko as Onomatologist." *Onoma*, VII, Louvain, 1956-57, 2, p. 194.

⁵ L'viv, 1895, pp. 146-149. Its second edition appeared in *Nazvoznauci praci*, ed. J. B. Rudnyc'kyj. Winnipeg, 1956.

⁶ Volodymyr Oxrymovyč, "Zvidky vzjalasja nazva bojky." *Žyttje i slovo*, III, L'viv, 1895.

⁷ J. B. Rudnyc'kyj, *Geographical Names of Boikovia*. (Second revised edition), 1962, pp. 6-7.

⁸ Second edition appeared in *Nazvoznauci praci*.

in the surname, the historical past and its influence on social formations, whereas the ethnologist finds in it the traces of national and institutional development.

Of significant importance among Ukrainians, as Franko shows, was the use of many surnames which were characteristic of the people and derived from internal factors. Besides their Christian names, the people carried surnames developed from the name or surname of the father, or the mother when she was widowed. Sometimes this surname showed the personal characteristics of the human being, his occupation, or even some unique adventures from his life. Thus, besides the official surname which was written into the register of birth, for example, Ivan Koval', the person, could also be called Ivan Kryvoklubyj. To support his argument Franko quotes an interesting historical event which took place in 1667. In this year the Cossacks and Muscovite soldiers clashed in Poltava. To investigate this clash an official Kikin from Moscow arrived, who despite his persistence could not solve the matter. At any rate, he wrote a letter to the Cossack colonel, Vytjazenko, who in due course replied as follows: "The Cossacks' surnames do not agree because in the Ukraine it is customary, for the people to use different nicknames. Thus, the same person may have three or four nicknames. He may be called according to his father's name, his father-in-law's name, his mother-in-law's name or his wife's name. Therefore, the same people in the *vojevoda's* register are shown under one name and in the Cossack regimental register appear under another name."⁹

In this work Franko used the materials of Polish administrative revisions which took place in the Western Ukraine in 1564–1566 and in 1570. The revisions listed all the names in Polonized spelling, whereas Franko's study gives them in both Polonized and Ukrainianized spellings.

In his analysis Franko divided all surnames into three types. In the first group he included surnames derived from individual or local nicknames, or from the nickname of the father, brother, or father-in-law. The basis of these surnames is some word showing the relationship of a given person to the family he belonged to—for example, Onys'ko Kryvohosyn. (Kryvoho is the genitive case of an adjective *kryvyj*.) At this point Franko made an interesting comparison of

⁹ Ivan Franko, "Pryčynky do ukrajins'koji onomastyky." *Nazvoznaučni praci*, p. 14.

those male surnames which ended in *-oho* with female surnames ending in *-oji*, or *-ovoji* and he concluded that male surnames were formed from family or individual surnames whereas female surnames came from Christian names. These surnames were used widely in the lower and middle portion of the Sjan river region and between the rivers Buh and Sjan as well as in some localities below the L'viv-Peremysl' line.

Surnames in the genitive case form are known not only among Ukrainians, but also among Germans; for example, Ebers, Movers, and (among Russians) Durnovó and Vesëlogo. These Russian and German surnames were patronymic, whereas those developed among Jews were matronymic, such as Menkes (the son of Menka).

The second type of surnames considered by Ivan Franko was widely known in the southern part of the Western Ukraine. The surnames of this type ended in *-ja(-a)* in the nominative case singular for diminutive suffixes of neuter gender. The genitive case plural of these neuter gender nouns ended in *-jat(-at)* and the nominative case plural for these diminutive suffix neuter gender nouns ended in *-jata (-ata)*.¹⁰ For example, Romanča, Romančat, Romančata, etc. This type of surname Franko divides into three groups: (1) those which came from the father's Christian name—Adamča (from Adam); (2) those developed from the father's nickname—Popovja, Popovjata; and (3) those derived from the mother's surname or nickname—Hanča, Paraščata.¹¹

The first group of this type is quite numerous and easily explained. Similar surnames are found among Germans, especially in Lower Germany—for example, Benneke, diminutive of Benno, Benedikt, and Hänneke, diminutive of Hans, Johann. In Upper Germany one can find patronymic surnames of this type, which, however, are derived not from the Christian name of the father, but from his nickname, as in Eberlein, Schäfle.¹² Here one can also find surnames derived from the Christian name of the father—for example, Wernle from Werner—but this is a very rare instance.

¹⁰ See Jacob P. Hursky, "The Origin of Patronymic Surnames in Ukrainian." *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States*, VIII, New York, 1960, pp. 184–185.

¹¹ In the sources which used Latin script, the suffixes *-ja (-a)* *-enja*, *-jat (-at)* are written *-e/-ie (-e/-ie)*, *-enię (-enie)*, *-at/iqt (-et/ięt, -et/iet)*, i.e., in Polonized spellings: for example: Jadamczę, Popowieę, popowięta, Hańczę, Paraszcęta.

¹² Derived from Schaff 'pail.'

The group of surnames derived from the nickname of the father is represented by some 50 surnames in the source materials utilized by Franko. He also studied a very small number of these surnames which had developed as patronymics; e.g., when the grandfather was called Petro, his son would be called Petryč, and his grandson, Petrynja.¹³

In the third group Franko found only one surname, Dederixov-jata,¹⁴ concerning the derivation of which he was in doubt. He finally explained it as originally the name belonging to a man called Dederax and his wife Dederixa, whose children by this wife were called Dederixovjata. The surnames in this group, Franko claimed, are unusual to our ear. They appear in the genitive case plural for nouns of neuter gender. In this category the same people are called Sterkowiętha, Sterkowie, and each individual—Sterkowiąt. Franko wrote as follows: "Here one speaks about a man who is called in one place Waškowiąt, and somewhere else 'mieszka u Jaśka Waškowiecia,' so this name in the nominative would be Waškowie."¹⁵

Franko stressed different ways and circumstances under which Ukrainian onomastic evolution took place according to psychological laws. In this last group, similarly, as in the previous ones, most of the surnames were developed from the Christian name of the father. It is interesting to note that in these source materials Franko found only three matronymic surnames: Halkowiąt, son of Halka (or maybe from the father Hal'ko?); Nestencząt, son of Anastasija, or the diminutive Nastja, Nastunja, or even Nasten'ka; and Holdyszcząt, from Ol'dyžka, Olha.

In order to understand more exactly the psychology of these surnames, in particular the psychology of the people who gave these surnames, Franko discusses in great detail their geographic distribution and throws much light on social and ethnological relations among the bearers. He concludes that the majority of the surnames of the second type belonged to villagers who were owners of the agricultural complex called dvoryšče (farmstead). Franko wrote: "Where the tradition of the dvoryšče was more vivid . . . there the percentage of surnames of our type was greater."¹⁶

"Pryčynky do ukrajins'koji onomastyky" is the first truly scholarly

¹³ Hursky, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–179 & 184.

¹⁴ In Polonized spelling: Dederichowięta.

¹⁵ Franko, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

work in Ukrainian onomastics. In it Franko gives us valuable onomastic and linguistic analysis and discusses at large the social and historical reasons which started and promoted the development of these surnames.

The third onomastic contribution by Franko is his toponymic-historical study "Slidy rusyniv u Semyhorodi."¹⁷ In this study Franko undertook the difficult task of establishing from topographical names the Slavic origin of the population of Transylvania and, from phonetical and morphological features of these names, their Ukrainian roots. His source materials for this study were taken from *Deutsche Sprachdenkmäler aus Siebenbürgen* by Friedrich Müller. In this work Müller published the registers of geographical places and of the people, excerpts from guild books, birth certificates, school registers, court proceedings, and excerpts from merchants' letters from the twelfth century until the beginning of the fourteenth century. All these materials were representative documents, written in the local German dialect, and specially selected for linguistic purposes with the omission of everything Slavic, Hungarian and Rumanian. Despite the thorough screening of these materials by Müller, Franko was able to find there a number of places of Slavic origin; for example, Scybin, Zibin (Ukrainian: *šybyn* from the root *šyb* 'oil-well'); Dubro (apparently from the Ukrainian *dubrova* 'oak-grove'); Monostor (apparently from the Ukrainian *monastyr* 'monastery'); Bistritz (from the Ukrainian *Bystrycja*, the name of the river); Zalathna (zlatna, of Old Church Slavic origin 'golden'); Olchina (from *ol'syna*, Ukrainian *vil'syna* 'alder'); and Zytne (should be read *žytne* from Ukrainian *žytnje* 'rye'). Franko also indicated that some surnames from Müller's work were Slavic in origin; for example, Petrus Smerstozil, Smertoczil, which is reminiscent of Ukrainian *Smertožyl*, or *Smert'točyv*. The

¹⁷ In this study the editor has preserved the terminology of Franko and of the Ukrainian historian Hruševs'kyj in quotations and the terms *rus'kyj* and *rusyn*, which should be understood as *Ukrainian*, appear everywhere. *Rusyn* and *rusyny* (Ruthenians) was until recently applied to Ukrainians who were subjects of Austria-Hungary (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathian Ukraine). Beside this narrower meaning, the name *rusyny* had a broader application, particularly in the late Middle Ages. It was employed to designate Ukrainians and Belorussians in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, especially those of the Catholic faith (uniates), or sometimes even all of the eastern Slavs.

The first edition of this study appeared in the scholarly addendum to *Učytel'*, L'viv, 1911-1912.

surname Georgius Leynczyk reminds us of that of the Ukrainian Lejčak, who in 1848 was a representative to the Vienna State Council. The surname Paulus dictus Chlisth also reminds us of the Ukrainian *xlyst*, *xlystaty* (*Hlyst*, *Hlystaty*) 'intestinal worm.'

In the same study Franko gave a critical review of the scholarly research by A. A. Kočubinskij, who also had studied the Ruthenians in Transylvania. Franko stated that Kočubinskij did not examine his source materials in detail; therefore, he made a number of mistakes: for example, he had considered the tribal name Bisseni a variant of the name Rutheni. In his study Müller had already proved that the Bisseni were Pechenegs who in the eleventh century were forced out of the Ukraine and had found refuge in the Transylvanian mountains.

All three of these studies laid the foundations for the development of Ukrainian onomastics in both anthroponymy and toponymy. Franko undertook a rational procedure which consisted of carefully assembling and arranging the facts relevant to onomastics as a science. In his research Franko sought the principles which enabled him to make his results coherent with scholarly requirements. The questions he asked were significant ones for accurate onomastic study. If unscrutinized and uncontrolled, the vast source materials available for the study of names and surnames could easily lead one to disaster. Franko possessed a genius for exercising judgment and restraint, and in obtaining his results he was guided by a scholarly system evident in each of the studies discussed. Therefore, his contribution turned out to be objective, and his results lasting and fruitful.

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Some Aspects of the "Sonata Pathétique"

by Mykola Kulish*

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IV

Kulish's drama *Sonata Pathétique* is constructed on a manifold symbolism. One aspect of the symbolism is of course, the music, which is integrated into the very structure of the play. Besides music, Kulish's system of symbols includes the characters themselves, various objects, both the ones physically present on stage as well as those the audience is asked to imagine, and especially the language which overflows with symbolical meaning. Occasionally the use of symbols is so intense that one symbol is hidden within another. Occasionally also symbolism and allegory are found in the same place.

Kulish does not use symbols just to paint pictures or transmit messages. They are, as the music in his play, to communicate with the audience emotionally and philosophically, to create moods, and thereby to transmit what he thinks and feels. Throughout the drama his extraordinary talent for and fine taste in selecting and presenting the right symbol at a given time, enable him to transmit to the audience that which would be difficult to transmit as effectively, if at all, by the means of plain dialogue or description.

In analyzing the symbols in the *Sonata Pathétique* one must recall again, that Kulish's drama is patterned, at least in its external aspects, after the Ukrainian vertep theatre, a traditional Christmas folk puppet presentation, which is in itself symbolical. The stage of the vertep consists of three stories symbolizing heaven, earth, and hell. The three stories, in the concept of time, are also symbols of the past, present, and future. Kulish, modifying this set-up somewhat, presents a two-storied house on stage with a balcony, attic garret, and basement. The two stories and basement are symbolized by their inhabitants, as is also the garret. The upper floor symbolizes the past (the Perotskii's), the

* See *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy*, Vol. XI, 1864-1968, 109-128.

lower (the present), and the basement (the future, i.e. the proletariat). The garret ("I"-II'ko) symbolizes the ideal future which never materializes.

The inhabitants of the house, as well as the floors on which they live, are also symbols of the current social and political situation in Ukraine. The Perotskii's, who live on the upper floor, are symbols of the old regime. The father, Major-General Perotskii, is a symbol of those tsarist forces who cannot under any circumstances reconcile themselves to the thought of a Ukrainian state. They idealize the past and despise the least mention of anything Ukrainian. Their attitude is best characterized by Major-General Perotskii, who recalls the night he had to spend in a prison cell with a monk who prayed in Ukrainian as the most horrible moment of his life. His two sons are also symbols. Zhorzh, the younger son, symbolizes those young people whose course of thought was directed only at themselves, and whose aim in life was the search for shallow, earthly pleasures, represented in this drama by the prostitute Zin'ka, and a chocolate factory. Zhorzh is the symbol of the degenerate young generation without ideas or ideals. The older son Andre, symbolizes the Constitutional Democrats, known popularly as the Cadets. Although not intrinsically opposed to the idea of an Ukrainian state, they were primarily concerned with the plan of converting an absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. Within the framework of a constitutional monarchy, the establishment of a separate Ukrainian state, perhaps in a federation of other non-Russian states, seemed feasible to many of them, but that matter was to be postponed to a later date. It may be mentioned that some prominent Ukrainians agreed with the Cadets, since there were many Ukrainians who were convinced Ukraine was not yet mature for independence. To many of Ukrainian Nationalist orientation, however, the Cadets were a potential means of military and political support in their struggle to win independence at the time. Thus Andre is a symbol of the Cadets and the Cadets themselves are a symbol of those who favored a constitutional regime, and also of a means of concrete military and political help for many Ukrainian Nationalists. This is another illustration of Kulish's method of making one symbol itself a symbol of something else.

The fact that the immediate goal of the Cadets and the goal of the Ukrainian Nationalists did not exactly coincide is the source of some of the conflict in the play. Since the Cadets wanted to win the imme-

diate support of the Ukrainian Nationalists, they made pro-Ukrainian platitudes. They also knew that the Ukrainian Nationalists had stocked arsenals, which the Cadets needed in their fight against Bolshevik forces. In return, some Ukrainian Nationalists in their struggle for independence hoped to gain military and political support from the Cadets. They accepted the Cadets' support for a while, only to be deceived, however, soon thereafter. By their betrayal of the Ukrainian Nationalists the Cadets did themselves great harm, for not only did they lose Ukrainian support, but a great many Ukrainians joined Communist forces as a result, thereby strengthening the opposition to the Cadets.

The lower floor of the building is symbolized by the Nationalist Ukrainians, Maryna and her father, Stupay-Stupanenko. Maryna is the symbol of the Ukrainian Nationalists. She is caught in a symbolic love triangle between Andre, symbolizing the Cadets, and "I"-Il'ko, symbolizing the Ukrainian National Communist Party. Andre holds promise for Maryna of concrete military and political aid for Ukraine, "I"-Il'ko, offers her his dream of a humanist Ukraine, characterized in his own words as "the land of eternal love." Maryna is a tragic figure because she willfully accepts the lover who betrays her (Andre) and rejects the lover who idolizes her ("I"-Il'ko) but who for a long period of time does not dare to approach her. When he finally does approach her, he finds himself rejected in favor of Andre.

Maryna accepts Andre over "I"-Il'ko precisely because Andre offers her promise—albeit false—of military and political help in winning the Ukrainian War of Independence, an offer, which the poet cannot make. In scene II, Act I, she says to herself, as she answers the poet's letter revealing his love for her:

"A poet, perhaps will conquer your soul, the whole world, but not one kilometer of territory, my Jeanne d'Arc."

She refers to herself by the metaphoric "Jeanne d'Arc," for she sees herself as the actual liberator of the land, much as Joan of Arc was the liberator of her land. Unfortunately, Maryna does not realize the value of the poet's conquest.

It should be noted that although Maryna refers to herself as "Jeanne d'Arc," the metaphor is an ironical one, since Kulish tries to show here that Maryna thought of herself as another Joan of Arc, but in reality never became one. She calls herself Joan of Arc, but later reveals her weakness when she says she is waiting for someone to help

free her land. Maryna's womanhood, unlike that of Joan of Arc, is actually a sign of her weakness. The fact that Kulish chose a woman essentially so different from Joan of Arc to symbolize the Ukrainian Nationalists is proof that he wanted to show how weak they really were.

Also, one should not forget that Ukrainian Nationalist forces were completely under the influence of socialist concepts, and that the Ukrainian Nationalists as a political party had a socialist character, but their socialism was not only "unmanly" but also very unstable. That, apparently, is why Kulish chose a woman to symbolize this political orientation.

Having no real military force to depend on themselves, the Nationalists turned to the Cadets, who betrayed them. Not interested in a broader program of "humanist ideals" which would extend beyond their narrow nationalist limits of thought, they rejected the Ukrainian National Communist Party which at this point was still keeping aloof of the Bolshevik forces in Moscow, but at the same time wanted a Ukrainian state established on a platform broader in humanist values than the Ukrainian Nationalists proposed.

Just as there is symbolism in the fact that the central character, Maryna, is a woman, so there is symbolism in her being referred to as "a single girl, but not alone." With these words Kulish meant to show that the Nationalist Movement was "single," meaning there was no one else to espouse its cause (besides those who actually belonged to the movement), but it was not "alone," since there were other forces around it—the peasantry, the proletariat, the Ukrainian Communist Party (later forced to merge with the Bolsheviks). The words "single . . . , but not alone," are among the most pathetic as well as significant ones in the whole drama.

Maryna's weakness is again revealed in the fact that throughout the play she is referred to as "a girl who waits for a knight to come and free her land." This is clear implication that the Ukrainian Nationalists cannot free Ukraine by themselves, but must wait for someone else to come and free their land.

The most pathetic symbol of Maryna is found in the last scene, 31, of Act IV, when she reveals her secret code name in a Ukrainian Nationalist organization as "Seagull." (*Chayka*). This is an illustration of Kulish's way of making a symbol out of a metaphor. "Seagull" is a metaphor for Ukraine found in a poem by Mazepa in which he re-

fers to Ukraine as "a fallen seagull" on which anyone who crosses from eastern to western Europe, or vice versa, has to trample. Kulish applies Mazepa's metaphor to Maryna, thereby making Maryna a symbol of the weak Ukraine which is trampled by forces both from the East and the West.

Maryna's father is the symbol of an old-fashioned Populist. Stupay-Stupanenko is a symbolical remnant of the nineteenth century Populist movement, whose aim was to reawaken the people to national consciousness by making them aware of their national past. At the time of the Ukrainian Revolution, Stupay does not identify himself with any particular party or movement. In love with Ukraine's past, he is lost in visions of Zaporozhian Cossacks riding over the plains. To him all that is foreign or not Ukrainian in origin, is suspect and to be rejected. Only that which is Ukrainian can be good or great in his view, a view which he best expresses in the following words as he hears his daughter play the Sonata Pathetique (scene 9, Act I).

"The first of the month. Tomorrow it is Easter. I am wondering if God is now necessary for Ukraine. I think that if Ukraine needs a god, then only her own Ukrainian one. Another will betray or deceive her. All evening Maryna is playing something very beautiful. It must be Ukrainian because I seem to hear grey-mustached Zaporozhian knights speeding on horseback over the eternal steppe after the fortune of their own Ukraine."

To Stupay-Stupanenko only the existence of a Ukrainian Republic matters, regardless of the social or political structure of this state. For a while he thought of forming a coalition with the Bolsheviks. Comparing a Ukrainian national blue-and-yellow flag with a red Bolshevik one he says in scene 5, Act V:

"This is a flag and that is a flag! I am considering whether I shouldn't propose something like this. On the blue-and-yellow one let the Socialist one live, let it be a Socialist one if only there were a Ukrainian Republic. Or this way: on the red one intertwine two bands; a yellow one and a blue one..."

A knowledge of the Ukrainian language is so important to him that in scene 16, Act IV he says that he is glad that the Bolshevik guard who wanted to take his life spoke Ukrainian.

"At least he addressed me in Ukrainian. 'zbyraysya na smert,' and not 'gotovsya k smerti.' A real sailor! And General Perotskii would sooner order his own death than utter a Ukrainian word.

No, the best ally is he who understands our language and speaks Ukrainian."

Maryna characteristically answers him with:

"The best ally is he whose weapons speak Ukrainian."

Because of his naive, romantic view Stupay-Stupanenko becomes victim of his own indecisiveness. As the Ukrainian Nationalists and the Bolsheviks shoot at each other from behind buildings on an empty street, Stupay-Stupanenko stands in the middle, not able to decide which side to join since they are both Ukrainian and both speak the Ukrainian language. Suddenly he is hit by a bullet; he does not know from which side the bullet came, but as he is dying he still sees Zaporozhian Cossacks speeding over the steppes. Stupay-Stupanenko symbolizes those Ukrainians who had such romantic, impractical dreams of Ukraine and who became victims of their own unrealistic, unfulfillable hopes.

The basement of the building is occupied by those who symbolize the lower class. Up to the last scene of the last Act this class is the proletariat. In the last scene of Act VII, when the proletariat revolution has been won. Maryna is found living there as a symbol of the class to which she has been demoted by the victorious proletariat. The disabled laborer Ovrarn, who returns home from the front of the First World War having lost both legs, and his wife Nastya are symbols of those to whom just a purely nationalist revolution had no meaning. Ovrarn and his wife, as well as Zin'ka the prostitute, represent the exploited urban proletariat which unwisely and unfortunately was not taken into full account either by the Ukrainian Nationalists with their dreams of an independent Ukrainian state or by the Ukrainian National Communists with their dreams of a Ukraine which would place humanist values above all else, including national aspirations. The proletariat was somehow left out of the plans of both the Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Communists. The plight of the proletariat is best illustrated in the following exchange of words between Stupay-Stupanenko and Ovrarn. Stupay-Stupanenko:

"The time has come! The time has come to become free! We must get on our horses and speed over our Cossack steppes together with the eagles and the winds..."

Ovrarn:

"Maybe you'll get on, but where will you put us?"

Mere freedom was not enough for the hungry and downtrodden who were marching for an improvement of their conditions. As Ovrarn says bitterly in Act III, scene 4:

"For ten years I worked at the factory, for three I fought in the war. For this, you see, they gave me a little cross. Now they are giving freedom—the freedom to crawl with the little cross to the grave. Freedom? I'm without bread. Equality? Without legs I'm smaller than everyone else. Brotherhood? I'm washing your feet! There, take your cross, give me back my legs!"

Besides improved social conditions the proletariat also wanted to have a part in the Ukrainian plans, whether on the side of the Nationalists or the Communists, and felt alienated and extremely hurt when they were left out by their own people. As Zin'ka, the prostitute, says in Act IV, scene 4:

"Although they say that I'm the kind you can have for five kopeks, yet in spite of that I haven't sold everything, I've left something for my darling who would come to me, it seemed, for at least a day—for my 'Easter' " (In Ukrainian literally "Great Day" —Velykden').

Here one can see that a representative of the lower class, who sells herself in order to exist, has nevertheless kept alive a small hope of being recognized as a human being. Through the symbol of Zin'ka, Kulish shows that the members of the proletariat, in addition to wanting an improvement of their social position, also had a hope, however small, of being recognized as human beings by the Ukrainian state. In its own way this class looked for an adequate variant of an independent Ukraine. Zin'ka refers to the Ukrainian state she so awaits as "my darling," but when the state does come, it does not come to her. In fact, it has no place and no use for her. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Nationalists did not realize the political power of the proletariat until it was too late. In Act V, scene 3, as Maryna and Zin'ka meet, Maryna in a surprised tone says to Zin'ka:

"And you, I thought, you had brown eyes, but for some reason they're red."

To Zin'ka the anticipated Ukrainian state was a dream, an awaited ideal. However, when the state came it was a deep disappointment, as shown in the following words spoken by her in scene 6, Act V, just after she and Maryna pass each other casting a brief glance at one another:

"A dream! I thought, what kind of a dream? And here she is in pantaloons and a shirt like everyone else."

The very plainness of Maryna, as symbolized by the pantaloons and shirt, is a letdown for Zin'ka, who was hoping for someone more extraordinary as the fulfilment of her dreams.

Quite symbolically all the action in the *Sonata Pathetique* takes place in the city, and it is the city that is the real kernel of the Revolution. Until the Revolution, Ukraine was identified in literature mainly by the village; the city element had been insufficiently taken into account. In the *Sonata Pathetique* it is the proletariat of the city that is the real victor of the Revolution.

Luka, though not a member of the city proletariat but a student of peasant stock, is usually found in the basement of the building with the proletariat. He symbolizes the Bolsheviks. Luka is a professional revolutionary for whom the Moscow-styled International is the only goal. He is supra-nationalist in the sense that he believes once the revolution comes it will unite the proletariats of all nations and eventually sweep away national boundaries and differences, uniting all into an International Universal. Quite symbolically Luka's best friend is "I"-Il'ko, also a Communist, but a National Ukrainian Communist and not a Bolshevik. The two friends symbolize the two different orientations of Communism in Ukraine during the Ukrainian Revolution. Luka—the Russian-oriented Bolshevik Communism with its main interest in power, and "I"-Il'ko—the Ukrainian Nationalist Communism with its chief interest in the reform of the individual. Luka is satisfied with Russian solutions and answers to problems or concepts of his own. His only obligation is the unquestionable execution of orders from Petrograd—to do what the "comrade from Petrograd" says, as shown in the following words Luka speaks to "I"-Il'ko, Act II, scene 1.

"Listen, Il'ko! Today there's a demonstration at eleven. The organizers are all those who turn the revolution into an operetta or a liturgy, and a class struggle for parades and kissing, the comrade from Petrograd told us. And I say so, also. Apparently your Ukrainians will also join them girded in towels—you've become bethrothed already! The Bolshevik are organizing a counter demonstration. Do you understand? They entrusted me with distributing literature on our street and with agitating against the war, for an eight hour day, for subscribing to "Pravda." Let's go huh? . . . To the street! You'll help me pass out literature. And so it's simple. So that there would be more of our brothers."

"I"-Il'ko, the Ukrainian National Communist, seeks a Ukrainian solution to the problems posed by the Ukrainian Revolution. He is undergoing an excruciating spiritual struggle as he strives to form his own concept of a social and political philosophy. In opposition to Luka, "I"-Il'ko strives to realize a Ukrainian variant of Communism. This is the crux of his problem and the tragedy of the Ukrainian Communists who tried to settle the problem actively in their own way, not passively by relying upon orders from a foreign power.

"I"-Il'ko, the tragic hero of the play, is a poet and that in itself is also a symbol. (Again Kulish's method of placing symbol within symbol.) The very fact that Kulish chose a poet rather than a worker like Ovrarn, or a professional revolutionary, like Luka, as the hero of his play, shows that his main interest was in showing the hope for a humanist order, a hope that the Ukrainian National Communist Party, to which most of the intellectual and artistic class in Eastern Ukraine belonged, placed in the Revolution. The image of the poet found here is the image that was held during the period of Romantic literature. The poet is like a prophet of old who can foretell the future, a seer among his people. Subconsciously or consciously, Kulish wants to show here the belief that it was the poets, especially Shevchenko, who had previously, particularly in the nineteenth century, sowed the seeds of national revolution which was now coming to fruition.

A bust of Shevchenko in scene 9, Act I is once more a symbol of the fruition of the nationalist dream. Maryna, her father, and "I"-Il'ko are portrayed as each pursuing his goal—"each going after his golden fleece," although at this point only in dreams. The sculpture of Shevchenko looks down upon them as the initiator of their dreams.

"I"-Il'ko is a Communist, but a humanist and a Ukrainian also. Luka is also a Communist, but a Moscow oriented Communist whose only goal is universal social revolution. To him the national question is of no consequence and humanism is incomprehensible. The difference between the two friends is best revealed in the following words "I"-Il'ko speaks to Luka, as he writes a letter to Maryna:

"Maybe I'll tear up this one also, but I am writing and I'll still go on writing because I believe in Petrarch and in eternal love. In eternal love. Incidentally from golden statues in history there are black shadows, from the statue of the monk Petrarch there is a golden and bright one, the bright ray of eternal love. I believe and therefore I am writing."

The above words express a hope for a revolution which would place Man above men, a revolution in which such a concept as eternal love would be taken seriously and have genuine meaning. Thus the statue of Petrarch (1304-1374), a monk and the first humanist (and the first modern lyrical poet), has a bright shadow because he valued the individual Man, unlike the historical figures whose shadows are black because they put their value on men, on society. Kulish chose Petrarch as his ideal because, just as Petrarch, through his poetry and his devotion to humanism, was able to solve the age-old problem of the reconciliation of the classical with the Christian world, so "I"-Il'ko wanted to solve the problem of the future of the individual man by combining humanism with Communist philosophy.

Yet it is precisely these words that Luka can't understand. He thinks that "I"-Il'ko, his best friend and fellow-Communist, is trying to subvert the social revolution: Accordingly he interrupts him with the accusation:

"You want to postpone the matter of the social revolution until tomorrow!"

"I"-Il'ko answers him:

Not at all! But know this Luka . . . over the world the banner of struggle bathes in blood. For what? So that tomorrow over us the banner of free labor may unfurl. But only then, when over the world the banner of eternal love will unfurl . . ."

Again Luka interrupts him impatiently and angrily:

"To the devil with your love! Today at the Central Committee meeting the friend from Leningrad told us. 'We must' he said, 'allow the train of the revolution to travel at full speed in order to arrive at socialism! And you want to stop it at the station,' (he shook) 'of eternal love.'"

"I"-Il'ko determinedly answers him:

"Only then, when he who today beats his wife, will become a Petrarch, will the universal social spring arrive. And you send it to the devil! That's the whole problem."

Quite obviously "I"-Il'ko is speaking of the reform that is the awakening and reappraisal of the person, the individual, as the first step toward a social, political, or economic concept. Clearly he shows that while he is in favor of a social revolution, he believes a humanist one must come first, otherwise, the social one will turn into terror, as it actually did. As he says in the end: "(That's) the whole problem."

Without man's evaluation of himself and of his fellow men, no concept of social revolution can be put into effect, let alone succeed.

"I"-Il'ko, however, doesn't succeed in convincing his best friend (since the Bolsheviks were not so much interested in Communist ideals as in acquiring real and actual political power.) In Act II, scene 2 "I"-Il'ko asks Luka:

"Guess what is the path on which the world has travelled for millenia and has known no fatigue?"

Luka answers:

"The path of revolution!"

"I"-Il'ko retorts perplexedly:

"The road of love, Luka! Guess without which path would the world have long since been wandering like an eunuch over the desert of life?"

Luka:

"Without the path of revolution as you now walk around here like an eunuch."

To Luka the humanist ideals of his best friend had emasculated him. The humanist idealism of "I"-Il'ko was precisely the issue which separated the Ukrainian Communists from both the Bolsheviks, such as Luka, and the Ukrainian Nationalists such as Maryna. Like the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian National Communists wanted a Ukrainian national state, yet they insisted that a humanist revolution precede both the socialist and the nationalist revolutions, and that humanism be the foundation of both consequent movements.

The point must be stressed however, that the Ukrainian Communists, were national Communists who loved their country very much. As "I"-Il'ko says to Maryna in scene 6, Act IV:

". . . The sun doesn't love the earth as much as I love you, I want to tell her and I can't."

"I"-Il'ko tried to approach Maryna many times before he finally mustered enough courage to do so. Actually as he says to Luka in scene 1 of Act II:

". . . Luka, it is easier, apparently, to cause three revolutions at once, than, let us say, to reveal to a girl for the first time, that you love her . . ."

Yet, when "I"-Il'ko at last does dare to go to Maryna, he is still pathetically torn between her and her friend Luka, as was the Ukrainian Communist Party torn between the Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. "I"-Il'ko says in Act II, scene II as he approaches Maryna's door:

"And indeed I'm going. Down the stairs. Again one current drives me to her doors, another carries me away and impels me downward."

Unfortunately, Maryna rejects him in favor of the false lover, André,

It is "I"-Il'ko who is the unifying force in the drama of the Ukrainian Revolution as well as the drama of Kulish. A Communist, he shares with the Bolsheviks the desire for a social revolution. A Ukrainian, he shares with the Ukrainian Nationalists a desire for a free and independent Ukraine.

A liberal, he shares with Andre the desire for liberalization. Yet his deep faith in humanism as the foundation of any society and as the highest value in the hierarchy of values of any state separates him from everyone else in the drama of the Ukrainian Revolution.

"I"-Il'ko's duality of character is the unifying force in Kulish's drama. In the role of the narrator "I"-Il'ko expresses his own feelings and describes what goes on around him. In the role of a character in the play he becomes involved with every other character in the play.

As already emphasized, the dramatic action in Kulish's play seethes with conflict. Here is a brief capitulation of the dramatic action as presented in symbols.

The symbolical triangle of romance develops with Maryna, symbolizing the Ukrainian Nationalists, accepting as her lover Andre, symbolizing the Cadets, only to be betrayed by him, and rejecting "I"-Il'ko, symbol of the Ukrainian National Communist Party, because, as an active political force, she cannot seriously accept his—in her view—unrealistic hopes for a humanist Ukraine. "I"-Il'ko, in turn, loves Maryna, but cannot accept her active political program for Ukraine without an idealistic base, and in the end hands her over to the Bolsheviks. Conflict also develops between Maryna, who thinks of the Ukrainian future, and her father, who thinks of the Ukrainian past. There is similar conflict between "I"-Il'ko, who as a Ukrainian Communist and a highly idealistic poet, wants social and national revolution, but only if they are preceded by a humanist one, and his best friend, who as a Bolshevik, doesn't understand what "I"-Il'ko means

by humanism, and believes the universal uprising of the proletariat will be supra-national, so that there is no point in a national revolution. Ovrarn, Nastya, and Zin'ka, symbols of the Ukrainian proletariat, are also in conflict with Maryna, who refuses to recognize them as a political force to be reckoned with until it is too late, and who overlooks their pressing social needs. Conflict also exists between Major-General Perotskii, symbol of the pro-Russian tsarist orientation, including absolutism, and his son Andre, symbol of the all-Russian liberal who is loyal to the Russian Empire but not to absolutism, since he is striving for a constitutional regime.

As a whole the drama of Kulish may be considered an allegory of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom. Analyzed individually the characters must be taken as symbols of the various forces which participated in the struggle. On the dramatic level the conflicts and tension provide the dramatic action and tragic ending which make Kulish's *Sonata Pathetique* a real drama, and not just a dramatic play.

The ship *Argo*, which seems to appear to "I"-Il'ko in Act I, scene 9, Act II, scene 1, and Act IV, scene 6, is a symbol of the Ukrainian quest for the "golden fleece," which, in its turn, is a symbol of the concept of the Ukraine that each political and social faction had at the time. As "I"-Il'ko says in the Act I, scene 9 (of Maryna, her father, and himself):

"We are floating over life on the ship *Argo* to the eternally beautiful lands, each one after his own golden fleece."

"Each one after his golden fleece," of course, means Maryna going after the goal of the Nationalists, "I"-Il'ko—after the goal of the Ukrainian National Communists, and Maryna's father—after his dream of a reincarnation of the Zaporozhian past in the Ukraine of the twentieth century.

The "eternally beautiful lands" are, naturally, Ukraine, and the "golden fleece," is the ideal Ukraine as imagined by the three people mentioned above.

The *Argo* is here also a symbol of the quest for Ukraine being blocked from two sides, as the mythological *Argo* had to pass between the symplegades, or Clashing Islands, two great cliffs which moved upon their bases and crushed everything that ventured to pass between them, the two rocks symbolizing in this case, Russia and Poland, the two powers that were ready to crush any resurgent Ukrainian nation.

In Act V, scene 2, Kulish draws an analogy between Maryna and

Pythia, the priestess at the temple of Apollo, who prophesied in ambiguous terms over a rock called Omphalos, meaning "center of the world." Pythia had once been a very beautiful girl. On the gates to the oracle there was a sign: "Know thyself." Maryna actually assumes the role of Pythia for a few moments and says:

"I will prophesy shortly. Omphalos! Ukrainian get to know thyself."

The whole scene is symbolical of the need and the expressed desire to make the Ukrainians conscious of themselves as a nation.

Of all the symbolical images which are associated with Ukraine in one way or another, the most often repeated is that of the "young man who flies over the steppe on his horse, seeking the land of eternal love." The young man is, of course, "I"-Il'ko's ideal of the Ukrainian state. It is his image of the "Ukraine par excellence" of his dreams. Later, in Act, scene 9, Stupay-Stupanenko has visions of Zaporozhian Cossacks on horseback speeding over the steppe. This is a slight modification of "I"-Il'ko's symbolical image mentioned earlier and symbolizes Stupay-Stupanenko's ideal of the resurrected Ukrainian State. Stupay's image of "Zaporozhians on horseback" occurs also in scene 13, Act, I, and scene 8, Act V.

In scene 10, Act I the same image occurs in still another form with still another symbolical meaning as Maryna asks herself for whom is she waiting.

"A single girl waits . . . For whom? Perhaps for you, dear poet. Definitely you, if you're on horseback and armed?"

In this instance the image of "poet on horseback" refers to "I"-Il'ko, and symbolizes Maryna's philosophy. The Ukrainian Nationalists were willing to ally themselves with the Ukrainian National Communists, as they had with the Cadets, if only they could get immediate material support from them in the form of arms, supplies and men, instead of vague ideas about humanism and eternal love. The "poet on horseback and armed" is another symbol of the Nationalists' weakness. Wanting to form a government but having no concrete means, they were willing to use compromise and political ruse to achieve their goal.

Andre uses the same image in scene 4, Act III, when speaking of the Cadets, he says:

"We must mount horses! And speed East and West."

In this instance the image of mounting horses symbolizes the Cad-

ets going in pursuit of their goal which was to retain the Russian Empire, at least for the time being, but under a constitutional instead of an absolute regime.

In addition to the piano music and the characters, Kulish uses many things, both physically present and imagined, in his system of symbols. Thus in the very first scene of the First Act the narrator "I"-Il'ko asks the audience to imagine a helicon, which is an instrument often used allusively of poetry and poets. "I"-Il'ko, a poet himself, uses it symbolically to show poetry as an uplifting force. He also uses the helicon as a symbol of his hope in the victory of humanism over darkness, as a sort of light of a belated Renaissance over the darkness of the past. It is a symbol of Kulish's hope for a bright future, of a humanist revolution above a purely national, social or economic one. The humanist idealist "I"-Il'ko explains the meaning of the helicon to his best friend Luka, in a dialogue with him: (Act I, scene 3)

"First of all, do you see?" (with a gesture, toward the helicon.)
 "When you play forte, you can put out a lamp with it. But I'll learn to play it so that I'll put out the stars in the sky."

Luka:

"What for?"

"I"-Il'ko:

"To . . . to have work."

Luka:

"Work I see you'll have, and what about earnings?"

"I"-Il'ko:

"And earning also. This is the helicon from the orchestra, which in the summertime plays on the boulevards, in the autumn at weddings, in the winter at funerals—from the orchestra of humanism. There are helicon players, who can get from it such an effect that it doesn't simply play but rings out like a silver bell. Thus, ding-dong . . ." (beneath me as if on purpose the chimes ring.)

Here the dual role of "I"-Il'ko appears very clearly again as it is integrated into the very structure of the play. Il'ko, a character in the play, carries on a conversation with Luka, another character in the play, then abandoning that role, he becomes once more the narrator; he is, however, no longer Il'ko, but, "I", who informs the audi-

ence that "beneath me, as if on purpose, the chimes ring" (to himself). Clearly again the chimes are those of an ancient clock, in the apartment of the pro-tsarist and anti-Ukrainian Major-General Perotskii and his two sons. They ring "as if from the distance of the ages . . . uniformly, gravely, and elegiacally," and symbolize the old monarchic regime and those who support it. Quite logically, the somber chimes as symbols of the past are contrasted with the bright helicon as a symbol of the future.

When the play begins, it is the time of the Easter vigil. Kulish uses the great Christian feast in a number of symbolical ways. In the first place the Ukrainian word for Easter in "Velykden'," meaning literally "great day." Kulish tries to show that the coming of the Revolution will be indeed a great day for Ukraine. Secondly, the action of the Ukrainian vertep theatre upon which Kulish patterned the *Sonata Pathetique* usually took place during the Christmas vigil. Kulish, showing that he is using the Vertep as a base for his own work, yet at the same time, modifying the structure of the old traditional Ukrainian theatre in his modern work, begins the action of his play during the Easter vigil. In the third place, and most important of all, Kulish uses the feast of the Resurrection of Christ to symbolize the resurrection of Ukraine, not only in itself, but also in all that preceded it. The Passion, Crucifixion, and Burial of Christ can be a symbol of the similar fate Ukraine has suffered until this moment. Ukraine also was martyred, had been crucified, had lain in a dark tomb of oblivion and despair, and is about to resurrect. Quite significantly the play begins during the Easter Vigil. The resurrection has not come yet, but it is very near. Later in the play Kulish is again to symbolize Ukraine by Christ Himself, but then indirectly by the representation of a "pale chipped sliver of a moon."

In the Sixth Act Easter appears once more as a symbol of a resurrected Ukraine, but then it is an almost ironical symbol of the brief coming to power of the conservative Ukrainian regime of Het'man Skoropads'kyi. The Skoropads'kyi rule was short-lived and unfortunate in its results, for it alienated such forces as the Ukrainian National Communists from the Ukrainian cause and brought them closer to the Bolsheviks.

The season of spring is also a symbol of the coming of the Ukrainian revolution. It appears as a symbol of the rebirth of the Ukrainian nation under the Central Rada in Act I, and under the short-lived

Skoropads'kyi regime in Act VI. Spring, the season of promise, is symbolically contrasted with autumn, the season of fading hope. Autumn appears as a strong symbol in the drama. It is symbolically autumn, and (specifically the month of October) when the Bolsheviks take over for the first time. The promise that was born in the spring now dies, as it is fanned by "winds from the north." Wind is used throughout the play as symbol of Russian interference in the Ukrainian revolution and of Russia's influence and help in defeating it.

Night is a symbol of foreign rule and defeat. In Act I, scene I, night is passing into dawn because the revolution is coming and foreign rule is passing. In Act IV, scene I, when the Bolsheviks take over for the first time, it is again night, for although some of the Bolsheviks are Ukrainian (e.g. Luka) they are supported by Moscow, and moreover, the light of the revolution has gone out. In the last Act, VII, when the Bolsheviks are again victorious, it is night once more.

Night, as a symbol of the oppression of the past, is best illustrated by Stupay-Stupanenko, who compares the past status of Ukraine with the present in such words (Act IV, scene 9):

"A month ago people didn't sleep at all. They thought the night was as great as Russia and Russia as the night—our Ukraine could not be seen or heard—and today I'm reading the Manifesto of the Ukrainian Central Rada."

Here the comparison between Russia and a dark night is built into a metaphor which in turn serves as a symbol of the state of affairs before the Revolution. There was just one vast Russia. To Ukrainians it was like one great, dark night during which people didn't sleep but pondered instead the seemingly impossible task of overcoming this gigantic obstacle. The night has now passed—the Ukrainian Central Rada has proclaimed a free and independent Ukraine and dawn has come.

The author brings in a spatial concept here. He does not talk of a "long" night, which would imply the duration of Russian rule over Ukraine, but of a "large" night, meaning the extent of Russian rule, for Russia simply incorporated Ukrainian territory and called it part of Russia; hence Ukraine was "neither seen nor heard."

Day is used as a symbol in opposition to night in Kulish's play. It is a symbol of the full development of the Ukrainian revolution. Just as the play begins at dawn, a symbol of the gradually approaching revolution, after the night of oppression, so Act II begins with the

word "day" as symbol of the fulfilment of the expectation. In Act III it is still day, but already with a "small cloud over the horizon" as a danger signal of things to come. When the Ukrainian state resurrects again briefly under a more conservative regime in Act VI, it is again day. Here, as in the earlier counterpositioning of the symbolic spring and autumn, Kulish again employs the technique of making use of contrasting symbols to make his statements all the more bold and clear.

Flowers also serve to symbolize the idealized and full development of the Ukrainian state. In Act I, scene 9, as "I"-Il'ko, Maryna, and her father seem to float on their Argo after the "golden fleece," i.e. each after his own ideal vision of Ukraine, there are flowers in the room. In Act II, scene 1, the beloved "she—the ideal of the idealized Ukrainian state as "I"-Il'ko imagines "her" to be, floats on the ship Argo before his eyes, and the ship is decorated with "flowers and dew" (dew as a symbol of freshness and newness). Also in Act II, scene 3 as Maryna speaks ecstatically of the knight who will free her and her land, the author describes her gestures thus: "she gathered a few chords off the piano, and raised them in the palms of her hands, as if they were flowers." When the Ukrainian state is again briefly resurrected under a government more conservative than before (that of Skoropads'kyi), the scene (Act V, scene 1) is described as "a street full of acacia blossoms." In scene 11 of the same Act, when Maryna comes out to meet Andre, she carries a bouquet of flowers. The most poignant symbolism of flowers is found in scene 8, Act IV as a flower is hit by a stray bullet and falls off its stem during the shooting between the Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian National Communists. The falling flower is a symbol of the destruction Ukrainians are causing their own people. Ukrainians are shooting at Ukrainians and the best of their youth and the hopes of their future is falling victim.

Besides being symbolized by the ferocious Symplegades, as already mentioned, the two powers which have held Ukraine captive and from which the Revolution was to have freed her are also symbolized by two rusted locks. In scene 2, Maryna, speaking of the knight who will liberate her and her land, says:

"In the land where on the door two rusted locks hang—a Muscovite one and a Polish one . . . (she will give body and soul to him who will knock down those locks . . .")

A little later, in scene 3, Act II, Maryna again refers to the two locks, but now they symbolize the past and the future, although they are

still symbols of Russia and Poland, since the two powers control Ukraine's fate. Thus:

"Two rusted locks hang, with the emblem of eagles—white, two-headed. Closed is the past, closed the future. In that land a single girl dreams and waits. And do you know for whom?"

(It is plain that the rusted locks can refer only to the official Polish ("white") and Russian ("two-headed") emblems of estate. The fact that the locks are rusted shows that they represent something old, out-lived, no longer workable. The time has come, therefore, to liquidate them.

A striking symbol of the inhumanity which "I"-Il'ko so strongly opposed is the half-buried body of a Bolshevik in scene 4 of Act IV. The body was hastily buried, apparently by the Ukrainian Nationalists, only up to the knees. As three Ukrainian Nationalists pass-by, they notice the knees sticking out and a very symbolical conversation takes place among them:

The first one says:

"The devil!" (in a semi whisper). "They buried him, but the feet stick out from the knees."

The second:

"You feel sorry for him, what's the matter with you anyhow? 'They're' (meaning the legs) 'are Bolshevik!'"

The first retorts:

"Not sorry! They'll" (the legs) "stand in the way of fleeing."

The third one, drunk, stops before the body and says:

"Unprecedented! Original! My antipodes! His head is turned that way, mine—this way. When it's day for us, it's night for him and vice versa. Long live geography and let it urinate on him!"

Once more contrast appears in symbols, since day, the symbol of victory, can indeed come for the Ukrainian Nationalists when night, the symbol of defeat, comes for the Communists, or vice versa.

In scene 30 of the same Act, the Bolshevik guard symbolically named Sud'ba (Fate) complains about the body to Zin'ka:

"Did you see the legs? Did you ever see anything like that? They stuck our brother in like a cigarette butt."

In Kulish's system of symbols the sun, the moon and the stars as

well as candles occupy a very important place. The *sun* is always a positive symbol—of hope for victory. Thus in the first scene of Act II one hears "The helicon shines like the sun." This is Kulish's symbolical way of saying that the hope of the victory of humanism is bright. In the first scene of Act III the building in which the main characters of the play live is described as "the sunny corner of a building," but already, "a small cloud over the golden-domed cathedral is seen" and "a distant marsillaise is heard." Thus, while the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolution still reigns victorious, the building in which Maryna dwells still has a "sunny corner," yet already "a cloud" and a "distant marseillaise," are approaching. Quite significantly the nationalist victory is gradually losing ground, for it is no longer the whole building that is illumined by the sun of victory but only a corner of it. Yet once more in the first scene of Act V, in the narrator's brief introduction to the Act, the single word "sun" appears, and by this one symbol the audience knows that the Ukrainian Revolution is again victorious. Moreover, the Allegro movement of Beethoven's Sonata is again and again referred to by the narrator as the "sunny bright Allegro," meaning as something symbolical of hope and victory.

The *moon* is of no small importance in Kulish's play. It appears first in Act I, scene 12, a scene consisting entirely of the words of the narrator. The scene has been quoted already, but in another context. For the sake of relating it to the symbolism of the moon it is quoted again below:

"I hear the Pathetique for the third time. And suddenly the accompaniment to the grave—the hundred voiced copper of the Easter Bells. I look into the little window. The bell towers—like white poplars. From the nearest one floats the choir's singing: "Christ is risen," Rockets rise like comets, red, blue, green. The world dances. And only low over the horizon hangs the pale, chipped sliver of the moons—the crucified Christ."

Here Kulish once more employs his method of making one symbol of something else in turn. The "pale, chipped sliver of the moons" is quite obviously the symbol in the sky of the crucified Christ and at the same time the crucified Christ is a symbol of that class to whom the Ukrainian Revolution hasn't come yet. While other Ukrainians are celebrating the Resurrection of Christ, which is symbolic of their own national coming back to life after years of captivity and oppres-

sion; the poorest and lowest class is still crucified. One should notice here that it is the "pale, chipped sliver of the moons" in the plural that is referred to in order to show the raggedness and misery of the members of lowest class, whom Kulish identifies with the paragon of innocent suffering, the crucified Christ.

In scene 6, Act IV, "I"-Il'ko, who has just abandoned his night watch for the Communists to sail away on the ship of the Ukrainian Nationalists, sees Luka coming toward him. Luka is bent and on his back carrying a red flag, which in the words of "I"-Il'ko is *round, like the moon*. "I"-Il'ko is immediately reminded of his abandonment of the Communist watch and becomes ashamed and upset. The red flag, "round like the moon" is a symbol here of Communism and it serves to remind "I"-Il'ko of his betrayal of Communism for the purely nationalistic cause of Maryna.

The red flag is, of course, the symbol of Communism, and its becoming round "like the moon" is a symbol of the global universality and appeal of the Communist Revolution, hence the Communist Revolution could be meaningful to Luka as well as to "I"-Il'ko, yet to each of the two Communists it means something else. In the following scene, 7, of the same Act the moon is no longer suggested by something else, as by the red flag in previous scene; now the moon suggests the flag:

"Over the horizon—the moon. It is thick—red and unsettled from the wind. It is indeed similar to the flag."

The moon is no longer suggested; it is real. It is the Communist Revolution which is approaching. Yet, to show that it is not "I"-Il'ko's concept of Communism, but instead Luka's, the moon is described as "unsettled by the wind," meaning by the Bolshevik influence from Russia. The moon looks like the flag because the Revolution (the moon) is now assuming the aspect of the global revolution (the round red flag) preached by the Bolsheviks, and not the humanist revolution hoped for by "I"-Il'ko. As if to prove that the moon and the wind are symbols of the Bolshevik Revolution, Hamar, the Bolshevik says at the end of scene 7:

"Our moon! And our wind! Wait a little—the whole world will be ours."

The moon appears again in scene 9, Act IV. Previously, at the end of scene 8, Act IV, the electric light suddenly goes out in the room as

a sign of the defeat of Ukrainian Nationalist Revolution. As scene 9 begins General Perotskii tries to call his son Andre at general headquarters, while his maid Annette stands beside him holding a candle. Just then the firing of a cannon is heard and Annette drops the candle. Perotskii loses the connection with headquarters. Annette pulls the shade from the window as the narrator says:

"The moon beats down with a red light. There is a red reflection in the candle."

The moon once more is the symbol of the Revolution, and the red light—of the Communist Revolution which has now arrived. The Communist Revolution is so strong that it can cast a reflection from its own light on that small light—the candle—a symbol throughout the play of the glimmer of hope, in the case of General Perotskii—hope that the Ukrainians would not win their revolution. The sudden electrical failure in the previous scene already symbolized the defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution, but in this scene Perotskii, who is still overcome by fierce anti-Ukrainianism, has a candle lit as a symbol of overcoming his fear that the Ukrainians will win a place of their own in the world. This fear is very aptly expressed in his description during a telephone conversation with his son Andre of a dream he had:

"I'm not getting upset, but I had a dream as if (it were) Russia—a bare field, in the middle a stove and Christ in slippers. In comes Stupay and sits down on the stove. Do you understand to what their impudence has come!" (He gets upset). "Insolence."

The dream shows how Perotskii fears that the Ukrainians could have a place in heaven close to Christ, symbolically meaning that they could achieve high positions. Perotskii's flicker of hope that his anti-Ukrainianism views win out (as symbolized by the candle) is put out by the firing of the cannon, which symbolizes the first sign of the Communist Revolution. The candle drops from Annette's hand and a red light is reflected in it. Perotskii shouts: "Cover the window!" His small hope for a defeat of the Ukrainian Revolution is vanished by the Communist victory of the Ukrainian Nationalist Revolution.

The symbol of the candle appears in a number of other places. In Act III, scene 4, it is a symbol of hope for the prostitute Zin'ka that the Ukrainian National Revolution will come to her, also meaning that the Nationalists would fit the city proletariat, the lowest and poorest class, as symbolized by Zin'ka, into their plans.

In Act IV, scene 5, a scene which consists only of the words of the narrator, a small candle again plays an important symbolical part. Once more the candle is a sign of hope—Maryna's hope for a Nationalist victory. The scene occurs during the fighting between the Nationalists and the Communists. "I"-Il'ko is on guard duty for the Communists. Standing beneath Maryna's window, "I"-Il'ko says: "a small candle, it seems, is burning" in the window, which is covered by a rug. In the scene immediately following, the 6th, the light from the same small candle is again mentioned by the narrator:

"Somewhere a yellowish ray of light flashed by. (Maryna lifted a small edge of the Persian rug in the window), a bright blue ray flashed by. It was put out by the wind and the music from the Pathetique."

The light from the candle as well as the "yellowish" and "bright blue" rays obviously symbolize the Nationalists' hopes for victory, which are extinguished by the symbolic wind (of Bolshevik repression) and the music of the Pathetique, (the vanquished hopes and efforts of the Ukrainian Revolutionaries).

In scene 24, Act IV three small candles are symbols of the three Bolsheviks who, although Bolshevik, are still Ukrainian, and therefore, hopefully will be loyal to Ukrainian Communism. The three candles, however, are symbolically torn and twisted by the gusts of wind from the corridor and the street. The wind, as already mentioned, is a symbol of Russian influence and meddling. Russia's suppression of Ukrainian National Communist is aptly illustrated here.

In the final scene (4, Act VII) as "I"-Il'ko goes to see Maryna for the last time before he hands her over to the Red Guards, "a little candle" is mentioned one more time. Again the candle is a symbol of hope for Maryna—that "I"-Il'ko will understand her and save her. As "I"-Il'ko knocks on Maryna's door (in the basement now), she answers:

"I recognize by the knock that someone has come who is different, not like (gestures upstairs) those, someone quiet, someone of our own . . ."

"I"-Il'ko sadly and pathetically answers her:

"Yes, someone, indeed has come. Unfortunately, someone not like those, not yours, and really not his own self."

These words, at the end of the play, express the very tragic posi-

tion of the Ukrainian National Communists at the end of the Ukrainian Revolution. They were not like "those" (the Russian-oriented Ukrainian Bolsheviks like Luka), nor did they have a place of their own in the given constellation, where there were only two possibilities, and neither was wholly suitable for them. Herein lies the pathetic of their tragic situation.

Flags play a very important symbolical role in Kulish's *Sonata Pathetique*. By means of contrasting one flag with another Kulish can convey to the audience the change of political regime or indicate a political philosophy. Thus in scene 6, Act IV, when "I"-Il'ko joins Maryna in the Argo, he looks closely at something and notices that it is a flag, a blue-and-yellow one, symbolizing the Ukrainian national state. Just as they float away, Luka comes to meet them, bent, and bearing a red flag on his shoulders—symbol of Communism. Immediately "I"-Il'ko remembers that he left the Communist camp and becomes ashamed, upset, and afraid. By means of counterpositioning of two different flags, Kulish portrays the end of a moving, meaningful scene.

In Act V the change of flags symbolizes the change from one political regime to another. At the beginning, in scene 1, the red flag hangs on the port of the Perotskii home, as symbol of the Bolshevik regime, then in power. Nastya and Zin'ka, the two feminine symbols of the proletariat, are embroidering a red banner, and quite symbolically singing a song in Russian. The Russian song symbolizes the Russian influence on Ukrainian Communism; the Ukrainian proletariat now looks up to Bolshevism rather than Ukrainian National Communism.

In the second scene of the same Act Maryna brings out a hidden blue-and-yellow flag as a symbol of the Ukrainian Nationalist state, saying:

"I want my own state . . . under this flag . . . Under this one! . . ."

The flag appears in a symbolic way also in the already mentioned scene 5, Act V in which Stupay-Stupanenko expresses his desire for any state—whether Communist or Nationalist—as long as it is Ukrainian.

"And this is a flag" (pointing at Maryna's flag) "and that's a flag. Now I'm thinking, why not propose such: on the blue-and-yellow let the soviet one live, let it, only if it's a Ukrainian republic. Or so: on the red one wind two bands: a yellow one and a blue one . . ."

A blue-and-yellow flag replaces a red one in scene 10, Act V, a symbol of the temporary resurgence of the Ukrainian Nationalists, as the narrator says:

"From the porch of the Perotskii's the red flag calls down quietly. One cannot see who has taken it down. In its place hangs a blue-and-yellow one. One cannot see who has put it up."

Scene 12 of the same Act is made up only of the words of the narrator and of another changing of flags symbolizing a change of regimes. The blue-and-yellow Ukrainian Nationalist flag is replaced by the tri-colored tsarist one, symbol of the coming to power of the short-lived conservative regime. The narrator notes that it is not known who took down the former and put up the latter.

Further representations of the conservative government in scene 12 are Ivan's Tower and the North Star, both symbols of Russia. Maryna goes to meet Andre, carrying a bouquet of flowers. Hearing bells she says:

"It seems like Easter." (literally 'Great Day' 'Velykden', but here also meaning the Resurrection, for with the coming to power of the conservative rule, perhaps Ukraine can again arise from defeat.) "They say that when the monastery came out to meet you, you proclaimed there: 'Long live Ivan's Tower, and over it the North Star.' This means Russia?"

Andre:

"Yes."

Maryna:

"Well, and why did the knight keep silent about Ukraine?"

Andre:

"We'll skip that!"

The above words contain the gist of the conflict between the Ukrainian Nationalists and the Cadets. The Nationalists were willing to help and to co-operate with the Cadets as long as the Cadets would work for the establishment of a Ukrainian state, even perhaps within the framework of a federation. When, however, the Cadets put Russia in first place and above all else, they lost the support of the Ukrainians who, then, in many cases, turned to the Communists.

It should be kept in mind that the Cadets, while striving for a constitutional order to replace the absolute one, also wanted to keep, at

least for the time being, the old political structure of the empire. Perhaps some even saw in the tumult of events a possibility of extending the empire. Others used the slogans and commonplace rhetoric of the tsarist regime to preserve a semblance of Russia's former might and thereby make propaganda for themselves. Andre's words in Act III scene 4 summarize the Cadets' slogans well:

"And today, we see, from afar a free way appears to us. The star of freedom is burning. The horizons are shining. Yes! We must mount horses! And speed east and west. So that no longer a trojka, but a million copper and steel horses carry our land, so that all kinds of Dardanelles shatter to pieces before us and not only all peoples and nations make way for us, but that even the wind fall to our feet, and the horizons bow to us."

The image of mounting horses, as already mentioned, symbolizes the pursuit of the Cadets' dream of retaining the Russian Empire but under a constitutional regime. The trojka is a symbol of the historical concept of the Rus' as a trojka composed of Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia. The one-million copper horses symbolize the power the Russian Empire would assume as a constitutional regime, free of the fetters of absolutism. The Dardanelles symbolize the fulfilment of Russia's greatest historical dream—namely, gaining control over the East and perhaps even becoming a world empire. Andre's speech is the point of crisis for the Cadets.

The speech of Andre is foiled by the reaction of a number of characters who symbolize various social groups and their stand to the Cadets. The Sailor symbolizes the very beginning of the Revolution. By his reaction to Andre's speech, the Sailor shows the Cadets no longer attract the military. He treats Andre's speech humorously, even mockingly. The Lady (Dama) who says that "at our meeting we weak women rejected the proposition for the cessation of the war" proves the weakness of the Cadets by her very support of them. If all the Cadets had left was the support of such as she, they could no longer be effective. The Young Miss (Pannochka) who repeats the slogans "Freedom! Equality! Brotherhood!" and as Kulish adds very pointedly "from the excitement she stamped her little foot," proves how empty the slogans of the Cadets have become if only such as the Young Miss, who really doesn't understand what she is saying, repeats them. Needless to say, Luka and Ovrarn, also present at the scene, find no meaning in Andre's words either. The overall effect of Andre's speech is

that of a lost cause, of a concept no longer effective. It is indeed the point of crisis for the Cadets.

The concept of the Rus' is symbolized in yet another way in scene 3, Act II, namely by the Cap of Monomakh as opposed to a tri-cornered hat, symbol of the French revolution. Andre says to Maryna:

"We need a tri-cornered hat more now than the Cap of Monomakh."

The concept of the Rus' here implies the re-unification of the historical lands of Rus', which was an aim of the Russians under the tsars. Andre is saying in effect that at the moment a constitutional government is needed more than re-unification of the traditional lands of the Russian Empire.

To the statement of Andre quoted above Maryna is naive enough to suggest that perhaps instead of the tri-cornered hat Andre could substitute a het'man's spectre, meaning by this that maybe Andre could renew the Ukrainian het'manate.

Besides the "tri-cornered hat" Kulish uses still another symbol from the French Revolution in his play. In Act III, scene I, "a distant marseillaise" is heard as a symbol of the coming of the proletariat revolution.

In Act I, scene 10, Maryna speaks of "the girl alone" who awaits "someone from beyond the Dnieper, whether from the Three Graves, from Zhovti Vody, or from the Sich." "Someone from beyond the Dnieper," refers to the liberator, who, "she" (the symbol of the Ukrainian orientation), dreams, will come and vanquish Ukraine's old enemies. The term "Three Graves," "Zhovti Vody," and "Sich" have their source in Ukrainian political thought. They refer to the power Ukraine once held and the victories she enjoyed, and are, therefore, symbols of the many possibilities of liberation Ukraine's liberator can find in the Ukrainian past.

The term "Three Graves" is taken from Shevchenko's poem "Velyki lyokh" (The Great Dungeon) in which the poet foretells the coming of a national messiah who will liberate Ukraine by liquidating three graves, a metaphor for past Ukrainian catastrophes. Maryna wonders if the liberator will perhaps be this messiah who will overcome to the three Russian orientations of Ukraine. Here the term "graves" is a metaphor, whereas the poem from which the term is taken, is a symbol.

"Zhovti Vody" refers to the great social upheaval of the Ukrainian masses led by Het'man Khmel'nyts'kyi, an upheaval which culminated in a great victory on the battlefield over the Poles in the seventeenth century. "Zhovti Vody" is a symbol of success in overcoming the enemy (Poland in 1648), of victory won and hero acclaimed, as Khmel'nyts'kyi was after his triumph at Zhovti Vody.

In contrast to "Zhovti Vody" there appears the "Sich," the cradle of Cossackdom, and as such it symbolizes the Cossacks first unsteady step into the world as opposed to the confident and triumphant gait of the het'manate, whose symbol is Zhovti Vody. The Sich is the beginning of the Cossack era. It was to the Sich that Khmel'nyts'kyi first fled. Maryna wonders whether the liberator will be someone who comes from the Sich, meaning someone with great potential for victory but no proof yet of a *fait accompli* as symbolized by Zhovti Vody.

Besides the sun and moon, Kulish also brings in the stars to play an important symbolical role in his play. Thus in Act I, scene 6, "I"-Il'ko addresses himself to the "wind and the stars" as he wonders whether "the girl" (Maryna) will come to meet "the young man who hurries on horseback over the steppes." In scene 11 of the same Act Maryna mockingly addresses herself to the winds and the stars in the same manner as did "I"-Il'ko in scene 6. In both instances "the winds and the stars" are symbols of the uncertain but hopeful future held in store for Ukraine. Maryna, however, treats them mockingly as symbols of the poet's impracticality and she, therefore, mocks him. It is also significant to note that in these two cases the "winds" in the plural do not symbolize the influence of Russia as "the wind" in the singular does throughout the play.

In scene II, Act I "Ukrainian stars" is the tem used by Andre to symbolize the beauty of Ukraine and Andre's affection for this land. Trying to convince Maryna of how deeply he loves Ukraine although he is not Ukrainian, and to show her how beautiful it appears to him, he contrasts his vision of Ukraine with the time he spent at the front (from which he is just returning) in these words:

"Imagine darkness, ravines, ditches, everything in dirt, in puddles, even the sky, and so day after day, months, and you yourself are as of dirt, without a woman that is without a soul, the only dark path to her is difficult, like black quick silver. And here are contrasts: I'm riding on a train—(there are) fires, and Ukrainian stars..."

Maryna:

"But you yourself are Russian?"

Andre:

"But I love them, for they are mine . . . I'm riding," (there are)
"fires and stars."

Soon thereafter, Maryna asks him whether he is happy to fight "for the Ukrainian stars" and Andre answers "with the whole world," meaning that he would be glad to challenge the whole world for Ukraine.

In scene 3, Act II when Maryna asks Andre what is on his mind most of the time, he says:

"Ukrainian stars, bells, and sunsets."

And in the same scene Maryna poses another question to Andre:

"In that land a single dreams and waits. And do you know for whom?"

Andre:

"Whom?"

Maryna:

"A knight who loves the Ukrainian stars."

In each case "Ukrainian stars" is a symbol of the romantic beauty of Ukraine, the beauty referred to by such writers as Shevchenko, Gogol, and even Pushkin. Maryna is waiting for someone to free this beautiful land, someone who will love the land as much as she does but who will be stronger. She believes Andre will do so, but doesn't realize he loves the land on his own terms, not on hers.

In the last scene (4, Act VII) the stars appear again. "T"-Il'ko approaches Maryna's door to see her for the last time saying:

"My hearing is now so translucently tense, that I can and I do hear how time and stars are passing space. I hear how behind the door, in the little basement a drop has just dropped. But I do not hear her."

The stars were symbols of the unknown future, the fate of the Ukrainian Revolution. Now the fate has been decided, the future can be "heard," but Maryna cannot be.

"I"-Il'ko makes a reference to "starry space" in scene 10, Act I. Describing Maryna's playing, he says:

"Again from rebellious depth to starry space rise the waves of bright colored pathos."

"Starry space" is contrasted to "rebellious depths" as the spectrum of the pathos of the revolution rises symbolically from the stormy present to the ideal distant future. The reference to "rebellious spirit" occurs in the scene previous to the one quoted above.

Describing Maryna's playing, the narrator says:

"She goes on playing, the bright reflection of a rebellious spirit, the eternal song of love."

The music is the reflection of the rebellious spirit of Ukraine at the moment.

There is one short but very moving symbolical scene in the *Sonata Pathetique* of Kulish built entirely on a scene from the New Testament. This is scene 27, Act IV in which "I"-Il'ko (a Ukrainian National Communist) is going to warm his hands at a fire tended by a few guards after having abandoned his friend Luka (a Moscow-oriented Ukrainian Communist)—similarly as Peter abandoned Christ—in order to save Andre (a Cadet) at the request of Maryna (a Ukrainian Nationalist). As he leaves Maryna's apartment, he says:

"I'm going downstairs. I'm getting cold. I am bending over the fire. A guard is warming himself. I extend my hands also."

Shortly thereafter one guard says to another:

"The cocks are crowing."

The other replies:

"Is it in the city?"

The former replies:

"Do you hear?"

"I"-Il'ko, shaken by the conversation, says:

"I strain to hear. Indeed somewhere beyond the brick wall the pre-dawn legato of a hoarse cock can be heard. An ominous triple legato. I am reminded of the Gospel narrative about Peter when he betrayed and thrice renounced Christ. I tremble and walk away."

Maryna reveals that her code name in the secret organization to which he belongs is "Seagul" (Chayka) (Act IV, scene 31). The name has its origin in Ukrainian history and is a symbol for Ukraine.

Mazeppa, the Ukrainian het'man who joined King Charles XII of Sweden to fight against Peter I called Ukraine the "seagull" between East and West on whom everyone who crosses from one direction to the other inevitably tramples. The name Chayka aptly symbolizes Ukraine's past, the historical and geographical positions between East and West—between Russia and Poland, as well as Ukraine's position during the Nationalist Revolution.

Colors have a most significant place in Kulish's system of symbols in the *Sonata Pathetique*. The two positive colors for Kulish are blue and yellow, the two colors that make up the Ukrainian national flag, symbolizing the blue of the cloudless sky over the golden-yellow of the wheat fields. Blue is a color also found very often in Ukrainian folklore, where it symbolizes native beauty such as blue eyes, blue flowers, blue water, etc. Thus in scene 6, Act I, and again in scene 4, Act VII, Kulish speaks of the azure blue windows in which the single girl who has "azure blue eyes" awaits the "young man who speeds over the steppes on horseback seeking the land of eternal love." The prostitute Zin'ka, symbol of the lowest urban proletariat, says that she put on "azure blue clothes" when she waited for "her beloved," meaning the Ukrainian Nationalist state to come to her, but in vain. Blue in this instance, for Zin'ka, is a symbol of the desire of the proletariat to make itself as attractive and as desirable as possible to the National State, which nevertheless unfortunately ignored her.

Blue and yellow as the national colors appear in scene 6, Act IV as "I"-Il'ko, while standing guard duty for the Ukrainian National Communists, narrates:

"Somewhere a yellowish ray of light flashed by. (Maryna pulls back a corner of the rug from the window.) A blue ray flashes by. It is extinguished by the wind and music from the *Pathetique* (she walks away and plays the Grave)."

The blue and yellow flashes of light are symbols of the Ukrainian National state. They are flashes, for the state was very short-lived. They are extinguished by the wind, symbol of Russian meddling and by the music from the *Pathetique*, symbol of the turbulence of the Revolution itself.

"I"-Il'ko continues in the same scene with:

"Behind the black horizon beside the azure blue window she waits."

Black enters for the third time. It is always a negative color in Kulish's system of color symbolism. Here it symbolizes something darkly threatening. "She waits beyond it beside the blue window," symbolic of the Ukrainian land itself. (In Ukrainian Kulish makes a play on words here. For the preposition "beside" he uses the word "kraj," a word which also has the meaning of "country" or "land.")

Kulish also brings in the color "silver" in this scene when he refers to the music from the Rondo of Beethoven's Sonata Pathetique as "a melody like a silver serpentine." This is the only instance of the use of the color "silver," and its use is as positive as is the use of the color "gold" in Act I, scene 6, where "I"-Il'ko speaks of the "golden" shadows which fall from the statue of the monk and humanist, Petrarch, while from the golden statues of other figures, who are heroes perhaps, but not humanists, there are black shadows. This is a clear example of the way in which Kulish contrasts colors symbolically and is, incidentally, the first time that he brings in the color black, making of it a consistently negative symbol. Kulish uses black for the second time in scene 5, Act I, in which he metaphorically refers to the National state in which it seems to him that he sees Maryna as "the boat" and wishes her godspeed in the midst of turbulence with such words:

"Let her boat, full of music, sail in the midst of this fearful, wind-swept, wind-tossed, black night."

The night itself, as already previously mentioned, is symbolic of defeat, and the color black only adds to the ominous atmosphere Kulish succeeds in building here. Of course, "wind-swept" and "wind-tossed" refer to Russian influence, and serve as if to explain the "black night." The metaphor of the boat with Maryna in it is further developed in the following scene.

Azure blue appears as a positive color once more in scene 21, Act IV, as "I"-Il'ko is met by his beloved Maryna. Ecstatic with joy that she has come to him he says:

"I look around—she is close-by. I even step back—so close I hear as in my blood music bursts forth (from the *Pathetique*), the chords rock back and forth. "Quietly" (her) "eyes are turning blue." His beloved Maryna, the symbol of the Ukrainian National state, approaches "I"-Il'ko and he sees in her the native beauty of Ukraine.

Blue eyes are also found in scene 3, Act V, but here Kulish plays with colors to make more forceful what he is trying to convey.

Zin'ka says to Maryna:

"I thought you had deep blue (syni) eyes, but they're azure-blue (holubi). Yellow must surely look becoming on you."

For which Maryna replies:

"And I thought you had dark brown eyes, but they're red."

Deep blue (syni) is a symbol of native Ukrainian beauty. Azure blue (holubi) is the blue of the Ukrainian flag, and thereby, a symbol for something yet more Ukrainian. Yellow, therefore, would go well with it in the Ukrainian national sense. Zin'ka is saying, in effect, that Maryna is more nationalistic than she, Zin'ka, thought.

In Maryna's answer the color red symbolizes Communism (as it does throughout the play), while "dark brown" is symbolic of the drab proletarian. In effect Maryna is saying that she thought Zin'ka was just a member of the lower class with no political or national orientation, but she sees that Zin'ka is actually Communist.

Blue and yellow appear together in the Ukrainian flag in scene 6, Act III and in scenes 10 and 12, Act V. In all these instances the colors symbolize the Ukrainian national state.

Red, the color symbolic of Communism, appears in addition to Maryna's above-quoted description of Zin'ka eyes (Act V, scene 3), also in scene 6, Act III, as the red flag "round like the moon" which Luka carries on his back, in scene 9, Act IV, as the red flashes from the moon and the red reflection in the candle when the Communists take over, as red ribbons on the Communist guards who judge Andre in scene 24, Act IV, and again as the red flag in scene 1, Act V, to symbolize the Communists as being in power at that time. The lowering of the same flag in scene 10 symbolizes the temporary defeat of the Communists and the raising of the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian one symbolizes the temporary victory of Ukrainian Nationalists over the Communists. At the end of Act V, in scene 12, the blue-and-yellow flag is replaced by the tsarist one, which the narrator calls merely the "tri-color." Again the author emphasizes color as a symbolic and artistic means of conveying with a minimum of words his message to the audience.

The references to color add meaning as well as enhance the lyrical poetry of the prose. They also add another dimension to the play. The audial and spatial dimensions have already been discussed. By the use of color, Kulish also brings in a visual aspect to the drama, thereby enriching the delicate and polycentric structure of his work.

Instead of an object, a name, or a color, Kulish, in a few instances, also uses individual actions or acts of doing things as symbols. Thus throughout Act I "I"-Il'ko's letter-writing to Maryna is a symbol of "I"-Il'ko's inability to express his great love to Maryna openly. The act of writing one letter after another builds suspense up to the point when, in Act III, "I"-Il'ko musters enough courage to reveal his love personally only to be cruelly disappointed when he finds Andre already kneeling in apparent adoration before Maryna.

Another symbolic action is that of the dripping of the water. Act I, scene 5, as well as in scene 2, Act III the dripping water in the basement where the poorest people live is a symbol of the misery of the proletariat as well as of the waiting for and expectation of something better. The waiting itself is best symbolized in the counting of the drops of water coming down from the basement ceiling in scene 5, Act I as Nastya waits for her husband to return from the front. Once more Kulish develops one symbol (the actual counting of the drops) from another (the water dripping from the ceiling). In scene 4, Act VII, the final scene of the play, the dripping of the water is again heard in the basement where Maryna is now staying. In this instance the water dripping from the ceiling is a symbol of the defeat of Maryna, of the low state to which she herself has fallen. It could also be an ironical symbol of Maryna's waiting for a better fate—as it had been the case before with Nastya and Ovrarn, Hamar, and Zin'ka, for, when "I"-Il'ko comes to see her for the last time, she is still hoping that he will liberate her. Symbolically Maryna now finds herself in the place and position in which the proletariat, whose hopes and aspirations she had ignored, had been when she was above them. Again Kulish uses contrasting symbols for a more striking effect.

In scene 6, Act IV "Someone is striking a fire" is an action symbolic of the conflagration which is soon to take place involving the Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian National Communists, with the Moscow-oriented Communists (such as Luka) joining in.

The very choice of Beethoven's Sonata, the Pathetique, is symbolic of the Ukrainian Revolution. It was a thing full of pathos, of surging and ebbing passion and power, which brought great hope and beauty, but at the same time pain and sadness to its people. Kulish experimented with new forms of the drama, and managed to synthesize music and revolution in literature in the form of the drama.*

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The Hyperborean Episode in Herodotus' Scythia

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The interpretation of the hyperborean episode in Herodotus' Scythia (33–35) in edited publications of the text with comments, has not undergone any appreciable changes since the middle 19th century, i.e. since the development of historical auxiliary sciences to this day. Commentators¹ of the episode referred to, have limited themselves exclusively to the thesis that hyperboreology is a geographical term which developed against the background of mythic geography of the early ancient world, and which in time began to absorb attributes of an ethnic nature, and entered into the orbit of ancient mythology. Commentators go no further than this thesis, and have failed to probe any deeper into the content of Herodotus' report on the Hyperboreans and their religious and sacral ties with Delos. However, a detailed microanalysis of the text of Herodotus' report about gifts which the Hyperboreans were said to have been bringing to Delos, when confronted with certain perceptions of paleo-ethnography, mainly with sociological moments, and with ancient mythology, will permit us to conduct a differentiation of the separate strata of this story, and find the earliest stratum of oral tradition, with the opportunity to determine, at least approximately, its chronological background. Such strata of oral tradition obviously originated in different periods of time as separate λόγοι which, in due course became amalgamated in a single story with a mythical coloring.

In view of the necessity to acquaint ourselves with the hyperborean episode of Herodotus' Scythia in connection with an accurate microanalysis of the text, we are paraphrasing Herodotus' report.

The Delians have presumably been able to tell the most about the Hyperboreans. They said that gifts wrapped in straw of wheat were carried from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians, and from them these

¹ Baehr, Abicht, Stein, Macan, How-Wells, Rawlinson and others.

gifts were relayed continually, every nation carrying them from one to the other as far West as possible, all the way to the Adriatic Sea. From there they were dispatched South to Dodona, thence to the Melian Bay, to Euboea, and then one city relayed the gifts to another until Karistos. The Karistians brought the gifts to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos. In this manner the gifts of the Hyperboreans came all the way to Delos. On the first occasion the Hyperboreans sent two girls with the gifts, whom the Delians called Hyperoche and Laodice. The Hyperboreans sent also five men along with them, for safety. They were called Perphereians, and were much respected on Delos. Upon the failure of the messengers to return the Hyperboreans were annoyed, and since that time they carry their gifts wrapped in straw of wheat to the borders of their dominion, and there request their neighbors to send the gifts to the next nation. Thus these gifts were relayed from nation to nation and finally reached Delos. Herodotus says that he knows of another custom, much like the Hyperborean donations. The Thracian and Peonian women, when making offerings, never go without sacrificing straw of wheat in honor of the royal Artemis. In reverence to the Hyperborean girls who died on Delos, Delian girls and boys cut their hair: the girls cut their braids before marriage, weave them on a spindle, and put them on a grave which is inside the *Artemision*, on the left side from the entrance, upon which an olive tree grows. The Delian boys wrap the hair around a young branch and also place it on the grave. The Delians relate that even before Hyperoche and Laodice, two Hyperborean girls, Arge and Opis came to Delos, bringing Eletia the promised sacrifice for easy child-bearing. Arge and Opis are said to have come with the gods, and they are revered in a different manner than the others. Delian women assemble in their honor, sing a hymn, and remember their names. The alleged author of the hymn is the Lycean Olen. The custom was adopted by other islanders and by the Ionians, who also worship Opis and Arge. The Delians sprinkle the grave of Opis and Arge with ashes of tendons burned on the sacrificial altar. Their grave is beyond the *Artemision*, in an easterly direction, near the inn of the Keians. This is what Herodotus relates.

In antiquity, the term Hyperboreans was very wide, and their localization was relative, depending upon the period of their localization. To the ancient Greeks the term ὑπερβόρεος meant people who lived to the extreme North of them. The words of Herodotus give

the best illustration of the meaning of the term in the early ancient period: εἰ δέ εἰσι ὑπερβόρεοί τινες ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι (IV, 36). As we can see from the above quotation, it was a geographical, and not an ethnographical term, but in time they both merged against the mythological background. While prior to the Greek colonization the horizon of geographical conceptions of the Greeks was very narrow, the northernmost border of the world known to them was immediately North of Greece, i.e. Macedonia. The Greeks did not have any clear idea of what lay beyond the Macedonian mountains. To them Macedonia was the extreme North, and its inhabitants were men of the North, or Hyperboreans. In Homer's time and somewhat later the Greeks' geographical horizon widened in connection with the first phase of colonization. This pushed the northernmost limits of the world known to the Greeks further North, and this placed the semi-mythical inhabitants of the North, the Hyperboreans, also further to the North. Thus, the Macedonians were no longer Hyperboreans, but the Thracians. (Scholiastus says of Pindar's Ὀλυμπιονίκαι (3, 25) very clearly that the Theban poet τὰς πηγὰς τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις ὑποτίθεται, which is justly emphasized by Ukert,² in his research on ancient geography. In this connection, it would be appropriate to recall that the Northern mountains, beyond which the Hyperboreans were supposed to dwell were called Ῥίπαια ὄρη. Initially the name applied to Macedonian mountains. This relativity of localizing the Hyperboreans is aptly pointed out by Daebritz.³ The fact that at some time during Herodotus' period the Hyperboreans were shifted to the Baltic lands or to Scandinavia is due to the rapid increase of geographic information, resulting from the great colonizing movements. Macedonia, Thracia, the Northern Shore of the Pontus, Northern Ukrainian zones, Baltic and Scandinavian lands, all those are more or less stages in the history of the localization of the Hyperboreans.⁴ In the story relating to the despatching of Hyperborean offerings to Delos we find a connection between *hyperboreology* and the cult of Apollo and Artemis. Grecian

² Ukert, F. A., *Geographie der Griechen und Roemer von den fruehesten Zeiten bis auf Ptolemaeus*, III, 2 Abt., Weimar, 1846, p. 398.

³ Daebritz, R. E. *Pauly-Wissowa*, Bd. IX, 277.

⁴ Schroeder, Otto, "Hyperboreer," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, VIII, (1905). Kazarow, Gawril, R. E. *Pauly-Wissowa*, VI, 2 series, p. 500. Mommsen, A., "Apollon auf Delos," *Philologus*, Bd. 66 (1907), p. 442-3.

idealizing of distant and unknown lands and their inhabitants did not by-pass hyperboreology. Against the background of mythical geography the Hyperboreans appear as an ideally happy people, dedicated to Apollo. In their happy land the Hyperboreans were said to have led a life without care, played zithers and sung praises of Apollo, Greek mythology considering them to be priests of Apollo.⁵ The idea of a subterranean kingdom of shadows was related to the Hyperboreans. This eschatological motif appears as one of the links in the chain tying the cult of Apollo and hyperboreology. The god of the life-giving sun departs for a land where the kingdom of shadows begins. Out of the two main centres of the cult of Apollo, Delos and Delphi, the former, i.e. Delos appears to be the older, and reaches very early times of the early historic epoch of Greece. On Delos, the older centre, the cult has an agricultural basis. It is tied with their mother Latona, who was looking for a place to settle and finally found an appropriate one on this island, hence the cult of Delos probably reaches back to the period of the matriarchy, the period of early settlements and agriculture being related to matriarchy. That is why hyperborean girls, and not men, appear as sacral messengers and bring offerings of the earth's products to Delos, where the agrarian motif of the cult was more pronounced.

Herodotus' story about hyperborean offerings to Delos can be divided into three stages: 1) The story of Opis and Arge; 2) The story of Hyperoche and Laodice; 3) The story of the relaying of the Hyperboreans' offerings through other people to Delos. According to relations of the Delians themselves, the first to come to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans were Opis and Arge, who were said to have brought the promised offering to the goddess of child-bearing, Eletia. In this instance Delos is also the center of the cult of Eletia. At the time when Apollo's and Artemis' mother, Latona, settled after long wandering on Delos, and gave birth to Apollo, according to one version, Eletia was said to have come from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos in order to help Latona.⁶ Another version has it that Latona

⁵ Willmann, Otto, *Geschichte des Idealismus*, Bd. I. (Vorgeschichte und Geschichte des antiken Idealismus), Braunschweig, 1894, p. 31. Bolton connects the Hyperboreans, who were said to lead a vegetarian way of life, with Pythagoras and Apollo (Apollo was the favourite god of Pythagoreanism)—Bolton, J. D. P., *Aristeas of Proconnesus*, Oxford, 1962, p. 174.

⁶ Jessen, R. E., *Pauly-Wissowa*, V, 2106.

came to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans having changed into a wolf.⁷ Because Eletia helped Latona, her cult spread on Delos, and a temple to her was built. It would appear from the above that the cult of Eletia, as a reminiscence of Latona giving birth, could be older than the agrarian motif, when we consider the fact that Opis and Arge, with their pledged offering to Eletia appear earlier than Hyperoche and Laodice. The second moment of Herodotus' relation is the remark about Hyperoche and Laodice. The Hyperboreans sent them with offerings to Delos, and five men for protection along with them, who were called Perphereians. It is possible that this group was sent with Hyperoche and Laodice because of the sad experience with Opis and Arge. Herodotus states very clearly that the Delians sprinkle the grave of Opis and Arge with ashes of animal tendons burned on a sacrificial altar. The grave was said to be beyond the Artemision. It is clear then, that Opis and Arge did not return to the land of the Hyperboreans, but died under mysterious circumstances on Delos. Herodotus does not say anything about Arge and Opis being accompanied to Delos by any men for safety, like it was in the second mission, of Hyperoche and Laodice. Besides, it is possible that Arge and Opis went to Delos without a guard, because the nature of their mission may have been private (bringing an offering for easy child-bearing). The other envoys, Hyperoche and Laodice, did not return to the Hyperboreans either. On the basis of Herodotus' report we know that the grave of Opis and Arge was situated (ὀπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσίου, πρὸς ἧν τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηίων Ἰσθητορίου (IV, 35) and the grave of Hyperoche and Laodice ἔσω ἐξ τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς (IV, 34). It is well understandable that the first mission consisted of women, because the object was to bring an offering for easy child-bearing. The second mission, however, had obvious remnants of matriarchy. It is also significant that Opis and Arge, who brought an offering for easy child-birth, were, according to Herodotus' report, girls, and not mature women. From Herodotus' story about the Hyperboreans' offerings to Delos, about girl-envoys, about their death on Delos and the place of their burial, it should be clear that we have here not so much the cult of Apollo, as of *Artemis*, and the myth of *Iphigenia* of Tauris connected with her. We are prompted to this view by the remark about the graves of the Hyperborean girls,

⁷ Wehrli, R. E. *Pauly-Wissowa*, Supplementband V, 569.

which were said to be inside Artemis' temple, and the others outside. The cult of Artemis is so closely related to the cult of Apollo that the two could, to a certain extent, be considered variants stemming from the same root. The following is a list of their similarities:⁸

APOLLO, god of	Artemis, goddess of
agriculture	agriculture
animal husbandry	animal husbandry
hunting	hunting
youth	youth
battle	battle
oracles	oracles
medicine	medicine
music	music
dancing	dancing
death	death
oaths	oaths
seafaring	seafaring
the sun	the moon, taking the place of the sun at night. ⁹
one who disperses evil	one who rescues from danger.

On the basis of the comparative analysis one can venture the assumption that originally these two cults were one, with the qualification, however, that Apollo was a deity for men, and Artemis a goddess of the same competences for women. Obviously, among these religious-cult competences there were certain differences, like e.g. Artemis, as a female deity, was goddess of child-bearing, while Apollo, as a male deity, was god of athletic competition. But these are merely compe-

⁸ Article on Apollo, Wernicke, *R. E. Pauly-Wissowa*, II, I-III, and article on Artemis, Wernicke, *R. E. Pauly-Wissowa*, II, 1336-1440. Daenius, A., *Specimen litterarium de insula Delo*, Lugduni-Batavorum, 1851, p. 33—"Multa in his sunt obscura, perspicua tamen haec: famam in ipsa insula servatam esse, Apollinem et Dianam non esse natos Deli, sed eos cultumque eorum eo esse translatum septentrionalibus quibusdam e regionibus." Nilsson, M., *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 104.

⁹ We find a similar analogy on Babylonian ground—Weidner E., "Ein babylonisches Kompendium der Himmelskunde," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, vol. 40 (1923-1924), p. 194. Daremberg-Saglio *Dictionnaire des antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, tome II, I partie, Paris, 1892, p. 135.

tences flowing from the one, or the other sex. There is a view that originally Artemis was an independent deity, and not a twin sister of Apollo.¹⁰

The cult of her is said to be older than that of her brother, Apollo. It is also significant that whereas Artemis appears as a deity of human sacrifice, Apollo generally lacks this attribute. One can assume that in its prime phase Apollo's cult also had this attribute, inasmuch as both he and Artemis are deities of death.¹¹ Artemis, as goddess of hunting had this attribute more marked, and it remained, whereas with Apollo this was a distant secondary competence, and the deity of music and poetry could not properly patronise such cruel customs as bringing human sacrifices. It is quite possible that the cult of Apollo, as the arbiter of elegance of the Olympic pantheon, became emancipated earlier from this kind of rudiments of religious primitivism. The connection between the two cults comes to light in Herodotus' story indirectly—in the story of Hyperborean offerings to Delos which was the older center of the cult of Apollo, and at the same time a place of worship of Artemis. The connection between the cult of Artemis and human sacrifices can be encountered, among others, in Herodotus' story about the Hyperborean girl-envoys. Artemis demands young human lives in sacrifice, particularly of persons of the female sex, and primarily girls. The whole mysterious atmosphere surrounding the deaths of the Hyperborean girls indicates that they did not die a natural death, but were rather sacrificed for Artemis. It is difficult to determine from the story who exactly was the recipient of the offerings of agricultural products sent by the Hyperboreans, Apollo, or Artemis? This moment could also be indicative of the fact that during the primitive stage of the Delian religion these two cults constituted one, which subsequently split into two. The chronological order of the genesis and of the crystallization of the two cults, taken on the basis of views and hypotheses of contemporary scientific research, presents the following picture: the cult of Artemis appears to be older than of Apollo, and then with the development of the cult of Apollo, the two cults, of the brother and sister twins, merged, and in time divided again, as a consequence of the process of differentia-

¹⁰ Nilsson, M., *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, Muenchen, 1941, p. 470.

¹¹ Bursian, C., *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, Leipzig, 1862, p. 116. Gerhard, E., *Griechische Mythologie*, I, Berlin, 1854, pp. 319–320.

tion of the two cults and the crystallization of separate religious-cult individuals, and have preserved in their respective competences and interrelationship distinct traces of the earlier phases of their development.¹²

As has already been noted, Herodotus' story about the offerings of the Hyperboreans to Delos, most probably underwent different editings and, as indicated by a microanalysis of the text, additions were made to it from oral tradition of different phases of early history of Southeastern Europe, as far as chronology is concerned, possibly some time starting with the period of Homer and the times of Herodotus included.¹³ This stratification can be recognised upon analysis of the text and explanation of separate moments of the hyperborean episode in the light of achievements of modern science. It would not be out of place to state at the outset that the narrative style of the hyperborean episode of Herodotus' Scythia is generally of a chaotic nature, and contains many understatements and obscurities for an episode of this relatively small volume. We learn of two sources of information about the Hyperboreans from Herodotus' narrative. In the 32nd chapter he says that "neither the Scythians, nor others that are settled there tell anything about the Hyperboreans, only the *Issedones*." It is possible that Greek merchants, who ventured far East along the Central-Asiatic highway, brought back all sorts of fantastic stories from Eurasian territories, among them about the Hyperboreans, similar to the fables about one-eyed people, the Arimasps, and Griffins. His relation indicates, however, that Herodotus was critical of these stories about the Hyperboreans. He contrasts the Delian edition with the Issedonian story about the Hyperboreans, assuring us that "the Delians tell much more about them (i.e. Hyperboreans)." The mention of the Scythians, which entered the story sometime on the border between Homer's and Herodotus' period as an ethnographic addition, must be considered as the latest interpolation to the hyperborean episode in the nature of oral tradition. Here belongs also the remark about the Ionians,

¹² Meyer points out that Apollo was originally a god from Asia Minor—Meyer, E., *Geschichte des Altertums*, I Band, 2 Hälfte, 3 Aufl., Stuttgart und Berlin, 1913, pp. 718–719.

¹³ Some scholars (E.g. *A Commentary on Herodotus* by W. W. How and J. Wells, vol. I, pp. 314–315, Oxford) connect the story of "hyperborean" offerings to Delos with commercial routes, the so-called "Amber Road" which was said to lead from the Adriatic shore North along the Alps, at a time about 1,000 years before our era.

who were said to have worshiped Opis and Arge, which originated in all likelihood during the time of the first glimpses of the Ionians' colonization of the Pontian region.¹⁴ The term Hyperboreans itself in the hyperborean episode should be included in the older interpolation, as they are not presented in the light of idealization and mythologization, but rather as real people who are connected with the Delian cult. The Hyperboreans could not have brought or sent offerings to Delos, because they are an ethnographic, or rather an ethnological fiction, i.e. a product of mythical geography. Neither is there any basis to maintain that Herodotus' whole story is a phantasy. There is a scientific holding that archeological excavations conducted on the given terrain confirm Herodotus' relation about graves of "Hyperborean girl-envoys" within the Artemision.¹⁵ The oldest oral tradition of the Pontian region, or Delos is unable to name the nation or tribe, connected with the Delian cult since earliest times, therefore this tradition applied to this nation or tribe a term borrowed from hyperboreology during a somewhat later period. We do not know within what precise period of the time the genesis of hyperboreology falls, but we presume that this term of mythic geography is younger than the era of bringing "Hyperborean" offerings to Delos. This term, borrowed from hyperboreology, later fit the given story ideally, because the early-ancient world considered the Hyperboreans a blessed people and priests of Apollo. The nation which sent "Hyperborean" offerings to Delos, was situated according to tradition, probably somewhere in the Pontian region. It is most likely that Herodotus included his story in the great Scythian episode of his history on this basis. The oldest narrative nucleus of the hyperborean episode is the story about Opis and Arge, and then Hyperoche and Laodice, in which the cult

¹⁴ Nock tries to identify Hyperboreans with the descendents of the Ionian-Mileian merchants, who settled in south-central Europe—Nock, A. D., "Hyperborean Offerings," *The Classical Review*, vol. 43, (1929), p. 126.

¹⁵ Picard, Ch., "La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes," *Revue Archéologique*, 1927, I, pp. 349–360. Quoting from the work of Ch. Picard and J. Replat, "L'Artemision Délien et les deux tombeaux des vierges Hyperboréennes," *BCH*, 48, (1924), p. 247 et seq., Nilsson (*Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I, p. 356) is also inclined to connect the mentioned archeological findings with the story of "hyperborean" offerings. These views remain only hypotheses. Seltman and Guthrie reject Picard's and Replat's theory (Seltman, C. T., "The Offerings of the Hyperboreans," *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 22 (1928), p. 156.—Guthrie, W. K. C., *The Greeks and their gods*, London, 1950), p. 77).

of Artemis appears against an agrarian background and a matriarchal system of a social order. A characteristic of the religious-cult atmosphere of the given episode is the fact that the story does not mention Apollo, only Artemis exclusively, in spite of Delos being the center of the cult of Apollo. It would seem from this that the given story belongs to very ancient times, when the cult of Apollo was not yet deeply rooted on Delos. In later times it would be unthinkable that a story of religious cult relations with Delos would omit any mention of Apollo, whose cult dominated the island to the exclusion of others. During these ancient times there was all the less reason to mention the second, and later center of Apollo's cult, Delphi, with which the hyperborean motif was more closely tied. One can venture the assumption that during the period in which the oldest narrative nucleus of the hyperborean episode originated, the cult of Apollo was as yet relatively less popular, and had not reached the proportions of a universal cult, as it did at a later time. When we consider the accepted scientific view that the cult of Artemis is older than the cult of Apollo, then the hyperborean episode of Herodotus' Scythia would confirm such view. It is very likely that it was at a later time, when the second and younger center of Apollo's cult, Delphi, came into existence, to which the hyperborean motif of ancient mythology stands in closer relation, that hyperboreology became entwined in the orbit of myths which were born around Delos, the older center of the cult of Apollo. Matriarchy appears to be the sociological background of this religious-cult atmosphere. The story indicates that we have to deal with a gynocratic system of a social order, in which the supremacy of the women in the clan or tribe reached moments of a cult, i.e. the matriarch becomes priestess, and an intermediary between the deity and man. It is obvious that during a period of matriarchate, a female, and not a male deity becomes the tenor of the religious-cult atmosphere. Mention of the *Lycian*, Olen¹⁶ who was said to have composed the hymn in honor of Opis and Arge, is also probably part of the sociological motif, as Lycia of Asia Minor was known to have had a matriarchal order in the ancient world which had survived for a longer time than elsewhere. Some rudiments of a religious-cult atmosphere depicted in the hyperborean episode, like e.g. human sacrifice, the primitive rit-

¹⁶ Bachofen, J. J., *Das Lykische Volk und seine Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Altertums*, Leipzig, 1924, pp. 79, 91-96.

ual of cutting hair, winding it on a spindle and placing it on a grave of the dead, or sprinkling of graves with ashes of animal tendons burned on sacrificial altars, all this also attests to ancient, early historic times of the Hellenic world. The story does not mention any kind of direct, or even clear indirect relations of the Hyperboreans with Greece itself, only with the Mediterranean terrain of islands, where the first glimpses of the history of Greek culture and politics originated.¹⁷ Neither is there any mention of the Cimmerians, according to historical tradition the earliest ruling class of pre-Ukrainian territories, who are mentioned by Homer, and who became the oldest known ethnographic appellation of the Pontian region of Eastern Europe.¹⁸ This could also indicate that the oldest narrative nucleus of the hyperborean episode belonged chronologically to the pre-Cimmerian or early-Cimmerian period. Absence of any hints at Eastern nomadism would indicate the existence of some sort of a PAX PONTICA in the cultural aspect, and a certain stabilization of ethnic boundaries.¹⁹

17 Dombrowsky, A., "The influence of early Greek intellectual trends on the development of the notion of ancient Ukraine," *Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*, vol. 169 (Paris-New York, 1962), pp. 336-344 (in Ukrainian).

18 There is no doubt, that the hyperborean episode in Herodotus' Scythia is also a result of the mystic trend of the literature of that time (some analogies with the "Arimaspea"—poem of Aristeas of Prokonnesos).—A. Dombrowsky, "The literary composition of Herodotus' Scythia," *Scientific Notes, Ukrainian Free University Department of Arts*, No. 8, (1965-66, Munich), pp. 119-129, (in Ukrainian), A. Dombrowsky, "The general characteristics of the Scythia of Herodotus," *Shevchenko Scientific Society, Proceedings, Historical-Philosophical Section*, vol. I (New York-Paris, 1951), pp. 48-51. According to Herodotus: καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας, ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὀλλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε. (IV, 35), (worship of Arge and Opis? Almost a religious motif). The hyperborean episode is connected with the half mythic Issedones (ὑπερβορέων δὲ περὶ ἀνθρώπων οὕτε τι σκύβαί λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὕτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτῃ οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσηδόνες) (IV, 32)—another symptom of mythic geography of the early ancient world. Phillips also emphasizes the mythic character of the Hyperboreans—Phillips, E. D., "The legend of Aristeas: fact and fancy in early Greek notions of East Russia, Siberia and inner Asia," *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 18 (1955).

19 Ebert, M. *Südrussland im Altertum*, Bonn-Leipzig, 1921, p. 77. We can understand this phenomenon the more readily, when we remember that the ancient territory of Ukraine on the boundary of the two worlds of the immense Eurasian continent was of great importance in trade and other relations between the East and the West. Through this region passed the most important trading routes, leading from the Baltic through ancient Ukraine, south in the direction of the

Caucasian Gate and on into the highly civilized cultural centers of Asia Minor, and from the west to the east, along the northern coasts of the Black Sea, to the Maeotic and Caspian Seas. Ebert (p. 188) calls attention to the fact that the great Central Asian trade route ran through the ancient territory of Ukraine (Vom Pontus in nordöstlicher Richtung ging die grosse zentralasiatische Handelsstrasse, die in den Arimaspen des Aristes und mit erstaunlicher Sachkenntnis bei Herodot (IV 21,108,123 beschrieben ist—p. 188). According to Herodotus: ἔφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος, ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἴσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἀνδράς μονοφθάλμους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν (IV, 13).

Similarly to the echo of the great Central Asian trade route in the "Arimaspea"-poem we probably find an echo of Pontus—Mediterranean trade route in the hyperborean episode. See also: A. Dombrowsky, "The economic relations of Ukraine and the ancient world," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. VI, No. 4 (New York, 1950). With the cult of Apollo is connected the history of such ancient miracle-workers as Abaris, Aristes of Proconnesos and others. The hyperborean pendant to Aristes of Proconnesos ("Dichter, Reisender und Priester in einer Person"—Ebert, *Südrußland im Altertum*, p. 83) is Abaris ("hyperboreischer Sühnepriester"—Schroeder, "Hyperboreer," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1905, VIII), it means a priest of Apollo with the religious-cathartic competences. Characteristics of both miracle-workers in Herodotus have also some analogies: both are priests and mysterious travelers, connected with the religious mystics. According to Herodotus:

ARISTEAS

ἔφη δὲ Ἀριστέης . . . , ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, (IV, 13).

ABARIS

τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀθάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, (λέγων) ὥς τὸν διστόν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος (IV, 36).

Tomaschek, Minns, Casson and Bowra tend to have more confidence in the ethnographical news of the Arimaspea poem (Tomaschek, V., "Kritik der ältesten Nachrichten ueber den skythischen Norden, II. Die Nachrichten Herodots ueber den skythischen Karawanenweg nach Innerasien," *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Band 117, Wien, 1889—Minns, E. H., *Scythians and Greeks*, New York, 1965—Casson, S. "The Hyperboreans," *The Classical Review*, vol. 34 (1920)—Bowra, C. M., "A fragment of the Arimaspea," *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 50 (new series vol 6), (1956).

Inscription in Honor of Empress Eudoxia

(CIL, III, 1, nr. 736)

IHOR ŠEVČENKO

(DUMBARTON OAKS)

For some years, Professor Cyril A. Mango and myself have been preparing an Album of precisely dated Byzantine inscriptions, falling within the years 312–1453. The first fascicule of the Album will cover inscriptions from Turkish Thrace, Constantinople-Istanbul and Bithynia, and will contain about one hundred items.

The primary purpose of the Album is to furnish surely dated reference points for establishing the chronology of the bulk of the remaining Byzantine inscriptions on the basis of letter forms, general appearance of the script, and the tenor of formulae. In short, our purpose is to lay the groundwork for Byzantine Epigraphy as a discipline.

Consequently, the chief interest of our Album will consist in the suggestions concerning the dating of inscriptions which we shall make on the basis of the whole material presented—insofar as these suggestions will be valid—and, above all, in the photographs, taken in all cases by ourselves. However, the photographs will not appear alone: we are providing each of them with an edition and commentary of the corresponding inscription.

What follows, is an advance specimen of an entry in our Album. I chose the well-known inscription of the year 403, honoring the Empress Eudoxia, for which I have assumed the responsibility¹ and which has been tentatively assigned number five in our Album. The presentation here adheres to the standard pattern which we adopted for the whole work.²

¹ I discussed the Eudoxia inscription in the Seminar on Byzantine Epigraphy held at the University of Munich in 1969 and am indebted to its participants for several suggestions, particularly those offered by Dr. Paul Speck, the Seminar's main *rapporteur* on this inscription.

² Except for references to epigraphic collections, such as *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (CIG), *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (ILS), and to standard dictionaries, such as Pauly-Wissowa's *Realenzy-*

Nr. 5

DEDICATORY EPIGRAM OF THE CITY PREFECT SIMPLICIUS FOR THE STATUE OF THE EMPRESS EUDOXIA

Provenance: South-East of Ayasofya, Istanbul, on Byzantine pavement uncovered at a depth of ca. 3 m. when foundations were being laid by the Fossati brothers for the building intended to house the Ottoman University. Time of Discovery: 1847. On the site and circumstances of discovery, cf. Patriarch Konstantios I, «Περὶ . . . Ἀρχαιοτήτων . . .», pp. 278–86; Gottwald, “La statue . . .,” pp. 274–6; Mango, *The Brazen House*, pp. 58–60 (with sources); *Idem*, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (1962), p. 9, n. 11, referring to Gaspare Fossati’s drawing of the base of Eudoxia’s statue. This document is at Bellinzona, *Archivio Cantonale*, Box 6, nr. 422; it does contain the drawing of the base (with Latin inscription side facing the onlooker) and, in addition, this note (in Fossati’s hand): *inscription trouvée dans le piedestal de la colonne dédiée a Simplicius par Eudoxie [sic], dans l’escavation [sic] des fondements de l’Université en 1847. ora deposto fuori di S. Irene sulla piazza di Museo à Cos(tantino)poli*. The building, originally intended for the University, later renamed Ticaret, Tribunal of Commerce, and later yet, Adliye Sarayı, Palace of Justice, burned down in 1933. There is a lawn on its site now.

Present Location: Istanbul, Courtyard of the Ayasofya Museum, nr. 221.

Pedestal of white marble, topped with the base of a column of white marble; the face containing the Greek inscription is damaged on the left, affecting the opening letters of the first three verses of the inscription.

Dimensions of the inscribed part: Height 0.26 m., length 1.34 m., thickness (at the level of inscription) 1.35 m.; total height of pedestal 0.80 m. In view of this modest height, it is surprising to read in

klopädie (RE) and *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie (DACL)*, titles appearing in abbreviated form in the body of the text can be found quoted in full in the section *Bibliography* of the edition.

Socrates (*Hist. Eccl.*, 6:18) that the column with Eudoxia's statue was standing ἐπὶ βήματος ὑψηλοῦ; following Socrates, Sozomenus (*Hist. Eccl.*, 8:20), too, says ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ βήματος. Perhaps the pedestal originally stood on a stepped base.

Inscription is placed at the center of the pedestal's face.

Letters: Height 0.03 m.; interlinear spaces: 0.02–0.25 m. A with a straight horizontal bar; lunar Ε and C; Ζ; Υ; Ω; no accents or breathings; note the use of apostrophe in line 3, Δ' = δ.

Date of inscription: June–November 403.

Bibliography:

Ed. Princeps is probably Patriarch Konstantios I, «Περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ ἀνασκαφεισῶν κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀρχαιοτήτων,» provided that this article, printed in the same author's Βιογραφία καὶ συγγραφαὶ ἐλάσσονες . . . (1866), was indeed first "published in 1848," as stated *ibidem*, p. 378, n. 1; text of inscription is on p. 382 (faulty); Skarlatos D. Byzantios, «Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις . . . ,» (1851), p. 462; O. Frick, "2. Aus Constantinopel," *Archäologischer Anzeiger zur Archäologischen Zeitung*, 15 (1857), 22–90 (thus Frick's is not the *ed. princeps*, and his remark [p. 88] that Byzantios did not know of our inscription, contrary to fact); A. Dumont, "Le musée de Sainte-Irène à Constantinople," *Revue archéologique*, N.S. 18 (1868), 261 (mention only); *CIL*, III, 1 (1872), nr. 736 (best edition) and III, 2 p. 990; *CIG*, nr. 8614; F. Piper, "Zur Geschichte der Kirchenväter aus epigraphischen Quellen," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 1 (1877), 216–17 = nr. 6; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (1878), nr. 921; Dessau, *ILS*, nr. 822; A. G. Paspates, Τὰ βυζαντινα ἀνάκτορα (1885), p. 97 (copies Konstantios); A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches* (1885), p. 159, n. 14a (after *CIL*, III, 1, faulty); Ed. Cougny, *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, 3 (1890), nr. 354 = pp. 57 and 92 (from *CIG*); Paspates, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, transl. W. Metcalfe (1893), p. 103; D. Beljaev, "Xram Sv. Iriny . . . ,» *Vizant. Vremennik*, 1 (1894), p. 778, n. 1 (faulty); E. M. Antoniadēs, "Ἐκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας" (1907), p. 52 (copies Konstantios); J. Gottwald, "La statue de l'impératrice Eudoxie à Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient*, 10 (1907), p. 276 (= reprint from *Le Stamboul*, February 1, 1905); Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 2, 1 (1908), pp. 150–151 (mention only); H. Leclercq, s.v. Eudoxie, in *DACL*, 5 (1922), col. 692; J. Ch. Baur, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 (1930), pp. 234–5 and n. 2 (faulty); C. A. Mango, "The Byzantine inscriptions of Constantinople: A Bibliographical Survey," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 55 (1951), p. 63 (bibliography only); *Idem*, *The Brazen House . . .* [= *Arkheol.-Kunsthist. Medd. udgivet af Det Kong. Danske Vidensk. Selskab*, 4, 4] (1959), p. 59, n. 141 (first two lines); R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (1964), p. 77 (faulty).

Documentation: Photo, 1967 (cf. Plate II).

[Κι]ονα πορφυρεην και αργυρεην βασιλειαν
 δερκεο ενθα ποληι θεμιστευουσιν ανακτες
 ουνομα δ ει ποθεις Ευδοξια τις δ' ανεθηκεν
 Σιμπλικιος μεγαλων υπατων γονος εσθλος υπαρχο[ς]

Adn. crit.: οὔνομα: *CIG*, 8614 (and those who depend on it) read [τοῦ]νομα which is unlikely, since adding a τ would disturb the regular alignment of the verses on the left side of the inscription. τίς δ': note the irregular use of the apostrophe, which is lacking in οὔνομα δ' εἰ ποθέεις earlier in the line.

Behold the column of porphyry and the Empress of silver, where the Rulers render justice to the City. If thou desirest the name, 'tis Eudoxia; and who erected it? Simplicius, the scion of great consuls, the noble prefect. (Translation adapted from Metcalfe in Paspates, *The Great Palace . . .*, p. 103, n. 1).

Commentary:

Meter: Hexameters, regular except for 3 Εὐδοξία the -δοξία of which scans as a dactyl.

1 Κίονα: the column supporting a statue of Eudoxia (wearing a mantle) is mentioned by the following authorities (all these passages are quoted in *CIL*, III, 1, nr. 736): Marcellinus Comes, *Chron.*, s.a., 403 = ed. Mommsen, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Auct. Antiquiss.*, 11 (1894), p. 67, 19–21; Ps.—Prosper Tiro, *Epitoma Chron.*, s.a. 403 (interpolation from Marcellinus) = ed. Mommsen, *ibid.*, 9 (1892), p. 499; Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 6:18 = Migne, *PG*, 67, cols. 716C–717A; Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.*, 8:20 = ed. Bidez-Hansen, *Griech. Christ. Schrift.*, 50 (1960), p. 376, 4–8; Nicephorus Callistus, *Hist. Eccl.*, 13:18 = Migne, *PG*, 146, col. 992C (conflates Socrates and Sozomenus); Theophanes, *Chron.*, s.a. 403/4 = ed. de Boor, p. 79, 4–12. — To these, add the following: Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita Ioh. Chrys.*, cap. 47 = Migne, *PG*, 114, col. 1173D (echoes Socrates); Παραστάσεις συντ. χρον. [= *Script. Orig. Const.*, I] ed. Preger, p. 37, 18–20: Εὐδοξίας ἐτέρα [i.e. the statue] ἐν τοῖς Αὐγουστείοις [a close enough approximation] δι' ἣν ὁ Χρυσόστομος ἐσκεύασθη [was plotted against]; Cedrenus, *Hist.*, I, 581, 7 Bonn: συνέβη τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀργυρᾶν στήλην τῆς Εὐδοξίας; Zonaras, *Epit. Hist.*, III, 97, 9 Bonn: λέγεται δὲ τῆς Εὐδοξίας τυγχάνειν

ὁ εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα Πιττάκια ἐστὼς κίων (perhaps an independent notice, although Zonaras does often make use of Theophanes who is the only other author to mention the word Πιττάκια in the context). — According to sources, the original location of the column was at (a) the Pittakia, a square (?) of doubtful location, situated North-East of the Augustaion and not far from St. Irene (?) (Theophanes; Zonaras); (b) South and not far from Saint Sophia (Socrates; Sozomenus); (c) not far from Saint Irene (Theophanes); and (d) in front of the Senate House (Sozomenus). Thus, sources give contradictory information. Locations (a) and (c) seem wrong and may rest on a contamination of Eudoxia's statue with that of Leo I which did stand in the Pittakia, cf. Πάτρια [= *Script. Orig. Const.*, II] ed. Preger, p. 167, 1-8; locations (b) and (d) square well with the place of discovery in 1847. For an attempt at harmonizing locations (a)-(d), cf. Mango, *The Brazen House*, p. 59. — For a formal parallel to κίονα πορφυρέην cf. the opening words κίονα τετράπλευρον of the Emperor Theodosius inscription on the base of the Egyptian Obelisk in the Hippodrome at Istanbul, e.g., *CIL*, III, 1, nr. 737 and III, 2, p. 990 (date: 390); these words may have even served as a model for our inscription.

πορφυρέην καὶ ἀργυρέην βασίλειαν: Virtually all the sources state that the column was made of porphyry and the statue of Eudoxia, of silver. (The only possible exception is the Παραστάσεις since it mentions both silver and bronze statues of Eudoxia and does not specify the metal of the one which caused John Chrysostom's downfall, that is, of our statue, cf. *Date and Historical Circumstances* below). We therefore take βασίλειαν to mean "Empress" and translate accordingly (this against Gottwald, "La statue . . .," p. 276 and Metcalfe in Paspates, *The Great Palace . . .*, p. 103, n. 1, who write "la colonne royale en porphyre et argent" and "imperial pillar of porphyry and silver" respectively; Baur, *Der heilige . . . Chrysostomus*, p. 234 has the correct rendering, "Porphyrsäule und die Silberstatue der Kaiserin").

ἀργυρέην: The Law *Cod. Iust.*, I, 24, 1 (a. 398) which forbids the practice of setting up silver (as well as bronze and marble) statues of provincial governors without imperial permission allows two conclusions: (a) that about the time of our inscription, these governors (*iudices*) had silver statues erected for themselves; (b) that the Court wanted to limit that practice. Cf. W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung im römischen Kaiserreiche* (1900), p. 129. I found no provision limiting

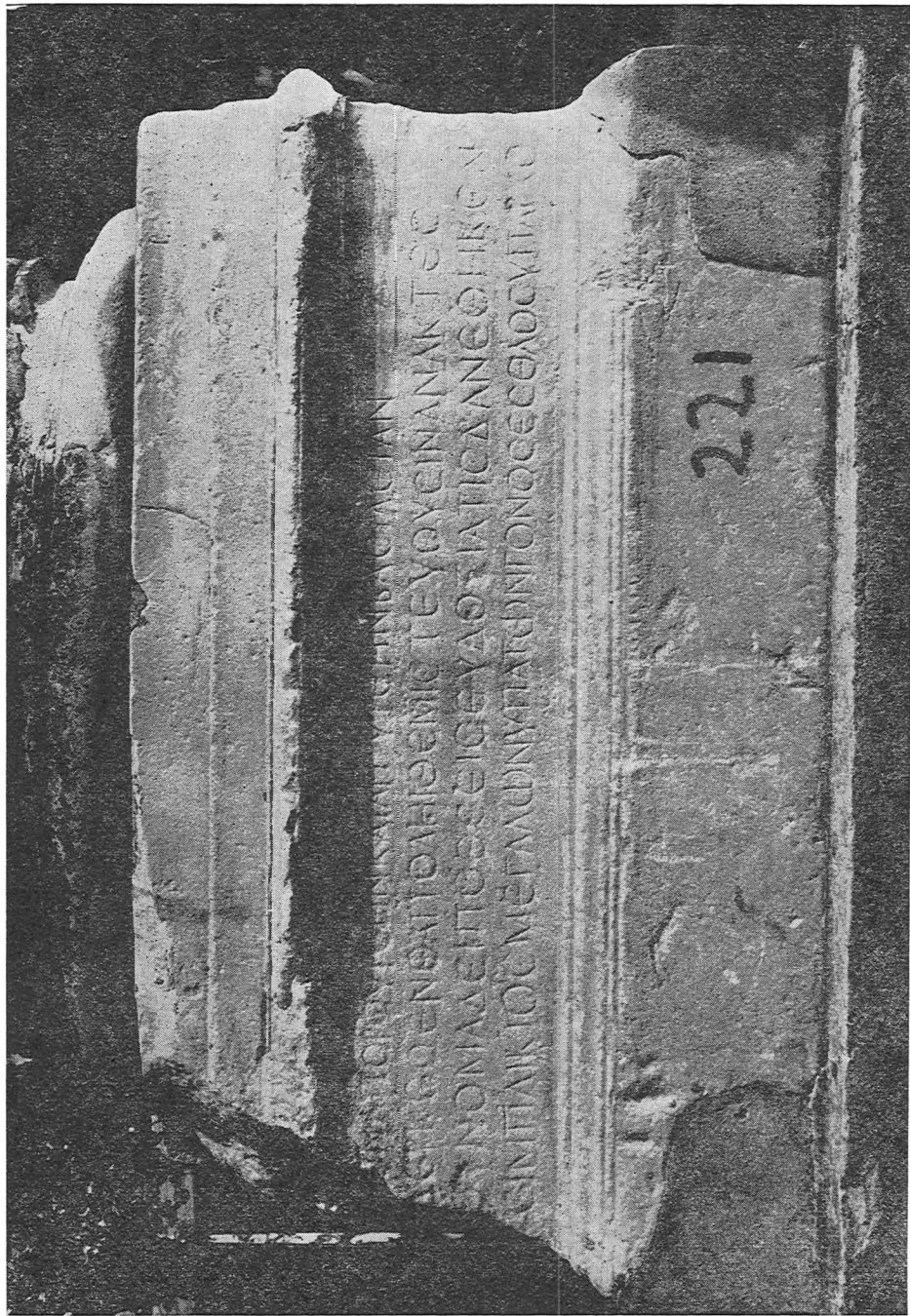
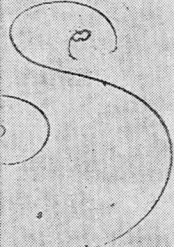


Plate II: Istanbul, Courtyard of the Ayasofya Museum, Inscription nr. 221: Base of the statue of Empress Eudoxia (see p. 207).


Augustissimae Serenissimae Caesar
Dnæ Dnæ Nobis Serenissime?


oleum vita rena celebranda inq. in sua pro digno hā:
beadam, licet tua sacrae illi hāc, manibus Illius
Petri Paricuch Archiepiscopi & Martiani Episcopi nobis
delata presentem nati. quibus coicant, et aliud magis
suam appetere. Muestaten, quam V. Christianus
orbis ab una et eadem inuicemque tot dissensionibus
desistat in sania quotidianis que dissidiis, et in
ciliandos vincendosque vinculis prorsus se, suaserat
arimam; Vtraque se non desuaram carissime
tua sacrae Maiestas meditata, em, nullis sua au:
choritatis discrimine suppositis pollicetur. Equidem
non abs re tua sacra Maiestas predicantia de:
mentia; cum nullus saniori pollicetur ratione
spontaneum nec non difficilem in se summat labo:
rem, hac solim adducta fundamentis ne Vltimo
nibus Christiana Respublica inuoluatur erro:
ribus, imo compositio inter se inimicitias, quaeque
pacis fruatur dulcedine. Tum sedula Illius tua
sacra Maiestas commendanda, in exequendis pro re:
disque sumptibus vigilantia Legati: cui tam de
natis quam de industria appetitūque tantis re:
necessaria nihil defuisse testamur flecter: quoniam

et iusta sene Legationis suae pertractant arcana, nec minus patienter
 de sacro in Nos sua fides illis proleget animo. Quos cum
 de gratitudine manemus solliciti, haec tamen in locum vestri pensa
 de praestiti beneficii nostram eliciamus profectionem: et praedentes non
 ab illis praedentes fore Intermediante, nec alienus illucius quam de
 Casarea illis summo pascuis, si tamen securitati integritati que
 Petatus Vni nulla inferatur iniuria. Item cum magis praedentes
 praesenti relatione quam eidem illis praedentes Legatus infir-
 ma non praemittentes pascuis, rati, suffragante ab illis que et sibi
 emulaturum praemittentes, et de nostra haud sequeus testificaturum
 humilitate et obsequentia. Deum interim se praedentes
 Casarea illis successa, Praedentesque praedentes arguunt, in
 Quos melior praedentes, indebitum de Nos praemittentes praedentes
 quibus gratiae Praedentes praedentes die 16. Aprilis 1657.

Augustissima Praesentia Casarea illis optationis
 humillimae Legatus
 Bogdan Hmelnicki Dux
 Cuius Universae Praedentes
 Zaporozhiana

Plate III-IV:

Khmelnytsky's letter to the Emperor Ferdinand III (see pp. 225-227).

1057

Charles Francis Smith, of the Corporation of the
British Museum, Secretary, London.



Polen I 168

The address of the Imperial letter to B. Khmelnytsky (see pp. 221–222).

the setting up of silver statues to Emperors and members of the Imperial family.

2 ἐνθα πόλῃι θεμιστεύουσιν ἀνακτες: This line confirms Sozomenus, *Hist. Eccl.*, 8:20 (the column was set up πρὸ τοῦ οἴκου τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς) and is proof that Eudoxia's statue did stand in front of the Senate House.

3 οὕνομα δ' εἰ ποθέεις, Εὐδοξία: Aelia Eudoxia, daughter of the Frank Falvius Bauto, wife of Emperor Arcadius since April 27, 395, and the implacable adversary of John Chrysostom. She died on October 6, 404. On her, cf. e.g. G. Garitte, *s.v.* Eudoxie in *Dict. d'hist. et de géogr. eccl.*, 15 (1963), cols. 1341–2 (sources and bibliography).

τίς δ' ἀνέθηκεν: For the formula cf. H. Kühn, *Topica epigrammatorum dedicatiorum Graecorum* (Diss. Breslau, 1906), pp. 4–7, to which add Kaibel, *Epigrammata* . . . , nr. 385b: τίς τόδε καλὸν ἀγαλλία: L. Robert, *Hellenica*, 4 (1948), pp. 47; 61; 67; 131; V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* [= *Berliner Byz. Arbeiten*, 30] (1964), nr. 239: τίς ἔτευξε . . . ἔργον . . . ποθῆς μαθῆν and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique 1965," *Revue des Études Grecques*, 78 (1965), 171.

4 Σιμπλίκιος—ὑπαρχο[ς]: Prefect of the City, as explicitly stated in the Latin inscription on the other side of the pedestal: *D(ominae) n(ostrae) Ael(iae) Eudoxiae semper Augustae | V(ir) C(larissimus) Simplicius Praef(ectus) Urb(i) dedicavit*. Simplicius (otherwise unattested; *pace* Guldenpenning, *Geschichte* . . . , p. 159, n. 14a, there is no proof that he was the same as Simplicius, proconsul of Asia, and addressee of an imperial letter of March 25, 396: *Cod. Theod.* I:12:5) may very well have been a "scion of great consuls," since we know a Simplicius, son of a Philippus, consul in 348: cf. O. Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, Zweite Reihe, III A, 1 (1927), col. 203 = nrs. 1 and 7, and *Idem*, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* [= *Texte u. Untersuchungen zur Gesch. d. altchristl. Literatur*, 30] (1906), pp. 237–9; 278. In the relevant passage, Theophanes, *Chron.*, p. 79, 6, ed. de Boor calls the Prefect of the City a Manichean and a Pagan (ἐλληνοφρων); this information is plausible. It was not until 416 that Pagans were excluded from gubernatorial positions, cf. *Cod. Theod.*, 16:10:21, and Optatus (attested as Prefect perhaps by June and surely by November 404) was a Pagan, cf. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 6:18 = Migne, *PG*, 67, col. 721B: Ὅπτιδος, Ἑλλήν ὦν τὴν θρησκείαν. Of course, Theophanes may have conflated Simplicius with Optatus. Still, it is worthy of note that

neither the Greek nor the Latin inscriptions on Eudoxia's pedestal exhibit crosses. — On ὑπαρχος meaning Prefect (=ἐπαρχος) of the City, cf. Inscription commemorating the repair of the Theodosian Outer Wall at Istanbul by the Pretorian Prefect Constantine, e.g., *CIL*, III, 1, nr. 734 and III, 2, p. 990 (date: 447), and Socrates, *ibidem*, col. 721B.

Date and Historical Circumstances: According to Marcellinus Comes, p. 67, the statue was erected in a first indiction and under the consulate of Theodosius I and Rumoridus, that is, in 403. Difficulties arise, when we try to narrow down this date. Festivities connected with its inauguration (and the concomitant noise which disturbed liturgical services in nearby Saint Sophia) aroused the wrath of John Chrysostom. The Patriarch attacked the Prefect (and thus the Empress as well) in a speech, cf. Theophanes, p. 79, 10, ed. de Boor: διὰ λόγου (if Theophanes' story makes sense, this sermon was different from the famous, but spurious "Herodias rages again" speech, whose prototype must have been pronounced somewhat later). Sources put this clash, which establishes the *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the statue by Simplicius (and which brought Chrysostom's final downfall), after the Council of the Oak and the rapid return of the Patriarch from his first banishment. Unfortunately, we do not precisely know when the Council of the Oak, Chrysostom's banishment, and his lightning return took place. Dates proposed fluctuate between July (Tillemont) and September of 403 (Stilting, taken over by Seeck in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, VI, 1 [1907], col. 920); cf. Baur, *Der heilige . . . Chrysostomus*, II, p. 204, n. 6. Palladius, a contemporary, if partial, witness, passes Eudoxia's statue over in silence, but says that two months (μετὰ δύο μῆνας) passed between Chrysostom's return from his first banishment and the beginning of new clashes with his enemies, cf. *Dial. de Vita Ioh.*, cap. 9 = Migne, *PG*, 47, col. 30. "New clashes" must include the statue affair. Moreover, Palladius says that intrigues against John Chrysostom had lasted for nine or ten months (τούτων οὕτως ἄλλων τε ἄλλως διαπραττομένων παρίππασαν μῆνες ἐννέα ἢ δέκα), whereupon Lent (δεσποτική νηστεία) came, and Easter (it fell upon April 17 in 404) was approaching (τοῦ Πάσχα ἐπικειμένου, cf. *ibidem*, col. 32). If we subtract nine or ten months from, say, April 15, 404, we obtain June 15-July 15, 403, as the *terminus ante quem* for the statue. However, if this date really meant

the beginning of Chrysostom's "new clashes," then we must assign, within Palladius' own system, an impossibly early time to the Council of the Oak, April 15-May 15, 403 (= June 15-July 15, 403 minus two months); on the other hand, if by these nine or ten months Palladius meant the whole period between Chrysostom's return from the first banishment and Easter 404, then we come to June 15-July 15, 403 for the Council of the Oak, and to August 15-September 15, 403 (= June 15-July 15 plus two months) as the possible date for the inauguration of Eudoxia's statue. Incidentally, both August and July can be proposed on another ground as well. Should there be a kernel of truth in the information that John pronounced the "Herodias" speech alluding to Eudoxia on the feast day of the Beheading of John the Baptist; and should that feast day have been celebrated on August 29 as early as 403, then it is reasonable to assign the erection of Eudoxia's statue to a date somewhat earlier than August 29. However, there is no certainty as to the date of August 29 and H. Lietzmann, Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, IX, 2, col. 1823, may be right in proposing July 7th, the Tuesday of the seventh week after Pentecost, as the date on which the Feast of John the Baptist's beheading was celebrated in 403. — Should the date of September 403 for the Council of the Oak be the correct one, then the erection of the statue must fall into October-November of 403; such, approximately, is the view of Baur, *Der heilige . . . Chrysostomus*, p. 234 and n. 1. In any case, shortly before June 20, 404 (fire of Saint Sophia) Simplicius was no longer Prefect of the City: at that time, the Prefect's name was Optatus, cf. Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, 6:18 = Migne, *PG*, 67, col. 721BC; ὁ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπαρχος, ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Ὀπτᾶτος; O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius*, pp. 226-7; W. Ensslin, *s.v. Optatus*, 3. in Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, 18, 1 (1939), col. 762.

— Secondary literature abounds in apodictic assertions. Gottwald, "La statue," p. 275 and Lederq in Hefele-Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, 2, 1 (1908), p. 152, n. 3 put the inauguration of Eudoxia's statue into September, 403, without adducing any reason for this dating; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchl. Literatur*, 3 (1912), p. 326, repeated by J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 (1960), p. 426 dates the Council of the Oak to August, 403, also without proof. — On Chrysostom's conflict with Eudoxia over the statue, cf. Baur, *Der heilige . . . Chrysostomus*, pp. 233-37 and C. A. Balducci, "Il dissidio fra S. Giovanni Crisostomo ed Eudossia," *Atti del IV Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, I (1938), 303-10. On the "Herodias rages again" sermon, cf. Baur, *ibidem*, pp. 236, n. 6; 237, n. 8 and J. A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* (1965), pp. 138-9 = nr. 381 (spurious); H. Lietzmann, Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, IX, 2 (1916), col. 1823 (authentic).

Eudoxia's statue was still standing in the days of Marcellinus Comes (cf. p. 67, 21: *hactenus sistit*). Marcellinus died after 534 (cf. his *Preface*, *Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Antiquiss.*, 11 [1894], p. 60, 13-15), but seems to have completed that part of his Chronicle which mentions the statue before 527 (cf. *ibidem*, p. 42). The porphyry column itself must still have been standing at the time of the source which Zonaras used for his passage in *Hist.*, III, 97, 9, Bonn (for quotation, cf. *ad* 1 Κίονα above). It must have disappeared by the time of the sources of the Παραστάσεις συντ. χρόν. and Theophanes, since both of them put it (erroneously) at the Pittakia. It may have been destroyed by the fire which consumed the Senate House at the time of the Nika riot in 532.

Imperial Envoy to Hetman Khmelnytsky in 1657

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Bohdan Khmelnytsky (also spelled as “Chmelnyćky” or “Chmielnicki”), 1595–1657, was described by the well-known Russian-American historian George Vernadsky as a military leader “at least equal to Wallenstein,” in diplomatic ability “hardly inferior” to Richelieu or Mazarin, and as a statesman and a revolutionary leader of the calibre of Oliver Cromwell.¹ Khmelnytsky impressed the minds of both his contemporaries and of the following generations of the Ukrainian people. He was acclaimed liberator of the Ukrainian nation, and if he had lived longer, he would probably have succeeded in establishing a stable Cossack government in the Ukraine.

Khmelnytsky became the Hetman (literally “headman”) or chief executive of the autonomous Ukrainian Military Republic, known also as the “Hetmanstate” (Het’manshchyna) in 1648, first under Polish and then under Russian protectorate (1654). At that time this condition was quite common for many countries, such as: Balkan countries under Turkey, Baltic (Estonia and Latvia) under Sweden, Holland under Spain, Prussia under Poland, and others. Although the Ukraine was a Russian protectorate, nevertheless, as German historian Hans Schumann has observed in his dissertation, the Hetmanstate

¹ George Vernadsky, *Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine*, New Haven, 1941, p. 118. For additional Khmelnytsky biography see: Pierre Chevalier, *Histoire de la guerre des Cosaques contre la Pologne*, Paris, 1674; Johann Christian von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine und der Kosaken*, published as a continuation of *Allgemeine Welthistorie, durch eine Gesellschaft von Gelehrten in Teutschland und England*, Halle, 1796, Vol. 48, pp. 140–221; Michael Hrushevsky (Hrushevskiy), *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, New York, 1956–57, Vol. VIII, part 2, pp. 151–224; part 3, and Vol. IX, also abridged English translation by O. J. Frederiksen, New Haven, 1941, pp. 277–318; Jacob Christopher Iselin, *Neu vermehrtes Historisch- und Geographisches Allgemeines Lexicon*, Basel, 1726, Vol. I, p. 901; Nicholas Kostomarov, *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii, Sobranie sochynenii*, St. Petersburg, 1904, Vol. IV; Zedler's *Grossen vollständigen Universal-Lexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, Halle–Leipzig, 1739, Vol. I, pp. 988–9.

had its own territory, people, a democratic system of government which was unique at that time, administration, law, tradition, customs, and military force, namely the Cossacks. (The word "Cossack" is of Turkish origin, and meant a guard, a free man, a soldier, a messenger, a free booter. In the fifteenth century in Eastern Europe, the Cossacks became a sort of military auxiliary force of special services. There were Cossacks in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, and in the Ukraine. In the Ukraine, however, the Cossacks evolved into a social class of military national force, whose objective was to defend the Ukrainian population.)² Khmelnytsky exercised the full power of his civil and military authority in the Ukraine, maintained diplomatic relations with other foreign countries, except Poland and Turkey, so that he was regarded *de facto* as a sovereign ruler.³ There was a clear distinction between the Ukraine and Russia as can be seen on the contemporary maps by such contemporary cartographers as: the French engineer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan, Dutch cartographer Hessel Gerardus (Geritsz), English cartographer P. Gordon, German cartographers Johann Baptist Homann, Conrad Tobias Lotter, Mathias Seutter, brothers Christopher and Johann Wiegel, and others.⁴

When Khmelnytsky concluded a military treaty with Moscow in 1654,⁵ he expected to obtain military assistance in his struggle with

² For details see: I. I. Sreznevskii, *Materialy slovarya drevne-russkogo yazyka*, St. Petersburg, 1893, Vol. I, p. 1174; D. I. Evarnitskii (Yavornyts'kyi), *Istoria Zaporozhskikh Kazakov*, St. Petersburg, 1892, 1895, 1897, 3 vols.; G. Stöckl, *Die Entstehung des Kosakentums*, Munich, 1953; V. A. Holobuts'kyi *Zaporozhskoe Kozachestvo*, Kiev, 1957.

³ Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat, 1654-1764*, Breslau, 1936, p. 4.

⁴ For details see: B. Kravciv, "Ukraine in Western Cartography and Science in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, (1962), pp. 24-39.

⁵ There are various interpretations of the nature of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, for details see: H. Fleischhacker, "Aleksij Michajlovič und Bogdan Chmelnickij," *Jahrbücher für Kultur u. Geschichte der Slaven*, Breslau, 1935, Vol. I; Hrushevsky *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, part 1, pp. 728-96; S. Ivanyts'kyi, *Pereyaslavskiy dohovir z 1654 roku*, New York-Scranton-Detroit, 1954; G. Karpov, *Peregovory ob usloviyakh soedineniya Malorossii s Velikorossiei*, Journal of the Ministry of Education, (1871), Vol. XI-XII; I. Kryp'yakevych, "Studiya nad derzhavoyu B. Khmelnyts'koho," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, (thereafter "ZNTS"), Vol. 151, (1931), pp. 11-150; V. Lypyn'skyi, *Ukrayina na perelomi*, Vienna, 1920, (second ed., New York, 1954); O. Ohloblyn, *Ukrayinsko-moskov'ska uhoda 1654*, New York-Toronto, 1954; A. Yakovliv, *Dohovir Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho z Moskvoyu*, Kiev, 1928, (second ed., New York, 1954), also his: "Ukrayinsko-moskov'ski dohovory v XVII-XVIII st.,"

Poland for the independence of the Ukraine. However, the Czar interpreted this treaty as a new territorial acquisition. When this became clear to Khmelnytsky, he began to search for help from another source. It is true, however, that the Czar sent his troops against Poland, but it was rather for the annexation of Bielorrussia than to help the Hetman in his struggle against Poland.

The overwhelming victory of the Russo-Ukrainian armies over Poland (1654–55) encouraged the newly crowned Swedish king Charles X to renew the old war against Poland. Prince George Rakoczy of Transylvania, who for many years had been a Swedish ally as a member of a coalition against Catholic Austria and Poland, now joined forces with the Swedish King, and the allies prepared an invasion of Poland. At the same time the Swedish King invited Khmelnytsky to join his coalition, advising him to break with Moscow. Hetman gladly accepted this invitation and in 1656 concluded a close alliance with Sweden and Transylvania, and agreed to the partition of Poland.

The Austrian Court did not desire to become involved in this war and offered its mediation, trying to persuade the Polish King, Jan Casimir, to attempt to come to an agreement with Khmelnytsky. However, when the Ukrainian-Polish negotiations ended unsuccessfully, the Polish King asked the Emperor Ferdinand III to serve as mediator between the Cossacks and Poland, whereupon, the Emperor sent his best diplomat, Francis von Lisola,⁶ to the headquarters of the Swedish King. Here Lisola found out that the Cossack-Swedish rapprochement began already in the end of 1655, as he informed Vienna in his report of December 18, 1655.⁷ In the beginning of April,

Pratsi Ukrayinśkoho Naukovoho Instytutu, Warsaw, 1934, Vol. XIX; also see articles by I. J. Goldman ("West-East" Antagonism in the Pereyaslav Alliance"), B. Krupnytskyi, ("Treaty of Pereyaslav and the Political Orientations"), A. Yakovliv; ("The Juridical Character of the Pereyaslav Treaty and its Fate"), *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 1, (1954), and others.

⁶ About Lisola's life and diplomatic activities see: Alfred Francis Pribram, "Die Berichte des Kaiserlichen Gesandten Franz von Lisola aus den Jahren 1655–1660," *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, Vienna, 1887, Vol. 70, pp. 3–86. The Ukrainian historian Myron Korduba mentioned Lisola's activity in his article, "Proba avstrijskoho poserednytstva mizh Khmelnytskym a Polshchevy," *ZNTS*, Vol. 84, (1908), pp. 5–32.

⁷ Lisola's reports are located in *Haus-Hof u. Staatsarchiv*, Vienna, (thereafter "HHS"), Polonica I-66/69. Some of his reports were published by Pribram in the

1656, Khmelnytsky's envoy, a Greek monk, Father Daniel, arrived at the Swedish headquarters. In his report of April 7, 1656, Lisola wrote to Vienna that "the Swedish King was very happy about the Cossack envoy's arrival," and that "Father Daniel's objective was to inform the Swedish King that the Cossacks have a great desire to conclude a treaty with him."⁸ In addition, a former Polish Undersecretary, Jerome Radziejowski, now in the service of the Swedish King, made it very clear to the Austrian envoy that he could not only break Ukrainian-Swedish negotiations, but with his mediation he could bring the Cossacks closer to the Emperor. Lisola wrote to Vienna in his report of September 15, 1656, that if the Emperor wants to paralyze the Ukrainian-Swedish Alliance, there is only one thing to do, namely to conclude a treaty with Khmelnytsky before the Swedish King would do it. He emphasized that "the circumstances force the Cossacks to find a new protector, because they are afraid of the Moscovitian yoke and do not trust Polish nobility. The Tartars are hostile to the Cossacks and do not like the Turks either. Therefore the Cossacks have no other choice but to look for protection from Your Imperial Majesty or from the Swedish King."⁹

The Viennese Court liked Lisola's suggestion and after some debates decided on October 9, 1656 to send an official envoy directly to the Hetman at his headquarters in Chyhyryn.

To the next meeting of the Imperial Council, on November 3, 1655, at which time the plan and instructions were discussed, the candidate for this mission, the Chancellor of Hungary and Bishop of Nitria, George Selepczeni, (Szepcseny) was invited. According to the instructions, Selepczeni was supposed to convince the Hetman that the

above mentioned work, where he, however, omits paragraphs concerning Cossack matters. A great deal of Lisola's reports were published by Myron Korduba in a collection of documents under the title: *Zherela do Istorii Ukrayiny-Rusy. Akty do Khmelnychchyny 1648-1657*, Lviv, 1911, Vol. XII. Excerpt of this report is published here for the first time. See appendix.

⁸ HHS, Polonica I-68; Excerpt of this report is published for the first time. See appendix.

⁹ HHS, Polonica I-68; cf. Pribram, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-201. M. Korduba did not publish this report. Hrushevsky, quoting it in his *History of Ukraine-Rus'*, Vol. IX, part 2, pp. 1338-9, mistakenly gave the date of September 27, 1656. Lisola wrote a report of September 27, 1656, in which he informed his government that the Swedish King accepted Khmelnytsky's proposals and promised to send his envoys to the Hetman and the Sultan respectively.

Emperor was deeply interested in settling the Polish-Cossack war and was even willing to guarantee the peace treaty. Furthermore, the Cossacks should trust Selepczeni completely and tell him all their secrets in order to speed the negotiations. It was also decided that, at the same time, Selepczeni should be in close contact with the Polish Government and inform about all negotiations with Khmelnytsky. Everything was discussed there, even that the Hetman should be addressed as "illustrissimus" (most illustrious).¹⁰

In the meantime, Rakoczy's Army passed through the Carpathian Mountains and attacked Polish troops, which surprised the Emperor. He hastily sent Selepczeni to negotiate with Rakoczy. In Vienna, at the same time, there was Peter Parchevich,¹¹ the Archbishop of Martianopol, who had arrived there in the Fall of 1656 from Bulgaria to ask for assistance for the Church. The Emperor desired to avoid any involvement in Balkan affairs and asked him if he would be willing to go as his envoy to the Hetman of the Cossacks. Parchevich gladly accepted this mission, adding that he "knew the language of the Cossacks well." Thereupon he was informed about the purpose of his mission, (to persuade Khmelnytsky to conclude peace with Poland and at the same time to inform the Polish envoy about the Hetman's opinion regarding peace with the Polish King.)

Before Parchevich's departure, the Emperor requested the Polish King through his envoy, Johann Christian Fragstein, in Warsaw to send him additional details. As Fragstein wrote in his report of February 10, 1656, the Polish King was very satisfied with this plan, only his Chancellor suggested that Khmelnytsky be addressed as "gen-

¹⁰ Record of this meeting of November 3, 1656 is located in HHS, Polonica I-68. The text of this protocol is published by Korduba in *Zherela do Istoriiy Ukrayiny-Rusy*, Vol. XII, pp. 411-14.

¹¹ Peter Parchevich, a Bulgarian, who was born in Ciprovaz (Chiprovatz) studied in Rome, where he received his Doctor of Divinity degree; he was appointed Archbishop of Martianopol and Apostolic Vicar of the Catholic Church in Moldavia. He died in Rome on July 23, 1764: cf., Patritius Gauchat, O. M., *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi*, Regensburg, 1935, Vol. IV, p. 231. Parchevich's extensive biography was described by Julian Graf Pejascevic, a relative to Peter Parchevich. He wrote a monograph entitled "Peter Freiherr von Parchevich, Erzbischof von Martianopol, Apostolischer Vicar und Administrator der Moldau, Bulgarischer Internuntius am Kaiserlichen Hofe und Kaiserlicher Gesandter bei dem Kosaken-Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki, 1612-1674," *Archiv für österreichische Geschichte*, Vienna, 1880, Vol. 59, pp. 337-636. Korduba and Hrushevsky also mentioned briefly Parchevich's activity in their works.

erosus" (respectful) instead of "illustriissimus."¹² However, before Fragstein's report arrived in Vienna, the credentials and the letter to the Hetman were addressed as follows: "Illustri, Magnificis et Strenuis Syncere Nobis dilectis Bogulas Chmelniskio [Bohdan Khmelnytsky], Cossacorum aporovianorum Generali Militiae Duci Eiusque Assistentibus et Ordinum Ductoribus."¹³ Parchevich received his credentials on January 10, 1657, and having made necessary preparations, left Vienna with his secretary, Msgr. Christopher Marianovich.

On March 1, 1657, Parchevich with his secretary, Christopher Marianovich, arrived in Chyhyryn, where he was extended high honors. After six days this unusual mission was brought to Subotiv, (two miles from Chyhyryn), where Khmelnytsky had his residence. At that time Hetman was very sick and received Parchevich in bed. The Archbishop greeted him in the flowery language which was in style at that time.¹⁴ Hetman answered very politely and after a toast in honor of the Emperor, Parchevich and his secretary were escorted to their quarters. The Imperial envoy and his secretary were very pleased by the reception. They had many conversations with the Hetman himself and other high officers, but at their request for a reply to the Emperor, the Hetman and his chancellor, Ivan Vyhovsky, answered that they could not reply hastily in such an important matter without consultation with other Cossack leaders. In addition, the Hetman pointed out that this mission from "the Emperor of all the Christians" required special consideration, and could not be handled in the usual manner. Parchevich believed it, but in fact Khmelnytsky intentionally kept him for almost two months to impress other diplomatic missions, and to add the presence of the Emperor's diplomatic mission to his prestige.

In the middle of April 1657 the Cossack General Council convened during which the problems of internal and foreign policy were discussed. The next day, after the General Council was concluded, Msgr. Marianovich (the Archbishop being ill) asked for a reply to the

¹² HHS, Polonica I-69. Similar was Lisola's report of February 10, 1657.

¹³ HHS, Polonica I-69; ("To the most illustrious, magnificent, courageous and sincerely by us beloved Boguslas Chmielniski (Bohdan Khmelnytsky), Commander of the Zaporovian Cossacks, Chief Executive of Host, and to his Assistants, Counsellors and Colonels of Regiments"). See the reproduction of this address.

¹⁴ HHS, Polonica I-69, also Pajascevich, *op. cit.* An abbreviated and free translation in Ukrainian is given by Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, part 2, p. 1344.

Emperor. The Hetman received him in his quarters and apologized for the delay. On the following day Vyhovsky expressed the Hetman's thanks and good wishes and handed Parchevich a letter from the Hetman to the Emperor.¹⁵ As it can be seen from the text of the letter, which was very carefully worded, the Hetman assured the Emperor of his good intentions, and promised to prefer no one else's advice to the Emperor's, provided that the safety of the Hetmanstate be assured. He also praised Parchevich's efforts and promised that his envoy would bring further details orally to the Emperor himself.

In conclusion it is to be said that the Poles defeated Rakoczy and persuaded the Tartars to attack him from the south, so that Rakoczy was forced to make peace with Poland. The Swedes gradually withdrew from Poland and concluded formal peace with both Poland and Russia. In such circumstances, especially because of the uncertain relationships with Moscow, the Hetman had no other choice than to negotiate with Poland. Therefore it is no wonder that Khmelnytsky in his reply to the Polish King through his envoy Stanislaw Bieńkowski simultaneously indicated readiness to negotiate with him. This is substantiated in Lisola's report of June 3, 1657 in which he informed his government that Bieńkowski later told him that the Cossacks were eager to negotiate with the Polish King.¹⁶ Thus the mission of the Imperial envoy was achieved, because under such circumstances there were no other alternatives open to the Hetman.

¹⁵ For the text and translation of Hetman's letter, see appendix. The original of Khmelnytsky's letter is located in HHS, Polonica I-69; Text of this letter was published by Pejascevich, *op. cit.*, pp. 529-30, and by Ivan Krypyakevych- L. Butych, *Dokumenty Bohdana Khmelnytskoho*, Kiev, 1961, pp. 578-9.

¹⁶ HHS, Polonica I-69; cf., Korduba, *Zherela*, Vol. XII, p. 475.

Appendix.

1. Abschrift.

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien.

Polen I, Kart. 66

Excerpt from Lisola's report of December 18, 1655 to the Emperor Ferdinand III.

. . . Regii omnes ministri quos hactenus frequentavi constanter mihi ac unanimiter asserunt, Cosacos cum ipsis convenisse ac quoties regi libuerit Moscorum societatem abiuarturos-Exploratum mihi quidem est, deputatos a Cosacis ad regem missos. Vrslaviae aliquandiu cum calcellario Oxensternio ac procancellario Ragiowski egisse; quid autem concluderint, mihi certe non nisi ex ipsis ministrorum Suecicorum relationibus liquet, quas licet supernae probabilitate tamen non carere videntur, conventionis cum Kmielniskio conditiones has esse ferunt: 1) Rex Sueciae Kmielniskium creavit ducem Saporogiae cum pleno et absoluto iure in illis ditionibus cum expressa promissione quod in proximis Polonorum comitiis consensum et ratihabitionem esset procuraturus ac praefatum Kmielniskium inter nobiles regni indigenas cum iuribus omnibus ad Polonicam nobilitatem spectantibus esset installaturus. 2) Praefatus Kmielniskius habere poterit sub signis 40.000 Cosacos, ex solitis regni contributionibus sustentatos, ea tamen conditione, ut ad primum regis mandatum teneatur ipsi octodecim Cosacorum millia suppeditare . . . 3) Moscorum societatem quoties regi libuerit deseret ipsique iuramentum praestabit ac contra quoscumque inserviet . . . 4) Ditiones omnes quas in Boristhenem occupavit, regi Sueciae restituet ac vicissim pleno iure possidebit ea omnia quae trans Boristhenem ad Mare Nigrum porriguntur; petiit denique praefatum Kmielniskium, ut sibi liceret pro libitu solitas ad Mare Nigrum excussiones intentare, quod quidem punctum in suspenso mansit, spe tamen (ut fertur) ipsi iniecta sequatarum brevi regis consensum, quidquid sit, si Cosacos ad se trahat, Moscos sibi alienet necesse est.

2. Abschrift.

Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien.

Polen I Kart. 66

Excerpt from Lisola's report of April 7, 1656 to the Emperor Ferdinand III.

. . . . Cosaci praesbiteri, qui ad regis Sueciae castra nuper advenerunt comissionem suam noluerunt exponere, nisi praesenti Ragiowskio, quod ipsi quidem magnam apud Suecos invidiam consiliat. Ille vero per crebros commissarios sua apud Cosacos diligenter exerceat commercia, quibus juxta rerum exigentiam alterutri parti re necessarium reddat

3. Abschrift.

Haus-, Hof- u. Staatsarchiv

Polen I Karton 68

Hetman Khmelnytsky's Letter of April 18, 1657 to the Emperor Ferdinand III.

Augustissime potentissimeque caesar, domine domine nobis
clementissime.

Solemni ritu rem celebrandam imoque in stupore digno habendam literae suae caesareae Maiestatis manibus illustrissimi Petri Parcevech archiepiscopi Martianopolitani nobis delatae prae se tulerunt, quibus emicuit, non aliud magis suam appetere Maiestatem, quam ut Christianus orbis ab inveterata iniustaque tot dissensionibus desistat insania quotidianoque discidio et in conciliandos uniendosque vinculo pristino se conferat animos; ultroque se non defuturum tanto negotio sua caesarea Maiestat mediatorem, nullo suae auctoritatis discrimine supposito pollicetur. Equidem non abs re suae caesareae Maiestatis praedicanda clementia; cum nullius commodi pellicita ratione spontaneum nec non difficile in se summat laborem, hoc solum adducto condimento, ne ulterioribus Christiana respublica involvatur erroribus, imo compositis inter se inimiciis quisque pacis fruatur dulcedine. Tum sedula illustrissimi suae caesareae Maiestatis commendanda in exequendis promovendisque commissis vigilantia legati, cui tam de conatibus quam de industria aptitudineque tantis rebus necessaria

nihil defuisse testamur fideliter: Quoniam et iusta serie legationis suae pertractarit arcana, nec minus patenter de sincero in nos suae caesareae Majestatis praedixerit animo. Cui nos cum de gratitudine manemus solliciti, hactenus tamen in locum iusto pensandi praestiti beneficii nostram elocamus propensionem: spondentes non alio nos contentos fore intermediente, nec alterius alicuius quam suae caesareae Majestatis innixurs consilio, si tamen securitati integritatique status nostri nulla inferatur iniuria. Caetera cum magis fundantur praesenti relatione, coram eadem illustrissimo concredidimus legato infirmae non committentes papyro, rati sufficienter absoluteque et sibi enucleaturum commissa et de nostra haud segnius testificaturum humilitate et obsequentia. Deuminterim de prosperrimo suae caesareae Majestatis successu valetudinisque quotidiano augmento in dies meliori precantes indebilitandae nos commendamus cum obsequiis gratiae. Dabantur Czychyryni die 18. Aprilis anno 1657.

Augustissimae vestrae caesareae Majestatis
 optatissimi humillimique servi
 Bohdan Chmielnicki
 dux cum universa cohorte Zaporoviana.

In tergo: Serenissimo et potentissimo principi Ferdinando tertio, divina favente clementia Romanorum imperatori semper augusto ac Germaniae, Hungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmaciae, Croaciae, Sclavoniae Bulgariaeque regi, archiduci Austriae, duci Burgundiae, Styriae, Carinthiae, Carniolae et Virttembergae comiti Tyrolis, domino domino nobis clementissimo.

Most Illustrious And Most Powerful Emperor, Our Most Graceful Lord.

With solemnity and greatest envy we accept the letter of your Imperial Majesty with dignity brought to our attention by the most respectful Petro Parchewych, Archbishop of Martianopolsk. From the letter it is clear, that your Majesty is striving toward the goal of Christian unity by preventing old and unjust insanity with its numerous disagreements and daily disruption of Brotherhood. Besides this, your Imperial Highness promises to take part in this matter, as a mediator, if it shall not impair on your authority. Actually, your Imperial Highness deserves praise for your grace for taking upon yourself voluntarily, without any hope for material gain, this difficult task, so that the Christian republic does not fall into further chaos, but instead informs

about the concern of his excellency, the envoy of his Imperial Majesty in his carrying out of the tasks confronting him. Faithfully we acknowledge that he did not lack in energy or incentive necessary in such matters, for he bluntly discussed important secrets of his charge and did not spare praise for the sincere concern of his Imperial Majesty for us. We feel honored with this grace and voice our support, promising not to accept another mediator and will not accept advice from any other source other than your Imperial Majesty unless our nation should be threatened with the possibility of harm or disunity. Other matters, that do not concern this matter immediately, we placed in the care of His Excellency the envoy. We believe that he will diligently and accurately explain the matters entrusted to him and with due respect will report our humility and obedience. We place ourselves as servants in your grace, imploring God for the best results and good health for your Imperial Highness.

Given in Chyhyryn on April 18, 1657.

Your Illustrious Imperial Majesty very truly and the most humble servant, Bohdan Chmielnicki, Supreme Commander of all the Zaporovian Armed Forces.

Peter Struve's Theory of Nationalism

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I

On the eve of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth the influence of Peter Struve on the theory of the major political and social ideologies in Russia was very pronounced. It is striking that this influence was manifest in several different, even contradictory ideologies such as the Marxist, the liberal and the nationalist. One is fascinated by the not infrequent but apparently sincere and deeply motivated transfers of allegiance from one set of concepts to another, curious about the reasons which motivated these changes and the choice of new positions, and impressed by the fundamental and systematic construction of theoretical structures to sustain new convictions.

This ability to recognize and accept the need for ideological adjustments and changes was one of the major factors which made Struve such an outstanding and original figure among the Russian intellectuals. For him ideologies were working hypotheses in constant need of re-evaluation and alignment with the objective conditions of reality. For Struve ideologies were not, as was the case for the majority of the Russian intellectuals, semi-religious dogmas with the power to evoke a fanatical zeal. Struve was constantly committed to the goal of securing the welfare of Russia. There was no deviation from this goal but he would alter his ideological position if changing times and circumstances convinced him that Russia's needs could best be served by an ideology other than the one which he had espoused previously.

The object of this study will be to examine Struve's nationalism, i.e., his development and espousal of the doctrine that the interests of the Russian State are of absolute importance and his conviction that the dominant role in this State should belong to the Russian people and their culture.

II

In 1901 Peter Struve wrote an article entitled "V chem zhe istinnyi natsionalizm?"¹ in which he presented his first important statement on the question of nationalism. The contents of this article serve as an introduction to the author's conception of nationalism at that time and as a point of comparison for the changes which this conception later underwent. Before dealing with the contents of this article, however, it is necessary to outline briefly Struve's political and philosophical views at the turn of the century.

When "V chem zhe istinnyi natsionalizm?" was written its author could be described as a Liberal in the political sense and as an Idealist on the philosophical level. The complete acceptance of these theoretical and political positions was quite a recent development for Struve. Only a year earlier he had rejected the materialism of Marx and the radical assertions of the Russian Social-Democrats. In their place he openly accepted the belief in the existence of absolute ideals, the most important of which for Struve was the idea of the inalienable rights and freedoms of the individual.

Although for the purposes of this paper it is not necessary to discuss in detail the various reasons which motivated this change, one crucial factor should be mentioned. This was Struve's realization that at that point in Russia's history the major stumbling blocks to Russia's progress (a goal that was uppermost in Struve's mind) were the autocracy and bureaucracy. It was the struggle of all the people united against the autocracy rather than the conflict between classes which was the crucial struggle for Russia at this point. Such a conflict was one of absolute evil as represented by a repressive autocracy and opposed to the absolute ideal of freedom of the individual. An evaluation of the situation in these terms influenced Struve to turn to the philosophical precepts of Idealism to search for the theoretical supports of his new position. Such is the background for his first systematic treatment of the problem of nationalism.

The dominant theme in this treatment of nationalism was the espousal of freedom and rights of the individual. In his article Struve asserted that nationalism, as he defined it, had two aspects. Objectively the existence of an emotional bond between the individual and

1 P. B. Struve "V chem zhe istinnyi natsionalizm" *Voprosy Filosofii i Psikhologii*, vol. XII, no. 59, pp. 493-528. Struve used the pseudonym P. Borisov.

his country (*rodina*) was an undeniable fact. In subjective terms, however, the interpretation of the aims and purposes of this bond was strictly a personal matter.

For Struve this latter aspect was of primary interest and importance. In his view, the goal of the relationship between an individual and his country should be that this relationship serve as a means for the individual to reach the highest possible stage of independent, personal development. A crucial factor in this process was that it must occur due to the individual's own desire and under his own power. No supra-individual entity had the right to enforce or direct this development.

If a country allowed or encouraged conditions which facilitated such a development of its citizens it benefited itself in that every freely developing individual was an asset to his country and added to its cultural wealth. A national culture which was constantly being fertilized in such a fashion was able to provide the all-important intellectual and spiritual framework in which future generations can attain even higher stages of development.

In this constantly changing relationship between the individual and his country, the needs of the former were the guiding force. The influence of society or culture was openly admitted and encouraged but Struve constantly insisted that no general social goals or demands could infringe on the individual's freedom. For him only circumstances which ensure the free creative process were acceptable. From this point of view true nationalism was not a system of values primarily based on the needs of a collective entity or on loyalty to certain constant national characteristics. It was the protection of the individual's freedom and the struggle against all who seek to infringe upon it.

It is interesting to note the relatively minor role of the state in this interpretation of nationalism. Struve was very cautious in his treatment of this institution. He saw in it both a positive and negative potential. From the positive point of view the most important function that the state could perform was to serve as a means of providing the order necessary for individual and cultural growth. At this point, however, it was the negative potential of the modern state which troubled Struve the most. The power and pervasiveness which technology had given the modern state were dangerous weapons which could completely obstruct the free creative process. The "value of it [the state] is completely independent on the fact whether it . . . respects

the rights of the individual or not".² Since he could not deny the utility of the state and was at the same time highly suspicious of its negative potential, Struve relegated the state to the secondary and severely limited role of maintaining order in society.

We may now direct our attention to the question of the sources or models which influenced this formulation of the concept of nationalism. The extensive quotation from Fichte which precedes this article is a clear indication of the direction in which we should look. This quotation contains the basic idea of the entire article: "Culture is the exercise of all forces for the purpose of complete freedom, for the purpose of complete independence from everything that is not our own essential self".³ If we substitute the word "nationalism" as Struve then understood it for "culture" as Fichte uses it in the quotation we shall have Struve's "istinnyi natsionalizm" in a nutshell.

The admiration which Struve had, during this Liberal period, for Fichte is well known. Even a superficial glance at the political writings of the German philosopher will convince us of how complete his influence was on his Russian admirer.

During the first decade of the 19th century, Fichte was an enthusiastic Liberal. The dominant motif in his political and philosophical works during this period was the systematic defense, on a metaphysical level, of the individual's freedom from any external coercion, be it by an autocrat or a supra-individual entity such as the state. Fichte, like his admirer Struve, strictly limited the state to the role of maintaining order in society. The individual was given the broadest privileges and prerogatives. Human progress was presented as the result of interaction between individual and society. From this process the state was excluded. The growth of culture depended completely on the ability of the individual to exercise his prerogatives. Indeed, the motivating idea of Fichte's entire theoretical complex was the process in which in individual *independently* (to denote this crucial point Fichte uses the term "*Selbsttätigkeit*" and Struve uses the word "samochinny") developed his potential as a human being. There is no need to further dwell on this point, especially since Struve openly acknowledged his debt to the German philosopher and

² *Ibid.*, p. 523.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 493. The original source of this quotation is in I. H. Fichte's *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publikums über die Französische Revolution*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 51.

considered himself his disciple. In eulogizing F. Lasalle, another German whom he greatly admired, Struve stated that:

In the search for a spiritual beacon, sufficiently elevated and bright, the glance of the supporters of social idealism should turn to . . . F. Lasalle . . . and, in a deeper and greater degree . . . to Fichte.⁴

This quotation is an excellent example of Struve's knowledge of and orientation towards the basic ideas and tactics of German Liberalism.

An analysis of this interpretation of nationalism has shown that it was a projection of the values of Idealism and Liberalism. It stressed the rights of the individual as opposed to the traditionally collectivist concepts of nationalism which place the good of such entities as nation or state as equal or superior to that of the individual. The basic motivating agent in this theoretical system was, as in Fichte, the drive of the individual to cultivate and develop himself. It is striking that in a discussion of nationalism such entities as the nation and state were relegated to secondary roles. The reasons for this downgrading of nation and state were that the primacy of the individual prevented them from assuming a major role and stress on their importance would emphasize the importance of the autocracy which stood at their head at that time. The entire theory was so structured as to protect the individual's rights and thus limit and undercut the ideological basis of autocracy. Patriotism, love of one's country, had little power of motivation in this formulation. It was a phenomenon whose existence was acknowledged but did not have to be elaborated upon and did not produce major implications for the individual's behavior.

III

The events of 1905 had a tremendous effect on Struve. The disastrous defeat in the Russo-Japanese war and the internal weaknesses of the Russian state and society which the Revolution of 1905 exposed, forced him to question and re-evaluate his previous assessment of Russia's primary needs and problems. And the realization of the existence of new problems called for new solutions.

Struve was always critical of Russia's involvement in the Far East

⁴ P. Struve, "F. Lasal' (pe povodu 75-letiya ego rozhdeniya)," (Part I), *Mir Bozhii*, vol. IX, no. 11, November 1900, p. 299.

in general, and in the Japanese war in particular. Like many Russian intellectuals he first greeted the war as a positive phenomenon because it would finally expose to the Russian people the senility of the monarchy and the ineptness of the government. As it happened, it was Struve who developed new insights during this period. In the course of his criticism of the government a new perspective and shift of emphasis began to appear; talk of the individual's rights and tyrannies of the autocracy began to recede and a growing concern for the welfare of the country as a whole began to emerge as the focal point of attention.

In his famous article "To the Students" Struve urged them to avoid indiscriminate criticism of and hostility to all aspects of the government.⁵ He reminded them that especially in the case of the army the students had to deal not with a mute and repressive arm of the state but with fellow Russians. In this time of crisis what was needed was national solidarity. He even cautioned opponents of the government to use "tact" in their conflict with the autocracy and counseled them to consider the general welfare of Russia as well as the goals of reform.⁶ Finally, smarting from the loss of national prestige in the war, Struve stated that Russia needed to develop a "healthy national egoism".⁷ These statements are clear indications of the re-orientation taking place in the mind of Struve.

The Revolution of 1905 which followed the Japanese war had an even more fundamental and shocking effect on him. News of the destructive strikes which wracked Russia during those days, reports on the senseless violence and tremendous losses to the national economy greatly troubled him. Even more disheartening and galling was the irresponsibility, as he interpreted it, of the intelligentsia during the Revolution. It had been his hope that this class would be in the vanguard of the struggle for reform and would play its role in a constructive and responsible manner. To see the opposition to the regime reveling in the government's helplessness and even encouraging and guiding the destructive course of the Revolution was extremely disillusioning.

Struve diagnosed this anarchic and nihilistic attitude of the Russian

⁵ P. Struve, "K studentam," *Listok Osvobozhdeniya*, no. 1, 11/24 February 1904, pp. 1-3.

⁶ —, *Osvobozhdenie*, vol. II, no. 19 (43), 7/20 March 1904, pp. 330-32.

⁷ —, "Mukden," *Osvobozhdenie*, vol. III, no. 67, 18/5 March 1905, p. 280.

intelligentsia as stemming from its "cult of the people," the narodnik philosophy which pandered to the instinctive drives and hatreds of the masses in its attempt to aid them. With this internal weakness on the one hand and with the ever more strident demands of the national minorities on the other, Struve began to develop the deepest concern about a possible internal disintegration of the Russian society and state. In response to this concern a new goal arose:

. . . to carry Russian culture through this difficult crisis not weakened but strengthened . . . this should now be the motto of every Russian citizen.⁸

The announcement of the October Manifesto was greeted by Struve with a sigh of relief and a surge of optimism. For him this was a signal that the government and the autocracy had finally realized the need for reform and had taken the first half step in the direction of constitutional government. In this changed situation he began to develop a new orientation which would be able to provide the solutions for Russia's problems. As Frank phrased it:

On the practical-political level and on the socio-political level, Struve realized that freedom of personal development and freedom (of development) of a nation's culture and statehood demands respect for law and order.⁹

This re-orientation meant that there was a need for new roles for such concepts as patriotism and statehood. Where he had once chided Liberals for co-operating with the government Struve now called on them to work with the state:

Russia desperately needs the friendly co-operation of the intelligentsia with the state; the misery and lack of culture among the masses demand a united effort of *all* the cultural forces of the land.¹⁰

To work for these goals, in co-operation with the state, became a matter of patriotism. The emotional bond between the individual and his country which was previously presented as an objective fact and left at that now became a factor which was to encourage dedication of the individual to work for the general goals of his country.

⁸ P. Struve, "Skoree za delo," *Russkiya Vedomosti*, 13 November 1905, p. 3.

⁹ S. L. Frank, *Biografiya P. B. Struve* (New York, Izd. im. Chekhova, 1957), p. 48.

¹⁰ P. Struve, Introduction to M. P. Dragomanov's *Sobranie politicheskikh sochinenii*, vol. I (Paris, 1905), pp. V-VII.

A new respectability and importance was now given to the state. It emerged above its previous role of maintaining order and took on the task of providing the basic framework in which a society and nation can function. This respectability of the state was contingent on the understanding that the power of the state should be based on law and not emanate from an autocrat. The October Manifesto, however, had been a convincing indication that this condition would eventually evolve in Russia. The destructive events of 1905 had exercised an even greater influence on Struve's acceptance of the state's importance. In a statement made not long after the Revolution, he said, "it was the Russian Revolution that made me realize what a state is".¹¹

After experiencing the cataclysmic events of the Revolution and the War, Struve became aware of new priorities and new solutions for the problems which threatened Russia's future.

IV

After 1905 Struve became very conscious of and concerned with the problems of the Russian state's weakness and the threats of disintegration of Russian society which had appeared during the Revolution. Now ideologies which promised a remedy for these problems found him to be very receptive. It was obvious from the general view of Russia's welfare that the Russian state had to be strengthened but before this could be advocated and accepted by the Russian public a theory which would justify the importance of the state as such had to be developed. With this goal in mind Struve published in January 1908 his celebrated and controversial article, "Velikaya Rossiya."¹² In a blunt and uncompromising fashion this article introduced to the Russian intelligentsia a systematic espousal of the primacy of the state's interests above all others in society.

The author stated that the fiasco of the Russo-Japanese War and the ruinous aspects of the Revolution had occurred because the intelligentsia had never truly understood the function of the state. It was this lack of understanding that had caused the intelligentsia to express its hostility to the state rather than offer its co-operation; to

¹¹ P. Struve, *Rech'*, no. 47, 24 February 1908, p. 3.

¹² P. Struve, "Velikaya Rossiya," *Russkaya mys'*, vol. 1, January 1908, pp. 143-157.

encourage useless destructiveness rather than play a constructive role. Because of this antipathy the intelligentsia could not correctly evaluate the needs and problems of the Russian state on the international level. It had no understanding of external policy. Its perception of Russia's problems was confined to an exclusive, myopic and eventually harmful preoccupation with internal affairs. What was needed in this situation was a new, forceful attempt to put across the meaning of the state.

Old and hackneyed concepts of the state as an impersonal, mechanical system had to be discarded. The state should be understood as an organism with a personality of its own. One could define it as a system of relationships or a conglomeration of atoms but,

this will not do away with the fact that psychologically every state that exists is, as it were, a definite personality with its own supreme law of existence; every state that is sound and strong, that is, not only formally "sovereign". . . but really self-supporting must want to be powerful. And to be powerful means essentially to possess "external" power.¹³

Thus the state was given a personality and prerogatives of its own.

The implications of these principles were developed to their logical limit. Internal policy should be subordinated to the consideration of how this policy will contribute to the external power of the state. The drive for external power provided the unfailing standard for evaluation of the human resources and activities of the state. Nor was it necessary to respect such trifles as "legitimism" in the search for power. An indication of how great a change had taken place since 1901 was the statement that ". . . from the painful experience of the recent years the Russian people learned to understand that a state is a sovereign personality and stands above the individual will".¹⁴ Limitations on the individual's will and activity were expected to be voluntary. Self-discipline was a trait that should be developed because it was a means of attaining the civilization which the state took part in creating. Although discipline was a foreign concept in Russia it was one that would have to be accepted.

Obviously such statements by a man who had been considered one of the leading exponents of Liberalism and of the defense of individual rights evoked a strong reaction, especially since the intelligentsia had

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

been criticized by one of its own for an attitude that it had always considered as a badge of honor.

Merezhkovskii engaged the author in the most important polemic on this subject. He accused Struve of ignoring the subjective and spiritual aspect of society and stated that the author was a proponent of a "zoological," that is, Darwinian nationalism.¹⁵

In his reply Struve clearly reasserted that the principles which he had introduced in his article were those which would be most useful to Russia at that time. In subsequent articles he continued to stress this point.¹⁶

During his exchange of polemics with Merezhkovsky, Struve admitted that he was aware of the great theoretical and practical dangers which his proposed ideas implied. He had been aware of these dangers when he wrote "V chem zhe istinnyi natsionalizm?" At this moment, however, the situation in Russia was such that he was willing to take the risk. There was no wavering from his new positions because he was convinced that those ideas which he presented in "Velikaya Rossiya" were "the correct and fertile ones."

The response to his article convinced Struve that he had struck a sensitive spot among the intelligentsia. Head on, he had attacked the entrenched hostility of Russians to their state because he was aware that this attitude posed a great danger to the very existence of the state. Consequently, he considered it his duty to propagate the ideals of "Velikaya Rossiya" and work for their acceptance. He felt that his patriotic duty was to expound ideas that would aid and strengthen the Russian state.

Another question which emerged in the polemics that swirled around "Velikaya Rossiya" was one of sources and models used by the author in forming his concepts. Critics accused him of "importing the ideas of Bismarck and Moltke".¹⁷ Struve, however, referred several times to J. R. Seeley's "The Expansion of England".¹⁸ He indicated that this book, and not the sources which his critics had mentioned, had influenced him. A consideration of Seeley's book will establish the type of influence it might or might not have had.

¹⁵ D. S. Merezhkovskii, "Krasnaya shapochka," *Rech'*, no. 47, 24 February 1908, p. 2.

¹⁶ P. Struve, *Patriotica* (St. Petersburg, 1911), pp. 109-127, 197-199, 207-213.

¹⁷ D. Levin, "Nabroski," *Rech'*, no. 51, 29 February 1908, p. 2.

¹⁸ J. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England* (London, 1902).

For the most part this book dealt with the forces which prodded the English to establish their empire and it described the circumstances under which this occurred:

We founded our Empire, partly it may be out of an empty ambition of conquest and partly out of a philanthropic desire to put an end to enormous evils. But, what ever our motives might have been, we incurred vast responsibilities which were compensated by no advantages.¹⁹

The success of the venture was due to the racial characteristics of the English people and it was the superior qualities of this race that should be the basis of English nationalism. English expansion was primarily the result of the efforts of individual Englishmen rather than state policy and practice. It was “. . . a mere normal extension of the English race into other lands which for the most part were so thinly peopled that our settlers took possession of them without conquest”.²⁰

Now that the deed was done Seeley exhorted his countrymen to realize the importance of their role as “empire-builders” and to accept the responsibility (as well as pride) that went with this role.

Insofar as Struve also wanted to inculcate a feeling of responsibility for their state in the Russians the efforts of Seeley might well have served as an example. But the stress on race rather than state in explaining English expansion could not have satisfied Struve; he needed a deep, philosophical rationale for upholding the primacy of state interests over others in society. Seeley (in a rather superficial fashion) merely constituted the importance of the state; he did not provide a rational and systematic argument to justify the importance of the state.

It will, therefore, be necessary to examine more closely the allegation made by some critics of Struve, namely that his theories were derived from the writings of Bismarck and Moltke. Although this allegation, as we shall see, did not hit the mark it was not far from it. The basis of the ideas concerning the state which Struve propagated rested on the theoretical concepts of the state which Hegel had developed. A presentation of the essence of this concept will show why they were so important to Struve.²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 304.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

²¹ F. Meinecke, *Die Idee der Staatsräson*, Munich and Berlin, 1929, 3rd. ed. This

In his youth and later, to a lesser degree, Hegel was an ardent believer in the inalienable rights of the individual. The basis of reason and morality rested on those principles which assured the development of the individual. And it was from the standpoint of the reasonable and spiritually moral person that the state and history were to be evaluated.

The French Revolution and the downfall of the German "Reich" had a profound effect on Hegel's thinking. He realized that Germans needed a state ". . . in which one could live, for which one could live . . . a state worth the sacrifice of one's life".²² He was also equally aware of the dualism which existed in German thought, a dualism which represented the gulf between the idealist values of the individual's world and the empirical values of the state. Since the interdependence of the two elements was obvious, a unity had to be established.

The objective became to create a *Weltanschauung* which could unite, according to the laws of reason, the "Ich, Volk, Staat" in one co-related concept. Hegel's first step in solving this problem was to dissolve the monopoly of the individual on the idea and ideal of true reason. Next came the declaration that reason was a universal entity, a *Weltgeist*. Finally, the state as the highest achievement of human creativity, was selected as the most potent expression of the *Weltgeist*. In this way the state, not the individual, became the primary expression of the absolute idea.

It followed that the state now possessed the prerogatives and rights which had belonged to the individual. "The interest of the state was most important . . . and it had no greater duty than to maintain itself".²³ The implications of this reversal were tremendous from a theoretical point of view. The primacy of state interests over all others was given an ethical basis. Meinecke succinctly described this moment—"it was as if a bastard had been legitimized."

In terms of theory, this formulation solved the ethical problem of the rights of the individual's in relation to the state. Rather than setting up this problem as it was usually done, in terms of the individual vis-a-vis the state, Hegel approached it as a question of

excellent book has been the source for most of my summaries of the German thinkers' views.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 440.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 444.

priorities. The state possessed the highest ethical priority as it was the highest and broadest human expression of the *Weltgeist*. The individual, as a lesser reflection of the *Weltgeist*, had to accept a lower priority. Thus the dualism was resolved and both state and individual rested on the same idealist basis.

As early as 1906 Struve had criticized those who approached the concept of state in ethnic rather than ethical terms. This indicated that he felt the need for an idealist justification of the state's primacy. However, although Struve eventually did accept, in theory, the primacy of the state's interests, he first advocated a compromise solution, which proposed that "moral tact" be used in solving conflicts between the interests of the state and those of the individual.²⁴ In any case it is clear that in seeking a justification for the primacy of state interest Struve turned to Hegel.

The principles of "Velikaya Rossiya" and its basic elements such as state, power and the specific relationship of the individual and the state indicate clearly to what extent he was indebted to the theory of Hegel. It was Hegel's system which provided the essential theoretical basis that enabled Struve to say: "only the interest of the state and its power can provide the guiding light for the true patriot."²⁵

Hegel was not the only source from which Struve borrowed; other German thinkers provided ideas which he used. The emphasis which was placed on the drive of the state to accumulate power took on mystic overtones. And it indicated that on this point Struve was well acquainted with the ideas of von Treitschke (often called "the seducer of Germany to the cult of power"). Even more than Hegel, von Treitschke emphasized that the search for power was an organic function of the state. Power was the assurance that the citizens of a given state could benefit from what it had to offer and therefore its aggrandizement should be the primary goal of every state. In this framework he made the famous statement that the "essence of the state is first—power, secondly—power, thirdly—power".²⁶ Von Treitschke presented this existential bond between power and the state

²⁴ P. Struve, "Otryvki o gosudarstve i natsii," *Russkaya mysl'*, vol. V, 1908 (II), pp. 187–193.

²⁵ Struve, introduction to Dragomanov, pp. V–VII.

²⁶ H. von Treitschke, *Historische und Politische Aufsätze* (3rd ed., Leipzig, 1867), p. 519.

in ethical and mystical terms: "its (the state's) very nature is power and its moral duty is to uphold that power".²⁷

Struve explained this equation of the existence of a state with the drive for power in the same terms as von Treitschke, that is, by resorting to the realm of the mystical. In attempting to understand why reasonable men sacrifice their lives for the state, he came to the conclusion that the state was not only the essence of the *Weltgeist*, but that it was also a mystic entity. In the fact that individuals are dominated by the state to the extent that they are willing to die for it:

The mystical quality of the state is evident, although it (the state) is apart from the individual and it induces the individual to live within it and for it.²⁸

Another aspect of Struve's argument on the nature of the state, one which dealt with the relationship between the state and war, reflects the influence of Nietzsche for whose "mastery and depth" Struve had much admiration. An obvious example of his debt to this German philosopher was the following statement:

The idea that a general peace can exist is utopian because it contradicts the mystic nature of the state. War is the most visible, the most striking, the most irrefutable aspect of the mystical nature of the state.²⁹

During his idealist phase, Struve had made an interesting and revealing comment in references to the varied ingredients of his idealist philosophy: "I am not afraid to be 'wild' (to borrow freely) and to take what I need, be it from Kant, from Fichte, from Marx, from Brentano. . . ." ³⁰ In his nationalist, or rather etatist phase we see the same trait of free borrowing from German sources but now they are Hegel, von Treitschke and Nietzsche.

When critics remarked on this proclivity to reflect the influence of German philosophical and political thought, Struve explained and defended this tendency in the following manner:

Though I am a Russian as a result of my own conscious effort(!), I still feel a strong attraction to the power of German culture.

²⁷ —, *Politik* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1899), vol. I, p. 100.

²⁸ P. Struve, "Otryvki o gosudarstve i natsii," *Russkaya mysl'*, vol. V (Part II), 1908, p. 188.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

³⁰ P. Struve, "Na raznye temy," *Mir Bozhii*, vol. X, no. 6, June 1901, pp. 12-27.

I am tied to it not only by descent but by cultural bonds . . . and German scholarship and literature are not only well known to me but also dear and beloved.³¹

He felt, however, that the source of his ideas, as such, had no effect on their social utility and application in Russia. It was not the source of ideas which was important but how "they could inspire and alter life." It was with this utilitarian purpose in mind that Struve chose and used his etatist ideas. Another characteristic evident in Struve was that often concrete experiences rather than abstract deductions influenced his theoretical formulations. We have seen how often he mentioned the influence of the Russo-Japanese War and the Revolution of 1905 on his views. When referring back to his Marxist period he said that "as for me personally, the famine of 1891-2 made me a Marxist, much more so that the reading of Marx's *Das Kapital*."³²

We have shown how the theoretical needs of the struggle against autocracy dictated the formulation of nationalism during that period. This tendency is best summarized in Struve's own words: "ideological break-throughs are not read out of books, but come from historical experiences".³³

V

It is surprising that the concept of nation played such a minor role in Struve's initial expositions of his doctrine of state primacy. Although somewhat belatedly, it did become evident that he realized that the power of the state and therefore, of Russia, would rise immensely if it rested on "the wings of the national idea."

It became necessary to define the meaning of the concept "nation." The nation was not to be understood in terms of "folk, tribe or blood

³¹ P. Struve, "Razmyshleniya na politicheskiya temy," *Rech'*, 18 April 1908, p. 221. Struve's grandfather Georg-Wilhelm Struve (1793-1864) was born in Altoona in North Germany and emigrated to Russia (Dorpat) where he gained renown as an astronomer. One son of the famous astronomer, Otto, continued to work and gain recognition in the field of astronomy. The other son, Bernhard, served as the governor of Irkutsk where his humane behaviour gained him the friendship of many political exiles. Bernhard Struve had two sons, one of whom was Peter Struve (1876-1944) and the other was Nikolai Struve who served as a consul in the United States.

³² —, "Na raznyya temy," *Russkaya mysl'*, vol. III (Part II), 1908, p. 211.

³³ *Ibid.*

(ties) but in a legalist sense as the people of a state".³⁴ Thus the nation was essentially the population of a state. However this mass of people had to be linked organically to the state to form a unity. In the case of Russia this process of organically uniting its citizens with the Russian state was not yet complete. The Russian nation, like the American, was still a "nation in the making."

The complete absence of the ethnic element in this definition is obvious. A Romanticist interpretation of cultivating the characteristic traits of a given ethnic group was rejected. Common descent, customs and the idea of national character were not considered important. And the idea that a nation could exist outside the scope of its own state was ignored.

Struve's definition, however, had its subjective aspects. The bond which tied the people to their nation was a mystic one. Since the nation was a "softer," more human entity than the state it was easier for the individual to establish an emotional contact with it. Yet both the state and the nation were considered mystical entities and as such they were "the focal points of man's religious needs".³⁵

At this point it is worthwhile to mention an interesting and isolated moment in which a conflict between subjective feelings and objective theory appeared. In discussing the imperial connotations of the term "Rossiya" as opposed to the ethnic term "russkie" Struve expressed the fear that the former idea would overwhelm and submerge the latter. He protested that he would not give up deep emotional ties for the sake of the needs of a "Rossiyskoe gosudarstvo."³⁶ One can only speculate that this emotional outburst against his own rationale was a hint of the clash between his deepest feelings and his rational conviction that in supporting the Russian state one assured Russia's welfare.

In this framework, nationalism was considered the expression of the drive for the united goals of the nation and the state. Russia had two alternatives in manifesting its nationalism. One could be termed "defensive." Its main purpose was to preserve the solidarity and cohesion of a nation. The Jews were an excellent example of this type

³⁴ P. Struve, "Razhdaetsya natsiya," *Osvobozhdenie*, vol. III, no. 74, 13/26 July 1905, p. 416.

³⁵ Struve, "Otryvki o gosudarstve i natsii," p. 192.

³⁶ P. Struve, "Intelligentsiya i natsionalnoe litso," *Po Vekham* (Moscow, 1909), pp. 32-6.

of nationalism. They had set up a system of cultural and social barriers between themselves and the Christian world in order to prevent their dissolution in it. Characteristically, this choice indicated that a nation did not have enough trust in itself and did not desire to face the world confidently and openly.

The other alternative could be called an "aggressively confident" nationalism. It was: "open to all, not afraid of competition . . . because it believed that it would not dissolve in a sea of foreign elements but would assimilate these elements into itself".³⁷ The Anglo-Saxons were considered perfect examples of this form of nationalism.

The choice between these two types of nationalism depended on the answer to whether or not it was desirable for Russia to be a "Velikaya Rossiya." Struve left no doubt as to his choice:

For a great nation which has developed a mighty state it is not only morally fitting but also in the interests of its health to accept an aggressive nationalism . . . it is not for the sake of humaneness, not for the sake of justice that the Russian people should follow this policy but because of self-defense and self-assertion . . . because of a healthy national egoism.³⁸

The government was chided because its national policy did not strengthen the state. Russians should, consciously or unconsciously, try not to maintain barriers between themselves and other nationalities within their state. If possible they should try to assimilate other nationalities, both within and without the Russian state, because every great nation, every great empire—rested on a heretogeneous ethnic base.

VI

An ethnically varied origin was acceptable but the interests of the state demanded a unified nation, both politically and culturally. The context and the national needs of the moment greatly influenced Struve in his definition and use of the culture concept.

In 1905 Struve defined culture as a concentration of absolute values which had been created and were being created by humanity and were the basis of its spiritual and social existence. Such values as truth, goodness, beauty and piety urged humanity toward scholarly,

³⁷ P. Struve, "Tekushchie voprosy vnutrenney zhizni," *Russkaya mysl'*, vol. VI, 1910, p. 174.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

artistic, moral and religious endeavor.³⁹ The characteristics of this definition of culture were that it was completely universal in scope and that it depended on a free and constant inter-play between its values and the individual.

Concurrently with this exposition came a criticism of the attitudes of the Russian intelligentsia towards culture. Russia was still quite undeveloped in the cultural sphere and this was due to two negativist tendencies towards culture which circulated among the intelligentsia. One was the "asceticism" of Leo Tolstoy which rejected cultural activity in the form of scholarship, art and politics for the sake of the search for a pure and essential moral basis of existence. The other native Russian tendency was the utilitarian approach to such concepts as culture. This approach rejected the spiritual values of man for the sake of his material advancement. It could not perceive the incarnation of ideas in concrete forms. Only when the ephemeral nature of Tolstoy's "asceticism" and especially the primitive and limited utilitarian approach were discarded could there be a real understanding of culture. Only when the ideals of Humanism, of the value of culture in itself and of tolerance were accepted would culture thrive in Russia.

Several years after the Revolution of 1905, Struve used the concept of culture for purposes and in ways which were similar to those he had condemned in 1905. In "Velikaya Rossiya" he wrote that the center of gravity in Russian policy and expansion should be in the area of the Black Sea basin because it was within "the effective influence of Russian culture." A later statement was even more explicit of the new understanding of culture:

Leaving aside the Kingdom of Poland and Finland . . . where in Russia are there cultures which can withstand Russian culture as objective and equal forces and advance without its support and without admitting the hegemony of Russian culture?"⁴⁰

Culture had now become a means to cow and assimilate "weaker" cultures and nations. The previous universal aspect of culture was narrowed to a national one. And, in the context of the Russian state, its function had become the maintenance of Russian hegemony. It

³⁹ P. Struve and S. Frank, "Ocherki filosofii kul'tury," *Polyarnaya Zvezda*, 1905, pp. 104-117 (Part I).

⁴⁰ P. Struve, "Na raznyya temy," *Russkaya mysl'*, vol. I, 1911, p. 186.

was to establish congruence within the state between nation and culture. This congruence meant unity and unity meant a more powerful state.

VII

We have seen that Struve's nationalism was a constellation of concepts such as culture, nation and nationality which revolved around the central one which was the state. The relative importance of all these elements usually varied according to the point being stressed at a given time. In the context of this nationalism, however, they always appeared in mutually related and supporting roles. The constant emphasis on the state expressed the basic conviction that its power and effectiveness assured the welfare of Russia and all her citizens.

Very often the substance of Struve's ideas was derived from German sources. His concept of nationalism had many of the traits that typify German theory on the subject. Although this form of nationalism infringed on the rights of individuals we should not assume that this represented a basic change in Struve's subjective values. In a retrospective moment he implied that liberalism had always been his greatest ideological love.⁴¹ Subjectively, he always preferred it and adhered to its principles. But it was his characteristic ability to rise above his personal predelections and observe matters objectively or as he loved to say "as they really were" that was evident in his formulation of nationalism. After the War and Revolution of 1905 it was from such an objective point of view that he came to the conclusion that Russia's welfare demanded an ideology which stressed the importance of the state and the solidarity of its citizens.

⁴¹ P. Struve, "My Contacts and Conflicts with Lenin," *Slavonic Review*, vol. XII, April 1934, p. 576.

* This study had its genesis in Professor Richard Pipes's seminar which was conducted at Harvard University in 1968. The author wishes to express his thanks to Professor Pipes for his guidance.

Book Reviews

Literaturna mova ukrayintsiv Zakarpattya i shhidnoyi Slovachchyny (pislya 1918). By Mykola Shtets. Pedahohichniy Zbirnyk, No. 1. Seriya movoznavcha. Bratislava: Slovats'ke pedahohichne vydavnytstvo, 1969. 171 p. Kčs. 19.

This small volume, a habilitation thesis by a professor of linguistics in Prešov, Czechoslovakia, is the first systematic and scholarly study that deals with the formation of a literary language for the Ukrainian or Rusyn population whose lands were incorporated into the new Czechoslovak Republic in 1919.¹ Though trained as a linguist, Shtets treats linguistic problems in a tangential way; his attention is primarily focused on the political and national implications of language development. This approach is welcomed, not only because researchers have already intensively studied the linguistic peculiarities of the population,² but because the complex nature of the problem requires an attempt at explanation in political and cultural as well as linguistic terms.

Even before the Ukrainian inhabited counties of the Hungarian Kingdom became part of Czechoslovakia, there were disputes among the local intelligentsia as to what language should be used for literary communication. While an intensive policy of Magyarization dampened the issue of language choice for the Ukrainian minority at the beginning of this century, the subsequent national and social revolutions that accompanied the break-up of the Habsburg Empire in 1918 forced the local population to face the problems of national identification and choice of language. The problem became especially acute when the Czechoslovak regime established a new school program in 1919. What language was to be taught? The temporary law of 1919 stated that the official language of Podkarpatská Rus³ was to be the "místní" or local language. But just what was this local language? Some leaders of the local intelligentsia said it was a variation of Russian and thus the literary language of Pushkin and Tolstoy should be taught. Some said the language was a dialect of Ukrainian. Yet others maintained that it was neither of the above, but rather a distinct Slavic language referred to as "karpato-

¹ The valuable monograph by František Tichý, *Vývoj současného spisovného jazyka na Podkarpatské Rusi* (Praha, 1938), devotes only twenty pages to the period after 1919.

² Of the many studies, see especially Ivan Pan'kevych, *Ukrayins'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koyi Rusy i sumezhnykh oblastey* (Praha, 1938); Josef Dzendzelivs'kyi, *Linhvistychnyi atlas ukrayins'kykh narodnykh hovoriv Zakarpats'koyi oblasti*, 2 Vols. (Užhorod, 1958-1960); Laslo Dezhe, *Ocherki po istorii zakarpatskikh govorov* (Budapest, 1967).

³ The legal name given to the area while part of Czechoslovakia. Following the preference of Professor Shtets, the term Zakarpattya will henceforth be used in this discussion.

rus'ki" or more popularly as "po-nashemu." Given the still undefined national identity of the population, the language question, which began as a linguistic problem, assumed political implications at the local, national, and even international levels. Shtets' monograph analyzes linguistic and literary as well as political developments which affected language development in the area.

The study is divided into seven sections. After a concise five page outline of language use in the area during the late 19th century, a general survey is given of the political and cultural conditions in Zakarpattya from 1919 to 1939 (pp. 9-32). Section two is the most extensive and deals with the development of the Ukrainian language in Zakarpattya during the 1920's and 1930's (pp. 33-90), while section three is a short discussion of the use of the Russian language (pp. 91-100). The last four sections concentrate on the particular circumstances of language development among the Ukrainians of eastern Slovakia, who under Slovak administration after 1919, underwent a somewhat different development than their brethren farther east. This discussion is brought down to the present in the following sequence: an analysis of the Slovak-Ukrainian language after 1945 (pp. 101-129), language dualism in eastern Slovakia since 1945 (pp. 130-140), the introduction of literary Ukrainian (pp. 141-144), and the basic characteristics of the Ukrainian language in eastern Slovakia (pp. 145-153).

The general format employed by Shtets is first a discussion of political and cultural pre-conditions followed by an appendix to each section in which the phonetical, morphological, and lexical characteristics of the language are outlined. An extremely useful bibliography makes reference to the unpublished archival sources in Zakarpattya and Prešov to which the author had access as well as to the published monographs and articles on the language question. Also included is a list of pertinent journals with the dates of their appearance and a compilation of some of the more important grammars and dictionaries that were published. Short resumé's in both German and English state the main themes of the study.

* * * *

In the introductory survey of cultural developments in Zakarpattya during the Czechoslovak regime, Shtets develops the underlying theme which pervades his entire work: the use of literary Ukrainian is the only acceptable answer to the language problem in the area. Disputes containing choice of language already arose during the late nineteenth century, became intensified after 1918, but were not correctly resolved until the introduction of the Ukrainian language and script in all schools after the reunion of Zakarpattya with the Soviet Ukraine in 1945. Only political or ecclesiastical interference spoiled an otherwise natural linguistic process. In succeeding chapters, Shtets discuss the implicit and explicit threats to the full accept-

ance of the Ukrainian language by the population of Zakarpattya and eastern Slovakia.

To be sure, the Czechoslovak regime is considered to be the cause of both the linguistic and national problems in Zakarpattya. Shtets is convinced that the aim of the central government was to denationalize and to assimilate the Ukrainian population. Already in the 1920's "the Czechoslovak bourgeois government pursued a cunning, consistent, anti-national policy of Czechization." (p. 23). Prague's methods varied. More Russophile than Ukrainophile teachers were imported from Galicia (p. 16), a "compromise" dialectal language based on the grammar of Pan'kevych (1922) was propagated in the schools, and by the 1930's more support was given to Russophile than to Ukrainophile organizations (p. 25). Unfortunately, except for one quotation drawn from archival sources, Shtets does not support his accusations against the Prague government with any statistical or documentary evidence. Nevertheless, the author implicitly conveys the feeling that the bourgeois principles which determined Czechoslovak national minority policy could not be other than detrimental to the Ukrainian population.

The fate of the Ukrainian literary language in Zakarpattya and later in eastern Slovakia was closely allied, suggests Shtets, with the activity of the local Communist Party organization. In fact, his periodization of the development of the Ukrainian language is intimately related to the crucial change in Communist national and linguistic policy after 1925. The period 1919-1925 was "characterized by the attempt to create for Zakarpattya a literary language on the basis of local dialects," or "at best to create a so-called compromise language [Pan'kevych grammars] on the principle of a union of the popular language of Zakarpattya and the Galician variant of the Ukrainian literary language." (p. 33) Actually, the Communist Party during the early 1920's "supported the incorrect position . . . of Rusynism, considering the Transcarpathians a separate Rusyn [rus'kij] nation with a separate Rusyn [rus'ki] language." (p. 39). Unlike his Soviet colleagues,⁴ Shtets recognizes that while the Communist Party followed a negative national and linguistic policy, "the bourgeois nationalist-dominated Ukrainophile Prosvita organization played in the first years of its existence [1920-1925] a definitely positive role." (p. 34). Similarly, the compromise language in the first edition of Pan'kevych's grammar⁵ is to be praised as "the first step on the road towards approaching the Ukrainian literary language." (p. 20.)

⁴ Yuriy Baleha, *Literatura Zakarpattya dvadtsiatykh-trydtsyatykh rokiv XX stolittya* (Kiev, 1962).

⁵ Ivan Pan'kevych, *Hramatika rus'koho yazyka dlya molodshikh klas shkól serednikh i horozhans'kikh* (Praha-Bratislava, 1922). The second (1927) and particularly the third (1936) revised editions "were at the time [of their publication] clearly anachronistic." (Shtets, p. 73).

The important Ukrainian Communist Party Congress at Kharkiv in 1925 influenced the decision of the local Communists in Zakarpattya to accept the Ukrainian national explanation. Shtets is correct in his assertion that the Communists were the first political party to adopt, without any variations, both the standard Ukrainian literary language and the modern phonetic script. Moreover, the fact that the Communist Party was one of the strongest in Zakarpattya greatly influenced the local population to become aware of its Ukrainian national identity. Shtets concludes his discussion of Zakarpattya in the 1930's by stating that "the idea 'for one people only one language and one script' [i.e., Ukrainian] struck deep roots." (p. 86).

The situation was quite different among the Ukrainians of eastern Slovakia. Administratively separated from their brethren in Zakarpattya, the Ukrainians of Slovakia lacked their own school inspectors, had no cultural organizations during the 1920's, and suffered from the lack of a local Communist organization. The result was a difference in the relative strengths of the Russian, Ukrainian, and local or Carpatho-Rusin orientations. Of the three, the Ukrainian was by far the least developed. The causes (some of which are still valid today) of such weakness are summed up by Shtets at the end of section four.

The attempt to introduce the Ukrainian literary language in eastern Slovakia is noticeable only at the end of the 1920's. However, for various reasons this attempt did not find due support among the local population. Of the causes it is necessary to refer again to the weakness of the Ukrainian orientation because this orientation was propagated by persons compromised in their past (Galician emigrés, Petlyurists and such) and not by progressive forces (the Communist Party) as was the case in Zakarpattya. There were also a whole series of other reasons such as the national disorientation of the local population . . . and the conservatism of the local intelligentsia, educated in former 'karpatorus'ki' schools. (pp. 128-129)

The Russian and local orientations remained strong in eastern Slovakia until 1952 when the Ukrainian language was introduced into the school system and into official publications. However, this was an artificial imposition, and in spite of his own thesis which emphasizes a natural historical trend toward acceptance of the Ukrainian language, Shtets admits that in eastern Slovakia, Ukrainian was introduced only after a "radical administrative transition." (p. 142). Many local teachers reacted to this decree with strong opposition which "still continues to the present day." (p. 142). That the local population also resisted the use of Ukrainian in elementary schools is indicated by the fact that many villages voluntarily demanded that Slovak be used as the medium of instruction. Shtets points out that local displeasure with Ukrainian began already during the 1953/1954 school year and this

trend has increased so substantially that the number of elementary schools using Ukrainian has dropped from 282 in 1952 to 65 in 1968.⁶

* * * *

The title and table of contents of the work under discussion suggests that the subject is the development of the Ukrainian language in Zakarpattia and eastern Slovakia. From a linguistic point of view—and Shtets is first of all a linguist—such an approach would be fully justified since there is no disagreement among specialists that the dialects of the Carpathian region are part of the Ukrainian language. However, clearly realizing the intrinsic complexities of the subject, Shtets did not take a purely linguistic approach, but rather a political and cultural one. Accepting this premise, we offer the following criticism.

Professor Shtets believes that the inhabitants of Zakarpattia and eastern Slovakia are Ukrainian in nationality, and despite some dialectal variations, their language is also Ukrainian. His implicit assumption is that the process of language dualism that existed in Galicia during nineteenth century repeated itself in Zakarpattia in the first half of the twentieth century and still lingers on today in eastern Slovakia. Yet the general direction of historical development demands an end to the use of local dialects or Russian and acceptance of Ukrainian. Such a thesis is a valid one and virtually uncontestable in linguistic terms, but Shtets has chosen the historical approach and his exclusive adherence to the Ukrainian interpretation has resulted in a distortion of the past he sets out to describe.

In effect, Shtets' monograph suffers from the tyranny of historical perspective. Starting from the premise that today Ukrainian is the medium of instruction in the elementary schools of Zakarpattia and eastern Slovakia, the author incorrectly overemphasizes the importance of Ukrainian at certain periods in the past. Moreover, the Russian orientation, prominent in literature during the inter-war period—particularly in poetry and drama (Karabelesh, Popovich, Bobulskii) is only briefly analyzed in a ten-page discussion which does no more than castigate the orientation with the hackneyed phrases "reactionary" and "anti-progressive." The local or Rusyn orientation, which the Czech government encouraged especially after 1935, receives but one sentence and an extended footnote (pp. 70–71).

The treatment of the situation in eastern Slovakia similarly reveals an historical disproportion. After stating clearly that the Ukrainian orientation was almost non-existent, Shtets surveys in only seven pages both the stronger Russophile and local trends while he devotes eleven pages to a rather detailed analysis of the short-lived (December, 1931–August, 1932) Ukrainophile newspaper, *Slovo Naroda*. Moreover, a definite lacuna in his work

⁶ *Nove Zhyttya*, XX, No. 47 (Prešov, 1970), p. 5.

which purports to deal with language questions from 1918 to the present is the Hungarian language experiments during the six years of occupation (1939–1944). One meagre paragraph (p. 32) does not do historical justice to the new grammars and journals published under Hungarian auspices during the Second World War. What we are decrying here is a lack of historical balance. Since he chose the historical and not the purely linguistic approach, it is incumbent upon Shtets to deal adequately with the other orientations even though he disagrees with their ideologies.

Nevertheless, the development of the Ukrainian literary language is not only competently analyzed but lucidly presented—a task in and of itself of enormous proportions. This is the first work concerning the language question of the Ukrainians or Rusyns south of the Carpathians that is more than just a polemic propagating some national or other ideological viewpoint. As such, the pioneering efforts of Professor Shtets serve as a worthy introduction to the subject.

Harvard University

PAUL R. MAGOCSI

Alexander Kerensky, *Russia and History's Turning Point*, Duell, Sloan & Pearce, New York, 1965, Pp. xvi & 558, illustrations and portraits. \$8.95.

Russia and History's Turning Point is a remarkable political memoir of today's all but forgotten man who almost half a century ago appeared in the disturbed political horizon of the former Russian Empire and for a short time held the balance of Russia's destiny in his hands. Alexander Kerensky's spectacular ascent from a little provincial lawyer to the position of Minister of Justice (p. 210), to the Minister of War and Navy (p. 267), to a Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief (p. 355) at the same time, is nothing short of breathtaking.

"Blest is he who visits this earth
at its moments of destiny:
he has been summoned by the gods
to partake with them at their feast."

Mr. Kerensky, quoting this beautiful poem of Tyutchev (p. 217) inadvertently explains the reason for his success; a success even if only for a fleeting moment. Approximately one third of the author's memoirs are dedicated to the idyllic setting of his youth, the political life of his student years, and the unbelievably scandalous life of the court camarilla of St. Petersburg which stands out as a monument to a monarchy that reached a point of no return.

Probably the most interesting chapters are those dealing with the Kornilov conspiracy which, as the author rightfully emphasizes, had such deep psy-

chological repercussions, undermining the authority of the Provisional Government and backfiring at those who conceived it.

Equally revealing is the chapter which elaborates on the Bolshevik-German contacts which were established as early as the spring of 1915 (pp. 305-6). Lenin, a masterful tactician, who knew how to separate principles from a realistic policy of expediency, had no scruples in taking money from the German Government in order to use it for his revolutionary activities.

There are other valuable insights into the Russian power politics of 1917 in Mr. Kerensky's book. However, as a whole, this rather well written work fails in its principal objective—it does not convey precisely those cataclysmic changes that in effect constituted "History's Turning Point." Indeed, as one finishes Mr. Kerensky's memoirs one is left with the impression that a mere change in power structure was effected; a change in which the Russian people were almost not involved. It almost seems that the first truly gigantic movement of the masses merely passes by the ministers of the Provisional Government without claiming their attention. Perhaps Lenin was right when he wrote that Kerensky was afraid of the masses (p. 402), for the author, a socialist, virtually ignores the social forces that were about to discard him from Russia's political scene.

To the critical question of why the Provisional Government failed, Mr. Kerensky offers several explanations. Among them the "attack from the right" (p. 356) as well as the French and British sabotage of the Provisional Government (pp. 395-6) rank as the cardinal causes.

By concentrating on what must have been once a traumatic experience for him the author completely disregards, as he did when he was in power, the operative forces in Russia. The progressive radicalization of Russia during 1917, the desire of the population and especially of the soldiers to end the war, the demand of the non-Russian people to be recognized as autonomous political units for which Kerensky did not show realistic understanding, and the land reform which the peasants so urgently demanded, were developments which escaped the Provisional Government at the most critical juncture of Russia's history and which Mr. Kerensky disregards after half-a-century of reflection.

Rutgers University

T. HUNCZAK

Beyond Eagle and Swastika. German Nationalism since 1945. 2 vols. By Kurt P. Tauber. Wesleyan University Press, Middletown, Conn., 1967. pp. 1598, \$35.00

Professor Tauber's book is dedicated to an analysis and evaluation of German nationalism. This topic is a timely one, especially in view of the loosening of the Western Alliance and the stirrings of nationalism in Germany.

Dr. Tauber gives us a brief historical background pertaining to the genesis of German nationalism. He shows its departure from the potentially democratic beginnings, its growth in the Wilhelminian Period, and its highest peak and dramatic collapse under the auspices of the Third Reich, then leading us gradually into the nature, milieu and causes of the nationalist revival after World War II. With painstaking care and an impressive documentation, he guides the reader through the maze of the Allied denazification procedures, an array of newly arising nationalist parties, youth, veterans, literary and other organizations, while focusing on their ideas, publications, and methods of work.

The one thousand pages long first volume contains an amazing quantity of names, references to various relevant works, and other factual information. It is supplemented by a second volume entirely dedicated to the numerous footnotes and an impressive bibliographical appendix. In its structure, Dr. Tauber's work represents a combination of valuable handbook information and skillful analysis.

In spite of its extensive dimensions, the work reveals certain gaps. Writing about the roots and changing patterns of German nationalism before World War I, the author limits himself to an evaluation of some intellectual and political trends, without touching upon some concrete socio-economic issues, like the "Landflucht," the influx of foreign agricultural workers from Eastern Europe, the competition for the world markets, and the fear of urbanization—all of which provided a fertile soil for the ideas of expansionist nationalism as represented by the Pan-Germanic League, German Geopolitics, and other imperialistically inclined schools of thought.

Also, Dr. Tauber does not mention the interrelationship and mutual indebtedness of German and Russian nationalism, even though two recent German publications deal with it extensively (Werner Markert, ed. *Deutsch-Russische Beziehungen von Bismarck bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1964; Walter Laqueur, *Deutschland und Russland*, Berlin, Propylaen Verlag, 1965). His attention is almost entirely dedicated to the internal forces influencing German nationalism, ignoring that the radical conservative revolution and the predicted "regeneration" of the German society were also influenced by real and imaginary international conflicts, and that the German territorial expansionism was an indispensable part of the social revival of the conservative radicals and the Nazi program.

In describing the denazification procedure and its effects on post-war Germany, the author limits himself to the American zone of occupation, with only occasional references on this account to the British and the French zones. He describes how the well-meant denazification programs under the auspices of the Western Allies and the controversial Nuremberg Trials stirred up resentment among the German population, due to some inherent injustice in the methods applied, and due to a certain inconsistency of their pol-

icy. He points out, for example, how the procedures left some loopholes for many prominent Nazis who by means of money and good connections were able to secure their rehabilitation, whereas the chief burden fell upon the "small fry." The author makes no reference to the process of denazification in the Soviet zone of occupation. This omission is regrettable, because he links the methods of denazification in general to one of the sources responsible for the nature of the contemporary German nationalism.

Further, we do not find a comparison of the West and the East in their relation to German nationalism. While the West German Government and the Western Allies get their share of blame for it, the East German Government and the Soviet Government (with exception of the latter's support of nationalism at one time to neutralize Germany) are hardly mentioned. And yet, the rekindling of nationalism in East Germany by the glorification of many aspects of the old Prussian State and spirit is nothing new; it continues to be fostered, and its effect is noticed in West Germany also. (See: *Der Spiegel*, May 8, 1967, p. 122; also, May 15, 1967, p. 95.)

Conspicuous is the absence of an evaluation referring to the impact of the mass deportations of the German population westwards after W.W.II, and to the mockery of democratic values and democratic procedures in East Germany. If, as the author suggests, one of the purposes of the Allies was to neutralize the integral German nationalism of the past by a meaningful democratic alternative for the German population, then also the Communist policy in East Germany should be relevant to the nationalistic trends in contemporary Germany to which he refers. Dr. Tauber, for reasons best known to himself, prefers not to cross the lines of demarcation between East and West when looking for an interconnection, a comparison, and an evaluation of various aspects of German nationalism.

In relating the resurgent German nationalism to Eastern Europe—for a long time primary target of German expansionism in Europe—the author does not find himself on firm ground and not always sees the events in their right perspective. Thus he describes the participation of some German volunteers after W.W.II in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fighting against the imposition of the Soviet Government in Ukraine, as a collaboration with the fascists (Vol. I, p. 523). This could only be called a cliché freely and uncritically taken from the Soviet terminology.

On the other hand, the author provides ample evidence of the dangerous trends of thought reflected in the writing and thinking of the current German nationalist circles which, if they should have their way, would have an ominous affect on the German relations to the Eastern European nations. They represent the idea that the relations between the nations are not based on the recognition of some equal basic natural laws, but on the recognition of a natural superiority and inferiority of the various nations. Dr. Tauber refers in this connection to one point of declaration published in 1961 by

the nationalist German group called the Young European Working Circle, advocating South African apartheid: "We see in the efforts of the Republic of South Africa to find the basis for agreement between the white and colored population a courageous example which should not be attacked out of narrowmindedness, but rather should be further developed logically by both sides." (Vol. I, p. 679) Also significant and representative of the current nationalist thinking in Germany is a passage from a journal, *Nation Europa*, published since 1951 and enjoying the support of nationalistically inclined sections of the German intelligentsia and business circles. Dr. Tauber quotes from the May 1955 issue, an article commemorating the tenth anniversary of Hitler's death: . . . "His (Hitler's) universal historical greatness rests on his having been the *first* to recognize the fatal threat to the white man by the forces unchained in the East and on his having recklessly thrown himself against the enemy, even at the sacrifice of himself and his people . . . No one can deny the greatness of Hitler's plans." (Vol. I, p. 649)

Passages such as these may remind us that the Nazi ideologists in their time coined the phrase: "Nicht jedem das gleiche, sondern jedem das seine." (Not equality for all, but to each what he deserves.) This formula was specifically developed when Nazi Germany reached the status of major power. Thus Dr. Ley, the Nazi Minister of Labor, declared: "If we National Socialists are convinced that mankind is divided into races of high and low standing, we are also convinced that the conditions underlying the existence of each race are various. A race of lower standing needs less room, less food, and less culture than a race of higher standing." (See: Dr. Ley, *Angriff*, January 30, 1940)

A particularly valuable insight which this work offers is that the danger of the new German nationalism does not lie in its conscious Neo-Nazism, but in its traditional commitment to authoritarianism. The author also brings some substantiated evidence that the bulk of West Germany's administration and bureaucracy has arisen from the circle of traditional establishments, and that even though they acquired pragmatic attitudes, they have preserved authoritarian sentiments. These observations, accompanied by his insight that nationalism based on traditional authoritarianism provided the basis for the ascendance of the Nazi leadership, both in the Weimar Republic and after World War II, make the reader aware of some dangerous implications.

In concluding this evaluation of the revival of authoritarian nationalism in Germany, Dr. Tauber rightly points out that the overwhelming majority of the West German population shows no overt inclination in this direction. (A poll of the Research Institute at Allenbach indicated that only 9% were in favor of a one-party system, and 1% were in favor of no party at all. The authoritarian trend declined about 50% in comparison with 1951. See: *The Bulletin*, Bonn, January 9, 1968.) On the other hand,

he makes us realize that the attachment of the common man to the present democratic system is largely pragmatic, that the roots of democracy are weak, and support of democracy by the average citizen in case of a crisis is at least doubtful. The defense of democracy, as Dr. Tauber states, will have to depend on the major democratic parties, the higher echelons of the German Government, the democratic press, and other politically mature sections of the German society which, he admits, are now stronger than during the Weimar Republic.

On the whole, it may be said that even though Dr. Tauber's work does not provide us with a full picture of German nationalism and the contributions to it by the political left, it does give the reader a wide panorama of contemporary nationalism in West Germany. Those aspects of the nationalist revival which the author has selected for his consideration are well documented, well analyzed, and convincingly presented.

Central Michigan University

IHOR KAMENETSKY

Chronicle

During the period from January 1, 1968, to June 30, 1971, the following lectures were delivered at the plenary sessions of the Academy:

- February 10, 1968 Conference honoring the memory of the late Dmytro Solovey
- Ivan Bakalo: "Dmytro Fedorovych Solovey"
 - Hryhory Kostiuk: "Dmytro Solovey as Scholar and Writer"
 - Wolodymyr Mijakowskyj: "Dmytro Solovey and Our Academy"
 - Fedir Bulbenko: "Reminiscences on Dmytro Solovey" The exhibit of Solovey's publications and photographs was arranged.
- March 23, 1968 Conference together with the Literary and Philological Section
- John Fizer: "Five Methodological Approaches to the Study of Literature from the Position of Edmund Husserl's Phenomenology"
- October 19, 1968 George Y. Shevelov: "In and around Ivan Franko's *Moses*"
- November 23, 1968 Yuri Stefanyk: "On the Problem of the Assimilation of the Ukrainians in Canada"
- November 30, 1968 Conference together with the Ukrainian Military-Historical Institute attached to the Shevchenko Scientific Society commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the rebirth of the Ukrainian statehood in the Western Ukraine
- Stepan Ripetsky: "Ukrainian Political Thought at the Time of November Uprising"
 - Myron Zaklynskyj: "Defense of Lviv in November, 1918"
 - Jakiw Zozula: "The Implication of November Uprising in the Great Ukraine"
 - Hanna Dmyterko-Ratych: "Women's Participation in the Struggle for Liberation in the Western Ukraine"
 - Ivan Novosivsky: "November 1918, in Bukovina"
 - Vincent Shandor: "The November Uprising and our Present All-Ukrainian Policy"
- February 16, 1969 Conference honoring George Y. Shevelov on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday

- Alexander Archimovich: Opening Address
 - John Fizer: "Introductory Remarks"
 - Hryhory Kostiuk: "George Y. Shevelov as a Literary Critic"
 - Mykola Stepanenko: "Ideological Nonconformism of Yuri Sherekh (George Y. Shevelov)"
 - Boris Unbegaun: "Eastern Slavic Literary Languages"
- February 23, 1969 Omeljan Pritsak: "Oleg the Seer, and Prince Oleg"
- March 15, 1969 Conference together with the Historical Commission attached to the Brotherhood of Ukrainian Riflemen commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation
- Damian Horniatkevych: Opening Address
 - Stepan Ripetsky: "History of Ukrainian Riflemen in Documents"
 - Hanna Dmyterko-Ratych: "Women's Participation in the Struggle for Liberation of the Ukraine"
- June 14, 1969 Conference commemorating the tenth anniversary of the death of Michael Vetukhiv, first President of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States
- Natala Ossadcha-Janata: Opening Address
 - Alexander Archimovych: "In Memory of Michael Vetukhiv"
 - Olga Pavlovsky: "Some Developments in Genetics During the Last Ten Years"
- February 14, 1970 • George Y. Shevelov: "*Istoriya Rusov* from the Position of a Linguist"
- April 11, 1970 Conference together with the Biological Section, Ancient History Section, and the Levko Chikalenko Archeological and Anthropological Institute.
- Alexander Archimovych: "Historical Geography of Field Crops in the Ukraine"
 - Serhij Krascheninnikow: "Information on the AAAS Congress in Boston, December, 1969"
- October 18, 1970 Conference inaugurating the 1970-71 academic year
- Olexander Ohloblyn: Opening Remarks
 - Olexander Ohlobyn: "On the Problem of the Ukrainian Upper Class in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century"

- March 20, 1971 Omeljan Pritsak: "The Route from the Varangians to the Greeks"
- April 24, 1971 Grand Conference in observance of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lesya Ukrayinka
- George Y. Shevelov: Opening Address
 - Petro Odarchenko: "New Publications on Lesya Ukrayinka"
 - Hryhory Kostiuk: "Lesya Ukrayinka and Volodymyr Vynnychenko"
- May 1, 1971 Grand Conference commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the death of Dmytro Doroshenko, first president of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences founded in West Germany in 1945
- Omeljan Pritsak: Opening Address
 - Vasyl Omelchenko: "Dmytro Doroshenko and his Contribution to the Ukrainian Historical Studies"
 - Nina Syniawska: "In Memory of Natalia Doroshenko"
- June 20, 1971 Grand Conference commemorating Dmytro Doroshenko continued
- Olexander Ohloblyn: "Doroshenko's Most Important Work and Its Fate"

Literary and Philological Section

- March 9, 1968 Arash Bormashinov: "Modern Kalmyk Literature"
- March 16, 1968 Jacob P. Hursky: "Some Problems in Bulgarian Grammar, Orthoëpy, and Orthography"
- May 18 and 19, 1986 Symposium "Ukrainian Literary Process During the Fifty Years After the Revolution" arranged together with the Association of Ukrainian Writers, "Slovo"
- Hryhory Kostiuk: Opening Remarks
 - Petro Holubenko: "Organizational Framework of Literary Life in the 1920"
 - Ihor Hubarzhevsky: "Problems of Style in Literature of the 1920's"
 - Joseph Hirniak: "Theatre and Playwriting in the 1920's"
 - Bohdan Krawciw: "Literature in the Period of the Cult of Personality"
 - John Fizer: "Socialistic Realism as an Aesthetic Theory"

- Gregory Luzhnycky: "Playwriting in Galicia Between Two Wars"
 - Vasyl Hryshko: "The Main Works of the Ukrainian Fiction after the Last War"
 - Bohdan Rubchak: "The Ukrainian Emigré Poetry Between Two Wars"
 - Ulas Samchuck: "The MUR Period"
 - Ostap Tarnavsky: "Poetry during the War and the First Postwar Decade"
 - Roman Rakhmanny: "Poetry of My Generation"
 - Ivan Korowytzky: "Postwar Emigré Prose"
 - Bohdan Boychuk: "Poetry of the Last Decade"
 - Wolfram Burghardt: "Modern Poetry in the Ukraine"
 - Marko Carynnyk: "Modern Ukrainian Poetry in Satellite States"
- November 3, 1968 • George Y. Shevelov: Opening Address
- John Fizer: "The Ukrainian Studies at the Sixth International Slavistic Congress in Prague, 1968"
- May 3, 1969 Conference commemorating Poet Mykhaylo Dray-Khmara
- John Fizer: Opening Address
- Oksana Asher: "Mychaylo Dray-Khmara and the School of Ukrainian Neoclassics"
- Olena Vasyleva: "From Abbacy to the Five 'Unconquered Bards'"
- Recitations of Dray-Khmara poems: Roma Shuhan and Mykhaylo Yablonsky
- June 7, 1970 • George Y. Shevelov: Opening Address
- Jurij Bojko: "M. Vinhranovsky's Poetry"
- December 27, 1970 Conferences in observance of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lesya Ukrayinka
- John Fizer: Opening Remarks
- Maria Ovcharenko: "Two Don Juans—Two Ideas (Pushkin's *Kamennyi Gost* and Lesya Ukrayinka's *Kamynnyi Hospodar*)"
- December 28, 1970 Jacob P. Hursky: Phonetic Peculiarities in Ukrainian Patronymic Surnames of the 14th-17th Centuries"
- March 28, 1971 Jurij Bojko: "Lesya Ukrayinka's Quests in Weltanschauung and Style"

Shevchenko Institute

- March 31, 1968 Wolodymyr Mijakowskyj: "The One Who Buried Shevchenko on the Monks Mountain (H. Chestakhovsky)"
- March 22, 1969
- Jurij Lawrynenko: Opening Address
 - Bohdan Krawciw: "Shevchenko in World Literature" Publications of Shevchenko's works translated into foreign languages were exhibited.
- March 14, 1970
- Jurij Lawrynenko: Opening Address
 - Andrij Horniatkevych: "Kiev, the City of Shevchenko" The lecture was illustrated with slides.

Historical Section

- December 15, 1968 Ivan Novosivsky: "Some Ukrainian Problems in the Moldavian Chronicle by Mona Nekulchi"
- January 25, 1969 Bohdan Krawciw: "The Ukrainians in St. Petersburg"
- December 13, 1969 Taras Hunczak: "Panslavism or Panrussism"
- December 20, 1969 Bohdan Krawciw: "Beauplan in Ukrainian and Foreign Historiography"
- March 7, 1970 Vasyl Hryshko: "On the Question Whether 'Volodymyr Monomakh' is an Historical Name"
- May 15, 1971 Ivan Novosivsky: "Self-determination of the Ukraine and President Wilson's Attitude"
- May 25, 1968 The Sixth Annual Conference of Historians and Social Scientists Devoted to the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Revolution
- Omeljan Pritsak: Opening Address
 - Wolodymyr Stojko: "The Attitude of the Russian Provisional Government Toward Ukrainian Independence"; Chairman: Michael M. Luther; Comments by Richard Mills and Michael Jaworsky.
 - Oleh Fedyshyn: "German Plans for the Ukraine during World War I"; Chairman: John T. von der Heide; Comments by Roger Moorhus and Ihor Kamenetsky.
- May 26, 1968
- Olexander Ohloblyn: Opening Address
 - Ivan L. Rudnytsky: "The Fourth *Universal* on the Background of Ukrainian Political Thought"; Chairman: Vsevolod Holubnychy.
 - Vasyl Markus: "Jean Pélissier and His Part in the Events of 1917-18 in the Ukraine"; Chairman: Yaroslav Bilinsky.

- May 24, 1969 • Taras Hunczak: "The Ukraine at the Time of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky"; Chairman: Jaroslav Pelenski. The Seventh Annual Conference of Historians and Social Scientists Devoted to the Studies on the Ukrainian Ethnic Group in the United States and the History of American-Ukrainian Relations
- Olexander Ohloblyn: Opening Address
 - Constantine Warvariv: "America and the Ukrainian National Cause, 1917-1920"; Chairman: Philip E. Mosely; Commentator: John T. von der Heide.
 - Wasyl Halich: "The Ukrainian Americans: Early Struggles, Personal and Institutional (1885-1915)"; Chairman: Taras Hunczak; Commentator: Paul Magosci.
- May 25, 1969 • Vasyl Markus: "Review of Works on History of the Ukrainian Ethnic Group in America and Problems Involved in the Studies"; Chairman: Omeljan Pritsak; Commentator: Lubomyr R. Wynar.
- Vsevolod Isayiv: "Ukrainian-American Community in its Sociological Aspect"; Chairman: Martha Bohachevsky; Commentator: Volodymyr Nahirny.
 - Bohdan Cymbalisty: "On the Crossroad of Two Cultures"; Chairman: Ivan L. Rudnytsky; Commentator: Volodymyr Odaynyk.
- December 5, 1970 The Eighth Annual Conference of Historians and Social Scientists Devoted to the Problems of Historiography and Methods of Studies of Ukrainian History
- Olexander Ohloblyn: Opening Address
 - Omeljan Pritsak: "Methods Applied to the Study of History of Medieval Ukraine"
 - Olexander Ohloblyn: "The Problem of the Scheme of Ukrainian History of the 19-20th Centuries (up to 1917)"; Commentator: Ivan L. Rudnytsky.

Ancient History Section

- November 10, 1968 Alexander Dombrovsky: "On the Anthropogeography and Geopolitics of the Ancient Black Sea Coastal Area"
- March 23, 1969 Tatiana Ivanivska: "'Animal Style' in the Early Middle Ages"

- December 7, 1969 Alexander Dombrovsky: "Ivan Franko's Critical Comments Concerning Mykhaylo Hrushevsky's *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*"
- March 15, 1969 Tade Syut: "The State of Modern Studies of Hellade (On the Question of Studies of Ancient Asia Minor)"
- May 17, 1970 Yuri Perchorovych: "On the Problem of the Origin of Name *Ukrayina* (Aryans—Midianites—Ukraine—Mid)"
- April 4, 1971 Alexander Dombrovsky: "On the Question of Early Ukrainian Folklore"

Dmytro Antonovych Museum-Archives of the Academy

- April 4, 1970 Serhij Krascheninnikov: "Kiev in Shevchenko's Time"
The lecture was illustrated

The Levko Chikalenko Archeological and Anthropological Institute

- December 1, 1968 Neonila Kordysh-Holovko: "Weaving in the Trypillian Culture of the Ukraine"

*Commission for Study of the Post-Revolutionary Ukraine
and the Soviet Union*

- October 26, 1968 Vsevolod Holubnychy: "An Analysis of Ideology of Modern Opposition Movements in the Soviet Union"
- November 2, 1969 Ivan Bakalo: "The Problem of Religion in the Educational System of the Soviet Union"
- November 29, 1969 Ivan Sweet: "The Japanese Press about the Ukraine During World War II"
- February 23, 1970 Bohdan Kordyuk: "Development of Science in the Ukrainian SSR During the Last Decade"
- May 16, 1970 Illya Vytanovych: "Sociological Research in the Ukraine Today"
- November 14, 1970 Conference together with the Historical Section
• Ivan L. Rudnytsky: "Impressions from the International Historical Congress Held in Moscow in 1970, and from the trip to the Ukraine"
- November 22, 1970 Ivan Bakalo: "Theoretical Background of Lenin's Nationalities Policy"
- December 19, 1970 Roman Ilnytskyj: "The Impact of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–20 on the Program and Ideology of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)"

Bibliographical Section

- February 8, 1969 Ivan Sweet: "Japanese Literature in Ukrainian Translations"

Biological Section

- November 9, 1969 Serhij Krashenninnikow: "Observations of Macronucleus Structure in the Parasitic Infusoria *Balantidium coli*"
- April 26, 1969 • Natalia Ossadcha-Janata: "In Memory of Lubov Zafiyovska"
- Lubow Margolena-Hansen: "Information on Some Recent Research Conducted at the Agricultural Experimental Station, Beltsville, Md."
- W. Arne Hansen: "Impressions from the International Microbiological Congress in Moscow, 1966, and from the USSR in General"
- May 4, 1969 Yaroslav Turkalo: "Problems of Prolonging the Life Span of Man"
- June 28, 1969 Helen Savitsky: "The International Congress of Genetics in Tokyo, August, 1968, and Impressions from Travelling in Japan"

Technical and Physico-Mathematical Section

- March 30, 1968 Mykola Zaitsev: "The Chemical Industry in the Ukraine Today"
- November 22, 1969 A. Libatsky: "Radioactive Methods of Age Determination"

Philosophical Section

- January 5, 1968 Wolodymyr Janiw: "Mykola Shlemkevych's Creative Work from the Position of Ethnopsychology"

Economics and Law

- March 2, 1968 Vsevolod Holubnychy: "National-Economic Interests of the Ukraine and 'The Law of Comparative Advantage'"
- December 22, 1968 Ivan Koropecy: "Some Problems of the Industry Distribution in the Soviet Union after a World War II"
- September 6, 1969 M. Melnyk: "The Problem of Organizing Ukrainian Scientific Information"

- December 29, 1969 Conference on Economics
- Iwan Zamsha: "Opening Address"
 - V. Bandera: "The International Balance of the Ukraine"
 - R. Senkov: "Organicism of Politeconomical Systems"
 - B. Chaykovsky: "Recent Migratory Tendencies in the Population of the Ukrainian SSR"
 - Yaroslav Bilinsky: "Ethnic Composition of the Population in Cities of the Ukraine in 1959 on the Basis of Recent Data"
 - Iwan Zamsha: "On the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Founding the Centres of Ukrainian Cooperative Organizations"
 - Vsevolod Holubnychy: "Peculiarity in the Development of Economic Thought in the Ukraine Beginning with the 19th Century"
- March 27, 1971
- Ivan Koropecy: "Regional Economic Development in Socialist Countries"
 - Vsevolod Holubnychy: "Information on the Economic Model of the Ukraine in the years 1959-1968"

Musicological Section

- June 21, 1970 Conference commemorating the first anniversary of death of Zenowij Lysko, Head of the Musicological Section
- Ihor Sonevtsky: "Zenowij Lysko as Student of Ukrainian Folk Music"
 - Marta Kokolska-Musiychuk sung Ukrainian folk songs arranged by Zenowij Lysko; Ihor Sonevtsky, piano.
- February 28, 1971 Conference commemorating artist Myroslav Starytsky
- Ihor Sonevtsky: "Myroslav Starytsky (Biographical Profile)"
- The lecture was illustrated with records.

Commission for the Study of the History of Ukrainian-Jewish Relations

- March 13, 1971
- Lubow Margolena-Hansen: Opening Address
 - Borys Rzepecky: "Paris Trial in 1927"

Commission for the Study of the History of Ukrainian Immigration to the United States

- June 6, 1970 Ivan Sweet: "New Materials on the Life of Ahapiy Honcharenko"
- February 21, 1971 Ivan Sweet: "Reminiscences of Three Contemporaries of Honcharenko from the Late Nineteenth Century"

Commission for the Preservation of the Literary Heritage of Volodymyr Vynnychenko

- February 18, 1968 • Hryhory Kostiuk: "Problems Involved in the Publication of Vynnychenko's Unpublished Works"
- Semen Pohorily: "Four Unpublished Novels by Volodymyr Vynnychenko"
- March 29, 1969 • Yaroslav Turkalo: Opening Address
- Hryhory Kostiuk: "On the Activities and Plan of Work of the Commission for the Preservation of the Literary Heritage of Volodymyr Vynnychenko"
- February 28, 1970 Hryhory Kostiuk: Did Vynnychenko Belong to the Government Headed by Christian Rakovsky? (New Data on Vynnychenko's Biography) "
- March 8, 1970 • Hryhory Kostiuk: Opening Address
- Yaroslav Turkalo: "The Present State of Vynnychenko's 'Zakutok' and Vynnychenko's Grave in Mougin" The talk was illustrated with slides.
- October 31, 1970 Recital in observance of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880-1970) arranged together with the Association of Ukrainian Writers "Slovo"
- Recitations of excerpts from Vynnychenko's works by Joseph Hirniak, Olha Kyrychenko, V. Kurulyk, P. Shuhan, Mykhaylo Yablonsky, and Volodymyr Zmiy.
- December 12, 1970 Conference in observance of the 90th anniversary of the birth of Volodymyr Vynnychenko devoted to the study of his literary heritage
- John Fizer: Opening Address
- Valerian Revutsky: "The Emigration Period in the Vynnychenko's Dramaturgy"
- Laryssa Onyshkevych: "Vynnychenko's *The Sun Machine*—Robots and Antirobots"
- Hryhory Kostiuk: "Problems in the Scholarly Study of Vynnychenko's Literary Heritage"

Fine Arts Group

- March 24, 1968 Opening of a retrospective exhibit of works by J. Hnizdovsky (1942–1967)
- Damian Horniatkevych: Opening Address
 - Mykola Kuzmovych: “About the Artist”
 - J. Hnizdovsky: “My Work”
- September 28, 1968 Halyna Slastion-Schulga: “The Creative Work of Illya Schulga”
- The lecture was illustrated with colored slides of paintings by Illya Schulga.
- March 15, 1969 Opening of an exhibit of photographs, drawings, and documents arranged on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Ukrainian armed struggle for independence
- Damian Horniatkevych: Opening Address
 - Stepan Ripetsky: “History of Ukrainian Riflemen in Documents”
 - A. Dmyterko-Ratych: “The Participation of Ukrainian Women in the Ukrainian Struggle for Liberation”
- April 5, 1969 Opening of an exhibition of paintings by Yu. Lishchynsky (Carpathian landscapes)
- J. Hnizdovsky: “Lishchynsky’s Creative Work”
 - Omelyan Lishchynsky: “About the Artist”
- On the closing day of the exhibition (May 17, 1969), a conference was held
- Damian Hornyatkevych: “Landscape Paintings by Lishchynsky”
 - Petro Mehyk: “Ukrainian Students at the Warsaw Academy of Arts”
- February 21, 1970 Opening of an exhibition of works by Volodymyr Kyveluk
- Damian Horniatkevych: Opening Address
- On the closing day of the exhibition (April 19, 1970), Volodymyr Kyveluk delivered a talk: “My Life in Art”
- May 2, 1970 Opening of a retrospective exhibition of works by Oksana Lukasevych
- Damian Horniatkevych: Opening Address
 - Oksana Lukasevych: “Three Stages of My Work as Shown in the 1964–1970 Exhibit”

On the closing day of the exhibition (May 30, 1970) Oksana Lukasevych delivered a talk: "Mexico, a Country of Contrasts," illustrated with slides and recorded Mexican-Indian music

Popular Talks Illustrated With Slides

- June 15, 1968 Dmytro Tromsa: "Impressions from the Holy City of Jerusalem"
- November 16, 1968 Jaroslav Turkalo: "Christian Antiquity of Constantinople and Bithynian Nicea"

Concerts and Recitals

- June 22, 1969 Concert of vocal music arranged by the Academy Foundation. Participating artists: Tamara Lykholai, songs; Volodymyr Tysovsky, songs; Ihor Sonevytsky, piano. Two compositions by Ihor Sonevytsky were performed for the first time
- May 9, 1970 An evening honoring the memory of the late Ludmila Ivchenko-Kovalenko, sponsored by the Academy and the Association of the Ukrainian Orthodox Sisterhoods in the U.S.A. Recital and Concert.
- Participating artists: Olympia Dobrovolska, Iva Kulish, Maria Pryshlyak, Roma Shuhan, Mykhaylo Yablonsky, V. Struk, Hanna Sherey, and Oksana Shaves

Concerts Arranged by the Doroshenko Relief Committee

- May 5, 1968 • Natalia Ossadcha-Janata: "On the Doroshenko Relief Committee"
- Antonina Lysenko and students of Antonina Lysenko and Zoya Markovych Musical School Participated: P. Prasko, N. Tereshchenko; Lesya Romanets, Mariana Polaniuk, and Irina Zozulyak (trio, Zoya Markovych, ductor); Women Choir, Antonina Lysenko, conductor; Zoya Markovych and Lesya Melnyk, piano.
- October 27, 1968 • Natalia Ossadcha-Janata: "Opening Remarks"
- Students of Zoya Markovych Musical School participated: Andriy Korsun, Oksana Surzhko, Portia Raybrig (piano); Lesya Romanets, Maryana Hamanyuk, and Irina Zozulyak (trio); Luise Gaur, Kristina Ostapovych, and Lilya Melnyk (Soloveyko Trio); Zoya Markovych, piano.

- March 8, 1969 Concert and Recital
- Natalia Ossadcha-Janata: "Opening Remarks"
 - Danylo Hanyak (songs), Eugenia Volts (piano)
 - Ivan Kernytsky: Reading of humorous stories.
- April 12, 1970 Concert of arias and songs
- Natalia Ossadcha-Janata: "Opening Remarks"
 - Tamara Lykholai and Valentyna Zhyla-Nalyvayko (songs); Ihor Sonevytsky, piano.
- December 6, 1970 Concert of arias and songs
- Natalia Ossadcha-Janata: "The Doroshenko Relief Committee"
 - Khrystyna Stupnykiv, Antin Yurkiv, and Iryna Tvardovska (songs); Eugene Krakhno, piano.

The Association of Podolians

Committee for Celebration of the Ninecentennial of Kamenets-Podolsk

- December 7
and 8, 1968 Grand Conference in observance of the ninecentennial of Kamenets-Podolsk
- Alexander Archimovych: Opening Address
 - Mykhaylo Kravchuk: "Introductory Remarks"
 - Ihor Hubarzhevsky: "The Ethnic Characteristics Immanent in the Culture of Podolia"
 - Vasyl Omelchenko: "History of the City of Kamenets-Podolsk and of Podolia"
 - Ivan Rozhin: "Natural Resources of Podolia"
 - Yaroslav Turkalo: "Sultan's Wife Roksoliana, Daughter of Podolia"
 - Pavlo Shandruk: "Kamenets-Podolsk as a Platsdarm in the Fight for the Ukraine"
 - V. Garber: "Kamenets-Podolsk Theological Seminary"
 - Kost Turkalo: "The Foundation of the Ukrainian State University in Kamenets-Podolsk"
 - Dmytro Korbutiak: "The City of Kamenets-Podolsk During World War II"
 - Tatiana Prykhodko-Solukha: "Reminiscences on Dr. K. Solukha"
 - Yaroslav Sichynsky: "Reminiscences on Rev. Yukhym Sichynsky, Student of Podolia"

- O. Zahajkevycz: "Reminiscences on Bohdan Zahajkevycz, Pioneer in Publishing Collections Devoted to Regional Problems"
 - A concert of young bandura singers, students at Rev. Serhiy Kindzeryavy-Pastukhiv Bandura School
 - The exhibit of maps and art works related to Podolia. Participating artists: Damian Horniatkevych, Rev. Serhiy Kindzeryavy-Pastukhiv, I. Kuchmak, Mykhaylo Kravchuk, and Eugenie Rozhin
- May 10, 1970 An evening devoted to Podolia
- Mykhaylo Kravchuk: "Opening Adress"
 - Andriy Horniatkevych: "Impressions from Visits to Kamenets-Podolsk, Vinnitsa, and Poltava." The talk was illustrated with colored slides.
 - Rev. Serhiy Kindzeryavy-Pastukhiv demonstrated slides of his pictures of thirty men prominent in the history and culture of the Ukraine
 - Damian Horniatkevych: "Reminiscences on Podolian Artists"
 - Concert of young bandura-players
- 1970 The Association of Podolians arranged a session in Philadelphia for observing the ninecentennial of the City of Kamenets-Podolsk. Talks were delivered by Mykhaylo Kravchuk, Vasyl Omelchenko, Tatiana Prykhodko-Solukha, and Kost Turkalo.

Group of the Academy in Denver, Colorado

- March 9, 1968 Volodymyr Moshynsky: "Southern Bessarabia and New Data on the Trojan Bank in Works by Rumanian Historians"
- August 4, 1968 Conference in Salt Lake City, Utah
- Lev Bykovsky: "The First Bibliography of Ukrainian Economic Literature (Review of the Publication by Bohdan S. Wynar: *Materiyaly do istoriyi ekonomichnykh doslidiv na emigratsiyi, 1919-1964, Munich, 1968, 119 pp.*)"
 - Filimon Ukradyha: "The New Theory of Blood Pressure"

- Ivan Hromyk: "Uladovo-Lyulynets Experimental Station and Its Part in the Improvement of Agricultural Methods Used in the Ukraine and Adjacent Areas"
 - Vasyl Gvozdetsky: "Accumulation and Migration of Radioactive Strontium in Soils"
- September 28, 1968 Conference in Salt Lake City, Utah
- Eugene Petrivsky: "Impressions from Travelling in Central Europe in Summer, 1968"
- February 22, 1969 Volodymyr Moshynsky: "My Life in Odessa from June, 1918, to April, 1920"
- May 17, 1969 Kyrylo Lewczenko: "The Annihilation of Enslaved People by Moscow in a Historical Aspect"
- October 4, 1969 Yuri Moshynsky: "A Computerized Man"
- October 29, 1969 Pavlo Babyak: "Eugene Malaniuk, His Life and Creative Work"
- December 27, 1969 Yaroslav B. Rudnyčkyj: "Ukrainian Etymological Studies in the Ukraine and Abroad" and "The Activities and Prospects of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Canada"
- March 21, 1970 Volodymyr Horchakivsky: "Jerusalem in the Spring of 1969"
- October 24, 1970 Bohdan S. Wynar: "On the Question of Historical Development of Economic Thought in the Ukraine" and "Prospects of the Development of Ukrainian Historical Studies by Emigré Scholars"
- January 30, 1971 Marie Halun-Bloch: "Prague as Seen Five Years Ago up to Recent Times"
- An exhibit of books and maps was arranged.
- March 21, 1971 Conference with the participation of the Association of Ukrainian Historians
- Panel: "The Present: State and Prospects of Ukrainian Studies in the U.S.A. and Canada"

Group of the Academy in Washington, D.C.

- January 17, 1969 Ivan L. Rudnytsky: "The Ways of Development of Modern Ukrainian Political Thought"
- February 21, 1969 Olexander Tymoshenko: "Modern American Literature"

February 28, 1971 An evening in observance of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Lesya Ukrayinka

- Petro Odarchenko: "Creative Biography of Lesya Ukrayinka"
- Recitations of Lesya Ukrayinka's works by Lesya Bodnaruk, Inna Kolos, B. Kuli, Julia Lomatska, and Iryna Maksymyuk.

Compiled by Iwan Zamsha

Obituaries

PHILIP E. MOSELY

(1905–1972)

Philip E. Mosely, world-renowned scholar in the fields of international relations, Soviet affairs, and East European problems, died on January 13, 1972 in New York. The Academy is proud that Professor Mosely was associated with it and supported its activities from its first steps in this country. Since 1963 he was full member of the Academy.

Professor Mosely was a political adviser for the government on the highest level, having a profound knowledge of the history, philosophy, and culture of peoples in Eastern Europe; he understood complicated relationships among different nationalities and also within them; he had a deep insight into human nature and understood people of various national and social background. Professor Mosely called Mykhaylo Drahomanov “a prophet of the Ukrainian and the European conscience.”¹ Dr. Mosely himself was the embodiment of the American and the universal conscience. As such he supported causes when he believed that their aims were just. He was for freedom for nations and individuals.

Dr. Mosely was born on September 21, 1905, in Westfield, Mass. While still a teenager he developed an interest in Russian language and literature as a result of his contacts with immigrants from Eastern Europe. He earned a bachelor's degree from Harvard University in 1926. In 1930–32 he conducted historical research in the libraries and archives of Moscow. At the same time he explored the present, meeting people from many walks of life and getting a first-hand experience of living conditions in the country. Mosely too, suffered from malnutrition, as did many Soviet citizens in the early 30's. He travelled throughout the Soviet Union and also visited Kiev. His papers were detained at the time of his departure from the USSR but documents were released after he wrote to Stalin.

The young historian received his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1933. In 1935–36 Mosely conducted research in the Balkans and became involved in Drahomanov's writings. He contacted the latter's daughter, Lydia Shishmanova, to learn more about her father.

Dr. Mosely taught at Princeton, Union College, Cornell, Hunter, and Columbia University. From 1942 to 1946 he worked for the State Department. He was an adviser to Secretary of State Cordell Hull at the Moscow conference in 1943 and a political adviser in the U.S. delegation to the European Advisory Commission, London, 1944–45, to the Potsdam Conference, 1945,

¹ Philip E. Mosely, “Drahomanov and the European Conscience,” *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. II, No. 1 (3), 1952.

and to the Council of Foreign Ministers, London and Paris, 1945–46. He was U.S. representative of the four-power commission for investigation of the Yugoslav-Italian boundary, 1946.

In 1946, Professor Mosely returned to Columbia University as a professor of international relations. He was a founder of the Russian Institute at Columbia (1946) and its director in 1951–55. It is said that Professor Mosely created several generations of students of Russia and Eastern Europe. The book *Ukrainian Nationalism* by John A. Armstrong appeared in the series of *Studies* of the Russian Institute in 1955. The book was considered objective by most Ukrainian reviewers. The author states in his preface that Professor Mosely was his constant guide and counselor. Dr. Mosely was the founder and director of the Archive of Russian and East European History and Culture at Columbia University. In 1951–55 he was the president of the Research Program on the USSR, a project supported by the East European Fund to assist refugee scholars and scientists to contribute their knowledge and experience to the Western World. Through this program many Ukrainian intellectuals were helped along in their first steps in the United States. In 1952–61 Dr. Mosely was President of the East European Fund.

From 1955 to 1963 Dr. Mosely was director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations. In 1963 he returned to Columbia University as director of the European Institute and as associate dean of the School of International Affairs.

Dr. Mosely was so intensively involved as teacher, organizer, and adviser, that he had little time to devote to writing. However, he left a long list of articles and two books: *Russian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Eastern Question in 1838 and 1839* (1934) and *The Kremlin and World Politics*, a collection of articles (1960).

The association of Dr. Mosely with the Academy began early in 1950 and it is mentioned in his article "Michael Vetukhiv—Founding President of the Academy."² This writer would like to add a few details about Dr. Mosely's work with the Academy. He delivered the following papers at the Academy conferences: "Cooperation Between American and Ukrainian Science (February, 1951); "Drahomanov and the European Conscience" (November, 1951); "Michael Vetukhiv and American Scholarship" (November, 1959). In 1957 he presided and made the opening address at the Grand Conference in memory of Dmytro Bahaliy. In May, 1951, the Ford Foundation assigned through the Free East Europe Fund, Inc., a grant towards the cost of publication of *The Annals*. In 1954, The Academy and the Shevchenko Scientific Society received a grant from the above Fund for the Ukrainian Book Project. Professor Mosely supported the Academy's applications for grants. As Director of the Archive of Russian and East European History and Cul-

² *The Annals*, Vol. VIII, No. 25–26, 1960.

ture at Columbia University, Professor Mosely personally supported a transfer to the custody of this archive of the Volodymyr Vynnychenko collection, and of the Michael Vetukhiv collection. Professor Mosely suggested establishing a separate archive of the history and culture of the Ukraine at Columbia University but, unfortunately, he did not find understanding among Ukrainian archivists.

In May 1969, Professor Mosely was chairman at the Academy Annual Conference of Ukrainian Historians and Social Scientists devoted to the problem of Ukrainian-American Relations. In his comments on Constantine Warvariv's paper he mentioned that very little was known in America about Eastern Europe in the years 1917–1920. The recognition of the Ukrainian state was a legalistic problem. This was the last time that Dr. Mosely participated in an Academy conference, which was organized by Ukrainian scholars much younger than those who founded the Academy and with whom he cooperated closely.

Philip E. Mosely will certainly be remembered as an American scholar and statesman who understood the Ukrainian problem and who vigorously supported the Ukrainian intellectuals in their efforts to raise the knowledge and the study of the Ukraine in the Western World.

I am happy that I had the opportunity to know Philip E. Mosely. He was a great idealist who succeeded in carrying out many of his ideas.

LUBOV DRASHEVSKA

LEO SHELJUZHKO (1890–1969)

Leo Sheljuzkho, prominent Ukrainian entomologist, died in Munich on August 23, 1969. A specialist in butterflies (Lepidoptera) he described many new species, forms, and geographic races.

Sheljuzhko was born on September 26, 1890, in Kiev. In 1908 he graduated from the gymnasium there and entered the Department of Natural Sciences of St. Volodymyr University in Kiev from which he graduated in 1912. Already in his gymnasium years he became interested in collecting and identifying butterflies; this interest lasted all his life long. His first scientific papers appeared in entomological periodicals when he was still a university student.

The only son of well-to-do parents, Sheljuzhko obtained in their house in Kiev an extra room for his museum where his enormous butterfly collection was housed in 4636 entomological boxes. He was supported by his father, Andriy Ivanovych, a professional agriculturist and an ardent butterfly lover. The Sheljuzhko collection included butterfly species from many localities

which enabled the young entomologist to describe many local forms and geographic races. The zoogeography of the Ukrainian entomological fauna was best represented. To enrich his collection Sheljuzhko organized several expeditions to the Caucasus, Pamir, and Far East. He corresponded with entomologists all over the world and exchanged butterflies.

Sheljuzhko was also engaged in the breeding and study of exotic fish. For this purpose a special ásh house was built on the grounds of Sheljuzhko's estate in Kiev. Numerous aquaria were housed there, each with a special microclimate needed by certain fish breeds. This fish-breeding establishment became a scientific ichthyological center which supplied exotic fish throughout Russia. This was the only center of this type in Russia, and it was the third best in Europe. Both the fish-breeding center and the butterfly museum suffered at the time of Revolution. The fish-breeding center was nationalized and exotic fish and plants perished due to the shortage of heat. Later the Research Institute of Fish Husbandry of the Ukraine took possession of the desolated house having used it for the study and breeding of river fish breeds (carp, sheat-fish, and others). Since it was difficult and dangerous to keep enormous lepidoptera collections at home, Sheljuzhko transferred them to the Zoological Museum of Kiev University, where they became the basis of the Lepidoptera Museum. Sheljuzhko continued his work on the collections there and also worked at the Zoological Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

In 1939 Sheljuzhko was appointed Director of the Lepidoptera Museum at Kiev University Museum. At the same time he worked as entomologist in several institutions in Kiev, including Sugar Trust and Makhorka Trust. In 1933 in Kiev he published a paper on insect pests of makhorka.

At the time of German occupation Sheljuzhko's collection was transported to Koenigsberg together with other Ukrainian possessions, but was returned after the end of the War. In 1943 Sheljuzhko left for Germany. Here he was invited to work as an entomologist at the Zoologische Sammlungen des Bayerischen Staates, Munich, Schloss Nymphenburg, where he worked until his death.

Leo Sheljuzhko published more than 90 papers in entomological, zoological, and biological journals. His works appeared in Ukrainian, Russian, German, English, and French. He studied enormous butterfly collections which were acquired by him personally and by numerous correspondents in the Ukraine, Caucasus, Transcaucasia, Asia Minor, Macedonia, Siberia, Korea, Pamir, Nepal, Tien-Shan, and Central Asia. While working on these collections he described many new species, forms, and geographic races of Lepidoptera.

ALEXANDER ARCHIMOVICH

MYKHAYLO OVCHYNNYK

(1901–1970)

Mykhaylo Mytrofanovych Ovchynnyk, prominent Ukrainian zoologist, full member of the Academy and head of its Detroit group, died on December 3, 1970. He was born on September 19, 1901 in the town of Hlukhiv, Ukraine, and graduated from a gymnasium there. In 1926 he graduated from the Department of Natural Sciences of Kiev University having presented a thesis, *Gregarious Life Among Animals; Biocoenoses and the Methods of Their Study*. After graduation, he received a fellowship from the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev and in 1932 passed the doctor's examination in zoological sciences including zoology of the vertebrates and invertebrates, paleontology, embryology, comparative anatomy, mechanics and theory of evolution, and genetics. From 1926 to 1936 he conducted research at the Experimental Station for Pisciculture and the Experimental Institute for Fishery in the Ukraine and was in charge of the ichthyological laboratory. Ovchynnyk participated in 20 scientific hydrobiological expeditions.

The results of Ovchynnyk's research in this period were summarized in his publications: "Mass Artificial Fertilization of Fishes" (1934) and "*Lenciscus idus* from the Dnieper River" (1937). He lectured on zoology and taught special courses at the Ukrainian Institute for Pisciculture and Institute for Conservation in Kiev, as well as at the Agricultural Institute in Zhytomyr. He participated in numerous zoological and ichthyological congresses in Kiev, Moscow, and Leningrad.

In 1938–41 Ovchynnyk was imprisoned in concentration camps. In 1943–48 he was in Germany and taught zoology at the Ukrainian Free University, where he obtained his Ph.D.

In 1949 Ovchynnyk came to the U.S.A. and began to work at Michigan State College in Lansing, first as instructor, and later as associate professor and curator in charge of coldblooded vertebrates at the State University Museum. He continued his research in ichthyology. In 1962 Ovchynnyk published his paper "The Use of Scales and Bones for Age Determination of the Great Lakes Whitefish *Coregonus clupeaformis* Mitchill," *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, 1962, Bd. 169, H 5/6. In 1965 his second work on a related topic appeared: "On Age Determination with Scales and Bones of the White Sucker, *Carostomus commersoni* Lacepede," *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, 1965, Bd. 175, H. 4–6.

Dr. Ovchynnyk cooperated with the Latin American Studies Center and was invited to come to Ecuador to study the ichthyofauna in the rivers there. He was engaged in research for several years and summarized its results in the paper "Annotated List of the Freshwater Fish of Ecuador," *Zoologischer Anzeiger*, 1968, Bd. 181, H. 3/4, pp. 237–268. This work was translated into German and Spanish. Another paper dealing with a related topic was "Fresh-

water Fishes of Ecuador," *Latin American Studies Center Michigan State University, Monograph Series*, No. 1, pp. 1-44. Here, in addition to faunal problems, prospects of fish husbandry in Ecuador were discussed.

One of Ovchynnyk's works was devoted to the related problems in the Soviet Union: "Fish Cultur ein the USSR," *Fishing News International*, Vol. 2, No. 3, London, 1963.

Ovchynnyk left several unpublished manuscripts, including a monograph, *Catalogue of Fishes of Ecuador*, 600 pages and 60 photographs, and the manuscript, *Unrecorded and New Fishes in Fresh Waters of Ecuador*, 80 pages and 12 illustrations.

Dr. Ovchynnyk was a member of many scientific societies and academies, including the Michigan Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, The American Society of Ichthyologists and Herpetologists, The American Fisheries Society, American Association for the Advancement of Science, American Association of University Professors, International Academy of Zoology, and Sigma Xi. Dr. Ovchynnyk represented worthily the Ukrainian intellectuals in the arena of international science.

ALEXANDER ARCHIMOVICH

WADYM KIPA
(1912-1968)

Wadym Yermiyovych Kipa, pianist-virtuoso, organist, composer, and piano teacher died on August 31, 1968, in New York. He was born on May 13, 1912 in Kiev. As a boy he revealed a keen interest in music. Kipa studied piano with the prominent teacher Hryhoriy Beklemishev but mostly his own efforts contributed to his success. In 1938 Kipa graduated from Kiev Conservatory, having obtained a diploma of pianist-virtuoso. The same year he became a laureate at the first all-Union competition of pianists and started his career as concert pianist and piano soloist with symphonic orchestras. He performed both in the Ukraine and beyond its boundaries. In 1940 Kipa completed his studies at the Meisterschule associated with the Kiev Conservatory. His teaching career began in 1935, first as a teacher at the musical school, then in the Conservatory, where he was an associate professor, and since 1942, a full professor.

In 1943, Kipa came to Germany and became professor at Klindwort-Scharwenk Conservatory in Berlin, the world-known school, where Franz Liszt had once been professor. He lived in Germany until 1951, being active both as pianist-virtuoso and teacher. His artistic performance was praised in both the German and Ukrainian press. Suzanna Estorf wrote in *Berliner Zeitung* that Kipa was a brilliant interpreter, full of energy, elemental

strength, dramatism, and bravura, which were best manifested in his performance of the music of Beethoven.

Since 1951 Kipa lived in New York where he was active in many fields in spite of his difficult personal circumstances. He gave concerts in the U.S.A. and Canada, performing classical works of Western European and Ukrainian composers, as well as his own music. In 1952 Kipa organized in New York City his own musical school where he applied his original method of piano teaching. Several brilliant pianists were trained at the Kipa school.

Wadym Kipa composed music for piano and voice. Notable are his *Fantastic Variations*, *Gavotte Interrupted by a Serenade*, *Scherzo in Mi-Minor*, *Elegy in Si-Minor*, *Gallop in Mi-Minor*, and *Album for Youth* including many pieces, dances, and Études. Worth mentioning are his vocal works such as "For the Ukraine," lyrics by P. Kyzko and a cycle of romances, lyrics by Lesya Ukrayinka. He wrote reviews and articles published in the Ukrainian press.

Kipa was a corresponding member of the Academy and was actively engaged in its work. He organized concerts in the Academy hall, in which he himself participated and attracted many able performers, both young and old.

N. N.

LUBOV SAFIJOWSKA
(1901-1969)

Botanist Lubov Safijowska died in New York in 1969. She was born in 1901 in Kielce, Poland. During the World War I she came to Kiev. In 1930 she graduated from the Department of Natural Sciences of Kiev University. In 1930-33 she worked as research associate at the Botanical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev. Beginning in 1933 she taught botany at Kiev University. Safijowska specialized in plant embryology and physiology having worked at Kiev University in the laboratory headed by a prominent embryologist, Professor V. V. Finn who belonged to the school of a well-known embryologist S. H. Navashin, founder of the laboratory. Safijowska continued studies started by the Navashin school. She also worked in the laboratory of plant physiology headed by M. Kholodny. Her embryological investigations at Kiev University were related to the study of generative and vegetative cells in pollen kernels of *Cuscutaceae* and *Campanulaceae*.

During World War II Safijowska returned to Poland and in 1942-45 worked at the Botanical Institute of the University in Poznań. In 1951 she came to the U.S.A. She worked with Professor Seifriz at Pennsylvania University, at the University of Chicago, and at Fordham University in New

York City with Professor Alexander Wolsky. In the United States she conducted her research on the plant families Iridaceae, Violaceae, Malvaceae, and Liliaceae. Her thorough embryological investigations, especially her study of the male gametophyte in vivo in pollen tubes, were widely acclaimed and were highly praised by several scientists in their reviews.

In spite of many personal difficulties caused by the Revolution, wars, and evacuation, Safijowska was continuously engaged in her research work. She published 23 papers, partly in Kiev, partly in the United States. Her principal works treat the development of the male gametophyte in Angiospermae. Safijowska established that generative nuclei in pollen in several species of Campanulaceae are surrounded by a thick layer of their own plasma and that generative nuclei form generative cells in pollen tubes. She observed the same phenomena in Caryophyllaceae, where sperm cells were found. She studied gametophytes in 13 gladiolus species and in iris, and came to the conclusion that the male gametophytes in the investigated species present nuclei surrounded by their own plasma. Thus she proved that generative nuclei of all the Angiospermae are surrounded by their own plasma and form sperm cells. As a result of her experiments with kok-saghyz, Safijowska obtained tetraploid forms.

Safijowska was a full member of the Academy, full member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and Sigma-Xi Association. She presented papers on the results of her research at conferences of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

HELEN SAVITSKY

MYKYTA CHYHRYNTSIV (1904-1970)

Mykyta Chyhryntsiv, internationally known specialist in the field of food industry, researcher and technologist, died in Caracas, Venezuela, on May 25, 1970. He was born on February 13, 1904, in the Ukraine, and graduated from Uman' Institute of Horticulture. Later he obtained the degree of Candidate of Technical Sciences. Chyhryntsiv started his career in the Ukraine, having worked in the field of fruit preservation and lectured at institutions of higher learning; he published 19 papers in technical periodicals there. Chyhryntsiv continued his work in related fields while living in Poland and Austria.

In 1948 Chyhryntsiv came to Venezuela and became a prominent specialist in the food industry of tropical countries. In 1948-49 he worked for the Department of Chemistry at the Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry; in 1949-52 he worked at the National Institute of Nutrition in Caracas; in 1952-58 he headed the Central Laboratory of Industrias Pampero in Caracas.

From 1959 until his death Chyhryntsev was full professor at the Central University in Caracas and head of the Food Industry Department at this university. He participated in many scientific congresses, such as Congreso Latinoamericano de Quimica, 1954, Caracas; The Western Hemisphere Nutrition Congress, 1965, Chicago; The International Congress on Tropical Fruits, London, 1969. Professor Chyhryntsev published 23 scientific papers in Venezuela and the textbook, *Food Industry*.

Professor Chyhryntsev was a member of the Academy and supported its activities.

N. N.

OKSANA LYATURYNSKA

(1902–1970)

Oksana Lyaturynska, sculptor and poet, died on June 13, 1970, having left a deep mark in the Ukrainian cultural life of this mid-century. Lyaturynska was born on February 1, 1902, in Katerburg, Volhynia. Her father, Mykhaylo F. Lyaturynsky, was a cavalryman who retired early and became engaged in managing his estate. Together with the dowry of his wife Hanna, born Verka, he had 200 desyatynas of land. Oksana was one of the youngest children in the large family. She spent her early years at a homestead in the woods. She attended elementary school in a small town, then studied at the Ukrainian gymnasium in the Town of Kremynets. In the spring of 1919, she completed five grades there, then her education was temporarily interrupted. She returned to her father's homestead and spent several years there. This probably happened due to one of three reasons: the uncertain revolutionary times, her father's impoverishment, or the death of her mother.

In 1924 Lyaturynska came to Czechoslovakia and in the spring of 1926 passed examinations for the seventh grade of the Ukrainian Reformed Realgymnasium in Prague, and obtained her matriculation. In the fall of 1926 she began to audit lectures at the Philosophical Department of Charles University in Prague, first as a non-matriculated student, and since the summer of 1928, as a matriculated student. Simultaneously, she studied at the Czech School of Arts and Crafts, where she took sculpture under Prof. Waxman. Lyaturynska also attended classes of sculpture under Prof. K. Stakhivsky at the Ukrainian Art School, and classes of drawing conducted by Prof. S. Mako. She worked hard with an ambition to become a professional sculptor. Her artistic works attracted attention at school exhibits and were awarded prizes.

In 1934 Lyaturynska graduated from the School of Arts and Crafts, and for ten years worked in her own studio in Prague. In her sculptures, monumentalism was manifested. The following creations of Lyaturynska are most

outstanding: *Harvesting of Grapes* (clay) showing a complicated composition of human bodies interwoven with vines; *Roaring Bear*; *Galloping Horse* (gypsum); *Cossack on a Wild Horse* (terra-cotta); Shevchenko's bust, about one meter in size (bronze); gypsum busts of Symon Petlyura and Eugen Konovalets; tomb monuments for Kobyzky (granite and bronze), for Ukrainian soldiers at Pardubytzi cemetery (granite), for Eugen Konovalets in Rotterdam, and for Arkadiy Zhyvotko in Aschaffenburg. Lyaturynska's sculptures are highly artistic revealing her strong unique talent.

Lyaturynska also worked in the field of ceramics, made Easter eggs, and colorful original dolls. She was a gifted portrait artist, usually executing her portraits in pencil and charcoal, seldom in pen. She hardly ever used paints. Her portraits brilliantly characterize the subject. Their sharp contours and unusual shadowing give them the impact of sculptures. In addition to numerous private orders, Lyaturynska created a series of pictures of historical figures and of prominent contemporaries, such as Symon Petlyura, Andriy Mel'nyk, Olexander Oles', Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, O. Ol'zhych, and others. Some of these portraits were mass produced on post cards.

Lyaturynska's many-sided talent was not limited to visual arts. In 1917, still a teenager, she began to write poetry. At first she did not attach any importance to her poems and began to publish them rather late, in 1931. However, Lyaturynska's poems immediately attracted readers' attention and she became very popular. As a writer Lyaturynska belonged to the *Visnyk* group in Prague. Her literary style was characterized by symbolism and severity in self-expression; she preferred mythological and historical topics. Most of ancient Ukrainian beliefs and traditions are found in most of her poetry. Many of Lyaturynska's poems were dispersed in periodicals. A collection of poems *Husla* (Psaltery) appeared in 1938, and *Knyazha emal* (Princely Enamel) in 1941. In 1956, these two collections and also the book *Veselka* (Rainbow) were published together in one volume. The book *Materynky* (Marjoram), 1946, was compiled of children stories with an autobiographical nature. *Bedryk* (1956) is a book of children's poems. The last two books were illustrated by the author. Lyaturynska signed her works either by her own name, or by pen names: Oksana Pechenih, Rokšana Vyshnevetska, and Yeronim. In 1967 she joined the Association of Ukrainian Writers *Slovo*. During World War II Lyaturynska left Prague for Aschaffenburg in Germany. In 1949 she came to the U.S.A. and settled in Minneapolis, Minn. There she died of cancer in 1970.

Less than half of Lyaturynska's poems were ever published. The poem *Litopys* (Chronology) appeared after her death. Her literary heritage includes four collections of poems and several individual poems. Numerous translations include those of poems by Czech poet Pavel Yavor, poems by

K. Ya. Erben (more than 900 lines), two Slovak folk legends, and several poems by N. Gumilëv. She also left a thousand pages of essays treating topics of mythology of Middle East, in particular Jewish mythology.

OKSANA SOLOVEY

VOLODYMYR KEDROWSKY

(1890–1970)

Volodymyr Ivanovych Kedrowsky, an active participant in the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–20, an author and journalist, died on March 13, 1970. He belonged to the generation which grew up in Ukrainian clandestine revolutionary circles and at the time of the Revolution tried to fulfill their aspirations. Kedrowsky emigrated to the West in 1920 and until his death was an ardent promoter of the Ukrainian cause. He was closely associated with the Academy since 1950. Kedrowsky left memoirs which are an important source for the study of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation.

Kedrowsky was born on August 13, 1890 in the Kherson Region into a family of Ukrainian landholders. He attended Realgymnasium in Kherson, then navigation school from which he graduated. However, Kedrowsky could not get a post in the navy and shipbuilding industry because of his revolutionary reputation. Since he was a teenager Kedrowsky belonged to a revolutionary circle whose young members were influenced both by Russian revolutionaries and members of *Hromada* promoting Ukrainian culture. In 1908–11 Kedrowsky lived in Odessa and audited lectures at the University. From 1911 to 1914 he worked at Kherson *Zemstvo* where he gained experience in the administrative field which he later tried to apply during the Revolution while building up the apparatus of the newborn Ukrainian Republic.

Kedrowsky was an officer in the Russian Army when the Revolution began in 1917. He immediately became actively involved in work on the Ukrainization of military units of the Army. At the Second All-Ukrainian Military Congress in Kiev, June 1917, Kedrowsky was elected a member of the Ukrainian Military General Committee, whose president was Symon Petlyura. Kedrowsky was the vice-president of the above Committee, member of the Ukrainian Central *Rada* (June, 1917), under-secretary of war in the newly formed government of the Ukrainian People's Republic (November, 1917), General Staff member (January, 1919), Chief Inspector of the Ukrainian Army (May–December, 1919) and Ambassador of the Ukrainian People's Republic to the Baltic states (1920).

In 1921 Kedrowsky settled in Vienna and continued to work for the Ukrainian cause. He was president of the Ukrainian Society of the League of Nations (1921–1924) and an active member of the Association of Ukrain-

ian Journalists in Europe. In 1923 he came to the United States. At first he worked in the building industry and was active in the Ukrainian-American organizations. He also wrote articles for Ukrainian periodicals in the United States and Western Europe. Some of his pen names were: Mykola Shram, Khersonets, Petro Chevliy, Did Buchkar, and Baturinets. From 1926 to 1933 he was a co-editor of the Ukrainian daily *Svoboda*. This position involved many extra duties in Ukrainian-American political and cultural organizations. Later he owned a farm in New Jersey and participated in the production of Ukrainian films in the U.S.A. and Canada. The economic depression ended these enterprises. From 1941 to 1955 he worked for the General Cable Corporation at Perth Amboy, N.J. and continued his political and civic work, as well as his writing. From 1955 through 1963 he was Chief of the Ukrainian Service, Voice of America, U.S.I.A.

Kedrowsky cooperated closely with the Academy since early 1950, being one of the first donors who supported the publication of the first issue of *The Annals*. He delivered several papers at the Academy conferences and donated valuable materials to the Academy archives. He gave Petlyura's original unpublished letters for the Academy publication (book *Symon Petlyura, Lysty, Statti, Dokumenty*, 1956).

Kedrowsky left voluminous memoirs on the events in the Ukraine between 1917 and 1920. He wrote them in the early 1920's under the fresh impression of the stormy circumstances he had witnessed. His memoirs were partly published in installments in Ukrainian newspapers, *Svoboda*, *Ukrayins'kyi Holos*, *Narodna Volya*, *Narodne Slovo*, and others. In 1969 his book, *1917 rik* (The Year 1917), Vol. 1, appeared, covering the period from February to September 1917. In his book, *Obrysy mynuloho* (Essays on Bygone Days), *Svoboda*, 1966, Kedrowsky wrote about members of the Old *Hromada* in Kherson and other prominent figures of the Ukrainian movement. Kedrowsky's memoirs give many details of the events he participated in or witnessed. Of great interest are numerous documents cited by him. His writings were used by the authors dealing with the Ukrainian Revolution (Boris Martos, Isak Mazepa, John Reshetar, and others) and will be certainly used in the future. Kedrowsky left a unique library of books and documents pertaining to Ukrainian history and culture.

LUBOV DRASHEVSKA

WOLODYMYR MIJAKOWSKYJ

(1888—1972)

Wolodymyr Mijakowskyj, a reknowned scholar in the fields of nineteenth and twentieth century Ukrainian and Russian literature, history of political thought and public life, passed away in New York City on March 22, 1972 at the age of eighty-four. His death signifies the loss of a scholar of great ability and an individual who zealously devoted sixty years of his life to literary and scholarly work. The stature of his achievements grows all the more in realization of the turbulent events experienced during his lifetime—namely, three wars, two revolutions, two imprisonments, Czarist exile, Soviet concentration camp, emigration, and finally, adaptation to a new life in a foreign country. They may have temporarily interrupted his scholarly work, but they never decreased the kind of dedication which made a new beginning and continuation always possible.

Wolodymyr Mijakowskyj was born on July 18, 1888 in Kovel (Volhynia) as a son of a *myr* arbitrator. He studied at the Kiev Gymnasium and in 1913 completed his education at the historical-philological faculty at the University of St. Petersburg with a diploma of the first degree. Simultaneously with teaching at a gymnasium, he immersed himself in research in the history of literature and literary criticism. Almost immediately he gained recognition for his efforts and soon became a member of the leading scholarly societies in his field in St. Petersburg, as well a contributor and co-editor of the leading journals (*Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, *Zhurnal*, *Russkii Bibliofil*, *Golos Minushego*). Mijakowskyj's contributions in his field were extremely valuable because he was able to include much new and previously unknown materials in his works as a result of his research in secret archives which were newly-opened after the First Russian Revolution.

At the end of 1917, Mijakowskyj returned to Kiev and again involved himself in literary, archival, library and scholarly work. In 1920 he was named director of V. B. Antonovych Central Archives in Kiev. During the twenties he also participated in the scholarly activities of the Ukrainian Scholarly Society in Kiev, joined the Committee for the Organization of the Ukrainian National Library, and played a leading role in the All-Ukrainian Academy, especially in its Archaeographic Commission and in the Taras Hr. Shevchenko Institute.

During this time Mijakowskyj's articles appeared in various Ukrainian periodicals (*Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, *Nashe Mynule*, *Knyha*, *Ukrayina*, *Bibliolohichni Visti*, *Holos Druku*, *Chervonyi Shlyakh*, *Zhyttya i Revolutsiya*, *Mystetstvo*, *Arkhivna Sprava*, *Shevchenko Zbirnyk*, etc.). Particularly noteworthy in his contribution to the preparation of Serhii Yefremov's edition of the complete works of Taras Shevchenko, as well as a two-volume collection on the Decembrists in the Ukraine, co-edited by him and S. Yefremov.

His productive scholarly work was abruptly interrupted in 1929 by an arrest and a five-year sentence to a concentration camp in Karelia in connection with the "Soyuz Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny" trial. Upon his return (1934), he was forced to occupy inferior positions, among them as a statistician in a medical institute.

After the German occupation of Kiev in 1941, Mijakowskyj devoted his energies, as far as it was possible under the circumstances, to renewing the work of the Ukrainian Academy, worked in the Institute of Literature and Folklore as the director of the T. Shevchenko Division and rejuvenated the activity of the Central Historical Archives.

In 1943, he and his family were forced to flee to the West. For some time he worked in the Ukrainian Museum at Prague. From there he made his way in 1945 to Augsburg, Germany, where he initiated (in a DP camp!) the establishment of the Ukrainian Free Academy, the immediate predecessor of our Academy. In this he was supported by his fellow colleagues. Professor Dmytro Doroshenko was elected as the first president of the Academy and Mijakowskyj became its Secretary General. At the same time, Mijakowskyj formed a Museum-Archives at the Academy and he remained its curator, in Augsburg and New York, until his death.

Since 1950 he resided in New York City where once more he threw himself energetically into scholarly activity. His particular fields of interests here were: Vynnychenko studies, post-revolutionary Ukraine, emigre activities, Jewish-Ukrainian relations, and above all library and archival work.

Tirelessly, he also continued to publish his studies in various periodicals (*The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, *The American Slavic and East European Review*, *Literaturno-Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, *Shevchenko Yearbooks* no. 1-10, *Kyyiv, Nashe Zhyttya, Novi Dni*, *Syohochasne y Mynule, Nashi Dni, Svitannya, Suchasnist'*), collections (*Rewriting Russian History*, New York 1956; *Research Program on the USSR*, New York 1955; *Povne zibrannya tvoriv T. H. Shevchenka*, 2nd ed. Chicago 1960; *Taras Ševčenko 1814–1861. A Symposium*'), Gravenhage 1962) and even newspapers (*L'vivs'ki Visti*, *Krakovs'ki Visti*, *Ukrayins'ki Visti*/Neu Ulm, *Svoboda*).

Mijakowskyj was also an extraordinary professor of Ukrainian literature at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, a co-worker of the Research Program in the USSR in New York, a full member of our Academy, Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh), a co-founder of the literary organizations *Mur* and *Slovo*.

A necrology is not the place for an evaluation of his scholarly work. But it is necessary to point out here the areas in which the deceased held and still holds a leading position. In Ukrainian literature and in the history of Ukrainian political thought, his studies of the Decembrists (*Dekabrysty na Ukrayini*, Vol. 1, Kiev 1926; *Povstannya Dekabrystiv na*

Ukrayini, Kharkiv 1926), Cyrillo-Methodian Brotherhood (*M. Kostomarov: Knyhy Bytiya Ukrayins'koho narodu*, Augsburg 1947; *Kostomarov's Book of Genesis of the Ukrainian People with Comment*, Research Programm on the USSR, New York 1955), Taras Shevchenko (*Shevchenko ta yoho doba*, zbirnyk druhyi, Kiev 1926; *Povne zibrannya tvoriv T. Shevchenka*, Kiev: Ukr. Academy, vol. 3, 1929; vol. 4, 1927, and the collections quoted above), the 'Hromada Movement' (*Dmytro Antonovych*, Winnipeg: UVANm 1967), and the 'men of the sixties' of the nineteenth century. In Russian literature his name is closely connected with the studies of A. N. Radischev (*Radischev*, Petrograd: Ogni, 1918) and N. A. Dobrolyubov (*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Pushkinskii Dom, Moscow 1937).

Wolodymyr Mijakowskyj is gone. Young scholars stand bereaved in view of the disappearance of a man who was often their academic adviser and a living source of knowledge.*

MARKO ANTONOVYCH, HRYHORY KOSTIUK, OMELJAN PRITSAK

DOMET OLYANCHYN (1891—1970)

Professor Domet Olyanchyn, a well known Ukrainian historian and full member of the Academy, died on June 25, 1970, in Stuttgart, West Germany.

Domet Herasymovych Olyanchyn was born on August 6, 1891, into a farmer's family in the village of Viytivtsi, Bratslav County, Podolia. After his graduation from the elementary school, Olyanchyn attended teachers' courses planning to become a village teacher. In 1914 he was drafted to the Army and in 1915 became a prisoner of war. He was transferred to the camp for Ukrainian POW's where he attended lectures pertaining to Ukrainian studies and delivered by Vasyl Simovych, Mykola Holubets', V. Okhrymovych, and others. In 1916 Olyanchyn began to conduct educational work in the field of Ukrainian studies in POW camps at Freistadt and Salzwedel. In 1918 he came to Kiev and studied preparatory courses at the Ukrainian State University. Later he attended the Ukrainian State University at Kamyanets-Podil'skyi. In 1920 he emigrated to the West. In 1923 Olyanchyn enrolled at Berlin University where he studied philosophy, pedagogy, national economy, and history. He graduated in 1928 having obtained Dr. phil. degree for his dissertation "Hryhorij Skovoroda, 1722—1794. Der ukrainische Philosoph des XVIII Jahrhunderts." In 1932—37 Olyanchyn also studied theology and Church history at Münster and Königsberg universities.

Beginning with his student years Olyanchyn worked in German archives

* A selected bibliography of W. Mijakowskyj's writings appeared in the journal *Ukrayins'kyi Istoryk*, New York-Munich, 1969. no. 1-3 (21-23), pp. 144-148.

assembling materials on Ukrainian history, mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In this work he was supported and guided by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin. Prominent historians Dmytro Doroshenko and Vyacheslav Lypyns'kyi were his advisors. As early as in 1924, Olyanchyn published in *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina* (Vol. V, 1924-25) letters from Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi and Ivan Vyhohs'kyi to Frederick Wilhelm, Kurfürst of Brandenburg, which he found in the State Archives in Berlin. In 1927, Olyanchyn's paper on Ukrainian-German political relations in the second half of the XVII century was published in *Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin* (Vol. I, Berlin, 1927). These publications were thought to serve as a beginning of a larger monograph on the Ukrainian-Brandenburg relations in the seventeenth century. This monograph, however, was never finished, only the paper "Ukrayins'ko-brandenburgz'ki politychni znosyny v XVII st." (Ukrainian-Brandenburg Political Relations in the Seventeenth Century) was published in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (Vol. CLI, 1931). A related subject was treated in Olyanchyn's work "Opys podorozhi shvedsk'koho posla na Ukrayinu 1656-1657" (Description of the Journey of Swedish Envoy to the Ukraine in 1656-57; *ibid.*, Vol. CLIV, 1937). Olyanchyn wrote a monograph on Danylo Hrek Oliveberg, Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi's envoy to Sweden and Brandenburg in 1653-1657, which was prepared for publication and accepted for printing, first by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and later by the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society in Prague. Unfortunately, this monograph was not published and it is not known what happened to the manuscript.

As a result of his intensive work in German and Austrian archives (Berlin, Königsberg, Danzig, Breslau, Halle, Iena, Göttingen, Münster, Stuttgart, Vienna, and others), Olyanchyn assembled extensive and hitherto unknown material, mostly on seventeenth and eighteenth century Ukrainian history (politics, culture, and economics), in particular on the history of Ukrainian-German relations of that time. On the basis of this material he wrote in the 1930's a series of valuable treatises. Olyanchyn's publications on commercial relations of the Ukraine with Germany are of great importance for the study of economic history of the Hetmanate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as "Do istoriyi torhovli Rusy-Ukrayiny z Baltykoyu, zokrema-zh Staroduba z Kenighbergom XVII i poch. XVIII st." (On the History of Commerce of Ukraine-Rus' with the Baltic, Particularly Between Starodub and Königsberg in the XVII and Early XVIII Century) in *Zapysky Chynu Sv. Vasiliya Velykoho* (Vol. VI, Nos. 1-2, 1932); "T'orhovel'ni znosyny Ukrayiny z Breslavlem u XVIII st." (Commercial Relations of the Ukraine with Breslau in the XVIII Century) in *Nasha Kul'tura* (Vol. VIII, 1935); "Torhovel'ni znosyny Ukrayiny z

Lyayptsygom (Leipzig) u XVIII st." (Commercial Relations of the Ukraine with Leipzig in the XVIII Century; *ibid.*, Vol. 1, 1936). He also published the work "Do istoriyi torhovli Ukrayiny z Krymom (1754-1758)" (On the History of Ukrainian Trade with the Crimea 1754-1758) in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (Vol. CLII, 1933).

Much new material on the history of Ukrainian culture and cultural relations between the Ukraine and Western Europe is found in Olyanchyn's papers a part of which was published under a general heading "Aus dem Kultur und Geistesleben der Ukraine" (On the Cultural and Spiritual Life of the Ukraine), *Kyrios*, 1936-37. Noteworthy are his materials on the history of Ukrainian culture and Church published in *Nasha Kul'tura* and other Ukrainian periodicals. Of great interest are lists of Ukrainian students who studied at West European, mainly German, universities (*Kyrios*, 1936, No. 2 and 1937, Nos. 1-4).

World War II interrupted Olyanchyn's scholarly work. Only in the late 1940's he found an opportunity to continue his research activities. Then he mainly treated problems of the early history of the Ukraine and the study of sources. He published the following papers: "Die Symbolik des Zeichens auf den Münzen Vladimirs des Grossen und seiner Nachkommen," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* "(1956, Bd. 4, H. 1; 1958, Bd. 6, H. 4); "Zur Regierung des Grossfürsten Izjaslav-Demeter von Kiev (1054-1078)," (*ibid.*, 1960, Bd. 8, H. 4); "Ukrayinika v Stuttgarti" (Ukrainian Materials in Stuttgart), *Ukrayina*, Paris (1952, VII; 1953, IX, X), and others.

Dr. Domet Olyanchyn was a full member of our Academy, the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society in Prague (later in Munich). In 1961 he was nominated assoiate professor of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

The last years of his life Olyanchyn was very ill but until the end he continued his studies and also his work at the Stuttgart Landesbibliothek where he worked since 1950.

Domet Olyanchyn was burried in Stuttgart. His library and archives were transferred to the Ukrainian Free University.

OLEXANDER OHLOBLYN

MYKOLA HAYDAK
(1898-1971)

Dr. Mykola Haydak, a prominent scientist, a specialist in bee-keeping and the biology of bees, and a full member of the Academy, died in Minnesota on August 12, 1971. He contributed generously to the development of bee-keeping in the United States and was known to bee-masters of many countries.

Mykola Hryhorovych Haydak was born on May 12, 1898, in the Village of Malyi Yanisol, Kherson Region into a teacher's family. Later the family moved to the town of Cherkasy, where Haydak graduated from the Gymnasium. He entered St. Volodymyr's University in Kiev but was drafted into the Russian Army and sent to the Artillery School in Kiev. At the time of the Revolution he voluntarily joined the Ukrainian Army and fought as an artillery officer. In 1920 he retreated with the Army to Poland and was interned in the Kalusz Camp. He fled from there to Czechoslovakia and lived in Prague. He audited lectures at the Ukrainian Free University and studied at the Czech Polytechnical Institute from which he graduated in 1927 with a diploma of engineer-agriculturist. For two and a half years he worked as an assistant researcher at the Czechoslovak State Research Institute of Apiculture. In June, 1930, Haydak came to the United States and for several months worked as an assistant at an apiary. In the fall of 1930 he entered the University of Wisconsin and in 1933 he obtained his Ph.D. with specialization in apiculture. In July, 1933, he began his work at the Entomological Department of the University of Minnesota, later became a full professor, and worked there until his retirement in July of 1966. Professor Haydak lectured on apiculture and conducted research. His scientific interests encompassed the biology, metabolism, and nutrition of bees. He worked intensively on the problem of pollen substitutes for feeding bees early in spring. Professor Haydak's biochemical studies of vitamins consumed by bees and of the nutritional value of honey for man became internationally known. He popularized achievements of the Ukrainian apiculture in the Western World. In 1964 Professor Haydak was invited by the Government of Australia to study the apiculture there and to make his recommendations. In 1965 he presented his paper on feeding bee larvae by pollen substitutes at the 20th International Apicultural Congress in Bucharest. He was member of many scientific societies. Dr. Haydak left 220 papers dealing with apiculture and a textbook in Ukrainian, *Pasichnytstvo* (Apiculture) used by the students of the Ukrainian Husbandry in Podebrady, Czechoslovakia.

Professor Haydak participated actively in the work of Ukrainian-American organizations in Minneapolis and was the author of some 100 articles on Ukrainian topics. He transferred his Ukrainian library and archives to the Ukrainian Collection at the Library of the University of Minnesota.

Dr. Haydak was a quiet and gentle man who worked all his life with patience and persistence much like the bees whom he studied since his early years.

OLEKSANDER GRANOVSKY

In Memory of Friends of the Academy

OLEKSA PETROV (1887-1969)

Oleksa Ivanovych Petrov, an engineer, was born on February 16, 1877, in the Village of Oblanka, Yelizavethrad county, Ukraine. In 1915 he graduated from Kiev Polytechnical Institute. At the time of the Ukrainian Revolution he worked at the Ministry of Communications of the Ukrainian People's Republic. He left the Ukraine in 1920, came to Poland and then to Czechoslovakia. In 1924, Mr. Petrov took an active part in the organization of the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady; later he was professor there. He came to the United States in 1950, lived in St. Paul, Minn. and took an active part in the work of Ukrainian organizations there. He died on August 13, 1969.

Oleksa Petrov bequeathed to the Academy 43.4% of his estate to establish the Oleksa Petrov Scholarship Fund for Ph.D. candidates in the field of Ukrainian studies. \$1,000.00 should be spent annually. In 1970, the Academy received \$10,126.37 from the Fund.

IWAN ZAMSHA

NICHOLAS PELECHATIUK

Nicholas Pelechatyuk, an engineer, died in December, 1967, in San Diego, California. He bequeathed funds received from his Estate to the Academy for the publishing fund.

Nicholas Pelechatyuk was an officer in the Ukrainian Army. He graduated from the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Podebrady. Several years preceding his death he lived in San Diego and actively supported the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

IWAN ZAMSHA

JACOB KRALKO

Jacob Dorofiyovych Kralko died on February 12, 1967, in Manchester, England. He bequeathed funds from his Estate to the Academy.

Dr. Kralko was born in the Town of Korets in Volhynia and graduated from the Realgymnasium in the same town. He earned his Ph.D. at the university in Prague. After War World II he lived in England.

IWAN ZAMSHA

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following transliteration system has been used in this work:

<i>Ukrainian</i>		<i>Russian</i>	
а	а	а	а
б	б	б	б
в	в	в	в
г	h	г	g
г	g	д	d
д	d	е	e
е	e	ё	yo
є	ye	ж	zh
ж	zh	з	z
з	z	и	i
и	у	й	i
й	у	к	k
ий	yi	л	l
і	i	м	m
ї	yi	н	n
к	k	о	o
л	l	п	p
м	m	р	r
н	n	с	s
о	o	т	t
п	p	у	u
р	r	ф	f
с	s	х	kh
т	t	ц	ts
у	u	ч	ch
ф	f	ш	sh
х	kh	щ	shch
ц	ts	ъ	omitted
ч	ch	ы	y
ш	sh	ь	'
щ	shch	э	e
ь	'	ю	yu
ю	yu	я	ya
я	ya		

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Vol. I, No. 1, 1951. *Out of print.*

Vol. I, No. 2, 1951. *One dollar and fifty cents.*

Vol. II, No. 1 (3), 1952. Mykhaylo Drahomanov: A Symposium and Selected Writings. *Three dollars.*

Vol. II, No. 2 (4), 1952. *One dollar and fifty cents.*

Vol. II, No. 4 (6), 1952. *One dollar and fifty cents.*

Vol. III, No. 1 (7), 1953. *One dollar and fifty cents.*

Vol. III, No. 2 (8), 1953. *One dollar and fifty cents.*

Vol. III, No. 3 (9), 1954. *One dollar and fifty cents.*

Vol. III, No. 4 (10)/Vol. IV, No. 1-2 (11-12), 1954. Olexa Powstenko, The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. *Sixteen dollars.*

Vol. IV, No. 3 (13), 1955. *Three dollars.*

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