

Research Report No. 56

# **A Survey of Ukrainian Folk Tales**

by  
**Petro Lintur**

Translated and with an introduction by  
**Bohdan Medwidsky**

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press  
University of Alberta  
Edmonton 1994

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Occasional Research Reports

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PRINTED IN CANADA

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## PREFACE

This survey of Ukrainian folk tales originally appeared in German as an appendix to the collection of Ukrainian folk tales published as part of an international folk-tale series by the Zentralinstitut für Geschichte, Wissenschaftsbereich Kulturgeschichte/Volkskunde of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin under the title *Ukrainische Volksmärchen*, edited by P.V. Lintur, Berlin, 1972.

Petro Vasyliovych Lintur was born on 4 May 1909 into a family of peasants in the village of Horonda in the Mukachiv district of Transcarpathia. In 1937 he completed his studies of historical philology at Charles University in Prague. During the years of the Hungarian Horthy government's rule over Transcarpathia, Lintur was a high school teacher in Khust. After the Red Army took over the Transcarpathian territories, he was selected as a delegate to the first Conference of People's Committees, which was set up to vote for the union of Transcarpathia with Soviet Ukraine. As Deputy Head of the People's Council of Transcarpathian Ukraine and Head of the Artistic Affairs Division of the Regional Executive Committee, he had great input into the development of education and culture in Transcarpathia. He took an active part in the establishment of Uzhhorod State University and was a prominent member of its Faculty of Philology.

Lintur devoted his life to the study of the history of Transcarpathian literature and to the collection and analysis of folklore. He published more than twenty monographs and close to fifty articles. He was also actively involved in Soviet republican conferences and international congresses dealing with Slavic studies, ethnography and folklore.

Lintur's interests in folklore studies were quite broad, including folk songs, folk narratives and, most of all, collecting folklore material. On the basis of his folk-song recordings Lintur prepared the collection *Narodni balady Zakarpattia* [Transcarpathian folk ballads (Uzhhorod, 1959)], which included his introduction and annotations. An enlarged edition of his collections of folk ballads was published by Lviv University Press in 1966. He also wrote about this genre in his short study *Narodnye balady Zakarpattia i ikh zapadnoslavianskie svyazi* [Transcarpathian folk ballads and their western Slavic connections (Kyiv, 1963)].

He was a well known collector of Transcarpathian folk tales. He published and wrote introductions to the following books: *Zakarpats'ki kazky Andriia Kalyna* [Transcarpathian tales of Andrii Kalyn (Uzhhorod, 1955)], *Kazky zelenykh hir* [Folk tales from the green mountains (Uzhhorod, 1965)], and *Try zoloti slova* [Three golden words (Uzhhorod, 1968)]. He prepared a collection of Transcarpathian folk tales, *Iak cholovik vid'mu pidkuvav, a kishku vchyv pratsiuvaty* [How a man shod a witch and taught a cat to work (Uzhhorod, 1966)].

Separate legends, humorous narratives, folk songs and folk tales recorded by Lintur were published in the collections: *Kazky Verkhovyny* [Folk tales from the Verkhovyna (Uzhhorod, 1960)], *Zakarpats'ki pisni ta kolomyiky* [Transcarpathian songs and kolomyika-ditties (Uzhhorod, 1965)], *Zakarpats'ki smikhovynky* [Transcarpathian humorous narratives (Uzhhorod, 1966)], *Kazky Bukovyny*. *Kazky Verkhovyny* [Tales from Bukovyna. Tales from the Verkhovyna (Uzhhorod, 1968)], and *Lehendy Karpat* [Carpathian legends (Uzhhorod, 1968)].

Two publications collected and annotated by Lintur appeared posthumously. These were *Dido-vsevido* [Grandfather know-it-all (Uzhhorod, 1969)], and *Kazky odnoho sela* [Folk tales from one village (Uzhhorod, 1979)].

In the present text Lintur's outline is divided into four parts: (1) a survey of Ukrainian folk-tale collecting, (2) some remarks about the genetic relationship of the East Slavic folk tale, (3) a description of the national repertoire, and (4) an analysis of the origin and development of Ukrainian folk narratives. In accordance with Marxist methodology, Lintur traces Ukrainian folk tales and storytellers to the Kyivan State of the eleventh century, re-



ferring to a number of literary monuments in which folk narratives and narrators from that era are mentioned. He proceeds to enumerate the first publications of Ukrainian folk tales in the first half of the nineteenth century and to describe some of the activities of the major collectors, i.e., Dyminsky, Ihnatii of Nyklovychi, Rudchenko, Drahomanov, Chubynsky, Kolberg, Manzhuza, Hrinchenko, Lesevych, Rozdolsky, Shukhevych, Hnatiuk and Kravchenko. All of them started their work before World War I or the October Revolution, the watershed of Soviet scholarship and ideology. With the exception of Levchenko's 1928 publication of Dyminsky's collection from the previous century, no serious publication of Ukrainian folk tales took place in Soviet Ukraine until after the "Great Patriotic War," i.e., World War II, when Lintur and his colleagues devoted a great deal of time to field trips in the Carpathian region with two goals: "(1) to record the folk repertoire of a village that was typical of the region, and (2) to record the folk repertoire of the entire region." They managed to accomplish the first task to a certain degree, but, insofar as the second task is concerned, Lintur conceded that it is still a long way from completion. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, these trips have borne significant fruit in publications.

Although Lintur admits that the solution to the problem regarding the genetic links of the East Slavic folk tale "would require special analysis in a monograph," he nevertheless takes the common features (in themes, motifs, characters, composition, style and numerous instances of word-for-word congruence within texts) of East Slavic folk tales to indicate the common origin of the Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians. As far as the differences are concerned (and here only Russian and Ukrainian texts are contrasted), he notes a significantly larger repertoire of animal tales and of legends in the Ukrainian texts. This section (i.e., thirty-six lines) of the survey could indeed have been somewhat more developed, especially since Belorussian texts are ignored (but should not be bypassed in any discussion of East Slavic folk tales).

Four folk-tale genres are discussed by Lintur. These are the animal tale, the tale of magic, the legend, and the tale of everyday life.

Lintur differentiates between didactic and true folk tales and suggests that the majority of Ukrainian animal tales can be traced to Western Europe and medieval tale books, and that only a small number of them reflect the totemistic features expected of animal tales originating in primitive society. As regards the tale of magic, Lintur concurs with Propp that many of its motifs originate in historical reality, and with Meletinsky, who presents this genre in three historical strata: the first, in which social classes are not distinguished; the second, in which these classes develop; and the third, in which the social class struggle intensifies.

As was the case with the animal tales, Lintur tries to explain their great number, in comparison to the Russian repertoire, by way of Western European influence. Thus, various sectarian movements such as the Bogomils or those led by Hus, Luther and Calvin, as well as the Union of the Orthodox and Catholic churches in Brest and in Uzhhorod and the struggle that accompanied them were responsible for the growth of this genre.

As a Marxist, Lintur makes use of the above-mentioned Propp and Meletinsky hypotheses, with stress on the three historical strata, in explaining popular attitudes toward material wealth. He suggests that since wealth was a desired goal in animal tales and in tales of magic, these genres come from a time "when there was still no private ownership, of the means of production and no class differentiation" (i.e., stratum one).

This was no longer the case in feudal times, when people were divided into rich and poor, and when legends stressed "the transitoriness of wealth" (i.e., stratum two). It seems that Lintur arrives at his definition of folk literature with this second stratum in mind, for he writes that in the feudal era,

Since wealth was in the hands of the minority, while the majority lived in poverty and misery, folk literature gave expression to the outlook of the majority, the working people, who would not resign themselves to social injustice...



It is from this historical stratum exhibiting class distinction that Lintur very naturally moves to the third stratum, in which class struggle predominates. This stratum is represented by the tale of everyday life. He divides it into "(1) tales directed against landlords, (2) tales directed against the clergy and (3) satirical and humorous tales of everyday life..."

In the last part of the survey, dealing with the origin and development of folk narratives, Lintur disparages Ukrainian folklorists of the nineteenth century who neglected to take the personality of the informant into account when recording their texts. (Such data seemed unimportant to the adherents of the mythological and migratory schools of thought.) Lintur stresses the superiority of the anthropological school of thought over the other ones because of its requirement "that one should record texts from talented storytellers." It is from this perspective, i.e., that of talent, that he analyzes the texts published by the major collectors mentioned above, as well as the repertoire of the informants he recorded during his own field trips in Carpathian Ukraine.

P.V. Lintur died on 8 February 1969 and thus did not live to see the publication of the *Ukrainische Volksmärchen*.<sup>1</sup> A remark in the notes to this German-language publication (*Ukrainische Volksmärchen*, 1972: 751-2) reveals that Lintur's commentaries were only partially completed, and that his manuscript was only in the form of a rough draft. The final draft of Lintur's manuscript was prepared by the Belorussian folklorist L.H. Barah and is likely to have been written in Russian. The translation of this manuscript into German was made by H.J. Grimm. Thus, the English version presented here is a free translation of a translation of a text that was completed by a person other than the principal author.

In the present English text, place names referring to locations in Ukraine are presented as transliterated from the Ukrainian. Thus, for Bukovina, Kharkov, Kiev, Chernigov, Podolia and Tisza, we write Bukovyna, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Chernihiv, Podillia and Tysa, respectively. Some readers may find it odd that in a survey of Ukrainian folk tales terms such as "Russian" and "Ruthenian" are used when referring to Ukrainian matters. An asterisk has, therefore, been placed after these appellatives when they refer wholly or partially to Ukrainian subject matter.

The items in Lintur's bibliography have been rearranged in Ukrainian alphabetical order and each item is presented in the alphabet of the original, not in transliteration.

Notwithstanding the potential deficiencies that may result from working with a translated text, the present essay can claim attention as the only survey of the Ukrainian folk tale in English known to this author. (Andreev's "A Characterization of the Ukrainian Tale Corpus," translated in *Fabula*, 1 (1958): 228-38; P.V. Lintur's "A Folk Narrator's Method of Characterization: The Transcarpathian Storyteller Andrii Kalyn (1961)," translated by Nicholas Krawchuk in *Studies in East European Folk Narrative*, edited by Linda Dégh (Bloomington, 1978); and Klymasz's *Folk Narrative among Ukrainian-Canadians in Western Canada* (Ottawa, 1973) touch on some aspects of the subject discussed here.) Finally, I would like to express my thanks to Dr. M. Prokop for checking the translation from the German into English.

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<sup>1</sup> An obituary can be found in *Narodna tvorchist' ta etnografia*, no. 3 (May-June 1969): 110.



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# A SURVEY OF UKRAINIAN FOLK TALES

by Petro Lintur

The area where Ukrainian is spoken extends from the upper Tysa and the high Tatras almost as far as the river Don, and from the Prypiat River to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. During the entire course of their history from the Middle Ages to modern times, the Ukrainians were in direct contact with Russians, Belorussians, Poles and Slovaks, and to some extent also with Bulgarians, Serbs and Croats, i.e., with almost the entire Slavic world. This was of great significance for the development of Ukrainian folk culture. Thus, the oral traditions of the Ukrainian regions on the left bank of the Dnipro (Dnieper) River display a close, genetically based relationship with Russian and Belorussian folklore, whereas the oral traditions of the Ukrainian regions on the right bank of the Dnipro River and the Carpathian region, which belonged to the Polish Commonwealth from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, are closely linked to West Slavic folklore. Beyond the Carpathians, in the Prešov (Priashiv) region and in Carpathian Ukraine (the bridge between the Balkan peninsula and Eastern Europe), traces of South Slavic influences are to be found.

Just as in other transitional ethnic regions, in this case close genetic links and inter-ethnic relations explain not only the existence of a special "Carpathian cycle" of Ukrainian, Slovak, Czech and Polish songs, but also the close links in the realm of the folk tale. These are clearly revealed when, for example, one compares the Ukrainian folk tales recorded by Hnatiuk [see below] in the Prešov, Bačka and Banat regions with Slovak or Serbo-Croatian ones, or when one juxtaposes the Galician-Ukrainian material published by Rozdol'sky with Polish material.

On the whole, it seems justifiable to differentiate between two distinct areas when dealing with Ukrainian folk-tale material: an eastern area and a western one. However, one should not suppose that they are hermetically sealed off from each other, as some scholars would have us believe—for example, J. Polívka in his *Slovanské pohádky* [Slavic folk tales (Prague, 1932)]: 130-38. Both parts constitute one indivisible organic unit. This is based on the close relationship between the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Russian folk-tale traditions and, in the final analysis, on their common roots in East Slavic ethnicity. The East Slavic folk tales differ from the West and South Slavic ones by their peculiarities in repertoire, formation of theme, composition, system of images and, last but not least, their narrative *Märchen* style.

## I

When one takes account of the vitality that the Ukrainian folk tale has retained in modern times and its ability to perform, at least to a certain extent, a vital function even today, it is hard to believe that the folk tale belongs to the earliest authenticated genres of folklore in Ukraine. The first Old Rus'\* literary monuments of the Kyivan State (*Nestor's Chronicle*, *The Story of the Rich Man and the Poor Man*, *The Patericon of the Kyiv Cave Monastery*, etc.) already mention folk tales and storytellers, therefore the *basn'* (a kind of fable) must already have existed as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries. That is to say, a form of orally transmitted narrative poetry that was widespread and popular both with the peasants and with princes and their courtiers developed over the centuries. It also appears that the folk tale had attained its present form before the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, we have no authentic folk-tale text from this period, and it is therefore difficult to imagine how the Old Rus'\* *basn'* must have sounded in the early stage of its historical development.

The East Slavs began to collect folklore material during the eighteenth century. However, the documentation and publication of Ukrainian folk tales took place later than



that of Russian ones: not until the first half of the nineteenth century did Ukrainian folk tales begin to appear sporadically in translations and edited forms. The first publications of Ukrainian folk tales are to be found in: *Molodyk* [Youth], 1843, no. 2 (two folk tales); M. Kostomarov, *Pamiatniki starinnoi russkoi literatury* [Monuments of Old Rus'\* literature] (one folk tale and two legends); A. Afanasiev, *Narodnye russkie skazki* [Russian folk tales], Moscow, 1855-64, 3: 90-107 (eleven Ukrainian folk tales); K. Sheikovsky, *Byt podolian* [The life of the people of Podillia] (three folk tales); general survey in S.V. Savchenko, *Russkaia narodnaia skazka, Istoriia sobiraniia i izucheniiia* [The Russian folk tale: History of collecting and study] (Kyiv, 1914), 176-200.

Thus, for example, in his collection entitled *Wotyni* (Cracow, 1907), Oskar Kolberg published tales of the "Russian\* people" that had already been collected in Volhynia in 1835. This included texts presented to him in 1850 by an inhabitant of the city of Zhytomyr. According to the collectors, these had been recorded fifteen years earlier, i.e., in 1835. This is a collection of twenty-five folk tales. In spite of being translated into Polish, they have retained their Ukrainian colour and display ancient characteristics.

During the 1840s the Ukrainian author T.H. Shevchenko showed great interest in the creation of folk tales: he published almost a complete text of the folk tale "The Soldier and Death" in the profusely illustrated collection *Zhivopisnaia Ukraina* [Picturesque Ukraine]. A friend of Shevchenko, the well-known Russian artist L. Zhemchuzhnikov, lived in Ukraine in the 1840s and collected a large number of folk songs, folk tales, religious and historical legends. His folkloristic records were published by Panteleimon Kulish (*Zapiski*).

In 1849 Andrii Ivanovych Dyminsky, a self-educated man with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, who had been a serf, began to record folk tales and folk legends. He aroused the suspicion of tsarist officials and police, and was accused of having stirred up the peasants against the government and of having distributed revolutionary literature. As a result he was persecuted mercilessly.

The material collected by Dyminsky during the 1840s and 50s remained in archives for a long time. It first saw the light of day only in 1928, after Mykola Levchenko had prepared it for publication. This collection of Ukrainian folk tales (642 texts) is at least equal in quality to Afanasiev's *Narodnye russkie skazki* [Russian folk tales]. Levchenko systematized Dyminsky's material and supplemented it with recordings by Stepan Rudansky, who, like Levchenko, came from the province of Podillia and had already started collecting oral tradition as a secondary school student. The folk tales and legends recorded by Rudansky in his home village of Khomutyntsi, Vinnytsia district, were obtained from the day-labourer Bakula.

Among the most important of the thirteen sections of the collection entitled *Kazky ta opovidannia z Podillia* [Folk Tales and Stories from Podillia] are: "Opovidannia za chortiv ta za rizni proiavy" [Stories about devils and various apparitions] (nos. 32-93); "Opovidannia relihiini, tserkovni ta pro dukhovnykh osib" [Stories about religion, the church and the clergy] (nos. 124-240); "Opovidannia pro zhyttia rodynne ta hromadske" [Stories about family and social life] (nos. 241-435); "Kazky fantastychni, zhartivlyvi vyhadky, dotepy, zahadky ta pryslivia" [Tales of magic, humorous stories, jokes, riddles and proverbs] (nos. 437-643). As regards the representation of the individual genres in Levchenko's collection, the relative number of animal tales is striking. This fact is probably to be explained by the West Slavic influence on the folk-tale tradition of Podillia, which belonged to the Polish Commonwealth for several centuries. On the whole, Levchenko's collection provides exceptionally rich material for research into the field of folklore relations between Ukrainians and other Slavs. However, we should regard the *skazki-bylichki*<sup>2</sup>, the legendary tales and the tales of everyday life, as the most important sections of this collection. The texts of the

<sup>2</sup> A genre midway between the folk tale and the religious anecdote: stories about water sprites, wood sprites, nymphs, ghosts, etc. (Editor's note).

tales of magic are not particularly well narrated. Clearly, Dymynsky did not take very great pains to locate the most talented storytellers; instead, he simply recorded all the texts that were offered. But so far as the abundance of themes is concerned, this collection is not only superior to all other Ukrainian collections, but even to Russian publications.

In 1861 Ihnatii of Nyklovychi published a smaller collection of Ukrainian folk tales in Lviv. This collection offers the first presentation of the folk tales of Western Ukraine. The texts were evidently recorded in Galicia, although no data exist on the locations where they were collected. In the excessively romantic preface to his collection, Ihnatii describes the folk tales as the "holy scriptures of the ancient Slavic faith." He warmly recommends the slim volume to his compatriots as interesting reading and advises them to teach their children to read and write, and to enhance their knowledge, on the basis of the folk tales. Ihnatii shared the view of the Slavic Romantics that the oral tradition was the expression of the national spirit. He was imbued with the ideas of J. Kollár and P. Šafařík, and approached the collecting and publishing of Ukrainian folklore in the spirit of the epoch in which he lived. Thus, his folk tales attest to the fact that the ideas of Slavic "rebirth" had penetrated as far as Western Ukraine and were bearing fruit there.

The most important genres of the Ukrainian folk tale are represented in Ihnatii's collection: animal tales, tales of magic, legendary tales and tales of everyday life. The collection was printed in Church Slavic type and probably appeared only in a very limited edition. Mykhailo Drahomanov later used some of these texts.

Among other early printed collections of Ukrainian folk tales are: *Narodnye iuzhnorusskie skazki* [South Russian\* folk tales] by Ivan Rudchenko (1845-1905), a brother of the well-known author Panas Myrny and co-author of the novel *Khiba revut' voly, iak iasla povni* [Do the oxen bellow when the mangers are full]. The aesthetic empathy that Rudchenko possessed as a poet and translator of Turgenev, Chernyshevsky, Mickiewicz and Byron had a beneficial influence on his folkloristic work. In the preface to his *Narodnye iuzhnorusskie skazki* he stresses that he has included only previously unpublished texts in his collection, texts that really come from the "oral tradition of the people," which had not been the case in earlier publications:

While editing the folk tales, I took pains to retain the texts in their complete form and to omit nothing that could serve as material in the study of South Russian\* dialects from the phonetic and lexical point of view; therefore I have written the words as they are pronounced in the region in which the tale was recorded. (Rudchenko, 9)

Regarding the classification of the folk-tale material, Rudchenko explains that he has not undertaken "any strictly scientific classification of the folk tales," since, in his opinion, such classifications were extremely dubious. His yardstick was "the classification of the tales used by the people themselves": "tales about animals and birds," "tales about the devil," "tales about dragons," "tales about heroes," and "tales of actual events." The two volumes contain 137 extremely scrupulously and precisely recorded texts: this is a classic collection that can be compared with those of Afanasiev and the Brothers Grimm. The animal tales and tales of magic are of particularly high artistic quality.

A milestone in Ukrainian folklore studies was the publication of the collection *Malorusskie narodnye predaniia i rasskazy* [Little Russian\* folk legends and stories] by the scholar Mykhailo Petrovych Drahomanov (1841-95), a well-known public figure in Russia. The volume contains, among other things, material submitted to the Imperial Russian Geographical Society and texts that Drahomanov himself had received from his correspondents, including I. Manzhuza, Ia. Novytsky, N. Murashko, V. Menchyts, S. Rudansky, I. Rudchenko, A. Lonachevsky, H. Kupchanko (material from Bukovyna) and A. Kralytsky (material from Carpathian Ukraine). Drahomanov borrowed some of the texts from Galician publications, as well as from the book by Ihnatii of Nyklovychi.

Drahomanov's systematization of folklore material was generally accepted for a long time and influenced subsequent publications (for example, the collections by B. Hrin-



chenko, V. Kravchenko and M. Levchenko). The systematization was: (1) notions and stories about natural phenomena and inventions; (2) omens and folk beliefs; (3) quackery, prayers, charms and their parodies; (4) beliefs and stories about devils; (5) stories about the dead; (6) beliefs and stories about people with magic powers; (7) stories about treasures; (8) stories about the clergy and religious institutions; (9) stories about family and social life; (10) legends about political (historical) figures and phenomena; (11) local legends; (12) *byliny*; (13) tales of magic, puns and witticisms.

Drahomanov, who was an adherent of the migration theory and whose main concern it was to show the variety of thematic material in Ukrainian folk prose, often neglected the aesthetic criterion. He did not know how to select texts exhibiting distinct colour for his collection. Thus the chief value of the more than 300 texts lies more in the apocryphal and historical legends than in the folk tales, which are weak from the artistic point of view. It must, however, finally be said that Drahomanov's versatile work was of great significance for the development of Ukrainian, Russian, and Slavic folklore studies as a whole (in this connection, see D. Zaslavsky and I. Romanchenko, *Mykhailo Drahomanov, zhyttia i literaturno-doslidnyts'ka diialnist'* [Mykhailo Drahomanov: Life and literary research work (Kyiv, 1964)]. As volume 2 of *Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v zapadno-russkii kraï* [Studies of the ethnographic statistical expedition to Western Russia\*], there appeared P.P. Chubynsky's collection *Malorossiiskie narodnye skazki* [Little Russian\* folk tales (1839-84)] (*Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v zapadno-russkii kraï, snariazhennoi Imperatorskim Russkim geograficheskim obshchestvom. Lugo-zapadnyi otdel. Materialy i issledovaniia, sobrannye d. chl. P.P. Chubinskim, t. II, izdannye pod nabludeniem P. Giltebrandta* [Studies of the ethnographic statistical expedition to Western Russia\*, sponsored by the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Southwestern Department. Material and studies collected by its Fellow P.P. Chubynsky, vol. 2, supervising editor P. Giltebrandt], St. Petersburg, 1878).

Most of the texts in this collection were recorded by Chubynsky and, under his supervision, by his companion I.A. Cherednychenko. But material from other collectors was also included. The material was recorded in the following regions: Kyiv, Volhynia, Hrodna, Podillia, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Poltava and Katerynoslav. Chubynsky's collection is divided into two parts: the first contains "mythical folk tales" (146), the second "tales of everyday life" (also 146). The place, district and province where each tale was recorded are indicated, but the names of the storytellers are not given. This is particularly unfortunate, as Chubynsky's texts come from first-class informants and represent particularly good variants.

The tales of magic are notable for their unusual length and balanced composition, for their colourful language and style, and for their particular richness of expression. Many of them, including "Ivan Ivanovych, the Russian Tsar's Son, his Sister, and the Dragon" (no. 48) and "Turza-Murza and the Brave Marksman" (no. 74), are true examples of epic folk tales. The high artistic level of Chubynsky's collection is equal to Rudchenko's *Narodnye iuzhnorusskie skazki* [South Russian\* folk tales], and it occupies a place of honour in Ukrainian folk-tale literature.

In 1889 the famous Polish folklorist, ethnographer and musicologist Oskar Kolberg (1814-90), who in addition to a wealth of Polish material collected and received Ukrainian material from Ukrainian collectors, published the four-volume collection *Pokucie* [Pokuttia] in Cracow, including one volume of folk tales. Kolberg held Ukrainian folk tales in particularly high esteem: he found that they depicted natural phenomena such as the sun, moon and stars in more original, vivid and colourful terms than Polish folk tales (Kolberg, *Pokucie* 4: viii). Of the seventy-seven Ukrainian texts in the collection *Pokucie*, twenty-eight are "tales of magic," twelve are "tales of evil spirits," eleven are "legends and moral tales," twenty-two are "adventure tales and humorous stories," three are "animal tales," and one is a "tale of deceit." Kolberg knew how to select good characteristic variants, artistically unified, vivid and full of imagery, conveying a certain colour. Unfortunately, he too failed to provide the names of his informants.

The Ukrainian author Ivan Ivanovych Manzhura, who was born in Kharkiv, collected and studied the oral tradition of his people with love and devotion. The knowledge of folklore worked to his advantage in his literary works (cf. his *Kazky ta prykazky i take in-she. Z narodnykh ust zibrav i u virshi sklav Ivan Manzhura* (1888) [Folk tales and proverbs and other such things. Collected among the people and set in verse by Ivan Manzhura]). Under the influence of the revolutionary populist movement, Manzhura became a great enthusiast of folk tales and songs, and recorded a large amount of material in the Kharkiv and Katerynoslav provinces, where he was on the staff of a newspaper. Part of this material was printed in the collections of Rudchenko and Drahomanov and in the periodical *Kievskaiia starina* [Kyiv antiquity]. Under the editorship of Oleksander Potebnia, Manzhura's most valuable and interesting work, *Skazki, poslovitsy i t. p., zapisannye v Ekaterinoslavskoi i Khar'kovskoi guberniakh* [Folk tales, proverbs, etc. collected in Katerynoslav and Kharkiv Provinces], appeared in 1890. The folk tales in this volume are characterized by particularly biting satire of the exploiting classes.

A valuable contribution to Ukrainian folklore studies was also provided by Borys Dmytrovych Hrinchenko (1863-1910), a distinguished author, ethnographer, philologist, educator and public figure at the turn of the century. He published several collections (cf. *Iz ust naroda, Etnograficheskie materialy, Ukrains'ki narodni kazky*), which, with the exception of vol. 3 of *Etnograficheskie materialy*, in which song texts are printed, contain folk prose of various genres. While Hrinchenko collected his material over a period of twenty years (1878-98), his collections also include items recorded by his pupils M.M. Nychyporenko and I.D. Solomin, as well as texts made available to him by M.N. Hrinchenko and others.

In his systematic arrangement of the texts, Hrinchenko kept to the plan formulated by Drahomanov, as he emphasises (in the preface to vol. 1 of *Etnograficheskie materialy*). Because he subscribed to the views of the bourgeois migration theory, which primarily sought related themes and motifs in oral tradition, he did not pay sufficient attention to the artistic aspect of the texts he published. While he provided more precise data on the places where the items were recorded and on the informants than his predecessors (Hrinchenko gives the first and family names of the storytellers), he too made no effort to look for the best talents among them. Among other things, this explains why in his extensive material, which is so rich in themes and motifs, there are no really vivid and easily remembered tales.

Among the collections of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Volodymyr Lesevych's collection, *Opovidannia R.F. Chmykhala* [Stories by R. F. Chmykhalo], occupies a special place, if only because it contains the repertoire of a single storyteller.

Lesevych met the old Cossack Rodion Fedorovych Chmykhalo in the village of Denysivka in the Lubny district of Poltava province in the 1880s or 1890s. He was fascinated by the original personality of the storyteller, who was 60 years old at the time, and immediately began to record Chmykhalo's repertoire. By 1894 he had already recorded thirty themes directly from Chmykhalo, to which another fifty were added later. He included seventy-two texts in the collection, which were divided into four groups: "folk tales," i.e., tales of magic (thirty texts); "legends" (seventeen texts); "novellas" (eleven texts); and "anecdotes" (seven texts). Apart from the fact that this classification is now out of date, as is that of other collections of the time, the arrangement of themes cannot remain undisputed (tales of everyday life are included with the fairy tales, fairy tales are included with the legends, and vice versa).

Lesevych's merit in Ukrainian folklore studies is that he was the first to focus attention on the artistic personality of the teller of folk tales and to record his repertoire. Nowadays we may dispute, for example, whether his choice of Chmykhalo was the best, but even if we can ascribe only average talents to this storyteller, we have to evaluate Lesevych's work positively.

The collections described thus far (Levchenko, Kulish, Rudchenko, Drahomanov, Chubynsky, Manzhura, Hrinchenko and Lesevych) contain the bulk of the folk tales from



Central Ukraine. This trove has been considerably augmented by the collections of Kolberg, Rozdolsky, Shukhevych and Hnatiuk, in which the folk-tale tradition of Galicia, Bukovyna and Carpathian Ukraine has been recorded. These Western Ukrainian collections will be examined in greater detail below.

Osyp Ivanovych Rozdolsky (1872-1945) came from the Ternopil area. He graduated from Lviv University and worked as a teacher in Kolomyia, Przemyśl (Peremyshl) and Lviv. He recorded more than 150 Ukrainian folk tales from the Brody district (mainly in Berlyn), and in the foothills of the Stryi region. The material he collected was published by Ivan Franko, who provided the comparative historical notes. Most of Rozdolsky's *Halyts'ki narodni kazky* [Galician folk tales] (*Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* 1 and 7) and his *Halyts'ki narodni novely* (Galician folk novellas) (*Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* 8) originate, as Franko stated, from "immature storytellers of little talent." Rozdolsky was unable to discover a real folk talent. While these folk tales seem original and interesting in their themes and in the combination of motifs, they are poor in style, express little colour, and are lacking in imagery.

Yet another Galician scholar, a contemporary of Ivan Franko, Volodymyr Osypovych Shukhevych (1850-1915), occupies a place of honour in the history of Ukrainian ethnography and folklore studies. He came from the Ivano-Frankivsk area and was also a teacher by profession. His most important publication is the large monograph in five parts entitled *Hutsul'shchyna*.

Part Five of this monograph is devoted to the folk tales and legends of the Hutsuls. For this purpose, Shukhevych spent many years of tedious detailed work collecting material in Hutsul villages in the Ivano-Frankivsk and Chernivtsi regions. He also utilized the records of other readers who treasured and collected folk literature. More than 150 texts were published in this fifth part of *Hutsul'shchyna*: the chapter "Proverbs of the Hutsuls" [sic] contains various kinds of folk tales (108 texts), the chapter "Superstitions about Robbers and Treasures" contains folk legends, and the chapter "Gods of the Earth" contains heroic legends. The tales of magic are both qualitatively and quantitatively inferior to the legends and heroic tales. While Shukhevych gives the first and family names of the storytellers, he provides no biographical data. He has obviously striven to include good storytellers, such as Mykhailo Paliichuk from Kosmach (who supplied twenty-six themes) and Petro Sekyriak from Holove (twenty-three tales).

But the first place among Ukrainian collectors undoubtedly belongs to Volodymyr Mykhailovych Hnatiuk (1871-1926), who has left us a rich heritage and may be compared in many respects with the Polish folklorist Kolberg.

Hnatiuk came at the end of the most important period in the collecting and publishing of Ukrainian folk stories, which encompassed the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. Recently an attempt has been made by the Soviet scholar M.T. Iatsenko to pay tribute to Hnatiuk's social, scholarly and collecting activities (M. T. Iatsenko, *Volodymyr Hnatiuk, zhyttia i fol'klorystychna diial'nist'* [Volodymyr Hnatiuk: Life and folkloristic activities] Kyiv, 1964). His monograph gives a vivid picture of a man who worked untiringly and selflessly in the interests of folklore. Hnatiuk published approximately fifteen volumes containing various genres of folk prose. Of special interest is the monumental six-volume collection *Etnohrafichni materialy z Uhors'koi Rusy* [Ethnographic materials from Hungarian Rus' \*]. It was the product of several scholarly field trips undertaken in 1896-9 in those Hungarian counties settled by Carpathian Ukrainians (*Etnohrafichnyi zbirnyk* 3, 4, 9, 25, 29, and 30).

V. Hnatiuk employed a new method of finding talented storytellers. It enabled him to record the repertoires of such first-class storytellers as Mykhailo Pustai from Zbuj, Zemplén county; Mykhailo Fotul from Stroino, Bereg county; and Imre Farkas, Osyp Kulich and Mytro Palanchany, Ukrainians from Bács-Bodrog county.

The texts from the Banat and Bačka regions are of special aesthetic and historical value. They were recorded among Ukrainian colonists who had migrated from the

Ukrainian regions around Prešov to the fertile Tisa and Danube Plain in the mid-eighteenth century. This material may be of help in solving extraordinarily important problems in Slavic and general European folklore studies, for the Ruthenian\* settlers in the Banat and Bačka regions, who lived for a long time among Hungarians, Germans, Serbs, Croats and other peoples preserved, on the one hand, the foundation of East Slavic folklore, and, on the other hand, adopted many themes and motifs from their neighbours. Hnatiuk spent three months among the Ukrainian settlers in the Bačka and was able to gain a considerable insight into their way of life and spiritual and intellectual culture. He studied their dialect and made exemplary recordings of their folk tales, legends, and songs. The material he recorded in Carpathian Ukraine and the Prešov region, on the other hand, frequently suffers from inaccuracies in the reproduction of sounds, an unscientific transcription, and poor quality and random choice of variants. The *Etnohrafični materialy z Uhors'koi Rusy* comprise 466 texts (folk tales and legends) that come from seventy storytellers, of whom the following are distinguished by their particular characteristic talent: Mykhailo Pustai (thirty-five themes), Mykhailo Fotul (thirty-one themes), Imre Farkas (twenty-seven themes), Osyp Kulich (forty-four themes) and Mytro Palanchany (fourteen themes). Their material constitutes the most significant collection of Ukrainian folk prose.

At the same time as Hnatiuk was preparing this extensive collection for publication, he was also working on the two-volume corpus entitled *Halys'korus'ki narodni legendy* [Galician-Ruthenian\* folk legends] (*Etnohrafični zbiryk* 12 and 13), in which he intended to include all the Ukrainian legendary tales. This corpus comprises 440 texts, including 117 variants. These are 383 first publications and 57 texts taken from other editions. Hnatiuk recorded 148 texts himself, while 235 came from other collectors (including Rozdolsky, Franko, et al.). Hnatiuk divided the legendary tales into the following eight groups:

- (1) Biblical legends from the Old Testament (88 texts).
- (2) Biblical legends from the New Testament (102 texts).
- (3) Legends about saints (50 texts).
- (4) Legends about heretics and sorcerers (18 texts).
- (5) Legends about monsters and strange creatures (44 texts).
- (6) Legends about life after death and the end of the world (22 texts).
- (7) Moralizing and philosophical legends (102 texts).
- (8) Humorous legends and satires on religious themes (15 texts).

The classification of legendary folk tales proposed by Hnatiuk is very relative and vague. He also included *skazki-bylichki* (see above, p. 6) and historical legends in this genre.

From the artistic point of view, the *Halys'korus'ki narodni legendy* are inferior to the first volume of the *Etnohrafični materialy z Uhors'koi Rusy*, as the latter contains texts of the same genre by more talented storytellers, such as Fotul and Pustai. Nevertheless, Hnatiuk's corpus represents a milestone in Ukrainian folklore studies, for it is remarkable in its comprehensiveness and special richness of themes and motifs. No comparable publication is to be found either in Ukraine, in the Russian part of the Soviet Union or, indeed, anywhere else in the Slavic world.

A similarly prominent position is occupied by the collection entitled *Ukrains'ki narodni baiky* [Ukrainian folk tales (Animal tales according to Hnatiuk)] (*Etnohrafični zbiryk* 37-38). It contains 400 animal tales, including seventy-three variants. Thirty-nine texts come from the collections of Rudchenko, Hrinchenko, Chubynsky, Drahomanov, Shukhevych, Ihnatii of Nyklovychi, and others. Hnatiuk himself recorded forty-five texts in the Staryi Sambir district, Ivan Voloshynsky recorded eleven in the Horodenka region, Pavlo Tarasevsky recorded ninety-three in the Kursk region, and A. Onyshchuk recorded forty-six in the Sniatyn and Kosiv region.

The *Ukrainian Folk Tales* contain the greatest number of animal tales not only among Ukrainian collections (Rudchenko has thirty-five animal fables, Chubynsky thir-



teen, Hrinchenko fifteen, Levchenko forty-one, and Shukhevych seven) and Russian collections, but among Slavic collections in general. When one recalls that the *Type Index* of Aarne-Thompson gives a maximum figure of 299 types for the animal tale, then V. Hnatiuk's collection is quite exceptional even in terms of the whole of Europe. From the figure of 400 texts alone one may conclude that the animal tale represents a characteristic phenomenon of Ukrainian folk literature.

The volume includes numerous artistically valuable and genuine folkloristic texts. Furthermore, we find texts of a didactic nature that stand on the borderline between collective and individual creativity, and one of the flaws in this volume is that no clear line is drawn between the folk fable and didactic literature. Special mention must be made of the extensive scholarly notes. It is Hnatiuk's most mature work and constitutes the pinnacle of his activities as a folklorist.

The man who continued the work of Rozdolsky and Hnatiuk was Vasyl Hryhorovych Kravchenko (1862-1945), a well-known Soviet folklorist, ethnographer and author who was one of the founders of the Society of Volhynian Researchers. Only some of the material he collected has been published (by Hrinchenko); the greater part still lies unpublished in the Archives of the Institute of Art History, Folklore and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kyiv (*Etnohrafichni materialy* [Zhytomyr], nos. 4, 12, 1911-14). Kravchenko's most important publication, *Narodni opovidannia i kazky* [Folk stories and tales], is of "enormous scholarly interest" (according to Aleksandr Shakhmatov in a letter dated 29 September 1912). In volume 2 of this collection we find various genres of oral prose recorded by Kravchenko in the 1890s and at the beginning of the twentieth century (over 200 texts). The material is classified according to Drahomanov's system.

Kravchenko provided the time and place of the recordings, as well as the names of the storytellers; however, no biographical data about the storytellers were given. Most of the texts (thirty themes) came from Trokhym Kharenko of Khudiaky, Cherkasy district. Folk tales proper (a total of only fifteen) are poorly represented, relatively speaking, in Kravchenko's collection; legends and "stories about phenomena of family and social life" (tales of everyday life) predominate.

Kravchenko's publication continues the traditions of Drahomanov and Hrinchenko, but has the aforementioned flaws.

In this brief survey of the collecting and publishing of Ukrainian folk tales only the most important, so-called "academic" editions have been dealt with; the less significant collections of only regional significance and popular appeal have been omitted.

To complete the survey, let us consider the problem of current publications of Ukrainian folk tales. It is a lamentable fact that the number of academic collections of Ukrainian folk tales decreased considerably during the years between the two World Wars. While in the RSFSR a whole series of scholarly editions of Russian folk tales has appeared, we know of only one such volume (Levchenko) from Soviet Ukraine, and not a single one from Galicia, Bukovyna or Carpathian Ukraine (which did not yet belong to the USSR at that time).

After World War II, anthologies of Ukrainian folk tales were published by M. Vozniak, H. Sukhobrus, H. Petnikov and others, but no scholarly collections of new material have appeared.

Mykhailo Stepanovych Vozniak's *Ukrains'ki narodni kazky* [Ukrainian folk tales] is a popular collection in three slim volumes. The work is devoid of scholarly notes and there is no indication of the origin of any text, hence this collection is hardly suited for scholarly purposes.

The well-known Ukrainian folklorist Halyna Semenivna Sukhobrus, who has published several popular collections, has included in her anthology two dozen recent texts from the holdings of the Kyiv Institute of Art History, Folklore and Ethnography. These new variants have made her book considerably more colourful.

In the Western regions of Ukraine, especially in the Carpathian region, the folk tale is still very much alive, even these days. During my twenty-five years of folklore collecting activities, I had the opportunity of making the acquaintance of a large number of storytellers from the older and younger generations. In the course of numerous collecting expeditions undertaken alone, and on seven group field trips that I undertook in 1960-66 with members of Uzhhorod State University, we covered all the districts of the region in question and found more than 100 storytellers and singers, of whom several dozen proved to be highly talented narrators.

While systematically collecting the folk tales of Carpathian Ukraine, we set ourselves two main tasks: (1) to record the folk-tale repertoire of one village that was typical of the region, and (2) to record the folk-tale repertoire of the entire region.

Our typical Carpathian-Ukrainian village proved to be Horinchove, a large village in the Khust district, situated in the valley of the river Rika, a right-bank tributary of the river Tysa, at the foot of the Polonyna Carpathians. We had many opportunities to study this village and to record the repertoire of its storytellers. Here we recorded more than 300 texts between 1941 and 1961 and discovered a dozen talented storytellers, such as Andrii Kalyn (he is the source of 120 themes), Iura Tehza-Poradiuk (thirty themes), Toma Pleshynets (thirty-five themes), Iura Revet (forty themes), Ivan Dylanko (fifteen themes), Mytro Petryk (ten themes), Mykhailo Shovok (seventeen themes), Vasyl Kholod (fifty themes), Iura Mytrovych (fourteen themes), and others. According to their age, the storytellers of Horinchove may be divided into three generations: (a) the older generation (age sixty-eighty): Mytro Petryk, Revet, Tehza-Poradiuk, Dylanko; (b) the middle generation (forty-sixty): Pleshynets, Andrii Kalyn, Shovok; and (c) the younger generation (twenty-five-forty): Mytrovych, Kholod, Vasyl Petryk, Andrii Kalyn, Jr., and others.

We began researching the folk-tale traditions of this village after we had made a thorough study of Kalyn's artistic personality; he is the most talented of the storytellers and has become well-known far beyond the borders of his homeland.<sup>3</sup>

In conversation with us, Kalyn named his teachers, the village's storytellers, from whom he had learned the art of telling folk tales during his childhood. They were Tehza-Poradiuk, Petryk, Revet and Dylanko. During the course of our work with Kalyn we met all of them and recorded their repertoires: it was extremely interesting to compare the tales of the "teachers" with those of the "pupil."

Later we also recorded numerous texts from the younger generation of storytellers from Horinchove, namely from Mytrovych, Kholod, A. Kalyn, Jr., V. Petryk, and Mariia Petretska, the daughter of T. Pleshynets. This time-consuming work allowed us to trace the development of a single folk tale in one and the same locale through three generations.

The study of the folk-tale repertoire of one village raises a series of important questions. (1) How are the folk-tale themes transmitted from one generation to another, and what changes take place during this process in composition, style, and the system of folk-tale characters? (2) How many themes and how many variants are there in one village? (3) Which folk-tale genres predominate? (4) How many talented storytellers are there in one locale? (5) How do the best storytellers relate to tradition? (6) How is the personal contribution, the innovation that the storyteller brings to the tale, expressed? (7) How is the general outlook of the storyteller expressed in the tale? (8) How does the storyteller react to his environment? (9) How does the storyteller compose the tale? (10) How does he create his characters? Of course, the 300 texts we recorded in Horinchove do not represent the entire

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<sup>3</sup> A. Kalyn's folk tales have appeared in Ukrainian in: *Zakarpats'ki kazky Andriia Kalyna* [Transcarpathian folk tales of A. Kalyn] (Uzhhorod, 1955); *Kazky Verkhovyny* [Folk tales from the Verkhovyna] (Uzhhorod, 1960); in Russian in: *Zakarpatskie skazki Andreia Kalina* [Transcarpathian folk tales of A. Kalyn] (Uzhhorod, 1960); *Skazki Verkhovyny* [Folk tales of the Verkhovyna] (Uzhhorod, 1960); in Czech in: *Zakarpatské pohádky* [Transcarpathian folk tales] (Prague, 1958).



folk-tale repertoire of this village, but the material has probably been covered relatively comprehensively.

If it is difficult merely to document thoroughly the repertoire of one single village, then how much more complicated is the problem with an entire region! We are still a long way from completing our task of recording the folk-tale repertoire of Carpathian Ukraine, and the task could scarcely be accomplished by two chairs of the University of Uzhhorod and an even larger team of collectors. The following are some results of the collecting activities and a provisional classification of the folk-tale material of the region in question.

We covered twelve districts of Carpathian Ukraine. More than 1,500 texts were recorded in the following districts: Khust 344, Irshava 300, Mukachiv 275, Perechyn 152, Tiachiv 79, Vynohradiv 80, Svaliava 60, and fewer in the other districts.

Of the more than eighty storytellers we found, seventeen may be considered first-class. They are distinguished by their versatility, rich and masterful narration, artistic composition and well-rounded characterization. Four of these storytellers are from Horinchove (Kalyn, Tehza-Poradiuk, Pleshynets and Dylanko); the others are: Mykhailo Halytsia (who was the source of thirty-five themes), Vasyl Korolovych (eighty-two themes), Fedir Kost-Skubenych (sixty-two themes), Ivan Iltio (sixty themes), Ivan Lazar (fifty-five themes), Vasyl Feier (seventy themes), Mykhailo Handera (thirty themes), Anna Vasko (forty themes), Vasyl Zaiats (forty-five themes), Andrii Hryha (thirty-two themes), Ivan Moryliak (thirty themes), Petro Hrab (sixty-five themes), Iurii Hebrian (thirty-one themes) and Andrii Homonai (thirty-five themes). These informants represent various types of storytellers: Kalyn, Halytsia, Korolovych and Zaiats are universal storytellers who are equally skilled with the legendary tale, the tale of everyday life, the folk legend and the anecdote. Dylanko, Hryha, Moryliak and Homonai are epic storytellers who like to paint large epic canvases. Hebrian, Lazar, Pleshynets, Handera, and Feier, on the other hand, are masters of the satirical genre: they feel especially at home with the novella and the anecdotal tale. Kost-Skubenych prefers to cover philosophical themes, and Iltio is a master of the genre of the historical legend and the realistic sketch.

Researching the material collected raised many questions, for example, the relationship of the Ukrainian folk tale to other East Slavic tales and to West and South Slavic folklore, or the problem of Ukrainian-Hungarian and Ukrainian-Romanian folkloric relations.

Of particular interest is the artistic development of the storytellers. Their lives furnish a vivid history of their region and its people, who have experienced a great deal of suffering and misery under foreign domination. A biography opens the door to the artistic workshop of a folk artist and helps us understand the secret of how a folk tale is created. For example, the oldest of the storytellers from Horinchove, Mytro Petryk, was taken prisoner as an Austrian soldier when Russian troops occupied Lviv in 1914, and he worked for five years in the Omsk region. Here he heard the folk tales of Siberian storytellers and adopted certain themes that are not well-known in Ukraine, for example, the tale of Eruslan Lazarevich. His compatriot Iura Revt was a prisoner of the Russians in Poltava province, where he heard Ukrainian storytellers. Toma Pleshynets was in the Caucasus. Ivan Iltio reached Lake Baikal, witnessed the October Revolution in Irkutsk, and returned home after the Civil War via the Suez Canal, having wandered through half of Asia. M. Shovok did hard labour for eight years at Magadan, where he acquired East Siberian and Northern Asiatic themes. Tehza, Kalyn's best teacher, spent his youth in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where he worked as a lumberjack and became familiar with the folk tales and heroic songs of the Balkans. That is why we were able to record his version of a tale about Marko Kraljević.

Fate dispersed the day-labourers and lumberjacks from Carpathian Ukraine to the remotest parts of the world. Nearly all the Transcarpathian storytellers are widely travelled people who have visited not only European countries, but also Asian, American, and even African ones. They all admit that their folk-tale repertoire, especially that which they

learned as children in their home village, was later enriched by new themes and motifs during their world travels.

We have published some of the material collected in Carpathian Ukraine in several volumes, on the model of other Soviet collections. Our main aim was to present the repertoire of one particularly good storyteller. The volume that contains the folk tales of Andrii Kalyn has already been described above. In 1965 it was followed by the collection *Kazky zelenykh hir* [Folk tales of the green mountains], which contains folk tales by Halysia from Dulove in Tiachiv district. A carpenter who was eighty years old at the time, he had roamed through the Old and New Worlds in his search for work. His tales have also appeared in a Russian translation (*Skazki zelenykh gor, rasskazannye M.M. Galitsej, Uzhhorod, 1966*). In 1966 the third volume appeared, entitled *Iak cholovik vid' mu pidkuvav, a kishku vchyy pratsiuvaty* [How a man shod a witch and taught a cat to work]. It includes satirical and novella-like tales by Feier from Shyroke (Vynohradiv district), Hebriian from Liuta (Perechyn district), Handera from Drozhyntsi (Vynohradiv district), Pleshynets from Horinchove, Lazar from Makarove (Mukachiv district), and other storytellers. Finally, in 1968, there followed a fourth volume of folk tales containing the repertoire of Korolovych from Strabychove (Mukachiv district) entitled *Try zoloti slova* [Three golden words]. Korolovych is a locomotive engineer by profession and has an extraordinarily large and highly versatile repertoire. The four above-mentioned volumes contain more than 200 new texts.

In concluding our survey of the publishing of Ukrainian folk tales, we should not omit the most recent collection, which was published in Prešov, Czechoslovakia, in 1966 by M. Hyriak under the title *Ukrains'ki narodni kazky Skhidnoi Slovacchyny* [Ukrainian folk tales of Eastern Slovakia]. It contains texts collected by Hyriak during 1962 and 1963 in Ukrainian villages in Eastern Slovakia.

According to rough estimates, about 2,000 Carpathian-Ukrainian folk tales (including variants) have now been published, and another 1,000 remain in manuscript form. This represents, all told, at least one-third of all the Ukrainian folk tales ever published. In our view, the extraordinary wealth and durability of the folk-tale tradition of Carpathian Ukraine is linked above all to the history of this region. At the beginning of the eleventh century it was conquered by Hungarian feudal lords. The East Slavic people lived in the inaccessible high mountains, in dense forests, far from the cultural centres, and for nine centuries theirs was a barter economy, i.e., they lived under conditions that encouraged the preservation of ancient folk traditions. In the area they settled at the meeting point of the Eastern, Western and Southern Slavs and on the border between the Hungarian and Romanian ethnic cultures, the Ruthenians\* also absorbed many elements from the folklore of their neighbours and preserved them until modern times.

## II

One of the most difficult problems in folklore studies is that of the origin and development of the individual folklore genres. Naturally, it cannot be our aim here to solve the problem of the genetic relationship of the East Slavic folk tale, for that would require special analysis in a monograph. And yet even a layman who comes across Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian animal tales for the first time is struck not only by the relationship between their themes, motifs and characters, and the similarities in composition and expression, but also by the numerous instances of word-for-word agreement within the texts.

The common features of the East Slavic folk tale may be explained by the common origin of the three peoples. As early as the epoch of the Kyivan State, when the East Slavic tribes belonged to a united Old Rus'\* nation and still constituted an ethnic unit, the folk tale developed into its three main types (animal, magic and legendary tales), and even its artistic form, its "style," emerged at that time.



The Ukrainian folk tale, which displays common East Slavic roots, developed independently during the formation of the Ukrainian nation after the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries and gradually acquired unique characteristics, particularly as regards its specific artistic form. But even the folk-tale repertoire of Ukraine has specific features: whoever reads Ukrainian folk-tale collections carefully cannot but notice the relatively large number of animal and legendary tales. This specific feature of Ukrainian folk-tale repertoire can be explained by the geographical location and history of the Ukrainian regions. The widespread popularity of the animal epic and of the mythological and apocryphal legends, especially in the Carpathian region and on the right bank of the Dnipro, is probably the result of West Slavic folkloric influence. This conclusion follows from the fact that animal and legendary tales are more widespread in Western Europe than in Russia.

### III

It is necessary to understand the relationships among the individual genres if one is to characterize the national repertoire. Comparing Russian folk-tale material with Aarne's index, N. Andreev reached the conclusion that the number of animal fables is lowest in Russia, and he explains this in terms of Western and Eastern European cultural history. In Catholic countries the animal story was fostered to a great degree during the Middle Ages, because it served the clergy as illustrative and didactic material (N.P. Andreev, "K obzoru russkikh skazochnykh siuzhetov" [A Survey of Russian folk-tale types], in *Khudozhestvennyi fol'klor* 2-3 (1927): 59-70). These observations are also confirmed by facts from Belorussian and Ukrainian folklore. Hnatiuk is correct when he explains, in his preface to the collection *Ukrains'ki narodni baiky* [Ukrainian folk tales], that this volume with its 400 texts surpasses not only the other Slavic collections of animal tales, but West European ones as well.

In our view, the widespread popularity of the animal tale, especially in the Western Ukrainian regions, is also linked to the conditions of cultural life in the south-western regions of the old Kyivan State, which was particularly exposed to the influence of Catholic Europe. It is well known that the Polish feudal lords conquered Galicia and Volhynia around the middle of the fourteenth century (Carpathian Ukraine had already been occupied by the Hungarian magnates at the beginning of the eleventh century), and introduced a policy of forced Latinization in order to divide these regions from the Orthodox East and alienate the people from their national culture. Thus, at the end of the sixteenth century, the Greek Uniate church was established. Its clergy (just like the Roman Catholic priests) used folk tales and folk songs as examples in their sermons.

In the western regions of what are now Belorussia and Ukraine, it is possible that students at the theological high schools and seminaries played a certain role in the popularization of folk-tale themes and motifs. Hence some folk-tale researchers, for example L. Kolmachevsky in *Zhivotnyi epos na zapade i u slavian* [The animal epic in the West and among the Slavs] (Kazan, 1882), link the dissemination of the animal tale in the western regions to the work of monastic schools.

However, in the case of the animal tale of Western Ukraine it is necessary to make a distinction between the didactic tale and the genuine folk tale. These two groups differ both from a chronological and from a stylistic point of view.

The didactic tales have their origin in literature. They developed from the material in Aesop's fables, medieval animal-fable books, stories in Oriental collections and other sources. Many didactic themes are also the result of individual creativity. This group is more closely linked to Western European tales.

Genuine folk tales about animals are of a totally different origin. They have their roots deep in the past. The most reliable criterion for identifying them has to be the impression of freshness and originality they convey. In their themes, composition, style and language they are extraordinarily simple and often naive.



Strictly speaking, there are relatively few types of animal tales in Ukraine that belong to this second group. These are primarily: "Sister Vixen and Brother Wolf" (no. 1), "The Bear, the Old Man and the Fox" (no. 6), "The Poor Wolf" (no. 10), "The Goat and the Sheep" (no. 17), "The Fastidious Goat" (no. 19), "The Straw Calf" (no. 21), "The Pancake" (no. 22), "The Glove" (no. 23), and "The Rooster and the Hen" (no. 25). These have parallels in Belorussian and Russian folk tales, and we have already pointed out the genetic links.

Even today, one still comes across traces of totemism in these Ukrainian folk tales. They are to be found, for example, in tales of the bear, the master of the dense forests and the Carpathian Mountains. Here the imagination of the people created a close correlation between humans and bears: bow-legged Misko kidnaps a maiden or a married woman and lives with her as man and wife, and they even have children (or a peasant (priest) becomes the husband of a female bear). The son of such a union (Ivan Vedmid [Bear]) usually turns out to be a valiant warrior who has the strength of a bear and is the hero of the tale.

The bear is the totem animal of hunting tribes. We can assume that, both in the dark forests of the Carpathians as well as in the Siberian taiga, a bear cult became widespread at one time or another among the hunters and bear festivals were celebrated where tales about bears were told, songs were sung and hunts were arranged.

In Ukrainian folk tales we also find blood kinship between humans and apes, humans and cows, women and dragons, etc.

We also come across vestiges of totemism in the popular belief in "forbidden" animals (i.e., it is forbidden to kill weasels, swallows, storks and "house snakes") and traces of fetishism in folk-tale motifs about man's origins in a plant (The Tale of the Rolling Pea) or even in an inanimate object.

The most popular animals in the Ukrainian animal tales are: the fox (the vixen)—in Hnatiuk's collection it plays a role in fifty-five texts, the wolf (thirty-four texts), the dog (twenty-nine texts), the bear (twenty-three texts), the tomcat (eighteen texts), the hare (fourteen texts), and the horse (twelve texts); of the birds, the rooster (seventeen texts), the sparrow (sixteen texts), and the eagle (eight texts). Of course, the number of texts recorded about individual animals may be quite random. And yet it is interesting that they are in direct proportion to the fauna of Ukraine, for the best-known wild animals in Ukraine are in fact the fox, the wolf, the bear and the hare.

As time passed, with the development of material and spiritual culture, the animal tales changed in their thought content and artistic form, gradually losing the mythological and magical features they had possessed in the era of primitive society. The preconditions for the creation of myths no longer existed on a higher cultural plane. The heroes of the animal tales now acquired human characteristics, and the life of animals was now depicted in its reciprocal relationship with the life of humans. The mythological characters acquired allegorical significance.

The oldest stratum of animal tales lacked not only a satirical but also a didactic element. Only when the folk tale became suitable for moral instruction and satire could it develop into the didactic story and then, in the hands of talented writers, into a literary work, the fable. In this context, it was Aesop's fables in particular that had the strongest influence on the development of the animal tale during the Middle Ages.

Just as with the animal tale, the longevity of the tale of magic is beyond doubt. The problem of the genesis and development of this genre has already evoked a large amount of critical literature and many disputes and theories, but we do not believe that it has been completely resolved. In this connection, mention must be made of two relevant monographs that have appeared in the Soviet Union since the Second World War: V.Ia. Propp, *Istoricheskie korni volshebnoi skazki* [Historical roots of the tale of magic] (Leningrad, 1946), and E. Meletinsky, *Geroi volshebnoi skazki, proiskhozhdenie obraza* [The hero of the tale of magic: Origin of the image] (Moscow, 1958).

One may not concur with some of the conclusions reached by Propp or Meletinsky, but one cannot help showing respect for their serious attempts to solve these important and

complex problems of our discipline. The greatest contribution of Propp's monograph consists in the fact that it places the problem of the origin of the tale of magic on a concrete, historical basis. Above all, we are convinced by the main thesis of this study that many motifs of tales of magic go back to the cultural institutions of primitive society and that "the compositional unity of the tale rests in the historical reality of the past" (Propp, 330), and not in the peculiarities of the human psyche.

Meletinsky's hypothesis about the historical strata of the tale of magic seems especially noteworthy. He distinguishes: (1) an archaic stratum, which reflects mythical and religious observances and rites, (2) a stratum that reflects the age of disintegration of the tribal order and the emergence of class society, and (3) a stratum marked by the aggravation of social struggle. Let us now attempt to distinguish these strata on the basis of some of our Ukrainian folk tales.

(1) Some folk tales are based on the animistic beliefs of primitive times, e.g., "The Shepherd's Flute Made from the Guelder Rose" (no. 31), "A Magic Fiddle Finds the Fratricide" (no. 32), "The Tsar's Sons as Swans" (no. 38), "The Lame Duckling" (no. 33), "The Tsar's Daughter as a Toad" (no. 34), and "The Viper Man" (no. 35).

The metamorphosis motif plays an important role here. It appears most frequently when a human changes into an animal as the result of a spell ("The Tsar's Sons as Swans," "The Viper Man," etc.). The mother, who is angry at her sons, says in a fateful moment, "May you all become ravens!" and the brothers turn into birds, fly over thrice nine countries, and land in the dense forest. They are saved by their sister, who first has to perform a difficult task.

The youth who is transformed into a viper (or a bear, or some other animal) can only be restored to his human form by an innocent maiden who falls in love with her "terrible bridegroom."

Right up to modern times, many Ukrainian tales of animals and magic have preserved concepts of primitive man: while these concepts are part of the mosaic of his world view, it is, of course, very difficult to join them together into a comprehensive system.

(2) In feudal society the oppression and exploitation of the serfs brought social trends to the fore in the fairy tale. With the onset of feudal society, the tale of magic naturally had to absorb some features of the new age, since storytellers entertained not only peasants with their art but also boyars, landlords, princes and tsars. Accordingly, tsars, tsar's sons, kings, counts and princesses often figured in their stories, but the storytellers depicted them as exponents of the ideas of the working people.

(3) In order to differentiate between the second and third strata when dealing with social motifs in the tales of magic, one must consider the time and place in which they were recorded and the social status of the storyteller. If the text comes from an informant who played an active part in revolutionary movements, then the social message will be a natural component of his improvisation, and we are dealing with an element of the third layer.

It is a different matter in the case of social motifs in old texts, where the ideological influence of modern revolutionary movements cannot yet be assumed. We may regard the social motifs in such tales of magic as old elements that reflect the class struggle in feudal society.

In the folk tale "The Flying Ship" (no. 43), recorded in Hadiach, Poltava province, by Rudchenko in the mid-nineteenth century, we read the following episode. The tsar is informed that a golden ship full of simple peasants has arrived. He does not believe it. "How on earth is it possible for peasants to fly here in a golden ship? Probably you did not make the proper enquiries," he says to his servant, and goes to inspect his guests personally. The youngest son, the "stupid one," approaches him. Now when the tsar sees that his coat is full of patches and his knees are poking through his trousers, he clasps his head. "What! Am I to give my child to such a knave?!" With all the means at his disposal he thenceforth strives to prevent the unequal marriage between the princess and the poor peasant, and to ruin the simple lad.



This episode is a generalization of feudal reality, a figurative representation of the relations between feudal lords and peasants, who were separated from each other by a social abyss. The tsar does not so much express his personal views as the presumptuous attitude of the privileged classes toward the poor peasants and the starving people.

A social trend is already revealed at the very beginning of the tale of the hero Bukh Kopytovych [Boom Hoofson] (no. 48). The daughter of a rich merchant falls in love with her father's coachman, has a son by him, and, in order to conceal her relationship, takes the child out onto the steppe at night and abandons him to his fate. However, the boy does not perish, but grows up to be a hero and protector of the poor and the deprived. He performs heroic deeds and ends up in a magnificent palace. There he meets a maidservant who is being humiliated and tortured by the cruel owner of the palace. But the hero treats her humanely, as his equal. The girl is moved and astonished at his behaviour, and says, "Thank you, Bukh Kopytovych! I have served my master thirty years, and throughout those thirty years he has given me neither a cup of brandy nor a crust of bread. You, however, have given me to drink and have let me eat on the very first day."

The Czech folklorist Jiří Polívka, who has made a special study of the problem, has expressed some interesting ideas on the art of composition of the East Slavic folk tales. In his monograph *Slovanské pohádky* [Slavic folk tales], the chapter "The Art of Composition of East Slavic Folk Tales" is fifty pages long. Polívka sees national peculiarities in the art of composition of Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian folk tales in the opening and closing formulas, which differ fundamentally from corresponding formulas in the tales of other Slavic and non-Slavic peoples. According to Polívka, the introductions and endings of the East Slavic folk tales are distinctive because of their colour and variety. The Czech scholar attributes this unique wealth in the East Slavic art of folk-tale composition to the fact that the tradition of professional storytelling has been preserved longer in Russia\* than in the rest of Europe.

It has been mentioned already that the specific national characteristics of the Ukrainian folk-tale repertoire are expressed in the frequency and variety of the animal tale. Specific characteristics are also evident in the Ukrainian legendary tale.

According to the current terminology of Soviet folklore studies, the term "legend" may be understood in both a broad and a narrow sense. Loosely speaking, where it approximates the Germanic term "saga," it includes:

(1) Stories about events that are conceived as if they had really happened. Among other things, they are an expression of the belief of the people in "unclean" spirits (i.e. demonic powers), in forest, field and domestic spirits, and in the return of the dead.

(2) Historical traditions or local legends, which are usually tied to a particular place such as a castle, a village or a forest, and which tell of the heroic deeds of avengers from among the people (Pyntia, Dovbush, Karmeliuk, Shuhai, et al.).

(3) Strictly speaking, the term "legend" comprises devout tales that moralize, tell of Biblical characters and saints, and in their poetic form reflect the dualistic belief that characterized the philosophical outlook of the patriarchal peasantry during the times of serfdom.

Legends in the strict sense of the word certainly require closer examination: first of all, one should remember that their proportion is greater in Ukrainian than in Russian folklore.

Two standard works of East Slavic folklore studies that contain tales of this genre are known: a Russian one (*Narodnye russkie legendy* [Russian folk legends] by Afanasiev, with thirty-three texts) and a Ukrainian one (*Halyts'ko-rus'ki narodni legendy* [Galician-Ruthenian\* Folk Legends] by Hnatiuk (*Etnohrafichniy zbirnyk* 12 and 13), with 440 texts). Here one could object, of course, that the extent of these collections is a matter of chance. But if one counts the legendary tales in other representative Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian collections, similar results are obtained. Thus the six volumes entitled *Etnohrafichni materiialy z Uhorskoï Rusy* [Ethnographic materials from Hungarian Rus'\*] by Hnatiuk contain more than 200 legendary tales. They also take up much space in the

collections of Chubynsky, Drahomanov, Hrinchenko, Levchenko and Shukhevych. In all the material published by Hnatiuk alone, we find about 650 legendary tales. It therefore seems legitimate to ask why the legendary tale should occupy such an important place in Ukraine. The answer to this question is to be sought in the historical life of the Ukrainian people. It is true that throughout Ancient Rus'\* the emergence of legendary tales was advanced by the introduction of Christianity and especially by the translations of Biblical books and Byzantine literature. But this was not simply a matter of adoption. The collision between the pagan outlook and Christian religious doctrine stimulated the people's imagination. Hence new themes and motifs were created, marked by dualistic beliefs and by a mixture of animistic and ecclesiastical Christian ideas (cf. E. Anichkov, *Iazychestvo i Drevniaia Rus'* [Paganism and Ancient Rus'\*], St. Petersburg, 1914).

During the Middle Ages folk literature was enriched by Bogomilism, a heretical movement opposed to the established church. When the wave of the Reformation (Hus, Luther, Zwingli and Calvin) flooded the whole of Northern and Central Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Southwestern Russia\* in particular became the scene of lengthy, intensive struggles between Orthodoxy and Protestantism on the one hand, and between Orthodoxy and Catholicism on the other. This struggle was, if anything, intensified by the union of the churches (in Brest in 1596 and in Uzhhorod in 1646) and its forced establishment in the western regions of Belorussia and in Ukraine. In the tense atmosphere of ideological struggle there emerged a polemical theological literature, and folk literature also developed parallel to this. It was not only literary authors (Ivan Vyshensky, Mykhailo Andrella et al.) who campaigned against the Jesuits in their writings, but simple peasants also ridiculed the Catholic clergy in their songs and tales, legends and proverbs. Hence we can see historical logic in the fact that the legends which gave the people the opportunity of accusing both the clergy and the Polish *pany*, the ancient enemies of the Ukrainian peasantry, came to flourish in Galicia, Bukovyna and Carpathian Ukraine, since it was here that the Catholics imposed their religion on the Orthodox population and spread their faith by fire and sword.

The legendary tale differs from the fairy tale mainly because of its stronger social message, and its social tendency proves that it came into being in the age of serfdom and compulsory labour. Obviously, it does not stand alone, either in its specific national characteristics or as a genre: serfdom left deep marks on the folklore of all peoples and contributed to the emergence of the heroic epic, the historical song, the ballad, and the traditional lyrical song. So far as the Ukrainian legends are concerned, the reader's attention should be drawn to stories that strive to reach general conclusions about compulsory labour and are often extraordinarily powerful in their artistic composition. These are such themes as "The Arch-Sinner" (no. 83), "The First Shall Be Last and the Last Shall Be First" (no. 84), "Should One Pray before the Cross or the Gallows?" (no. 85) and others.

In the first of the above-mentioned themes, which is popular throughout Russia and the whole of Europe, the story tells of a robber who has sent many a soul to perdition and is overcome by remorse before his death (N.P. Andreev, *Die Legende von den zwei Erzsündern* [The legend of the two arch-sinners], Helsinki, 1924; idem, *Die Legende vom Räuber Madej* [The Legend of the Robber Madei], Helsinki, 1924). The Carpathian-Ukrainian variant of this legendary tale deals with an outlaw who has killed ninety-nine people and now feels remorse. He comes to the priest and confesses his sins. When the priest hears that he has killed rich people, the powerful of this world, he becomes angry, whereupon the robber jumps up and says that he has killed ninety-nine and is about to kill the hundredth. This frightens the priest, who promises to give the robber absolution if he makes a large sack of ox-hide, places ninety-nine bricks in it and carries it on his back until the sack falls apart. The robber patiently carries his burden around for many years, but the sack does not fall apart. Then one day he happens to see a landlord being rocked by his peasants while he beats them mercilessly, because none of them can rock him as he would like. The robber becomes angry and thinks to himself: even though I will find it hard to



carry one hundred bricks, I have to free these people from their misery. And he kills the landlord. At this very moment the sack falls apart.

The character of the landlord on the swing symbolizes the entire feudal system of bondage, above all the arbitrariness of the landlords, who go unpunished while they make fun of the peasants, who have no rights under the law. The point of this tale, which originated among the people, is impressive: the forced-labour system is so terrible an evil that ninety-nine mortal sins are forgiven when one of the landlords is eliminated.

"The Legend of the Proud Tsar" (no. 84) exposes a different trait of feudalism, namely the despotism of the feudal monarchs, who will tolerate no limits to their powers and for whom not even the Bible is sacred.

The guardians of the feudal order and of serfdom were the summary courts, which were answerable to the landlords and represented their interests. They proceeded without mercy against all who dared to disobey the landlord or touch his property. A devastating criticism of these courts is contained in the short but significant legend "Should One Pray before the Cross or the Gallows?" (no. 85). Here the storyteller Kalyn expresses the idea that one should doff one's hat not to "monuments" but to the gallows (in other variants, to prisons), where honest people have to suffer death even though they are innocent.

In many legends, such as "How God Attended a Rich Man's Wedding" (no. 72), "There Is no Path to Paradise for the Rich" (no. 74), "Rich Marko" (no. 75) and "The Three Brothers and God" (no. 76), the storytellers castigate the greed of the clergy. It is difficult to imagine a more biting, devastating satire on this greed than the folk tale "The Old Man" (no. 73), which is also a masterpiece of folklore, for it harmoniously combines intellectual depth with beauty of artistic form. This legendary tale, the Ukrainian variant of the "Miracle Doctor" (AT 785), which was recorded in Pereima, Balta district, Podillia province, exposes a greedy priest who loves gold more than anything else in the world, even his own life.

Some legendary tales also deal with the theme of wealth and poverty, which has to be the most important theme in the literature and art of all times and peoples: for example, the tales "There is no Path to Paradise for the Rich" (no. 74), "Rich Marko" (no. 75), "The Three Brothers and God" (no. 76), and others. In this connection the legendary tale usually stresses the transience of material wealth, which brings no happiness to people, whereas in the animal tales and tales of magic, wealth is a man's desired goal. Perhaps this difference is to be explained by the fact that the genres developed at different times.

Animal tales and tales of magic most probably developed on the material basis of the tribal order, when there was still no private ownership of the means of production and no class differentiation, when all the members of the tribe strove for wealth and could see nothing wrong with such striving.

On the other hand, the legendary folk tales developed on the material basis of the order of slavery and feudalism, at a time when private ownership, which divided people into rich and poor, already existed. Since wealth was now in the hands of the minority, while the majority lived in poverty and misery, folk literature gave expression to the outlook of the majority, the working people, who would not resign themselves to social injustice. Hence the idea of condemning wealth as the main reason for human misfortune became the central theme of the legendary tale.

Of course, the fact that Christian thought exerted a powerful influence on the legendary tales is beyond doubt. However, this influence often stemmed not from the established Christian churches and their dogmas, but from the Christian sects, which preached their implacable hatred of secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

It is characteristic of the tale of everyday life, which constitutes the most recent stratum of the rich heritage of Ukrainian folk tales, that its characters do not function in a "thrice-ninth kingdom," but in a real everyday setting. The hero of the tale of everyday life is the worker, the servant of the priest or landlord, the day labourer, the skillful, resourceful, cunning Ivan, who does not struggle against fantastic creatures but against the real enemies of his class.

In the collections of Ukrainian folk tales published prior to the October Revolution, the tale of everyday life just managed to preserve a shadowy existence. Bourgeois scholars were inclined to keep silent about motifs of great social significance and paid little attention to this genre. Even in Soviet folklore studies, tales of everyday life that include social criticism are still in need of further research, although one cannot complain of a lack of published texts (cf. *Russkaia satiricheskaia skazka v zapisiakh serediny XIV—nachala XX veka* [The Russian satirical tale as recorded from the mid-fourteenth to the early twentieth century], a selection of texts with an introduction and notes by D.M. Moldovsky, Moscow and Leningrad, 1955).

And yet, this genre is extraordinarily interesting, because it portrays particularly clearly and realistically the struggle of the working people against their social and national enemies.

The central problem of the tale of everyday life is its social content. It is connected with the origin of the genre and the milieu in which it found widespread popularity. The tales of landlords, priests, merchants and rich peasants are not the result of idle fantasy, not the playful exercise of the imagination, but living historical monuments born of historical reality, monuments that usefully supplement documented facts.

According to their content, one can divide the numerous tales of everyday life that contain social criticism into various cycles: (1) tales directed against the landlords; (2) tales directed against the clergy and against religion in general; (3) satirical and humorous tales of everyday life that castigate deficiencies in society and general human vices. Finally, themes depicting the new bourgeois capitalist epoch and class differentiation in rural areas constitute a special group.

(1) Tales directed against the landlords tell of the relations between landlords and serfs during the feudal era. At that time Ukraine was politically fragmented. The major portion belonged to tsarist Russia, Galicia belonged to the Polish Commonwealth and Carpathian Ukraine to Hungary. As a result of the partitions of Poland (late eighteenth century), all the regions of Western Ukraine, including Bukovyna, fell to Austria, later Austria-Hungary.

Here socio-economic oppression was exacerbated by religious and cultural oppression. The landlord was not only the class enemy of the peasant, but also his national foe. Together the Polish and Hungarian magnates, the Catholic priests and the clergy of the Greek Uniate church implemented a common policy of denationalization and Latinization of the Orthodox Ukrainian population. The Vatican, the Polish and Hungarian kings and the Austrian emperor regarded Carpathian Ukraine, Galicia and Bukovyna as outposts of the Catholic West in its drive to the Orthodox East. In analyzing folklore, this historical situation must be taken into account.

This group of tales of everyday life gives a true, though stylized, picture of the starvation of the serfs. "Once upon a time there was a landlord who was so miserly that he gave his servants less to eat than his dogs..." These are the opening words of the "The Miserly Landlord" (no. 94), recorded by Kravchenko in the Ostrih district of Volhynia.

The summary courts did not punish the landlords if they exploited their peasants mercilessly and treated them cruelly. In the tale entitled "How a Cossack Taught a Tyrannical Landlord a Lesson" (no. 97), a landlord meets a Cossack and asks him, "Where are you from, Cossack?" "From such-and-such a village." "Do you have a pipe?" "No." "Do you have tobacco?" "No." "Do you have a needle?" "No." "Do you have an awl?" "No." "Well then, what on earth do you have?" He summons the other Cossacks, who give the landlord fifty lashes of the whip.

In real life the peasant was the object of exploitation and the victim of the landlords' despotic whims. But in the folk tales he triumphs over his enemies and makes fun of them: a peasant dupes a stupid landlord by luring away three of his horses and making him "hang on" to an oak tree and keep a "nightingale" under his hat ("How a Peasant Duped a Landlord," no. 95). He cures a landlord of his greed by luring him into the fields under a haystack in the winter and making him eat hay ("The Greedy Landlord," no. 94). He aven-



ges himself on the avaricious landlord who has taken his pig by asking him, when they are alone together in the forest, to embrace a tree. He then ties the landlord's arms to the tree and beats him.

The folk tale emphasizes the physical, mental and moral superiority of the simple man over the landlord. It is always the representative of the working people who triumphs.

In the tale entitled "The Wise Maiden" (no. 99) we hear of a contest between a landlord and a simple peasant girl. Here it is mental, not physical, abilities that count. Here too, it is the representative of the simple people, the girl, who wins. This tale, which was widespread in Old Russia (as attested by the story of Pëtr and Fevroniia), was very popular on account of its tight composition and its democratic tendency, which is revealed in the enchanting character of the main heroine.

(2) There are fewer tales about landlords than about priests. For centuries the church owned vast estates where the lot of the serfs was just as harsh as on private estates. For years the church had domain over huge landholdings on which the lot of the serfs was no better than on manorial lands. The church dignitaries (metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites, and even the village clergy) exploited the peasantry no less than the secular landlords. Moreover, in Western Ukraine the clergy acted not only as exploiters, but also as accomplices of foreign occupiers.

Many tales of everyday life deal with the moral decline of the clergy. We may assume that such tales had been created by the Middle Ages and were as widespread in Western as in Eastern Ukraine. During the seventeenth century they supplied the material for the story of Karp Sutulov (cf. "Skazka o popakh" [Tales of priests] in the collection *Pop i muzhik—russkie narodnye skazki* [The priest and the peasant: Russian folk tales], edited by Iu.M. Sokolov (Moscow and Leningrad, 1931), and in the very first records of Ukrainian folk tales we come across the character of the priest as a lover. The most popular variant of this type tells the grotesque story of a priest who lands in a tar barrel while in search of a love adventure, and is brought to the marketplace as rare "merchandise" (as the devil).

(3) The satirical and humorous tales constitute the largest cycle of tales of everyday life. While they are not directed against landlords or priests, their intent is to expose specific social deficiencies in addition to general human vices. Here we find biting sarcasm about greed, laziness, talkativeness, ingratitude toward parents, slavish subservience to all things foreign, drunkenness, etc.

Special attention should be given to a particular cycle of tales of everyday life that contain social criticism: they attempt to achieve philosophical penetration and an artistic depiction of such abstract concepts as truth and falsehood, life and death, happiness and suffering, success and failure, wealth and poverty, etc. These may be called philosophical tales. They express opinions about man's natural environment, about the logic of historical processes, and about social life. It is precisely this type of tale of everyday life that is characterized by a steadfast belief in the triumph of justice over injustice, and by the optimism characteristic of the creation of all folk tales, which links all genres in their ideals.

Ever since people began consciously shaping their life on earth, they have always reflected on how they could improve that life, either by "truth" or by "falsehood."

Even in their folk tales they knew that the path of "truth" was thorny and difficult, while the path of "falsehood" was smooth and easy; that man is subject to thousands of temptations to follow the second path, which promises fortune, career, honours and fame; and that, on the other hand, thousands of obstacles make the path of "truth" difficult to undertake, and yet the folk tale teaches that one must build on "truth." One of the best of the numerous Ukrainian variants of this type (AT 613) was recorded by Rudchenko in Baturyn, Chernihiv region. The tale begins with a quarrel between two brothers (one rich, one poor) about the best way to live. The poor brother maintains, "Although life is hard, it is better to live by the truth." But the rich brother laughs at him, saying, "Where on earth can you find the truth? There is no more truth left in the world. Falsehood and deceit are everywhere. It is more comfortable to live by falsehood" (no. 86). Often the tale, which tends



to present abstract concepts in the guise of its characters, will give the poor brother the name "Truth" and the rich one the name "Falsehood".

#### IV

From our brief survey of the collecting and publishing of Ukrainian folk tales (p. 5 ff.) it is evident that the folklorists of the nineteenth century (Dymynsky, Ihnatii of Nyklovychi, Kulish, Rudchenko, Drahomanov, Chubynsky and Hrinchenko) were not interested in the personality of the storyteller. This was a logical consequence of the mythological theory, which viewed the song, tale and legend as expressions of the national spirit, and failed to investigate the details of their emergence and development. Even the disciples of the migration theory did not deal seriously with this question. It was the anthropological school that first paid greater attention to the problem of the genesis and development of folk poetry. While studying this problem, folklorists could not overlook the fact that type and motif were fashioned differently in the particular folk-tale variants. When they studied the conditions under which folk tales spread, they came to the conclusion that one should record texts only from talented storytellers. Indeed, every peasant in any village can tell two or three tales, but the question is *how* does (s)he tell them? No one in the village wants to listen to people who make the tales sound pale and boring. But master storytellers can find a large audience at any time and in any place, and the entire village speaks of them with respect and admiration. On any field trip to collect folk tales, it is important to locate such storytellers, a task that can be extremely difficult and carries much responsibility.

Since the time of Sadovnikov, who discovered a true master in Avram Novopoltsev, Russian folklore scholars have found numerous prominent storytellers and, since Onchukov, many folklorists have arranged collections of folk tales according to storytellers (including D. Zelenin, B. and Iu. Sokolov and A. Smirnov). In Ukraine it was Onchukov's contemporary, Lesevych, who was the first to record the repertoire of a single storyteller. In December 1894 he gave a paper on Chmykhalo at a conference of the Ethnographic Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society; he related Chmykhalo's biography to the audience and described the general characteristics of his folk-tale repertoire.

Rodion Fedorovych Chmykhalo was born to an impoverished Cossack family in the village of Denysivka, Lubny district, Poltava province. In 1894 he was 65 years old. According to Lesevych, Chmykhalo was at that time a "tall, slim, distinguished old man" (we have a portrait of the storyteller by A. N. Shilder) of native intelligence, sensitive and friendly, seasoned by the experiences of a long life.

Rodion had inherited only a modest hut and one *desiatyna* of arable land from his father, and so his fate, just like that of all other peasants in those days, was far from easy. However, he had come to view life and its difficulties with the calm of a philosopher. "Not long ago," writes Lesevych, "he purchased the lumber for a coffin, so the thought of death does not disturb him in the least."

Chmykhalo had listened to his father telling tales during his early youth. Since his father knew these tales from his own childhood, it can be concluded that they were extant in the family for more than 100 years, i.e., since the eighteenth century. Lesevych recorded seventy-two texts from Chmykhalo, including thirty-seven true folk tales, seventeen legends, eleven novellas and seven anecdotes (according to Hnatiuk's classification). So far as the richness of his repertoire is concerned, Chmykhalo may certainly be compared with A. Novopoltsev, but from the artistic point of view his tales are inferior to those of his Russian contemporary. This becomes clearly apparent when one compares them with variants of the same types in the collections of Rudchenko and Chubynsky. While Chmykhalo is not exactly a first-class storyteller, it cannot be denied that he possesses extraordinary natural talent. His texts are of great value for Ukrainian folklore studies, since they afford an opportunity to evaluate the folk-tale repertoire of a single storyteller. Unfortunately, no

records were made of the repertoires of other storytellers in the Dnipro region during the nineteenth century.

Chmykhalo's most successful fairy tales are: "The Hero Bukh Kopytovych" (no. 48), "Okh" (no. 39) and "The Tsar's Sons as Swans" (no. 38). His most successful tales of everyday life containing social criticisms are: "Common Sense and Good Luck" (no. 87), "The Peasant, His Wife, and the Priest" (no. 108), and others.

Hnatiuk published the tales recorded by Lesevych. However, he criticized the language of the texts, complaining "that in Russia the assimilation of the language of our simple peasants to the language of the state, which some people still consider identical to ours, is far advanced..." Given the close genetic relationship between Russian and Ukrainian, we would wish to regard the process whereby colloquial Ukrainian is moving closer to standard Russian (a process that has taken place, moreover, in Carpathian Ukraine, as elsewhere) as a natural phenomenon that corresponds to given historical conditions.

We do not consider the language and style of Chmykhalo's folk tales deficient, but deplore the dearth of his expressive techniques. Lively narrative, exciting, dynamic plot development, and coherent composition are lacking.

The method of working with the storytellers individually and the study of their repertoires, which had already become a tradition in Russian folklore studies, was gradually adopted by Ukrainian folklorists as well. Shukhevych, who recorded the songs and tales of the Hutsuls, had already succeeded in discovering some gifted storytellers, such as Mykhailo Paliichuk from Kosmach (who was the source of twenty-six texts) or Petro Sekyriak from Holove (twenty-three texts), but he did not furnish any biographical data about them. Rozdolsky also mentions only the names of the storytellers he interviewed from the Brody and Stryi districts. He was not fortunate enough to discover genuine talents.

The new method produced especially positive results in the work of Hnatiuk, whose conscious goal it was to discover genuine folk talents. He actually succeeded in recording the repertoire of a whole series of first-class storytellers, such as M. Pustai, M. Fotul, I. Farkas, O. Kulich and M. Kalanchapy. Unfortunately, Hnatiuk limited himself to recording autobiographies, which are extremely blurred and superficial, and did not attempt to furnish a literary portrait of the storytellers, even though he had ample material at his disposal.

Mykhailo Pustai came from the mountain village of Zbui, Zemplén county, a picturesque spot between Poland, Slovakia and Carpathian Ukraine. Like his father, he was a village shepherd and earned his living the hard way from the age of thirteen. His work as a shepherd may have helped him develop into a storyteller. After his marriage, Pustai's material situation improved somewhat, since his wife brought a piece of arable land as her dowry, and so he was able to start a small farm. But poverty was never far from his door. In his autobiography Pustai tells how the bailiff once came to him because he could not pay his taxes, and he even had to sell his three goats. And yet, poverty had no adverse effect on his character.

Hnatiuk remembered Pustai as a cheerful, humorous person who willingly told his tales. When they were saying good-bye after six days of storytelling, Pustai told Hnatiuk that he could have carried on for another week. Hnatiuk acquired thirty-nine texts from Pustai: thirteen tales of magic, ten legends, thirteen tales of everyday life containing social criticism, and three anecdotes.

Pustai was capable of telling any kind of story, and told all these genres with equal mastery. Characteristic features of his tales, even of the legends and tales of everyday life, are their length and complex composition.

The tales of magic, which take first place in Pustai's repertoire, often have a pronounced Carpathian flavor, or else they are impressive because of their original, harmonious combination of East and West Slavic motifs (hardly surprising for a storyteller who was born and raised in the Beskyds).



Pustai is the master of a lively narrative style that leaves plenty of room for dramatic development. At the same time his style is impressive and full of imagery, and he distinguishes himself with his many expressive techniques.

Mykhailo Fotul came from Stroino, Bereg county. He was a poor peasant and the father of a large family. There is a complete lack of specific information in the autobiography recorded by Hnatiuk. It merely contains complaints about the unbearable material situation and the constant poverty. "Such is my life," explains Fotul, "that I don't even know what joy really is. I have to feed my four children and my wife, but I have no land, no livestock, and there isn't a penny to be earned anywhere." Fotul complains especially about the exorbitant taxes. "The state takes, the county authorities take, and the lawyer takes. And the bailiff tears the last bit of bread from between one's teeth..." This picture of hopeless poverty is true and typical: that is how the Carpathian-Ukrainian peasantry lived in those days.

Hnatiuk recorded thirty-two texts from Fotul (fifteen legendary tales, twelve tales of everyday life that include social criticism, and five tales of magic), which by no means exhausted Fotul's rich and diverse repertoire. While Pustai told chiefly tales of magic, most of Fotul's material consists of legendary tales and tales of everyday life that include social criticism. He belongs to the category of satirists among the storytellers and his main purpose is to ridicule social evils. The following tales display especially strong social tendencies: "Iakym the Dogcatcher," "The Thrashed Priest," "The Priest and the Villain Sholovka," "Solomon and the Devils in the Barrel," and "An Angel in the Priest's Service." With Fotul, not only the novella-like tale but also the legend becomes a sharp weapon in the struggle against social evils and exploitation. The keenness of his satire is primarily directed at the priests of the Greek Uniate church. However, since he came from the milieu of the patriarchal peasantry, which was economically and culturally backward, he also expressed conservative views. Hence one finds moralizing tendencies, for example in his legend "Handsome Joseph" (no. 69). In some of his legends the idea is expressed that control of the family, society and the state should belong to men alone, and he argues against equal rights for men and women.

In 1962 we made the acquaintance of Fotul's son, who could still remember Hnatiuk and told us of the following interesting incident. Hnatiuk, who wanted to express his thanks to Fotul's father for his splendid tales, took him to the market at Mukachiv and, pointing to a herd of fat oxen, said, "Choose two of the best oxen in exchange for your tales, Mykhailo!" But the son of the first-class master storyteller was unable to tell us a single good tale!

Imre Farkas was a poor peasant from the former Bács-Bodrog county. In his humorously told autobiography neither the year of his birth nor his age is given. Farkas relates how he attended the elementary school in his home village, where he was a very good pupil; everything seemed easy to him and he could memorize any written matter instantly. After elementary school, he "went into service," i.e., he became a day labourer for a wealthy landlord. From this we may assume that the material situation of the Farkas family was not particularly good. The estate owner for whom the youth worked paid him no money, and there was even a court case. Farkas did not have an easy time in his personal life either, for the prosperous peasants were reluctant to marry their daughters off to poor youths. But he finally found a girl who became a good wife and the mother of his children. Of course, their first child died shortly after birth, and the second survived barely nine months. In 1897, when he met Hnatiuk, he was still a young man.

Farkas was a typical epic storyteller who loved detailed descriptions, yet he managed to preserve artistic unity in his stories and knew how to tell them in a lively, organic and logical way. He created genuine, epic folk tales, such as "How a King Wanted to Have His Son Put to Death, How the Son Ran Away, Became a Shepherd, and later Became King" (no. 55). Moreover, they are of extreme interest for comparative folk-tale studies. As has already been mentioned, the Ruthenian\* settlers in the Bačka region, who lived for

two centuries alongside Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, Germans and Slovaks, adopted much from the rich oral tradition of these peoples.

While Farkas's repertoire does not comprise a very large number of stories (twenty-seven texts, of which there are thirteen tales of magic, two legends, four novella-like tales, five anecdotes and three historical legends), it takes up a comparatively large amount of space in Hnatiuk's collection because of the unusual length of each text.

Osyp Kulich was a compatriot of Farkas: he also came from a poor peasant family in the former Bács-Bodrog county. We read in his autobiography of how he once took the teacher's place in school. "We had two rooms and only one teacher. Obviously he couldn't teach in both rooms at the same time and, therefore, one day he asked me to teach the little children. So I walked into the classroom and said, 'Quiet, children! First of all, blow your noses, and then I'll tell you stories...' And then I started to tell them about tsars and gypsies, and they were so attentive that the teacher simply couldn't get over his amazement." This incident is one of great interest for folk-tale research, because it shows that even as a schoolboy Kulich knew how to fascinate listeners with his tales.

After he married, Kulich lived with his wife in his father's cottage, but did not get along well with him, and so he had to go to strangers and work as a day-labourer. Famine cast a shadow over the life of the homeless day-labourer, but he did not lose hope of a better future. Through hard work he earned enough money to build a cottage of his own. Now he finally had his own roof over his head. But, just as in a folk tale, misfortune pursued him. The children died, one after the other, and their unfortunate parents were left all alone.

Hnatiuk had a high opinion of Kulich's abilities as a storyteller, and was impressed above all by his phenomenal memory. Kulich furnished him with forty-four texts, which was the largest number he ever acquired from a single storyteller (seven tales of magic, three legends, nine novellas, eleven anecdotes, three animal tales and eleven historical legends).

Kulich was a universal storyteller who told folk tales belonging to the most diverse genres with equal mastery. Special mention should be made of his historical legends, of which we have already spoken elsewhere (P. Lintur, "Zakarpatskie narodnye skazaniia o Koroleviche Marko" [Transcarpathian legends about Marko Kraljević] in *Sovetskaia etnografiia* [1965], 1).

As a labourer, Kulich very frequently associated with Serbs and Croats. Hence he often had an opportunity to listen to their epic songs, myths, legends and tales, and to memorize them. This explains the many South Slavic elements in his texts, even in his tales of magic, legendary tales and novella-like tales.

As far as the twentieth-century storytellers (i.e., our contemporaries) are concerned, we, of course, have been able to carry out far more detailed studies of their biographies and repertoire than was possible with the nineteenth-century storytellers dealt with so far.

Mykhailo Halytsia may be considered one of the most talented Ukrainian storytellers of all time. His creative imagination is exceptionally developed, and he is also an excellent narrator. The impressive thing about him is not only the wealth and variety of his themes and characters, but also his ability to react spontaneously to current events. He was born in 1885 in Dulove, Tiachiv district, into a peasant family. He learned to read and write at the community school. But this did not quench his thirst for knowledge, and so his path through life took him, poorly paid as he was, far from his parental home. When only a boy, he moved to Galicia to become a lumberjack. Here he could see convincing evidence that the Ruthenians\* of Carpathian Ukraine were not alone in their struggle for national liberation.

As a youth Halytsia moved to Bosnia and Herzegovina, the home of the South Slavic heroic epic. Soon he became familiar with the language of the Serbs and Croats, with whom he worked in the forest. He liked their songs and the stories about the *hajduks*, the avengers of the people. Very clear traces of the South Slavic element are to be found in Halytsia's creative work: his repertoire includes legends about Marko Kraljević and Musa



Kesedžija. Perhaps this is also the source of the broad epic form and heroic content so characteristic of his tales.

Before the First World War Halytsia travelled to the United States, where he worked in a mine. When he returned home, he was drafted into the army and, being an experienced miner, was posted to Salgótarján to work in the coal mines. Here he experienced the fall of the Habsburg monarchy and the Hungarian socialist revolution of 1919. Then, when Carpathian Ukraine was annexed by the bourgeois Czechoslovak Republic, Halytsia and his family lived a miserable existence. Once again, in his search for work, he went abroad. The children died, and his wife contracted a terminal disease. Only in old age could he enjoy happier days: he was able to apply his wide experience and ability to the construction of a power station as foreman of a gang of carpenters. Later he received a pension that guaranteed him a quiet life in his old age. Today Halytsia is a Soviet citizen whose fate is typical of that of many thousands of Carpathian Ukrainians.

His repertoire of tales is as rich and varied as are his experiences and knowledge (he has a command of about ten languages); it comprises equally tales of magic and legendary tales, tales of everyday life containing social criticism and children's tales, historical legends and philosophical tales. Moreover, he knows many folk songs, knows a great deal about folk customs and folk rites, and his vocabulary is full of proverbs and sayings.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that he is at his best with the tale of magic genre. It is here that his ability to create characters and his deep thought are realized most effectively. Thus, tales like "The White Giant of the Mountain Meadows" (no. 59), "Beautiful Anna" (no. 60), "The Tsar of the Wild Wood" (no. 61), and "The Mountain Whose Peak Touched the Heavens" (no. 62) are real showpieces of popular narrative art.

Halytsia's legendary tales are of special scholarly and literary interest: one of them, the tale of Pope Gregory (incest motif), which is well known in European folklore, deserves particular mention. This tale seems to have been influenced by the reading of Bible history and religious books.

In any overall evaluation of Halytsia's repertoire one would have to stress his love for tradition, his active relationship with the enormously rich heritage of Ukrainian, Russian and Belorussian folk poetry, and his links with the folklore of neighbouring peoples (South Slavs, Romanians, Hungarians, etc.).

Halytsia possesses an unsurpassed talent for improvisation. He reacts spontaneously to current events, rethinks and changes the ideas in his tales, always emphasizes new social trends, and constantly weaves new motifs into the pattern of his story. In July 1961, when he was telling one tale in which a stallion with a golden mane flies around the world, he could not resist adding, "... and he flew faster than Iurii Gagarin in his rocket!" He had just been reading in the newspaper about the first manned space flight (cf. no. 60).

Andrii Kalyn is, no doubt, the best-known living Ukrainian storyteller, who has achieved recognition not only in the Soviet Union but also abroad. His folk tales have appeared in several publications in Ukrainian and Czech. He was born in 1908 in Horinchove, Khust district, Carpathian Ukraine. Extreme poverty often forced him to leave his perpetually starving family and wander through the world as a day-labourer in order to eke out a living. Even his father had left his wife and children and travelled penniless to America. There he could not cope with the hard labour in the coal mines and died prematurely, when his son was scarcely seven years old. Since that time, Andrii had had to work by the sweat of his brow in order to keep his mother and little sisters from starving. Like thousands of other peasant children, he did not learn to read or write, but graduated from the harsh school of life, which taught him how to differentiate between the true friends and enemies of the working people.

After Carpathian Ukraine was liberated by the Soviet Army, the former day-labourer became a well-known personality. His tales were first printed in local newspapers, later in central Ukrainian papers, and in 1955 they appeared in a separate publication.

Kalyn is a storyteller with a rich and versatile repertoire. By 1962 we had managed to record 120 folk-tale texts from him. At the same time we realized that he also knows many songs, anecdotes, and memorates.

As has been established many times in the professional literature, the tales selected by the storyteller himself are indicative of the main trend of his thoughts and feelings. The creative individuality of the storyteller is revealed especially in the tales he selects. In choosing his repertoire, Kalyn accords first place to those themes in which poor people appear, above all lumberjacks who wander through the world in search of work. His favourite hero is the "poor seafarer," the "wanderer," who is driven by poverty and fights not for some abstract truth but for social justice.

In Kalyn's work, where the outlook of the poor peasant is expressed, we see not only biting social satire and merciless criticism of the ruling classes, but also traces of political narrow-mindedness, religious prejudice and patriarchal conservatism. This may be explained by the historical conditions of life in a mountain village that retained features of a barter economy right up to the establishment of Soviet power. Until 1918 illiteracy was rampant, and the only "educated" people were the priest and the sexton.

Nearly all kinds of folk tales are represented in Kalyn's repertoire: tales of magic (fifty-one), novellas (thirty-five), legends (five), animal tales (five), historical stories (twenty), and sagas (four).

While a major portion of Kalyn's repertoire originates in his home village, he has drawn on the folk-tale heritage of his entire homeland, of all Ukraine, and also from that of neighbouring countries. His naive view of the world around him corresponds to the animistic basis of his tales. Tale and reality are interwoven in his conceptual world: the distant past is interwoven with the present. He explains that he has heard many themes from the very robbers who have already become heroes of folk legends. He maintains, for example, that he was a friend of Mykola Shuhai, the hero of the Carpathians, who was killed in 1921.

On the basis of Kalyn's tales, it is possible to arrive at an explanation of the vital question of the origin of the storyteller's repertoire. "When I was young," says Kalyn, "I knew thousands of tales. I only needed to hear a tale once and I retained it, even if it was three days long... I practically searched for tales..." One of his heroes, a poor young boy (in "Promise That of Which You Know Nothing at Home"), gives up everything that still belongs to him in exchange for one tale: his old cap, jacket and pants. There could hardly be a more accurate depiction of the great love of a simple person for the art of the word.

As a genuine master, Kalyn improves upon the tradition with his poetic gifts. They are expressed the thought sequence of his tales, the unity and logic of his composition, the organic development of the theme, the shaping of the characters, lively local colour and the demotic language that sets his stories apart. From the standpoint of composition, Kalyn's tales may be divided into three groups: (1) tales that retain the traditional repertoire of themes; (2) tales that have emerged from the independent combination of traditional motifs and Kalynesque motifs; (3) original tales that Kalyn has invented himself.

Kalyn possesses a fine aesthetic feeling and a sense of moderation that prevents him from overloading his tales with too many motifs, episodes and details. Contaminations of themes seldom occur; as a rule he avoids them. The average length of his tales is four pages. The approximately forty themes that he composed himself by combining traditional motifs attest to his creative initiative. We were lucky enough to ascertain with absolute reliability the time, place and circumstances under which some of his stories were created.

When one studies his style, it is striking that Kalyn pays little attention to the external form of the folk tale and neglects the traditional folk-tale style. He presents the contents simply and naturally; he shuns the traditional folk-tale openings and conclusions as well as the stereotyped formulas; he does not adhere to the three-times principle, and so on. This is the consequence of a certain tendency toward psychologism and a striving toward realistic presentation. Kalyn tells his stories concisely and laconically, thereby making them as concentrated as possible.



Vasyl Korolovych is a typical personality of the modern Ukrainian village, which has made great economic and cultural progress during the years of Soviet power. People of this kind really deserve special monographs, for they are living embodiments of the history of the land and obvious examples of its rapid material and spiritual growth. He was born in 1903 into a peasant family in the village of Strabychove, Mukachiv district, Carpathian Ukraine. He was only able to attend elementary school, but his innate thirst for knowledge caused him to look at the reality around him with open eyes and to seek the "truth" in books. As a seventeen year-old he found work at a railway depot, which enabled him to travel widely. Thanks to his meetings with people from many different nations and his observation of their character, Korolovych enriched his experiences and his knowledge. His horizon was broadened especially after the union of Carpathian Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine. It was no longer difficult to procure a book or a specialist periodical in one's mother tongue, and everyone was able to fill the gaps in his education. Korolovych attended courses for railwaymen and consolidated his practical knowledge by means of theory. Although Vasyl Korolovych is regarded by his co-workers in Lviv as one of the best locomotive engineers and a very conscientious, responsible and industrious person, only a few realize that he is an exceptionally talented storyteller.

Between 1955 and 1966 we managed to record eighty-five texts directly from him. These were relatively detailed folk tales: thirty-eight tales of magic, twenty tales of everyday life containing social criticism, three anecdotes, two legendary tales, seven *skazky-bylichki* (see above, p. 6), and fifteen historical legends. Besides these, he also knows riddles (about fifty), proverbs and sayings, superb ballads, lyrical songs, and charms, and he is knowledgeable about folk beliefs.

Korolovych belongs to the category of storytellers who harmoniously combine tradition with personal initiative. He takes the oral traditions seriously; he sincerely respects and loves them. He loves to remember his teachers: his grandfather Vasyl Korolovych, the gypsy blacksmith Martsii, his compatriot Makusii Leniat, and others.

Korolovych learned the major portion of his repertoire during the early days of his youth at spinning evenings (the spinners met in the Korolovyches' cottage), during communal work, and in the shepherds' mountain huts. Later, when he worked for the railway, he had opportunities to hear good storytellers of other nationalities (Hungarians at the Chop station and Slovaks in the Prešov region). This is the main reason for the breadth of his repertoire and the international features in his work.

Korolovych lovingly describes the characters of his heroes, who are representatives of the people ("The Silken State," no. 65; "The Tree That Reached up to Heaven," no. 66; and others); he endows them with physical strength, courage, an iron will, intelligence and generosity. Where kings, princes and noble knights fail, the simple swineherd succeeds. He climbs a tree that reaches up to heaven, ends up in the hereafter, and conquers his enemies. The idea of the citizen and the state is interesting; it runs through Korolovych's entire work like a red thread and inspires his heroes to great deeds. It becomes especially clear-cut in the tale of "The Silken State" (no. 65). This silken state (in which the silk grass grows) is an image, a symbol representing human fortune. The knight who has freed the silken state from its numerous enemies unites all the countries of the world and creates eternal peace on earth.

A whole series of tales of everyday life by Korolovych that include social criticism deal with current problems of social and family life ("Misfortune," no. 89; "Truth and Falsehood," no. 86, etc.).

Special attention is due his philosophical tales ("Fortune and Blessing," "How God Divided His Blessings among the Peoples," etc.), in which he deals with the problems of life that have always troubled mankind.

The historical tales occupy an important position in Korolovych's repertoire; they include a cycle of stories about Mátyás Korvin (Matthias Corvinus) that belong to the large cycle of anti-feudal themes ("How Matthias Became King," "How a Simple Peasant Milked



the Landlord's 'Rams', "How Matthias Entertained Simpletons and Landlords," etc.). Korolovych's tales also provide particularly rich material for the study of inter-ethnic (Ukrainian-Hungarian) folklore relations.

So far as variety of genres is concerned, Korolovych must be considered one of the best Ukrainian storytellers. Besides tales of magic, novella-like tales, legendary tales, anecdotes, animal tales and historical legends, he also experiments successfully with the rare genre of the ethnographic sketch.

To conclude briefly: the fate of the Ukrainian folk tale is reminiscent of the fate of the Russian *bylina* epic. Just as the *bylina* declined in Central Russia while it survived in the north and on the coast of the White Sea during the nineteenth century, so also the Ukrainian folk tale, which gradually died out in the Dnipro region, preserved itself right up to the middle of the twentieth century in the Carpathian region, where it is still alive today and is fostered with zeal.

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