

Bibliographical Articles

An Historiographical Guide to Subcarpathian Rus'¹

1. Introduction

It is customary among western scholars who have written about the Carpatho-Rusyns to consider them "the most forgotten among the forgotten."² Little is known in the West about the political, economic, and cultural developments of Subcarpathian Rus', especially before 1918. Yet such an enormous amount of material has been written in eastern European languages about this territory that as early as 1931 the noted Slavic linguist Roman Jakobson could write: "In the whole east Slavic world, there is hardly any other marginal area whose past has been examined with such affectionate meticulousness and scholarliness as Carpatho-Russia."³

The present study is intended as an introductory guide to the voluminous historiography of Subcarpathian Rus'. The material has been arranged according to the following topical and chronological subdivisions: bibliographical aids; general historical studies; early history to 1514; 1514 to 1711; 1711 to 1848; 1848 to 1918; 1918 to 1938; October, 1938, to March, 1939; 1939 to 1944; 1945 to the present; cultural developments; Rusyns in Hungary; Rusyns in Jugoslavia; and Rusyns in the United States. Works will be discussed under the heading which most nearly describes the period dealt with in the text regardless of the date of publication. The time periods were not designated arbitrarily but are based on certain historical events the significance of which will be clarified in the appropriate subsection. Most studies treated in this article deal exclusively or primarily with Subcarpathian Rus'; only a few are concerned with problems of a more general nature. Many studies dealing with the recent history of the area are not necessarily included because they represent sound historical research but because they are valuable, highly selective accounts of crucial events, many of them written by the participants themselves. As such, these studies are useful

¹The author wishes to express his appreciation to the International Research and Exchange Board for support in 1969-1970 and to the staffs of numerous libraries, institutes, and museums in Europe and the United States who provided him with the materials discussed in this study.

²Robert A. Kann, *The Multinational Empire: Nationalism and National Reform in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1848-1918* (2 vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), Vol. I, p. 325.

³Roman O. Jakobson, "Neue Arbeiten zur Vergangenheit Karpatorusslands," *Slavische Rundschau*, Vol. III (Prague, 1931), p. 512.

indicators of the various conflicting opinions that prevailed at critical moments in the past.

The footnote references will follow the form used in bibliographic entries so that the reader may have some idea of the length of a given monograph or article as well as of the place and date of publication. Items with extended bibliographies will be indicated by the words "full bibliography."

In all but a few instances the author has omitted works dealing with demography, anthropology, ethnography, geography, and linguistics because of limitations of space. Material is even more abundant in these disciplines than in history and would fill a separate bibliographical monograph.

Both the territory and inhabitants under discussion have had many different names in the past. Before 1918 the administration in the Hungarian kingdom was based on the *comitat* (county) system. Rusyns (as we shall call the population) inhabited portions of thirteen *comitats*, especially the northern sectors of the *comitats* of Szepes, Sáros, Zemplén, Ung, Bereg, Ugocsa, and Máramaros. Because the Rusyns spoke a Slavic language and belonged first to the Orthodox and later to the Greek Catholic Church, the territory they inhabited was variously referred to as *Marchia Ruthenorum*, Ugro (Hungarian)-Rus', *Rutenföld* (Ruthenia), *Rus'ka Krajna* (Rusyn Land), *Carpatho-Russia*, *Carpatho-Ukraine*, and *Zakarpattja* (Transcarpathia). With the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1919, most Rusyns became inhabitants of the new province of *Podkarpatská Rus'* (Subcarpathian Rus'), while the remainder were incorporated into eastern Slovakia, an area popularly called the *Prjašivščyna* (Prešov Region). After 1945 *Podkarpatská Rus'* became the Transcarpathian Oblast of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In this study the name "Subcarpathian Rus'" will be used. The prefix "sub" is necessary to indicate that the area in question is located within the Hungarian part of the former Habsburg monarchy, along the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. The more general name "Carpathian Rus'" actually applies to the territory both north and south of the Carpathian range, i. e., northern Bucovina and southern Galicia, as well as northeastern Hungary. The term "Rus'" was selected because it is a more precise translation of the eastern Slavic word "Pycb," which is usually imprecisely rendered into English as "Russian." Moreover, Rus' also suggests the particular national and religious characteristics of

the Rusyn population. In discussing the period before 1919 "Subcarpathian Rus'" will refer to all Rusyn-inhabited lands south of the Carpathians; for the period after 1919 the term will be used to designate only the Czechoslovak province of Podkarpatská Rus'.

Though closely related to the Rusyns (or present-day Ukrainians) north of the Carpathians, the Rusyns of Subcarpathia lived so long within Hungary that they followed a historical course somewhat different from that of their brethren to the north. In addition to saying that he was a Rusyn, an inhabitant of Subcarpathian Rus' might also have referred to himself as a Lemko, a Bojko, or a Hucul (in accord with the generally prevailing east-west dialectal differentiations), or as a Dolišanyň (lowland dweller), Verxovyňec (highland dweller), or Rusnak (adherent of Greek Catholicism). Since the term "Rusyn" was most generally accepted by the inhabitants, it will be used in this discussion.⁴

In translating the titles of works mentioned in the following pages, the author has tried to approximate the literal English equivalent of the name given by each particular writer to the inhabitants and area. He has done so because many times the political and national predilections of an author can be determined by the nomenclature that he uses.⁵

2. Bibliographical Aids

Systematic studies devoted solely to the historiography of Subcarpathian Rus' first appeared toward the end of the last century.⁶ In the early part of the twentieth century Evgenij Perfeckij discussed the

⁴For some views on the nomenclature controversy, see Aleksej L. Petrov, *Karpatorusskija meževyja nazvanija iz pol. XIX i iz nač. XX v.* [Carpatho-Russian Boundary Nomenclature from the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries] (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929) (219 pp.); René Martel, "Le nom d' 'ukrainien' en Russie subcarpathique," *Monde Slave*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (Paris, 1937), pp. 560-569; Bohdan Barvinskij, *Nazva 'Ukrajina' na Zakarpattji* [The Name "Ukraine" in Transcarpathia]. In *Onomastica*, No. 4 (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1925) (16 pp.); Ivan Vanat, "Do pytannja vžyvannja terminiv 'Zakarpattja' ta 'Prjašivščyna'" [Regarding the Use of the Terms "Transcarpathia" and "Prešov Region"], in *Žovten' i ukrajins'ka kul'tura* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kych trudjaščyx, 1968), pp. 602-603.

⁵The transliteration of titles in Russian and Ukrainian follows the system used by *Recenzija: A Review of Soviet Ukrainian Scholarly Publications*, published by the Seminar in Ukrainian Studies at Harvard University. Titles in the Rusyn dialect and etymological script are transliterated according to the Ukrainian pattern.

⁶Kálmán Zsatkovics, "A magyarországi oroszok történetírásának történelme" [A History of the Historiography of the Russians in Hungary], *Századok*, Vol. XXIV (Budapest, 1890), pp. 568-573 and 644-660; Vladimir A. Francev, "Obzor važnejšix izučenjij Ugorskoj Rusi" [A Survey of the More Important Studies on Ugro-Rus'], *Russkij filologičnij vėstnik*, Vol. XLV, No. 1-2 (Warsaw, 1901), pp. 145-197.

availability of archival materials and analyzed those works which appeared during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁷ Adopting a thematic approach, Joseph A. Rácz contributed a short article in which he appraised the opinions of historians concerning the settlement of the original Rusyn population, the Church, and socioeconomic problems.⁸ Most recently, the Soviet Marxist historian Ivan G. Kolomicz has written a long essay castigating the authors of pre-1945 bourgeois historiography for their shortcomings. Besides discussing all the major works on Subcarpathian Rus', he has included a twenty-eight page appendix containing a myriad of bibliographic entries on archives, periodicals, monographs, and articles, especially those of Soviet and East European origin.⁹

Among the unannotated bibliographies, those compiled by Ivan Levickij on Galicia listed books, articles, and periodicals published in or about Subcarpathian Rus'; unfortunately, only items published before 1894 were included.¹⁰ The most extensive bibliography dealing with the Subcarpathian region is the one published under the auspices of the Subcarpathian Academy of Sciences during the Second World War.¹¹ This invaluable work contains 2,799 entries of monographs, articles, periodicals, and newspapers published in Subcarpathia and abroad.

⁷ Evgenij Perfeckij, "Obzor ugorusskoj istoriografii" [A Survey of Ugro-Russian Historiography], *Izvěstija otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 291-341; Evgenij Perfeckij, "Nejdůležitější studie o dějinách Podkarpatské Rusi" [The Most Important Studies on the History of Subcarpathian Rus'], in "Dvě stati k dějinám Podkarpatské Rusi," *Sborník filozofické fakulty university Komenského*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Bratislava, 1922), pp. 115-126.

⁸ Joseph A. Rácz, "La développement de la littérature historique carpatho-ukrainienne," *Revue d'histoire comparée*, Vol. XXII (Paris, 1944), pp. 172-182.

⁹ Ivan G. Kolomicz, "Istoriografija, istočniki i literatura" [Historiography, Sources, and Literature], in Ivan G. Kolomicz, *Social'no-ekonomičeskie otnošenija i obščestvennoe dviženie v Zakarpat'e vo vtoroj polovine XIX stoletija*, Vol. II (Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo universiteta, 1962), pp. 524-615. See also S. M. Bilak, "Do pytanja krytyky buržuazno-nacionalistyčnyx fal'syfikacij istoriji Zakarpattja (1919-1944 rr.)," [On the Question of Criticism of Bourgeois Nationalist Falsifications of the History of Transcarpathia, 1919-1944], in *Kul'tura i pobut naselennja ukrajins'kyx karpát* (Užhorod: Užhorodsk'kyj deržavnyj universytet, 1973), pp. 65-73; V. V. Pal'ok, "Dejaki pytanja istoriji Zakarpattja z najdavnišyx časiv do kінca XVIII st. v ukrajins'kij radjans'kij istoriohrafiji" [Some Questions on the History of Transcarpathia from the Oldest Times until the End of the Eighteenth Century in Ukrainian Soviet Historiography], in *ibid.*, pp. 105-112.

¹⁰ Ivan Levickij, *Galicko-ruskaja bibliografija XIX stolětija: 1801-1886* [Galician-Rusyn Bibliography of the Nineteenth Century] (2 vols., L'viv, 1888-95) (xxii, 162 pp., and 736 pp.); Ivan Levyc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ka bibliografija Avstro-Uhorščyny za roky 1887-1900* [Ukrainian Bibliography of Austria-Hungary for the Years 1887-1900] (3 vols., 1887-1893); *Materijaly do ukrajins'koji bibliografiji* [Materials for Ukrainian Bibliography], Vols. I-III (L'viv: Bibliografična komisija Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka, 1909-11) (269, 290, and 300 pp.).

¹¹ Nykolaj Lelekač and Ivan Harajda, *Zahal'na bibliohrafija Podkarpattja* [A General

Many works about the area written in western European languages are listed in a bibliography by Eugene J. Pelenskyj and in an article by Myxajlo Hres'ko.¹²

Scholars in Czechoslovakia have also prepared important bibliographical material. Besides the annual *Bibliografický katalog*,¹³ the *Bibliografie české historie* contains a special section listing works in all languages that deal with Subcarpathian Rus'.¹⁴ The extensive geographical bibliographies by Jiří Král also include items pertaining to the history of the area.¹⁵ A more recent bibliography of articles and monographs in the Czech language on Czech-Ukrainian relations contains much material related to Subcarpathian Rus'.¹⁶ Several bibliographies list material published in Slovak and Ukrainian after the Second World War on the subject of the Rusyns living in eastern Slovakia.¹⁷ Finally, a bibliography dealing with the Soviet Ukraine¹⁸

Bibliography of Subcarpathia]. In *Literaturno-naukova biblioteka*, No. 30 (Užhorod: Podkarpatskoe občestvo nauk, 1944) (150 pp.). Supplemented in *Literaturna nedilja*, Vol. IV, No. 9-11 (Užhorod, 1944).

¹²Eugene J. Pelenskyj, *Ucrainica: Selected Bibliography on Ukraine in Western-European Languages*. In *Memoirs of the Scientific Ševčenko Society*, Vol. CLVIII (Munich, 1948) (110 pp.); Myxajlo Hres'ko, "Zakarpattja—očyma mandrivnykiv i včenyx" [Transcarpathia in the Eyes of Travelers and Scholars], *Žovten'*, Vol. XVIII, No. 11 (L'viv, 1968), pp. 130-138.

¹³*Bibliografický katalog* [Bibliographical Index] (Prague, 1922-46). Yearly publication with entries for works published in Czechoslovakia in the Subcarpathian Rusyn (podkarpatoruská), Russian, and Ukrainian languages.

¹⁴*Bibliografie české historie* [Bibliography of Czech history] (Prague: Historický klub). Beginning with volume "za léta 1925-1926" (Prague, 1929), a special subsection was included for works on the history, literature, language, and folklore of Subcarpathian Rus'. Entries dealing with the province were listed separately until volume "za léta 1937-1941" (Prague, 1951).

¹⁵Jiří Král, *Geografická bibliografie Podkarpatské Rusi* [Geographical Bibliography of Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Travaux géographiques*, No. 11 (Prague: Geografický ústav Karlovy university, 1923) (61 pp.); Jiří Král, *Geografická bibliografie Podkarpatské Rusi za roky 1923-1926* [Geographical Bibliography of Subcarpathian Rus' for the Years 1923-1926]. In *Travaux géographiques tchèques*, No. 13 (Prague: Geografický ústav Karlovy university, 1928) (54 pp.).

¹⁶Orest Zilynskyj (ed.), *Sto padesát let česko-ukrajinských literárních styků 1814-1964: vědecko-bibliografický sborník* [One Hundred and Fifty Years of Czech-Ukrainian Literary Relations, 1814-1964: A Scholarly Bibliography] (Prague: Svět sovětů, 1968) (478 pp.).

¹⁷Mikuláš Nevrlý, *Bibliografia ukrajínik v slovenskej reči, 1945-1964* [A Bibliography of Ukrainian Studies in the Slovak Language, 1945-1964] (Bratislava: Slovenská akadémia vied, 1965) (198 pp.); *Z žytija ukrajinciv na Slovaččyni: bibliografija pro budivnyčju pracju ukrajinciv na Slovaččyni* [On the Life of Ukrainians in Slovakia: A Bibliography on the Constructive Work of Ukrainians in Slovakia] (3 vols., Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1959-61) (195, 165, and 140 pp.); Olena Pažur, *Ukrajinci Česoslovaččyny 1962-1964 rr.: bibliografija knih, žurnal'nyx ta hazetnyx statej* [The Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia in the Years 1962 to 1964: A Bibliography of Books, Journals, and Newspaper Articles]. In *Bibliografija východného Slovenska, 1945-1964*, Vol. XII, Pt. 1 (Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica, 1967) (257 pp.).

¹⁸M. P. Rud', *Ukrajins'ka Radjans'ka Socialistyčna Respublika, 1917-1967:*

gives more than 65 references to recent Marxist literature about the history of Subcarpathian Rus'. For other post-1945 works, see the annual guide to Soviet publications¹⁹ and the United States Library of Congress subject catalog under the classifications of "Carpathian Mountains," "Ruthenia," and "Zakarpatskaja Oblast'."

Periodicals were first published in Subcarpathian Rus' during the late nineteenth century, and Arkadij Žyvtok compiled an annotated list of 220 publications which appeared between 1867 and 1939.²⁰ For the early period the periodicals *Svět* (Užhorod, 1867-71); *Listok* (Užhorod, 1885-1903); and *Nauka* (Užhorod, 1897-1914 and 1918-22) are important; and a wealth of historical material may be found in the 14-volume *Naukovyj zbornyk*, which was published by the Ukrainophile Prosvita Society (Užhorod, 1924-38); the 13-volume *Podkarpatská Rus'*, published by the local school administration (Užhorod, 1923-36); the 115 volumes of the *Izdanie* of the Russophile Duxnovyč Society (Užhorod, 1924-37); and the 3-volume *Zorja-Hajnal*, published by the Subcarpathian Academy of Sciences during the Hungarian occupation (Užhorod, 1941-43). The results of recent Soviet Marxist historiography can be gleaned from the 60 odd volumes of the *Naukovi zapysky*, published by Užhorod State University (Užhorod, 1949-), and in the more literary-oriented *Radjans'ke Zakarpattja* (later entitled "*Karpaty*") (Užhorod, 1947-59). Ukrainian scholars in eastern Slovakia have contributed especially valuable material on the history of Subcarpathian Rus' in three annuals: the *Zbornik* of the Philosophical Faculty of Pavel J. Šafařík University in Prešov (Bratislava, 1960-), the *Naukovyi zbirnyk* of the Museum of Ukrainian Culture in Svidník (Bratislava-Prešov, 1965-), the *Zapysky* of the Scientific Society of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers in Prešov (Prešov, 1972-); and in the bimonthly *Duklja* (Prešov, 1953-).

A comprehensive description of archival holdings that contain material on Subcarpathian Rus' is yet to be written. For archives located in the province two surveys were prepared during the Czechoslovak period, and Vasyl' L. Mykytas' has compiled three catalogs that list the present location of manuscripts, old books, and other valuable materials formerly held in local ecclesiastical libraries.²¹ The largest

bibliografičnyj pokazčyk literatury [The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic: Bibliographical Index of the Literature] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1969), pp. 94-96, 144-147, 198-200, and 314-316.

¹⁹*Ežegodnik knigi SSSR* [Book Annual of the Soviet Union] (Moscow, 1935, 1941-).

²⁰Arkadij Žyvtok, *Presa Karpats'koji Ukrajiny* [The Press in Carpatho-Ukraine] (Prague: Vydavnyctvo Jurija Tyščenka, 1940) (iii, 22 pp.).

²¹Nikolaus Radványi, *Die Archive in der Podkarpatská Rus. Ein Beitrag zur Errichtung*

archival holdings are in the *Deržavnyj arxiv Zakarpats'koji oblasti* (Užhorod and branches);²² the *Státní ústřední archiv*; *Archiv ministerstva zahraničních věcí*; *Archiv kanceláře presidenta republiky*; and *Archiv Národního Musea*, all in Prague; *Štátny slovenský ústredný archiv* (Bratislava); *Štátny archiv* (Prešov); *Országos Levéltár* and *Nemzeti Múzeum* in Budapest; and *De propaganda fide* in Rome.

The most important collections of published materials are deposited in the *Deržavna universytets'ka biblioteka*, in Užhorod; in the *Muzej ukrajins'koji kul'tury* in Svidník, Czechoslovakia; and in the *Slovanská knihovna* and *Universitní knihovna* in Prague. The latter two are especially rich in materials published before 1945. The Széchenyi Library in Budapest contains the largest collection of pre-1918 materials. In the United States the most extensive holdings on Subcarpathian Rus' are in the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, Widener Library at Harvard University, the University of Illinois Library at Urbana, the Butler Library at Columbia University, and the library of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Butler, Pennsylvania.

3. General Historical Studies

Historical studies about Subcarpathian Rus' began to appear in the late eighteenth century. Because the first authors were clergymen, and because the clergy dominated the local intelligentsia well into the twentieth century, most of the early works focused on the history of the Church. Many were never published; some were later destroyed; and others, though published, are very difficult to obtain. Although their scholarly value is extremely limited, these studies helped to preserve many of the legends that cloud the early history of the area; they glorified the Rusyns as the indigenous population and described their conversion to Christianity by Methodius. They discussed the existence of an autonomous Rusyn state before the coming of the Magyars and

des Landesarchivs (Užhorod, 1922) (144 pp.); Andrej Šaš, *Arxiv privilegiovannago goroda Mukačeva 1376-1850 gg.: spravočnaja kniga po istorii, materialam i ustrojstvu starago gorodskago arxiva* [Archive of the Chartered City of Mukačevo, 1376-1850: A Guide to the History, Holdings, and Organization of the Old City Archive] (Mukačevo: Izdanie goroda Mukačeva, 1927) (160 pp.); Vasyl' L. Mykytas', *Davni rukopysy i starodruky: opys i kataloh* [Old Manuscripts and Publications: Description and Catalog] (2 vols., Užhorod, 1961 [93 pp.]; L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1964 [81 pp.]); Vasyl' L. Mykytas', *Davni knyhy Zakarpats'koho Deržavnoho Krajeznavčoho Muzeju* [Old Books in the Transcarpathian State Regional Museum] (L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1964) (85 pp.).

²²These holdings are briefly surveyed in Genadii A. Belov, *et al.* (eds.), *Gosudarstvennye arxivy Sojuza SSR: Kratkij spravočnik* [State Archives of the Soviet Union: A Short Guide] (Moscow: Glavnoe arxivnoe upravlenie, 1956), pp. 295-300.

the events connected with the arrival in the mid-fourteenth century of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian Prince Korjatovyč.²³

The first truly scholarly study on Subcarpathian Rus' is the two-volume work of the Austrian historian Hermann J. Bidermann. The first volume includes statistical, geographical, and ethnographic data, while the second is a general history of the area. For several decades Bidermann's pioneering effort was the standard for scholarship on Subcarpathian Rus'.²⁴

Hungarian historiography is best represented by the works of the "Magyarized" Rusyn Antal Hodinka, who wrote on the Greek Catholic Church and on socioeconomic problems in the area.²⁵ The Hungarian interpretation was based on the following premises: that the Rusyn lands were uninhabited when the Árpád tribes crossed the Carpathians in 896; that the Rusyns enjoyed economic and cultural freedom before the Habsburgs centralized the administration of the monarchy in the eighteenth century; and that despite ethnic and linguistic ties with the Ukrainians north of the mountains, the Subcarpathian Rusyns formed a distinct Slavic nationality that always remained loyal to the Hungarian crown. This interpretation also appeared in general studies about the

²³Daniel Babila, *Historia diocesana* (unpublished manuscript written at the end of the eighteenth century); Antal Décsy, *Az magyar oroszokról való igen rövid elmélkedés* [Very Brief Thoughts on the Ugro-Russians] (Košice, 1797) (67 pp.); Joannicio Basilovits, *Brevis notitia Fundationis Theodori Koriatovits olim ducis de Munkacs, pro Religiosis Ruthenis Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, in monte Csernek ad Munkacs: Anno MCCCCLX* (3 vols., 6 pts., Košice, 1799-1805) (128, 207, 157, 259, 93, and 96 pp.); Ivan S. Orlej, "Istorija o Karpato-Rossax, ili o pereselenii Rossijan v Karpatskija gory i o priključenijax s nimi slučivšixsja" [The History of the Carpathian Russians or the Migration of Russians into the Carpathian Mountains and the Adventures that Took Place], *Sévernyj věstnik*, Vol. I, Pts. 1 and 3 (St. Petersburg, 1804), pp. 158-172, 261-276, and 267-294 (reprinted in Ilarion S. Svěncickij, *Materialy po istorii vozroždenija Karpatskoj Rusi* [2 vols., L'viv, 1905-9], Vol. I, pp. 56-83); Michael Lutskay, *Historia Carpatho-Ruthenorum in Hungarica Sacra, et civilis. Ex probatissimis Autoribus, Diplomatus Regiis, et Documentis Archivi Diocesis Munkacs* (6 vols. Manuscript in the University Library, Užhorod); Károly Mészáros, *A magyarországi oroszok története* [A History of Hungary's Russians] (Budapest, 1850); Aleksander Duxnovič, "Istinnaja istorija Karpato-Rossov ili Ugorskix Rusinov" [A True History of the Carpatho-Russians or Hungarian Rusyns], *Russkij arxiv*, Vol. LII, No. 4-5 (Moscow, 1914), pp. 529-559 (reprinted in Oleksandr Duxnovyč, *Tvory* [2 vols., Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Vidil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1967], Vol. II, pp. 531-566); Ivan Duliškovič, *Istoričeskija čerty Ugro-Russkix* [An Historical Sketch of the Ugro-Russians] (3 vols., Užhorod, 1874-77) (133, 140, and 234 pp.).

²⁴Hermann J. Bidermann, *Die ungarischen Ruthenen, ihr Wohngebiet, ihr Erwerb, und ihre Geschichte* (2 vols., Innsbruck: Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1862-67) (xvi, 140, and iv, 120 pp.).

²⁵Antal Hodinka, *A munkácsi görög-katholikus püspökség története* [A History of the

Rusyns,²⁶ as well as in more specialized monographs dealing with individual comitats in northeastern Hungary.²⁷ The Hungarian point of view was made available to western readers in articles by Antal Hodinka, Alexander Wekerle, and Tivadar Lehoczky in the informative multivolume study of the Austro-Hungarian empire begun under the sponsorship of Archduke Rudolf.²⁸

Soon after the incorporation of Subcarpathian Rus' into Czechoslovakia, Czech writers began to produce informative pamphlets and articles about the new territorial acquisition. They decried the centuries-long Hungarian domination and the dismal plight of the Rusyns, who had all the while maintained close relations with their Czech and Slovak brethren farther west. It was quite natural, they maintained, for the Rusyns to decide to join the new republic in 1919.²⁹

The first Czech-language anthology dealing with Subcarpathian Rus' appeared in 1923. It is particularly useful because some of the con-

Greek-Catholic Bishopric of Mukačevo] (Budapest: Kiadja a magyar tudományos akadémia, 1910) (v, 856 pp.). See also the references to Hodinka's writings in notes 55, 57, 63, and 65.

²⁶Tivadar Lehoczky, *A beregmegyei görögszertartású katolikus lelkészségek története a XIX század végeig* [History of the Greek Catholic Ecclesiastics of Bereg Comitatus until the End of the Nineteenth Century] (Mukačevo, 1904) (170 pp.); Oreszt Szabó, *A magyar oroszokról (Ruthének)* [On the Hungarian Russians (Ruthenes)]. In *Nemzetiségi ismertető könyvtár*. Vol. I (Budapest, 1913) (302 pp.); Sándor Bonkáló, *A magyar rutének* [The Hungarian Ruthenes] (Budapest: Pfeifer Ferdinand, 1920) (44 pp.); Sándor Bonkáló, *A Ruthének (Ruszinok)* [The Ruthenes (Rusyns)] (Budapest: Franklin Társulat kiadása, 1940) (184 pp.).

²⁷Tivadar Lehoczky, *Beregvármegye monografiája* [Monograph on Bereg Comitatus] (3 vols., Užhorod, 1881-82) (463, 505, and 820 pp.); L. Nyegre, *Ungmegye monografiája* [Monograph on Ung Comitatus] (Užhorod, 1882); *Magyarország vármegyéi és városai: Zemplén vármegye* [Hungary's Comitatus and Cities: Zemplén Comitatus] (Budapest: Apollo irodalmi társaság, 1896) (567 pp.); István Szabó, *Ugocsa megye* [Ugocsa Comitatus]. In *Magyarország és Nemzetiség tanulmányok a magyar népiségtörténeti köréből*, 1st ser., Vol. I (Budapest: Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1937) (xii, 615 pp.).

²⁸*Die österreichisch-ungarische Monarchie in Wort und Bild*, Vol. V (Ungarn), Pt. 2 (Vienna: K. K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1900), pp. 363-482. See also Gabriel Daras, "Les Karpatorusses: leur chemin vers la conscience et l'unité nationale," *Nouvelle revue de Hongrie*, Vol. LIX (Budapest, 1938), pp. 587-595; and the references to Hodinka and Bonkáló in note 57.

²⁹Karel Kadlec, "Les Russes au sud des Carpathes citoyens de la République tchécoslovaque," *La nation tchèque*, Vol. IV (Paris, 1919), pp. 804-814; Karel Kadlec, *Podkarpatská Rus*. In *Mírové smlouvy kongressu pařížského a stát československý*, No. 6 (Prague: Státovědecké společnosti, 1920) (28 pp.); Florian Zapletal, *Rusini a naši buditelé* [The Rusyns and Our National Awakeners] (Prague: Kolokol, 1921) (67 pp.); Kamil Krofta, *Podkarpatská Rus a Československo* [Subcarpathian Rus' and Czechoslovakia] (Prague: Svaz národního osvobození, 1935) (64 pp.); Kamil Krofta, "Ruthenes, Czechs, and Slovaks," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XIII (London, 1935), pp. 1-4, 362-371, and 611-626; Cyril Kochannyj-Goralčuk, *Podkarpatská Rus v minulosti a přítomnosti* [Subcarpathian Rus' in the Past and Present] (Prague: Státní nakladatelství, 1931) (160 pp.).

tributors included local Ukrainophile and Russophile authors who disagreed about the language, national identity, and Church history of the province.³⁰ A similar survey appeared thirteen years later. It dealt mainly with the economic, social, and cultural successes achieved under Czechoslovak rule.³¹

Russian interest in Subcarpathian Rus' was a direct outgrowth of Pan-Slavic ideas that circulated in eastern Europe during the middle of the nineteenth century. The writings of Mixail P. Pogodin and Izmail I. Sreznevskij made many people aware of the existence of "Russian" lands within the Habsburg empire, and soon the area became the object of scholarly and political attention.³² The Russians considered Subcarpathian Rus' an integral part of a single cultural area which stretched from the Carpathians to the Pacific Ocean. Although there were linguistic and cultural "variations" within this enormous territory, these variations did not destroy the unity of Pan-Russian (*obščerusskaja*) civilization.³³ While Subcarpathian Rus' was under Czechoslovak rule,

³⁰Josef Chmelař, Stanislav Klíma, and Jaromír Nečas (eds.), *Podkarpatská Rus: obraz poměrů přírodních, hospodářských, politických, církevních, jazykových a osvětových* [Subcarpathian Rus': A Description of Geographical, Economic, Political, Ecclesiastical, Linguistic, and Cultural Conditions] (Prague: Orbis, 1923) (210 pp.). A Russian edition in Latin script also appeared under the title *Podkarpatska Rus': obraz obstojatel'stv, prirodnych, hospodarskich, političeskich, cerkovnych, jazykovych i prosvititel'nych* (New York: Gazeta "Deň," 1924) (205 pp.).

³¹Jaroslav Zatloukal (ed.), *Podkarpatská Rus: Sborník hospodářského, kulturního a politického poznání Podkarpatské Rusi* [Subcarpathian Rus': An Anthology of Economic, Cultural, and Political Information on Subcarpathian Rus'] (Bratislava: Klub přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, 1936) (334 pp.).

³²Izmail I. Sreznevskij, "Rus' Ugorskaja: otryvok iz opyta geografii russkago jazyka" [Hungarian Rus': Excerpt from an Experiment on the Geography of the Russian Language], *Věstník imperatorskago russkago geografičeskago obščestva*, Vol. I, No. 1-2 (St. Petersburg, 1852), pp. 1-28. See also V. Je. Zadorožnyj, "Zakarpattja v rosijskij publicystyčej peršoji poloviny XIX st." [Transcarpathia in Russian Publicistic Writings in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century], in *Kul'tura i pobut naseleennja ukrajins'kyx karpát* (Užhorod: Užhorod's'kyj deržavnyj universytet, 1973), pp. 97-104 (full bibliography).

³³Arsenij, "Russkie v Vengrii" [Russians in Hungary], *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvěščenija*, Vol. CXXXIX, No. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1868), pp. 699-716; Jakob O. Golovackij, "Istoriko-etnografičeskij očerk Galičiny i Ugorskoj Rusi" [Historical-Ethnographic Sketch of Galicia and Hungarian Rus'], *ibid.*, Vol. CLXXIX, No. 2 (1875), pp. 349-396; Grigorij A. De-Vollan, *Ugorskaja Rus': istoričeskij očerk* [Hungarian Rus': A Historical Sketch] (Moscow, 1878) (49 pp.); Aleksej L. Petrov, "Zametki po Ugorskoj Rusi" [Notes on Hungarian Rus'], *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnago prosvěščenija*, Vol. CCLXIX (St. Petersburg, 1892), pp. 439-458; Ivan P. Filevič, "Ugorskaja Rus' i svjazanye s nej voprosy i zadači russkoj istoričeskoj nauki" [Hungarian Rus' and the Questions and Tasks of Russian Historical Science], *Varšavskija universitetskija izvestija*, Vol. V, No. 3 (Warsaw, 1894) (32 pp.); Hryhorij Kupčanko, *Naša rodyna* [Our Homeland] (Vienna, 1897), especially pp. 174-226 (reprinted in New York-Berlin: Izdanie Minkus, 1924); Nikolaj N. Baxtin, *Ugorskaja Rus'* [Hungarian Rus'] (Petrograd, 1915) (48 pp.). See also note 108.

local Russophiles prepared numerous anthologies and pamphlets which, on the one hand, stressed Subcarpathia's historical, religious, and linguistic affinities with "an indivisible Russia," and, on the other, accepted the advantages of the prevailing political situation and the favorable conditions provided by the Prague regime for the Rusyns.³⁴ The last of the Russophile anthologies, which was produced in 1948, was devoted to developments among the Rusyn population living in eastern Slovakia.³⁵

Ukrainian interest in the Subcarpathian region was particularly strong among scholars and national activists in neighboring Galicia.³⁶ For cultural and linguistic reasons they argued that the inhabitants of Subcarpathian Rus' formed an integral part of the Ukrainian nation, which, in turn, was historically and culturally distinct from the Russian nation. The highly respected historian Dmytro Dorošenko summarized these views, which were later voiced by Galician-Ukrainian authors in a general anthology dealing with the province as well as by Vasyľ Pa-

³⁴Dmitrij N. Vergun (ed.), *Vosem' lekcij o Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [Eight Lectures on Subcarpathian Rus'] (Prague: Izdanie českoj školy političeskix učeníj, 1925) (117 pp.); *Karpatorusskij Sbornik: Podkarpatskaja Rus' v čest' prezidenta T. G. Masarika* [A Carpatho-Russian Anthology: Subcarpathian Rus' in Honor of President T. G. Masaryk] (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprověitel'nago sojuza, 1930) (329 pp.); *Podkarpatskaja Rus' za gody 1919-1936* [Subcarpathian Rus' during the Years 1919-1936] (Užhorod: "Russkij Narodnij Golos," 1936) (196 pp.); Nikolaj Pavlovič, *Russkaja kul'tura i Podkarpatskaja Rus'* [Russian Culture and Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvěitel'nago obščestva Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 23 (Užhorod, 1926) (19 pp.); Antonij Lukovič, "Nacional'naja i jazykovaja prinadležnost' russkago naselenija Podkarpatskoj Rusi" [The National and Linguistic Character of the Russian Population of Subcarpathian Rus']. In *ibid.*, No. 40 (1929) (20 pp.), and *Karpatskij Svět*, Vol. II, No. 1 (Užhorod, 1929), pp. 397-403.

³⁵Ivan S. Štepeckij (ed.), *Prjaševščina: istoriko-literaturnyj sbornik* [The Prešov Region: A Historical-Literary Anthology] (Prague: Xutor, 1948) (335 pp.).

³⁶For studies by Ukrainian ethnographers who were particularly interested in the Subcarpathian region, see Stepan Tomašiv's'kyj, "Uhors'ki rusyny v svitli urjadovoji uhors'koji statystryky" [Hungarian Rusyns in the Light of Official Hungarian Statistics], *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka*, Vol. LXI (L'viv, 1903), pp. 1-46; Stepan Tomašiv's'kyj, "Etnografična terytorija Uhors'koji Rusy" [The Ethnographical Territory of Hungarian Rus'], *ibid.*, Vol. LXVII (1905), pp. 1-18; Stepan Tomašiv's'kyj, *Etnografična karta Uhors'koji Rusy* [An Ethnographic Map of Hungarian Rus'], in Vladimir I. Lamanskij (ed.), *Stat'i po slavjanověděniju*, Vol. III (St. Petersburg: Izdanie vtorago otdělenija Imperatorskoj akademii nauk, 1910), pp. 178-269 (statistics and map); Stepan Tomašiv's'kyj, "Ugorskaja Rus'" [Hungarian Rus'], in *Ukrainskij narod v ego prošlom i nastojaščem*, Vol. II (Petrograd, 1916), pp. 421-426; Volodymyr Hnatjuk, *Etnografični materijaly z Uhors'koji Rusy* [Ethnographic Materials from Hungarian Rus'], Vols. I, II, and III, Pt. 1. In *Etnografičnyj zbirnyk* (40 vols., L'viv: Etnografična komisija Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka, 1895-1929), Vols. III, IV, and IX; and Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Rusini v Uhráčh" [Rusyns in Hungary], *Slovanský přehled*, Vol. I (Prague, 1899), pp. 216-220 and 418-427. For a complete bibliography of Hnatjuk's works and articles about his activities in Subcarpathian Rus', see *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrains'koji kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. III (Prešov, 1967), pp. 7-220.

čovs'kyj in several popular surveys.³⁷ More substantial research went into the pioneering socioeconomic history of Subcarpathian Rus' by Oleksander Mycjuk. In two volumes Mycjuk traces the plight of the Rusyn peasantry from earliest times until they became completely enserfed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³⁸

Authors from the province itself, such as Irynej M. Konratovyč and Vira Fedeleš, have produced textbooks written in dialect in which local developments and national leaders have been stressed.³⁹ Vasylij Hadžega, perhaps the most prolific native historical writer, devoted much attention to ecclesiastical matters and wrote separate histories of the churches of four of the Rusyn-inhabited comitats.⁴⁰ Several priests who have emigrated to the United States and Canada have also written historical surveys of the Subcarpathian Church.⁴¹

³⁷Dmytro Dorošenko, *Uhors'ka Ukraïna* [Hungarian Ukraine] (Prague: Vsesvit, 1919) (34 pp.); *Karpats'ka Ukraïna* [Carpathian Ukraine] (L'viv: Ukraïns'kyj vydavnyčyj instytut, 1939) (160 pp.) (reprinted in New York by Karpats'kyj sojuz in 1972); Vasyľ Pačovs'kyj, *Ystoriya Pódkarpatskoï Rusy* [A History of Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Vydavnyctvo Tovarystva "Prosvita,"* No. 4-7 (Užhorod, 1921) (142 pp.) (see also the third edition: *Istoriya Zakarpattja* [A History of Transcarpathia] [Munich: Bdžilka, 1946]).

³⁸Oleksander Mycjuk, *Narysy z socijal'no-hospodars'koji istoriji, b. uhors'koji, nyny Pidkarpats'koji Rusy* [An Outline of the Socioeconomic History of the Former Hungarian, now Subcarpathian, Rus'] (2 vols., Užhorod-Prague, 1936-38) (x, 246, and 390 pp.).

³⁹Irynej M. Konratovyč, *Ystoriya Podkarpatskoï Rusy dlja naroda* [A History of Subcarpathian Rus' for the People] (3rd ed., Užhorod: Vydavnyctvo tovarystva "Prosvita," 1930) (112 pp.); Vira Y. Fedeleš, *Učebnyk Ystoriy Podkarpatskoï Rusy ot najdavnijšyx časov do dnešnyx dnej y Česoslovakijy do XIV vika* [Textbook History of Subcarpathian Rus' from Earliest Times to the Present and of Czechoslovakia to the Fourteenth Century] (2nd ed., Užhorod: Unio, 1924) (62 pp.).

⁴⁰Vasylij Hadžega, "Dodatky k istorii Rusynóv y rus'kyx cerkvej v Maramoroši: studii ystoryčno-arkhivni" [Notes on the History of the Rusyns and Rusyn Churches in Máramaros: A Historical-Archival Study], *Naukovyi zbornyk Tovarystvo "Prosvita,"* Vol. I (Užhorod, 1922), pp. 140-228; Vasylij Hadžega, "Dodatky k ystoriï Rusynóv y rus'kyx cerkvej v Užanskoj župi: studii ystoryčno-arkhivni" [Notes on the History of the Rusyns and Rusyn Churches in Ung Comitát: A Historical-Archival Study], *ibid.*, Vol. II (1923), pp. 1-64; and Vol. III (1924), pp. 155-239; Vasylij Hadžega, "Dodatky k ystoriï Rusynóv i rus'kyx cerkvej v župi Ugoča" [Notes on the History of the Rusyns and Rusyn Churches in Uğocsa Comitát], *ibid.*, Vol. IV (1925), pp. 117-176; and Vol. V (1927), pp. 1-62; Vasylij Hadžega, "Dodatky do ystoriï Rusynóv y rus'kyx cerkvej v buv. župi Zemplynskoj" [Notes on the History of the Rusyns and Rusyn Churches in the Former Comitát of Zemplén], *ibid.*, Vol. VII-VIII (1931), pp. 1-167; Vol. IX (1932), pp. 1-67; Vol. X (1934), pp. 17-120; Vol. XI (1935), pp. 17-182; and Vol. XII (1937), pp. 37-83. See also Irynej M. Kondratovič, "Očerki iz istorii Mukačevskoj eparxii" [Essays from the History of the Mukačevo Eparchy], in *Karpatorusskij sbornik* (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvėitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 91-111.

⁴¹Basil Boysak, *The Fate of the Holy Union in Carpatho-Ukraine* (Toronto and New York, 1963) (iv, 240 pp.); Atanasij V. Pekar, *Narysy istoriji cerkvy Zakarpattja: jerarxične oformlennja* [Essays on the History of the Church in Transcarpathia: Formation of the Hierarchy]. In *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, ser. 2, Sect. 1, Vol. XXII (Rome, 1967) (241 pp.); Athanasius Pekar, *Historic Background of the Eparchy of Prjashev*

Post-1945 research has been dominated by Marxist historiography, best represented in the work of Ivan G. Kolomic. His two collections of essays on the general historical development of Subcarpathian Rus' through the nineteenth century were intended as a scholarly refutation of past mistakes in bourgeois writings.⁴² The basic thesis of the Soviet interpretation is that Subcarpathian Rus' was a part of Kievan Rus' until it was torn away from it by the Magyar ruling classes. The infiltration of western civilization—especially the establishment of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church, which forcibly replaced the Orthodox Church—did not succeed in undermining the cultural and linguistic attachment of the Subcarpathian Rusyns to “mother Ukraine.” After twenty years of hardship in the Czechoslovak bourgeois state and then under the Hungarian fascists, the Subcarpathian Rusyns again returned to their homeland in 1945.⁴³

(Pittsburgh, Pa.: Byzantine Seminar Press, 1968) (vi, 83 pp.); Julius Kubinyi, *The History of the Prjašiv Eparchy*. In *Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae*, Vol. XXXII (Rome, 1970) (213 pp.). See also Charles Bourgeois, “Les Gréco-catholiques en Russie-Subcarpathique,” *Nouvelle revue théologique*, Vol. LVII, No. 7 (Tournai-Louvain, 1930), pp. 566-584; Vasilij Shereghy and Vasilij Pekar, *Vospitanije podkarpato-ruskoho svjaščensstva—The Training of Carpatho-Ruthenian Clergy* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1951) (126 pp.).

⁴²Ivan G. Kolomic, *Očerki po istorii Zakarpat'ja* [Essays on the History of Transcarpathia]. In *Trudy Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni V. V. Kujbyševa: Sbornik rabot po voprosam istorii. Serija istoričeskaja*, Vol. CXXI, No. 2 (Tomsk, 1953) (207 pp.); Ivan G. Kolomic, *Očerki po istorii Zakarpat'ja: social'no-ekonomičeskie otnošenija, nacional'no-političeskoe i kul'turnoe dviženie v Zakarpat'e v XIX veke* [Essays on the History of Transcarpathia: Socioeconomic Relations and National-Political and Cultural Movements in Transcarpathia in the Nineteenth Century], Pt. 2 (Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo universiteta, 1959) (245 pp.).

⁴³“Zakarpats'ka Ukraïna” [Transcarpathian Ukraine], in *Ukraïns'ka radjans'ka encyklopedija* (17 vols., Kiev: Akademija nauk Ukraïns'koi Radjans'koi Socialistyčnoji Respubliky, 1960-64), Vol. V, pp. 136-138; *Istorija mist i sil Ukraïns'koi Radjans'koi Socialistyčnoji Respubliky: Zakarpats'ka oblast'* [A History of the Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic: The Transcarpathian Province] (Kiev: Akademija nauk Ukraïns'koi Radjans'koi Socialistyčnoji Respubliky, 1969) (736 pp.); Viktor I. Bjelousov, “Zakarpats'ka oblast'” [Transcarpathian Region] and Ivan I. Kompanijec, “Zakarpats'ka Ukraïna” [Transcarpathian Ukraine], in *Radjans'ka encyklopedija istoriji Ukraïny* (4 vols., Kiev: Akademija nauk Ukraïns'koi Radjans'koi Socialistyčnoji Respubliky, 1970), Vol. II, pp. 165-173; Serhij O. Miščenko, *et al.* (eds.), *Šljaxom do ščastja: narysy istoriji Zakarpat'ja* [On the Road to Happiness: An Outline of the History of Transcarpathia] (Užhorod: Vydavnyctvo “Karpaty,” 1973) (288 pp.); Ivan Hrančak and Vasyľ V. Palek, *Misto nad Užem: istoričnyj narys* [City on the Už River: An Historical Outline] (Užhorod: Vydavnyctvo “Karpaty,” 1973) (288 pp.). This same thesis is set forth in works intended for the Rusyn population in present-day eastern Slovakia: Andrij Šlepec'kyj, *Zakarpats'ki budyteli ta naša sučasnist'* [Transcarpathian National Awakeners and the Present] (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz Ukraïns'kych trudjaščykh, 1957) (115 pp.); Ivan Macyns'kyj, *Rozмова storič* [Discourse of the Centuries] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovenské pedagogické nakladateľstvo odbor Ukraïnskej literatúry, 1965), especially pp. 13-230; Jurij Bača, Andrij Kovač, and Mykola Štec', *Čomu, koly i jak: vidpovidi na osnovni pytannja z žytja Ukraïnciv Čexoslovaččyny* [Why, When, and How? Answers to

Some valuable work has been done on eastern Slovakia, although the focus has been mainly on the westernmost Rusyns still living in Czechoslovakia. The first general history was written by L'udovit Haraksim, who correctly emphasized the particular characteristics of western Rusyn developments, which were inextricably linked with those in the neighboring Hungarian, Romanian, and especially, Slovakian regions.⁴⁴ Historical and national interrelations are also emphasized in a monograph by Omeljan Stavrov's'kyj, who analyzes in detail the colonization and settlement patterns in the area prior to the eighteenth century.⁴⁵ Also useful are a history of educational development and a dictionary of Rusyn historical figures and events, which are still in preparation.⁴⁶

A few surveys of Subcarpathian Rus' have appeared in western languages. The best introduction is by the Swiss geographer Aldo Dami, who, though consistently favorable to the Hungarian point of view, discusses many of the conflicting interpretations that dominate Rusyn historiography.⁴⁷ Jean Mousset's historico-economic monograph on four Subcarpathian cities is more limited in scope.⁴⁸ General outlines of the area's historical development are also available in English.⁴⁹

4. Early History to 1514

Although archeologists suggest that the Carpathians have been settled since the Neolithic period, there is very little written information about Subcarpathian Rus' during the first few centuries of the Christian

Basic Questions about the Life of the Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia] (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1967) (82 pp.).

⁴⁴L'udovit Haraksim, *K sociálnym a kultúrnym dejinám Ukrajincov na Slovensku do roku 1867* [On the Social and Cultural History of the Ukrainians in Slovakia before 1867] (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1961) (201 pp.).

⁴⁵Omeljan Stavrov's'kyj, *Slovac'ko-pols'ko-ukrajins'ke prykordonnja do 18 stolittja* [The Slovak-Polish-Ukrainian Borderland before the Eighteenth Century] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Vidilil ukrajins'koi literatury, 1967) (491 pp.) (full bibliography).

⁴⁶Andrij Čuma and Andrij Bondar, *Ukrajins'ka škola na Zakarpatti ta sxidnij Slovaččyni: istoričnyj narys* [Ukrainian Schools in Transcarpathia and Eastern Slovakia: A Historical Outline], Pt. I (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1967) (113 pp.); Ivan Macyn's'kyj (ed.), *Slovnyk istoričnoho žyttja zakarpats'kyx ukrajinciv* [Dictionary of the Historical Life of the Transcarpathian Ukrainians]. In *Duklja*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Prešov, 1967-).

⁴⁷Aldo Dami, *La Ruthénie subcarpathique* (Genève-Annemasse: Les éditions du Mont-Blanc, 1944) (375 pp.).

⁴⁸Jean Mousset, *Les villes de la Russie subcarpathique (1919-1938): l'effort tchécoslovaque*. In *Travaux publiés par l'institut d'études slaves*, Vol. XVIII (Paris: Librairie Droz, 1938) (139 pp.).

⁴⁹John S. Reshetar, "Carpatho-Ruthenia," in *Slavonic Encyclopedia* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), pp. 132-136; Ivan L. Rudnytsky, Augustin Stefan, and

era.⁵⁰ Various writers have argued that before the eleventh century the area formed part of either the Greater Moravian, Avar, Greater Bulgarian, or Kievan Rus' states. Scholars agree, however, that the Magyars arrived in the Carpathian basin at the end of the ninth century. By the eleventh century the Hungarian state extended to the crest of the Carpathians, and the sparsely settled, defenseless mountainous areas became an object of prime concern to the Magyars, especially after the devastating Tartar invasion of East-Central Europe in 1240. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were periods when Subcarpathian Rus' was colonized under the patronage of the Hungarian rulers and newly arrived foreign nobility.⁵¹

Though the colonists were initially granted exemptions from duties and taxes, the authority of the nobility over the peasantry continued to increase. True, the conditions of the Rusyn peasants improved substantially during the reign of Mátyás Corvinus (1458-1490), who declared them exempt from taxation,⁵² but their favored status was undermined by the Tripartitum Law of 1514, which—in theory if not yet in practice—bound the peasants to their lords.

Historians dealing with the earliest history of the area have been concerned primarily with three problems: the settlement of Subcarpathian Rus'; the political status of the area during the first years of Hungarian rule, especially after the arrival of Prince Korjatovyč; and the socioeconomic position of the Rusyn peasantry.

That the Rusyns had inhabited the area since the seventh century became a basic tenet of writers who attempted to find some glory in the

Vasyl Markus, "Transcarpathia," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (2 vols., Toronto: University of Toronto Press for the Ukrainian National Association, 1963-71), Vol. I, pp. 710-714; 787-789, 850-856, and 891-892; historical introduction to Vladimir Moudry and František Nemeč, *The Soviet Seizure of Subcarpathian Ruthenia* (Toronto: William B. Anderson, 1955), pp. 3-57.

⁵⁰Ferdinand Lessek, *Pravik Podkarpatskoj Rusy* [Prehistoric Subcarpathian Rus'] (Užhorod: Vydavnytvo Školnyj oddil civ. upravý Podk. Rusy, 1922) (42 pp.); Josef M. Jankovič, *Podkarpatská Rus v prehistorii—Podkárpatiská Rusz a prehistóriában* [Subcarpathian Rus' in Prehistoric Times] (Mukačevo: Musejní společnosti Lehockého, 1931) (52, 62, 56 pp., 16 tables). For the results of recent archeological research, see Fedir M. Potušnjak, *Arxeolohični znaxidky bronzovoho ta zaliznogo viku na Zakarpattii* [Archeological Findings from the Bronze and Iron Ages in Transcarpathia] (Užhorod: Užhorodsk'kyj deržavnyj universytet, 1958) (144 pp., 80 tables); Markian Ju. Smiško, *Karpats'ki kurhany peršoji polovyny peršoho tysjačolittja našoji ery* [Carpathian Grave Mounds from the First Half of the First Millennium of Our Era] (Kiev: Vydavnytvo Akademiji nauk Ukrajin's'koji Radjans'koji Socialistyčnoji Respubliky, 1960) (186 pp.); Vasyl' I. Bidzilja, *Istorija kul'tury Zakarpattja na rubeži našoji ery* [History of the Culture of Transcarpathia at the Dawn of Our Era] (Kiev: Naukova dumka, 1971) (182 pp.).

⁵¹On the foreign nobility, see note 45.

⁵²On Corvinus' popularity, as expressed in Rusyn folk tales, see Eugen Perfeckij,

uncertain past of their ancestors.⁵³ A corollary to that premise was the theory that an independent Rusyn state had existed before the Magyar invasion⁵⁴ and that it had retained its autonomous status until the early fourteenth century, when a certain Prince Fedor Korjatovyč arrived with 40,000 Rusyn peasants from Podillja, established a monastery near Mukačevo, and ruled there as an independent prince.⁵⁵

Despite substantial research, there is still no consensus on the nature of the early settlement of Subcarpathian Rus'.⁵⁶ The most outstanding historian of Slavic antiquity, Lubor Niederle, considered the eastern Slavic peoples and their descendants, the Rusyns, as the indigenous population of the mountainous areas, but Hungarian writers have con-

"Podkarpatské a haličskoruské tradice o králi Matyášovi Corvinovi" [Subcarpathian and Galician Rusyn Traditions about King Mátyás Corvinus], *Sbornik filosofické fakulty university Komenského*, Vol. IV, No. 42 (Bratislava, 1926), pp. 219-278.

⁵³Irenej M. Kontratovič, *K istorii starodavnago Užgoroda i Podkarpatskoj Rusi do XIV věka* [On the History of Užhorod and Subcarpathian Rus' to the Fourteenth Century]. In *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 39 (Užhorod, 1928) (20 pp.); Nikolaj A. Beskid, *Karpatorusskaja drevnost'* [Carpatho-Russian Antiquity]. In *ibid.*, No. 43 (Užhorod, 1928) (160 pp.); Nikolaj A. Beskid, *Karpatorusskaja Pravda* [Carpatho-Russian Truth] (Homestead, Pa.: Izdanije "Amerikanskoho russkoho viestnika," 1933) (297 pp.); Julij Gadžega, *Dva istoričeskix voprosa: starožili-li karpatorossy i o načalax xristianskoj religii na Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [Two Historical Questions: Are the Carpatho-Russians Autochthonous and how did Christianity begin in Subcarpathian Rus?]. In *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 42 (Užhorod, 1928) (47 pp.). See also the reference to Pačovsk'ij in note 37 and to Hadžega in note 40.

⁵⁴A good example of such romantic historical writing is Anatolij Kralyckij, *Knjaz' Laborec: istorična povist' iz IX vika* [Prince Laborec: A Historical Tale from the Ninth Century] (originally published in *Galičanin* [1863]; reprinted in *Vydavnytvo tovarystva "Prosvita,"* No. 53 [Užhorod, 1925] [19 pp.]). See also articles by Anatolij Kralyckij and Jurij Žatkovyč which appeared in the 1890's in the journal *Listok* (Užhorod).

⁵⁵The first to propound such theories was Joannicio Basilovits. See note 23. For a more objective appraisal of Korjatovyč, see Eugen Perfeckij, "Dvě stati k dějinám Podkarpatské Rusi: 2. Kniže Fedor Koriatovič Mukačevský" [Two Articles on the History of Subcarpathian Rus': 2. Prince Fedor Korjatovyč of Mukačevo], *Sbornik filozofickej fakulty university Komenského*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Bratislava, 1922), pp. 126-132; Vasylij Hadžega, "O pereselenju knjazja Fedora Korjatovyča do Madjarščiny" [On the Migration of Prince Fedor Korjatovyč to Hungary], *Podkarpatska Rus'*, Vol. VI, No. 7 (Užhorod, 1929), pp. 153-157; Vasylij Hadžega, "Knjaz' Fedor Korjatovyč i Maramaroš" [Prince Fedor Korjatovyč and Maramaros], *Podkarpatska Rus'*, vols. VII (1930) and VIII (1931), pp. 68-75, 99-113, 141-148, and 169-175; Antonius Hodinka, "Documenta Koriatoviciana et fundatio monasterii Munkacsensis," *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 2, Vol. I, No. 2-3 (Rome, 1950), pp. 339-359; No. 4 (1953), pp. 525-551; Vol. II, No. 1-2 (1954), pp. 165-189.

⁵⁶For a historical survey of the problem, see Jiří Král, "Osídlení Karpatské Rusi: historický přehled" [The Settlement of Carpathian Rus': An Historical Survey], *Sbornik československé společnosti zeměpisné*, Vol. XXIX (Prague, 1923), pp. 65-83; and a shorter version, "Ystorija kolonizacii Podkarpatskoj Rusy" [History of the Colonization of Subcarpathian Rus'], *Podkarpatska Rus'*, Vol. I, No. 2-3 (Užhorod, 1924), pp. 37-43 and 68-72.

tested this hypothesis.⁵⁷ The colonization of Vlach shepherds in the aréa, beginning during the thirteenth century, is treated in specialized monographs by Karel Kadlec and Václav Chaloupecký.⁵⁸

The best authority on the problems of early Subcarpathian history was Aleksej L. Petrov. From the years when he served as professor of Slavic Studies at the University of St. Petersburg until his death in 1931, Petrov devoted all his energies to the study of Subcarpathian Rus'. His conclusions were based on a meticulous analysis of the few available documents as well as on extensive linguistic and demographic research. Challenging the most widely accepted theories, Petrov contended that the impenetrable forests could not have been settled until well after the arrival of the Magyars, that Rusyn political independence was pure myth, and that Prince Korjatovyč, although he existed, never played an outstanding role in the history of the Rusyns and was soon forgotten.⁵⁹

Several other studies on the early history of Subcarpathian Rus' have also appeared. Václav Chaloupecký discussed the importance of the southern salt trade and the relationship between Subcarpathian Rus' and the Greater Bulgarian state in the ninth century.⁶⁰ Ukrainian historians have, of course, stressed the area's early political and cultural

⁵⁷Lubor Niederle, "Počátky Karpatské Rusi" [The Beginnings of Carpathian Rus'], *Národopisný věstník československý*, Vol. XV, Pt. 2 (Prague, 1922), pp. 23-31; Lubor Niederle, "Počátky slovanského osídlení v Podkarpatské Rusi" [The Beginnings of Slavic Settlement in Subcarpathian Rus'], *ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, Pt. 1-2 (1931), pp. 39-41. See also Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Čy zakarpats'ki ukrajinci avtoxtony?" [Are the Transcarpathian Ukrainians Autochthons?], *Literaturno-naukovyj vistnyk*, Vol. LXXVI, No. 3 (L'viv, 1922), pp. 269-276; and Omeljan Pritsak, "Xto taki avtoxtony Karpats'koji Ukrajiny?" [Who are the so-called Autochthons of Carpatho-Ukraine?], *Nova zorja*, No. 1 (L'viv, 1939), pp. 15-16 (full bibliography). For the Hungarian viewpoint, see Antal Hodinka, "L'habitat, l'économie, et le passé du peuple ruthène," *Revue des études hongroises et finno-ougriennes*, Vol. II (Paris, 1924), pp. 244-275; Alexander Bonkáló, "Die ungarländischen Ruthenen," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Vol. I (Berlin, 1922), pp. 215-232 and 313-341.

⁵⁸Karel Kadlec, *Valaši a valašské právo v zemích slovanských a uherských* [The Vlachs and Vlach Law in Slavic and Hungarian Territory] (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1916) (526 pp.); Václav Chaloupecký, *Valaši na Slovensku* [The Vlachs in Slovakia] (Prague: Nákladem Slovenského Ústavu, 1947) (117 pp.).

⁵⁹Aleksej L. Petrov, *O podložnosti gramoty knjazja Feodora Koriatoviča 1360 g.* [On the Forging of the 1360 Document of Fedor Korjatovič], *Materialy dlja istorii ugorskoj Rusi*, Vol. III, in Vladimir I. Lamanskij (ed.), *Stat'i po slavjanovéděniju*, Vol. II (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 270-299; Aleksej L. Petrov, *Drevnějšija gramoty po istorii karpatorusskoj cerkvi i ierarxii. 1391-1498* [The Oldest Documents on the History of the Carpatho-Russian Church and Hierarchy, 1391-1498]. In *Knihovna sboru pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi*, No. 1 (Prague: Orbis, 1930) (xix, 229 pp.).

⁶⁰Václav Chaloupecký, "Dvě studie k dějinám Podkarpatska: 1. Sůl z Bulharska (892). 2. Kdy bylo Horní Potisí připojeno k Uhrám" [Two Studies on the History of Subcarpathia: 1. Salt Trade from Bulgaria (892); 2. When was the Mountainous Region beyond the Tisza River incorporated into Hungary?], *Sborník filosofické fakulty university Komenského*, Vol. III, No. 30 (Bratislava, 1925), pp. 133-186.

ties with Kievan Rus'.⁶¹ The Czech scholar Zdeněk Nejedlý has discussed several problems of Subcarpathian history prior to the fourteenth century. Evgenij Perfeckij has pointed out the worsening plight of the Rusyn peasants before King Mátyás improved their status by granting them privileges that preserved not only the social but also the national distinctiveness of the Rusyns.⁶²

5. 1514-1711

Any possible regulation of the status of the peasantry as proposed by the *Tripartitum* of 1514, as well as the efforts of Magyar landlords, and subsequently of the Austrian government, to maintain closer control over the frontier areas, was delayed for almost two centuries as a result of the annihilation of the Hungarian army by the Ottoman Turks at the Battle of Mohács in 1526. After her defeat Hungary was split into three parts: (1) a small area in the northwest, which was under Habsburg control; (2) the larger part of the central plains occupied by the Turks; and (3) the eastern province of Transylvania, which retained a certain degree of autonomy under Hungarian princes. A sharp rivalry arose between the Habsburgs and the princes of Transylvania, both of whom claimed a legal right to the Hungarian throne. As a result of the quarrel over the Hungarian crown and the endeavors to oust the Turks from Hungary, Subcarpathian Rus' was left to its own devices, and the peasants there enjoyed a modicum of economic prosperity which lasted throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁶³

Nonetheless, the goal of the Hungarian, as well as of the Austrian, government was eventually to make Subcarpathian Rus' an integral

⁶¹Myxajlo Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija Ukrajiny-Rusy* [The History of Ukraine-Rus'], Vol. I (3rd ed., Kiev, 1913), pp. 214-215 and 220-226; Vol. II (L'viv, 1905), pp. 360-362, 458-461, and 485-504; Vol. III (L'viv, 1905), pp. 119-120; Vol. IV (Kiev, 1907), pp. 171-172; Myxajlo M. Lelekač, "Pro prynaležnist' Zakarpattja do Kyjivs'koji Rusi v X-XI st." [On Kievan Rus' Possession of Transcarpathia in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. II (Užhorod, 1949), pp. 28-39.

⁶²Zdeněk Nejedlý, "Istorija Zakarpatskoj Rusi do XIV stoletija" [The History of Transcarpathian Rus' to the Fourteenth Century], *Izvestija Akademii nauk SSSR. Serija istorii i filosofii*, Vol. II, No. 4 (Moscow, 1945), pp. 201-220; Eugen Perfeckij, *Socialně-hospodářské poměry Podkarpatské Rusi ve století XIII-XV* [The Socioeconomic Conditions of Subcarpathian Rus' from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries] (Bratislava, 1924) (148 pp.). See also Myxajlo Lelekač, "Proces zakripačennja zakarpats'koho seljanstva v XIV-XV st." [The Process of Enserfment of the Transcarpathian Peasantry in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXIX (Užhorod, 1957), pp. 3-38.

⁶³Antal Hodinka, *A Kárpátalji rutének lakóhelye, gazdaságuk és multjuk* [The Habitation, Economy, and Historical Past of the Carpatho-Ruthenes] (Budapest: Apostol-nyomda Rt. nyomása, 1923) (48 pp.). See also the references to Hodinka and Bonkáló in note 57.

part of the empire. If this was still not politically feasible, at least the ideological groundwork could be laid. After the Polish Ruthenian lands successfully attained union with Rome in 1596, the Hungarian Catholic church hoped that, with the support of the government, the Rusyns in the Subcarpathian region who belonged to the Orthodox faith could be swayed to accept a similar union. Influenced by Bishop Tarasovyč of the diocese of Mukačevo, a group of local Orthodox priests pledged themselves to favor Greek Catholicism at the Union of Užhorod in 1646.⁶⁴ As was the case in Galicia and the other Ukrainian lands of the Polish commonwealth, the Union was slow in taking root among the people, and it was not until 1721 that the Subcarpathian Rusyns (except for those in certain areas in the easternmost part of the comitat of Máramaros) accepted Greek Catholicism.

The most important documentary material on ecclesiastical questions was analyzed by Antal Hodinka and Aleksej L. Petrov.⁶⁵ Subsequent studies about the Užhorod Union and its aftermath have been dominated by either pro-Greek Catholic (Uniate) or pro-Orthodox writers. Those who favor the Union regard its formation as an important step in bringing the Rusyns "back" into the fold of the "universal" Roman Church. Moreover, they claim, the Union facilitated the im-

⁶⁴For religious developments before the establishment of the 1646 Union, see Evgenij Perfeckij, "Religioznoe dviženie v XVI-om i načale XVII-ogo veka v Ugorskoj Rusi" [Religious Movements in Hungarian Rus' in the Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Centuries], *Izvěstija otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (Petrograd, 1915), pp. 24-77; and Ignác Rath, *Náboženské dějiny Podkarpatské Rusi do r. 1498* [The Religious History of Subcarpathian Rus' to 1498] (Prague, 1933) (44 pp.). On the general impact of the Reformation, see Aleksej L. Petrov, "Otvzvuk reformacii v russkom Zakarpat'i XVI v.: Njagovskija poučeníja na Evangelie" [The Repercussion of the Reformation in Russian Transcarpathia during the Sixteenth Century: The Njagovskij Sermons on the Gospels], *Materialy dlja istorii ugorskoj (Zakarpatskoj) Rusi*, Vol. VIII (Prague: Věstnik královské české společnosti nauk, 1923) (123 pp.); and Vasylij Hadžega, "Vplýv reformacii na podkarpatskych rusynov" [The Influence of the Reformation on the Subcarpathian Rusyns], *Zorja-Hajnal*, Vol. III, No. 1-4 (Užhorod, 1943), pp. 5-50.

⁶⁵Antal Hodinka, *A munkácsi görög-szertartásu püspökség okmánytára, 1458-1715* [The Archives of the Greek-Rite Bishopric in Mukačevo] (Užhorod, 1911) (lvi, 668 pp.); Aleksej L. Petrov, "Pamjatniki cerkovno-religioznoj žizni Ugrorussov XVI-XVII vv.: 1. Pounčeníja na Evangelie po Njagovskom spisku 1758 g. 2. Iereja Mixaila, 'Obrona věrnomu člvku.' Teksty" [Monuments from the Ecclesiastical-Religious Life of the Ugro-Russians in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: 1. Sermons on the Gospels according to the 1758 Njagovskij Text. 2. The Priest Michael, 'In Defense of the Faithful Man.' Texts], *Materialy dlja istorii ugorskoj Rusi*, Vol. VII. In *Sbornik otdělenija jazyka i slovesnosti Rossijskoj akademii nauk*, Vol. XCVII, Pt. 2 (Petrograd, 1921) (vi, 295 pp.). See also several documents regarding the Mukačevo diocese in *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica* (13 vols., Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1964-74), especially Vol. IV (1671-1701); Vol. V (1702-1728); and Vol. XI, supplementum (1633-1659).

provement of the Rusyn clergy's education.⁶⁶ The defenders of Orthodoxy (including Soviet scholars), on the other hand, view the Union of Užhorod as a symbol of alien western culture and regard the time of its creation as a moment crucial to the effort to Latinize the clergy and to destroy the population's eastern allegiance. Thus, it is possible to understand why the Rusyn Orthodox clergy looked eastward, especially to Kiev, for solace.⁶⁷

The continued political struggle between the Habsburg court in Vienna and autonomous Transylvania, the economic hardships resulting from the increase in taxes, and the efforts to liquidate the Orthodox Church led to a series of revolts that swept across northeastern Hungary at the end of the seventeenth century. The peasant upheaval led by Imre Thököly and the struggles of the Rákóczi princes against the Austrian imperial forces disrupted the relative peace and prosperity that Subcarpathian Rus' had previously enjoyed. The discontented inhabitants were no longer willing simply to flee to the mountains, the traditional place of refuge for anti-authoritarian elements;⁶⁸ rather, as the great peasant upheaval of 1703 indicated, they were prepared to fight. In the struggle, Rusyn serfs formed the backbone of Ferenc II Rákóczi's army, which carried on the anti-Habsburg struggle in the so-called "Kurocok War" until a truce was concluded at Szatmár in 1711. Because they had supported Rákóczi, the Rusyns were thenceforth dubbed by Hungarian writers as "gens fidelissima"—a phrase which came to mean "people always loyal to the state."⁶⁹

⁶⁶Michael Lacko, *Unio Uzhorodensis Ruthenorum Carpathicorum cum Ecclesia Catholica*. In *Orientalia Christiana Analecta*, No. 143 (Rome, 1955; 2nd ed., 1965) (xviii, 276 pp.) (full bibliography and 60 documents); Michael Lacko, "The Union of Užhorod," *Slovak Studies*, Vol. VI, *Historica*, No. 4 (Cleveland and Rome, 1966), pp. 7-190 (English translation of the above study which contains no documents); Michael Lacko, "Die Užhoroder Union," *Ostkirchliche Studien*, Vol. VIII, No. 1 (Würzburg, 1959), pp. 3-30. See also Alexander Baran, *Metropolia Kioviensis et eparchia Mukačoviensis*. In *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 1, Vol. X (Rome, 1960) (111 pp.); Oleksander Baran, "Cerkva na Zakarpatti v rr. 1665-1691" [The Church in Transcarpathia in the Years 1665-1691], *Bohoslovija*, Vol. XXXII (Rome, 1968), pp. 77-145 and note 41.

⁶⁷See the reference to Kolomeic in note 42. D. G. Zakarpatskij, "Pravoslavnoe Mukačevskoe episkopstvo do zaključenija Užgorodskoj unii" [The Orthodox Mukačevo Episcopate up to the Formation of the Union of Užhorod], *Ežegodnik Pravoslavnoj cirkvi v Českoslovakii* (Prague, 1968), pp. 7-20; Ilija Kačur, *Stručný prehl'ad histórie pravoslávnej cirkvi v bývalom Uhorsku a v Československu* [A Brief Survey of the History of the Orthodox Church in Former Hungary and in Czechoslovakia] (Prešov: Pravoslávna bohoslovecka fakulta, n. d.) (178 pp.); Evhenij Perfec'kyj, "Uhors'ka Rus'-Ukrajina v peršij polovyni XVII-ho viku" [Hungarian Rus'-Ukraine in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century], *Ukrajina*, Vol. III-IV (Kiev, 1917) (21 pp.).

⁶⁸Volodymyr Hrabovec'kyj, *Antyfeodal'na borot'ba karpats'koho opryškivstva XVI-XIX st.* [The Anti-Feudal Struggle of the Carpathian Brigands from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries] (L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1966) (251 pp.).

⁶⁹Antal Hodinka, *Gens fidelissima: II. Rákóczi F. beregmegeyei rutén jobbágyai az 1704-*

The negative effect of the Kurocok Wars on the economic well-being of the peasantry was analyzed in several articles by František Gabriel.⁷⁰ Soviet scholars have also devoted much attention to the peasant revolts of the latter part of the seventeenth and early part of the eighteenth century. They argue that deteriorating economic conditions rather than the religious issue or loyalty to the Hungarian lords prompted the populace to take up arms.⁷¹

6. 1711-1848

After the Turkish withdrawal from the Habsburg lands in the late seventeenth century and the restoration of internal peace in Hungary in 1711, the central government was in a better position to consolidate its control over the formerly rebellious areas. During the early part of the eighteenth century Subcarpathian Rus' came directly under the Habsburg administration. The last tax-exempt privileges of the Rusyns were abolished; the peasantry became fully enserfed; and large landed estates in the region were presented as gifts to members of the Austrian nobility.⁷²

Most scholars agree that the economic and social conditions of the Rusyn peasantry underwent a marked decline in the eighteenth cen-

1711-i szabadságharczban [Ferenc Rákóczi II's Rusyn Serfs from Bereg Comitatus during their Struggle for Freedom] (Ungvar: Unio könyvnyomda részv. társaság, 1915) (29 pp.); Antal Hodinka, *Gens Fidelissima*. In *Felvidéki tudományos társaság kiadványai*, 1st ser., No. 4 (Budapest, 1937) (64 pp.).

⁷⁰František Gabriel, "Poddanské poměry na užhorodském panství ke konci XVII století" [Conditions of the Serfs in the Užhorod Domain toward the End of the Seventeenth Century], *Naukovýj zbornyk tovarystva "Prosvita"*, Vol. X (Užhorod, 1934), pp. 153-184; František Gabriel, "Die wirtschaftliche Lage Karpatorusslands von 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert," *Prager Rundschau*, Vol. V, No. 2 (Prague, 1935), pp. 99-114.

⁷¹See the references to Kolomec in note 42. See also V. M. Mel'nyk, "Posylennja klasovoji borot'by na Zakarpatti v druhij polovyni XVII i na počatku XVIII st." [Intensification of the Class Struggle in Transcarpathia in the Second Half of the Seventeenth and the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXIX (Užhorod, 1957), pp. 39-62; Ja. I. Šternberh, "Z istoriji spil'noji borot'by uhors'kych i ukrajins'kych seljan pid čas vyzvol'noji vijny 1703-1711 rr." [From the History of the Joint Struggle of the Hungarian and Ukrainian Peasantry during the 1703-1711 War of Liberation], *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII (Užhorod, 1959), pp. 97-120.

⁷²Andrij Šaš, "Narys social'noji i hospodars'koji istoriji Šenborns'koji lathyfundiji Mukačivs'ko-Čynadijevs'koji v peršij polovyni XVIII st." [Outline of the Social and Economic History of Schönborn's Mukačevo-Čynadijevo Latifundia in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century], *Naukovýj zbornyk tovarystva "Prosvita"*, Vol. IX (Užhorod, 1932), pp. 101-134. For documents dealing with serfdom from the Schönborn archives, see Osip O. Markov, "Materijaly dlja social'noj istoriji Podkarpatskoj Rusi v XVIII věk" [Materials on the Social History of Subcarpathian Rus' in the Eighteenth Century], *Karpatorusskij sbornik* (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvėtitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 137-145.

tury.⁷³ Empress Maria Theresa's attempt to alleviate the plight of the serfs by clearly defining lord-peasant relationships in the *Urbarium* of 1766 resulted only in strengthening the subjugation of the peasant to his master. The meaning and significance of the ten points of the *Urbarium* (which was translated into the Rusyn dialect) and other documents dealing with the peasantry have been studied in depth by Aleksej L. Petrov.⁷⁴ The Marxist historian Illja Šul'ha has pointed out that as a result of widespread famine and cholera the status of the peasant deteriorated still further after the Napoleonic wars. By 1848 the situation was ripe for revolution.⁷⁵

If Maria Theresa did not succeed in improving the status of the peasantry, her policies did have a favorable effect on Rusyn culture and served to strengthen the priesthood, the sole propagator of Rusyn culture at the time. Rusyn religious leaders demanded administrative independence for the Greek Catholic Church, which since its establishment in 1646 had been under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic

⁷³František Gabriel, "Hospodars'ke položenja podkarp. Rusi na počatku XVIII stotija" [The Economic Situation in Subcarpathian Rus' at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century], *Podkarpatska Rus'*, Vol. X, No. 1-10 (Užhorod, 1933), pp.2-27; František Gabriel, "Pohyb obyvateľstva v bývalé užské župě v první polovici 18. století" [The Movement of Population in the Former Ung Comitatus in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century], *Naukový zbornik tovarystva "Prosvita,"* Vol. XI (Užhorod, 1935), pp. 185-231; František Gabriel, "Selský stav v užhorodském komorním panství na sklonek XVIII století" [The Condition of the Peasantry in the Ung Comitatus Domain at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century], in Jan Vondráček (ed.), *Sbornik zemské musejní společnosti* (Užhorod, 1932), pp. 33-57. See also Illja H. Šul'ha, *Social'no-ekonomične stanovyšče Zakarpattja v druhij polovyni XVIII st.* [Socioeconomic Conditions in Transcarpathia in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century] (Užhorod: Užhorodskij deržavnyj universytet, 1962) (181 pp.). See the reference to Mycjuk in note 38, to Kolomic in note 42, and to Hodinka in note 57.

⁷⁴Aleksej L. Petrov, *Pervyj pečatnyj pamjatnik ugro-russkago narěčija. Urbar i inye svjazannye s krest'janskoj Marii Terezy reformoj dokumenty. Tekst i izslėdovanie* [The First Printed Relic in the Ugro-Russian Dialect: The Urbarium and Other Reform Documents of Maria Theresa related to the Peasantry—the Text and an Analysis], *Materialy dlja istorii ugarskoj Rusi*, Vol. V. In *Sbornik otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1908) (139 pp.).

⁷⁵Andor Sas, *Egy kárpáti latifundium a hűbéri világ alkonyán: a munkácsi Schönborn-uradalom társadalmi és gazdasági viszonyai a XIX. század első felében* [One Carpathian Latifundium during the Twilight of the Feudal Order: Social and Economic Conditions on Count Schönborn's Mukačevo Estate in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century] (Bratislava: Czehszlóvákiai magyar könyvkiadó, 1955) (136 pp.); Illja H. Šul'ha, *Social'no-ekonomični vidnosyni i klasova boroi'ba na Zakarpatti v kinci XVIII-peršij polovyni XIX st.* [Socioeconomic Relations and the Class Struggle in Transcarpathia at the End of the Eighteenth and the First Half of the Nineteenth Century] (L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivskoho universytetu, 1965) (267 pp.); Endre Kovács, "Zakarpattja naperedodni buržuaznoji revoluciji 1848 r." [Transcarpathia on the Eve of the 1848 Bourgeois Revolution], in *Ukrajins'ko-uhors'ki istorični vz'jazky* (Kiev: Vydavnytvo "Naukova dumka," 1964), pp. 229-240.

diocese of Eger.⁷⁶ Their goal was achieved in 1771, when a new diocese was created with its center at Mukačevo. Basil Boysak has suggested that the primary motive for this action was Maria Theresa's desire to maintain social stability in the area.⁷⁷ Be that as it may, the establishment of seminaries for Greek Catholic priests in Mukačevo and later in Vienna, as well as the teaching and propagation of the Slavonic liturgy and rites, guaranteed the religious distinctiveness of Rusyn culture.⁷⁸ These developments reached a high point during the years 1773 to 1809 when Andrij Bačyns'kyj served as bishop of the diocese of Mukačevo.⁷⁹

To be sure, the acceptance of Greek Catholicism on the part of the Rusyn masses was not achieved by a mere declaration of ecclesiastical union. For more than a century after 1646 Orthodox bishops continued to function, even if their authority was limited to the eastern comitat of Máramaros.⁸⁰ Aleksej L. Petrov has made available valuable pro-Orthodox polemical writings from the seventeenth century and a number of documents and commentaries proving the continued ex-

⁷⁶Kálmán Zsatkovics, "Az egri befolyás és az ez ellen vívott harc a munkácsi görög szertartású egyházmegye történelmében" [The Influence of Eger and the Struggle against this Influence in the History of the Greek Rite Diocese], *Századok*, Vol. XVIII (Budapest, 1884), pp. 680-696, 766-786, and 839-877. A Rusyn translation by Peter I. Zeedick and Adalbert M. Smor also appeared: Koloman Žatkovič, *Jagerskoje v'ijanije: bor'ba protiv toho v istorii mukačevskoj grečeskoho obrjada diocezii* (Homestead, Pa.: "Amerikansky Russky Viestnik," n. d.) (79 pp.); Aleksej L. Petrov, "Kanoničeskija vizitacija 1750-1767 gg. v varmedjax Zemplinskoj, Šarišskoj, Špišskoj i Abaujskoj" [The Canonical Visits in the Comitats of Zemplén, Sáros, Szepes and Abauj, 1750-1767], *Naukovyj zbornyk tovarystva "Prosvita,"* Vol. III (Užhorod, 1924), pp. 104-135.

⁷⁷Basil Boysak, *Ecumenism and Manuel Michael Olshavsky, Bishop of Mukachevo, 1743-1767* (Montreal: University of Montreal Faculty of Theology, 1967) (xxii; 223 pp.). See also Michael Lacko, "The Pastoral Activity of Manuel Michael Olshavsky, Bishop of Mukačevo," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, Vol. XXVII (Rome, 1961), pp. 150-161; and Michael Lacko, "Documenta spectantia regimen episcopi Mukačevensis Michaelis Manuelis Olshavsky, 1743-1767," *ibid.*, Vol. XXV (Rome, 1959), pp. 53-90 (11 documents); and Alexander Baran (ed.), *De Processibus Canonicis Ecclesiae Catholicae Ucrainorum in Transcarpathia ab 1771 usque 1853*. In *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica* (13 vols., Rome: Editiones Universitatis Catholicae Ucrainorum S. Clementis Papae, 1964-74), Vol. XIII (xv, 281 pp.) (29 documents).

⁷⁸Eduard Winter, "Die Kämpfe der Ukrainer Oberungarns um eine nationale Hierarchie im Theresianischen Zeitalter," *Kyrios*, Vol. XI (Königsberg, 1939-40), pp. 129-141; Athanasius B. Pekar, *De erectione canonica eparchiae Mukačoviensis (anno 1771)*. In *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 1, Vol. VII (Rome, 1956) (136 pp.).

⁷⁹Oleksander Baran, *Jepyskop Andrej Bačyns'kyj i cerkovne vidrodžennja na Zakarpatti* [Bishop Andrij Bačyns'kyj and the Religious Revival in Transcarpathia]. In *Bibliotheca Logos*, Vol. XXXIII (Yorkton, Saskatchewan, 1963) (63 pp.); Andrij Šlepec'kyj, "Mukačiv's'kyj jepyskop Andrij Fedorovyč Bačyns'kyj ta joho poslannja" [The Mukačevo Bishop Andrij Fedorovyč Bačyns'kyj and his Epistles], *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koi kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. III (Bratislava-Prešov, 1967), pp. 223-241 (documents).

⁸⁰Sándor Cziple, *A máramarosi püspökség kérdése* [The Question of the Bishopric of

istence of the "old faith" until well into the eighteenth century.⁸¹

A significant number of Subcarpathian-born intellectual leaders made their careers abroad, particularly in the Russian empire. The Russians were already interested in Subcarpathian Rus' during the reign of Peter the Great.⁸² Published documents reveal that their interest in the area increased in the early part of the nineteenth century.⁸³ At that time, Subcarpathian personages such as Ivan S. Orlaj, Myxajlo A. Baludjans'kyj, Jurij I. Venelyn, Vasyľ G. Kukolnyk, and Petro D. Lodij emigrated to Russia, where they played an important role in scholarly and educational affairs. In her comprehensive discussion of this phenomenon, Tamara Bajcura suggests that attractive opportunities in Russia, as well as unfavorable political and religious conditions in Hungary, were responsible for Subcarpathia's "first emigration."⁸⁴ In turn, those leaders who remained at home came to have a greater awareness of both Russia and the Ukraine. Several studies, with emphasis on figures like Myxajl Lučkaj, Ivan Fogarašij, and Bishop

Máramaros] (Budapest, 1910); Alexander Baran, *Eparchia Maramorosiensis eiusque Unio*. In *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 1, Vol. XIII (Rome, 1962) (xii, 107 pp.).

⁸¹Aleksej L. Petrov, "Duxovno-polemičeskija sočinjenja Iereja Mixaila Orosvigovskago Andrelly protiv katoličestva i unii: Teksty" [The Spiritual-Polemical Works of the Priest Mixail Andrella of Rosvigovo against Catholicism and the Union: Texts], *Materialy dlja istorii ugarskoj Rusi*, Vol. IX (Prague: Nákladem Královské české společnosti nauk, 1932) (viii, 300 pp.); Aleksej L. Petrov, "Staraja věra' i unija v XVII-XVIII vv." [The "Old Faith" and the Union in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], *Materialy dlja istorii ugarskoj Rusi*, Vols. 1-II. In Vladimir I. Lamanskij (ed.), *Novyj sbornik statej po slavjanovėdėniju* (St. Petersburg, 1905), pp. 183-257, and *Sbornik statej posvjaščennyx počiateljami V. I. Lamanskomu*, Pt. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1908), pp. 941-1028 (documents).

⁸²Aleksej L. Petrov, "K istorii 'russkix intrig' v Ugrii v XVIII veke" [On the History of the "Russian Intrigues" in Hungary in the Eighteenth Century], *Karpatorusskij Sbornik* (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvėtitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 123-136; Anton V. Florovskij, "Karpatoross I. A. Zejkan—nastavnik imperatora Petra II-go" [The Carpatho-Russian I. A. Zejkan, Tutor of Emperor Peter II], *ibid.*, pp. 112-122; Anton V. Florovskij, "I. A. Zejkan—pedagog iz Zakarpat'ja: stranica iz istorii rusko-zakarpatskix kul'turnyx svjazej pri Petre Velikom" [I. A. Zejkan, a Pedagogue from Transcarpathia: A Chapter in the History of Russian-Transcarpathian Cultural Relations during the Reign of Peter the Great], in *Russkaja literatura XVIII veka i slavjanskije literatury* (Moscow: Akademija nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 105-122; Anton V. Florovskij, "Russo-Austrian Conflicts in the Early Eighteenth Century," *Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XLVII (London, 1969), pp. 94-119.

⁸³Iarion S. Svėncickij, *Materialy po istorii vozroždenija Karpatskoj Rusi: I. Snoženija Karpatskoj Rusi s Rossiej v l-oj polovine XIX-ago vėka* [Materials on the History of the National Revival in the Carpathian Rus': I. Relations of Carpathian Rus' with Russia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century] (2 vols., L'viv, 1905-9), Vol. I (212 pp.) (documents); Myxajlo Teršakovec (ed.), "Do istoriji moskofil'stva v Uhors'kij Rusy" [On the History of Muscophilism in Hungarian Rus'], *Ukrajins'ko-rus'kyj arxiv Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka*, Vol. III (L'viv, 1907), pp. 267-285 (6 documents).

⁸⁴Tamara Bajcura, *Zakarpatoukrainskaja intelligencija v Rossii v pervoj polovine XIX veka* [Transcarpathian Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Russia during the First Half of the

Vasylij Popovyč, have been devoted to cultural developments in Subcarpathian Rus' during the first half of the nineteenth century.⁸⁵

7. 1848-1918

During the seventy years from 1848 to 1918 Subcarpathian Rus' first underwent a period of cultural autonomy and national awakening, after which it was subjected to an intensifying policy of "Magyarization"—a trend which became especially pronounced in the decades before the First World War. Despite the legal repeal of serfdom in 1848, the economic status of the Rusyn peasant continued to worsen as a result of an increase in population, a series of poor harvests, and widespread unemployment. After 1867, when the governments in Vienna and Budapest succeeded in reaching a political *modus vivendi*, the question of national minorities became a problem of great concern throughout the empire. A six-volume collection of documents dealing with the national minority problem in Hungary is nearing completion, and more than 100 items related specifically to the Rusyns have been published in

Nineteenth Century] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Vidil ukrajins'koi literatury, 1971) (227 pp. and a full bibliography). See also Tamara Bajcura's biography of *Jurij Ivanovyč Venelin* (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Vidil ukrajins'koi literatury, 1968) (172 pp., full bibliography); and Myxajlo Lelekač, "Kul'turni zv'jazky Zakarpattja z Ukrajinu i Rossijeju v XVII-XVIII st." [The Cultural Relations of Transcarpathia with the Ukraine and Russia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. IX (Užhorod, 1954), pp. 141-164; Ilarion S. Svěncickij, "Obzor snošenij Karpatskoj Rusi s Rossiej v l-oj polovine XIX v." [Survey of the Relations of Carpathian Rus' with Russia in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century], *Izvēstija otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (St. Petersburg, 1906), pp. 257-367; Arkadij N. Fatěev, "Akademičeskaja i gosudarstvennaja dejatel'nost' M. A. Baludjanskago v Rossii" [The Academic and Political Activity of M. A. Baludjanskij in Russia], *Karpatorusskij sbornik akademii nauk*. Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvėitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 146-208 (reprinted in *Izdanie Kul'turno-prosvėitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 76. Užhorod, 1931) (64 pp.); Lajos Tardy, *Balugyánszky Mihály* [Mixail Baludjanskij] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1954) (256 pp.); Evdokija M. Kosačevskaja, *Mixail Andreevič Balugjanskij i Peterburgskij universitet pervoj četverti XIX veka* [Mixail Andreevič Baludjanskij and St. Petersburg University during the First Quarter of the Nineteenth Century] (Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1971) (272 pp.).

⁸⁵Vasylij Hadžega, "Myxajl Lučkaj, žytjepys y tvorj" [Myxajl Lučkaj, His Life and Work], *Naukovjy zbornyk tovarystva "Prosvita"*, Vol. VI (Užhorod, 1929), pp. 1-128; Ivan Pan'kevyč, "Xto buv Ivan Berežanyn—Myxajlo Lučkaj čy Ivan Fogarašij?" [Who Was Ivan Berežanyn—Myxajl Lučkaj or Ivan Fogarašij?], *ibid.*, Vol. VII-VIII (Užhorod, 1931), pp. 168-188; Vasylij Hadžega, "Joan Fogarašij," *Podkarpatska Rus'*, Vol. V, No. 10 (Užhorod, 1928), pp. 207-224; Julij P. Rusak [Julij Gadžega], "Mukačevskaja eparxija i jea bor'ba za prava russkago jazyka i narodnosti vo vremja episkopa Vasilija Popoviča" [The Mukačevo Eparchy and its Struggle for the Russian Language and National Rights during the Era of Bishop Vasilij Popovič], *Karpatorusskij sbornik* (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvėitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 50-68.

the first five volumes of this study.⁸⁶ For the decades immediately preceding the First World War detailed statistical information elucidating the demographic, employment, and educational aspects of each nationality is available in three published Hungarian census reports.⁸⁷

With regard to secondary literature, the period as a whole has been treated in three monographs. The first, by József Perényi, is the initial product of Hungarian Marxist historiography. Making use of archival material found in Budapest, the author discusses the inability of the serfs to liberate themselves economically in the years after 1848; the Russophile cultural dominance influenced by the activities of the Subcarpathian activist Adolf Dobrjanskij; and peasant protests, which assumed the form of emigration or conversion to Orthodoxy.⁸⁸ Soviet Marxist historiography is represented by the massive two-volume study of Ivan G. Kolomicz on the Subcarpathian peasants. Drawing on local archival sources and documenting his study profusely with statistical information, Kolomicz concentrates primarily on the miserable economic status of the Rusyn peasantry during the transitional stage from feudalism to capitalism.⁸⁹ The third monograph is by Ivan Žeguc, who focuses primarily on national developments: the confluence of Russophile, Ukrainophile, and local currents during the Subcarpathian national awakening and the simultaneous increase in "Magyarization" after 1867.⁹⁰

⁸⁶Gábor G. Kemény (ed.), *Iratok a nemzetiségi kérdés történetéhez Magyarországon a dualizmus korában* [Documents on the History of the Nationality Question during the Period of Dualism], Vol. I: 1867-1892; Vol. II: 1892-1900; Vol. III: 1900-1903; Vol. IV: 1903-1906; Vol. V: 1906-1913 (Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1952-71).

⁸⁷*A magyar korona országában az 1891. év elején végrehajtott népszámlálás eredményei* [Results of the Census taken in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown at the Beginning of 1891], Pt. I. In *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, new ser., Vol. I (Budapest, 1893); *A magyar korona országainak 1900 évi népszámlálása* [Census of the Population in the Lands of the Hungarian Crown in 1900], 10 parts. In *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, new ser., Vols. I, II, V, IX, XII-XVI, XVIII, and XXVII (Budapest, 1902-9); *A magyar szent korona országainak 1910 évi népszámlálása* [Census of the Population in the Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown in 1910], 6 parts. In *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, new ser., Vols. XLII, XLVIII, LII, LVI, LXI, and LXIV (Budapest, 1912-20). See also Pál Balogh, *A népfajok Magyarországon* [The Races of Hungary] (Budapest: Kiadja a m. kir. vallás és közoktatásügyi ministerium, 1902) (vii, 1, 113 pp.); and the criticism of the above works by S. Tomašiv'skyj in reference 36.

⁸⁸József Perényi, *Iz istorii zakarpatskix ukraincev 1849-1914* [On the History of the Transcarpathian Ukrainians (1849-1914)]. In *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. XIV (Budapest, 1957) (159 pp.).

⁸⁹Ivan G. Kolomicz, *Social'no-ekonomičeskie otnošenija i obščestvennoe dviženie v Zakarpat'e vo vtoroj polovine XIX stoletija* [Socioeconomic Relations and Social Movement in Transcarpathia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century] (2 vols., Tomsk: Izdatel'stvo Tomskogo universiteta, 1962) (404 and 667 pp.) (full bibliography).

⁹⁰Ivan Žeguc, *Die nationalpolitischen Bestrebungen der Karpato-Ruthenen 1848-1914*.

The situation of the Rusyns living in Hungary was improved by the 1848 revolution and particularly by the activities of a local leader, Adolf Dobrjanskij.⁹¹ Dobrjanskij, who was in close contact with the Russophiles in Galicia, was appointed Austrian liaison officer to the Russian army sent in 1849 to crush rebellious Hungary.⁹² Later, when the government in Vienna supported the Slavic nationalities in opposition to the Budapest regime, Dobrjanskij proposed that the Subcarpathian and Galician Rusyns unite to form a single unit in a federalized Austrian monarchy.⁹³ However, the establishment of a neoabsolutist regime in Austria under Alexander von Bach and the Compromise of 1867 with Hungary doomed the short-lived political and cultural autonomy of Subcarpathian Rus'.⁹⁴

The majority of Rusyns, however, were little affected by Dobrjanskij's ephemeral plans or by the subsequent activities of a small group of local intelligentsia to attain cultural autonomy. The Rusyn peasantry was dependent on an underdeveloped land and economically subjected to the Magyar landlords, Jewish merchants, and local Greek Catholic clergy. A few Hungarian publicists blamed the Jews mainly for

In *Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Institutes München*, Vol. XXVIII (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1965) (145 pp.) (full bibliography).

⁹¹Irina N. Mel'nikova, "Zakarpatskaja Ukraina v revoliucii 1848 goda" [Transcarpathian Ukraine in the 1848 Revolution], *Učenyje zapiski Instituta slavjanovedenija*, Vol. I (Moscow-Leningrad, 1949), pp. 241-292 (reprinted in Prešov by Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kych trudjaščykh in 1952) (152 pp.); Georgij Vernadskij, "Ugorskaja Rus' i eja vozroždenie v seredině XIX vėka" [Hungarian Rus' and its Revival in the Mid-Nineteenth Century], *Golos minuvšago*, Vol. III, No. 3 (Moscow, 1915), pp. 5-17; Mixal Danylak, *Halyc'ki, bukovyns'ki, zakarpats'ki ukrajinci v revoluciji 1848-1849 rokiv* [Galician, Bucovinian, and Transcarpathian Ukrainians in the Revolution of 1848-1849] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1972) (216 pp.).

⁹²On the favorable effect of the Russian military presence, see I. O. Panas, "Karpatorusskie otzvuki russkogo poxoda v Vengriju 1849 goda" [The Carpatho-Russian Response to the Russian Campaign in Hungary in 1849], *Karpatorusskij sbornik* (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvėtitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 209-229.

⁹³Stepan Doboš, *Adolf Ivanovič Dobrjanskij: očerk žizni i dejatel'nosti* [Adolf I. Dobrjanskij: A Sketch of His Life and Activities] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľ'stvo krásnej literatury, 1956) (167 pp.); Florian Zapletal, *A. I. Dobrjanskij a naši Rusini r. 1849-51* [A. I. Dobrjanskij and Our Rusyns, 1849-1851] (Prague, 1927) (96 pp.).

⁹⁴L'udovit Haraksim, "Die Russinen und der Ausgleich," in *Der österreichisch-ungarische Ausgleich 1867* (Bratislava: Vydavateľ'stvo Slovenskej akademie vied, 1971), pp. 746-763; Mykola Rusingo, "Vyslanstva Rusyniv Uhors'kych u Vidni 1849 r." [The Hungarian Rusyn Delegation in Vienna in 1849], *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koji kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. VI, Pt. 1 (Bratislava-Prešov, 1972), pp. 63-95; Dimitrij N. Vergun, "Opatfėni rakouskėho ministra Alexandra Bacha k ochromeni karpatskėho obrozeni r. 1849-50 (Na zkladě nových dokumentů)" [The Measures of Austrian Minister Alexander Bach to paralyze the Carpathian Revival in 1849-50. Based on New Documents], *Zapiski naučno-izslėdovatel'skago ob'edinenija Russkago svobodnago universiteta*, Vol. VIII (Prague, 1938), pp. 227-240.

the wretched condition of the Rusyn peasants.⁹⁵ One government official, Edmund Egan, moved by the unfortunate plight of the Rusyns, created the so-called "Highlands Commission" (1898-1903) to improve the living standard of the peasant. He wrote a revealing essay providing us with valuable insights into economic conditions in the area during the late nineteenth century.⁹⁶ Soviet historians have also written several studies which document the miserable conditions of both the Rusyn peasantry and the incipient proletariat.⁹⁷

The peasant attempted to escape his fate by emigration to America, by conversion from Greek Catholicism to Orthodoxy, or by the consumption of inordinate amounts of alcohol. Rusyn emigration, which was particularly heavy from the comitats of Sáros and Zemplén, is analyzed in articles by Oleksander Mycjuk and Ladislav Tajtak.⁹⁸ The return to Orthodoxy had social and political as well as religious implications, since a rejection of Greek Catholicism quite often symbolized

⁹⁵Miklós Bartha, *Kazár földön* [The Khazar's Land] (Kolozsvár, 1901) (328 pp.) (a Czech edition was published under the title of *V zemi Chazarů* [In the Land of the Khazars] [Mukačevo: Novotný a Bartošek, 1927] [175 pp.]); Victor Aradi, "Tanulmányok a nemzetiségi kérdés köréből" [Studies concerning the Race Question], *Huszadik század*, Vol. XXVIII (Budapest, 1913), pp. 263-276 and 378-391.

⁹⁶Edmund Egan, *Ekonomične položenje rus'kych seljan v Uhorsčyjni* [Economic Conditions of the Rusyn Peasants in Hungary] (L'viv, 1901) (40 pp.) (reprinted in Ukrainian and in Czech under the title *Hospodárský stav rusínských venkovanů v Uhrách* [Economic Conditions of the Rusyn Peasants in Hungary] [Prague: Ústřední jednoty hospodárských družstev, 1922] [95 pp.]). See also Frigyes Paris, *Tájékoztató a ruthén aciónál való működésem felől* [On My Activities in Regard to the Ruthenian Action] (Budapest, 1904) (54 pp.).

⁹⁷Vasyl' I. Il'ko, "Z istoriji obezmelennja seljan Zakarpattja v druhij polovyni XIX st." [On the History of the Land Deprivation of the Transcarpathian Peasants in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXIX (Užhorod, 1957), pp. 63-90; Vasyl' I. Il'ko, "Z istoriji seljans'kych ruxiv na Zakarpatti v druhij polovyni XIX st." [On the History of the Peasant Movements in Transcarpathia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century], *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI (1958), pp. 19-29; Vasyl' I. Netočajev, "Z istoriji formuvannja robitnyčoho klasu na Zakarpatti v 2-ij polovyni XIX i na začatku XX st." [On the History of the Formation of the Working Class in Transcarpathia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth and the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], *ibid.*, Vol. XLIII (1960); Mária Mayer, "A XIX. századvégi kárpátukrán agrárnépesség társadalmi szerkezetének statisztikai ábrázolása" [A Statistical Description of the Social Structure of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Peasantry at the End of the Nineteenth Century], *Történelmi szemle*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Budapest, 1961), pp. 330-346; Petro K. Smijan, *Revolucijnnyj ta nacional'no-vyzvol'nyj rux na Zakarpatti kincja XIX—počatku XX st.* [The Revolutionary and National Liberation Movement in Transcarpathia at the End of the Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century] (L'viv: Vydavnyctvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1968) (209 pp.); Vasyl' I. Il'ko, *Zakarpats'ke selo na počatku XX st.: 1900-1919 rr.* [The Transcarpathian Village at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century] (L'viv: Vydavnyctvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1973) (182 pp.).

⁹⁸Oleksander Mycjuk, "Z emihraciji uhro-rusyniv pered svitovuju vijnuju" [On the Emigration of the Uhro-Rusyns before the World War], *Naukovyj zbirnyk tovarystva "Prosvita"*, Vol. XIII-XIV (Užhorod, 1937-38), pp. 21-32; Ladislav Tajtak, "Pereselennja ukrajinciv Sxidnoji Slovaččyny do 1913 r." [The Emigration of Ukrainians from Eastern

both a refusal to pay church dues and opposition to the policy of "Magyarization."⁹⁹

The traditional Russian interest in Subcarpathian Rus' was intensified during the late nineteenth century, especially through the activities of the Pan-Slavist Vladimir A. Bobrinskij and of no less important a figure than the tsarist minister Konstantin P. Pobedonoscev.¹⁰⁰ Published documents attest to continued Rusyn-Great Russian contacts during this period.¹⁰¹ Consequently, the Budapest government equated Orthodoxy with tsarist Russia, and, to defend itself against any future "threat" from the East, increased its efforts to "Magyarize" the Rusyns. Several authors have discussed the Hungarian policy of "Magyarization" on the eve of the First World War as well as the religious conspiracy trials, the most infamous of which was the one in 1913-1914 of ninety-six Rusyn peasants unjustly accused of treason because they had become converts to Orthodoxy.¹⁰² In recent years Marxist historians

Slovakia before 1913], *Duklja*, Vol. IX, No. 4 (Prešov, 1961), pp. 97-103; Ladislav Tajtak, "Vychodoslovenské vyst'ahovalectvo do prvej svetovej vojny" [Eastern Slovak Emigration before the First World War], *Nové obzory*, Vol. III (Prešov, 1961), pp. 221-247; Marija Majer, "Zakarpats'ki ukrajinci na perelomi stoliť" [Transcarpathian Ukrainians at the Turn of the Century], in *Živien' i ukrajins'ka kultúra* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kych trudjaščykh, 1968), pp. 49-73.

⁹⁹Vasyl' I. Netočajev, "Kolonial'na polityka uhors'koho buržuaznoho urjadu na Zakarpatti v kinci XIX i na počatku XX st." [The Colonial Policy of the Hungarian Bourgeois Government in Transcarpathia at the End of the Nineteenth and Beginning of the Twentieth Century], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXXVI (Užhorod, 1958), pp. 30-54; Vasyl' I. Netočajev, "Zakarpattja naperedodni peršoji svitovoji vijny 1908-1914 rr." [Transcarpathia on the Eve of the First World War, 1908-1914], *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX (1957), pp. 91-136.

¹⁰⁰Vladimir A. Bobrinskij, *Pražskij s'ězd: Ćexija i Prikarpatskaja Rus'* [The Prague Congress: Bohemia and Carpathian Rus'] (St. Petersburg: Svět, 1909) (127 pp.); Robert F. Byrnes, *Pobedonoscev: His Life and Thought* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1968) (xiii, 395 pp.).

¹⁰¹Ilarion S. Svěncickij, *Materialy po istorii vozroždenija Karpatskoj Rusi: II. Karpatorusskoe slavjanofil'stvo. Ugrorusskoe dviženie perioda vozroždenija* [Materials on the History of the National Revival in Carpathian Rus': II. Carpatho-Russian Slavophilism. The Ugro-Russian Movement in the Era of Revival]. In *Naučno-literturnyj sbornik Galicko-russkoj maticy za 1908 god*, Vol. VI, No. 3-4 (L'viv, 1909) (159 pp.) (documents); Olena Rudlovčák, "Za zavisuju mynuloho: materijaly do vzajemyn Zakarpattja z Rosijeju" [Beyond the Veil of the Past: Materials on the Relations of Transcarpathia with Russia], *Duklja*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3-4 (Prešov, 1970), pp. 60-67 and 59-68.

¹⁰²Konstantin Beskid, *Marmarošský proces: obrázky z bývalého maďarského ráje. Monstrosni proces v Marmarošské Sihoti* [The Máramaros Trial: Scenes from the Former Hungarian Paradise. The Monstrous Trial in Máramaros Sihot] (Xust, 1926) (55 pp.); Miroslav Grabec, *K istorii marmarošskago processa (Dělo 94-x)* [On the History of the Máramaros Trial: The Affair of the 94] (Užhorod: Izdanie Karpatorusskoj trudovoj partii, 1934) (56 pp.); József Rédei, "A rutének vallásos tömegmozgalmai" [The Religious Mass Movements of the Rusyns], *Huszadik század*, Vol. XXX (Budapest, 1914), pp. 463-476; Victor Aradi, *A rutén skizmapör* [The Ruthenian Schismatic Controversy]. In *Nemzetiéégi aktualitások könyvtára*, Vol. I (Budapest, 1914) (80 pp.); Gábor Darás, A

have discounted the Rusyn hope for aid from “reactionary” tsarist Russia as illusory.¹⁰³

The first glimmer of a national awakening appeared in Subcarpathian Rus' during the decades after 1848. The most outstanding leader of the movement was Aleksander Duxnovyč, whose complete works are currently being republished.¹⁰⁴ In 1866 a Rusyn cultural organization was founded, and the following year its first periodicals appeared. Both these developments are the subject of individual studies.¹⁰⁵ Local authors still preferred to write in the Russian language,¹⁰⁶ although by the 1880's some began to use a language based on the local dialects. The disputes among the Rusyns regarding their language and cultural orien-

Ruténföld elszakításának előzményei (1890-1920) [On the Eve of the Separation of Ruthenia] (Ujpest: Vörösmarty irodalmi társaság, 1936) (137 pp.); René Martel, “La politique slave de la Russie d'avant guerre,” *Affaires étrangères*, Vol. VI (Paris, 1936), No. 10, pp. 623-634; and Vol. VII (Paris, 1937), No. 1, pp. 58-64; Károly Gulya, *A magyarországi ruthén kérdés 1910-1914 között* [The Hungarian Rusyn Question, 1910-1914]. In *Acta Historica*, Vol. XXXI (Szeged, 1968) (20 pp.).

¹⁰³Marija Majer, “Stanovyšče trudjaščyx Zakarpattja v roky peršoji svitovoji vijny” [The Conditions of the Working Class of Transcarpathia in the Years of the First World War], in *Ukrajins'ko-uhors'ki istorični zv'jazky* (Kiev: Vydavnytvo “Naukova dumka,” 1964), pp. 217-228. See also Jurij Kačij, “Zv'jazky naselennja Zakarpattja z rosijs'kym vijs'kom v roky peršoji svitovoji vijny” [The Relations of the Inhabitants of Transcarpathia with the Russian Military during the First World War], *Arxivy Ukrajiny*, No. 6 (Kiev, 1965), pp. 41-47.

¹⁰⁴Oleksandr Duxnovyč, *Tvory* [Works] (2 vols., Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnytvo. Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1967-68) (790 and 733 pp.) (two volumes are still to appear). For a critical analysis of Duxnovyč, see the historical introduction to Vol. I of the above by Olena Rudlovčak; Myxajlo Ryčalka, *O. V. Duxnovyč: pedahoh i osvittij dijač* [O. V. Duxnovyč: Pedagogue and Cultural Leader] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatury, 1959) (486 pp.) (full bibliography and documents); *Oleksandr Duxnovyč: zbirnyk materijaliv naukovoji konferenciji prysvjačenoji 100 ričču z dnja smerti (1865-1965)* [O. Duxnovyč: Anthology of Materials from the Scholarly Conference dedicated to the Hundredth Anniversary of his Death, 1865-1965] (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kych trudjaščyx, 1965) (406 pp.) (full bibliography). See also Nikolaj A. Beskid, *Duxnoviči* [Duxnovyč] (Homestead, Pa.: Izdanie redakcii “Amerikanskogo russkogo vēstnika,” 1934) (127 pp.). Hungarian writers have strongly criticized Duxnovyč for his supposed Russophilism. See especially Tivadar Bacsinszky, *Orosz-ruszin kapcsolatok a XIX század közepén* [Russian-Rusyn Relations in the Mid-Nineteenth Century]. In *Literaturno-naukova biblioteka*, No. 7 (Užhorod: Vydanja Podkarpatskoho obščestva nauk, 1942) (ii, 108 pp.).

¹⁰⁵Julij Gadžega, *Istorija Obščestva sv. Vasilija Velikago* [The History of the Society of St. Basil the Great]. In *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 15 (Užhorod, 1925) (47 pp.). For a survey of the periodical press, see György Böör, *A Magyarországi időszaki sajtó a XIX században* [Periodical Journals of Rusyns in Hungary during the Nineteenth Century] (Kolozsvár: A Ferenc József tudományegyetem történeti intézete, 1943) (53 pp.); and Olena Rudlovčak, “Do pytan' žurnalistyky v ukrajinciv Sxidnoji Slovaččyny,” *Duklja*, Vol. X, No. 3 (Prešov, 1962), pp. 64-69.

¹⁰⁶Vladimir A. Francev, “Iz istorii bor'by za russkij literaturnyj jazyk v Podkarpatskoj Rusi v polovine XIX st.” [On the History of the Struggle for the Russian Literary Language in Subcarpathian Rus' in the Mid-Nineteenth Century], *Karpatorusskij sbornik* (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvētitel'nago sojuza, 1930), pp. 1-49.

tation, as well as the increasing threat of "Magyarization," were discussed in several works by local authors.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Russian and Galician Russophile and Ukrainophile scholars became particularly concerned with their Subcarpathian brethren. All criticized the Hungarian government, although the Russophiles favored Rusyn leaders who supported the idea of cultural unity with Russia, while Ukrainophiles praised the wisdom of those populist writers who wrote in a more accessible dialectal language and who strove to identify with Ukrainianism.¹⁰⁸ Several scholars have also focused on the important

See also studies on individual authors by Dimitrij N. Vergun, *A. E. Fencik i ego město v russkoj literature* [A. E. Fencik and his Place in Russian Literature]. In *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 22 (Užhorod, 1926) (22 pp.); Nikolaj A. Beskid, *Julij I. Stavrovskij-Popradov*. In *ibid.*, No. 50 (Užhorod, 1929) (95 pp.); Aleksander V. Popov, *Ivan Antonovič Sil'vaj i Ivan Ivanovič Rakovskij: kritiko-biografičeskij očerok* [Ivan A. Sil'vaj and Ivan I. Rakovskij: A Critical Biographical Survey] (Mukačevo: Izdanie Narodoprosvėtitel'noj rady Nižne-Verečanskago okruga, 1929) (48 pp.); Evgenij Nedzel'skij, "Ivan Antonovič Sil'vaj (Uriil Meteor)," in Ivan A. Sil'vaj, *Izbrannye proizvedenija* (Bratislava: Slovackoe izdatel'stvo xudožestvennoj literatury, 1957), pp. 13-76; Andrej Šlepeckij, "Tvorčeskoe nasledie Aleksandra Pavloviča" [The Creative Legacy of Aleksander Pavlovič], *Sbornik pedagogickej fakulty univerzity P. J. Šafárika v Prešove*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (Bratislava, 1965), pp. 41-96 (full bibliography). See also reference 104.

¹⁰⁷Anatolij Kralickij, "O sovremennom položenii russkix v Ugrii" [On the Present Situation of the Russians in Hungary], *Slavjanskij sbornik*, Vol. I (St. Petersburg, 1875), pp. 44-54; Adol'f I. Dobrjanskij, *O sovremennom religiozno-političeskom položenii avstro-ugorskoj Rusi* [On the Present Religious and Political Situation in Austro-Hungarian Rus'] (Moscow, 1885) (52 pp.); Ivan A. Sil'vaj (Uriil Meteor), *Izbrannye proizvedenija* [Selected Works] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľ'stvo krásnej literatury, 1957) (410 pp.).

¹⁰⁸The Russophile viewpoint is presented in Vladimir Terleckij, *Ugorskaja Rus' i vozroždenie soznaniija narodnosti meždu russkimi v Vengrii* [Hungarian Rus' and the Renaissance of National Consciousness among the Russians of Hungary] (Kiev, 1874) (52 pp.); A. P. Liprandi, "Zabytyj ugolok Russkoj zemli: Ugorskaja Rus'" [A Forgotten Corner of the Russian Land: Hungarian Rus'], *Russkaja beseda*, Vol. II, No. 4 (St. Petersburg, 1896), pp. 74-94; "Nacional'noe dviženie v Ugorskoj Rusi" [The National Movement in Hungarian Rus'], *Galicko-russkij vėstnik*, Vol. I, No. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1894), pp. 19-24; Putnik [Vladimir A. Francev], "Sovremennoe sostojanie Ugorskoj Rusi" [The Present Condition of Hungarian Rus'], *Russkij vėstnik*, Vol. CCLXV (Moscow, 1900), pp. 628-655; Vladimir A. Francev, "Iz ěpoxi vozroždenija Ugorskoj Rusi" [From the Period of Awakening in Hungarian Rus'], *Naučno-literaturnyj sbornik Galicko-russkoj maticy*, Vol. I, No. 1 (L'viv, 1902), pp. 1-14; Aleksej L. Petrov, *Ob ětnografičeskoj granicė russkago-naroda v Avstro-Ugrii, o somnitel'noj 'vengerskoj' nacii i o nedėlimosti Ugrii* [On the Ethnographic Boundary of the Russian People in Austria-Hungary; on the Dubiousness of a "Hungarian Nation" and the Indivisibility of Hungary] (Petrograd, 1915) (46 pp.); Aleksej L. Petrov, *Mad'jarskaja gegemonija v Ugrii (Vengrii) i Ugorskaja Rus'* [The Hungarian Hegemony in Hungary and Hungarian Rus'] (Grad sv. Petra, 1915) (24 pp.) (originally published in *Slavjanskoe obozrėnie*, Nos. 4 and 5-6 [St. Petersburg, 1892], pp. 567-572 and 160-172). The Ukrainophile viewpoint is found in Vasyľ Lukyč, *Uhors'ka Rus', jey rozvój y teperišnij stan* [Hungarian Rus', Its Development and Present State] (L'viv, 1887) (30 pp.); Ivan Franko and Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "I my v Jevropi: protest halyč'kyx rusyniv proty madjars'koho tysjačolitija" [We are also in Europe: A Protest by Galician Rusyns against the Hungarian Millennium], *Žytja i slovo*, Vol. V, No.

problem of Subcarpathian relations with Galicia and Slovakia.¹⁰⁹ The rapid decline of the Subcarpathian press and the general retardation of Rusyn cultural life in the last decades before the First World War are outlined in works by the contemporary Subcarpathian cultural leader Avhustyn Vološyn and more recently by the Hungarian academician Mária Mayer.¹¹⁰

8. 1918-1938

The dislocations caused by the First World War, the political dissolution of Austria-Hungary, and the national and social revolutions that occurred throughout East-Central Europe during the last months of 1918 and early in 1919 had a profound effect on the future of Subcarpathian Rus'. In May, 1919, the area was officially incorporated into Czechoslovakia as an autonomous province—an act that was internationally legalized in September by the Treaty of Saint-Germain.

1 (L'viv, 1896), pp. 1-9; Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Uhrorus'ka mizerija" [Uhro-Rusyn Misery], *ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (1897), pp. 46-62. Perhaps the most penetrating contemporary analysis was offered by the Ukrainian publicist Myxajlo Drahomanov in his "Les paysans russo-oukraiens sous les libéraux hongrois," *Le Travailleur*, Vol. I, No. 4 (Paris, 1887); Myxajlo Drahomanov, *Spravy Uhors'koj Rusy* [Reports from Hungarian Rus'] (L'viv, 1895) (15 pp.) (originally in *Narod* [L'viv, 1895]); Myxajlo Drahomanov, *Avstro-rus'ki spomyny: 1867-1877* (Austro-Rusyn Memoirs) (L'viv, 1889-92) (456 pp.) (reprinted in *Myxajlo P. Drahomanov: literaturno-publicystyčni praci* [2 vols., Kiev: Vydavnytvo "Naukova dumka," 1970], Vol. II, pp. 151-288). See also references 32, 33, and 36.

¹⁰⁹Kyrylo Studyn'skyj, "Aleksander Duxnovyč i Halyčyna: studija" [Aleksander Duxnovyč and Galicia: A Study], *Naukovyj zbornyk tovarystva "Prosvita,"* Vol. III (Užhorod, 1924), pp. 28-103; Michal Danilák, "Styky haličských a zakarpatských Ukrajincov v 2. polovici XIX. storičia" [Relations between Galician and Transcarpathian Ukrainians in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century], in *Žovten' i ukrajins'ka kultura* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1968), pp. 35-48; Jurij Bača, "Učast' zakarpats'kyx ukrajinciv u dyskusiji pro šljaxy rozvytku literatury v zaxidnyx zemljax Ukrajinny v kinci 40-x i na počatku 50-x rr. XIX stolittja" [The Participation of Transcarpathian Ukrainians in the Discussion on the Direction of the Development of Literature in the Western Lands of the Ukraine at the End of the 1840's and Beginning of the 1850's], *Sbornik filozofickej fakulty univerzity Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Prešove*, Vol. I (Bratislava, 1960), pp. 48-65; Helena Rudlovčaková, "K otázkam vzájomnych kultúrnych stykov Slovákov a zakarpatských Ukrajincov v polovici minulého storočia" [On the Question of Mutual Cultural Relations between Slovaks and Transcarpathian Ukrainians around the Middle of the Last Century], *ibid.*, Vol. V (1965), pp. 149-165; A. Rot, "Pro kul'turni zvjazky čexiv i slovakiv iz zakarpats'kymy ukrajincjamy" [On the Cultural Relations of Czechs and Slovaks with Transcarpathian Ukrainians], in *Z istoriji čexoslovac'ko-ukrajins'kyx zvjazkiv* (Bratislava: Vydateľstvo Slovenskej akademie vied, 1959), pp. 307-342; Myxajlo Mol'nar, *Slovaky i ukrajinci: pryčynky do slovacko-ukrajins'kyx literaturnyx vzajemyn z dodatkom dokumentiv* (Slovaks and Ukrainians: Materials on Slovak-Ukrainian Literary Relations. With an Appendix of Documents) (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnytvo. Vydil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1965) (404 pp.) (documents).

¹¹⁰Avhustyn Vološyn, *Spomyný* [Memoirs]. In *Knyžky Rusyna*, No. 10 (Užhorod, 1923) (95 pp.); Avhustyn Vološyn, "Oborona kyrylyky: jak oboronjalysja pidkarp. rusyny

Reliable statistical material from these years can be obtained from detailed surveys that were prepared by the Czechoslovak Office of Statistics.¹¹¹ As for secondary literature, most of the publications dealing with the Czechoslovak period of Rusyn history have usually been highly partisan tracts in defense of some national (Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, or Hungarian), religious (Greek Catholic or Orthodox), or socio-political (communist or non-communist) viewpoint. Of the general accounts, the best is by Carlile A. Macartney, the English specialist on Hungary. In a lengthy chapter of his book *Hungary and Her Successors*, Macartney surveys the history of the "Ruthene question" and concentrates his attention on the political, administrative, cultural, national, and economic problems faced by the Czechoslovak government in its eastern province.¹¹² A monograph devoted especially to Subcarpathian Rus' has been written by the French specialist on Ukrainian affairs René Martel. He stresses cultural and economic improvements in the area instigated by the Prague regime—accomplishments which were considered the best guarantee for an auspicious future for the Rusyns.¹¹³ General discussions of interwar conditions favorable to the policies of the government in Prague were written by Oscar Jászi, the former Hungarian minister of national minorities in the Mihály Károlyi government, and by Avhustyn Vološyn, the popular Ukrainophile national leader.¹¹⁴ Political developments, especially the activities of American immigrant groups, are sketched in a short study by Walter K. Hanak.¹¹⁵ The Agrarian Party activist Jan Brandejs and the Communist Oleksandr Badan have both

proty ostann'oho ataku madjaryzaciji pered perevorotom?" [The Defense of the Cyrillic Alphabet: How the Subcarpathian Rusyns struggled against the Last Attack of "Magyarization" before the Revolution], *Naukovyj zbirnyk tovarystva "Prosvita,"* Vol. XIII-XIV (Užhorod, 1937), pp. 85-117; Mária Mayer, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ruthenen (Karpatokrainen) um die Jahrhundertwende," *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. XIX, No. 1-2 (Budapest, 1973), pp. 115-150.

¹¹¹ *Československá statistika—La statistique tchécoslovaque* (180 vols., 17 series, Prague, 1922-48). Of the seventeen series, the most pertinent are: I. Elections; II. Education; VI. Population Census; VII. Public Finance; XII. Agriculture; XIV. Movement of the Population.

¹¹² Carlile A. Macartney, "Ruthenia," in his *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and its Consequences, 1919-1937* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), pp. 200-250.

¹¹³ René Martel, *La Ruthénie subcarpathique* (Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1935) (188 pp.).

¹¹⁴ Oscar Jászi, "The Problem of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia," in Robert J. Kerner (ed.), *Czechoslovakia* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1940), pp. 193-215; Augustin Vološin, "Carpathian Ruthenia," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. XIII (London, 1935), pp. 372-378. See also Zdeněk Peška, "Podkarpatská Rus" [Subcarpathian Rus'], in *Slovník veřejného práva československého* (5 vols., Brno: Polygrafia-Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1929-48), Vol. III, pp. 107-115.

¹¹⁵ Walter K. Hanak, *The Subcarpathian Ruthenian Question, 1918-1945* (Munhall, Pa.: Bishop Basil Takach Carpathian-Russian Historical Society, 1962) (48 pp.).

written useful articles describing internal politics and the many parties founded in Subcarpathian Rus'.¹¹⁶

The incorporation of Subcarpathian Rus' into Czechoslovakia has been the subject of many studies. The actual deed was accomplished at the Užhorod National Council on May 8, 1919, but before the possibility of such an action was even considered by the leaders in the area itself Rusyn immigrants in the United States had been debating the future of their "old world homeland." Initially, these émigrés were divided into pro-Hungarian, pro-Russian, pro-Ukrainian, and pro-autonomist factions, but by late 1918 the advocates of a Czechoslovak solution had gained the strongest support. Studies by Petr Hatalak, Victor S. Mamatey, Joseph Danko, and Paul R. Magocsi outline the intricacies of immigrant political activities in 1917-1918.¹¹⁷ The final pro-Czechoslovak agreement is discussed by Gregory I. Zsatkovich, the American-Rusyn leader, and by Tomáš G. Masaryk, the republic's first president, in their respective memoirs.¹¹⁸ The Czechoslovak argument for Subcarpathian Rus' is most succinctly stated in the official memorandum presented at the Paris Peace Conference by the Czechoslovak delegation.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶Jan Brandejs, "Vývoj politických poměrů na Podkarpatské Rusi v období 1918-1935" [Political Developments in Subcarpathian Rus' between 1918 and 1935], in Jaroslav Zatloukal (ed.), *Podkarpatská Rus* (Bratislava: Klub přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, 1936), pp. 72-88; Oleksandr Badan, "Klasy ta partiji na Zakarpats'kij Ukrajinii" [Classes and Parties in Transcarpathian Ukraine], *Prapor marksyzmu*, Vol. II, No. 3 (Xarkiv, 1928), pp. 208-233. Each party and faction had its own newspaper. These newspapers are valuable indicators of party policy. For a complete list of newspapers and their party affiliates, see the reference to the Žyvtok bibliography in note 20.

¹¹⁷Petr Hatalák, *Jak vznikla myšlenka připojení Podkarpatskou Rus k Československu* [How the Idea arose to unite Subcarpathian Rus' with Czechoslovakia] (Užhorod: Státní tiskárna, 1935) (38 pp.); Victor S. Mamatey, "The Slovaks and Carpatho-Ruthenians," in Joseph P. O'Grady (ed.), *The Immigrants' Influence on Wilson's Peace Policies* (Lexington, Ky.: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), pp. 224-249; Joseph Danko, "Plebiscite of Carpatho-Ruthenians in the United States recommending Union of Carpatho-Ruthenia with the Czechoslovak Republic," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XI, No. 1-2 (New York, 1964-68), pp. 184-207 (6 documents); Paul R. Magocsi, "The Political Activity of Rusyn-American Immigrants in 1918," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 2 (Boulder, Colorado, 1976). See also the earlier unsigned article, "Podkarpatski Rusini v Americe před válkou a za války" [Subcarpathian Rusyns in America before and during the War], *Naše revoluce*, Vol. IV (Prague, 1926-27), pp. 267-279.

¹¹⁸Gregory I. Žatkovič, *Exposé bývalého gubernatora Podkarpatskoj Rusi, o Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [Exposé of the Former Governor of Subcarpathian Rus' on Subcarpathian Rus'] (Homestead, Pa.: Rusin Information Bureau, 1921) (43 pp.); Tomáš G. Masaryk, *The Making of a State: Memories and Observations, 1914-1918* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1927) (518 pp.).

¹¹⁹Czechoslovak Delegation, *Mémoire No. 6: Problem of the Ruthenians of Hungary* (Paris, 1919) (13 pp.) (reprinted, together with other Czechoslovak memoranda, in "La documentation internationale," *La Paix de Versailles*, Vol. IX: *Questions territoriales*, Pt.

After the breakdown of Habsburg authority in many parts of the monarchy in late October, 1918, developments in the Subcarpathian region followed an uneven course. Numerous national councils were formed. The most important of these councils, the one at Prešov, favored union with Czechoslovakia. The council at Užhorod which first met in November, 1918, argued for remaining with Hungary. A council convened at Xust advocated fusion with the Ukraine, while another council at Jasinja took the initiative in establishing an independent republic.¹²⁰ The memoranda and protocols of several of these councils are included in an anti-Czech pamphlet by Myxajlo Tvorydlo and in a series of articles by Zdeněk Peška and Josef Markov.¹²¹

In December, 1918, the Mihály Károlyi government in Hungary made an attempt to maintain its authority in the area by creating an autonomous region: Rus'ka Krajna. Autonomy for Rus'ka Krajna was also fostered by the Communist regime that came to power in Budapest on March 21, 1919, and which governed parts of Subcarpathian Rus' (Mukačevo and Berehovo) until late April, 1919. The period of communist rule obviously has been of particular interest to Soviet historiography.¹²² The critical months from November, 1918, to May, 1919, have been covered in monographs by Vitalij V. Usenko and Petro K. Smijan. Both writers argue that the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia had tremendous political and social influence on Subcarpathian Rus'. According to them, the majority of the local population desired to unite with a Soviet Ukraine. Only external pressure from American, British,

1 [Paris: Les éditions internationales, 1939], pp. 2-153). For a Czechoslovak view of the Peace Conference, together with texts of Beneš' proposals on Subcarpathian Rus', see David Hunter Miller, *My Diary at the Conference of Paris* (21 vols., New York, 1924), especially Vols. IV, XIII, XIV, and XVII.

¹²⁰Paul R. Magocsi, "The Subcarpathian Ruthenian Decision to unite with Czechoslovakia," *Slavic Review*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Seattle, Wash., 1975); Julij Rusak [Julij Gadžega], *Vospominanija* [Memoirs] (Užhorod, 1938) (111 pp.). The little-known developments in Jasinja and the surrounding Hucul region are discussed by Avhustyn Štefan in *Ukrajins'ke vijs'ko v Zakarpatti* [The Ukrainian Military in Transcarpathia] (Toronto and New York: "Visti Kombatanta," 1969) (28 pp.). Independence in Jasinja is also the subject of a novel by Zdeněk M. Kuděj: *Horalská republika: román z Podkarpatské Rusi* [The Mountainous Republic: A Novel about Subcarpathian Rus'] (Prague: "Sfinx" Bohumil Janda, 1932) (327 pp.).

¹²¹Ortoskop [Myxajlo Tvorydlo], *Deržavni zmahannja Prykarpats'koji Ukrajiny* [Subcarpathian Ukraine's Aspirations for Sovereignty] (Vienna: Vydavnyctvo "Nova Hromada," 1924) (39 pp.); Zdeněk Peška and Josef Markov, "Příspěvek k ústavním dějinám Podkarpatské Rusi" [A Contribution to the Constitutional History of Subcarpathian Rus'], *Bratislava*, Vol. IV-V (Bratislava, 1930-1931), pp. 419-422 and 511-535. See also *Protokoly obščago sobranija podkarpatskix ruskix rad i pervyx 5-ti zasėdanij Central'noj Russkoj Narodnoj Rady* [Protocols of the General Meeting of Subcarpathian Russian Councils and the First Five Sessions of the Central Russian National Council] (Užhorod: Akcijnoe tovaristvo "Unio," 1919) (20 pp.).

¹²²Myxajlo V. Trojan, "Ustanovlennja radjans'koji vlady na Zakarpatti ta borot'ba za

and French "imperialists," combined with a local leadership dominated by social-democratic and bourgeois class traitors, led to the demise of the short-lived Soviet government of Rus'ka Krajna.¹²³ By the summer of 1919 the whole Subcarpathian region was occupied by Czechoslovak and Romanian armies.¹²⁴

One of the more persistent problems that plagued Subcarpathian Rus' during the twenty years of Czechoslovak rule was the question of national identification. Neither the government in Prague nor the local intelligentsia could agree on whether the inhabitants should be considered Ukrainians, Russians, or members of an independent Rusyn

jiji zmicnennja v 1919 r." [The Establishment of Soviet Rule in Transcarpathia and the Struggle for its Consolidation in 1919], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXXVI (Užhorod, 1958), pp. 55-70; Borys I. Spivak and Myxajlo V. Trojan, *40 nezabutnix dnyv: z istoriji borot'by za vladu Rad na Zakarpattji v 1919 roci* [Forty Unforgettable Days: On the Struggle for Soviet Rule in Transcarpathia in 1919] (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1967) (117 pp.). For a western survey of the Soviet period, see Eva S. Balogh, "Nationality Problems of the Hungarian Soviet Republic," in Ivan Völgyes (ed.), *Hungary in Revolution, 1918-1919* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), pp. 89-120. Documentary material can be found in *Šljaxom Žovtnja: zbirnyk dokumentiv* [On the Road to October: A Collection of Documents], Vol. I: 1917-1923 (Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnyctvo, 1957) (555 pp.) (316 documents); and *Pid praporom Velykoho Zovtnja: borot'ba trudjaščyx Zakarpattja za Radjans'ku vladu v 1919 r.: zbirnyk dokumentiv* [Under the Banner of the Great October: The Struggle of the Workers of Transcarpathia for Soviet Rule in 1919. A Collection of Documents] (Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnyctvo, 1959) (208 pp.) (156 documents).

¹²³Vitalij V. Usenko, *Vplyv Velykoji Žovtnevoji socialistyčnoji revoluciji na rozvytok revolucijnogo ruxu v Zakarpattji v 1917-1919 rr.* [The Influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution on the Development of the Revolutionary Movement in Transcarpathia in 1917-1919] (Kiev: Vydavnyctvo Akademiji nauk Ukrajin'skoji Radjans'koji Socialistyčnoji Respubliky, 1955) (196 pp.); Petro K. Smijan, *Žovtneva revolucija i Zakarpattja: 1917-1919 rr.* [The October Revolution and Transcarpathia, 1917-1919] (L'viv: Vydavnyctvo L'viv'skoho universytetu, 1972) (167 pp.); Vasyl' Netočajev and Myxajlo Lelekač, "Z istoriji borot'by za vladu Rad i proty intervenciji SŠA ta Antanty na Zakarpattji v 1918-1919 rr." [On the History of the Struggle for Soviet Rule and against the Intervention of the United States and the Entente in Transcarpathia, 1918-1919], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. IX (Užhorod, 1954), pp. 261-322; Mykola N. Klympotjuk, *Pidstupy amerykans'kych imperjalistiv na Zakarpattji* [The Machinations of American Imperialists in Transcarpathia] (Užhorod, 1952) (72 pp.).

¹²⁴Irina N. Mel'nikova, "Kak byla vključena Zakarpatskaja Ukraina v sostav Čexoslovakii v 1919 g." [How the Transcarpathian Ukraine was incorporated into Czechoslovakia in 1919], *Učenyje zapiski Institut slavianovedenija*, Vol. III (Moscow, 1951), pp. 104-135; Irina N. Mel'nikova, "Ustanovlenie diktatury češkoj imperialističeskoj buržuazii v Zakarpatskoj Ukraine v 1919-1920 gg." [The Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Czech Imperialist Bourgeoisie in the Transcarpathian Ukraine, 1919-1920], *ibid.*, Vol. IV (1951), pp. 84-114; N. P. Baženova, "Z istoriji borot'by trudjaščyx Zakarpattja proty inozemnoji vojennoji okupaciji v 1919-1920 rr." [On the History of the Struggle of the Workers of Transcarpathia against Foreign Military Occupation in 1919-1920], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXIX (Užhorod, 1957), pp. 137-163. Though literary in nature, an excellent description of conditions during the initial years of the Czechoslovak administration can be found in the novel by Ivan Olbracht, *Nikola Šuhaj loupežnik* (Prague: "Sfinx" Bohumil Janda, 1933) (282 pp.) (French, German, and English translations are available) (225 pp.).

nationality. The question of national identity has been analyzed from the standpoint of internal cultural developments and international politics in two studies by Paul R. Magocsi.¹²⁵ Avhustyn Štefan has made the most objective contribution dealing with Ukrainian activities, but his recognition of the Czechoslovak accomplishments has been little appreciated by other Ukrainian authors.¹²⁶ Pro-Ukrainian Marxist writers suggest that the Subcarpathian bourgeoisie betrayed the lower classes by adopting a Russophile, Magyarophile, or Czechophile orientation.¹²⁷ Local Russophile publications accuse the Prague government of artificially introducing a spirit of Ukrainianism into the province, but they, nevertheless, recognize the enormous cultural and economic progress achieved in Subcarpathian Rus'.¹²⁸

That the language question, intimately associated with the problem of national identity, was to a large degree influenced by the contemporary political situation becomes evident in the polemical literature produced by Subcarpathian Russophiles and Ukrainophiles.¹²⁹ Studies of a more scholarly nature have been done by Georgij Gergovskij, who emphasizes the Russian aspect, and by František Tichý, who writes about the Church-Slavonic, Ukrainian, Great Russian, and dialectal elements

¹²⁵Paul R. Magocsi, "The Development of National Consciousness in Subcarpathian Rus', 1918-1945" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, 1972) (xx, 394 pp.) (full bibliography); Paul R. Magocsi, "The Role of Education in the Formation of a National Consciousness," *East European Quarterly*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Boulder, Colo., 1973), pp. 159-165.

¹²⁶See the reference to Augustin Stefan in note 49. See also Jurij Boržava [Sevastijan Sabol], *Vid Uhors'koi Rusy do Karpats'koi Ukrajinny* [From Hungarian Rus' to Carpatho-Ukraine] (Philadelphia, Pa.: Vydavnyctvo "Karpats'kyj Holos," 1956) (56 pp.); Jaroslav Orshan-Tschemerynsky, *Karpathen-Ukraine* (New York: Ukrainian Press Service, 1938) (67 pp.); M. Danko, "Comment l'Ukraine subcarpathique lutte pour son émancipation," *Voix des peuples*, Vol. V, No. 3 (Geneva, 1938), pp. 187-192; and Vincent Shandor, "Carpatho-Ukraine in the International Bargaining of 1918-1939," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3 (New York, 1954), pp. 235-246.

¹²⁷Oleksandr Badan, "Nacional'ne pytannja na Zakarpats'kij Ukrajinny" [The Nationality Question in the Transcarpathian Ukraine], *Cervonyj šljax*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (Xarkiv, 1928), pp. 130-150.

¹²⁸Iosif Kaminskij, *Nacional'noe samozoznanie našego naroda* [The National Self-consciousness of Our People]. In *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 13 (Užhorod, 1925) (11 pp.); Aleksander V. Popov (ed.), *Karpatorusskija dostiženija* [Carpatho-Russian Achievements] (Mukačevo, 1930) (303 pp.). See also note 34.

¹²⁹For the Russophile interpretation, see Igor I. Gus'naj, *Jazykovyj vopros v Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [The Language Question in Subcarpathian Rus'] (Prešov, 1921) (32 pp.); and N. Zorkij, *Spor o jazykě v Podkarpatskoj Rusi i Češkaja akademija nauk. Kak osvědomljaet dr. Ivan Pan'kevič češkuju publiku o našix jazykovyx dělax* [The Dispute about Language in Subcarpathian Rus' and the Czech Academy of Sciences: How Dr. Ivan Pan'kevič informs the Czech Public about Our Language Matters] (Užhorod, 1926) (80 pp.). For the Ukrainophile viewpoint, see Avhustyn Vološyn, *O pys'mennom jazyčii podkarpatskix rusynov* [On the Literary Language of the Subcarpathian Rusyns]. In

that make up the Rusyn literary language.¹³⁰ The best survey of the language question in both Subcarpathian Rus' and eastern Slovakia is by Mykola Štec', who systematically analyzes the linguistic proposals of the competing movements and their political implications.¹³¹ Those concerned with purely linguistic questions should consult the comprehensive bibliography by Olena Pažur and the solid studies of Ivan Pan'kevych, Josyf Dzendzeliv's'kyj, and László Dezső.¹³²

Opposition to the Czechoslovak regime in Subcarpathian Rus' was most adamantly expressed by Hungarian publicists who, like the Budapest government, refused to accept the finality of the boundaries delimited in the Treaty of Trianon (1920). According to these writers, since the Rusyns had always been loyal to Hungary, the problems encountered by the Czechoslovak regime were a result of Subcarpathia's

Vydavnyctvo tovarystva "Prosvita," No. 1 (Užhorod, 1921) (42 pp.); *Za ridne slovo: polemika z rusofilamy* [For the Mother Tongue: A Polemic with the Russophiles], Pt. 1 (Mukačevo: Učytel's'ka Hromada, 1937) (116 pp.); Jižak, *Ukrajinec čy rusksij? Lekciji dlja naroda* [Ukrainian or Russian? Lectures for the People] (Mukačevo: Učytel's'ka hromada, 1938) (87 pp.).

¹³⁰Georgij Gerovskij, "Jazyk Podkarpatské Rusi" [The Language of Subcarpathian Rus'], in *Československá vlastivěda* (10 vols., Prague: "Sfinx" Bohumil Janda, 1929-34), Vol. III, pp. 460-517; František Tichý, *Vývoj současného spisovného jazyka na Podkarpatské Rusi* [The Development of the Contemporary Literary Language in Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Knihovna sboru pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi*, No. 11 (Prague: Orbis, 1938) (xii, 215 pp. and 10 facsimiles). On Rusyn dialects in eastern Slovakia, see Georgij Gerovskij, "Narodnaja reč Prjaševščiny" [The National Speech of the Prešov Region], in Ivan S. Šlepeckij (ed.), *Prjaševščina* (Prague: Xutor, 1948), pp. 94-144.

¹³¹Mykola Štec', *Literaturna mova ukrajinciv Zakarpattja i Sxidnoji Slovaččyny pislja 1918* [The Literary Language of the Ukrainians of Transcarpathia and Eastern Slovakia after 1918]. In *Pedahohičnyj Zbirnyk*, No. 1: *Serija movoznavča* (Bratislava: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo, 1969) (171 pp.) (full bibliography). On orthography, see Mykola Štec', "Rozvytok ukrajins'koho pravopysu na Zakarpatti i v Sxidnij Slovaččyni" [The Development of the Ukrainian Script in Transcarpathia and in Eastern Slovakia], *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koho kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1 (Prešov, 1969), pp. 279-292.

¹³²Olena Pažur, *Bibliografija pro doslidžennja ukrajins'kych hovoriv Sxidnoji Slovaččyny* [Bibliography for Research on the Ukrainian Dialects of Eastern Slovakia] (Prešov: Deržavna naukova biblioteka, 1972) (60 pp.); Ivan Pan'kevych, *Ukrajins'ki hovory Pidkarpats'koho Rusy i sumežnyx oblastej* [The Ukrainian Dialects of Subcarpathian Rus' and Adjacent Territories]. In *Knihovna sboru pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi*, No. 9 (Prague: Orbis, 1938) (xxxiii, 549 pp.); Ivan Pan'kevych, *Narys istoriji ukrajins'kych zakarpats'kych hovoriv: Fonetyka* [Historical Outline of the Transcarpathian Ukrainian Dialects: Phonetics]. In *Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Philologica*, Vol. I (Prague, 1958) (131 pp.). For full bibliographies and other articles on his work, see the special volume dedicated to Pan'kevych: *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koho kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1-2 (Prešov, 1969-70) (267 and 219 pp.); Josyf O. Dzendzeliv's'kyj, *Linhvistyčnyj atlas ukrajins'kych narodnyx hovoriv Zakarpats'koho oblasti URSR (Leksyka)* [Linguistic Atlas of the Ukrainian Folk Dialects of the Transcarpathian Province: Vocabulary], Pt. 1. In *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XXXIV (Užhorod, 1958) (16 pp. and 133 maps); and Pt. 2. In *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. XLII (Užhorod, 1960) (10 pp. and 166 maps) (full bibliography); Josyf O. Dzendzeliv's'kyj,

unnatural separation from the Hungarian plain.¹³³ This interpretation has recently reappeared in a pamphlet by Charles J. Hokky, a former Hungarian senator from Subcarpathian Rus'.¹³⁴ In the 1930's German, Italian, and Polish writers joined the chorus of criticism against Czechoslovak rule in the far eastern province.¹³⁵ The attitude of Hungary and Poland toward the Subcarpathian problem is discussed in two studies by Štefan Fano.¹³⁶

Criticism of the Czechoslovak administration in Subcarpathian Rus' also came from Rusyn immigrant circles in the United States. These groups were primarily concerned about problems of autonomy, the province's western border, and increasing "Czechization." Gregory Zsatkovich, the Rusyn-American leader who had served as the first governor of Subcarpathian Rus' until 1921, blamed the officials at

"Stan i problemy doslidzennja ukrajins'kyx hovoriv Zakarpats'koji oblasti URSR ta Sxidnoji Slovaččyny" [The Status and Problems of Research of the Ukrainian Dialects in the Transcarpathian Province of the UkrSSR and in Eastern Slovakia], *Žovten' i ukrajins'ka kul'tura* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1968) pp. 255-283; and Laslo Džže, *Očerki po istorii zakarpatskix govorov* [Essays on the History of the Transcarpathian Dialects] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1967) (306 pp.) (full bibliography).

¹³³Parti politique ruthène de la Hongrie, *Aide-mémoire adressé aux puissances alliées et associées* (Vienna, 1919) (18 pp.) (reprinted with other pertinent documents in *The Hungarian Peace Negotiations: An Account of the Work of the Hungarian Peace Delegation at Neuilly S/S. from January to March 1920*, Vol. I [Budapest, 1921], pp. 458-492); Étienne de Csáky, *La question ruthène*. In *Questions de l'Europe orientale*, No. 7 (Budapest-Paris: Ferdinand Pfeiffer and H. le Soudier, 1920) (35 pp.); *La situation des minorités en Slovaquie et en Russie-Subcarpathique: Mémoire à la Société des Nations* (Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1923) (67 pp.); Ákos Árky, *A Ruszinszkói magyarság és Ruszinszkó autonómiaja* [Ruthenia's Hungarianism and Ruthenia's Autonomy] (Budapest, 1928) (19 pp.); Ákos Árky, *Ruszinszkó küzdelme az autonómiáért 1918-1927* [Ruthenia's Struggle for Autonomy, 1918-1927] (Budapest: A "Studium" kiadása, 1928) (55 pp.); György Oláh, *Jajkiáltás a Ruténföldről* [Cry of Anguish from Ruthenia] (Budapest: A magyar nemzeti szövetség kiadása, 1928) (62 pp.); Albert Bereghy, *Ruthén kérdés és az integritás* [The Ruthenian Problem and Integrity] (Budapest, 1933) (51 pp.); Aldo Dami, *Les nouveaux martyrs: destin des minorités* (Paris: Fernand Sorlot, 1936) (277 pp.); József Illés, *A Ruszinszkói kérdés* [The Question of Ruthenia]. In *Az Országos nemzeti klub kiadványai*, No. 26 (Budapest, 1939) (20 pp.).

¹³⁴Charles J. Hokky, *Ruthenia, Spearhead toward the West* (Gainesville, Fla.: Danubian Research and Information Center, 1966) (78 pp.).

¹³⁵Ernst Flachbarth, "Die völker- und staatsrechtliche Lage Karpatorusslands," *Nation und Staat*, Vol. II (Vienna, 1928), pp. 228-235; Philip Paneth, *Umbruch im Osten: ein Tatsachenbericht aus Karpatorussland* (Vienna: Renaissance Verlag, 1937); Félix de Gerando, *Le complot rouge en Ruthénie* (Paris: Jouve et Cie., 1930) (125 pp.); Antoine Scrimali, *La Ruthénie subcarpathique et l'état tchécoslovaque* (Paris: La Technique du Livre, 1938) (94 pp.); Zygmunt Zawadowski, *Ruś Podkarpatcka i jej stanowisko prawno-polityczne* [Subcarpathian Rus' and its Legal-Political Status] (Warsaw: Zakłady graficzne Straszewiczów, 1931) (79 pp.).

¹³⁶Štefan Fano, "Protičeskoslovenské ostrije pol'sko-madžarského zblížovania v rokoch 1934-1936" [The Anti-Czechoslovak Aspect of the 1934-36 Polish-Hungarian Rapprochement], *Slovenský přehled*, Vol. LVI, No. 5 (Prague, 1970), pp. 342-347; Štefan

Prague for their unwillingness to grant autonomy.¹³⁷ Discontented émigré groups, frequently misinformed about the actual situation in the province, submitted numerous memoirs to the League of Nations.¹³⁸ The carefully composed, statistically documented Czechoslovak responses to these protests represented the first official expression of the central government's policies in the area.¹³⁹ While some officials in Prague originally regarded their presence in Subcarpathian Rus' as temporary, it became evident by the 1930's that the Czechoslovak regime did not intend to give up the province. In an important speech delivered in Užhorod, Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Beneš emphasized the Czechoslovak government's contributions to economic and cultural developments in Subcarpathian Rus'. He also pointed out the need for the Czechoslovak Republic's retention of the Subcarpathian area because of its common border with friendly Romania.¹⁴⁰

The question of autonomy remained the primary political concern of many speeches delivered in the Czechoslovak parliament by deputies and senators from the eastern province. The complete verbatim record of the speeches of the Subcarpathian representatives, as well as of the writings which they submitted to the parliament, are available in both the original language and Czech translation.¹⁴¹ The various proposals for autonomy suggested by local politicians and an explanation of the

Fano, "Zakarpatská Ukrajina v politike susedov a fašistických mocností 1933-1939" [Transcarpathian Ukraine in the Policy of the Neighboring and Fascist Powers] [habilitation thesis] (Bratislava: Ústav dejín európskych socialistických krajín Slovenskej akadémie vied, 1971) (vii, 291 pp.). See also the earlier polemic, László Balogh-Beéry, *A magyar-lengyel közös határ és a ruthén terület* [The Hungarian-Polish Common Border and the Rusyn Territory]. In *Magyar-lengyel közlemények*, No. 2 (Budapest, 1936) (63 pp.).

¹³⁷See note 118.

¹³⁸See Michael Yuhasz, *Wilson's Principles in Czechoslovak Practice: The Situation of the Carpatho-Russian People under the Czech Yoke* (Homestead, Pa., 1929) (61 pp.).

¹³⁹Ministre des affaires étrangères de la République tchécoslovaque, *Mémoire concernant la Russie subcarpathique: territoire ruthène du sud des Carpathes* (Prague, 1921) (39 pp.); *La Russie subcarpathique au point de vue de la question des nationalités* (Prague, 1922) (23 pp.). For a list of the protests to the League of Nations and the Czech responses, see the Damí reference in note 47 (pp. 231-232).

¹⁴⁰Eduard Beneš, *Exposé sur le problème de la Russie subcarpathique et son rapport à la République tchécoslovaque* (Prague, 1934) (60 pp.). Czech, Ukrainian, and Russian editions are available.

¹⁴¹*Těsnopisecké zprávy o schůzích poslanecké sněmovny Národního shromáždění republiky Československé* [Stenographic Protocols of the Sessions of the House of Deputies in the National Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic] (45 vols., Prague, 1920-38); *Těsnopisecké zprávy o schůzích Senátu Národního shromáždění republiky Československé* [Stenographic Protocols of the Sessions of the Senate in the National Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic] (29 vols., Prague, 1920-37); *Tisky k těsnopiseckým zprávám o schůzích poslanecké sněmovny Národního shromáždění republiky Československé* [Publications annexed to the Stenographic Protocols of the Sessions of the House of Deputies in the National Parliament of the Czechoslovak

"temporary law" of 1937 appeared as separate pamphlets.¹⁴² Finally, the legal aspect of autonomy was surveyed in a monograph by Hans Ballreich.¹⁴³

The status of the more than 100,000 Rusyns living in eastern Slovakia was also a source of friction between Subcarpathian leaders and the Prague government. The fate of the Rusyns in this region had begun to differ from that of their brethren farther east at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when a separate Greek Catholic diocese was established with a seat in Prešov.¹⁴⁴ The complex ethnographic intermingling of Slovaks and Rusyns in the area has been competently analyzed in studies by Aleksej Petrov, Volodymyr Hnatjuk, and Stepan Tomašivs'kyj.¹⁴⁵ There is an extensive polemical literature about the Slovak-Rusyn problem. The most interesting writings are those by Ján Húsek, who predicted the eventual national assimilation of the Rusyns, and by Ondrej Halaga, who warned against the simplistic notion that all

Republic] (67 vols., Prague, 1920-38); *Tisky k téšnopiseckým zprávám o schůzích Senátu Národního shromáždění republiky Československé* [Publications annexed to the Stenographic Protocols of the Sessions of the Senate in the National Parliament of the Czechoslovak Republic] (32 vols., Prague, 1920-38). Unfortunately no index is provided for any of the series. Several speeches by Communist members of parliament can be found in *Sljaxom Žovtnja; promovy ta interpeljaciji deputativ-komunistiv u čexoslovac'komu parlamenti pro Zakarpats'ku Ukrajinu, 1921-1938 rr.* [On the Road to October: Speeches and Inquiries of the Communist Representatives in the Czechoslovak Parliament about Transcarpathian Ukraine, 1921-1938] (Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnyctvo, 1959) (619 pp.) (138 documents).

¹⁴²Iosif Kaminskij, *Zakonoproekt ob avtonomii Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [Law Project for an Autonomous Subcarpathian Rus'] (Užhorod, 1931) (33 pp.); *Zakonoproekt Central'noj Russkoj Narodnoj Rady o konstitucii avtonomnoj Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [Law Project of the Central Russian National Council for the Constitution of an Autonomous Subcarpathian Rus'] (Užhorod, 1937) (48 pp.); Petr Sova, *Zakonoproekt ob avtonomii Podkarpatskoj Rusi* [Law Project for an Autonomous Subcarpathian Rus'] (Užhorod: Komissija Republikanskoj zemleděl'českoj partii, 1938) (13 pp.); Zdeněk Peška, *Nové zřízení Podkarpatské Rusi* [The New Constitution of Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Národnostní otázky*, No. 13 (Prague: Orbis, 1938) (25 pp.).

¹⁴³Hans Ballreich, *Karpathenrussland: ein Kapitel tschechischen Nationalitätenrechts und tschechischer Nationalitätenpolitik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1938) (104 pp.). See also Ladislav Suško, "Rokovania o autonómii Zakarpatskej Ukrajiny od roku 1936 do leta 1938" [The Debate about Autonomy for Transcarpathian Ukrainia from 1936 to the Summer of 1938], *Nové obzory*, Vol. XV (Prešov, 1973), pp. 33-59.

¹⁴⁴Oleksandr Baran, "Podil Mukačivs'koji Eparxiji v XIX storičči" [The Partition of the Mukačevo Diocese in the Nineteenth Century], *Analecta Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 2, Vol. IV (Rome, 1963), pp. 534-569; Aleksander V. Duxnovyč, *Istorija prjaševskoj eparxii* [A History of the Prešov Eparchy] (St. Petersburg: Izdanie peterburgskago otděla slavjanskago komiteta, 1877) (102 pp.) (reprinted in Oleksandr Duxnovyč, *Tvory* [Works] (2 vols., Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1967), Vol. II, pp. 451-528) (translated and annotated by Athanasius Pekar, *The History of the Eparchy of Prjašev*. In *Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 1, Vol. XXV (2nd ed., Rome, 1971) (viii, 102 pp.).

¹⁴⁵Aleksej L. Petrov, *Preděly ugrorusskoj rěči v 1773 g. po official'nym dannym. Izsledovanie i karty* [The Boundaries of Ugro-Russian Speech in 1773 according to

Greek Catholics belong to the Rusyn nationality.¹⁴⁶ Recently a solidly researched “habilitation thesis” by Ivan Vanat has traced Rusyn political developments in eastern Slovakia in the 1920’s.¹⁴⁷

It was the economic problems of the area and the enduring poverty of the Rusyn peasantry, however, which embarrassed the Czechoslovak regime the most. The general prosperity of the late 1920’s did not entirely undo the results of years of Hungarian rule. By 1931 the full impact of the world economic crisis had hit Subcarpathian Rus’. The result was widespread unemployment, mortgage foreclosures on peasant holdings, and costly strikes, all of which are documented in three volumes of material published by the State Archive in Užhorod.¹⁴⁸ Publicists, shocked by conditions in the area, demanded more land for the peasants and a decrease in the economic power of the Jews.¹⁴⁹ Many Czech writers investigated these problems, the most intelligent commentary

Official Data. Research and Maps], *Materiály dlja istorii ugarskoj Rusi*, Vol. VI, Pt. 1. In *Zapiski istoričeskago-filologičeskago fakul’teta Imperatorskago Sankt-Peterburgskago universiteta*, Vol. CV (St. Petersburg, 1911) (x, 337 pp.); and Pt. 2. In *Sbornik otdělenija russkago jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj akademii nauk*, Vol. LXXXVI (St. Petersburg, 1909) (6 pp. and 7 maps); Aleksej L. Petrov, *Národopisná mapa Uher podle úředního Lexikonu osad z roku 1773* [Ethnographic Map of Hungary according to the Lexicon of Settlements in the Year 1773] (Prague, 1924) (139 pp.); Aleksej L. Petrov, “K otázce slovensko-ruské etnografické hranice” [On the Question of the Slovak-Russian Ethnographic Boundary], *Česká revue*, Vol. XVI (Prague, 1923), pp. 115-119 and 234-243; Aleksej L. Petrov, “Národnostní hranice Slováků a Karpatorusů mezi sebou a s maďary v XVIII st. podle současných archivních údajů [The National Boundary between Slovaks and Carpatho-Russians and between them and the Hungarians in the Eighteenth Century according to Contemporary Archival Data], *ibid.*, Vol. XVII (1924), pp. 82-89; Volodymyr Hnatjuk, “Rusyny Prjašiv’skoji eparxiji i jix hovory” [Rusyns of the Prešov Diocese and Their Dialects], *Zapysky naukovocho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka*, Vol. XXXV-XXXVI, No. 3-4 (L’viv, 1900), pp. 1-70; Volodymyr Hnatjuk, “Slovaký čy rusyny? (Pryčynok do vyjasnenja sporu pro nacional’nist’ zaxidnyx rusyniv)” [Slovaks or Rusyns: A Contribution to the Explanation of the Argument on the Nationality of the Western Rusyns], *ibid.*, Vol. XLII, No. 4 (L’viv, 1901), pp. 1-81. See also reference 36.

¹⁴⁶Ján Húsek, *Národopisná hranice mezi Slováky a Karpatorusy* [The Ethnographic Boundary between Slovaks and Carpatho-Russians]. In *Knižnica “Prúdiv,”* No. 2 (Bratislava, 1925) (512 pp.); Ondrej R. Halaga, *Slovanské osídlenie potisia a východoslovenskí gréckokatolíci* [Slavic Settlement beyond the Tisza River and East Slovak Greek Catholics] (Košice: Východoslovenský kultúrny spolok “Svojina,” 1947) (135 pp.).

¹⁴⁷Ivan Vanat, “Ukrajinská otázka na Slovensku v rokoch 1918-1929” [The Ukrainian Question in Slovakia during the Years 1918-1929] (unpublished habilitation thesis, Univerzita Komenského, [Bratislava], 1968) (349 pp.). See also Ivan Vanat, “Do kul’turno-nacional’nyx problem ukrajinciv Prjašivščyny v period domjunxens’koji respubliky” [On the Cultural-National Problems of the Prešov Region Ukrainians in the Era of the Pre-Munich Republic], *Družno vpered*, Vol. XVII, No. 6 (Prešov, 1967), pp. 18-19.

¹⁴⁸*Šljaxom Žovinja: zbirnyk dokumentiv* [On the Road to October: A Collection of Documents], Vol. II: 1924-1929 (Užhorod: Zakarpats’ke oblasne vydavnyctvo, 1961) (574 pp.) (307 documents); Vol. III: 1930-1933 (1962) (531 pp.) (274 documents); Vol. IV: 1934-1938 (1964) (596 pp.) (217 documents).

¹⁴⁹Josef Dudykevych, *Na marginesi bity Pidkarpatskoj Rusy: sposterežennja i zamitky*

appearing in a collection of essays by Ivan Olbracht.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, several studies by technical experts employed in the province reveal that by continuing to invest large sums in Subcarpathian Rus' the Czechoslovak government was able to make progress in the fields of construction, communication, and conservation.¹⁵¹ Jan Brandejs, the former head of the agricultural department, has produced the most reliable account of agricultural policy and land reform.¹⁵² There were also significant educational and cultural advances, the importance of which even Soviet scholars have recognized.¹⁵³

[On the Margin of Poverty in Subcarpathian Rus': Observations and Remarks]. In *Vydavnyctvo "Ukrajins'koho Slova,"* Pt. 2 (Užhorod, 1937) (62 pp.); Eugen Holly, *Im Lande der Kabbalisten, der Religionskämpfe und des Hungers. Quer durch Karpatorussland* (Pressburg: Verlag Grenzbote, 1927) (53 pp.). For a discussion of the Jews in particular, see Jean Mousset, "Le problème juif en Russie subcarpatique," *Affaires étrangères*, Vol. VIII, No. 8 (Paris, 1938), pp. 501-512; Yehuda Erez (ed.), *Karpatorus'* [Carpathian Rus'] (Jerusalem-Tel Aviv: Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora Publishing Co., 1959) (590 pp.); Aryeh Sole, "The Jews of Subcarpathian Ruthenia: 1918-1938," in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia*, Vol. I (Philadelphia-New York: The Jewish Publication Society of America—Society for the History of Czechoslovak Jews, 1968), pp. 125-154; Randolph L. Brahm, "The Destruction of the Jews of Carpatho-Ruthenia," in *Hungarian-Jewish Studies* (New York: World Federation of Hungarian Jews, 1966), pp. 223-235; Shlomo Rozman, *Sefer zikhron kedoshim: Karpatoros-Marmorosh* [Memorial Book of the Dead: Carpatho-Rus'-Máramaros] (Rehovot, Israel, 1969) (543 pp.).

¹⁵⁰Ivan Olbracht, *Hory a stáletí* [Mountains and Centuries] (Prague: Melantrich, 1935) (238 pp.) (recently republished, together with his novels entitled *Nikola Šuhaj loupežník* and *Golei v údolí*, in *Zakarpatská trilogie* [Transcarpathian Trilogy] (Prague: Melantrich, 1972). See also the essays by the Czech writer Stanislav K. Neumann, *Enciány s Pop Ivana* [Edelweiss from Pop Ivan] (Prague: Fr. Borový, 1933) (iii, 126 pp.); Stanislav K. Neumann, "Karpatské léto" [Carpathian Summer], in his *Československá cesta* [A Czechoslovak Excursion] (2 vols., Prague: Fr. Borový, 1934-35) (139, 269 pp.); the article of the local Ukrainophile Vasyľ Grendža-Dons'kyj, "Po Pidkarpattju" [Through Subcarpathia], in his *Šljaxom ternovym: vybrani tvory* (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovač'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo, Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1964), pp. 340-365; the impressions of Karel Čapek, Endre Ady, Erskine Caldwell, and others in *Lehenda pro holod* [Legend about Hunger] (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1969) (239 pp.); and the travel accounts of Henry Baerlein, *Over the Hills of Ruthenia* (London: Leonard Parsons, 1923) (245 pp.), and *In Czechoslovakia's Hinterland* (London: Hutchinson and Co., 1938) (287 pp.).

¹⁵¹Gustav Bianchi (ed.), *Publikace pro zem Podkarpatská Rus 1919-1932* [Publication for the Province of Subcarpathian Rus', 1919-1932] (Užhorod, 1932) (104 pp.); Jaromír Musil (ed.), *Technická práce v zemi Podkarpatoruské 1919-1933* [Technical Work in the Province of Subcarpathian Rus', 1919-1933] (Užhorod: Odbor spolku československých inženýrů, 1933) (386 pp.); Antonín Kubart (ed.), *Vodohospodářské otázky Podkarpatské Rusi 1927-1937* [Hydrological-Economic Questions in Subcarpathian Rus', 1927-1937] (Užhorod: Meliorační svaz pro Podkarpatskou Rus, 1937) (96 pp.).

¹⁵²Jean Brandeis, "Ce que le gouvernement tchécoslovaque avait accompli au point de vue agricole dans la Russie subcarpatique," *L'est européen agricole*, Vol. V (Paris, 1935) (44 pp.). See also Edvard Reich, *K zvelebovacímu programu zemědělství na Podkarpatské Rusi* [On the Program for the Improvement of Agriculture in Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Časové spisky ministerstva zemědělství*, No. 80 (Prague: Ministerstvo zemědělství, 1936) (140 pp.).

¹⁵³*Školství na Podkarpatské Rusi v přítomnosti* [The Educational System in Subcarpathian Rus' at Present] (Prague: Státní nakladatelství, 1933) (51 pp.); Cyril

The Communist Party was one of the stronger political groups in Subcarpathian Rus' during the interwar period. Though Communist Party activity was rarely mentioned before 1945,¹⁵⁴ Soviet publications appearing since then have been devoted almost exclusively to that topic. A number of articles and monographs have concentrated on the Communist Party from its establishment in 1920 to its forced dissolution in the autumn of 1938. The Party is regarded by Soviet writers as the sole representative of "progressive" forces in the bourgeois republic and as the first political organization to accept without reservation the Ukrainian national explanation.¹⁵⁵ Subcarpathian Rus' is invariably regarded as a colony where hardly anything positive took place before its "reunification" with the Soviet Ukraine in 1945. Despite their almost exclusive concern with Communist activities, Soviet authors, basing their work on local archival sources, do shed some light on other developments during the interwar period.¹⁵⁶

Kochannyj, *O Podkarpatské Rusi* [About Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Občanská knihovna*, No. 83 (Prague: Vydáváno pěči ministerstva školství a národní osvěty, 1929) (39 pp.); Antonín Hartl, *Kulturní život osvobozené Podkarpatské Rusi* [Cultural Life in Liberated Subcarpathian Rus']. In *Letáky "Nové Svobody"*, No. 2 (Prague: Nákladem grafického, knihařského a nakladatelského družstva, 1924) (18 pp.); Antonín Hartl, *Die literarische Renaissance der Karpathoruthenen* (Prague: Orbis, 1932) (27 pp.) (originally in the *Prager Rundschau*, Vol. VI [1931]). The Soviet view appears in A. M. Ihnat, "Stan osvity na Zakarpatti v 20-30-x rr. XX st." [The State of Education in Transcarpathia in the 1920's and 1930's], in *Velykyj Žovten' i rozkvit vozz'jednanoho Zakarpattja* (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1970), pp. 212-221.

¹⁵⁴Besides the anti-Communist tract by Gerando referred to in note 135, see the earlier history by the Subcarpathian Marxist Oleksandr Badan: *Zakarpats'ka Ukraïna: social'no-ekonomičnyj narys* [Transcarpathian Ukraine: A Socioeconomic Sketch] (Xarkiv, 1929) (176 pp.).

¹⁵⁵Pavlo Lisovyj and Myxajlo Babydoryč, *Trybuna trudjaščyx. (Do 50-riččja "Zakarpats'koi Pravdy")* [The Workers' Tribune: On the Fiftieth Anniversary of "Transcarpathian Truth"] (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1970) (154 pp.).

¹⁵⁶Irina N. Mel'nikova, "Iz istorii revoljucionnogo dviženija na Zakarpatskoj Ukraïne v 1921-1924 gg." [On the History of the Revolutionary Movement in the Transcarpathian Ukraine, 1921-1924], *Učenyje zapiski instituta slavjanovedenija*, Vol. VI (Moscow, 1952), pp. 5-59; O. V. Xlanta, "Komunisty Zakarpattja—orhanizatory i kerivnyky klasovoi borot'by trudjaščyx v period tymčasovoi vidnosnoi stabilizaciji kapitalizmu (1924-1929 rr.)" [The Communists of Transcarpathia—Organizers and Leaders of the Class Struggle of the Workers during the Period of the Temporary, Relative Stabilization of Capitalism, 1924-1929], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. L (Užhorod, 1963), pp. 22-40; O. V. Xlanta, "Z istoriji kolonijal'noi polityky čes'koi buržuaziji na Zakarpatti v 20-x rokax XX st." [From the History of the Colonial Politics of the Czech Bourgeoisie in Transcarpathia during the 1920's], *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI (1958), pp. 90-104; Jurij Ju. Slyvka, *Revoljucijno-vyzvol'na borot'ba na Zakarpatti v. 1929-1937 rr.* [The Revolutionary Struggle for Liberation in Transcarpathia, 1929-1937] (Kiev: Vydavnytvo Akademiji nauk Ukraïns'koi Radjans'koi Socialistyčnoji Respubliki, 1960) (156 pp.); Viktor I. Bjelousov, *Na sljuxu do peremohy: z istoriji komunistyčnoji orhanizaciji Zakarpats'koi Ukraïny 1929-1939 rr.* [On the Road to Victory: From the History of the Communist Organization in the Transcarpathian Ukraine, 1929-1939] (Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnytvo, 1958) (238 pp.); Mykola E. Rotman, *Naperedodni druhoji svitovoi: z istoriji zakarpats'koi komunistyčnoji orhanizaciji 1933-1938 rokv* [On the Eve of the Second

9. October, 1938-March, 1939

After the signing of the Munich Pact both Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' were granted autonomy. In the latter area the Russophile and Ukrainophile politicians resolved their conflicts temporarily to form a united front, and in early October the first autonomous government was set up under the leadership of the Russophiles Andrij Brodij and Štefan Fencik. That these two figures had long been in the service of Budapest and Warsaw was suspected at the time and is confirmed by documents in the Hungarian archives.¹⁵⁷ By the end of the month the Ukrainophile faction under Avhustyn Vološyn gained control of the autonomous province, which was soon renamed Carpatho-Ukraine.

During the five months of autonomy the administration of Carpatho-Ukraine was dominated by local Ukrainophiles. The Czechoslovak parliament legalized the autonomous status of the area, and in February, 1939, elections for a diet were held on a single-slate ticket. Moreover, Carpatho-Ukraine was briefly recognized by the Third Reich, which had still not formulated a definite policy in regard to the eastern territories of federated Czechoslovakia. The withdrawal of recognition by Berlin, however, doomed the province's autonomous future; despite a hasty declaration of independence on March 15, the whole province was occupied by Hungarian troops.

Several general studies have been devoted to the autonomous period. Petro Stercho, a native of the region, traces the attitude of the Western Powers toward Carpatho-Ukraine in great detail and attributes the loss of independence to betrayal by Hitler.¹⁵⁸ The Soviet interpretation of these events is best expressed by Jurij Slyvka, who accused Vološyn and his circle of cooperating with Nazi Germany against the will of the

World War: On the History of the Transcarpathian Communist Organization, 1933-1938] (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1964) (139 pp.); Borys I. Spivak, *Narysy istoriji revolucijnoji borot'by trudjaščyx Zakarpattja v 1930-1945 rokax* [Short History of the Revolutionary Working Class of Transcarpathia in the Years 1930-1945] (Užhorod: Vydavnytvo L'vivskoho universytetu, 1963) (378 pp.); *Narysy istoriji Zakarpats'koji oblasnoji partijnoji orhanizaciji* [Short History of the Transcarpathian Provincial Party Organization], Vol. I: 1918-1945 (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1968) (336 pp.).

¹⁵⁷Magda Adam, "Zaharbannja Zakarpattja xortists'koju Uhorščynoju v 1938-1939 rr." [The Seizure of Transcarpathia by Horthy's Hungary in 1938-1939], in *Ukrajins'ko-uhors'ki istoryčni zvjazky* (Kiev: Vydavnytvo "Naukova dumka," 1964), pp. 78-109. See also note 162.

¹⁵⁸Petro Stercho, *Karpato-ukrajins'ka deržava: do istoriji vyzvol'noji borot'by karpats'kyx ukrajinciv u 1919-1939 rokax* [The Carpatho-Ukrainian State: Toward a History of the Liberation Struggle of Carpatho-Ukrainians in the Years 1919-1939] (Toronto: Naukove tovarystvo imeni Ševčenka, 1965) (288 pp.) (full bibliography). There is also a revised and expanded English version: *Diplomacy of Double Morality: Europe's Crossroads in Carpatho-Ukraine, 1919-1939* (New York: Carpathian Research Center, 1971) (xxii, 495 pp.) (documents and full bibliography).

people.¹⁵⁹ Less passionate accounts stressing international interest in the area are found in several articles by Marxist writers and in a study on Hungarian revisionism by Jörg Hoensch.¹⁶⁰

Berlin's attitude during these critical months is reflected in the more than fifty documents dealing with Carpatho-Ukraine which appear in two of the volumes on German foreign policy.¹⁶¹ Much published material from Budapest archives reveals the role and attitude of the Hungarian government.¹⁶² Finally, a recent study concerned with Polish-Hungarian relations in 1938-1939 focuses attention on the attitude of these two countries toward the province.¹⁶³

Participants in or eyewitnesses to the events between the fall of 1938 and the spring of 1939 have published material of varying quality. Uncritical praise for the period of autonomy has dominated the accounts of Ukrainianophile writers.¹⁶⁴ Minister Jul'jan Revaj, Secretary of Education

¹⁵⁹Jurij Ju. Slyvka, *Piustupy mižnarodnoji reakciji na Zakarpatti v 1938-1939 rr.* [The Machinations of the International Reaction in Transcarpathia, 1938-1939] (L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1966) (69 pp.).

¹⁶⁰Stefan Fano, "Zakarpatská Ukrajina v politických kalkuláciách susedných štátov v období od Mnichova po marec 1939" [Transcarpathian Ukraine in the Political Calculations of the Neighboring States during the Period from the Munich Pact to March, 1939], *Slovanské studie*, Vol. XI, *História* (Bratislava, 1971), pp. 61-79; Ivan Pop, "Zakarpats'ka Ukrajina v jevropejs'kij kryzi 1938-39 rr." [Transcarpathian Ukraine in the European Crisis, 1938-1939], *Duklja*, Vol. XV, No. 1 (Prešov, 1967), pp. 62-66; Ladislav Suško, "Nemecká politika voči Slovensku a Zakarpatskej Ukrajine v období od septembrovej kryzy 1938 do rozbitia Československa v marci 1939" [German Policy towards Slovakia and the Transcarpathian Ukraine during the Period from the September Crisis of 1938 to the Breakup of Czechoslovakia in March, 1939], *Československý časopis historický*, Vol. XXI, No. 2 (Prague, 1973), pp. 161-197; Andrij Kovač, "Stanovyčše zakarpats'kych ukrajinciv (rusyniv) i zanepad peršoji ČSR" [The Position of the Transcarpathian Ukrainians (Rusyns) and the Fall of the First Czechoslovak Republic], *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koji kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. VI, Pt. 1 (Bratislava-Prešov, 1972), pp. 7-37; Jörg K. Hoensch, *Der ungarische Revisionismus und die Zerschlagung der Tschechoslowakei*. In *Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik*, No. 23 (Tübingen, 1967) (ix, 324 pp.) (full bibliography).

¹⁶¹*Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945*, ser. D, Vol. IV: *The Aftermath of Munich, October, 1938-March, 1939*; and Vol. VI: *The Last Months of Peace, March-August, 1939* (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1951 and 1956).

¹⁶²*Diplómáciai iratok Magyarországnak külpolitikájához 1936-1945* [Diplomatic Papers on Hungarian Foreign Policy], Vol. II: *A Müncheni egyezmény létrejötte és Magyarország külpolitikája 1936-1938* [The Formulation of the Munich Agreement and Hungarian Foreign Policy] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1965); and especially Vol. III: *Magyarországnak külpolitikája 1938-1939* [Hungarian Foreign Policy, 1938-1939] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1970).

¹⁶³Maciej Koźmiński, *Polska i Węgry przed drugą wojną światową: październik 1938-wrzesień 1939* [Poland and Hungary before the Second World War: October, 1938-March, 1939] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Polskiej akademii nauk, 1970) (371 pp.). For a western viewpoint, see the report by George F. Kennan: *From Prague after Munich: Diplomatic Papers, 1938-1940* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 58-75.

¹⁶⁴Michael C. Lapica, "The Rise of Carpatho-Ukraine," *The Trident*, Vol. III, No. 1-2

Avhustyn Štefan, Vice-President of the Diet Stepan Rosocha, and the minister resident in Prague Vikentij Šandor have written their interpretations.¹⁶⁵ The single day of independence as well as the Hungarian occupation of the province and the dispersal of the Ukrainophile leaders have received special consideration.¹⁶⁶ The Galician Ukrainian émigré Volodymyr Birčak gives an account less complimentary to the autonomous government. Incensed at the government's refusal to employ the services of the many experienced Galician-Ukrainians in the province, Birčak claims that the failure to maintain Subcarpathian autonomy must be attributed to the political immaturity of Vološyn and his aides.¹⁶⁷ Another interesting viewpoint is that of Eleanor Perényi, an American who was married to the son of Baron Perényi, the first administrator after the Hungarian occupation.¹⁶⁸ The Rusyn population of eastern Slovakia, which received no special autonomous rights, is the subject of an article by Štefan Pažur, who suggests that after the Munich Pact there was a widespread movement calling for union with the autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine.¹⁶⁹

10. 1939-1944

Hungarian rule in Subcarpathian Rus' lasted from March 15, 1939, until the arrival of the Soviet army in October, 1944. The area was given

(New York, 1939), pp. 7-21; Eugene Skotzko, "Mecca to Carpatho-Ukraine," *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 3 (1939), pp. 6-22; Volodymyr Levyc'kyj, *Hitler, Čexy i Karpats'ka Ukrajina* [Hitler, the Czechs, and Carpatho-Ukraine] (Scranton, Pa.: "Narodna Volja," 1939) (22 pp.).

¹⁶⁵Julian Revay, "The March to Liberation of Carpatho-Ukraine," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3 (New York, 1954), pp. 227-234; Augustin Štefan, *From Carpatho-Ruthenia to Carpatho-Ukraine* (New York: Carpathian Star Publishing Co., 1954) (48 pp.); Stepan Rosocha, "The First Diet of Carpatho-Ukraine," *The Trident*, Vol. III, No. 9-10 (New York, 1939), pp. 21-32; Stepan Rosocha, *Sojm Karpats'koji Ukrajiny* [The Carpatho-Ukrainian Diet] (Winnipeg: "Kultura i Osvita," 1949) (98 pp.); Vikentij Šandor, "Karpats'ka Ukrajina: zfederovana deržava" [Carpatho-Ukraine: A Federated State], *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeni Ševčenka*, Vol. CLXXVII (New York, 1968), pp. 319-339.

¹⁶⁶Michael C. Lapica and Roman Lacyk, "Republic for a Day," *The Trident*, Vol. III, No. 4-5 (New York, 1939), pp. 8-27; Michael Winch, *Republic for a Day: An Eye Witness Account of the Carpatho-Ukraine Incident* (London: R. Hale, Ltd., 1939) (286 pp.); Mykola Galagan, "My Last Days in Carpatho-Ukraine," *The Trident*, Vol. III, No. 7-8 (New York, 1939), pp. 18-31; No. 9, pp. 32-40; and No. 10, pp. 33-40. The fullest account of the Hungarian occupation is *Karpats'ka Ukrajina v borot'bi* [Carpatho-Ukraine in Combat] (Vienna: Ukrajins'ka presova služba, 1939) (228 pp.).

¹⁶⁷Volodymyr Birčak, *Karpats'ka Ukrajina: spomyny i perežyvanja* [Carpatho-Ukraine: Recollections and Reminiscences] (Prague: Nacija v poxodi, 1940) (91 pp.).

¹⁶⁸Eleanor Perényi, *More Was Lost* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, and Co., 1946) (278 pp.).

¹⁶⁹Štefan Pažur, "O vývoji národnostných pomerov na východnom Slovensku v jesenných mesiacoch roku 1938" [On the Development of Nationality Relations in Eastern Slovakia in the Autumn Months of 1938], *Nové obzory*, No. 10 (Prešov, 1968), pp. 13-25.

a regent who was expected to restore order after twenty years of Czechoslovak "occupation and chaos." Both the Russophile and Ukrainophile ideologies were discarded in favor of the theory that the (Ugro-) Rusyns were a distinct Slavic nationality who had always lived in intimate contact with the Hungarians.¹⁷⁰ It was argued that the Rusyn language and Rusyn art, music, and racial characteristics all reflected the strong influence of Magyar civilization.¹⁷¹

Unlike the pre-1918 regime, which rejected the idea of a separate Rusyn nationality, the Hungarian government had worked out a program for preserving the culture of its "future" national minorities before assuming control of the area. A center established in Pécs in the 1930's for the study of the minority question formulated nationality policy in a series of monographs and a journal, *Kisebbségi körlevel* (1937-1944).¹⁷² The returning Hungarian rulers guaranteed a degree of cultural autonomy by creating the Subcarpathian Academy of Sciences in 1941 and fostering the publication of scholarly and literary periodicals aimed at creating a Rusyn literary language.¹⁷³

¹⁷⁰Nicholas Kozma, "Le problème ruthène," *Nouvelle revue de Hongrie*, Vol. LXI (Budapest, 1939), pp. 3-14. For a fuller development of the Magyar interpretation, see Tivadar Ortutay, *Cseh világ a kárpátokban* [The Czech Era in the Carpathians] (Užhorod, 1941) (250 pp.).

¹⁷¹Aleksander Bonkalo, "Rus'kyj lyteraturnyj jazyk—A ruszin irodalmi nyelv" [The Rusyn Literary Language], *Zorja-Hajnal*, Vol. I, No. 1-2 (Užhorod, 1941), pp. 54-71; József Rácz, "Kelet és nyugat a ruszin egyházi művészetben" [The Influence of the East and the West on Rusyn Ecclesiastical Art], *ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 1-2 (1942), pp. 43-57; Petro Myloslavskij, "Rus'ka narodna pjsnja: puty istoričnoho rozvytku" [The Rusyn Folk Song: The Path of Historical Development], *ibid.*, pp. 58-97; László Balogh-Beéry, "A ruszinság rokonsági kapcsolatai" [Relations of Rusyn Families], *ibid.*, pp. 98-107; Vilmos Balás, "Az Erdős Kárpátok és a Nagy-Alföld, ruszinok és magyarok" [The Wooded Carpathians and the Great Plain: Rusyns and Magyars], *ibid.*, pp. 108-129; Gábor Kemény, "Ungarn und die ruthenische Kulturgeschichte," *Donauropa*, Vol. III (Budapest, 1943), pp. 597-610.

¹⁷²In *A kisebbségi intézet kiadványai* [Publications of the Minority Institute]. Those dealing with Subcarpathian Rus' are Vol. IV: László Balogh-Beéry, *A ruthén autonómia* [Rusyn Autonomy] (Pécs, 1937) (26 pp.); Vol. X: István Fenczik, *A kárpátaljai autonómia és a kisebbségi kérdés* [Carpathian Autonomy and the Question of Minorities] (Kecskemét, 1941) (16 pp.); and Vol. XIII: Gábor Kemény, *Ez a föld Magyarország!* [This Land is Hungary!] (Kecskemét, 1941).

¹⁷³A detailed account of the first years of Hungarian rule can be found in Loránt Tilkovszky, *Revízió és nemzetiségpolitika Magyarországon (1938-1941)* [Revision and Nationality Policy in Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1967) (349 pp.). See also József Böllöny, *A Kárpátaljai Vajdaságról és annak ön kormányzatáról szóló törvényjavaslat bírálata* [The Carpathian Territory and a Critique of the Validity of the Bill concerning its Self-Government]. In *Magyar közigazgatás könyvtára*, No. 12 (Budapest, 1940) (30 pp.); Vasyl Markus, "Carpatho-Ukraine under Hungarian Occupation (1939-1944)," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3 (New York, 1954), pp. 252-256. The most important periodicals were the bimonthly *Lyteraturna Nedilja* (Užhorod, 1941-44) and the annual *Zorja-Hajnal* (Užhorod, 1941-43). Articles in the latter were printed in Rusyn or Hungarian, or in parallel translation in both languages. All articles have short résumés in both French and German.

It was especially in the economic sphere that the Hungarians wanted to boast about their efforts.¹⁷⁴ In a series of articles published in western languages the Budapest government tried to convince Europe that an economic renaissance was taking place in Subcarpathian Rus'.¹⁷⁵ However, the international situation was unfavorable to the attainment of Hungarian aims, for the Allies recognized the pre-Munich borders of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak government-in-exile in London, in which Rusyn representatives participated.¹⁷⁶

It was only a matter of time until the Red Army arrived. The "liberation" of Subcarpathian Rus' has received considerable attention in both Soviet and Czechoslovak publications. More than two thirds of the Czechoslovak military units attached to the Red Army were made up of Rusyns who had fled to the Soviet Union after the Hungarian occupation of their homeland.¹⁷⁷ Participants in the war have published a number of memoirs.¹⁷⁸ Soviet writers have emphasized the deprivations of the Rusyns (particularly those who were members of the outlawed Communist Party) in the period before their "social, political, and

¹⁷⁴Báró Zsigmond Perényi and Aleksander Yl'nytskyi, *Za narod Podkarpattia: što stalosja dosy na Podkarpattju?* [For the People of Subcarpathia: What has taken place until now in Subcarpathia?] (Užhorod: Regentckyj komysarijat Podkarpatskoj terrytorii, 1940) (38 pp.). For basic statistical information (demography, employment patterns, land holdings), consult the special Hungarian census of June 15, 1939, entered as the supplement: "The Returned Highlands and Carpathian Territory," in *Az 1930. évi népszámlálás* [The Census of 1930], Pt. 6. In *Magyar statisztikai közlemények*, new ser., Vol. CXIV (Budapest, 1941), pp. 237-262.

¹⁷⁵Prince Nicholas Massalky, "A Foreigner sees Subcarpathia," *The Hungarian Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 3 (Budapest, 1940), pp. 434-448; Aldo Dami, "Ce que j'ai vu en Subcarpathie," *Nouvelle revue de Hongrie*, Vol. LXII (Budapest, 1940), pp. 345-351; Jean Stark, "La reconstruction de la Subcarpathie," *ibid.*, pp. 352-358.

¹⁷⁶Ivan Vanat, "K niektorým otázkam zahraničného odboja zakarpatských Ukrajincov počas druhej svetovej vojny" [On Certain Questions concerning the Transcarpathian Ukrainian Struggle Abroad during the Second World War], in *Žovien' i ukrajins'ka kul'tura* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1968), pp. 351-369.

¹⁷⁷Ivan Vanat, "Zakarpats'ki ukrajinci v čexoslovac'komu vijs'ku v ŠRSR" [Transcarpathian Ukrainians in the Czechoslovak Army in the U. S. S. R.], in *Šljax do voli: zbirnyk spohadiv i dokumentiv pro nacional'no-vyzvol'nu borot'bu ukrajins'koho naselennja Čexoslovaččyny proty fašizmu v 1939-1945 rr.* In *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koi kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. II (Prešov, 1966), pp. 183-201; Andrij Kovač, "Ukrajinci Prjašivščyny v rjadax Červonoji Armiji" [The Ukrainians from the Prešov Region in the Ranks of the Red Army], *ibid.*, pp. 315-348.

¹⁷⁸See the various reminiscences in *ibid.*; *Oni osvoboždali Zakarpat'e* [They liberated Transcarpathia] (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1968) (272 pp.); Myxajlo Pytel, *Borot'ba za Beskydy* [The Struggle for the Beskid Mountains] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Vidid ukrajins'koi literatury, 1967) (270 pp.); Myxajlo Sabadoš, *Parašutystom v Karpatax* [A Parachutist in the Carpathians] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Vidid ukrajins'koi literatury, 1966) (400 pp.); Ludvik Svoboda, *Z Buzuluku do Prahy* [From Buzuluk to Prague] (Prague, 1961) (402 pp.) (German edition: *Von Buzuluk bis Prag* [Berlin: Deutscher Militärverlag, 1967] [343 pp.]); Andrej A. Grečko, *Čerez Karpaty* [Across the Carpathians] (Moscow: Voennoe izdatel'stvo Ministerstva oborony SSSR, 1970) (431 pp.).

national liberation" from Hungarian rule in 1944.¹⁷⁹ Two studies by Andrij Kovač have suggested that the economic and national status of the Rusyn population living within the boundaries of the Slovak state during the Second World War worsened as a result of fascist politics emanating from Bratislava.¹⁸⁰

11. Since 1945

Despite Soviet guarantees to maintain the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, a National Council under the protective shield of the Red Army met in Mukačevo on November 26, 1944, and proclaimed a desire to unite with the Soviet Ukraine. In June, 1945, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia signed a treaty legalizing this union.¹⁸¹

Three works deal with the events of 1944-1945. They present the Soviet, Czech, and Ukrainian interpretations of what actually transpired. The first, a monograph by Ivan F. Evseev, stresses the legality of the national committees which were established in practically every village in 1944-1945 and which were dependent on the Red Army. Evseev also discusses the Central Mukačevo Council, which, voicing the "will of the people," undertook the nationalization of banks, industries, shops, and land early in 1945.¹⁸²

The study by František Němec, head of the Czechoslovak delegation which arrived in the province soon after the Red Army occupied it, is a diplomatic account emphasizing, on the one hand, the relations of the

¹⁷⁹Petro Xalus, *V bojax za volju: borot'ba trudjaščyx Zakarpattja proty inozemnyx ponevoljuvačiv za vozz'jednannja z Radjans'koju Ukrajinuju (1939-1944 rr.)* [In the Battle for Freedom: The Struggle of the Workers of Transcarpathia against Foreign Oppressors and for Unification with the Soviet Ukraine, 1939-1944] (Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnyctvo, 1959) (71 pp.); *Šljaxom Žovnja* [On the Road to October], Vol. V: 1938-1944 (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1967) (518 pp.) (255 documents).

¹⁸⁰Andrij Kovač, "Nacional'na polityka Slovac'koji Respubliky po vidnošennju do rusyniv-ukrajinciv (1938-1945)" [The Nationality Policy of the Slovak Republic with regard to the Rusyn-Ukrainians, 1938-1945], in *Žovien' i ukrajins'ka kul'tura* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kych trudjaščyx, 1968), pp. 132-144; Andrij Kovač, "Ukrajinci Prjašivščyny i dejaki pytannja kul'turnoji polityky Slovac'koji Respubliky" [The Ukrainians of the Prešov Region and Some Questions about the Cultural Policy of the Slovak Republic]. In *Naukovyj zbirnyk muzeju ukrajins'koji kul'tury v Svydnyku*, Vol. IV, Pt. 1 (Prešov, 1969), pp. 401-412; Andrij Kovač, "Ukrajinci Sxidnoji Slovaččyny naperedodni slovac'koho narodnoho povstannja" [The Ukrainians of Eastern Slovakia on the Eve of the Slovak National Uprising], in *Z mynuloho i sučasnoho ukrajinciv Čexoslovaččyny*. In *Pedahohičnyj zbirnyk*, No. 3 (Bratislava: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo, 1973), pp. 196-216.

¹⁸¹For insight into Soviet activities in the province, see the account by the former N. K. V. D. agent Nikola Sinevskij [Ivan Mondič]: *Smers' (Kassel-Mönchehof: Vladimir Gorachek, 1948)* (135 pp.). An abridged English version is also available: *Smersh* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1950) (xi, 253 pp.).

¹⁸²Ivan F. Evseev, *Narodnye Komitety Zakarpatskoj Ukrainy—organy*

author with both the Soviet officials and the Czechoslovak governments-in-exile in London and Moscow, and, on the other hand, his dealings with local Red Army officers and the burgeoning national committees. During the course of his short stay in Subcarpathian Rus' from October, 1944, to February, 1945, Němec concluded that the province was lost and recommended its transfer to the Soviet Union. He came to this conclusion for three reasons: the irreversible acceptance of a pro-Soviet attitude by the local population, the lack of clear instructions from President Beneš, and the betrayal of the Czechoslovak cause by the Czech and Slovak Communists residing in Moscow.¹⁸³

The third study is by Vasyľ Markus, a native of Subcarpathia, who lived there through the Second World War and liberation. As a Ukrainian in contact with the underground movement in Galicia, he faced the same dilemma that many other Ukrainians did: whether or not to accept a long-desired union of Subcarpathian Rus' with the Ukraine, even though it meant union with a Soviet Ukraine. Ultimately, the desire for national unity prevailed over anti-Communist feelings. Although Markus questions the so-called "democratic" decisions of the peoples' committees (of which he was a member), he still recognizes the Czechoslovak cession of the province as legally binding.¹⁸⁴

Many works concerned with the area in the period since 1945 emphasize the enormous economic, social, and cultural progress made possible by Soviet rule.¹⁸⁵ Ljudmyla H. Kozlovs'ka describes the ad-

gosudarstvennoj vlasti (1944-1945) [The National Committees in the Transcarpathian Ukraine—Organs of State Power, 1944-1945] (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo juridičeskoj literatury, 1954) (148 pp.). See also Vasyľ V. Xainas, *Roky velykyx podij: boroti'ba trudjaščyxx Zakarpattja pid kerivnyctvom komunistyčnoji partiji za vozz'jednannja z Radjans'koju Ukrajinoju (1944-1945 rr.)* [The Years of Great Events: The Struggle of the Workers of Transcarpathia under the Leadership of the Communist Party for the Unification of the Soviet Ukraine, 1944-1945] (Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnytvo, 1959) (59 pp.); and the pertinent documents in *Šljaxom Žovtnja: zbirnyk dokumentiv* [On the Road to October: A Collection of Documents], Vol. VI: *August, 1944-January, 1946* (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1965) (390 pp.) (219 documents).

¹⁸³František Němec and Vasyľ Moudry, *The Soviet Seizure of Subcarpathian Ruthenia* (Toronto: Wm. B. Anderson, 1955) (ix, 375 pp.) (78 documents).

¹⁸⁴Vasyľ Markus, *L'incorporation de l'Ukraine subcarpathique à l'Ukraine soviétique 1944-1945* (Louvain: Centre d'études ukrainiens en Belgique, 1956) (147 pp.) (12 documents). See also Vincent Shandor, "Annexation of Carpatho-Ukraine to the Ukrainian SSR," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (New York, 1957), pp. 243-254.

¹⁸⁵A. M. Ihnat, "Uspixy kul'turno-osvitnoji roboty v Zakarpats'kij oblasti za roky radjans'koji vlady" [The Success in Cultural Work in the Transcarpathian Province during the Years of Soviet Rule], *Naukovi zapysky*, Vol. IX (Užhorod, 1954), pp. 369-397; *Pytannja rozvytku narodnoho hospodarstva radjans'koho Zakarpattja* [The Question of the Development of the National Economy in Soviet Transcarpathia], *ibid.*, Vol. XLIV (1961) (194 pp.). For an evaluation of studies on the post-1945 period, see Ninel' P. Mišenko, "Ukrajins'ka radjans'ka istoriohrafija pro rozvytok promyslovosti

vances in industrial and agricultural development.¹⁸⁶ Similar essays of self-praise deal with the Rusyn inhabitants of present-day eastern Slovakia.¹⁸⁷ Ivan Bajcura has written a more substantial work, however, describing the reasons for retarded economic and national development, and articles by various authors discuss the economic, national, educational, and cultural problems existing in the Rusyn region after the war.¹⁸⁸ Writers in the West have also focused on Soviet Transcarpathia and especially on eastern Slovakia, in particular on problems of national assimilation, the destruction of the Greek Catholic Church, and the Prešov region as factors in the 1968 Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia.¹⁸⁹

robitnyčoho klasu Zakarpattja za roky Radjans'koho vlady" [Soviet Ukrainian Historiography about the Development of Industry and the Working Class in Transcarpathia during the Years of Soviet Rule], in *Velykyj Žovten' i rozkvit vozz'jednanoho Zakarpattja* (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1970), pp. 339-347.

¹⁸⁶Ljudmyla H. Kozlovs'ka, *Rozvytok narodneho hospodarstva Zakarpats'koho oblasti za roky radjans'koho vlady* [The Development of the National Economy of the Transcarpathian Province during the Years of Soviet Rule] (L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1959) (165 pp.). See also *Narodne hospodarstvo Radjans'koho Zakarpattja: statystyčnyj zbirnyk* [The National Economy of Soviet Transcarpathia: A Statistical Anthology] (Užhorod: "Karpaty," 1969) (191 pp.).

¹⁸⁷*10 rokov Ukrajin's'koho narodneho teatru* [Ten Years of the Ukrainian National Theater] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľ'stvo krásnej literatury, 1958) (243 pp.); *15 rokov na službi narodu: zbirnyk statej ta fotodokumentiv z nahody 15-riččja dijāl'nosti Kul'turnoho sojuzu ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx* [Fifteen Years in the Service of the People: A Collection of Articles and Photo-Documents on the Occasion of Fifteen Years of Activity of the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers] (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1966) (133 pp.); *Hovoryt' Prjašiv: 30 rokov ukrajins'koho radiomovlennja v Čexoslovaččyni* [Prešov Speaking: Thirty Years of Ukrainian Radio Broadcasts in Czechoslovakia]. In *Naukovo-populjarna biblioteka Kul'turnoho sojuzu ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx*, No. 3 (Prešov, 1968) (117 pp.); *25-Ukrajins'komu narodnomu teatru* [Twenty-five Years of the Ukrainian National Theater] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovač'ke pedahohične vydavnytvo. Viddil ukrajins'koho literatury, 1971) (224 pp.).

¹⁸⁸Ivan Bajcura, *Ukrajin's'ká otázka v ČSSR* [The Ukrainian Question in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic] (Košice: Východoslovenské vydavnytvo, 1967) (216 pp.) (bibliography); *Žovten' i ukrajins'ka kul'tura: zbirnyk materialiv z mižnarodneho sympozijum* [October and Ukrainian Culture: A Collection of Materials from an International Symposium] (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1968) (640 pp.), especially Pt. 3, pp. 473-599; Ivan Bajcura, "KSC a ukrajins'ká otázka" [The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Ukrainian Question], in *Z mynuloho i súčasnoho ukrajinciv Čexoslovaččyny*. In *Pedahohičnyj zbirnyk*, No. 3 (Bratislava: Slovač'ke pedahohične vydavnytvo, 1973), pp. 7-33; Vasyľ Kapišov's'kyj, "Spadščyna kapitalizmu v oblasti žyttjevoho ta kul'turnoho rivnja naseleňnja Sxidnoji Slovaččyny" [The Hereditary Impact of Capitalism on the Social and Cultural Level of the Population in Eastern Slovakia], in *ibid.*, pp. 34-63.

¹⁸⁹Pavel Maču, "The Present State of National Consciousness among the Rusyns of Czechoslovakia," *Europa ethnica*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3 (Vienna, 1974), pp. 98-111; Pavel Maču, "National Assimilation: The Case of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia," *East-Central Europe*, Vol. II (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1975); Michael Lacko, "The Forced Liquidation of the Union of Užhorod," *Slovak Studies*, Vol. I, *Historica*, No. 1 (Rome, 1961), pp. 145-185; Vasyľ Markus', "Nyščennja hreko-katolyc'koho cerkvy v Mukačiv's'kij Jeparxiji v 1945-50 rr." [The Destruction of the Greek Catholic Church in the Mukačevo

12. Cultural Developments

For nationalities that never possessed their own independent political structure, the study of literature and language is extremely important, since these two cultural elements frequently made possible the preservation of the existence of such groups. Hence, the historian should be aware of at least a few works that deal with the cultural history of Subcarpathian Rus'.¹⁹⁰ Moreover, recent Soviet publications are valuable for their descriptions of contemporary economic conditions and accounts of the interplay between cultural and social development.

Ukrainophile and Russophile cultural historians have defended their particular positions with arguments based on different interpretations of Subcarpathian literary development. According to the Ukrainian thesis, the early writers in Subcarpathian Rus', especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, used a popular language similar to that spoken by the people. This pattern changed when various authors began to write in Latin and later in Great Russian during the nineteenth century. The result was a divorce of literature from the people—a tragedy which was rectified only by a return to writing in Rusyn (*porus'ky*) (i. e., archaic Ukrainian), which began in the early twentieth century and continued during the 1920's and '30's. The Ukrainian point of view was first expressed by the literary critics Ivan Franko and Hijador Stryps'kij.¹⁹¹ In a general survey, Volodymyr Birčak repeated the Ukrainian thesis, discounted internal regional peculiarities almost entirely, and linked the development of Subcarpathian literature solely with that of Galicia.¹⁹² Among those who have accepted the Ukrainian interpreta-

Eparchy, 1945-1950], *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenko*, Vol. CLXIX (Paris-New York, 1962), pp. 385-405; *The Tragedy of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia* (New York: Carpathian Alliance, 1971) (68 pp.); Athanasius B. Pekar, "Restoration of the Greek Catholic Church in Czechoslovakia," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 3 (New York, 1973), pp. 282-296; Grey Hodnett and Peter J. Potichnyj, *The Ukraine and the Czechoslovak Crisis*. In Department of Political Science, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, *Occasional Paper*, No. 6 (Canberra, 1970) (154 pp.).

¹⁹⁰A comprehensive bibliography of works on Subcarpathian literary history is available in *Zorja-Hajnal*, Vol. II, No. 3-4 (Užhorod, 1942), pp. 459-467.

¹⁹¹Ivan Franko, "Karpato-rus'ke pys'menstvo XVII-XVIII vikiv" [Carpatho-Rusyn Literature in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenko*, Vol. XXXVII-XXXVIII (L'viv, 1900), pp. 1-22, 23-91, and 91-162 (the first section was republished in Ivan Franko, *Tvory*, Vol. XVI [Kiev: Deržavne vydavnytstvo xudožn'oji literatury, 1955], pp. 311-331); Bilen'kyj [Hijador N. Stryps'kyj], *Starša rus'ka pys'mennost na Uhorščyni* [Old Rusyn Writings in Hungary] (Užhorod, 1907) (16 pp.).

¹⁹²Volodymyr Birčak, *Literaturni stremlinnja Pidkarpats'koi Rusy* [Literary Endeavors of Subcarpathian Rus']. Second edition published in *Vydavnytstvo Pedagogičnoho tovarystva Pidkarpats'koi Rusy*, No. 45 (Užhorod, 1937) (190 pp.).

tion are Myxajlo Voznjak, who has focused on the early period, and the Italian Wolfgang Giusti, who has written a more general survey.¹⁹³

Supporters of the Russophile (*obščerusskaja*) interpretation emphasized the influence of Church-Slavonic and Russian elements in the literary tradition of Subcarpathian Rus'. The ingrained tendency of the local intelligentsia to use the Russian language was most evident during the second half of the nineteenth century, but such favorable developments were initially hampered by increased "Magyarization" and then undermined during the Czechoslovak period by the growth of Ukrainianism. This thesis was first presented in studies by Petr Feerčak and the local national leader Evmenij Sabov.¹⁹⁴ Evgenij Nedzěl'skij and Pavel Fedor developed this idea further in detailed surveys, as did Jul'jan Javorskij in his essay on periodization.¹⁹⁵ The only outline of Subcarpathian literary history available in English reflects the Russophile point of view.¹⁹⁶

The Czech literary critic Antonín Hartl devoted several studies to Subcarpathian Rus'. Although he does not recognize the existence of an

¹⁹³Myxajlo Voznjak, *Istorija ukrajins'koji literatury* [A History of Ukrainian Literature] (3 vols., L'viv: Nakladom tovarystva "Prosvita," 1924), Vol. III, Pt. 2, pp. 108-122; Wolfgang Giusti, "La Russia subcarpatica e la sua letteratura," *Revista di letteratura slave*, Vol. I, No. 1-2 (Rome, 1926), pp. 115-138.

¹⁹⁴Petr Feerčak, *Očerok literaturnago dviženija ugoriskix russkix* [Outline of the Literary Movement of the Hungarian Russians] (Odessa, 1888) (42 pp.); Evmenij Sabov, *Xristomatija cerkovno-slavjanskix i ugro-russkix literaturnyx pamjatnikov* [An Anthology of Church-Slavonic and Ugro-Russian Literary Monuments] (Užhorod: Knigopečatnyj fond eparxii mukačevskoj, 1893) (236 pp.) (the first section, "Očerok literaturnoj džeitel'nosti i obrazovanija karpatorussov" [An Outline of the Literary Activity and Education of the Carpatho-Russians], was reprinted in *Izdanie kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 8 [Užhorod, 1925] [32 pp.]). See also Fedor F. Aristov, *Karpato-russkie pisateli: Izslėdovanie po neizdannym istočnikam* [Carpatho-Russian Writers: An Analysis based on Unpublished Sources], Vol. I (Moscow: Izdanie Galicko-russkago obščestva v Petrogradě, 1916) (304 pp.).

¹⁹⁵Evgenij Nedzěl'skij, *Očerok karpatorusskoj literatury* [An Outline of Carpatho-Russian Literature] (Užhorod: Izdanie Podkarpatorusskago narodoprosvětitel'nago sojuza, 1932) (289 pp.); Pavel Fedor, *Očerki karpato-russkoj literatury so vtoroj poloviny XIX stolėtija* [An Outline of Carpatho-Russian Literature from the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century]. In *Izdanie Kul'turno-prosvětitel'nago obščestva imeni Aleksandra Duxnoviča*, No. 56 (Užhorod, 1929) (76 pp.); Jul'jan A. Javorskij, "Značenie i město Zakarpat'ja v obščej sxemě russkoj pis'mennosti" [The Significance and Place of Transcarpathia in the General Scheme of Russian Literature], in *Sbornik pracı I. sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze 1929*, Vol. II (Prague: Orbis, 1932), pp. 74-89 (full bibliography). See also Nikolaj V. Vodovozov, "Russkie pisateli v Čexoslovakii" [Russian Writers in Czechoslovakia], in A. I. Revjakin (ed.), *Russkaja literatura i narodnoe tvorcestvo*. In *Učenyje zapiski moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* (Moscow, 1962), pp. 186-218.

¹⁹⁶Arthur P. Coleman and George B. Bezinec, "The Rise of Carpatho-Russian Culture," *Central European Observer*, Vol. XVI (Prague, 1938), No. 17, pp. 262-264 and 280; No. 18, pp. 295-296; No. 19, pp. 311-313; and No. 20, pp. 327-328.

entirely independent Rusyn culture, he points out the "special characteristics" of literary development in the province.¹⁹⁷ The Hungarian interpretation was best summarized by Sándor Bonkáló and later repeated in a general survey of Subcarpathian literature published in 1942. Both argued that the Rusyns were a distinct Slavic people whose first literary masterpieces, written in the popular language, appeared during the seventeenth century under the impact of the Western Reformation. Subsequently the Latin-trained Greek-Catholic priests ignored the vernacular and in the nineteenth century the Russophiles ignored it entirely. After 1918 both Ukrainophiles and Russophiles undermined all efforts to create a separate Rusyn national literature.¹⁹⁸

The authors of recent publications on literary history have, on the whole, accepted the Ukrainian thesis and branded the Russian and Hungarian interpretations as reactionary.¹⁹⁹ The writings of Vasyľ L. Mykytas' and Olena Rudlovčak are of especially high quality and make extensive use of hitherto unknown archival materials. A number of monographs and articles cover the various stages of Subcarpathian cultural history: the earliest period to the end of the eighteenth century,²⁰⁰ the nineteenth century struggles between the Latin, Church-Slavonic, Russian, and dialectal orientations,²⁰¹ and the period of

¹⁹⁷Antonín Hartl, "Pisemnictví Podkarpatských Rusinů" [The Literature of the Subcarpathian Rusyns], in *Československá vlastivěda* (10 vols., Prague: "Sfínx" Bohumil Janda, 1929-34), Vol. VII, pp. 273-290.

¹⁹⁸Sándor Bonkáló, *A kárpátalji rutén irodalom és művelődés* [The Literary and Cultural History of the Carpathian Rusyns]. In *Felvidéki tudományos társaság kiadványai*, 1st ser., No. 2 (Pécs, 1935) (79 pp.); *Ystoriya Podkarpatskoj lyteratury* (Užhorod: Izdanie Regentskoho Komyssarijata, 1942) (64 pp.). On the so-called "chaotic" developments during the Czech regime, see József Rácz, "A legújabb ruszin irodalom" [The Most Recent Rusyn Literature], *Kisebbségi körlevél*, Vol. VII, No. 4 (Pécs, 1943), pp. 219-234.

¹⁹⁹Ivan P. Vyšnevs'kyj, *Tradyciji ta sučasnist'* [Traditions and the Present] (L'viv: Knyžkovo-žurnal'ne vydavnytvo, 1963) (239 pp.) (full bibliography).

²⁰⁰Vasyľ L. Mykytas', *Davnja literatura Zakarpattja: narysy literatury Zakarpattja doby feodalizmu* [Old Literature of Transcarpathia: Outline of Transcarpathian Literature in the Feudal Period] (L'viv: Vydavnytvo L'vivs'koho universytetu, 1968) (254 pp.); Oleksa V. Myšanyč, *Literatura Zakarpattja XVII-XVIII stolit': istoryko-literurnyj narys* [The Literature of Transcarpathia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: A Historico-Literary Outline] (Kiev: "Naukova dumka," 1964) (116 pp.); Oleksa Myšanyč, "Pysmenstvo rusynox Zakarpattja na narodnej bešedy už od konca XVI stoljytja" [Literature of the Rusyns of Transcarpathia in the National Tongue from the End of the Sixteenth Century], *Nova dumka*, Vol. III, No. 7 (Vukovar, 1974), pp. 105-115; Oleksa Myšanyč, "Vyršovana lyteratura Zakarpattja 17-18 st." [The Poetic Literature of Transcarpathia in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries], *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 8 (1974), pp. 41-48; Vasyľ L. Mykytas', *Ukrajins'kyj pys'mennyk-polemist Myxajlo Andrella* [The Ukrainian Writer-Polemist, Myxajlo Andrella] (Užhorod, 1960).

²⁰¹Vasyľ L. Mykytas', *Haluzka mohutn'oho dereva: literurnyj narys* [A Branch of a Great Tree: A Literary Outline] (Užhorod: Vydavnytvo "Karpaty," 1971) (208 pp.); Jurij Bača, *Literurnyj rux na Zakarpatti seredyny XIX stolittja* [The Literary Movement in

literary stabilization after 1918.²⁰² A critical anthology recognizes the achievements of Russophile authors during the Hungarian occupation, and special studies deal with developments in poetry and the Subcarpathian theater.²⁰³ Literary and cultural developments in eastern Slovakia, where the dialectal and Russophile traditions have persisted until the 1950's, can best be surveyed in the journal *Duklja* and in individual historical and critical essays by Orest Zilyns'kyj, Olena Rudlovčak, Il'ja Vološčuk, and Fedir Kovač.²⁰⁴

[Transcarpathia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century] (Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1961) (271 pp.) (bibliography); Vasyľ L. Mykytas', *Literaturnyj rux na Zakarpatti druhoji polovyny XIX st.* [The Literary Movement in Transcarpathia in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century] (Užhorod: Užhorods'kyj deržavnyj universytet, 1965) (103 pp.); Petro V. Lintur, "Tradicii russkogo klassicizma v literature Zakarpat'ja XIX v." [The Traditions of Russian Classicism in the Literature of Transcarpathia in the Nineteenth Century], in *Russkaja literatura XVIII veka i slavjanskije literatury* (Moscow: Akademia nauk SSSR, 1963), pp. 122-136; Nykolaj Lelekač, "Podkarpatskoe pys'menstvo na počatku XX vika" [Subcarpathian Literature in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century], *Zorja-Hajnal*, Vol. III, No. 1-4 (Užhorod, 1943), pp. 229-257.

²⁰²Jurij Baleha, *Literatura Zakarpat'ja 20-30-yx rokov XX stolittja* [The Literature of Transcarpathia in the 1920's and 1930's] (Kiev: Radjans'kyj pys'mennyk, 1962) (245 pp.). See also the earlier excellent surveys by Antonín Hartl, "Literární obrození Podkarpatských Rusinů v letech 1920-1930" [The Literary Revival of the Subcarpathian Rusyns in the Years 1920-1930], *Slovanský přehled*, Vol. XXII (Prague, 1930), pp. 183-199, 272-280, 319-333, 425-435, and 487-504; and Evgenij Nedžěl'skij, "Sovremennaja karpato-russkaja literatura" [Contemporary Carpatho-Russian Literature], *Central'naja Evropa*, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Prague, 1931), pp. 201-212; and the articles by Antonín Hartl, Jevgenij Nedžěl'skij, and Vladimir Birčak in Jaroslav Zatloukal (ed.), *Podkarpatská Rus* (Bratislava: Klub přátel Podkarpatské Rusi, 1936), pp. 181-202.

²⁰³Oleg Grabar, *Poezija Zakarpat'ja 1939-1944* [The Poetry of Transcarpathia, 1939-1944] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľstvo krásnej literatury, 1957) (316 pp.). For this period see the bimonthly *Lyteraturna Nedilja* (referred to in note, 173). Vasyľ Mykytas' and Olena Rudlovčak, *Poety Zakarpat'ja: antolohija zakarpatoukrajins'koji poeziji (XVI st.-1945 r.)* [The Poets of Transcarpathia: An Anthology of Transcarpathian Ukrainian Poetry from the Sixteenth Century to 1945] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1965) (661 pp.); Evgenij Nedžěl'skij, *Ugro-russkij teatr* [The Ugro-Russian Theater] (Užhorod, 1941) (112 pp.).

²⁰⁴*Duklja, žurnal dlja literatury, publicistyky ta mystectva* [*Duklja*, a Journal of Literature, Journalism, and Art] (Prešov, 1953-); Olena Rudlovčak, "Literaturni stremlinnja ukrajinciv Sxidnoji Slovaččyny u 20-30-x rokax našoho stolittja" [The Literary Endeavors of the Ukrainians of Eastern Slovakia in the 1920's and 1930's], in *Žovten' i ukrajins'ka kul'tura* (Prešov: Kul'turnyj sojuz ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx, 1968), pp. 145-172; Orest Zilyns'kyj (ed.), *Literatura čexoslovac'kyx ukrajinciv 1945-1967: problemy i perspektivy* [The Literature of the Czechoslovak Ukrainians, 1945-1967: Problems and Perspectives] (Bratislava-Prešov: Slovac'ke pedahohične vydavnyctvo. Viddil ukrajins'koji literatury, 1968) (156 pp.); Orest Zilyns'kyj, "Naša literaturna situacija" [Our Literary Situation], *Duklja*, Vol. XVIII, No. 2 (Prešov, 1969), pp. 1-7; Il'ja Vološčuk, *Sovremennaja ukrainiskaja literatura v Čexoslovakii* [Contemporary Ukrainian Literature in Czechoslovakia] (Bratislava: Slovenské vydavateľ'stvo krásnej literatury, 1957) (221 pp.); Fedir Kovač, *Dejaki problemy rozvytku ukrajins'koji literatury v Čexoslovaččyni (pisljavojennyj period)* [Certain Problems in the Development of Ukrainian Literature in Czechoslovakia]. In *Naukovo-populjarna biblioteka Kul'turnoho sojuza ukrajins'kyx trudjaščyx*, No. 6 (Prešov, 1973) (159 pp.).

13. Rusyns in Hungary

There were several Rusyn-inhabited islets in what is now northeastern Hungary, and although the population in this area has remained confessionally Greek Catholic, it has been assimilated almost entirely into the Magyar nationality. The geographical distribution of these Rusyns is outlined in ethnographic studies by Stepan Tomašivs'kyj, Hijador Stryps'kyj, and Aleksej L. Petrov.²⁰⁵ Several authors have also written works in which they tried to prove that the Greek Catholic "Magyars" (who are in most cases "Magyarized" Rusyns) are actually Magyar in national origin.²⁰⁶ Recently, Attila Paládi-Kovács wrote an informative essay on the status of these Rusyn communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁰⁷ Finally, Emil Baleczky has analyzed the speech of Komloska, the last village in Hungary where Rusyn is still spoken by at least some of the inhabitants.²⁰⁸

14. Rusyns in Jugoslavia

Comparatively more literature is available on the Rusyns who settled in the Bačka and in Srem—areas which are presently in the Voivodinian autonomous region and the Croatian republic of Jugoslavia.²⁰⁹ These

²⁰⁵See the Tomašivs'kyj studies referred to in footnote 36; Hiador Sztripszky, "A magyarországi ruténség néprajzi térképe" [An Ethnographic Map of Hungary's Rusyns], *Néprajzi értesítő*, Vol. XI (Budapest, 1910); Aleksej L. Petrov, "Kdy vznikly ruské osady na uherské Dolní zemi a vůbec za Karpaty?—K demografii zakarpatské Rusi" [When did the Russian Settlements on the Hungarian Plain and, in General, those beyond the Carpathians originate. On Demography in Transcarpathian Rus'], *Český časopis historický*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3-4 (Prague, 1923), pp. 411-442.

²⁰⁶Gyula Polyánszky, *A görög katolikusok Zemplén varmegyében: Adalékok Zemplén varmegye történetéhez* [Greek Catholics in Zemplén Comitatus: A Contribution to the History of Zemplén Comitatus] (Sátoraljaújhely, 1897); Jenő Szabó, *A görög-katolikus Magyarország utolsó kalvária útja* [The Greek Catholics of Hungary on Their Last Road to Calvary] (Budapest, 1913) (520 pp.); János Karácsonyi, *A görögkatolikus magyarok eredete* [The Origin of the Greek Catholic Magyars] (Budapest: Stephanium nyomda és könyvkiadó, 1924) (24 pp.).

²⁰⁷Attila Paládi-Kovács, "Ukrán szórványok a 18-19. században a mai Magyarország északkeleti részén" [The Scattered Few Ukrainian Settlements of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in the Northeastern Part of Contemporary Hungary], in Gyula Ortutay (ed.), *Népi kultúra—népi társadalom*. In *A Magyar tudományos akadémia néprajzi kutató csoportjának évkönyve*, Vol. VII (Budapest: Akadémiai kiadó, 1973), pp. 327-367 (translated into Bačka Rusyn under the title: "Ukrajinsky ostrova u syverovostočnej časy Madjarskej u XVIII-XIX vyku" [Ukrainian Islets in Northeastern Hungary in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries], *Nova dumka*, Vol. III, Nos. 7 and 8 (Vukovar, 1974), pp. 107-112 and 157-160.

²⁰⁸Emil Baleckij, "O jazykovej prírodnosti i zaselenii sela Komloška v Vengrii" [On the Linguistic Affiliation and Population of the Village of Komloska in Hungary], *Studia slavica*, Vol. II (Budapest, 1956), pp. 345-364; Emil Baleckij, "Vengerskie zaimstvovanija v lemkovskom govore sela Komloška v Vengrii" [On Hungarian Loanwords in the Lemkian Dialect of the Hungarian Village of Komloska], *ibid.*, Vol. IV (1958), pp. 23-46.

²⁰⁹Emilija V. Cerović, "Ogled bibliografije radova o jugoslovenskim rusinima i

Rusyns, known locally as Rusnaci, immigrated to what was then southern Hungary in 1744, in 1765-1767, and in the nineteenth century. They came from areas northwest of the Hungarian city of Miskolc and from villages near Trebišov and Bardejov, in present-day eastern Slovakia. Most of them settled in the Voivodinian villages of Ruski Krstur and Kocur, where they have preserved both their allegiance to Greek Catholicism and their own language based on transitional Rusyn and eastern Slovak dialects. Limited in number to about 25,000, they have, nonetheless, maintained a separate national identity and have developed a sociologically complete, distinct Slavic language.²¹⁰

Several general introductions outline the development of the Bačka or Voivodinian communities,²¹¹ but the most intensive scholarship has been concentrated on linguistic, and especially ethnographic, problems.²¹² At the turn of the twentieth century the Galician Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Hnatjuk published several volumes of folk material and two extensive articles in which he argued that the Bačka Rusyns clearly form part of the Ukrainian nation both linguistically and ethnographically.²¹³ František Pastrnek, Aleksej i. Sobolevskij, and Olaf Broch soon challenged these assertions, claiming that since the Rusyns in question had been linguistically "Slovakized" before they

ukrajincima" [Survey of a Bibliography of Works on the Rusyns and Ukrainians of Jugoslavia], in *Tradycyjna kultura jugoslavjanskyx rusynox* (Novi Sad: "Ruske Slovo," 1971), pp. 288-310. This bibliography includes only works published on the territory of Jugoslavia. It has 432 entries arranged under the following topics: general works; historical past; population; economy; social life; national customs; medicine; intellectual life, religion, beliefs; culture, language, theater; folk culture; literature; and index.

²¹⁰On demographic developments, see the Hungarian statistical works referred to in note 87; and the Yugoslav census reports: *Popis stanovništva 1961* [Population Census 1961] (16 vols., Belgrade: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1965-71); *Popis stanovništva i stanova 1971* [Population and Housing Census of 1971], *Stanovištvo* (11 vols.) and *Stanovi* (7 vols.) (Belgrade: Savezni zavod za statistiku, 1972-74). See also "Ke'o nas jest y dze žyjeme?" [How Many of Us are Here and Where do We Live?], *Nova dumka*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Vukovar, 1972), pp. 28-32.

²¹¹István Frankl, "Ruthének" [Ruthenes], in *Bács-Bodrogh vármegye egyetemes monografiája*, Vol. II (Zombor: Bitterman Nándor és fia könyv és könyvnyomdája, 1886), pp. 406-411; Jan Auerhan, *Československá větev v Jugoslavii* [The Czechoslovak Branch in Jugoslavia]. In *Knihovna československého ústavu zahraničního*, No. 1 (Prague, 1930), especially pp. 80-86; "Rusini u Jugoslaviji" [Rusyns in Jugoslavia], in *Maľorusi i Ukrajina* (Zagreb, 1939), p. 84; Myxajlo Marunčak, *Ukrajinci v Rumuniji, Čexo-slovaččyni, Polšči, Jugoslaviji* [Ukrainians in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Jugoslavia] (Winnipeg: General Library, 1969), especially pp. 43-56; Oleksa Horbach, "Ukrainians Abroad: in Yugoslavia," in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (2 vols., Toronto: University of Toronto for the Ukrainian National Association, 1963-71), Vol. II, pp. 1248-1253.

²¹²The recent *Tradycyjna kultura jugoslavjanskyx rusynox* [The Traditional Culture of Jugoslavia's Rusyns] (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1971) (320 pp.) contains twenty articles (with resumés in French), most of which deal with ethnographic problems.

²¹³The works which became the source of controversy are Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Rus'ki

arrived in the Voivodina, they must be classified either as Slovaks or as a transitional group between the Slovaks and the Rusyns (Ukrainians).²¹⁴ Despite the non-historical focus of these studies, much valuable information can be obtained from them about the Voivodinian Rusyns.

A comprehensive historical survey of the Rusyn community in Jugoslavia still has not been written. A few articles which focus on certain periods are all that exist. Several authors have analyzed the establishment of the first Rusyn settlements in the eighteenth century,²¹⁵ and in a recent article Vlado Kostelnyk has suggested that Rusyns were already present in Srem in the thirteenth century.²¹⁶ The history of the

oseli v Bačci" [Rusyn Settlements in the Bačka], *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva imeny Ševčenka*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (L'viv, 1898), pp. 1-58; Volodymyr Hnatjuk, "Slovaký žy Rusyny?: pryčynok do vyjasnenja sporu pro nacional'nist' zaxidnyx rusyniv" [Slovaks or Rusyns? A Contribution to the Debate concerning the Nationality of the Western Rusyns], *ibid.*, Vol. XLII, No. 4 (1901), pp. 1-81. The folk songs and tales from the Bačka and Banat were published in Volodymyr Hnatjuk, *Etnografični materijaly z Uhors'koji Rusy* [Ethnographic Material from Hungarian Rus'], Vols. III, Pt. 2, IV, V, VI. In *Etnografičnyj zbirnyk* (40 vols., L'viv: Etnografična komisija Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka, 1895-1929), Vols. IX, XXV, XXIX, XXX. The tales and songs from these collections have been transcribed back into Bačka Rusyn and published in Djura Latjak (ed.), *Narodny prypovidky bačvan'skyx Rusynox po etnografyčnyx materijalox Volodymyra Hnatjuka* [Folk Tales of the Bačka Rusyns from the Ethnographic Material of Volodymyr Hnatjuk] (Ruski Krstur: "Ruske slovo," 1967) (326 pp.); and Djura Latjak (ed.), *Rusky narodny pypsynji u zapysox V. M. Hnatjuka* [Rusyn Folk Songs in the Writings of V. M. Hnatjuk] (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1972) (276 pp.). On Hnatjuk's activities in the Voivodina, see Myxajlo Jacenko, "Volodymyr Hnatjuk y bačvansky rusnacy" [Volodymyr Hnatjuk and the Bačka Rusnaks], in *ibid.*, pp. 239-265; and Mykola Mušynka, "Volodymyr Hnatjuk: peršyj doslidnyk žyttja i narodnoji kul'tury rusyniv-ukrajinciv Jugoslaviji" [Volodymyr Hnatjuk, the First Researcher on the Life and National Culture of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Jugoslavia], in Djura Latjak (ed.), *Narodny prypovidky bačvan'skyx Rusynox po etnografyčnyx materijalox Volodymyra Hnatjuka* (Ruski Krstur: "Ruske slovo," 1967), pp. 7-69.

²¹⁴František Pastrnek, "Rusíni jazyka slovenského: odpověď panu Vlad. Hnatjukovi" [Slovak-Speaking Rusyns: An Answer to Mr. Volodymyr Hnatjuk], in Vladimir I. Lamanskii (ed.), *Stat'i po slavjanověděniju* (2 vols., St. Petersburg: Izdanie vtorogo otdělenija Imperatorskoj akademij nauk, 1906), Vol. II, pp. 60-78; Aleksej I. Sobolevskij, "Ne Russkie, a Slovaki" [Not Russians but Slovaks], *Etnografičeskoe obozrénie*, Vol. X, Book 39, No. 4 (Moscow, 1899), pp. 147-149; Olaf Broch, "Aus der ungarischen Slavenwelt," *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, Vol. XXI (Berlin, 1899), pp. 54-61.

²¹⁵Georgyj Besermynji, "Nasel'ovanje Rusnacox do Šydu" [The Settlement of Rusyns in Šid], *Rusky kalendar 1938* (Ruski Krstur, 1937), pp. 36-42; Slavko Gavrilović, "Prilog istoriji Rusina u Bačkoj sredinom XVIII veka" [A Contribution to the History of the Rusyns in the Bačka in the Mid-Eighteenth Century], *Zbornik za društvene nauke Matica srpska*, Vol. XLVIII (Novi Sad, 1967), pp. 106-113; Onufrij Timko, "Naseljenici Ruskog Krstura i Kocure" [The Population of Ruski Krstur and Kocur], *ibid.*, Vol. L (1968), pp. 129-142; Onufrij Timko, "Naseljency Kerestura y Kocura" [The Population of Ruski Krstur and Kocur], *Švetlost*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (Novi Sad, 1969), pp. 143-163; Miljana Radovanović and Breda Vlahović, "Prilog proučavanju migracionih kretanja rusina u Bačkoj" [A Contribution to the Study of Migratory Movements of Rusyns in the Bačka], in *Tradycyjna kultura jugoslavjanskyx rusynox* (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1971), pp. 18-30.

²¹⁶Vlado Kostelnyk, "Rusyny u Sryme i Slavonyi—už u XIII stolityju" [Rusyns in Srem

Križevci diocese, to which Greek Catholic Rusyns in Yugoslavia have belonged since it was established in 1777, has also been the subject of several works. Athanasius Pekar prepared a short introduction to the development of the Križevci diocese in his history of the Subcarpathian Church, while the local leader Gabor Kostel'nyk wrote a more detailed survey.²¹⁷

Like their brethren in Subcarpathian Rus', the Rusyns of Yugoslavia experienced difficulty in establishing their national identity. Although they were subjected to both Ukrainophile and Russophile influences, their local dialect was elevated to the realm of literary language with publication in 1904 of the works of Gabor Kostel'nyk.²¹⁸ The subsequent development of a strong sense of a separate Rusyn national consciousness²¹⁹ had its basis in the interwar period. The periodicals published during these years,²²⁰ as well as several articles written from Rusynophile, Ukrainophile, and Russophile points of view,²²¹ serve as

and Slavonia as Early as the Thirteenth Century], *Nova dumka*, Vol. II, No. 5 (Vukovar, 1973), pp. 89-96.

²¹⁷Atanasij V. Pekar, *Narysy istoriji cerkvy Zakarpattja: jerarxične oformlennja* [Essays on the History of the Church in Transcarpathia: Formation of the Hierarchy]. In *Analectia Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni*, 2nd ser., Sect. 2, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1 (Rome, 1967), pp. 177-180; Havriil Kostel'nyk, "Kryživs'ka eparxija" [The Križevci Eparchy], *Nyva*, Vol. XXX (L'viv, 1932), pp. 134-139, 168-179, and 209-215; and Vol. XXXI (1933), pp. 143-147 and 175-181.

²¹⁸On this important figure, see Djura Papharhaji, "Havryjil Kostel'nyk: začetnik umetnickej literatury jugoslavjanskyx rusnacox" [Havryjil Kostel'nyk: The Founder of Belles-Lettres among the Yugoslav Rusnaks], in Havryjil Kostel'nyk, *Poezija na bačvansko-srymskym ruskym lyteraturnym jazyku* (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1970), pp. 7-87.

²¹⁹On the sociological context of this development, see Aleksander D. Duličenko, "Stanovlenie i razvitie rusinskogo literaturnogo jazyka v Jugoslavii" [The Formation and Development of the Rusyn Literary Language in Yugoslavia], *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (Moscow, 1972), pp. 38-50; Aleksander D. Duličenko, "Z ystoriyi formovanja ruskoho lyteraturnoho jazyka" [On the History of the Formation of the Rusyn Literary Language], *Nova dumka*, Vol. II, No. 4 (Vukovar, 1973), pp. 46-47; and Oleksa Horbač, "Literaturna mova bačvans'ko-sryms'k'yx ukrajinciv ('rusyniv)" [The Literary Language of the Bačka and Srem Ukrainians (Rusyns)], *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenko*, Vol. CLXIX (Paris-New York-Munich-Toronto-Sydney, 1962), pp. 265-282. For a linguistic analysis, see *ibid.*; Mykola M. Kočyš, *Pravopys ruskoho jazyka* [Orthography of the Rusyn Language] (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1971) (160 pp.); and Charles E. Bidwell, "The Language of the Bačka Ruthenians in Yugoslavia," *The Slavic and East European Journal*, Vol. X, No. 1 (Madison, Wisconsin, 1966), pp. 32-45.

²²⁰The weekly *Rusky novyny* (Ruski Krstur, 1922-41) and the annual *Rusky kalendar* (Ruski Krstur, 1921-40) represented the Rusynophile and occasionally Ukrainophile tendencies, while the biweekly *Russkaja zarja* (Novi Sad, 1934-40) and the annual *Rusky narodnij kalendar "Zarja"* (Novi Sad, 1935-40) supported a Russophile orientation.

²²¹For the Rusynophile point of view see Gabor Kostel'nyk, "Značenje Kerestur" [The Importance of Ruski Krstur], *Rusky kalendar 1925* (Ruski Krstur, 1924), pp. 58-72; and Gabor Kostel'nyk, "O nas" [About Us], *Rusky kalendar 1929* (Ruski Krstur, 1928), pp. 85-89. For the Ukrainophile viewpoint see Myxajlo Kovač, "Zoz ystoriyi y nacjonal'noho žyvota rusynox u Sryme y Slavonyji" [On the History and National Life of the Rusyns in

excellent sources of information about this development. The role of Rusyns in the liberation of Yugoslavia (1941-1945) has also been the focus of special attention.²²² For the postwar period, the bimonthly *Švetlosc* (Novi Sad, 1952-1954, 1966-) and the biannual *Nova dumka* (Vukovar, 1971-) are the best sources of information on cultural and political developments.

15. Rusyns in the United States

The largest community of Rusyns living beyond the borders of Subcarpathian Rus' is found in the United States. Today there are approximately 650,000 Rusyn-Americans whose parents and grandparents left the homeland, most of them during the years 1880 to 1920. The circumstances of this immigration (chiefly from the comitats of Szepes, Sáros, and Zemplén) are discussed in studies based on statistical information by Oleksander Mycjuk, Ladislav Tajtak, and Mária Mayer.²²³ About the Rusyns in the United States, the best sources of information are the approximately fifty different serials and almanacs published by fraternal and religious organizations. The most important for historical research are the *Amerikansky Russky Vjestnik* (New York, N. Y., and Scranton, Homestead, Pittsburgh, and Munhall, Pa., 1892-), of the Greek Catholic Union; *Rusin—The Ruthenian* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1910-1917) and *Prosvita—The Enlightenment* (McKeesport, Pa., 1917-), of the United Societies; the independent daily *Den'—The Day* (New York, 1921-1930); *Russky Vjestnik—The Russian Messenger* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1916-), of the United Russian

Srem and Slavonia], *Rusky narodny kalendar 1948 r.* (Ruski Krstur, 1947); and Myxajlo Kovač, "Ryšme už raz tot problem otvoreno y temel'no" [Let Us Resolve Once and for All This Problem Openly and in Depth], *Švetlosc*, Vol. III, No. 4 (Novi Sad, 1954). For the Russophile view, see Djura Sabadoš, "Dze teraz našo Ukrajinaje" [Where Are Our Ukrainianizers Now], *Rusky kalendar "Zarja" 1940* (Novi Sad, 1939), pp. 87-88; and Djura Sabadoš, "Naš narod y joho školovany synove, yntelygencija" [Our People and Its Educated Sons, the Intelligentsia], *ibid.*, pp. 91-93. See also the less polemical Janko Sabadoš, "Problemi na liniji opredeljivanja rusin-ukrajinac kod ove narodnosti u SFRJ" [Problems concerning the Basis for defining Rusyn-Ukrainian among the Members of This Nationality in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], in *Tradycyjna kultura jugoslavjanskyx rusynox* (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1971), pp. 239-287; and Myxajlo Kovač, "Jak zme še otrymaly" [How We Have Still Survived], *Nova dumka*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Vukovar, 1972), pp. 43-44.

²²²Djura Latjak, "Rusnacy u NOB" [Rusnaks in the National War of Liberation], *Švetlosc*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1-4 (Novi Sad, 1970), pp. 56-63, 136-145, 226-231, and 335-343; Vlado Kostelnyk, *Pod červenu zastavu: xronjika o učastvovanju rusnacox-ukrajincox u narodnoošljebodytel'nej borby Jugoslavyyi* [Under the Red Flag: A Chronicle about the Participation of Rusyn-Ukrainians in the National Struggle for Liberation in Yugoslavia] (Novi Sad: "Ruske slovo," 1971) (320 pp.).

²²³See note 98.

Orthodox Brotherhood; and *Vostok* (Perth Amboy, N. J., 1920-1950), of the Greek Catholic Russian Benevolent Association Liberty.²²⁴

Unfortunately, to date there is no existing bibliography of the literature dealing with the Rusyn-American immigrant community or its publications, although one is now being prepared by Edward Kasinec.²²⁵ Walter C. Warzeski has written a solid introductory history,²²⁶ but he fails to devote sufficient attention to the large Orthodox and Russophile-oriented communities—a subject which was treated in an older survey by Peter Koxanik and in a sociological analysis by Alex Simirenko.²²⁷

The Rusyn-American community has been split into numerous national (Rusynophile, Russophile, Magyarone, Slovakophile, Ukrainophile) and religious (Greek Catholic [Byzantine], Orthodox, Orthodox Greek Catholic, fundamentalist) factions. More writings have been devoted to the religious question than to any other facet of Rusyn-American life. In addition to the surveys by Athanasius Pekar and the more extensive works of Warzeski,²²⁸ an excellent introduction to the problems of the Greek Catholic (Byzantine) community was written by Stephen Gulovich, while a sociological analysis of the impact of the celibacy controversy in the 1930's was made by Richard Renoff.²²⁹ Individual studies have also been devoted to the first convert to Orthodoxy, Reverend Alexis G. Toth; to the tortuous career of the first

²²⁴These and numerous other Rusyn-American periodicals are presently being microfilmed by the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota.

²²⁵See also Edward Kasinec, "The Carpatho-Ruthenian Immigration in the United States: A Preliminary Note on Sources in Some United States Repositories," *Queens Slavic Papers*, Vol. II (Flushing, N. Y., 1975).

²²⁶Walter C. Warzeski, *Byzantine Rite Rusins in Carpatho-Ruthenia and America* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Byzantine Seminary Press, 1971) (x, 332 pp.). See also Walter C. Warzeski, "The Rusin Community in Pennsylvania," in John Bodnar (ed.), *The Ethnic Experience in Pennsylvania* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1973), pp. 175-215.

²²⁷Petr Koxanik, "Načalo istorii Amerikanskoj Rusi" [The Early History of American Rus'] (reprinted in Filipp I. Svistun, *Prikarpatskaja Rus' pod vladением Avstrii* [2nd ed., Trumbull, Conn.: Peter S. Hardy, 1970], pp. 473-496); Alex Simirenko, *Pilgrims, Colonists, and Frontiersmen: An Ethnic Community in Transition* (New York: The Glencoe Free Press, 1964) (232 pp.).

²²⁸See the Pekar studies referred to in note 41; and those by Warzeski listed in note 226; and Athanasius Pekar, *Our Past and Present: Historical Outlines of the Byzantine Ruthenian Metropolitan Province* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Byzantine Seminary Press, 1974), especially pp. 36-60.

²²⁹Stephen C. Gulovich, "The Rusin Exarchate in the United States," *Eastern Churches Quarterly*, Vol. VI (London, 1946), pp. 459-485; Richard M. Renoff, "Celibacy and Schism: The Loss of Community among the American Carpatho-Ruthenians" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1971) (207 pp.).

Rusyn bishop in America, Soter Ortynsky; and to a unique colony of Rusyn fundamentalist Bible readers.²³⁰

Some of the cultural, organizational, and political aspects of the Rusyn-American community have been the subjects of examination. Paul R. Magocsi has written the first study of Rusyn-American belletrists.²³¹ The histories of the various fraternal organizations can be found in their annual almanacs.²³² Immigrant political activity, especially the role of Gregory Zsatkovich in fostering the incorporation of the homeland into Czechoslovakia after the First World War, was discussed from various viewpoints by Petr Hatalak, Victor Mamatey, Joseph Danko, and Paul R. Magocsi.²³³ Zsatkovich remained active in formulating Rusyn-American political goals during the Second World War. Information about Rusyn-American political activities during this period can be obtained from the contemporary periodicals *Karpatorusskije novosti* (New York, 1943-1945), *Jedinstvo* (Gary, Ind., 1942-1943), and *The Carpathian* (Pittsburgh, Pa., 1941-1943). As for historical writings, more extensive analyses based on the pertinent archival and documentary sources must be made before satisfactory general accounts can be written about the Rusyn communities in the United States.

16. Conclusion

In one of his last works, the dean of Subcarpathian Rusyn

²³⁰Keith S. Russin, "Father Alexis G. Toth and the Wilkes-Barre Litigations," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (Crestwood, N. Y., 1972), pp. 128-149; Bohdan P. Procko, "Soter Ortynsky: First Ruthenian Bishop in the United States, 1907-1916," *Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. LVIII, No. 4 (Washington, D. C., 1973), pp. 513-533; Paul R. Magocsi, "Immigrants from Eastern Europe: The Carpatho-Rusyn Community of Proctor, Vermont," *Vermont History*, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (Montpelier, Vt., 1974), pp. 48-52.

²³¹Paul R. Magocsi, "Subcarpathian Immigrant Literature," *Queens Slavic Papers*, Vol. II (Flushing, N. Y., 1975).

²³²Michael Roman, "Istorija Greko Kaft. Sojedinenija" [A History of the Greek Catholic Union], in *Zoloto-Jubilejnyj Kalendar' Greko Kaft. Sojedinenija v S. Š. A.*, Vol. XLVII (Munhall, Pa.: Greko Kaftoličeska Sojedinenija, 1942), pp. 39-74; John Masich, "Highlights in the Glorious History of the Greek Catholic Union of the U. S. A.," in *Jubilee Almanac of the Greek Catholic Union of the U. S. A.*, Vol. LXXI (Munhall, Pa.: Greek Catholic Union, 1967), pp. 33-95 and 258-263; "Osnovanie Russkago narodnago sojuza, Russkago pravoslavnago obščestva vzaimopomošči, i Obščestva russkix bratstv" [The Establishment of the Russian National Union, the Russian Orthodox Mutual Aid Society, and the Society of Russian Brotherhoods] (reprinted in Filipp I. Svistun, *Prikarpatskaja Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* [2nd ed., Trumbull, Conn.: Peter S. Hardy, 1970], pp. 497-514); Joann Petach, "Organizacija Greko Kaft. Karpatorusskich Spomahaj. Bratstv Svobody" [The Organization of the Greek Catholic Carpatho-Russian Benevolent Association Liberty], in *Kalendar' organizacii "Svobody" na hod 1935*, Vol. IX (Perth Amboy, N. J.: Vostok Publishing Co., 1934), pp. 70-73.

²³³See note 117.

historiography, Aleksej L. Petrov, after pointing out that woefully inadequate published documentary material is available to scholars, called attention to the need for (1) the compilation of a register of already published documents dealing with Subcarpathian Rus'; (2) the gathering of all hitherto unpublished documents; and (3) the publication of source materials concerned with social and economic history, such as, for instance, the records of former landed estates and the state and county census reports.²³⁴ Unfortunately, Petrov's call thus far has gone largely unheeded.

As is evident from this study, the amount of secondary literature on a variety of historical subjects which concern Subcarpathian Rus' is enormous, but the state of the documentary literature leaves much to be desired. Of course, some scholars such as Antal Hodinka, Ilarion Sventickij, and Petrov himself have made available various documents on religious, cultural, political, and socioeconomic history. More recently, the Užhorod State Archival Administration published several volumes on the history of the Subcarpathian Communist Party and on socioeconomic conditions between 1918 and 1945, although many other aspects of this period were left untouched.²³⁵ Hungarian scholars in Budapest have recently published material dealing with the last century. A volume comprising 138 documents on the Rusyns during the years between 1848 and 1914 has been prepared by József Perényi and Mária Mayer, but it has not yet been published. (Interestingly, linguists have been more active than historians in making available documents from the earlier periods.)²³⁶

Nevertheless, a systematic publication of Subcarpathian Rusyn source materials is greatly needed. To conclude, we might well recall the

²³⁴The introductory chapter, "Zadači karpatorusskoj istoriografii" [The Tasks of Carpatho-Russian Historiography], in Aleksej L. Petrov, *Drevnějšija gramoty po istorii karpatorusskoj cerkvi i ierarxii 1391-1498 g.* In *Knihovna sboru pro výzkum Slovenska a Podkarpatské Rusi*, No. 1 (Prague: Orbis, 1930), pp. v-xix.

²³⁵For a detailed review of *Šliaxom Žovinjja: zbirnyk dokumentiv* [On the Road to October: A Collection of Documents] (6 vols., Užhorod: Zakarpats'ke oblasne vydavnyctvo and Vydavnyctvo "Karpaty," 1957-67), see Paul R. Magocsi, "Recent Documentary Publications," *Recenzija*, Vol. II, No. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), pp. 58-86.

²³⁶László Dezső, *A kárpátalja hivatos írásbeliség emlékei—Pamjatniki delovoj pis'mennosti Zakarpat'ja* [Examples of Urbarial Contracts in Transcarpathia]. In *A Budapesti egyetemi könyvtár kiadványai*, No. 26 (Budapest, 1965) (111 pp.); Laslo Dèze, "Urbarial'nye zapisi s Maramoroškoj Verxoviny" [Urbarial Records from the Máramaros Highlands], *Studia slavica*, Vol. III (Budapest, 1957), pp. 235-260; Laslo Dèze, "O jazyke urbarial'nyx zapisej 1771-1774 gg." [The Language of Urbarial Records from the Years 1771-1774], *ibid.*, Vol. XI (1965), pp. 70-93; Jožef Peren'í and Emil' Baleckij, "Ukrainskaja gramota Sofii Batori 1674 g." [The Ukrainian Charter of Szófia Báthory], *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. V, No. 1-2 (Budapest, 1959), pp. 75-104.

words written by Petrov almost half a century ago: "There is much to harvest; let us hope workers will be found."

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