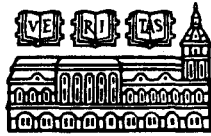


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A LEGEND ABOUT PAPER MANUFACTURING IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY UKRAINE

JAROSLAV STEPANIV

The earliest stage in the history of paper's triumphant march from east to west is shrouded in mystery. Legends of improbably early dates of manufacture exist throughout Europe. Historians have sought to verify the disputable dates for paper manufacturing in various localities in Western and Central Europe, as, for example, in Herault as early as 1189, in Montefano — 1276 (or 1275, 1278), in Cologne — 1320, in Neudegh ob der Au — 1374, in Cheb (Eger) — 1370, etc.¹ The dates of the initial manufacture of paper in the Ukraine and the allegation that paper was produced there as early as the thirteenth century have long puzzled scholars, too.

The Ukrainian historian, ethnographer, and linguist Ivan Vahylevyč (1811–1866), a prominent figure in the cultural renaissance of the nineteenth century in the Western Ukraine, wrote on 8 March 1836 to the Russian historian M. Pogodin (1800–1875) that he presumed “at that time [i.e., in the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century] there were *termitni* [i.e., paper] mills in Ruthenia.” Vahylevyč's letter was published in Moscow that same year,² and so the legend of paper's early history in the Ukraine was born.

The prominent Ukrainian scholar Jakiv Fedorovyč Holovac'kyj (1814–1888) explained how the hypothesis arose in the memoirs he published in

¹ A. F. Gasparinetti, “Zwei alte Papiermühlen die nie existiert haben,” *Papiergeschichte* (Mainz), 7 (1957): 23–26; F. Pabich, “Dzieje najstarszej papierni w Prusach Królewskich,” *Przegląd Papierniczy* (Łódź), 21, no. 8 (1965): 34–36; M. Vykydal, “Byla první česká papírna v Chebu? Préhled literatury,” *Papir a celulóza* (Prague), 1968, no. 4, pp. 111–12; E. Jalke, “Gegen fortdauernde Legendenbildung in papierindustriellen Publikationen,” *IPH-Information*, n.s. (Hanover), 1970, no. 2, p. 34; H. Gachet, “Lance pour les moulins (à papier),” *Le courrier de l'Unesco* (Paris), 1972, no. 7, p. 16; O. Emery, “Beharrliche Irrtümer,” *IPH-Information*, n.s., 1975, no. 2, p. 30 ff.

² M. P. Pogodin, “Slavjanskije novosti,” *Moskovskij nabljudatel'* 7, no. 5 (1836): 295. The text of the letter is quoted in Russian translation by O. Bodjans'kyj; the Ukrainian original has been lost. It is reprinted in I. S. Svencickij, *Materialy po istorii vozroždennija Karpatskoj Rusi*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1906), p. 150.

1883 and 1885.³ In the spring of 1835,⁴ Vahylevyč and Holovac'kyj — who had become friends — were working in the library of Count J. F. Tarnowski in Dykiv (today Dzików, Poland) when they discovered an old manuscript. The manuscript, a translation from Greek into Old Ukrainian of canons compiled by an ecumenical council and church fathers, was known as the “Kormča knyha.” On the basis of its linguistic and paleographic peculiarities, Vahylevyč dated the manuscript, which was written on a fine grade of paper, to the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. To Pogodin Vahylevyč wrote: “This *Kormča knyha*, lacking the first pages, should, by its language and spelling, be referred to the twelfth or to the beginning of the thirteenth century. It is written on exquisite paper (*termitka*).”⁵

In subsequent discussions with friends Vahylevyč referred to a Polish historian of law, W. A. Maciejowski (1793–1883), who reputedly said that already in the thirteenth century two brothers living in the town of Halyč were making paper from rags. Buttressing his argument with linguistic evidence, Vahylevyč claimed that in the East Galician region where he was born, *termitka* was used specifically to mean paper. Furthermore, he maintained that the word was probably of Greek origin and that it was unknown in other languages.⁶ Following this idea determinedly, Vahylevyč used the word to mean paper in all his writings. It

³ Ja. G. [Holovac'kyj], “K istorii galicko-russkoj pis'mennosti: Neskol'ko zamečanij na pis'mo I. Vagileviča K. M. P. Pogodinu,” *Kievskaja starina* (Kiev), 6 (August 1883): 655–56; idem, “Vospominanija o Markiane Šaškeviče i Ivane Vagileviče (Iz zapisok),” *Literaturnyj sbornik* (Lviv), 1886, no. 1, p. 238. The texts differ on dates and in style.

⁴ The date is open to discussion. Holovac'kyj himself referred to it as being in the spring of 1834 in the memoirs published in 1883. The date “Spring 1832,” which appeared in the text published in 1886, is obviously wrong, although it was accepted by the compilers of the compendium *Pys'mennyky Zaxidnoji Ukrajinny 30–50-x rokiv XIX st.* (Kiev, 1965), p. 238. Also see M. Voznjak's article “Z romantyčnogo periodu fol'klornyx zanjat' Jakova Holovac'koho,” published in his *U stolittja “Zori” Markijana Šaškevyča (1834–1934): Novi rozšuky pro dijalist' joho hurtka*, pt. 1 (Lviv, 1935), p. 78. Voznjak accepted the date of spring 1834, mistakenly presuming that Holovac'kyj himself had corrected it from 1832 to 1834 (in fact, the memoirs with the date 1832 appeared later, in 1886). J. Kozik, *Ukraïnski ruch narodowy w Galicji w latach 1830–1848* (Cracow, 1973), p. 254, supposes that the traveling took place not earlier than the end of May 1835. J. Kozik follows the view of M. Handelsman, *Ukraïnska polityka Ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną krymską* (Warsaw, 1934), p. 67.

⁵ Pogodin, “Slavjanskije novosti,” p. 295.

⁶ Pogodin, “Slavjanskije novosti,” p. 295. In his letter to P. Šafařík of 3 October 1836, written from Lviv, he remarked that the word *termitka* (charta) was of ancient origin. Cf. J. Bryk, *Materialy do istoriji ukrajins'ko-čes'kyx vzajemyn v peršij polovyni XIX st.* (Lviv, 1921), p. 8; also see *Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafařika*, ed. by A. Francev, vol. 1, pt. 1 (Prague, 1927), p. 391.

appeared regularly in his letters to Pogodin: 10/22 October 1836 — “v okresni Halyča tyraje sje mnoho termítnyx žmytív i lystív”; 27 June/9 July 1837 — “maju obítčjano z ynudu oproče s Tustanja pid Halyčem, dejaki termítky”; 30 January 1838 — “O huculax napysaüem 7 lyst[iv] termít[nyx].”⁷ The term also appeared in Vahylevyč’s letter of 3 October 1836 to the Slovak scholar P. Šafařík.⁸ In the Ukrainian dictionary he compiled in 1834–1844 (which has never been published) Vahylevyč explained *termítka* with a reference to the Polish *papier*.⁹ Use of *termítka* to mean “paper” was adopted by other West Ukrainian intellectuals, including Holovac’kyj,¹⁰ who later became very critical of Vahylevyč’s hypothesis about the beginning of paper manufacturing in the Ukraine.

The following factors make the hypothesis implausible:

1. Šafařík, who learned about the *Kormča knyha* from Vahylevyč as early as 1838, doubted that it dated to the twelfth century.¹¹ The manuscript is now ascribed to the mid-fourteenth century.¹²

⁷ Pogodin, “Slavjanskije novosti,” *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěščenija* (St. Petersburg), 19, no. 7 (1838): 212 (letter written 30 January 1838); *Pis’ma M. P. Pogodinu iz slavjanskix zemel’ (1835–1861)*, ed. by N. Popova, vol. 3 (Moscow, 1880), pp. 625, 631, 633.

⁸ Cf. fn. 6.

⁹ *Slovar’ jazyka južnoruskoho*, Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Leningrad, Department of Manuscripts, Petruševyč fund, dossier 23, p. 90. The dictionary was compiled anonymously; Vahylevyč’s authorship was proved by his autograph. The manuscript of the dictionary is mentioned several times in literature. Cf. A. Bielowski, “Wspomnienie o Janie Wagilewiczu,” *Dziennik Literacki* (Lviv), 1866, no. 24, p. 374; V. Kocovs’kyj’s introduction to *Pysannja M. Šaškevyča, I. Vahylevyča i Ja. Holovac’koho* (Lviv, 1884), p. xxxiii. About the transference of the dictionary’s manuscript to Petersburg by A. Petruševyč, see I. S. Svencickij, *Obzor otnošenij Karpatskoj Rusi s Rossiej v I-uju pol. XIV v.* (St. Petersburg, 1906), p. 55.

¹⁰ Cf. Holovac’kyj’s letter to Šafařík, written 20 October 1837 (*Korespondence*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 281); the word *termítka* appears in the letter three times.

¹¹ Šafařík’s letter to Pogodin written 8 December 1838 (*Pis’ma k M. P. Pogodinu*, vol. 2 [Moscow, 1879], p. 229; *Korespondence*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 577). Later the problem of this *Kormča knyha* was complicated because there was another Old Ukrainian *Kormča knyha* from the fifteenth century in Dykiv. It was this book, not the earlier one, that was sent to Šafařík by Count Tarnowski. In July 1842, Šafařík sent the fifteenth-century *Kormča knyha* (erroneously dated to the sixteenth century) to the Archeographical Commission in Petersburg for temporary use. The history of how the fifteenth-century *Kormča knyha* was used is vaguely described in A. Kočubinskij and P. I. Šafařík, “Očerok iz žizni russkoj nauki polveka tomu nazad,” *Vestnik Evropy* (St. Petersburg), 239, no. 3 (May 1906): 140; Bryk, *Materialy do istoriji ukrajins’kočes’kyx vzajemyn*, p. 20; *Korespondence*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 243; Kozik, *Ukraiński ruch narodowy*, pp. 231, 261. The later *Kormča knyha*, which was presumably written in Kiev and is now dated to the last third of the fifteenth century (after 1477), is also held by the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (accession no. 71/1952). Cf. *Drevnerusskie knjažeskie ustavy XI–XV vv.*, ed. by Ja. N. Ščapov (Moscow, 1976), p. 36.

¹² A. Chmiel, “Rękopisy biblioteki w Dzikowie (hr. Tarnowskich),” *Przewodnik Bibliograficzny* (Cracow), 30, no. 12 (1907): 281. The manuscript, there registered under no. 4–1, is now in the Jagiellonian Library, accession no. 34/1952.

2. None of Maciejowski's many writings ever mention that paper was being manufactured in Halyč in the thirteenth century.¹³ Vahylevyč and Maciejowski did meet in September 1834, during Maciejowski's first visit to Lviv,¹⁴ as Vahylevyč mentioned ten years later.¹⁵ Afterwards the Polish historian visited Lviv and met with Vahylevyč quite often.¹⁶ In April 1840 Maciejowski probably visited Vahylevyč in Ožydiv;¹⁷ in September 1844 they again got together in Lviv.¹⁸ In 1847, the friendship of the two scholars prompted Maciejowski, ideologically both a Slavophile and a Russophile, to mediate between Vahylevyč and A. Ja. Storoženko (1790–1857), who then held a position of authority in the government of the Congress Kingdom of Poland. Apparently, an attempt was made at the time to secure the chair in Slavonic languages at Kiev or Xarkiv University for Vahylevyč.¹⁹ Although Maciejowski and Vahylevyč corresponded regularly over many years, only a small portion of their letters have survived;²⁰ they do not mention the history of paper at all. It is probable that the two intellectuals discussed the subject, but it is highly unlikely that the critically-minded Maciejowski, who knew much about the history of handicrafts and had studied the historical sources thoroughly,²¹ would

¹³ See S. Borowski, *Materiały do biografii W. A. Maciejowskiego* (Wrocław, 1959).

¹⁴ K. Zap wrote to Šafařík about Maciejowski's visit to Lviv in September 1837 (cf. Bryk, *Materiały do istoriji ukrajins'ko-českyx vzajemyn*, p. 140). Maciejowski himself wrote about his travels to Galicia and Lviv in letters later published in *Gazeta Poranna* (Warsaw), 18 September 1837. Cf. also V. R.-č [V. I. Ljubič-Romanovič], "Poezdka g. Maceevskogo v Galiciju," *Žurnal Ministerstva narodnogo prosvěščenija*, 16, no. 10 (1837): 246–50.

¹⁵ V. N[äumenko], "Pis'mo Ivana Vagileviča k senatoru A. Ja. Storoženku," *Kiev-skaja starina*, 60 (March 1898): 8.

¹⁶ A. . . [Rościszewski], *O życiu i pismach W. A. Maciejowskiego*, Biblioteka Naukowego Zakładu im. Ossolinskich, vol. 5 (Lviv, 1843), p. 177.

¹⁷ I. Franko, "Do biohafiji Ivana Vahylevyča," *Zapysky Naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenko* (Lviv), 79 (1907): 104.

¹⁸ Cf. Vahylevyč's letter to A. X. Vostokov of 28 December 1895, published in "Perepiska A. X. Vostokova v povremennom porjadke s ob'jasnitelnymi primečanijami I. Sreznevskogo," *Sbornik statej čitannyx v Otdelenii ruskogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii nauk* (St. Petersburg), 5, no. 2 (1873): 376–77.

¹⁹ N[äumenko], "Pis'mo Ivana Vagileviča k senatoru A. Ja. Storoženku," pp. 7–8.

²⁰ An even smaller portion has been published. The letters of Maciejowski to Vahylevyč discovered after Vahylevyč's death are mentioned in "Rękopisma pozostałe po ś-p. J. Wagilewiczu," *Siolo* (Lviv), 1867, no. 4, p. 160. One of Vahylevyč's letters is mentioned in J. Bardach, *Wacław Aleksander Maciejowski i jego współczesni* (Wrocław, 1971), p. 18. Maciejowski's and Vahylevyč's letters were also published by M. Voznjak, "Rozvidky Ivana Vahylevyča pro ukrajins'ku movu," in his *U stolittja "Zori" Markijana Šaškevyča*, pt. 2 (Lviv, 1936), pp. 322–23. Borowski does not mention Vahylevyč in his discussion of Maciejowski's correspondence.

²¹ W. A. Maciejowski, "Historia rzemiosł, rzemieślników i rzemieślniczych wyrobów w Polsce od czasów najdawniejszych aż do końca XVIII wieku," *Kwartalnik Kłosów* (Warsaw), 1 (1877): 124–55. The article does not mention paper manufacturing.

have accepted as fact the supposition that two townsmen were manufacturing paper in Halyč as early as the thirteenth century.

3. Although the use of *termitka* for "paper" in a West Ukrainian dialect invites speculation, it probably occurred in only a very small area. The usage is not known in any modern Ukrainian dialect. Only Vahylevyč registered the word: it does not appear in any dictionary, index of dialectal words,²² or study in lexicology or lexicography. It has no correspondent in the other Slavic languages, despite their many terms for paper.²³ Following a superfluous analogy, Vahylevyč supposed that *termitka* was derived from the Greek word θερμός 'hot, warm.' Yet the word is definitely not Greek in origin. *Termitka* is most probably etymologically connected with the word *termittja* (variants *termitje*, *termita*, *termit'*), which in modern Ukrainian means "the waste derived from manufacturing fiber from hemp and flax."²⁴ In the Carpathian Mountains where Vahylevyč was born, paper mills to which peasants brought hemp and flax rags existed at the end of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century (e.g., in Huzijiv, 1780; Slobidka, 1795–1839; Krexivci, 1798–1869; Kryvotuly Stari, 1803–1816; Herynja, 1807–1809; Ljaxovyči Podorožni, 1807–1869; Vytvyčja, 1809–1824; Zahvozď, 1800–1860; Pacykiv, 1817). After defiberizing, the rags were beaten into a paper pulp. It is very likely that this pulp, produced from the waste called *termittja*, was by analogy named *termitka*.

The use of the word *termitka* does not prove that paper was manu-

²² Reference to it does not appear in the card index of the Lviv Institute of Humanities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Nor is it mentioned in the card indices of dialectal words compiled by V. Kalynovyč, or in the files on the Hucul dialect set up by V. Kuryl'čuk (also in the Lviv Institute of Humanities), or in the files on the Bojko dialect set up by M. Onyškevyc (at the Department of Slavonic Philology, Lviv University).

²³ Cf., e.g., V. Ružić, "Wortforschung in der Papiergeschichte Jugoslaviens," *Papiergeschichte*, 1969, nos. 3–4, pp. 28–30.

²⁴ Je. Želoxovs'kyj and S. Nediľ's'kyj, *Malorus'ko-nimec'kyj slovar*, vol. 2 (Lviv, 1886), p. 959; B. D. Hrinčenko, *Slovar ukrajins'koji movy*, vol. 4 (Kiev, 1909), p. 257; Z. Kuzela and Ja. Rudnyc'kyj, *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* (Leipzig, 1943), p. 1283; *Ukrajins'ko-rosijs'kyj slovnyk*, ed. by I. M. Kyryčenko (Kiev, 1963), p. 35. Cf. also V. Šuxevyč, *Huculščyna*, vol. 2 (Lviv, 1901), p. 147; idem, *Huculszczyzna*, vol. 1 (Lviv, 1902), p. 171; V. I. Vasylenko, "Ėtnografičeskie materialy sobrannye po Poltavskoj gubernii. Opyt tolkovogo slovarja narodnoj texničeskoj terminologii po Poltavskoj gubernii. Otd. 1–3," *Sbornik Xar'kovskogo istoriko-filologičeskogo obščestva* 13 (1902): 200; P. Myhovyč, *L'on i konopli: Ščo treba znaty pro torhivlju prjadyvom l'onu i konopel'* (Lviv, 1936), pp. 49–50. My correspondents N. Surovcova (Uman') and V. Demjan-Verenčanka (Bukovyna) confirm that the word *termittja* is in use in villages near Uman', *termitje* in the Novoselyčja, Hlybočok and Zastavne regions, and *termit'* in the Novoselyčja and Zališčyky regions. The word *termittja* is gradually becoming obsolescent because homemade cloth is no longer produced.

factured in Halyč in the thirteenth century. Although Vahylevyč succeeded in introducing some dialectal words (e.g., the names of some months) into literary Ukrainian,²⁵ his attempt to replace the international *papir* with the regional *termitka* failed. *Termitka* was in use for only a very short time, and then only by Vahylevyč's friends. (Its mention in the edition of Holovac'kyj's memoirs published serially in 1883 and 1885 passed generally unnoticed.) Vahylevyč's idea was revived only after 1965, when portions of Holovac'kyj's memoirs were republished.²⁶ Its relevance to the history of paper in the Ukraine has now been thoroughly investigated by O. Macjuk,²⁷ the foremost historian of paper manufacturing in the Ukraine, and other scholars have accepted his findings.²⁸ Macjuk has popularized Vahylevyč's hypothesis in a number of articles.²⁹ His case for the beginning of paper manufacturing in the Ukraine in the thirteenth century argues as follows:

The Galician-Volhynian region, with its capital at Halyč, maintained trade with Byzantium, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland and Lithuania. The navigable Dniester [River] was of great importance for trade. The inhabitants of Galicia sailed to the harbor on the Dniester by the Lukva River. There was [situated] the trading center of Halyč. Markets were organized there, to which came merchants from Ruthenia [as well as] Arabs, Tatars, Jews, Italians, and others. Ruthenia maintained traditional trade relations with the Arab world; its security was guaranteed by the Kipchak khans. Quite satisfactory trade relations were maintained with the Baghdad Caliphate [here Macjuk quotes V. T. Pašuto, *Vnešnja politika Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 224–77]. Hence, paper might have been brought to Galicia by the Arabs, the Italians or the Tatar-Mongols, who conquered Volodymyr, Halyč and other towns in 1241. It is known that the Tatar-Mongols had paper in early days and used paper bedding during their raids of the Ukraine [here he quotes *Sbornik Russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva*, vol. 35 (St. Petersburg, 1882), p. 27].³⁰ This can be construed to support Vahylevyč's suggestion about paper manufacturing, but the problem requires detailed research. Paper manufacturing in Halyč probably stopped after the town was destroyed in the middle of

²⁵ T. Hołyńska-Baranowa, *Ukraińskie nazwy miesięcy na tle ogólnosłowiańskim* (Wrocław, Warsaw, and Cracow, 1969), p. 118.

²⁶ *Pys'mennyky Zaxidnoji Ukrajiny*, p. 238.

²⁷ O. Macjuk, *Papir ta filihrani na ukrajins'kyx zemljax XVI-počatok XX st.* (Kiev, 1974), pp. 9–10.

²⁸ [E. L. Nemirovskij], *V mire knig* (Moscow), 1974, no. 8, p. 96.

²⁹ Cf., e.g., O. Macjuk, "Do istoriji vyhotovlennja paperu na Ukrajinі (Do 450-riččja paperovyx promysliv Ukrajinі)," *Seredni viky na Ukrajinі* (Kiev), 2 (1973): 134; V. P. Vas'kiv and O. Macjuk, "Pobut robitnykiv paperovyx fabryk na Ukrajinі," *Narodna tvorčisti' ta etnografija* (Kiev), 1977, no. 3, p. 71.

³⁰ In fact, the source deals not with Tatar-Mongols of the thirteenth century, but with Ostafij Rjazanec, a Moscow merchant robbed in 1489 (or later) in Tavan' by "Lithuanians" who took his *bumažnik*, i.e., a stitched mattress or bedding (as defined in *Slovar' russkogo jazyka XI–XVII vv.*, vol. 1 [Moscow, 1975], p. 354).

the twelfth [!] century and the capital [of the region] first became Xolm and then Lviv.³¹

As a result of Macjuk's work, the notation "Halyč — thirteenth century" was placed alongside that of "Herault — 1189, Montefano — 1276," etc., as a place and time when paper manufacturing purportedly began.

The revival of Vahylevyč's hypothesis elicited some criticism,³² but not as much as it deserves. In the thirteenth century paper was *not* manufactured in the Ukraine, although it may have been known there because of direct commercial contact with the Levant and the countries of Central Asia. At the end of the thirteenth century, records of Genoese colonies in the Crimea, where merchants from the Ukraine traveled, were written on paper made in Italy.³³ Macjuk's description of trade conducted at Halyč cannot prove that paper manufacturing existed in Galicia in the thirteenth century for the simple reason that no historical sources exist to confirm, directly or indirectly, such manufacture. Also, the time from which paper is imported into a territory to the time when it is produced there usually spans not decades, but centuries. This was surely true about paper in the Ukraine.

Only in the mid-fourteenth century did paper come to prevail over parchment in the Ukrainian lands. It was then that, along with other manuscripts, the *Kormča knyha* was written. The year 1522 is the first time paper manufacturing is mentioned as occurring in the Ukraine, in the town of Janiv, and from that time the industry progressed rapidly.

As M. Voznjak pointedly remarked, Vahylevyč was "a typical romantic in life, belles lettres, and science."³⁴ His hypothesis about paper manufacturing in the thirteenth century — spurred as it was by patriotic feelings during the national revival of the early nineteenth century — has no validity for the history of paper in the Ukraine.

³¹ O. Macjuk, "Na čomu pysaly naši predky," *Naša kultura* (Warsaw), 1978, no. 6, pp. 12-13.

³² J. Dashkevych, "Zur Papiergeschichte der Sowjetunion," *IPM-Information*, n.s. (Mainz-Hanover), 1974, no. 3, pp. 59-60.

³³ Cf. the records' publication in M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-mer*, vol. 1: *Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto, 1289-1290* (Paris and The Hague, 1973).

³⁴ Voznjak, "Rozvidky Ivana Vahylevyča," p. 300. M. Handelsman considered Vahylevyč a "historian with no scientific method, but an unrestrained imagination" (Handelsman, *Ukraińska polityka Ks. Adama Czartoryskiego*, p. 83).