

WHERE WAS *ISTORIYA RUSOV* WRITTEN?

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For all the lengthy labor of several generations of Ukrainian scholars, the real name of the author of the illustrious *Istoriya Rusov* still remains a mystery. Modern Ukrainian historiography has discarded both concepts of the authorship of Heorhy Konys'ky, as well as of Hryhory Poletyka.¹ The idea of Vasyl' Poletyka being the author also evoked serious rebuttal brought up again quite recently.² The authorship of Vasyl' Lukashevych has insufficient scientific basis.³ The idea of its author being Prince Olexander Bezborod'ko did not gain general acceptance.⁴ Finally, the concept of the authorship of Opanas Lobysevych, first proposed by this author in 1943, still remains only a *hypothesis*, albeit perhaps the most credible.⁵

There can be no doubt that the problem of the authorship of *Istoriya Rusov* could be definitely solved only in the event that historical science would have at its disposal *irrefutable* documentary data about the author, thus far lacking. The question therefore naturally arises, what *method* of research should be applied in order to at least come closer to the solution of this important problem.

¹ A. Yakovliv, "Do pytannya pro avtora *Istoriyi Rusiv*," *Zapysky naukovooho tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, v. 154, pp. 77-92, Lviv, 1937. M. Voznyak, "Psevdo-Konys'ky i psevdo-Poletyka," *Istoriya Rusov v literaturi i nautsi*, Lviv-Kiev, 1939, pp. 34-134.

² E. Borschak, "*La légende historique de l'Ukraine, Istoriya Rusov*," Paris, 1949, pp. 176-191. See M. Horban, "Kilka uvah do pytannya pro avtora '*Istoriyi Rusov*,'" in *Chervony shlahk*, Kharkiv, 1923, VI-VII, 146-150.

³ M. Petrovsky, "Do istoriyi derzhavnoho ustroyu Ukrainy XVII viku," *Zapysky nizhens'koho instytutu sotsialnoho vykhovannya*, XI, 90, note 2, 1931.

⁴ M. Slabchenko, *Materiyaly do ekonomichno-sotsiyalnoyi istoriyi Ukrainy XIX stolittya*, v. I, Odessa, 1925, pp. 103-105; P. Klepatsky, "Lystuvannya O. A. Bezborod'ka z svoym bat'kom, yak istorychne dzherelo," *Yuvileyny zbirnyk na poshanu akad. M. S. Hrushevs'koho*, v. I, Kiev, 1928, p. 284; A. Yakovliv, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-113; M. Voznyak, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-159.

⁵ See this author's articles: "Khto buv avtorom *Istoriyi Rusov*" in *Nashi Dni*, Lviv, 1943, XI, 6-7; "Psevdo-Bezborod'ko proty Lobysevycha," *ibid.*, 1944, V, II; "Do pytannya pro avtorstvo *Istoriyi Rusov*," in *Ukraina*, Paris, 1949, No. 2, pp. 71-75; "The Ethical and Political Principles of '*Istoriya Rusov*,'" in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* vol. II, No. 4 (6), pp. 388-400, New York, 1952.

Old methods of approach can obviously no longer be used. It would be futile to look for the author of *Istoriya Rusov* merely on the basis of his ideology and political views, or by picking out isolated biographical circumstances, or even solely by determining the time when the work originated (although this latter moment, still in dispute, will naturally be of great importance). Studying *Istoriya Rusov* as the most significant and impressive work of Ukrainian historiography of the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, we believe that in the matter of determining the authorship of this work, the only correct method will be that of *microanalysis*. Particular attention must be focussed on minute, often hardly noticeable details peculiar only to the given work, and only later can a broader analysis be undertaken, of autobiographical features, time of writing, its sources (and in the first place local sources), ideology, and so forth, that can bring us to a definite community-cultural milieu in which the author of *Istoriya Rusov* lived and worked.

From this viewpoint the problem to which due attention has not been paid thus far, and which assumes important proportions, is the problem of the *locale*, where *Istoriya Rusov* was written, or, at least, whence the author came, from what place, where he lived, and which place he was most interested in.

Two moments have here to be considered: first, what locality occupied a position of prominence in the author's consciousness, or so to say, occupied his personal interest; and second, to what extent does he know this locality, particularly in accuracy of *detail* (and not in general concept), which would be illustrated by various local features (such as events, place names, names of locally active people, and the like).

Turning to *Istoriya Rusov*, we have to concede that the author is mostly interested (of course, within the framework of his narrative) in the northern Left Bank of the Dnieper, or, to be more precise, in the area of *Novhorod-Siversk* (embracing the governorship of Novhorod-Siversk which existed between 1781 and 1796).

The author of *Istoriya Rusov* is especially interested in the history of the city of Novhorod-Siversk, and is very well acquainted with its environs, including topographical details. Thus, for exam-

ple, the story of Polish-Catholic rule in Novhorod-Siversk and the expedition of the first False Dmitri (pp. 42-44). In his account of "soboryshche Brestskoye" (the Church Synod of Berestya of 1596) in *Istoriya Rusov*, he mentions among three bishops "who did not fall under the apostasy of the Union and held high the dignity of their pastoral office with truly apostolic magnanimity and inflexibility, the bishop of Seversk, Ioann Lezhaysky, descendant of the Seversk princes," and "protopop of Novhorod Semen Pashynsky," who for their protest against the Union suffered indignities and were deprived of their "honors and dues" (p. 33).

This whole story is an invention of the author of *Istoriya Rusov*. No Siversk bishopric existed at the end of the 16th century; also nothing is known of a protopop Semen Pashynsky at the end of the 16th century.⁶

In addition, the Siversk region was then part of the Muscovite State and representatives of its clergy could not take part in the Synod of Berestya. There was, therefore, no protest as mentioned above of "Ioann Lezhaysky" nor "Semen Pashynsky." But it is noteworthy that among active opponents of the Union the author recited precisely the leaders of the Novhorod-Siversk clergy, although he could not ignore the fact that the entire episode was invented by him. But even more significant is the fact that the name Lezhaysky was well known in Novhorod-Siversk, although from a much later time. Lezhaysky, not Ioann, but Mykhailo, was for a long time Archimandrite of the Novhorod-Siversk Monastery of the Transfiguration in the latter half of the 17th

⁶ The *Pashynskis* were a family of clergy and Cossack officers in Novhorod-Siversk in the 18th century. Lukian Pashynsky was *osaul* of the Novhorod *sotnya* in 1723, (*Kyyiv isentral'-ny arkhiv starodavnikh aktiv, K.Ts.A.S.A.*, collection of the Archeographic Commission No. 393, p. 124) and in 1725 (*Trudy poltavskoi uchenoi arkhivnoi komisii*, v. XIV, Poltava, 1916, p. 76). Antin Samonovych Pashynsky, Cossack from the village of Chulatov (Novhorod *sotnya*) is mentioned in the year 1767 (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Rumyantsevskiy opys, v. 140). The register of the clergy of the Novhorod-Siversk governorship for 1784 mentions: pastor of the village of Yevdokol'e, Heorhiy Pashynsky (the verger and sexton there were also Pashynsky), son of the pastor of the village of Kamen', Ivan Pashynsky was then verger in the village of Len'kov (property of the Lobysevychs) near Novhorod-Siversk (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Book No. 5917).

century (1670-1699);⁷ his portrait was preserved at the monastery as late as the 19th century.⁸

Calling Lezhaysky Bishop of Siversk would indicate the period of the end of the 18th century, when the Monastery of the Transfiguration, once under Archimandrite Mykhailo Lezhaysky, was then under Prior Ilarion Kondratkovsky (1785-1797), Bishop of Novhorod-Siversk and Hlukhiv.

It should be noted also that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* is in the habit of using known historical names, and endowing characters, whom he has created, with these names. Among the very participants of the Synod of Berestya, who allegedly opposed the Union, he mentions non-existent bishops: of Pereyaslav, Silvester *Yavorsky*, and of Podolia, Inokentiy *Tuptalsky*. This is an obvious borrowing of the names of the well-known Stefan Yavorsky (or, perhaps a hint at Melkhisedek Znachko-Yavorsky, who was Prior of Peter and Paul Monastery of Hlukhiv between 1786 and 1809⁹) and Dmytriy Tuptalo.¹⁰ It is also remarkable that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* lists as an opponent of the Union a non-existent bishop of Chernihiv and Oster, Inokentiy *Borkovskiy* (of a noble

⁷ With an interval between 1687 and 1688 when Ioannykiy Halyatovsky was Archimandrite. In 1690 M. Lezhaysky was one of the candidates for Kiev Metropolitan (Metropolitan Euheni Bolkhovytynov, *Opisaniye kievo-sofyskavo sobora y Kievskoi iyerarkhii*, Kiev, 1825, Supplement, p. 122. The universal decree of Hetman D. Mnohohrshnyy of April 3, 1670 describes Mykhailo Lezhaysky as "worthy of the Church of God and a man of merit and needed for our beloved fatherland" (A. Lazarevsky i N. Konstantynovych, *Obozreniye rummyantsovskoi opysy*, Chernihiv, 1866-1875, p. 845).

It should also be mentioned that the Lezhayskys were in the Novhorod-Siversk governorship and at the end of the 18th century Vasyl' Lezhaysky, a student of rhetoric of the Kiev Academy, was attached to the embassy in Constantinople; he was the son of a Cossack of Hlukhov. (V. Serebrennikov, *Kiev. akad.*, p. 76, note 7. Clipping from *Trudy kievskoyi dukhovnoyi akademiyi*, 1897).

⁸ Arkhyepyskop Filaret, *Istoryko-statisticheskoye opisaniye chernigovskoi eparkhii*, v. III, *Chernihiv*, 1873, pp. 94-95.

⁹ V. Modzalevsky, *Malorossiysky rodoslounyk*, v. II, Kiev, 1910, p. 168; *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, No. I, v. II, Kiev, 1864; F. Lebedintsev, *Arkhimandryt Melkhisedek Znachko-Yavorsky*, pp. CCIX-CCX. At that, the Yavorskys were well-known in the Cossack nobility of Starodub in the 18th century. (A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye staroi Malorossii*, Vol. I, Kiev, 1888, p. 101.)

¹⁰ Dmytriy Tuptalo was Archimandrite of the Novhorod-Siversk Monastery of the Transfiguration from 1699 to 1701 (Filaret, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 95-96).

family of Pohar). It is possible that in this latter case some personal family reasons of the author played a part.¹¹

This literary manner is a general characteristic of *Istoriya Rusov*. In describing common occurrences of Ukrainian life the author has invented a multitude of names that never existed and applied them to similar pseudo-historical persons. It is most noteworthy, however, that in relating events in Siversk (real, or invented), he almost invariably employs *local* names, which did exist in reality. He obviously knew the names very well: the invention of new names was quite superfluous.

There is another reference to Lezhaysky and Pashynsky in *Istoriya Rusov* in the narrative of events of the beginning of the 17th century (p. 42).

The story in *Istoriya Rusov* about the seizure of Orthodox monasteries of Novhorod-Siversk by Catholics and Uniates is very interesting, despite its anachronisms. Two monasteries are mentioned: the male *Uspensky* (Assumption), "opposite the castle" (in this place there really was in the 17th and 18th century and later an *Uspenska* church), and the female cloister *Pokrovsky*, "on the Yaroslavl hill." As is known, there was a "Pokrovska" church in Novhorod-Siversk in the 17th to 19th centuries,¹² there is also a place named "Yaroslavska krynytsya" (Yaroslavl Well) (see below). It

¹¹ There were Borkovskys among the Cossacks, and later among the nobility of Pohar county. In 1774, among other Cossacks of the Pohar *sotnya*, Mykola Borkovsky "was dispatched to the Kazan' *guberniya*" (*K.Ts.A.S.S.*, Malor. kol., chern. vidd., 1776). There is mention of Mykyta Borkovsky in 1790, who lived in the village of Lukyn with five serfs (*K.Ts.A.S.S.* F. No. 280, register of the nobility of Pohar county for 1790). Compare also *Istoriya Rusov*, p. 41, ("Burkovsky from Burka"). Perhaps this is a reflection of the then popular tradition of Chernihiv, negative towards Vasyl' Borkovsky, Colonel of Chernihiv, later Quartermaster-General. (N. Markevych, *Obychaii, poveriya, kukhnia i napytky malorossyian*, Kiev, 1860, p. 79. See A. Lazarevsky, *Ocherki, zametki i dokumenty po istorii Malorossyi*, 2nd ed., Kiev, 1895, pp. 50-51.

¹² True, the tsar's Rescript of 1667 mentions "a city on a hill in Novhorodok-Seversk, where before stood a monastery of *Zhivonachal'na Troitsa* (the Living Trinity), and later a Dominican convent" (Filaret, *op. cit.*, III, 125-126), but the Pokrovska church had also been a monastery before (see letter of S. A. Taranushenko to V. L. Modzalevsky of Sept. 5, 1916, in the Archives of V. L. Modzalevsky). Evidently the Troitsky monastery was not restored since Khmelnytsky's time (see writ of Archbishop Lazar Baranovych of 1670, in Filaret, *op. cit.*, III, 135), all the more so, since Lazar Baranovych annexed the estates of the former Troitsk monastery to the Archbiscopric of Chernihiv in 1673 (Filaret, *op. cit.*, III, 138), the annexation being approved by the universal rescript of Hetman I. Samoylovych of August 21, 1673 (*ibid.*, p. 140).

is also known that there was a Dominican convent in Novhorod-Siversk.¹³

The author of *Istoriya Rusov* obviously does not know that up to the time of the appearance of the False Dmitri, Novhorod-Siversk constituted part of the Muscovite State. His remark that the people of Novhorod-Siversk "had no . . . inclination whatever towards the Poles and their interests. It was opposed by an inborn affinity for co-believers and compatriots which always acted to make them incline to the Russian or Muscovite people" (p. 43) becomes an interesting characteristic.

The story in *Istoriya Rusov* of the expedition of the False Dmitri together with the Polish Army from Chernihiv to Novhorod-Siversk is very important. As usual, there is much confusion of historical details. The activities of Crown Hetman Kalynovsky belong to a later period (mainly to the times of Khmelnytsky). The name Ivan Zarutsky is historical, but his title "Colonel of Seversk . . . appointed by the king as assistant hetman over the Little Russian military" was, of course, an anachronism peculiar to the times of the Hetmancy. In reality the Zarutsky family was well-known in Novhorod-Siversk in the 17th and 18th centuries as clergymen and nobles.¹⁴

Topographical details contained in this story are of outstanding importance, as they attest indubitably to the circumstance that the author was well acquainted with the whole neighborhood of Novhorod-Siversk. "The Poles," says he, "approached Novhorod-Siversk and camped by the *Solene Ozero* (Salt Lake),¹⁵ at the top of wide and deep gullies overgrown with woods, which sometimes filled with water and surrounded Novhorod. The right was

¹³ A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 210.

¹⁴ V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovnnyk*, II, 140-143.

¹⁵ ". . . in *Okopty*, a forest about 2 miles from the city (of Novhorod-Siversky — O.O.) near *Solene Ozero*; today completely dried out. . . ." (I. Sbytnyev, "Novgorod-Seversky", *Otechestvennyia zapiski*, 1828, No. 34, pp. 315, 316). See also next note.

"Towards the village of Forostovychi along the *Solonoie* river-bed (near Sheptaky)." A. Lazarevsky i H. Konstantynovych, *Obozreniye rummyantsevskoy opysy*, p. 766. See M. K. Chaly, *Vospominaniya* (1826-1844), Kiev, 1890, p. 11 (*Solonoie*).

called *Ladeyna prystan*¹⁶ . . . and the left . . . Yaroslavl *potok* (Yaroslavy brook) by reason of its flowing from the Yaroslavy hill" (p. 43). Further on he mentions "the well-known road, hill and ferry near Novhorod" which are called *Putyul'sky* (p. 44).¹⁷ All these names existed in Novhorod-Siversk in the 18th and 19th centuries, and exist to this day.

This story also contains a series of topographical data which indicate that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* knew this locality well. His remarks about the Monastery of the Transfiguration, the town of Hremyach, and others have the same weight.

The attempt of *Istoriya Rusov* to blot out the responsibility of Zarutsky for the massacre committed by the Poles in Novhorod-Siversky, indicates a desire on the author's part not only to rehabilitate the Ukrainian military, which at that time aided the Poles, but also the family name of Zarutsky known over the Novhorod-Siversk area.

The information contained in *Istoriya Rusov* on "*hradonachalnyk*

¹⁶ In a document of 1691 there is mention of "*Okop*, lying beyond Lodeyna" in Novhorod-Siversk (*Trudy chernigovskoi gubernskoi arkhivnoi komissii*, v. X, p. 189). In a document of 1693 "a meadow, lying beyond Lodeyna" is mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 191).

¹⁷ *Istoriya Rusov* indicates that as a result of the ruination of Novhorod-Siversk by the False Dmitri, "the neighboring population went to market customarily to the city of Putyvl" (p. 44). This information deserves comparison with oral reports of old inhabitants of the village of Spaske (Krolevets county), recorded in 1749: "they told of their grandfathers and fathers . . . going to market to Putyvl" (*Zapiski chernigovskavo gubernskavo statisticheskavo komiteta*," v. I, Chernihiv, 1866, p. 253, from the archives of the Baturyn Krupyt'sky monastery).

This story coincides textually with the information of *Istoriya Rusov* to that extent that a direct acquaintance of the author of *Istoriya Rusov* with it can permissibly be established. Considering that he was also acquainted with the Yukhniv story of 1721 of the murder of Wronski (see below), it seems quite possible that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* had access to the archives of the Novhorod-Siversk *Ekonomiya*, where these documents were kept between the years 1786 and 1797. They later found their way into the archives of *Chernihiv'ska Kazenna Palata* (see *Zapiski chern. gubern. statist. kom.*, I, 253, 254).

The "Putyvl road" and "Putyvl ferry" near Novhorod-Siversk (across the Desna river near Pyrohivka) are first mentioned in a decree of Tsar Ivan the Terrible to the Novhorod-Siversky Monastery of the Transfiguration of 1552 (Filaret, *Ist. stat. opis. chern. ep.*, III, 113-116). The "Putyvl ferry" in Novhorod-Siversk is mentioned in documents of the 17th c., e.g. in 1661 (*Trudy chern. gubern. arkh. kom.*, X, 153).

"On Novhorod land beyond the city, near the *Putyvl road*" (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Rummyantsivsky Opys, v. 141, "*vyedomost'*" of the clergy of the village of Len'kov, fol. 4).

"The Putyvl hill" is near Novhorod-Siversk (see *Pamyatnaya knyzhka chernigovskoi guberni*, Chernihiv, 1862, pp. 123, 124. P. Mayevsky, *Izvestkovyie zavody i kamenolomni po beregu reki Desny v Novgorod-Severskom uyezde*).

Berezovsky" of Novhorod-Siversk represents another interesting angle (p. 43), since it appears from the context he was a local man, not Polish. Here the author of *Istoriya Rusov* comes to contradict himself to a certain extent, where he previously maintained that Novhorod-Siversk was then part of the Polish State. The Berezovsky family was known during the 18th century in the Novhorod-Siversk area, and even in the entire Starodub colonelcy. Semen Berezovsky was recorder of the *sotnya* in Novhorod-Siversk (1700 to 1710), during the captaincy of Lukiyán Zhoravka, and later Captain of Novhorod (1710-1712) and regimental *Osaul* of Starodub (1714-1728).¹⁸ Nil Berezovsky was Archimandrite of the Novhorod-Siversk Monastery of the Transfiguration between 1727 and 1733.¹⁹

Using the name of a *locally* known family in relating events of the olden days is simply a literary figure of expression employed by the author of *Istoriya Rusov*.

Novhorod-Siversk and its surrounding area are frequently mentioned in the succeeding pages of *Istoriya Rusov*: the year 1660 on page 151; around 1662, the Tartar attack and ruination of Novhorod-Siversk, Starodub, Mhlyn and Pohar on page 155, *n.b.* an invention of the author of *Istoriya Rusov*; on page 160, besides Novhorod-Siversk there is also mention of the village of Pyrohivka, with its ferry across the Desna river; on page 202, Novhorod-Siversk and to the town of Semionivka, the place of the camp of Hetman Mazepa in 1708, "in the place called to this day "*Shvedchyna*" (Swedes' place);²⁰ page 211, the village of Dehtyarivka "that lies on the Desna, near Novhorod-Siversk," etc.

¹⁸ A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 101-102, 366-368; V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovyuk*, I, 47. There was a Cossack Prokip Berezovsky in Novhorod-Siversk in 1723 (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, "Zbirka arkhografichnoyi komisiiyi," No. 393, fol. 361, top.).

¹⁹ Filaret, *op. cit.*, III, 97-99. See *Trudy chernigovskoi gubernskoi arkhivnoi komisii*, v. III, 2nd ed. Chernihiv, 1913, part I, pp. 68-73.

²⁰ In "Rumyantsivsky opys" of 1767 a "Swedish estate by the river Slota" is mentioned (A. Lazarevsky i N. Konstantynovych, *Obozreniye Rumyantsovskoi opysy*, p. 771). *Opys Novhorod-Siverskoho namisnystva* of 1781 notes a "winery, called Swedish, towards Sheptakovska volost" . . . in the woods by the river Slota" (*Opys novh. nam.*, 1779-1781, p. 361). Von-Hun, who travelled through these parts, wrote about "*khuir Shvedchyna*" (by the river Slota), "this forest is called Swedish, because during the time of the war against Sweden in the reign of Peter the Great, Swedes hid in it and finally settled there" (Von-Hun, *Poverkhnostnyie zamechaniya po doroge ot Moskvuy v Malorossiyyu v 1805 godu*, Moscow, 1806, v. II, p. 13. See A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, v. I, p. 193).

A very interesting episode is the expedition of General-Osaul Rodak across the river Prypyat' through Homel, Chernihiv, Horodnya, Starodub, and Hremyach to Novhorod-Siversk. This episode is, naturally, invented by the author of *Istoriya Rusov*. But he narrates it with such detail that could only interest a local resident, and some of the detail would only be known to the local populace.

Isolated events of this story in *Istoriya Rusov* are substantiated by documentary material. Novhorod-Siversk was captured by insurgent Cossacks around June 10, 1648, because on June 5, (June 15, of the new calendar) it was still in Polish hands, but already on June 15, the nobleman Kryshtof Sylych came running to Trubchevsk and related that "Lithuanian *Cherqasy* came to Novhorod-Siversk . . . and the townspeople living there surrendered Novhorod-Seversk to those *Cherqasy*, and the *Cherqasy* beat and slaughtered all nobles and gentlemen in Novhorod-Siversk."²¹ The story of Sylych corroborates the basic part of *Istoriya Rusov*. In fact *Istoriya Rusov* relates that "the city was taken by Cossacks without any defense" (p. 76). Although the author of *Istoriya Rusov* gives here a broad and, probably, legendary story of the charge and capture of the Novhorod-Siversk castle by Cossacks, this does not detract from the veracity of his basic contention. The story in *Istoriya Rusov*, however, of the Cossacks' killing of Wronski and other nobles is attested by a report of an eye-witness of these events, K. Sylych. Moreover, the story of Wronski's death has all the features of local tradition, and is quite credible (see below).

Not only the whole story, but some details are quite accurate. This must primarily be said regarding the date of the capture of Novhorod-Siversk. The city was taken by Cossacks between June 5 and June 15, obviously around June 10. According to *Istoriya Rusov*, Khmelnytsky received news from Rodak about military operations in the Siversk region and the capture of Novhorod-Siversk on June 13. This date coincides with the documentary date to that extent that we must assume that the author made

²¹ "Akty, odnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii," *A. Yu. i Z. R.*, III, 204, 225.

use of documentary sources available in Novhorod-Siversk (most likely, church chronicles).²²

A very noteworthy reference in *Istoriya Rusov* is to the fact that in 1648 "there was an underground passage from the castle along the water to the river Desna itself" (p. 77). For truly, a description of Novhorod-Siversk composed in 1654, states that "in this mound city (i.e. castle — O.O.) a secret passage led to the water of the river Desna."²³

Finally, the Church of the Resurrection in Novhorod-Siversk certainly existed in 1648, although for some reason it was not mentioned in the description of Novhorod-Siversk of 1654.²⁴ It is possible that this church was damaged in 1648 or burnt. It is mentioned in documents of the end of the 17th and 18th century.²⁵

Istoriya Rusov further furnishes very interesting names of some Novhorod-Siversky localities which are known only to the local population: "Yaroslavl brooks or streams," "Zubrov ditch." In Novhorod-Siversk such names as "Yaroslavova *krynytsya* (well)" in *Zaruch'yi* (*Zaruchay*) have been preserved to this day, it is the name of one of the largest springs in the city,²⁶ or ditches called "*Zubrovsky*" (or *Zubrytsky*).²⁷

²² That similar chronicles existed is proved by the following fact: in the town of Drokviv (Suraz'ky county) a breviary of the 17th century contains this note of a contemporary: "the king of Sweden went . . . through Mhlyn and Starodub in the year 1700 and eight, in the month of September, twenty third day" (*Chernigovskaia gubernskaia vedomosti*," 1853, part 48 (unofficial), p. 449).

²³ *A. Yu. i Z. R.*, X, 831. The description of the Novhorod-Siversk governorship of 1781 mentions a "mound castle" in Novhorod-Siversk (*Opys novhorod-siverskoho namisnyistva*, 1779-1781, p. I).

²⁴ *A. Yu. i Z. R.*, X, 831. The description of 1654 lists in Novhorod-Siversk only *Uspenska* church and the Monastery of the Transfiguration, although there existed at the time undoubtedly other churches.

²⁵ According to Archbishop Filaret, the stone Church of the Resurrection was built in 1707 "in place of the rotted wooden one. The latter, according to tradition, existed in 1601." (Filaret, *Istoriiko-statisticheskoye opisaniye chernigovskoi eparkhii*, v. VI, Chernihiv, 1874, p. 8, and pp. 17-18).

²⁶ M. Rklitsky, *Gorod Novgorod-Seversky, yevu proshloye i nastoyashcheye*, Chernihiv, 1900, pp. 1, 4. Another name for it is "*Zaruchayska krynytsia*" (See I. Sbytnyev, *Novgorod-Seversky. Otechestvennyye zapiski*, 1828, IV, 108 ("*Zaruchayska krynytsia*, sometimes called the well of Yaroslav"); D. Bahaley, *Istoriya severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV st.*, Kiev, 1882, pp. 89-90).

²⁷ They are mentioned by P. O. Kulish in a letter to O. M. Bodyansky of April 21, 1848 (Tula): "I myself went to school there (i.e. in Novhorod-Siversk — O.O.) and wandered through the *Zubrovsky ditches*, running away from algebra and rhetoric" (*Kievskaya starina*, 1898, II, 284).

If the name of the General-*Osaul* Rodak appears to be obviously invented by the author of *Istoriya Rusov*, his remark about the standard-bearer (*khorunzhy*) of Novhorod-Siversk, Fesko Kharkevych, is quite plausible. Among the Cossacks of Novhorod-Siversk in 1654 "*khorunzhy* Ivan Fedorov the son of Vorobey" is mentioned.²⁸ When we consider that according to *Istoriya Rusov* the Kharkevych wounded by Wronski "soon after died" (p. 77), it is not improbable that Ivan Fedorovych was made standard-bearer after the death of his father. The name Kharkevych (or Kharchenko) occurs quite frequently in the Novhorod-Siversk area.²⁹

But probably by far the most interesting problem is, where did

²⁸ *A. Yu. i Z. R.*, X, 830.

²⁹ Kharyton (Kharko), and a son of his would be called either Kharchenko, or Kharkovych (Polonized version: Kharkevych). See, for example, V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovnnyk*, III, 593, genealogy of Molyavkas. Among others, the *Kharchenkos* lived in the village of Yukhniv (near Novhorod-Siversk, the estate of the Khanenkos), (*Zapysky chern. gub. stat. kom.*, Vol. I, Chernihiv, 1866, p. 254. See *Ukrayins'ky arkhiv*, Kiev, 1929, I, 512). "Kharko Kondratovych, resident of Yukhniv" is mentioned in 1670, whose daughter was married to a clergyman of the Novhorod-Siversky Church of Christ's Nativity, Ioann (Lushko). A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye staroi Malorossii*, Kiev, 1893, II, 519. In the year 1721, Stepan Kharchenko, resident of the village of Yukhniv, said: "I, Stepan Kharchenko, know from my late *grandfather and father, who were born here and grew old here* where during the time of the Polish nobles the boundary line lay, and on this writing I truly admit: the Pole Wronski, who governed the village of Yukhniv, together with the white priests, made the boundary line. . . And since that time when there was ruin in our little Russian towns against the Poles, the priests of the state went away to Poland." (*Zapiski chern. gub. stat. kom.*, I, 254, 255). It is noteworthy that it was S. Kharchenko who mentioned the killing of Wronski (*ibid.*, p. 255, see below). This story is contained in a document of 1768 from the archives of the Novhorod-Siversk Monastery of the Transfiguration (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, No. 191, case No. 128, sheet 49, ord. -51). Stepan Kharchenko is the same Stepan Kharchenko (Kharchenok), who is entered in the list of the Starodub regiment in 1723, together with his sons Lazar and Andriy (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, *Zbirka arkhogr. kom.*, No. 393, f. 128, ord.). Besides, there was at that time in Yukhniv Yatsko Kharchenok among the Cossacks "who were unable to serve at all." (*ibid.*, f. 144, ord.).

There were also Kharchenkos in Novhorodok in 1723, "among the wealthier city-folk," Yakym Kharchenok is included (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, *Zb. arkh. kom.*, No. 393, 696f., ord.).

Andriy Stepanovych Kharchenko, Yukhniv Cossack is mentioned in 1768 (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, No. 191, case No. 128, 26f., ord.). His children, nobles of Novhorod-Siversk county Ivan and Harasym Andriyevych Kharchenko, lived in the village of Yukhniv in 1790 (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, No. 280, unreported cases).

Zakhar Kindratovych Kharchenko, "*Znatny viys'kovy tovarysh*" (prominent comrade-in-arms), received in 1671 permission to occupy the dam and erect a mill on the river Studenets', near the village of Yukhniv (*Chern. oblasny istorychny arkhiv*, F. Chernihiv-koho Dvoryans'koho Zibrannya, No. 4241, 43f.). He is the ancestor of the Chernihiv noble Kharchenko, (Lukomsky, V. Modzalevsky, *Gerbovnik*, p. 194).

There were also Cossack (later gentry) Kharchenkos in the 18th century in the village

the author of *Istoriya Rusov* get the name of the "Seversk voievoda," Jan Wronski. Documents and Cossack chronicles known to this author do not mention his name as chief of the defense of Novhorod-Siversk from the attack by insurgent Cossacks. We know of Colonel Yu. Ponentowski, who was really in charge of troops of noblemen in Novhorod-Siversk in 1648,³⁰ and of the successor of O. Piasoczynski as Starosta of Novhorod — the Novhorod Zemsky judge, Jan Kunicki (1646-1648).³¹

But old people in the village of Yukhniv related in 1721 that under the rule of Poland Yukhniv belonged to the "Lakh (Pole) *Wronski*"; "and after the death of Wronski, when he had been killed, his serfs and all incomes and uses of his estate became the property of the City Hall of Novhorod."³² This then indicates that Wronski (Jan) was a real historical person.³³

of Dehtyarivka, of Novhorod *Sotnya* (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Zb. Arkh. Kom., No. 393, for 1723; *K.Ts.A.S.A.* f. No. 191, No. 145, sheet 6, for 1768; *K.Ts.A.S.A.*, f. No. 280, unreported cases, 1790).

But there were also Kharkevychs in the Novhorod-Siversk governorship in the 1780-ies. The register of the clergy for 1784 mentions in the village of Rozlity (Krolevets' area) the sexton Samiyo Kharkevych (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, book 5917, 6f.), and in the village of Pohoriltvy (Mashev Protopyy) son of a verger, Terenty Kharkevych (*ibid.*, 288f.).

Istoriya Rusov also mentions regimental *Osaul* Kharkevych, condemned along with Ostryanytsya, *Istoriya Rusov*, p. 56.

³⁰ *A. Yu. i Z. R.*, III, 204.

³¹ A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 210, 246.

³² *Zap. chern. gub. stat. kom.*, I, 254 (From documents of the Novhorod-Siversk Spaso-Preobrazhensky monastery).

³³ The noble Vronsky family of Chernihiv originates from Jan *Wronski* (1636) (H. Myloradovych, *Rodoslovnaya kniga*, No. VI, II, 29, 30; V. Lukomorsky and V. Modzalevsky, *Malorossiysky gerbovník*, St. Petersburg, 1914, p. 27), who is, of course, the same person as the Jan Wronski of *Istoriya Rusov*. Jan Wronski was supposed to have an estate in the village of Yukhniv (*Chern. oblas. istor. arkhiv.*, F. *Chern. dvor. zibr.*, No. 5282, fol. A11, p. 48). In reality, in the 18th century we find, in Yukhniv, Cossacks (later nobles) by the name of Vronsky. According to the computation of 1723, there were allegedly no Wronskis (Vronsky) in Yukhniv (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Zb. arkh. kom., No. 393), provided, naturally that such *name* had not been omitted. It is therefore possible that they made their appearance in Yukhniv somewhat later (or else there was an interval). Fedir Vronsky, Yukhniv Cossack, is mentioned in the 1760-ies (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, F. No. 191, case No. 128, fol. 26, ord.). Petro Vronsky (23 years old), Cossack of the Novhorod *Sotnya*, went to war against Turkey in 1769 (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, f. *Maloros. kol.*, *chern.* part for year 1769). In the registers of the nobility of Novhorod-Siversk county for 1790 we find in the village of Yukhniv the following Vronsky: Petro, Stepan, and Oleksa Fedorovych and Yevdokym and Stepan Ivanovych (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, F. No. 280, unreported cases of 1790).

Mykola Petrovych Vronsky (son of Petro Fedorovych) is "Gubernial registrar in the Upper Court" (of Novhorod-Siversk — O.O.) (*ibid.*) There were also Vronsky in Novhorod-Siversk in the 19th century (see *Chern. gub. ved.*, 1852, 9, dept. I, p. 60).

It is clear, therefore, that when the author was writing *Istoriya Rusov* about 150 years after the above-mentioned event, he could find out about it only in the *place of the event*, either from local oral tradition, or, what is more certain, from local written sources (particularly church family documents), or perhaps he drew upon both these groups of sources.³⁴ This means that he lived somewhere near-by and not only visited here, because he not only knows Novhorod-Siversk and its vicinity well, but also takes especial interest in its past as a local patriot, devotes to these events of comparatively secondary importance his great attention, up to the inclusion of minute details. Even if he composes stories in his own way (having particular predilection for depicting scenes of battle), he does it with total veracity and accuracy of detail. This could obviously be done only by a local person. Consequently we must agree that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* lived either in Novhorod-Siversk or very close to it.

Only one episode of *Istoriya Rusov* has here been subjected to analysis, it nevertheless clearly shows the close connection the author of *Istoriya Rusov* had with the Novhorod-Siversk area, his particular interest in it, and his thorough acquaintance with this locality. But this episode is not the only one.

It is worthwhile to stop and consider another episode, which is chronologically closer to the author of *Istoriya Rusov*. It is the story of conditions in Novhorod-Siversk at the time of the Swedish attack in 1708 and deserves to be quoted in its entirety.

“Novhorod-Siversk was prepared by Mazepa for the first reception and bivouac of the Swedish king and his army. It was specially fortified and its castle contained considerable stores, and for the defense of the fort and military depot its garrison had added one *Serdyuk* (guard) regiment commanded by its Colonel Chechel, and two *Sotnyas* of registered Cossacks: of Novhorod and Topal under command of Novhorod Captain Lukian Zhoravka. And as usual the registered Cossacks always hated the *Serdyuks* for their disorderliness and temper and sought revenge on them for this.

³⁴ The Yukhniv story of 1721 about the killing of Wronski was preserved in the archives of the Novhorod-Siversk Spaso-Preobrazhensky monastery (later in the archives of the Chernihiv Kazenna Palata, *Zap. chern. gub. stat. kom.* I, 255). There is reason to believe that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* knew this story from its *documentary source*.

The tsar and his army were then approaching Novhorod and stood on the *opposite bank, on the river Desna, in the village of Pohrebky, while he himself was quartered in the home of a local Cossack Malchych*; then Captain Zhoravka, in agreement with the Novhorod protopop Lysovsky and the Cossack command, *through standard-bearer Pavlo Khudorbay*, informed the ruler in Pohrebky that they would surrender the city, if he would permit the sending of his troops to the city at night from the meadow side. After this announcement the ruler then ordered a considerable number of troops towards the city, and the captain and his command and citizens led and admitted them into the city *through the so-called Vodny Gate, which is between the castle and the cloister*. The tsar's soldiers, taking the *Serdyuks* by surprise in the city and castle, killed them all and took the city. The tsar visited the city within twenty-four hours and quartered in the *captain's stone house*, and intended to punish a few tens of the citizens for accepting the *Serdyuks* and to deter citizens of other cities, so they should not accept soldiers of the enemy; but a *boyaryn* who happened to be present, Count Sheremetev, interceded for the citizens and argued with the ruler that 'if Your Highness, who knew Mazepa much better than these people knew him, could misplace his confidence in him, giving him faith and unlimited honors, then how could these people have mistrusted him, when they are far from all political and ministerial matters, which are always concealed from them and impenetrable? And meanwhile Mazepa, who had been their commander-in-chief, gave them no sign of his conduct.' The ruler, considering such good reasons, and because, luckily, Menshikov was not present, forgave the citizens and rewarded the officers who collaborated in the surrender of the city: he made Captain Zhoravka colonel of Starodub, and protopop Lysovsky, captain of Novhorod, and this ordained protopop conducted services in church on Sundays wearing a stole, and on other days he officiated in the captaincy with a sword at his side, but just the same he never shaved his beard, and judged litigants, at the same time giving them benediction. But in this occurrence the highest praise goes to the deliverer of innocence, *boyaryn* Sheremetev. Memory of him will be lasting and respected in Novhorod from generation to generation" (pp. 207-208).

In this story a series of details is undeniably not in accord with historical truth. It is easily noticeable that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* transposed to Novhorod-Siversk some details tied with Baturyn: in particular the *Serdyuk* Colonel D. Chechel was then, as is well known, not in Novhorod-Siversk, but in Baturyn. *Istoriya Rusov* nevertheless quite correctly estimates the great importance of Novhorod-Siversk as a fortress and military depot, and also, in accord with local sources (chronicled and oral tradition); furnishes facts and information that are either irrefutable, or quite plausible. Peter I and Sheremetev were actually in the village of Pohrebky;³⁵ and the Novhorod Captain Lukyan Zhoravka really surrendered the city to the Russian army, and for that he was promoted to colonel of Starodub.³⁶ Very significant topographical details: the village of Pohrebky is really situated on the left bank of the Desna "on the meadow side" of Novhorod-Siversk. The name "Vodny Gate, between the castle and cloister" in Novhorod-Siversk is also interesting (historically and topographically quite correct).³⁷ It is also known that Captain Zhoravka had a stone house in Novhorod-Siversk, and Peter I could have stayed in it while in Novhorod-Siversk. The ruins of this house stood until 1852.³⁸ The evaluation of Sheremetev's role is also interesting, his name being, according to old tradition, very popular in Ukrainian circles,³⁹ which always held him high, and not without good reason, against the hated Menshikov.

³⁵ N. Kostomarov, *Sobraniye sochinenii*, St. Petersburg, 1905, VI, 632, 633.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 724-725; A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 38.

³⁷ "Vodny Gate, situated between the convent and castle" (I. Sbytnyev, "O proyezdye Gosudarya imperatora cherez Novgorod-Seversk," *Ukrainsky zhurnal*, 1825, No. VIII, 19-20, p. 97). "Vodniya (gate — O.O.) meshdu zamkom y klashtorom," (I. Sbytnyev, "Novgorod-Seversky," *Otyechestvenn. zapiski*, 1828, 34, p. 314).

³⁸ "Not far from this church (Uspensky sobor — O.O.), on the same street stands a stone house — today empty, with only the walls left, which was then Captain . . . Zhoravka's" (*Chern. gub. vyed.*, 1853, No. I, unofficial, p. 7). This building was already in ruins in 1816. A. Levshin, who was in Novhorod-Siversk at that time, saw the "remainders of this house in which the Great Peter observed the movements of the Swedes." (A. Levshin, *Pisma iz Malorossii*, Kharkiv, 1816, p. 186). See also M. K. Chaly, *Vospominaniya*, p. 6.

³⁹ It is worthwhile to compare *Istoriya Rusov's* opinion of Sheremetov with a corresponding opinion of the Lyzohub chronicler (*Sbornik letopisei, otnosyashchychhsya k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*, Kiev, 1888, p. 53). See V. Shcherbyna, *Novi studiyi z istoriyi Kyeva*, pp. 78-79, 96. This story from *Istoriya Rusov* is generally corroborated by Swedish sources. The Quartermaster-General of the Swedish army, Gyllenkrook, tells of Sheremetev's

The story concerning the famous protopop, Captain Fedir Lysovsky, is not presented quite accurately. Somehow, Lysovsky really ingratiated himself with the Russian Government in 1708, for which he was made "Protopop" (chief parson) of Hadyach (not Novhorod-Siversk), and after his scandalous departure from there, he was given the office of captain of Novhorod-Siversk (1715-1721), where he became famous for great graft and violence, the tradition of which remained alive for a long time, but it assumed anecdotic interpretation in *Istoriya Rusov*.⁴⁰

But the most salient is the report that Peter I stayed in Pohrebky "in the house of the local Cossack Malchych" (p. 207). It appears that in this case the author of *Istoriya Rusov* resorts to his usual method of employing actual local names. The Malchenkos (and there is no doubt that they are the same) were an old Cossack family in Pohrebky in the 18th century. "They, the Malchenkos, are Cossacks by ancestry" states "Rumyantsivsky opys" of 1767,⁴¹ who towards the end of the century entered into the register of nobles.⁴² A local researcher, S. V. Rklitsky, writes: "Concerning

movement towards Novhorod-Siversk. Joseph Cederhielm, secretary of Field Headquarters of Charles XII, wrote to his brother from Baturyn on November 10, 1708: "When the vanguard (of General Kreitz — O.O.) came to the village of Czeptaki (Sheptaky — O.O.) one mile from Novhorod, they encountered a small troop of Russians in a field, whom they dispersed and took some prisoners. Here they found out that the enemy had outdistanced our troops and had already thrown one detachment into the city (of Novhorod-Siversk — O.O.). They (the Swedes) were neither in a position to attack the city, nor did they have orders to do so. His Highness (Charles XII — O.O.) who had turned with his army in the same direction could not change anything without endangering his position. . . . In the meantime the enemy had an opportunity to withdraw from around Novhorod across the river, so that he stood before us on the opposite bank (across from the village of Horky — O.O.)." (B. Krupnytsky, *Mazepa i Shvedy v 1708 r.*, (based on memoirs and correspondence of participants), Symposium "Mazepa," v. II, *Pratsi Ukr. Nauk. Instytutu*, Warsaw, 1939, XLVII, 5, 7).

⁴⁰ A. Lazarevsky, "Ocherki iz byta Malorossii v XVIII veke," III. Sotnyky, *Russky Arkhiv*, 1873, book I, pp. 355-369; A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 197-206. See S. Moravsky, "Fedor Lysovsky," 1709-1722, *Kievskaya starina*, 1891, IX, X.

⁴¹ *K.Ts.A.S.A.*, "Rumyantsivsky Opys," v. 140.

⁴² Although the name Malchenko is not mentioned in the computation of 1723 (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Zb. arkh. kom., No. 393), it is nevertheless certain that ancestors of the Malchenkos were even then in Pohrebky. The mansion of Stepan Malchenko is described in "Rumyantsivsky Opys" as "old" (*Ibid.*, Rum. Op., v. 140). They were obviously the brothers "Kalmychky" mentioned in the computation of 1723: Lazar, Yosyp, and Kuz'ma (*Ibid.*, Zb. Arkh. Kom. No. 393, f.141 ord.). Ihnat Ospyovych Malchenko (Malchenok), "Cossack of the Novhorod Sotnya, resident of the village of Pohrebky" (1759), whose acquisition of land in the Drobyshev area are mentioned, beginning with the year 1726,

the Malchenko family, old residents of Pohrebky relate that on one beam of the house of Malchenko there was a carved inscription 'Peter I was here.' The house burned down in 1889."⁴³ This would very clearly indicate the presence of *local* tradition, which the author of *Istoriya Rusov*, in the absence of written sources, would have known only by reason of his being a *local* resident. Finally, of great weight is the "countrymanship" of the Malchenkos and Khudorbas (Khudorbays), and particularly the connection of these two names in *Istoriya Rusov*.

The interest of the author of *Istoriya Rusov* in the Novhorod-Siversk region was also manifested, as we have seen, in using, appropriately or inappropriately, local names, which he frequently ties in with real or invented events, with which these persons had no real connection. The author of *Istoriya Rusov* pays signal attention to one name, that of "Khudorba," not letting an opportunity go by without praising the real or fictitious merits of this family. This name is first mentioned in *Istoriya Rusov* in a narrative of the beginnings of the Khmelnytsky movement. After the fantastic battle near Kamyianets' and its capture by Cossacks, Khmelnytsky dispatched his aides to all corners of Ukraine for the purpose of fighting detachments of the Polish military and the local nobles.⁴⁴ Among those dispatched was volunteer cavalry Colonel "Kondrat Khudorbay," who along with another colonel, Yakov Hladky,⁴⁵ (*n.b.* also a well-known Cossack family in the Novhorod-Siversk area, see below) was ordered "beyond Chernihiv, into Polesye and Severya" (p. 68). Near Horodnya (North of Chernihiv), their

was certainly the son of Osyp Kalmychyk. At the time of the Rummyantsiv revision, there was in Pohrebky Stepan Malchenok (son of Ihnat), elected Cossack (age 35) (*Ibid.*, Rum. Op., v. 140), who, in 1769 went to war against Turkey (*Ibid.*, f. Mal. kol., Chern. vidd., 1770, No. 1088). In 1789 there is mention in Pohrebky of "Sotnya Osaul, nobleman Denys Malchenko", and "from the nobility, Cossack Fylyp Malchenko" (*Kievskaya starina*, 1901, I, 123, 124).

⁴³ S. Rklitsky, "Dogovory prikhozhan s svyashchennikami v staroi Malorossii (po povodu dogovornavo akta 1789 g.)" *Kievskaya starina*, 1901, I, 124, note 2.

⁴⁴ *Lviv's'ky rus'ky litopys* states that "Khmelnytsky sent his colonels to all parts, to Byelorussia, to Severshchina, to Polesye, to Ruska Podolia, to Volhynia. . ." (*Russki istoricheski sbornik*, Moscow, 1838, III, 262-263).

⁴⁵ *Istoriya Rusov* also mentions "Hladky, Colonel of Myrhorod" (p. 102). There was really a colonel of Myrhorod, Matviy Hladky (1649-1652). I. Krypyakevych, "Studiya nad derzhavoyu Bohdana Khmelnytskoho," VIII. — *ZNTSh.*, 151, 131. See below.

detachment was routed by Prince Radziwiłł; General-Standard-bearer Buynos, Colonel Hladky, regimental *Osaul* Podobay⁴⁶ and many Cossacks were killed, and “their saddlebags, stores and artillery were taken booty by the enemy” (p. 74). But Colonel Khudorbay preserved his troops, and joining forces with General-*Osaul* Rodak near Homel, annihilated Radziwiłł, proceeding thereafter to Novhorod-Siversk, which was captured by the Cossacks (p. 76).

Istoriya Rusov further mentions the name Khudorba in relating of the defeat of the Cossack army, under the command of “*Nakazny* Hetman” (Hetman-in-charge) Yakiv Tomylo, at the hands of the Tatar Khan on the river Samara in October 1655. Here again Colonel Khudorbay succeeded in rescuing part of the Cossack army from a tight spot: “Others, under the command of Colonel Khudorbay, hid in the Dnieper meadow in its reeds and brush, evaded them until nightfall, and at night made their way across the Dniepr on reed rafts, got into the Uman’ area and joined the Cossack military” (p. 129).

Colonel Khudorbay, this time from Uman’, appears for the third time in events taking place during the Hetmanate of Yuriy Khmelnytsky in 1660. “Hetman Khmelnytsky began his rule by expelling from Little Russia Poles, brought there by Vyhovsky; for this purpose he ordered a military corps under the command of colonels, Tsyutsyura of Pereyaslav, and Khudorbay of Uman’, who going through the cities of Nezhin, *Novgorod-Siversk*, Starodub, Chernygov, Kiev and their vicinities, rid them of all Polish soldiers who had garrisoned the cities and quartered in the settlements. . .” (pp. 151-152).

Finally the last time *Istoriya Rusov* mentions the Khudorbays in connection with Swedish events of 1708. The Novhorod standard-bearer Pavlo Khudorbay was the one who, delegated by Novhorod Captain Lukyan Zhoravka and protopop Lysovsky, informed Peter I in Pohrebky of the Cossacks’ readiness to surrender Novhorod-Siversk (p. 207).

It is remarkable that in all four instances, the Khudorbays (or

⁴⁶ This name suggests Stepan Pobodaylo, colonel of Chernihiv (1651-1654) (I. Krypyakevych, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 134).

Khudorbas) play a *positive* role from the viewpoint of the author of *Istoriya Rusov*. This fact is significant of itself. Furthermore, almost all Khudorbays are tied with Novhorod-Siversk, one way or another. This ultimately poses the question, where did the author of *Istoriya Rusov* get that name from, and why does he taken an interest in a family, which had not played any significant role in the history of Ukraine? The Khudorbays (Khudorbas, Khudorbiys) were an old Cossack (later noble) family in the Novhorod-Siversk region, who descended from Mykhailo Kindratovych Khudorbiy, "prominent comrade-in-arms."⁴⁷

In the computation of the Starodub regiment of 1723, there is an entry in the village of Koman' of Cossack Pavlo Khudorba with sons, Semen and Vasyl', who "live on one estate and in one house and serve by virtue of their father's land."⁴⁸ In 1767 in the village of Koman' there was a selected Cossack (one who has been a Cossack for many generations — *izdrevle Kozak*), Mykhailo Omelanenkiv Khudorba, "a native of this village," 50 years old.⁴⁹ He was still living in 1790, having the rank of retired comrade-in-arms, and by then admitted to the register of nobles of Novhorod-Siversk county.⁵⁰ This admission he must have owed to his sons, in the first place to the middle one, Arkhip Mykhailovych (born between 1748 and 1752, and living in 1790), who was Captain of Sheptaky (1777-1782), Officer of the Hetman's Suite (1783) and first major of the Starodub Carabinier regiment (1790), author of a patriotic *Istoriya Ukrainy*, which has not come down

⁴⁷ V. Lukomsky i V. Modzalevsky, *Gerbovník*, pp. 196-197, the Khudorbiy coat-of-arms, table XVII.

⁴⁸ *K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Zb. Arkh. Kom. No. 393, fol. 127. The coincidence of the name Pavlo Khudorbay of *Istoriya Rusov* with the name of a historically known Cossack of Koman', Pavlo Khudorba is very significant.

Vasyl' Pavlovych Khudorba is, of course, that "Vasyl' Khudorbenko," Cossack of the village of Koman', who is mentioned in the record of the General Investigation of 1729 (*Heneralne sliďstvo pro mayetnosti starodubiv's'koho polku*, Kiev, 1929, pp. 511-512). It is also the same Cossack of the village of Koman', Vasyl Khudorba, mentioned in the revision of 1738 (see *K.Ts.A.S.A.*, "Rumyantsivsky Opys", v. 140).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, "Rum. Op.", v. 140, v. Koman', f. 10-12, ord., he was probably the son of Vasyl' Pavlovych Khudorba.

Besides M. Omelanenko-Khudorba, there were other Cossacks by the name of Khudorba in the village of Koman' in 1767 (*Ibid.*, "Rum. Op.", v. 140).

⁵⁰ *K.Ts.A.S.A.*, F. No. 280, unreported cases for 1790. Only this line of the Khudorba family was admitted to the nobility.

to us, but which most certainly served as one of the sources of *Istoriya Rusov*.⁵¹ In 1799 the Heraldry certified the Khudorbiys to the rights of Russian nobility.⁵²

The Khudorbiy family was known in those parts in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. S. V. Rklitsky, a native of the village of Pohrebky, wrote in 1901: "the lands of the Khudorbiys are even today in the estates of the village of Pohrebky" (the village of Pohrebky is near Koman').⁵³ Thus, the Khudorbiys (Khudorbas) are old residents of this region.

It must be stated in general that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* very often mentions real or invented occurrences or conditions in the Novhorod-Siversk area. He can be called not only a Ukrainian patriot, but also a patriot of his narrower fatherland, the Novhorod-Siversk region. From the very beginning almost to the end, *Istoriya Rusov* is saturated with this lively interest and attention to Novhorod-Siversk vicinity. A few examples:

1) Narrating, after *Povest vremennykh let*, the legendary journey of the Apostle Andrew to Kiev and Novhorod, *Istoriya Rusov* states: "This Apostle coming by the river Desna was then also in Novhorod-Siversk." *Istoriya Rusov* ties with this the known chronicle story about the Novhorod baths (p. 4).

2) In the story about the successful war of the Polish King Ladislas III (erroneously called II) against the Turks in 1439, *Istoriya Rusov* mentions, along with the Kievan Voievoda "Svietoldovych," the "Seversky (voievoda — O.O.) Olhovsky" (p. 12, an obvious hint at the Siversky Princes Olhovych). He is also mentioned in the story of the war of 1444.

3) Among the first Cossack regiments in Ukraine, allegedly introduced by "Hetman Ruzhynsky" during the reign of Sigis-

⁵¹ Re: A. M. Khudorba and his work, see this author's "Istoriya Ukrainy Khudorby," (*Krakiv'ki visti*, 1943, Nos. 238, 239). Besides Arkhip, old Mykhailo Khudorba had the following sons: cornet Opanas Khudorba, flag-comrade Volodymyr, Fedir Khudorba, and daughter Malaniya, (*K.Ts.A.S.A.*, Rum. Op., v. 140; *K.Ts.A.S.A.*, F. No. 280, cases of 1790; *Kievskaya starina*, 1901, I, 123).

⁵² The Khudorbiys were registered in the IV part of "Obshchi gerbovnik dvoryanskikh rodov rossiyskoi imperii" (*I Polnoye sobraniye zakonov*, v. XXV, No. 19238, Dec. 31, 1799). See A. Bobrinsky, *Dvoryanskiye rody*, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1890, pp. 432, 433.

⁵³ *Kievskaya starina*, 1901, I, 123.

mund I, *Istoriya Rusov* lists the "Seversky" regiment (along with the Kiev and Chernihiv, p. 15).⁵⁴

4) The author of *Istoriya Rusov* is very hostile to the *Raskolniki*. "Their numerous sects or varied explanations do not agree with any Christian or deist sect, but are only simple, delirious peasant talk, taken from coarse language and multiplied by senseless superstition. . . They (*Raskolniki* — O.O.) filled with their refugees all Poland, Prussia, Moldavia and Bessarabia." But, "only the Little Russian landowners suffered for them, and the secular ones, at that" (pp. 222, 223). This could have been written only by a landowner of the Novhorok-Siversk region, where "settlements of the *Raskolnik*'" were becoming great competitors of the local landowners, and who hated them during the 18th,⁵⁵ and even in the 19th century. Suffice it to recall the opinion of H. V. Yesymontovsky of them in his 1844 *Opisaniye surazhskavo uyezda*.⁵⁶ The author of *Istoriya Rusov* appears to be not disinterestedly acquainted with anti-old-rite literature (e.g. he knows *Prashchitsa* by Archbishop Pitirim).⁵⁷

5) A major clue towards the establishment of the person of the author of *Istoriya Rusov* is provided by the story of the battle in Hayman-Dolyna in 1738 in which General-*bunchuchny* Semen Haletsky was killed, and from the general information of the war of 1735-1739. This story is without question of Novhorod-Siversk origin.

Of special interest is the story of the rescue of Semen Haletsky's son, Petro, during the unfortunate battle in Hayman-Dolyna. "Haletsky called his son Petro, who was *Pohar captain in the Starodub regiment*, and permitted him to save himself as a young man man by all possible means, and as to himself he would act according to the duties of his oath and command. And thus these troops were routed by the Tatar Host to the man, and chief Haletsky

⁵⁴ "Seversk regiment" is also mentioned by *Istoriya Rusov* later, e.g. in 1650 (p. 104).

⁵⁵ A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 443-445.

⁵⁶ G. V. Yesymontovsky, *Opisaniye surazhskavo uyezda*, Chernihiv, 1845 and 1882, 2d ed., pp. 239, 240.

⁵⁷ There was a copy of *Prashchitsa* published in 1726 in the library of the Novhorod-Siversky Spaso-Preobrazhensky Monastery (Filaret, *op. cit.*, v. III, p. 152).

was cut in pieces, but his son with a few hundred Cossacks and dragoons saved themselves during the oncoming night among the dead bodies and empty wells" (pp. 240-241).

This story originated undoubtedly in the Haletsky family. In this connection, we might examine the interesting figures of Semen Yakovych and Petro Semenovych Haletsky. General-*bunchuchny* (1734-1738) Semen Yakovych Haletsky is a person closely tied with the Novhorod-Siversk region; he was, in particular both Novhorod-Siversk captain (1722-1723) and Starodub regimental captain (1724-1734). Between 1723 and 1725 he was imprisoned in Petersburg in connection with the case of Hetman Polubotok.⁵⁸

Semen Haletsky's son, Petro Semenovych Haletsky, who succeeded his father to the captaincy of Starodub (1734-1738), was later colonel of Hadyach (1738-1754)⁵⁹ and, like his father, part of the Novhorod-Siversk area, where he possessed numerous relations and considerable estates. The author of *Istoriya Rusov* could have been informed by him, or more likely by his descendants, very influential landowners of the second half of the 18th century, about details of the battle in Hayman Dolyna.

6) The story about the "misdeeds" of Biron's brother, obviously General Karl Biron,⁶⁰ whose "knavery and depravities repulse the very imagination of a human being" (p. 243), contains unmistakable features of *Northern-Left-Bank* origin, and is indicative of the connection of *Istoriya Rusov's* author with the territory of the Novhorod-Siversk governorship. *Istoriya Rusov* says of K. Biron, not without reason, that "the memory of his misdeeds

⁵⁸ V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovnnyk*, I, 234; A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 139-141.

⁵⁹ V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovnnyk*, I, 235. It is to be noted that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* confuses the offices of father and son Haletsky. Not the father, but the son Haletsky was (later) colonel of Hadyach. In fact, Hryhoriy Hrabynka was colonel of Hadyach in 1738, and he perished ("Missing without trace") in the Hayman-Dolyna battle (V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovnnyk*, I, 329). In 1738 the Poharsky captain was not the son of Semen Haletsky, but (some time before) Semen himself. This would indicate unquestionably that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* related this story from memory of other peoples' oral narratives of occurrences described much later. But at the same time this story tends to disprove the authorship of O. Bezborod'ko decidedly, inasmuch as biographical data of the Haletskys, close relatives of Bezborod'ko, as given in *Istoriya Rusov* are completely at variance with such data contained in one of O. Bezborod'ko's letters to Count A. Vorontsov, dated around 1780 (*Arkhiv kn. Vorontsova*, XIII, 197-198).

⁶⁰ See M. Khmyrov, *Istoricheskiye stati*, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 241, note 2 on p. 242.

makes the citizens of Starodub and its neighborhood shudder" (p. 243). There is also an interesting indication that K. Biron was "very lame and almost legless," "a complete cripple" (p. 243).⁶¹

7) Another interesting story is of the sojourn of a Ukrainian deputation in Petersburg in the year 1745 (pp. 245-246), which most certainly comes from the Hudovych family, who were very influential in the Novhorod-Siversk governorship.⁶²

8) The author of *Istoriya Rusov* repeatedly uses geographical names of the Novhorod-Siversk area,⁶³ as well as names of local families, or particular historical personages (besides those listed above: Hudym — p. 13,⁶⁴ Shevernyts'ky — p. 33,⁶⁵ Skobychevsky — p. 50,⁶⁶ Tomylo — p. 129,⁶⁷ Hladky — p. 68, 74,⁶⁸ and others,⁶⁹

⁶¹ This characteristic is in general accord with Manstein's description of K. Biron: "This was a most brutal person; he was all disfigured from fights and tussles, into which he got when drunk and through his brutal behavior. He was feared and avoided in Russia" (*Zapiski Mansteina o Rossii 1727-1744*, St. Petersburg, 1875, p. 30).

⁶² The very favorable attitude of *Istoriya Rusov* to General-Treasurer Vasyli' Hudovych speaks against the authorship of O. Bezborod'ko, inasmuch as the relations between O. Bezborod'ko and the Hudovych family, in particular Andriy Vasylovych Hudovych, were quite bad.

⁶³ See "Ukazatel *Istoriyi Rusov*" (Index to the printed edition of "*Istoriya Rusov*").

⁶⁴ *Hudyma* was an old Cossack family in the village of Drobyshev (near Novhorod-Siversk), the brothers Matviy and Dmytro Hudyma are registered in the computation of 1723 (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, Zbirka arkheohraf. komisii, No. 393, f. 127 ord.). The first of them is undoubtedly the Matviy Hudym, "an old resident of Drobyshev," who is mentioned in 1729 (*Ukrainsky arkhiv*, I, 509). Opanas Hudym, "Cossack of the Novhorod *Sotnya*, resident of Drobyshev" is mentioned in 1759 (see *K. Ts. A. S. A.*, Rumiantsivsky opys, v. 140). Semen Petrovych Hudym, Cossack-aide of the village of Drobyshev, "Cossack by ancestry" (*ibid.*). See *K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. Mal. kol. chern. vidd., 1784 (data for 1776). Roman Hudymov, Cossack of Novhorod *Sotnya*, 1776 (*ibid.*, f. Mal. Kol. Chern. vidd. 1776). Vasyli' Hudym served in the office of the Novhorod-Siversk government in 1786 (*ibid.*, f. No. 280, unreported cases of 1786). There were also Hudymy in the village of Obrazhivivka in Krolevets' county in 1789 (*ibid.*, f. No. 280, unreported cases 1796).

⁶⁵ *Shevernytsky* is a family of clergy in Novhorod-Siversk region. Records for 1784 mention the verger of Holy Ghost Church in the village of Vytemli (Poharsky county) Ivan Shevernytsky ("Shevernetsky") (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, book No. 5917). Subsequently one branch of this family became nobles. Mykhailo Davydovych Shevernytsky, staff-captain (1825) belongs to the nobles of Novhorod-Siversk in 1812 (*Trudy chern. gubern. arkh. kom.*, X, 177, see H. Myloradovych, *Rodoslovnaya kniga*, I, part 2, 609).

⁶⁶ Skobychevsky (Skabichevsky), a Novhorod-Siversk family of glass-makers, later officers and nobles, stem according to family tradition from Kuz'ma Skabichevsky (17th century). Vasyli' Kuzmych Skabichevsky (1643-1741) was glassmaker of Mashev and Zhadovsky; his son Isay — glassmaker of Demenka; another son, Ivan, overseer of Popiv volost which formed part of Sheptaky *Sotnya* (1733-1741). The wife of the latter, Dominikiya Mykhailivna owned a tenure in Novhorod-Siversk, which she donated in 1750 to Blahovishchenska (Annunciation) Church (see Filaret, *op. cit.*, VI, 20). The third son of Vasyli'

Kuzmych Skabychevsky, Vasyľ had two estates in the Novhorod-Siversk area in the 1730-ies. A relative of the old Skabichevsky, Roman Hryhorovych Skabichevsky, who was *Sotnya Osaul* and later comrade-in-arms, had an estate near the village of Shatryshchy in Novhorod-Siversk county (years: 1781, 1788, 1798), which was called "Khutir Skabichevskoho" (V. Modzalevsky, *Huty na Chernyivshchyni*, Kiev, 1926, pp. 145-146; *Opys Novhorod-Siverskoho namisnytstva*, pp. 483-484; *Viddil rukopysiv biblioteky Ukraïns'koyi Akademiï Nauk*: "Spysok dvoryan Novhorod-Siverskoho namisnytstva 1788 r."). Thus, then, the name Skabichevsky was well known in Novhorod-Siversk and vicinity in the 18th century.

⁸⁷ *Tomylovsky* (Tamilovsky), a prominent urban family (later officer and landowner) of Novhorod-Siversk, which, among others, furnished several Novhorod mayors and burgo-masters. Opanas Illich Tomylovsky (Tamilovsky), Novhorod mayor (1734, 1743, 1752 — *K. Ts. A. S. A.*, Rum. Op., v. 140; A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 211, note 356), was the son of Novhorod mayor Illa Opanasovych (1723, *K. Ts. A. S. A.*, Zb. Arkh. Kom. No. 393, f. 363 ord. 696). Of O. I. Tomylovsky's sons: Ihnat Opanasovych, married Hanna Andriyivna Zaruts'ka, was pastor of the Novhorod-Siversky Sobor church (1748, A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 230-231), and Stepan Opanasovych was Novhorod burgomaster and comrade-in-arms (see V. Modzalevsky, *Rodoslovnyk*, I, 415); *K. Ts. A. S. A.*, F. No. 191, case No. 145.

Of the grandsons of Opanas Illich Tomylovsky: Yakiv Ihnatovych Tomylovsky was Officer of the Hetman's Suite (later collegiate assessor) and in 1783 county judge of Novhorod-Siversk (*Spysky chernihovskyykh dvoryan* 1783, Chern., 1890, p. 121; also 1787, *K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. 280, case No. 14). It is noteworthy that *Istoriya Rusov* tells of Zolotareno (assistant) Hetman Yakiv Tomylo ("nominated by Khmelnytsky in place of Zolotareno"), who was routed by the Tatars on the Samara river in October 1655 and killed in battle. But part of his detachment, under Colonel Khudorbay, managed to join the main Cossack forces, which were then in Uman' (p. 129). This entire episode is an invention of the author of *Istoriya Rusov*, but it is important for the use in it of the names of two Novhorod-Siversk families.

Another grandson of Opanas Illich Tomylovsky, Ivan Stepanovych Tomylovsky, comrade-in-arms (later collegiate assessor) was mayor of Novhorod in 1767 (*Sbornyk imp. russkavo istoricheskavo obshchestva*, 144, 67; A. Lazarevsky and N. Konstantynovych, *Obozreniye rummyantsovskoy opysy*, p. 821). In 1787 he was attorney of the Novhorod-Siversk Upper Zemsky Court ("criminal cases") (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. No. 280, case No. 14).

The third grandson of Opanas Illich, Stepan Aleksandrovych Tomylovsky, collegiate assessor, was in 1787 and 1788 assessor of the Novhorod-Siversk Criminal Court Chamber (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. No. 280, case No. 14; *Viddil rukopysiv biblioteky Ukraïns'koyi Akademiï Nauk*, "Spysky dvoryan Novhorod-Siverskoho namisnytstva 1788 r."). Besides that, a relative of Opanas Illich, collegiate assessor Vasyľ Vasylovych Tomylovsky, graduate of the Kiev Academy (1742), was in 1787 counselor of the Novhorod-Siversk County Court (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. No. 280, case No. 14).

It is possible that Hryhory Tomylovsky, ensign of the Starodub regiment and resident of the village of Semionivka, belonged to that same family (1750, *Trudy chernigovskavo preduvaritelnavo komiteta*, p. 54).

⁸⁸ *Hladky*, were Cossacks of the village of Chulativ (near Novhorod-Siversk). Ivan Hladky was Otaman of Chulativ in 1741. His son Musiy (or Mokiy) Ivanovych Hladky is mentioned in the Rummyantsivska Reviziya (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, Rum. Op. v. 140). A Cossack of the Novhorod *sotnya*, Artem Hladky, 32 years old, went to war against Turkey in 1769 (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. Malor. Kol. Chern. vidd., 1769). A Cossack of Novhorod *sotnya*, Ulas Hladky, is mentioned in 1776 (*ibid.*, for the year 1784). In the list of nobles of Novhorod-Siversk county for 1790, mention is made of the names of Artem and Vlas Hladky, both retired buglers in the village of Chulativ, and of Syron Hladky (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, f. No. 280, unreported cases of the year 1790).

There were also some Hladkys in the 18th century among the class of petty Cossack

while very frequently these places and family names get connected with fictitious events and legendary persons; the number of such examples could easily be multiplied⁷⁰).

It might briefly be added that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* was acquainted with such historical sources as, e.g. *Opisaniye o Maloi Rossii* by Hryhoriy Pokas,⁷¹ the famous *Razgovor Velikorossii s Malorossiyei* by Semen Divovych, unpublished (some to this day) works of Hryhoriy Poletyka;⁷² all these are works of Novhorod-Siverians (people from the Novhorod-Siversk governorship).

What is most important is the fact that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* not only knows Novhorod-Siversk and its vicinity well, but his interest therein is so great, and he loves it so much that

officers of the Hlukhiv region (town of Voronizh) (*Viddil rukopysiv biblioteky Ukrains'koyi Akademiyi Nauk*, "Spysok dvoryan Novhorod-Siverskoho namisnytsva 1788 r.," part 2; see H. Myloradovych, *Rodoslovnaya kniga*, I, part I, 19).

Significantly, *Istoriya Rusov* mentions "Volunteer Cavalry Colonels" Yakiv Hladky and Kindrat Khudorbay together, as allegedly active in the Siversk region (pp. 68, 74).

⁶⁹ On page 5 (printed edition) of *Istoriya Rusov* a "Colonel Ladym" is mentioned. Lado-myrsky was a family of nobles who made their appearance in the Novhorod-Siversk area at the beginning of the 19th century (A. Lazarevsky, *Opisaniye*, I, 250. See *Russkaya starina*, 1887, III, 598; H. Myloradovych, *Rodoslovnaya kniga chernigovskavo dvoryanstva*, I, part I, 54-55).

The "standard-bearer Zahnybida" mentioned in *Istoriya Rusov* (in the description of the punishment of Ostryanytsya and his command) reminds us of the name of the burgo-master of Mhlyn, later "*Gradskiy golova*" (city chief), the merchant Opanas Sahnybyeda ("Sahnybyedovsky") of the 1780-ies and 1790-ies (*K. Ts. A. S. A.*, fond No. 211, case No. 236; *ibid.*, fund of Novhorod-Siversky Kom. pravil., unreported cases).

There is also probably some tie-in between the name of Captain Sokalsky mentioned in *Istoriya Rusov* (also in connection with Ostryanytsya) (p. 56), and the name of the Archimandrite of Baturyn Krupyts'ky Monastery (1775-1790) and member of the Novhorod-Siversk Spiritual Consistory, Volodymyr Sokalsky, the last Archimandrite of the Zaporozhian Sich.

⁷⁰ See also *Istoriya Rusov* p. 123, the name of the Starodub regiment "was changed from Seversky." In general, the name Severia, (Siveria) occurs in *Istoriya Rusov* quite frequently. Remarks contained in *Istoriya Rusov* about local Novhorod-Siversk miraculous icons of the Holy Virgin are also of great interest. E. G. *Dehtyarivs'ka* (icon), (p. 211, the village of Dehtyarivska is in Novhorod-Siversky county. Filaret, *op. cit.*, VI, 31-34), and the *Balykin* (icon), (p. 211, the village of Balykino is 16 kilometers from Pohar, *ibid.*, VII, 61-63). See *Kartiny tserkovnoi zhizni chernigovskoi eparkhii iz XI-vekovoi yeya istorii*, Kiev, 1911, pp. 114, 115, 116, and this author's "Chudo Dehtyarivs'koyi Bozhoyi Materi v 'Istoriyi Rusov'" in *Nasha kul'tura*, Winnipeg, 1952, No. 12 (177), pp. 25-28, and No. I (178) pp. 25-30).

⁷¹ See this author's study "Hryhoriy Pokas ta yoho 'Opysaniye o Maloy Rossiyi' (1751)" in *Naukovy Zbirnyk UVAN u S. Sh. A.*, v. I, New York, 1952, pp. 61-73.

⁷² More details on this subject in this author's study "Studiyi nad 'Istoriyei Rusov'" (ready for publication).

he invents (or falsifies), as we have seen, various fantastic stories in honor and for the glory of this city. We can therefore assert with complete certainty that *Istoriya Rusov* was written by a person, who not only originated in Novhorod-Siversk, but also lived there, either in Novhorod-Siversk or its vicinity, probably also at the time of the composition of his work. Moreover, the first documentary information about *Istoriya Rusov* came precisely from Novhorod-Siveria.⁷³

⁷³ I. Sbytnyev, "O proyezde Gosudarya imperatora cherez Novgorod-Seversk" (pismo k redaktoru 'Ukrainskavo zhurnala'), *Ukrainski zhurnal*, 1825, part VIII, Nos. 19 & 20, pp. 96, 97. (The letter is dated November 12, 1825); V. Maslov, *Literaturnaya deyatelnost' K. F. Ryleyeva*, Kiev, 1912, addenda, pp. 97-98. See this author's "Persha drukovana zvistka pro "Istoriyu Rusov'," *Nasha kultura*, Winnipeg, 1951, No. 2/167, pp. 28-35).