

Amelia M. Glaser, editor. *Stories of Khmelnytsky: Competing Literary Legacies of the 1648 Ukrainian Cossack Uprising*. Stanford UP, 2015. Stanford Studies on Central and Eastern Europe, edited by Norman Naimark and Larry Wolff. xxiv, 296 pp. Illustrations. Maps. Table. Notes. Bibliography of Source Texts on the Khmelnytsky Uprisings. Index. \$70.00, cloth.

Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (1595-1657) stands first in a row of controversial Ukrainian leaders—a group that also includes Ivan Mazepa, Symon Petliura, and Stepan Bandera—who are heroes for Ukrainians, traitors for Poles or Russians, and mass murderers for the Jews. Three and a half centuries have passed since Khmel'nyts'kyi's age, which inspires the hope that the time is ripe for a sober, impartial, and objective evaluation of his legacy. The volume under review takes on this challenging and onerous task, which is especially difficult in the present political situation. Independent Ukraine is currently engaged in a bitter political and military conflict with Russia, and its relations with Poland are marred by the controversy over the definition of the massacre of the Polish population in Volhynia during World War II. Regarding the Jews, the situation is different: most of the Ukrainian Jews left the country in the 1990s, clearing the path for a relatively calm re-evaluation of Jewish-Ukrainian relations and for a fruitful Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue. This background is reflected in the structure of the book. Ukrainian and Jewish authors dominate the volume while Russian and Polish scholars are clearly under-represented. As result, although Russian and Polish literary materials are discussed, Russian and Polish historical narratives are not examined as fully as Ukrainian and Jewish ones.

The volume is not about Khmel'nyts'kyi himself but is dedicated to Khmel'nyts'kyi's legacy as reflected in the historiography, literature, and art of the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. The book consists of four parts, arranged in chronological order: part 1 deals with the seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries; part 2, with the late-eighteenth to nineteenth centuries; part 3, with the first half of the twentieth century; and part 4, with the second half of the twentieth to the early twenty-first century. The book begins with a chronology of events that affected Ukrainian and Jewish history from the late fifteenth century to 2005; the list was composed by Amelia M. Glaser and Frank E. Sysyn. There is also a very useful table of alternative transliterations of place names: in Belarusian, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, and Yiddish. The chronology of events omits the Holocaust (surprisingly) and the Volhynian massacres (not surprisingly). The table of place names presents an incomprehensible *Zamoct's'* as the Russian transliteration of the Polish *Zamość* (it should, in fact, be *Zamostie*). An editorial introduction by Glaser presents the book's main focus and surveys the volume's contents.

Part 1 consists of three essays: Adam Teller deals with Natan Hanover's Jewish chronicle *Yeven metsulah* (*Abyss of Despair*, 1653); Sysyn presents the Hrabianka Ukrainian chronicle "Events of the Most Bitter War" (1710); and Ada Rapoport-Albert writes on the "'Khmelnysky Factor'" (47) in the emergence of the Jewish messianic Sabbatean movement. The first two essays form a pair, beautifully complementing each other: Teller shows that Natan Hanover, in contrast with other contemporaneous Jewish chroniclers, was responsible for accusing Khmel'nyts'kyi personally for the massacres of the Jews by the Cossacks. Sysyn demonstrates in a similar way that the Hrabianka chronicle, in contrast with the earlier Cossack chronicles, presents Khmel'nyts'kyi as a national hero of the Ukrainian people. Later Jewish and Ukrainian stereotypes were deeply rooted in these two fundamental sources. The two essays uncover a deeper dimension of the Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue—they present, for the first time, the multi-faceted and ambiguous image of Khmel'nyts'kyi as perceived by contemporary Ukrainians and Jews alike. Rapoport-Albert's presentation of the arguments for and against the possibility that the traumatic events of 1648 in Ukraine influenced the messianic claim of Shabetai Tsevi in Ottoman Turkey in the same year is very interesting, but it cannot compensate for the lack of attention in this part of the book to contemporaneous Polish and Russian accounts of Khmel'nyts'kyi. Samuel Twardowski's Polish poem *Wojna domowa* (*The Civil War*, published in 1681) reveals the origins of the later Polish view of the Cossack uprising as an internal Polish conflict, and it is hardly possible to understand the roots of this attitude without taking this poem into account. The Russian perspective is no less significant: the transformation of Muscovy into Russia took place precisely in the wake of the "union" with Ukraine in 1654. The later Russian claim that it is the sole heir of Kyivan Rus' based on this crucial shift of national identity was exploited to fullest extent in the partitions of Poland, the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and the annexation of the Crimea, and this claim is also a part of Khmel'nyts'kyi's legacy.

Part 2 of the book deals with the Romantic age—a formative time for national identities in Eastern Europe. Here, we have three essays, written by George G. Grabowicz, Taras Koznarsky, and Roman Koropecyk, on Khmel'nyts'kyi in Polish, Russian, and Ukrainian literatures. The essays of Grabowicz and Koropecyk partially overlap, at least concerning Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz's drama *Bohdan Chmielnicki* (1817). Koznarsky's article is dedicated to *Istoriia rusov* (*History of the Rus' People*), a pseudo-chronicle that was likely written at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it had a great influence on the development of Ukrainian nationalism. Emerging national historiography is discussed in this part only within the Ukrainian context: neither Polish nor Russian nor Jewish early national historians are mentioned.

Part 3 of the book deals with the emergence of modern nationalism. An article by Glaser (the volume's editor) discusses the play *Osada Tul'china* (*The Siege of Tulchin*), which was published in 1888 by the Jewish convert to Orthodox Christianity and Russian symbolist poet Nikolai Minskii. The play stages a tragic episode of the 1648 Cossack uprising, in which the Jews of Tulchin were betrayed by the Poles and massacred; however, Minskii introduces into the plot the fictional figure of a "proud Jew," a Sephardic Marrano, Kastro, who urges the Jews to fight both the Poles and the Cossacks, thus symbolizing secular Jewish nationalism. Next comes a fascinating essay by Israel Bartal about members of the paramilitary organization Hashomer (The Watchman, of the Jewish Zionist settlers in late Ottoman Palestine) styling themselves in Cossack fashion. This kind of "Stockholm syndrome"—identification with the oppressor and radical denial of the Jewish sense of victimization—was typical for the early Zionism. Myroslav Shkandrij, in his essay, presents the writings of Ukrainian nationalists, showing a split between the xenophobic and fascist ideas of Dmytro Dontsov and a multicultural vision of Ukraine, in reaction to Dontsov's thoughts, in the writings of Iurii Lypa and Iurii Kosach. Russian and Polish nationalisms, again, are not discussed.

Part 4 of the book consists of three essays, dealing, respectively, with the use of Khmel'nyts'kyi's name in Soviet war propaganda during World War II (essay by Gennady Estraikh); Kosach's novel *Den' hnivu: Povist' pro 1648 rik* (*The Day of Rage: A Tale About the Year 1648, 1947-48*; essay by Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern); and the image of Khmel'nyts'kyi in Soviet, Polish, and Ukrainian cinematography (a joint essay by Izabela Kalinowska and Marta Kondratyuk). Estraikh's essay focuses on the establishment of the Order of Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi (Orden Bohdana Khmel'nyts'koho) in 1943. Petrovsky-Shtern's contribution partially overlaps with Shkandrij's essay from part 3. But Petrovsky-Shtern concentrates on the figure of the Jewish Cossack Berakhah—a real person who joined the Cossacks of Severyn Nalyvaiko and died heroically in 1611 fighting against the Muscovites—whom Kosach transfers to Khmel'nyts'kyi's age, thus symbolizing Jewish-Ukrainian co-operation (rather out of place for 1648). Kalinowska and Kondratyuk compare three films on Khmel'nyts'kyi: the Soviet film *Bogdan Khmel'nitskii*, directed by Ihor Savchenko (1941); the Polish film *Ogniem i mieczem* (*With Fire and Sword*, 1999), directed by Jerzy Hoffman; and the Ukrainian film *Bohdan-Zynovii Khmel'nyts'kyi*, directed by Mykola Mashchenko (2007). The authors did not find it necessary to mention that the screenwriter and film director of the Polish production, Jerzy Hoffman, is a Jew. Also not mentioned are the pompous 1954 celebrations of the three-hundredth anniversary of the Periaslav Treaty; these celebrations included the "presentation" of the Crimea to Ukraine by Nikita Khrushchev—probably

the most significant twentieth-century event related to Khmel'nyts'kyi's legacy.

The book concludes with an afterword by Judith Deutsch Kornblatt. She places Khmel'nyts'kyi's legacy within the broader context of conflicting attitudes towards Cossackdom in general.

This book is certainly a welcome addition to the Jewish-Ukrainian dialogue that aims to clarify the dark corners of a common history and strives for genuine reconciliation. The volume includes many insightful studies, which succeed in presenting an account of the development of Khmel'nyts'kyi's image throughout the centuries. However, when one looks at what is and is not present in this collection, one cannot escape the impression that another three hundred (let us hope fewer) years might be required for achieving truly impartial scholarly research on the book's main subject. Objectivity is difficult because the wounds are still open and sensitivities and tensions have even intensified in recent years.

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