REVIEW PAPER

Liudmyla D I A C H U K (Post-Soviet Space and Slavic Cultures Unit (SEPSOMS), Faculty of Translation and Interpretation (FTI-EII), University of Mons, Belgium)

liudmyla.diachuk@umons.ac.be

Olga G O R T C H A N I N A (Post-Soviet Space and Slavic Cultures Unit (SEPSOMS), Faculty of Translation and Interpretation (FTI-EII), University of Mons, Belgium)

olga.gortchanina@umons.ac.be

Anne DELIZEE (Post-Soviet Space and Slavic Cultures Unit (SEPSOMS), Faculty of Translation and Interpretation (FTI-EII), University of Mons, Belgium)

anne.delizee@umons.ac.be

MARKO VOVCHOK AS A CULTURAL MEDIATOR: A STATE-OF-THE-ART REVIEW¹

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This state-of-the-art review tests the hypothesis that Marko Vovchok, the most prominent female writer in nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature, acted as a cultural mediator between Ukraine and French-speaking Western Europe, while also engaging in cross-cultural exchanges within the Russian Empire. To this end, scholarly literature related to her professional legacy and extensive range of activities is examined through the lens of the cultural transfer approach (Espagne and Werner 1980; Broomans 2009; Broomans and Jiresch 2011), the literary-historical method (Werner and Zimmermann 2006), and polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 1978). The findings highlight Marko Vovchok's role as a cultural mediator within the European cultural space, demonstrated through her literary works, translations, self-translations, self-adaptations, editorial work,

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collaboration with translators and correspondence. Furthermore, the research sheds light on instances of indirect translation, in which her texts were translated into French not from the Ukrainian originals but via Russian versions. In some cases, these French translations even served as the basis for subsequent translations into other languages. The study also identifies a lack of text-based comparative and translation-oriented analyses and emphasises the necessity for further in-depth investigations of Vovchok's work from different perspectives.

Keywords: Marko Vovchok, Ukrainian literature, cultural mediator, literary transfer, (self)translation, adaptation, intercultural dialogue.

INTRODUCTION

Maria Vilinska (1833–1907), known in literary history under the male pseudonym Marko Vovchok, played a significant role in the cultural and literary exchanges of the nineteenth century. From childhood, she was fluent in several languages, including Russian, Ukrainian, French, and Polish. After completing her studies, she spent some time with her aunt Kateryna Mardovina, who hosted a prestigious salon frequented by the Russian and Ukrainian intelligentsia of the period. Married to Opanas Markovitch, a Ukrainian ethnographer, folklorist and member of the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, she travelled throughout Ukraine with him between 1851 and 1858, seizing the opportunity to immerse herself in authentic Ukrainian folk and popular culture. The Brotherhood was closely connected with the principles of Pan-Slavism, a movement advocating Slavic cultural and political unity which, together with federalist principals, promoted both the awakening of Slavic nations and the development of Ukrainian national identity (Symonenko 2025). This ideological background shaped the environment in which Vovchok's literary activity emerged.

In 1859, she moved to Saint Petersburg, where she became actively involved in public life and met numerous prominent figures of Russian and Ukrainian literature, such as Ivan Turgenev, Taras Shevchenko, Nikolay Nekrasov, Nikolay Kostomarov, Fyodor Tyutchev, and Dmitry Pisarev. She later travelled to several European countries before settling in Paris for seven years (1860–1867). During this period, she maintained close ties with Ivan Turgenev and Pierre-Jules Hetzel, a Parisian publisher and the editor-in-chief of the *Magazine d'éducation et de récréation*.

These meetings, her proficiency in several languages, and her in-depth knowledge of literary and publishing circles enabled Vovchok to fully realise her role as a cultural mediator. She wrote tales, stories, short stories, novellas and novels in Ukrainian, Russian and French. She also self-translated into Russian, Ukrainian

and French. She translated numerous French authors into Russian, as well as several works of German, English and Polish literature into Russian rather than Ukrainian. Indeed, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the censorship laws of the Russian Empire prohibited the publication of foreign literature in Ukrainian. Although original literary works in Ukrainian were still permitted under strict conditions, the Valuev Circular of 1863 banned the publication of religious, educational and instructional texts, and the Ems Ukaz of 1876 effectively prohibited most Ukrainian-language publishing. Nevertheless, her translations were highly significant for the inhabitants of the Russian Empire, both Russian- and Ukrainian-speaking, who had the opportunity to discover the best of Western literature.

The paper presents a state-of-the-art review of studies on Marko Vovchok's literary output. More specifically, it aims to examine the multifaceted nature of the professional journey of Vovchok by analysing her literary, translation, self-translation, editorial work, and her collaborations with European literary figures. The various professional roles of Vovchok (as a translator, editor, publisher, and literary intermediary) will be examined in light of the following hypothesis: Marko Vovchok can be regarded as a cultural mediator bridging nineteenth-century Ukraine and Western European literary cultures. In fact, through her professional activities, she appeared as a figure involved in conveying local stories, traditions, values and ideas. However, the title of "cultural mediator" has never been explicitly associated with her activities in existing research, likely due to the lack of centralised information on the various forms of her work. To date, her contributions in each professional field have been only partially explored. This state-of-the-art review therefore aims to provide a comprehensive overview of her legacy. Despite her significant impact, Vovchok's mediating roles between the nineteenth-century Ukrainian cultural context and European literary spheres remain underexplored, justifying the need for further investigation and underscoring the relevance of this analysis. In line with the growing interest in transnational literary studies and cultural mediation, this research sheds light on the contribution of a prominent Ukrainian writer to European cultural heritage.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND DATA

The term "cultural transfer" was introduced into scientific circulation by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in the mid-1980s (Espagne and Werner 1988). It emerged as a critique of traditional comparative studies and focuses on the

mechanisms of cultural interactions, and the transfer of ideas, objects and practices between different linguocultures. Since its emergence, the notion has been expanded and refined through the contributions of interdisciplinary scholarship over the past four decades.

Literary theorist Petra Broomans defines a cultural transmitter as someone who "basically works within a particular language and culture area and takes on various roles [...]: translator, reviewer, critic, journalist, literary historian, scholar, teacher, librarian, bookseller, collector, literary agent, scout, publisher, editor of a journal, writer, travel writer or counsellor" (Broomans 2009: 2). Her later research identifies several stages that a cultural transmitter may navigate when facilitating the reception of a foreign literary work. These include (1) a phase of "discovery" and introduction, (2) a first "quarantine" while searching for a publisher, (3) a translation, (4) a publication, (5) a second "quarantine" awaiting reception, and (6) a reception through reviews or academic attention (Broomans and Jiresch 2011: 10–14). Within the framework of the modern cultural transfer paradigm, a cultural mediator is understood as a cultural actor operating across linguistic, cultural and geographical borders, occupying strategic positions within large networks and enabling cultural transfer. Beyond the traditional focus on national and linguistic borders, this perspective emphasises the importance of analysing the process of transfer, overlapping roles and the crossing of cultural fields (Roig-Sanz and Meylaerts 2018: 4).

Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann describe the *histoire croisée* approach as the interconnections between cultures and societies. The literary-historical method focuses on empirical intercrossings inherent to the object of study, as well as on the operations by which researchers themselves cross scales, categories, and viewpoints (Werner and Zimmermann 2006: 30). Furthermore, the *histoire croisée* means "crossing borders of various kinds – territorial, linguistic, cultural [...] – and revisiting those analytic categories that bear the stamp of their spatial and temporal configurations" (Zimmermann 2020: 12).

The founder of polysystem theory, Itamar Even-Zohar, considers culture as a system of systems in which various elements and subsystems are interconnected. A polysystem is hierarchical and dynamic, and its development occurs through the interaction of its constituent parts. The scholar proves that literature appears not simply as a collection of texts but as a complex of factors that determine their creation, dissemination and perception. Even-Zohar emphasizes that translation can play a central role in a polysystem, especially in peripheral literatures, as it facilitates the borrowing of ideas and models from dominant literatures (Even-Zohar 1978: 117–127).

Therefore, all three approaches share a common basis, viewing culture as a dynamic system of interaction and the processes of the transmission of cultural elements as an active, multi-layered and interdependent movement across languages, societies and historical contexts. They complement one other by addressing distinct facets of cultural mediation. The cultural transfer approach focuses on the mechanisms of transmission of ideas between cultures through multiple functions performed by cultural mediators; the literary-historical method emphasises the contexts and intersections in which these exchanges occur; and polysystem theory underlines the integration of these processes into literary systems. Consequently, the concept of cultural mediator can be defined as an individual who facilitates the cross-border circulation of cultural content through various roles and activities, operating at the intersection of linguistic, socio-cultural, historical and literary contexts.

To test the hypothesis that Vovchok acted as a cultural mediator between nineteenth-century Ukraine and Western Europe, the scholarly literature on her professional legacy as well as a wide range of her activities will be analysed in the light of the innovative theoretical framework described above. The corpus of her activities includes her literary works, translations, self-translations and self-adaptations, editorial activities, correspondence, the translations of her works by other translators, and the circulation of ideas and concepts via her intellectual exchanges.

2. STATE-OF-THE-ART REVIEW

As an emblematic figure of modern Ukrainian literature, Vovchok has been attracting the attention of scholars since the twentieth century. Her literary, translation and editorial legacy provide a vast field for research.

Thus, a life course of Vovchok and her relationships with representatives of the Russian, French, and Ukrainian literary and editorial worlds have been the subject of comprehensive research (e.g., Borshchak 1949; Lobach-Zhuchenko 1983; Cadot 1987). In particular, Vovchok's productive literary collaboration with Ivan Turgenev and Pierre-Jules Hetzel, which gave rise to both original works and translations, has been thoroughly investigated (e.g., Zasenko 1964; Brandis and Lobach-Zhuchenko 1975; de Mauny 2023). The relationships between Vovchok and Russian, Ukrainian, and French men and women of letters through her correspondence have also been studied, enriching the understanding of her role as an active participant in nineteenth-century European literature (e.g., Krutikova

1964, 1975; Lobach-Zhuchenko 1965; Lobach-Zhuchenko and Dorochkevytch 1984). In particular, Dudko (2007) discusses the exchanges between Vovchok and other authors in the context of the publications of the Ukrainian journal *Osnova* (*Basis*), dedicated to the life and customs of the Ukrainian people. Dmytrychyn (2012) examines Vovchok's correspondence from Paris, which reveals the author's influence on the European literary scene.

Some studies address Vovchok's fiction (tales, stories, short stories, fairy tales, novellas, novels) in Russian and Ukrainian (Kroutikova 1965; Lobach-Zhuchenko 1969; Pavlychko 2002; Dranenko 2023). Her translation activities have also received some scholarly attention. For instance, the Russian translations of Vovchok's *Narodni opovidannia* (*Ukrainian Folk Stories*) by Turgenev are contextualized by Doroskevych (1985), the English translations, including those by Kidder, are analysed by Zorivchak (1988), while Tsymbal (2020) examines Domanytskyi's Ukrainian translations of her Russian-language texts. Cadot (1987) details the circumstances that led to the French version of the novel *Maroussia*, based on Vovchok's Russian text. It was not translated but adapted into French through a collaboration between the author and Hetzel. Vovchok carried out self-translations of her Ukrainian works into Russian and translated European authors into Russian (e.g., Brandis 1967). Gaupt (2002) examines the evolution of Vovchok's literary translation undertakings as a dynamic aspect of her creative trajectory.

Vovchok's work as an editor and letter-writer has been studied by Dmytryshyn (2012) and Gaupt (2002). The journal *Osnova*, a platform for political Ukrainophilia in Saint Petersburg, existed from January 1861 to September 1862, before the Valuyev Circular banned publications in Ukrainian within the Russian Empire in 1863. This prohibition prompted Vovchok to publish her correspondence in Russian, notably in the form of a series of publicistic essays *Otryvki pisem iz Parizha* (*Excerpts of letters from Paris*). After the closure of *Osnova*, she turned to the journal *Meta* (*Purpose*) in Lviv, where her first *Letters* were published in 1865. However, the closure of *Meta* in November 1865 marked the end of her output on *Otryvki pisem iz Parizha* in Ukrainian.

The social, gendered and identity-related aspects of her work have also been explored. Vovchok has contributed to the intellectual and social emancipation of Ukrainian women and is considered the first female anti-slavery voice in the Russian and Ukrainian literary canons (Ageyeva 2019). She is one of the women writers who participated in the construction of Ukrainian national identity, notably by highlighting its folklore in her tales and stories (Ageyeva 2000; Zerov 2002).

As the above-mentioned studies testify, Marko Vovchok's life, her original literary works and translations, and her contribution to the development of

Ukrainian literature and identity have been documented primarily within the framework of literary studies. However, each of these areas deserves to be explored in greater depth. With regard to her role as a mediator of Ukrainian identity in Europe, this issue has been addressed only in a fragmented manner.

2.1 THE DISCOVERY AND EARLY PUBLISHING PHASE OF MARKO VOVCHOK

The discovery and initial publication of Marko Vovchok began in 1857 when editor Panteleimon Kulish received a handwritten notebook. At first, Kulish took the material to be ethnographic notes for his journal Zapiski o Yuzhnoj Rusi (Notes on Southern Rus). Only after examination did he recognise its artistic excellence and the richness of its folk motifs and expressive nuances. Kulish himself proposed the pseudonym "Marko Vovchok", combining "Marko" (derived from her husband's surname, Markovych) with "Vovchok" (meaning "little wolf"), a name that, according to him, reflected her reserved and strong-willed character. His preliminary artistic editing of the short stories made it possible to publish them as an independent collection, thereby laying the foundation for the subsequent development of Marko Vovchok's image in Ukrainian literature.

At the same time, Kulish's intellectual activity developed through his membership in the Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, which combined cultural and political aspirations of Ukrainian intelligentsia and promoted a federation of equal, free Slavic nations. The Brotherhood also encouraged women's participation in civic and national affairs: "Brotherhood members wanted to include women in spreading the principles of federalisation and the national cause" (Bracka 2015: 47). With this framework, Kulish regarded Volchok's Ukrainian folk stories as aligned with his own literary ideals, while simultaneously contributing to national revival and giving voice to women's experiences.

In 1858, the first edition of *Narodni opovidannia* was published by Kulish's own printing house. The collection included works such as "Sestra" ("Sister)", "Kozachka" ("The Cossack"), "Chumak", "Odarka", "Son" ("Dream"), "Panska Volia" ("The Master's Will"), "Vykup" ("The Ransom"), "Svekrukha" ("The Mother-in-Law"), "Znai, Liashe!" ("Know, Liash!"), "Maksym Hrymach", "Danylo Hurch" and a preface written by P. Kulish. These pieces vividly depicted folk life (Vovchok 1858). In his article "Vzghliad na malorossyiskuiu slovesnost po sluchaiu vikhoda v svet knyhy 'Narodni opovidannia' Marka Vovchka" ("A Look at Little Russian Literature on the Occasion of the Publication of Marko Vovchok's 'Folk Stories'"), Kulish recounts the circumstances under which he

received the stories, and appreciates Marko Vovchok's talent, emphasising the depth and naturalness of her writings (Kulish 1857: 227–234).

Her initial choice to write in Ukrainian asserted a distinct national identity under imperial rule and strengthened the Ukrainian folk tradition. This mature stage of Ukrainian Romanticism is marked by the consolidation of the worldview underlying the rejuvenation of national heritage through the influence of "Narodnik" ideology (Lihus 2021: 156). Kulish expands this in the preface to *Ukrainian Folk Stories*, emphasising the significance of Ukrainian literature, which, in his words, "has not distinguished itself from the common people" and preserved the folk spirit, remaining accessible to both peasants and educated readers (Vovchok 1858: vi). He praises Vovchok's style, noting that her stories are distinguished by their truthfulness and authenticity: "[...] every word is so true that you feel and see the speaker right before you" (Vovchok 1858: vi–vii). The editor paid special attention to the language of the tales, highlighting how the writer masterfully conveyed peasants' lives through their lively folk speech, "selecting the most expressive words and sayings", without arrogance or artificial embellishments.

Kulish especially values that Vovchok not only depicted the people but also allowed them to speak in their own voice: "Marko Vovchok's merit lies in the fact that she has taken the people's pure language, as one would learn a song, and spoke to us as the people speak among themselves" (Vovchok 1858: ix). It is this ability to convey the spoken language and thoughts of the peasants that makes her works particularly important for the development of Ukrainian literature. Kulish emphasises that such stories: "[...] will eventually become the basis of our nation's literature [...]" because they reflect the true spiritual essence of the Ukrainian people (Vovchok 1858: ix).

Subsequent editions of Vovchok's *Narodni opovidannia* were published by Kulish's publishing house. In 1862, the second volume of the collection was issued under the title *Narodni opovidannia*. This volume includes the stories "Dva syny" ("Two Sons"), "Ne do pary" ("Not a Match"), "Ledashchytsia" ("The Lazy Woman"), "Chary" ("The Spell"), and "Try doli" ("Three Fates"). In 1865, the first edition of the third volume was published under the title *Opovidannia (Stories)*. The third book included "Karmeliuk", "Nevilnychka" ("Slave Girl"), "Deviat brativ ta desiata sestrytsia Halia" ("Nine Brothers and their Tenth Sister Halia"), "Vedmid" ("The Bear" later renamed "Sister Melasia"). Thanks to Kulish's efforts as editor and publisher, Marko Vovchok entered both a phase of "discovery" and

 $^{^{\}rm 2}\,$ All quotations have been translated by L. Diachuk.

the first "quarantine", which introduced her to the Ukrainian literary scene and expanded her readership across the Russian Empire.

2.2 MARKO VOVCHOK'S ŒUVRE IN TRANSLATION AND WRITINGS BY LITERARY LUMINARIES OF HER PERIOD

Vovchok's activities between 1859 and 1867, during which she travelled extensively through what are now Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Belgium, and also spent time in France, serve as a vivid illustration of cultural interchange. During this period, she met with prominent figures of the European intellectual scene, which contributed to the dissemination of her writings beyond Ukraine. In the late 1850s and 1860s, her translated works became popular among readers in the Russian Empire, the Polish and Czech lands, the semi-autonomous principality of Serbia, Ottoman-controlled Bulgaria, Habsburg-ruled Croatia, the German-speaking states, and France. In the 1870s, they were translated into nearly all major European languages.

2.2.1 THE RESONANCE OF MARKO VOVCHOK'S LITERARY HERITAGE IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN TRANSLATIONS

The growing interest in translating Volchok's literary output in Central and Eastern Europe emerged from mid-nineteenth century currents of Slavic Romanticism, Pan-Slavism and national revival movements, which emphasized a shared historical, religious and folkloric heritage among Slavic communities (Leerssen 2022). Against this backdrop, translations introduced Ukrainian literature to neighbouring communities, conveying the social realities and everyday life of Ukrainian peasants as depicted in Volchok's folk-inspired narratives. In doing so, they fostered cultural self-assertion and nation-building under the rule of the Habsburg Monarchy (later Austria-Hungary), the Ottoman and Russian Empires, while also creating fertile ground for literary exchange.

Within this context, a notable example is Turgenev's translation of Vovchok's *Ukrainskie narodnye rasskazy*, which was published in 1859 in Saint Petersburg by Dmitry Kozhanchikov's publishing house. Vovchok's produced her own self-translations of Ukrainian texts into Russian, which began appearing in the journal *Russkiy vestnik* (*Russian Herald*) in 1858. These versions were not entirely clear to Russian audience due to the large number of Ukrainianisms, prompting Turgenev to undertake his own translation. Turgenev set himself the challenge: "[...] on the one hand, to maintain the purity and correctness of the Russian language and, on the other hand, to preserve the distinctive

poetic style, naive charm and grace [...]" that characterized Vovchok's stories (Turgenev1859: i–ii).

His translation preserved the structure of the text but adapted the vocabulary and syntax to the norms of the nineteenth-century Russian literary language. While most Ukrainianisms are eliminated in Turgenev's translation, some Ukrainian expressions, proverbs and idiomatic turns are retained in order to convey ethnographic authenticity. Doroshkevych argues that Turgenev's role was likely limited to editorial refinement, rather than full authorship, of the translations (Doroshkevych 1985: 147).

The collaboration between Vovchok and Turgenev illustrates how translation functioned as a means of disseminating Vovchok's ideas and Ukrainian texts in the Russian-speaking environment and as a way of adapting them to the literary expectations of contemporary readers. Another example of collaboration between the two writers is the novella "Instytutka" ("After Finishing School"), published in 1860 in the journal *Otechestvennye zapiski* (*Notes of the Fatherland*) in an authorised translation by Turgenev, and two years later it appeared in the journal *Osnova* in its original Ukrainian version.

The success of these translations and the growing interest in Vovchok's works encouraged other translators and writers to engage in the translation process. The Bulgarian writer, poet, publicist, journalist, revolutionary, and ethnographer Lyuben Karavelov (1834–1879) translated some of Vovchok's short stories into Bulgarian. In particular, Karavelov considered Vovchok to be one of the most talented Little Russian (Ukrainian) writers of the time and translated six of her stories: "Horpyna", "Danylo Hurych", "Dva syny" ("Two Sons"), "Svekrukha" ("The Mother-in-Law"), "Nevilnychka" ("Slave Girl"), "Karmeliuk", most of which were published in two Bulgarian periodicals, Svoboda (Freedom) and Nezavisimost (Independence) (Piskizhova 2011: 136). The seven-volume academic edition dedicated to Vovchok, published in Kyiv between 1964–1969, contains her full literary legacy based on authoritative sources and in accordance with contemporary textual scholarship. The first volume includes Ukrainian-language prose from the late 1850s and 1860s, and her unfinished texts. Among these is an excerpt from the short story "Horpyna" in a Bulgarian translation by Karavelov, originally published in the journal Znanie (Knowledge) in 1875 (Vovchok 1964, 1:85). The inclusion of this fragment illustrates the early reception of Vovchok's stories in the Bulgarian cultural landscape.

Vovchok's short story "Kozachka" is the first Ukrainian literary work to be translated into Estonian. The translation was done in 1869 by Lydia Koidula (1843–1886), an Estonian poet, publicist and playwright (Isakov 1969: 307–325).

Vovchok's impact extended also to Polish-speaking regions. Paweł Święcicki (1841–1876) was a Polish-Ukrainian writer, journalist, playwright, and translator, one of the key figures of the Ukrainian national revival. Święcicki's most significant contribution to the public life of Austro-Hungarian Galicia was the launch of the Polish-language journal *Sioło* (*Village*) in 1864–1867, dedicated to Ukrainian-Rusyn national issues. The primary aim of this journal was to acquaint the Polish reader with Ukrainian culture and literature, as well as to promote Polish-Ukrainian dialogue and cooperation. *Sioło* published translated texts by Ukrainian writers, including Vovchok's "Instytutka" ("After Finishing School") and "Chary" ("The Spell").

While in Paris, Marko Vovchok met the Czech poet, playwright, and translator Josef Václav Frič (1829–1890). In an 1862 letter to her husband from Paris, she writes:

I think I already wrote to you that a Czech named Frič came to me, a poet and such a man that cannot be described on paper, may everyone have the chance to see him in person, God willing. He lives on the 7th floor with his wife and a chubby little boy and loves his Czechia above all else in the world, along with all the good that comes with it. He was sentenced to death, imprisoned, and after his release, he was forced to live here, with no way back to Czechia. (Lepky 1920, 1: 147)

Later, the Czech journalist, writer and poet Jan Neruda (1834–1891), upon returning from Paris, publishes a series of essays *Parizské obrázky* (*Paris Pictures*), in which he reflects on his meetings with notable contemporaries. In the essay *Slované v Paříži* (*Slavs in Paris*), published on September 8, 1864, he mentions the Czech poet Josef Václav Frič and his role in uniting Czech political emigrants in Paris. Neruda also points out his acquaintance with Vovchok, referring to her as "the Little Russian Božena Němcová" and notes the popularity of her works among the Czech public: "There are many other Slavs in Paris. Outstanding Russian writers spend at least a few months in Paris every year, and here I also met the wonderfully remarkable Markovych, the Little Russian Božena Němcová, whose beautiful stories, written under the pseudonym Marko Vovchok, are already known to the Czech public" (Neruda 1864: 58–59). Circulating through translations, her body of work facilitated the transmission of ideas that found particular resonance among Slavic intellectuals, especially political émigrés in Paris.

The novella *Instytutka* (*After Finishing School*) was translated into Czech under the title *Vychovanka* in 1863 by the literary critic and translator Emanuel Vavra (1839–1891). He translated numerous works by authors from the Russian Empire and also wrote several articles about them. He encouraged Czech translators to explore the writings of Taras Shevchenko and Marko Vovchok (Kindlerová 2014).

The Czech writer, poet, journalist and translator František Chalupa (1857–1890) published his translation of Vovchok's short story "Sestra" ("Sister") in the journal *Koleda* in 1879. In the same journal, Vovchok's story "Ledashshytsa" ("The Lazy Woman") was translated in Czech and published under the title "Daremnice" in 1879 by Antonín Babička (1857–1879), a Czech translator and teacher. A Czech translation of the novel *Maroussia* appeared in the edition by Alois Wiesner in 1885. It was translated from the French version by Josef Hlávka (1831–1908), the founder and president of the Czech Academy of Sciences. The novel was later republished multiple times in the Czech lands.

František Řehoř (1857–1899) was a Czech ethnographer who studied Ukrainian folk life, traditional medicine, and folklore in Galicia. He published a translation of the story "Chary" ("The Spell") in the newspaper *Narodna Politika* (*National Politics*) in 1890. The accompanying footnote states the following: "Marko Vovchok, the name of a writer known both in South Russian and Russian literature, presents to your attention this new portrait of the national life of South Russians in an abridged translation" (Řehoř 1890).

The reception and translation of Vovchok in the Czech lands was further highlighted by a Ukrainian writer, literary critic, journalist and translator Ivan Franko. In his article "Literatura ukrajinsko-ruská (maloruská)" ("Ukrainian-Russian (Little Russian) Literature"), published in the Czech journal *Slovansky přehled (Slavonic Review)* in 1898, Franko provides a concise overview of nineteenth-century Ukrainian literature and repeatedly mentions Vovchok alongside Taras Shevchenko, as a new, highly talented novella writer emerging in the 1860s–1870s, whose texts were translated into Russian by the renowned Turgenev (Franco 1984, 41: 85).

In the South Slavic context, Croatian writer, romantic poet, translator, and political activist August Harambašić (1861–1911) translated a collection of Vovchok's stories titled *Marko Vovčok. Pučke pripoviesti (Folk Stories)*, thereby prompting Ukrainian literature as part of his commitment to Croatian culture and Slavic unity. His interest in Ukrainian literature was in line with his political and cultural views, which he shared with Vovchok. Independently, another Croatian translator, Vladislav Labosh (1855–1924), translated several Vovchok's short stories from the *Narodni opovidannya (Folk Stories)* cycle. His translations of "Ledashshytsia" ("The Lazy Girl") and "Danylo Hurch" were published in the Zagreb-based journal *Vienac* in 1877, followed by "Svekrukha" ("The Motherin-Law") and "Chumak" in 1878.

In 1872, The Belgrade journal *Млада Србадија (Young Serbia)* published a Serbian translation of Vovchok's short story "Odarka" under the title "Спахијска ропкиња" ("The Spahi's Slave") by Ljubomir Milković. This publication became

one of the first known translations of Vovchok's prose into Serbian, indicating the beginning of its integration into the South Slavic cultural space.

Golar Cvetko (1879–1965) holds a noteworthy position in Slovenian literature, mainly thanks to his translations of works by Ukrainian writers. He translated a number of Vovchok's writings and published them in various issues of the *Gorica* journal in 1902. Notably, issue 4 features translations of her short stories "Sestrica Melasja", "Čumak", "Čari", "Odarka", "Danilo Gurč", and "Nista bila par".

2.2.2 THE RESONANCE OF MARKO VOVCHOK'S LITERARY HERITAGE IN WEST EUROPEAN CONTEXT

In the nineteenth century, Europe witnessed a dynamic interplay of major literary movements – Romanticism, Realism and later Naturalism – which reflected profound social transformations brought about by industrialisation, rapid urbanisation, the rise of national consciousness, and shifting political ideologies. Realism, developing in response to the idealisation of Romanticism, emerged as a dominant mode of representation, as writers sought to capture everyday life with precision and to address issues of social inequality and class hierarchies. Within this dynamic literary environment, Vovchok's texts resonated strongly, as her portrayals of ordinary people and social injustice engaged with the European search for authentic voices and new perspectives beyond established canons.

The introduction of Vovchok's oeuvre into the West European literary landscape began primarily with French translations, marking the beginnings of its translingual circulation beyond the Slavic world. Prosper Mérimée, the French writer, translator, historian, and linguist, was interested in Vovchok's literary output. He translated her story "Kozachka" from Turgenev's Russian translation. However, Mérimée himself was critical of its reception in France, noting that "the poetry of Ukrainian peasant speech" was difficult to convey in French. Unfortunately, his translation was lost in a fire at his house on Rue de Lille (Cadot 2004: 127–128).

The emblematic story *Maroussia* was written in Ukrainian by Vovchok during her extended stay in France (1859–1867). Vovchok was introduced to Hetzel in 1865 by Turgenev, who was trying to help her find a literary and translation engagement in Paris. Shortly thereafter, Vovchok and Hetzel developed a relationship that was not only professional but also friendly. Following these meetings, she began collaborating with his periodical for children and adolescents, *Magasin d'éducation et de récréation*, which later became a platform for the publication of her writings. Hetzel expressed high appreciation of her activities in a letter dated May 7, 1869, in which he writes enthusiastically:

Dear friend, the Hetzel and Cie Society will soon owe you a gold crown. You perform miracles for it, you awaken people whom we believed were buried under the snow, and I feel like proposing to my partners that we mint a medal for you. (Zasenko and Krutikova 1979, 1: 320)

However, due to Tsarist Censorship, the original Ukrainian version could not be published, and the text is now considered lost. *Maroussia* first appeared in Vovchok's self-adapted Russian rendition in 1871 in the journal *Perevody luchshikh inostrannykh pisatelei* (*Translations of the Best Foreign Writers*), and was issued the following year as a separate book with the note "translated from Little Russian" (Hoshovskyi 1971: 12–14). A French adaptation by Pierre-Jules Hetzel (pseudonym P.-J. Stahl) was later published in the daily newspapers *Le Temps* (1875-1876), the *Magasin d'éducation et de récréation* (1878), and a separate book entitled *Maroussia d'après une légende de Marko Wovzok* (*Maroussia According to a Legend by Marko Wovzok*).

The French adaptation of *Maroussia* by Pierre-Jules Hetzel served as the basis for several subsequent translations in Western Europe and even in the United States. It was this version that Cornelia W. Cyr translated into English under the title *Maroussia: A Maid of Ukraine*, published in New York in 1890. Decades later, the same French adaptation was used for the Italian translation by Maria Ettlinger Fano, which was included in 1934 by the Turin-based publishing house *Paravia* in its specialised series *Collection of Good Books for Children and Youth*. The book was later reprinted several times, reflecting its popularity among Italian readers.

In the early 1860s, the German-speaking audience became acquainted with Vovchok through translations made by Khenophon Klymkovych (1835–1881), a writer, journalist, translator, publisher, cultural figure and activist. Living in Lviv, which at that time was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Klymkovych actively popularised Ukrainian literature abroad. In 1903, the Austrian journal *Ruthenische Revue* published German translations of Vovchok's stories "Dva syny" ("Two Sons") and "Maksym Hrymach" by the famous Ukrainian writer Olha Kobylianska (1863–1942). She also wrote a preface to the translations entitled "Marko Vovchok and Her Stories", which provided German-speaking readers with a contextual introduction to the writer's life and legacy (*ESU*).

European writers, translators and literary figures helped to integrate the Ukrainian literature, and particularly the works of Vovchok into the global literary space. She gained prominence in European countries and the USA. The Montyon Prize in 1879 was awarded to Hetzel for *Maroussia*, his French adaptation of Vovchok's story, which nevertheless played a significant role in

the international recognition of the Ukrainian author. It should be emphasised that these translations were made during the writer's lifetime, demonstrating her significant influence on the international literary community.

The circulation of her writings across Central, Eastern and Western Europe proceeded through several successive stages. The phase of translation involved intermediary stages, with frequent indirect translations, as exemplified by Mérimée, Hetzel and Czech translators. This was followed by the phase of publication, in journals and in separate editions in Slavic and Western European countries. A subsequent period of "second quarantine" can be observed in the waiting time before her works gained broader visibility, eventually culminating in their reception, whether through critical essays (e.g., Jan Neruda's reflections), repeated reprints (such as French, Czech and Italian editions of *Maroussia*), or recognition in literary and academic circles, as reflected in Ivan Franko's overview of Ukrainian literature.

The above-examined translation practices in the context of cultural transfers reveal how Vovchok's works, through various translations, introduced her ideas and Ukrainian literary heritage to diverse audiences. The analysis also shows that several translations of her works were based not on the original Ukrainian texts, but on their Russian or French versions, highlighting a significant area of further investigation into indirect translation and multi-layered processes of textual mediation.

2.3 CONNECTING EUROPE: MARKO VOVCHOK AND THE CROSS-CULTURAL FLOW OF LITERATURE VIA TRANSLATION

Marko Vovchok made a significant contribution to the development of translation activities in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a talented writer and polyglot, she translated numerous writings by leading European authors. In 1871–1872, Vovchok was the editor of the journal *Perevody luchshikh inostrannykh pisatelei* (*Translations of the Best Foreign Authors*), which published seventeen issues. The publication was organised into literary, popular science, publicistic and children's sections. The journal was staffed exclusively by women, representing an act of resistance to the tsarist decrees that banned women from clerical and other positions in the Russian Empire.

Hetzel played a crucial role in Vovchok's professional translation career. He acted as an intermediary between her and French writers, and sent French authors novels and illustrations for their translation into Russian and for publication in the Russian Empire. In turn, Vovchok contributed to the dissemination of the French periodical *Magasin d'éducation et de récréation* throughout the empire. This relationship unfolded at the time when the use of the Ukrainian language

in editorial and educational spheres was severely restricted by the Valuev Circular (1863) and the Ems Ukaz (1976) in the Russian Empire. This collaboration was reflected in their correspondence. In his letter dated April 30, 1869, Hetzel addresses Vovchok with suggestions for translating French works:

Translate a novel by Cherbuliez that is being published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for your Revue, the first two parts are said to be very good. Three volumes of Victor Hugo have appeared. You can release everything immediately; the fourth is coming out in a few days. The book is either praised or criticized with equal intensity here; what people say about Victor Hugo is always very exaggerated, whether good or bad. I haven't had time to read any of it. What do people think of it over there – at the edge of your world? I will send you the entire volume, part 1 of Jules Verne by post, but will it reach you? Translate them, if you can. You already have the first and second volumes of *The Peasant* by Chalnoir. The third part is beginning to appear in the *Journal Siècle*. It is the first year of the First Republic. (Zasenko and Krutikova 1979, 1: 315)

Jules Verne granted Marko Vovchok the exclusive right to translate his works into Russian and to publish them for the first time in the Russian Empire. As a result, Verne's novels became extremely popular among Russian readers and were published almost simultaneously with the original editions.

Between 1867 and 1878, Vovchok translated fifteen novels by Jules Verne: Deti Kapitana Granta (fr. Les enfants du capitaine Grant; eng. In Search of the Castaways), Priklyucheniya Gatterasa (fr. Voyages et aventures du capitaine Hatteras; eng. The Adventures of Captain Hatteras), Vokrug sveta za vosemdesyat dney (fr. Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours; eng. Around the World in Eighty Days), Vosemdesyat tyisyach verst pod vodoy (fr. Vingt mille lieues sous les mers; eng. Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea), Priklyucheniya troih russkih i troih anglichan (fr. Aventures de trois Russes et de trois Anglais dans l'Afrique australe; eng. The Adventures of Three Russians and Three Englishmen in South Africa), Puteshestvie v stranu mehov (fr. Le pays des fourrures; eng. The Fur Country), K tsentru zemli (fr. Voyage au centre de la Terre; eng. Journey to the Center of the Earth), Ot zemli do lunyi (fr. De la Terre à la Lune; eng. From the Earth to the Moon), Vokrug lunyi (fr. Autour de la Lune; eng. Around the Moon), Plavayuschiy gorod (fr. Une ville flottante; eng. A Floating City), Na more (fr. L'île à hélice; eng. The Floating Island), Tales and Stories, Doktor Oks (fr. Le docteur Ox; eng. Doctor Ox), Tainstvennyiy ostrov (fr. L'Île mystérieuse; eng. The Mysterious Island). The last translation of Verne's novel Pyatnadtsatiletniy kapitan (fr. Un capitaine de quinze ans; eng. The Fifteen-Year-Old Captain) was published in 1878 in the

Russkaya Gazeta (Russian Newspaper), but was never issued as a separate book during the writer's lifetime.

The significance of Vovchok's translations was recognized by Hetzel, the publisher of Jules Verne in France. In a letter to her dated 28 April 1884, he notes her important role in making Verne's novels accessible to *Russian* readers and youth audiences, highlighting: "Is it not well known in Russia as in France that it was you who did all our translations of Jules Verne for a long time and that, on the other hand, for our children's library, we used several of your works?" (Zasenko and Krutikova 1979, 2: 238).

Vovchok also translated works by several French writers, including: Priklyucheniya Romena Kalbri (fr. Les aventures de Romain Kalbris; eng. Roman Kalibris: The Adventures of a Runaway by Land and Sea) by Hector Malot (1830–1907); Istoriya chereschur dobroy sobaki (fr. Histoire d'un trop bon chien; eng. Story of a Very Good Dog) by Gaspard de Cherville (1819-1898); Priklyucheniya molodogo naturalista (fr. Aventures d'un jeune naturaliste; eng. Adventures of a Young Naturalist) by Lucien Biart (1828–1897); Vospominaniya staroy voronyi (fr. Souvenirs d'une vieille corneille; eng. Memories of an Old Crow) and Istoriya Zaytsa (fr. Histoire d'un lièvre; eng. Story of a Hare) by Pierre-Jules Stahl (1814-1886); story "Topor i pohlebka" (fr. "La hache et le pot-au-feu"; eng. "The Axe and the Stew") by Jean François Macé (1815–1894); the novel Istoriya belogo drozda (fr. Histoire d'un merle blanc; eng. Story of a White Blackbird) by Alfred de Musset (1810–1857); Znamenityiy doktor Mateus (fr. L'illustre Docteur Mathéus; eng. The Illustrious Dr. Mathéus), Priyatel Frits (fr. L'Ami Fritz; eng. Friend Fritz), Poklonniki Katerinyi (fr. Les amoureux de Catherine; eng. Catherine's Lovers), Istoriya odnogo krestyanina (fr. Histoire d'un paysan; eng. Story of a Peasant) by Erckmann-Chatrian (the pen name of French authors Émile Erckmann (1822–1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826–1890); Chelovek, kotoryiy smeetsya (fr. L'homme qui rit; eng. The Man Who Laughs) by Victor Hugo (1802–1885).

Among the important materials in the journal *Translations of the Best Foreign Authors*, pedagogical articles, works on natural sciences, ethnography, and travel essays occupy a special place. The overall content is marked by thematic diversity. However, there is a clear tendency to highlight urgent social themes, particularly conflicts, poverty, and inequality. This not only served as a literary practice but also represented an important contribution to discussions of these issues within the context of the imperial society at the time. In line with this tendency, the novels by English authors such as James Greenwood (1832–1927), Augustus Septimus Mayhew (1826–1875), and George Augustus Sala (1828–1895) became a significant part of Vovchok's translation work. This, in turn, helped

familiarize Russian-speaking readers with social realist literature and journalism of the period.

Her translation of James Greenwood's social novel *Podlinnaya istoriya malenkogo oborvyisha* (*The True History of a Little Ragamuffin*) in 1866, which became an important part of the cultural exchange between English and Russian-speaking readers, is particularly noteworthy. It was first published as an appendix to the journal *Otechestvennye Zapiski* (*Notes of the Fatherland*) in 1868 and later that same year issued separately. Vovchok later continued translating Greenwood's fiction, including the novel *Sokrovische Gumfri Diota* (*Humphrey Dyot*), which was published in the *Russkaya Gazeta* (*Russian Newspaper*) until the newspaper's closure in 1878 interrupted its publication. She published translations of *Blumberiyskaya krasavitsa* (*The Finest Girl in Bloomsbury*) and *Moscheno zolotom* (*Paved with Gold*) by Augustus Mayhew in *Otechestvennye Zapiski*, in 1868 and 1870, respectively.

In her article "Mrachnye kartiny" ("Gloomy Pictures"), Vovchok reflects on the writings of three English writers (Greenwood, Sala, Mayhew), drawing parallels with her own publicistic essays, particularly *Otryvki pisem iz Parizha* (*Excerpts of Letters from Paris*). She highlights notable thematic resonances concerning social injustice, the conditions of the working class and the lives of the urban poor. Her paper also includes excerpts from George Sala's *Gazovyiy svet i dnevnoy svet* (*Gaslight and Daylight*) and James Greenwood's *Sem yazv Londona* (*The Seven Curses of London*), both translated into Russian.

Beyond English literature, she expanded her translations efforts to include texts from German and Polish authors. In 1869, Vovchok translated into Russian the German novel *Schwarzgelb* (*Chernozheltoe znamya*) written by the German-Czech writer Alfred Meissner (1822–1885), who held liberal views.

In the late 1890s, Vovchok's Russian translations of Polish writers were published in *Russkie Vedomosti* (*Russian Bulletin*) and *Saratovskiy Dnevnik* (*Saratov Diary*). She translated short stories by Bolesław Prus (1847–1912), such as "Cherdachnyiy zhilets" (pl. "Lokator poddasza"; eng. "The Attic Dweller"), "Neslyishnyie golosa" (pl. "Milknące głosy"; eng. "Fading Voices"), and "Zhivoy telegraf" (pl. "Żywy telegraf"; eng. "The Living Telegraph"). Among the translated works by Klemens Junosza (1849–1898) were *Utro pomeschika* (pl. *Gospodarski Ranek*; eng. *The Morning of the Landowner*) and *Beglets* (pl. *Zbieg*; eng. *The Escapee*) (Vedina 1957: 287–303).

As the above discussion shows, Vovchok engaged with a wide range of European authors, covering French, English, German, Polish and other literatures in her translations into Russian. Although her translations were not always into Ukrainian due to the restrictions of the time, they nevertheless interacted with

and influenced the emerging Ukrainian literary polysystem, which still operated under the influence of the dominant imperial Russian literary system. From the perspective of polysystem theory, it would be therefore valuable to investigate how her translation strategies (domestication/foreignization) helped shape the reception of foreign literary paradigms and how they contributed, directly or indirectly, to the development of a distinct Ukrainian literary consciousness through translations of progressive texts and ideas of her Western counterparts. This period was marked by censorship and linguistic suppression, yet her translations helped shift the Ukrainian literary polysistem from a peripheral to a more central position within the broader European literary context.

2.4 MARKO VOVCHOK'S SELF-TRANSLATIONS: THE ART OF LANGUAGE MEDIATION

Her engagement in self-translation began with the publication of Narodni opovidannia (Ukrainian Folk Stories) in Ukrainian in Kulish's edition (1858), followed by her Russian version Narodnye rasskazy published in Russikiy vesnik (Russian Herald) the same year. Indeed, the success of her stories with Ukrainian-speaking audience made it necessary to adapt them for the Russian-speaking reader. Her self-translations of Ukrainian texts into Russian formed a notable part of her literary activity, appearing in leading Russian-language journals and periodicals, such as Russkiy Vestnik (Russian Herald), Russkoe Slovo (Russian Word), Ocherki (Essays), and Biblioteka dlia Chteniya (Library for Reading). These self-translations include "Son" ("Dream"), "Svekrov" ("Mother-in-Law"), "Maxim Grymach", "Chumak", "Otets Andrey" ("Father Andrei"), "Vykup" ("Ransom"), "Danylo Hurch", and "Sestra" ("Sister"). In addition to the above-mentioned texts, Vovchok self-translated a number of her short stories from Ukrainian into Russian. Among them, "Ledaschaya" ("The Lazy Woman"), published in Russkoe Slovo in 1859, stands out as one of her earliest self-translations, devoted to social and psychological issues. This was followed by her Russian rendition of the novella "Tri Doli" ("Three Fates") in Russkoe Slovo in 1861, which explored women's destinies amid social inequality, and the story "Proidisvet" ("The Rogue"), which appeared in the newspaper Rus in 1862. In 1863, the writer self-translated "Pavlo Chernokryl", "Ne pod paru" ("A Mismatched Couple") and "Dva Syna" ("Two Sons"), each exploring distinct themes, from social protest to anti-war sentiment. "Chary" ("The Spell"), "Limerivna", the fairy tales "Devyat bratev razyuojnikov i desyataya sestritca Galya" ("Nine Robber Brothers and a Tenth Sister Galia)" and "Skazki o Medvede" ("Tales of the Bear") were self-adapted by her into Rus-

sian, preserving the original folklore motifs. Her later self-translations included the story "Nevolnitsa" ("The Slave Girl") in 1864, which portrayed a folk hero's struggle for social justice.

Vovchok not only self-translated her Ukrainian works into Russian but also self-translated some of her Russian-language originals into Ukrainian. The entire essay series Otryvki pisem iz Parizha (Excerpts of Letters from Paris) was initially published in Russian in the Saint Petersburg Vedomosti in 1864 (Vovchok 1964, 2: 417–430). Two of these essays, "Gorod" ("The City") and "Parizhanka" ("The Parisian Woman"), were self-translated by the author and appeared on the pages of the Lviv journal Meta in 1865. However, Ukrainian versions underwent significant modifications compared to their original Russian texts. In the process of adaptation, they acquired new artistic features, stylistic peculiarities, and a deeper national colouring, which transformed them from purely self-translations into independent, original texts. Vovchok adapted the style of her letters: while in Russian, they are polished and literary, the Ukrainian self-adaptations became more conversational, emotionally charged and engaged, which shows that she was not targeting the same audience (Gaupt 2002).

Vovchok self-translated some of her works into French, which contributed to their popularity among European readers. She self-adapted them artistically to suit the cultural and stylistic characteristics of the target audience. Her debut in the French-language literary space is the fairy tale "Mélassa", published in 1866 in the Parisian Magasin d'éducation et de récréation. This tale is the third French-language self-adaptation of her Ukrainian fairy tale "Vedmid" ("The Bear"), which was first published in Russian in the collection Skazki Marko Vovchok (Fairy Tales by Marko Vovchok) in 1864. It should be noted that Vovchok's French-language tales are significantly inferior to their Ukrainian originals in terms of literary richness. The editors of Hetzel Publishing House introduced modifications into Vovchok's self-translations, adding an uncharacteristic sweetness and affection in order to align the texts with the tastes of French readership. Several of her best short stories "Deviat brativ ta desiata sestrytsia Halia" ("Nine Brothers and the Tenth Sister Halia") and "Nevilnychka" ("The Slave Girl") were self-translated by the author at the request of Hetzel, but were not published, as the editor considered them too "foreign" for the French audience (Brandis and Lobach-Zhutchenko 1985: 197).

She has self-translated many of her short stories from Ukrainian into Russian, her essays *Excerpts of Letters from Paris* from Russian into Ukrainian and several of her tales and short stories from both Russian and Ukrainian into French. As the above discussion reveals, some of her self-translations function more as self-adaptations, involving significant changes and transformations to suit the target

readerships. Through these practices, she circulated literary works and critical ideas across different cultural spaces. A cultural transfer approach helps illuminate how literary texts carry and transform cultural meanings across linguistic and foreign literary environments. However, the exact mechanisms of self-adaptation and the extent to which her work contributed to the dissemination of elements of Ukrainian identity within the French-speaking European context remain insufficiently studied and require further scholarly attention. Moreover, eventual recognition of her self-translations underscores the need for deeper investigation of Vovchok's case within the framework of transnational literary mediation.

2.5 THE ROLE OF HER EDITORIAL ACTIVITY IN WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the intensification of the women's emancipation movement within the Russian Empire, reflected both in the content of editorial choices and in the composition of their authorship. The journal *Perevody luchshikh inostrannykh pisatelej (Translations of the Best Foreign Writers)* was exclusively female-led and featured mainly contributors who were young writers and translators with progressive views. As the editor-in-chief, Vovchok promoted dissemination of literary ideas and fostered opportunities for women's professional fulfilment despite social restrictions. As a result, the journal became an important platform for women's intellectual work, particularly in the fields of literature and translation.

Nadezhda Bilozerska, an experienced writer and translator, was one of the key figures of the journal and played an important role in its editorial activities. She and Vovchok were both actively engaged in public life and supported initiatives to promote emancipation. Together, they translated John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women*, fostering awareness and critical reflection on gender equality.

The journal collaborated with distinguished female contributors in literature and translation, including Ekaterina Sysoieva, a children's writer, and Maria Tsebrykova, a translator, literary critic, and progressive publicist. Other notable authors and translators associated with the journal included Anna Butkevich, Ekaterina Danilova, Yuliya Eshevskaia, and Zinaida Hen. They translated works of foreign authors for the Russian-speaking reader, which helped promote European and American literature in the Russian Empire. The journal involved women who needed financial support, reflecting its social orientation and fostering their professional development. In total, the journal employed around 35 female translators, some of whom remained anonymous due to the use of pseudonyms or changed surnames. These hiring decisions enhanced the journal's reputation

as a space that supported the creative and professional advancement of women in challenging social circumstances (Lobach-Zhutchenko 1987).

In addition to literary and translation materials, the journal actively published journalistic and social studies that reflected important issues of cultural development. One of the journal's most significant inputs was its introduction of the ethnographic narrative of American journalist George Frost Kennan to the Russian audience. Kennan investigated the system of forced labour and exile in the Russian Empire. His book *Tent Life in Siberia* (1870) was published in translation by Adelaide Kondratieva, which was a crucial step in promoting a critical understanding of the socio-political realities of the time.

Vovchok also supported women's artels and mutual aid societies, helping to expand opportunities for women in intellectual work and providing material assistance to those in need. The Ukrainian literary critic and scholar Vira Ageyeva regards Vovchok not only as a writer, but also a symbol of female emancipation, boldly challenging traditional norms and creating new ideas about the role of women in society. Her life was marked by a series of challenges to patriarchal norms; she abandoned the comfortable but limited existence of the "angel of the house" in favour of intellectual and creative freedom. She earned a living through her writing, travelled widely, and interacted with prominent cultural figures in Europe. Through autobiographical motifs in her fiction and her criticism of patriarchal norms, Vovchok emerged as an emancipated woman who pursued personal rights as well as broader social freedoms for women (Ageyeva 2019: 5–26).

Thus, under Vovchok's editorial leadership, the journal's activities contributed to the literary growth, translation, and advancement of women's emancipation and intellectual solidarity in the second half of the nineteenth century. The literary-historical approach seems to be valuable in this regard, as it facilitates the analysis of the interplay between editorial and translation activities and broader socio-political contexts, including the women's emancipation initiative and the reinterpretation of female authorship. Nevertheless, the full extent of the journal's impact on emancipatory discourse and on the role of women's translation practices within the cultural sphere remains a subject for further scholarly investigation.

2.6 BETWEEN LINES AND BORDERS – A JOURNEY OF IDEAS IN MARKO VOVCHOK'S LETTERS

Vovchok's epistolary heritage is a valuable source for studying her literary evolution, aesthetic preferences, and personal worldview. Her correspondence with prominent figures in culture, science, and literature of the nineteenth century

provides insight into the formation of her artistic views and reveal the peculiarities of her creative method.

The non-exhaustive corpus of Vovchok's correspondence was first introduced into scientific circulation by Ukrainian literary scholars, in particular Domanytskyi and Lepkyi, who both published and studied it. Her correspondence is currently available in several fundamental publications, in particular, the two-volume edition of *Lysty Marka Vovchok* (*Letters of Marko Vovchok*), assembled and with a commentary by Lobach-Zhuchenko and Doroshkevych (1984). The collection of correspondence addressed to the writer as *Lysty do Marka Vovchok* (*Letters to Marko Vovchok*), compiled and published by Zasenko and Krutikova in 1979, is of special significance.

Her correspondents were representatives of various national literatures and intellectual traditions, reflecting Vovchok's active integration into the international cultural sphere. She maintained contacts with Ukrainian and Russian writers and thinkers such as Taras Shevchenko, Ivan Turgenev, Nikolay Dobrolyubov, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Leo Tolstoy, Nikolay Nekrasov, Mikhail Saltykov-Shchedrin and Alexandra Jacobi; European writers and scientists such as Jules Verne, Prosper Mérimée, Pierre-Jules Hetzel, Edward Żeligowski, Josef Frič and Ernst Mertke; revolutionary figures such as Alexander Herzen, and Mikhail Bakunin; composers such as Alexander Borodin; and painters, including Valery Jacobi and Karl Huhn.

Through her correspondence, Vovtchok engaged in dialogue on the crucial social and literary issues of her time, both receiving and transmitting intellectual ideas that were circulating within European scholarly and literary circles. The extensive geographical scope of her epistolary contacts confirms Stephen Greenblatt's thesis about the mobility of cultural ideas: "Thus, the artists became travellers or migrants, and their images or words transported ideas" (qtd. in Broomans and Klok 2019: 13). Vovchok's letters were a means of conveying ideas, literary trends and social concepts., while also shaping her artistic vision and social stance.

Vovchok's epistolary legacy is evidence of the movement of ideas in the context of cultural exchange. As Broomans and Klok observe, "Travelling ideas are like the roots of the rhizome, they become established in one place and then extend to another on the waves of cultural transfer, in the form of literature, letters or paintings" (Broomans and Klok 2019: 15). In this regard, Vovchok's letters are valuable historical documents and part of a broader process of cultural mobility that contributed to the interpenetration of Ukrainian and European literary traditions.

In many respects, her correspondence offers valuable insight into the motivations, challenges, and strategies that shaped her activities, thereby providing scholars with a unique perspective on the personal dimension of her intellectual

trajectory. However, further in-depth analysis of her letters remains necessary to examine her role in the circulation of ideas and to assess the extent to which she may be regarded as a cultural mediator in her roles as a writer, essayist, translator, and intellectual.

DISCUSSION

This section discusses Vovchok's various contributions within theoretical framework proposed here, which integrates cultural transfer, literary-historical approach, and polysystem theory. The state-of-the-art analysis reveals that her activities were complex and multi-layered. They include several interrelated means: her literary works, self-translations, self-adaptations, translations, circulating emancipation ideas and correspondence, editing, and translations of her works by other translators.

Our study of Vovchok's engagements indicates that her mediation between Ukrainian and Western European cultures extend far beyond the boundaries of linguistic transfer. From the perspective of cultural transfer theory (Espagne and Werner 1980; Broomans 2009; Broomans and Jiresch 2011), she acts as a mediator of values, ideas, and narrative models, consciously adapting foreign content to the Ukrainian sociocultural context in the Russian Empire. Rather than simple renditions of the texts, her translations of numerous French authors are adaptations framed through the lens of social justice. Thus, Vovchok emerges as a key figure in the recontextualization of European literature for a Russian-speaking readers, while indirectly contributing to the cultural dynamics of nineteenth-century Ukraine.

From the standpoint of the literary-historical approach (Werner and Zimmermann 2006), Vovchok's work can be examined within the specific socio-political and ideological contexts of the second half of the nineteenth century. It is closely linked to the processes of national revival. Her selection of texts, her adaptation strategies and her own literary and editorial creativity reflect her attempt to contribute to the formation of Ukrainian identity, to popularize peasant themes and reflect women's experience. Therefore, her mediating role was not only literary, but also ideological and socially engaged.

Pursuant to polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 1978), Vovchok occupies a central position within the Ukrainian literary system of the period. When original Ukrainian literature was just beginning to find its voice, translated literature, particularly

from French, played a crucial role in the formation of genres and stylistic norms. Although many of Vovchok's translations and adaptations were into Russian, her translation strategies and narrative techniques may have indirectly influenced the development of Ukrainian prose, fostering its qualitative development. This issue remains to be studied. By combining the roles of author, translator, letter writer and editor, Vovchok established connections between various cultural systems. However, a more detailed and comparative examination is required to understand the dynamics of her position within interlacing literary polysystems.

Figure 1 schematically represents Vovchok's multiple cultural roles, showing how her literary creation, translations (her own and those of others), self-translations/adaptations, editorial work, promotion of emancipation ideas and epistolary activity interact to foster cultural exchange and influence. It highlights the complexity and interconnectedness of her contributions across historical, literary, and socio-cultural networks, as analysed through the methodological framework outlined above.

Marko Vovchok's roles as a cultural mediator

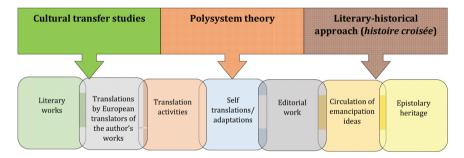


Fig. 1. Classification of Marko Vovchok's various activities as a cultural mediator through the lenses of cultural transfer studies, the literary-historical approach, and the interaction of polysystems.

The analysis of existing scientific literature and primary sources provides grounds for confirming the relevance of our hypothesis that Marko Vovchok acted as a cultural mediator between Ukraine and Western Europe. The state-of-the-art research identifies her mediating activities and underscores a wide scope of her cultural impact. However, further research is necessary to fully understand the extent and mechanisms of her influence.

CONCLUSION AND PERSPECTIVES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Currently, there is a noticeable lack of an exhaustive and systematically structured corpus of Marko Vovchok's literary output. This state-of-the-art review has made it possible to distinguish and outline various roles played by Marko Vovchok, and to highlight her potential as a cultural mediator between Ukraine of her period and Western Europe. However, few studies that touch upon this topic usually do not include a discursive and translation-oriented textual analysis that can provide text-based evidence of this cultural mediation. Moreover, examining translations of Vovchok's works written in Ukrainian reveals that numerous translations were made not directly from original versions, but from Russian or French instead, opening up a wide field for additional study of indirect translations.

This study outlines the prospect for further investigation of the markers of Ukrainian identity reflected in the writer's Ukrainian, Russian and French works, as well as the discursive and adaptation strategies she employed to convey them. Particular attention could be given to her self-translations and self-adaptations, which provide valuable insights into how she adapted identity-related elements for a French-speaking audience. A comparative analysis of the originals, the self-translations/adaptations, and the translations by other translators would allow for an assessment of how identity markers were conveyed to new linguistic and cultural contexts. Furthermore, a study of the reception of Vovchok's œuvre in the French-speaking world could shed light on how translation strategies influenced the perception of Ukrainian culture abroad. This approach could not only confirm, refute or clarify the hypothesis put forward, but also contribute to a deeper understanding of the processes of cultural mediation.

The findings showed that the theoretical framework proposed in this study is relevant for obtaining a relatively clear picture of transnational literary circulation and mediation processes. However, the framework's limitations stem from its initial focus on general approaches to cultural transfer, literary-historical analysis, and polysystem theory. While this framework outlines the main directions of Vovchok's activities as a cultural mediator, it does not provide sufficient depth to thoroughly examine the processes of writing and self-translation/adaptation as cultural mediation practices. Further research could draw on Antoine Berman's analytical tools, including his concept of the "critical trajectory of translation" (1995), as well as on André Lefevere's theory of rewriting and patronage (1985, 1992). Combining these approaches could provide a coherent theoretical framework for interpreting texts and for exploring how translation choices and strategies (including self-translations/adaptations) have either facilitated

or, conversely, constrained the representations of Ukrainian identity in other linguistic cultures.

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Sažetak

MARKO VOVČOK KAO KULTURNI POSREDNIK: PREGLED DOSADAŠNJIH ISTRAŽIVANJA

Rad daje pregled dosadašnjih istraživanja Marka Vovčoka, istaknute spisateljice ukrajinske književnosti XIX. stoljeća i nudi hipotezu da je autorica djelovala kao kulturni posrednik između Ukrajine i europskih govornika i poznavatelja francuskoga jezika, čime je sudjelovala u

međukulturalnoj razmjeni unutar Ruskog Carstva. U tu se svrhu znanstvena literatura o njezinu profesionalnom naslijeđu i širokom spektru aktivnosti analizira kroz prizmu kulturnog transfera (Espagne i Werner 1980; Broomans 2009; Broomans i Jiresch 2011), književno-povijesne metode (Werner i Zimmermann 2006) i teorije polisistema (Even-Zohar 1978). Dobiveni rezultati ukazuju na njezinu ulogu kulturnog posrednika unutar europskog kulturnog prostora, što se očituje u njezinim književnim djelima, prijevodima, samoprijevodima, samoadaptacijama, uredničkome radu, suradnji s prevoditeljima i korespondencijom. Nadalje, istraživanje razotkriva slučajeve posrednih prijevoda, u kojima su njezini tekstovi prevedeni na francuski jezik ne s ukrajinskih izvornika, već preko ruskih verzija. U nekim su slučajevima upravo ti francuski prijevodi potom poslužili kao osnova za prijevode na druge jezike. Rad također ukazuje na nedostatak tekstualno utemeljenih komparativnih i traduktoloških analiza njezina korpusa te naglašava potrebu za njegovim daljnjim istraživanjem iz različitih teorijskih perspektiva.

Ključne riječi: Marko Vovčok, ukrajinska književnost, kulturni posrednik, književni transfer, (samo)prijevod, adaptacija, međukulturalni dijalog