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Winter 2007

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Roman Mnich

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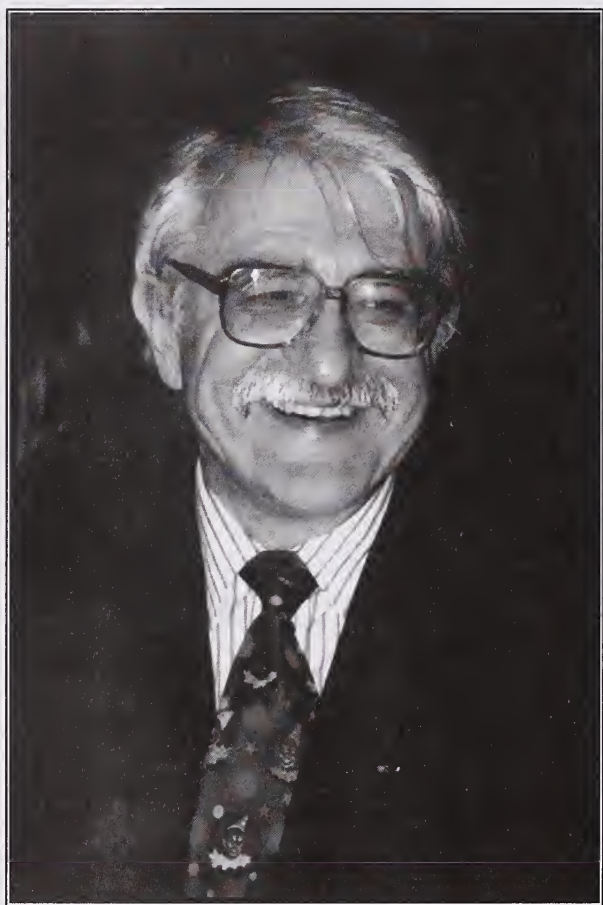
MARIA VASILIEVA is academic secretary of the Russkoe Zarubezhe Library and Archive and executive secretary of Russkii Put Publishers in Moscow. She has published articles on the work of Alfred Bem, Petr Bitsilli, Dmytro Chyzhevsky, Gaito Gazdanov, Boris Poplavsky, and Vladimir Varshavsky, and is the editor of a collection of Petr Bitsilli's writings entitled *Tragediia russkoi kultury: Issledovaniia, stati, retsenzii* (Moscow, 2000).

Editor's Note

This special issue devoted to the eminent literary scholar Dmytro Chyzhevsky (1894–1977) was planned by Taras Zakydalsky as a tribute to mark the thirtieth anniversary of Chyzhevsky's passing. Sadly, Taras was able to translate only one of the articles in this issue before his untimely death in November 2007. The issue opens with a remembrance of Taras by his friend and colleague Roman Senkus, the founding editor of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, who edited this publication for many years.

This issue was coordinated in Kyiv by Iryna Valiavko, who worked with the contributors and passed on their articles for translation and editing. The late Werner Korthaase's article was translated by Marta Daria Olynyk. Taras Zakydalsky's translation of the article by Iryna Bondarevska and Larysa Dovha was completed and edited by Myroslav Yurkevich, who also translated the other articles in this issue.

M.Y.
May 2008



In memoriam: Taras Zakydalsky

Roman Senkus

This issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* is dedicated to Taras Zakydalsky, its editor from January 2003 to October 2007 and my friend and colleague of the past three decades. Taras's unexpected but mercifully quick demise from inoperable brain cancer on 8 November 2007, during a brief stay in hospital, was truly shocking and sad. He should have lived to at least eighty—the new threescore and ten—if not ninety. Regrettably, he was forced from this mortal coil much too soon.

Taras was born on 2 February 1941 as the only child of his recently deceased mother Natalia and the late Danylo Zakydalsky. The event occurred during Natalia's trip from Drohobych to Lviv to visit her husband, who had been imprisoned by the NKVD. Baby Taras never knew his father, for three months later the secret police murdered him along with many other prisoners during the Soviet retreat from Lviv. Thus Natalia was obliged to raise Taras alone. Toward the end of World War II she took her son and fled to Austria along with her brother and sister and their families.

In 1949 Natalia and Taras emigrated from Bregenz to Canada. After a year in Newmarket, Ontario, where Natalia worked as a housekeeper, they settled in Toronto. There Natalia ran the Plai co-operative store of the Plast Ukrainian scouting organization on Queen Street West, while Taras attended school and was active in Plast. After receiving his high-school diploma from Harbord Collegiate, Taras majored in English literature and philosophy at the University of Toronto (1960–64). He pursued graduate studies in philosophy at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, producing a master's thesis on the theory of man in Skovoroda's philosophy (1965)¹ and defending a Ph.D. dissertation on Nikolai Fyodorov's philosophy of physical resurrection (1976). In 1970,

ROMAN SENKUS is director of the CIUS Publications Program and managing editor of the Internet *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*.

1. The full text is on-line at <www.ditext.com/zakydalsky/skovoroda.html>.

while still a doctoral candidate, Taras began teaching philosophy courses at Ursinus College in Collegeville, Pennsylvania, and in 1977 he received a teaching award there. A year later Taras and his wife, Oksana (née Witushynska), whom he had married in 1966, returned to Toronto along with their five-year-old son, Danylo.²

Soon after returning to Toronto, Taras began translating articles at home for the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* project initiated and directed by Professor George S. N. Luckyj at the University of Toronto office of the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, where I had begun my career at CIUS in 1976. It was then that I first met Taras. Our acquaintance grew closer through our involvement in the Toronto Committee for the Defense of Soviet Political Prisoners, which Taras joined soon after returning to Toronto.³

In late 1982, after Professor Danylo H. Struk succeeded Professor Luckyj as managing editor of the encyclopedia project, Taras began working as a full-time translator of the encyclopedia at the CIUS Toronto office. After the publication of the first volume in 1984, he became one of the encyclopedia's in-house manuscript editors. Later Taras and I were joined in this capacity by Boris Balan, Andrij Makuch, and other editors of shorter duration. Our work entailed much fact checking, content editing, rewriting, updating, and over a decade of frequent overtime work in order to meet the project's tight publication deadlines. In the process we manuscript editors became "comrades-in-arms" in the encyclopedia project's "trenches."

In June 1985 Danylo took Taras, Roma Yanchinski (the project's researcher from 1982 to 1985), and me to the Shevchenko Scientific Society's building in Sarcelles, a northern *banlieue* of Paris, to work on entries for volume two of the encyclopedia. There, for nearly two months, the four of us shared a house and worked weekdays from 8:00 a.m. to noon, took a two-hour lunch break, and then worked again until 6:30. Because of the long walk to the local station to catch the train to Gare du Nord and because the last train from there back to Sarcelles left

2. Their second son, Orest, was born in Toronto in 1981.

3. While still in the U.S., Taras became involved in defense campaigns on behalf of Soviet political prisoners organized by the Smoloskyp Organization for the Defense of Human Rights in Ukraine.

at 9:45 p.m., going to Paris after work was impractical (except for Danylo, who could sleep over at a friend's apartment in Paris if need be). Instead, we and the project's resident representative in Sarcelles, the late Ivan Ochrymowicz (a former agronomist from Belgium), spent most evenings together eating freshly baked baguettes and a great variety of French cheeses, patés, and other delicacies, drinking tax-free French wines and cognacs (which Danylo was able to get through an American friend in Paris who had access to U.S. PX stores), and going for walks. Taras was in good spirits the entire time we were there, and he "documented" the experience in a small collection of humorous, satirical, and bawdy poems and limericks in English and Ukrainian about each of us and about professors Volodymyr Kubijovyč, Vasyl Markus, Arkadii Zhukovsky, and Wolodymyr Janiw and the society's young librarian, Iryna Popovych.⁴

Our work on the encyclopedia project was particularly onerous during the years 1988–93, when we produced the last three of five volumes. After that Taras had an opportunity to remain part of the project's skeleton staff. Instead he chose to pursue other opportunities. For a few years he worked as a court translator. We saw each other less then, but we remained good friends and it was always good to see him. For several years, until Taras's untimely death, we served together on the executive of the Shevchenko Scientific Society of Canada, Taras as recording secretary and I as publications officer. We saw each more often after Taras accepted my offer to become editor of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* in January 2003. As I knew he would, he performed his duties conscientiously and professionally. Under his helm three special double issues (2001–2002, 2004) and seven regular issues (2003, 2005–2007) of the journal appeared.

4. The title page of this tongue-in cheek *samvydav* collection reads: "*Les Fleurs du Mal Eau d'Heure* [by] *Moe Pissant: Присвячую всім тим, що стратили розум в боротьбі за нашу правду*. And Ty Shshsh, Sûrsmells sans Brie, 1985. Second Edition, Revised and Illustrated, Toronto, 2006. Library of Congress No. LCBO 40%. Warning: This collection is not for adults. It contains hints of violence, obscene language, and virtual nudity. Some readers may be offended by its content. Ideological supervision is strongly advised." Taras presented a one-off copy of the second edition to me as a memento on the occasion of my thirty years of service to CIUS.

Throughout his adult life, Taras maintained an abiding interest in Ukrainian and Russian philosophy.⁵ From 1988 on he was the philosophy subject editor of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine* and wrote more than twenty-five articles for it. After Ukraine became independent, Taras established close relations with the former Soviet political prisoner Vasyl Lisovy and other scholars at the Institute of Philosophy of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv.⁶

He contributed articles in philosophy to that institute's journal, *Filosofska i sotsiologichna dumka*, and to other Ukrainian publications, and in the fall semesters of 1994, 1995, and 2000 he taught courses in philosophy as a visiting professor at the Kyiv Mohyla Academy National University.

In 1997 Taras succeeded James Scanlan as editor of the translation journal *Russian Studies in Philosophy*. Besides choosing and editing the contents, he translated more than thirty-five articles from Russian for that journal.

Taras also lectured at the Ostroh Academy National University, and in 2006 he founded the Canadian Friends of the Ostroh Academy and established a scholarship in memory of his father at that university. For his contributions, the university's Scholarly Council named Taras an honorary professor. In January of this year that university held a memorial for Taras. The speakers included Rector Ihor Pasichnyk, Dean Svitlana Novoseletska, and Alla Atamanenko, director of the university's Ukrainian Diaspora Research Institute. A scholarship named in honor of Taras was announced for students of religion and Ukrainian philology at

5. The focus of Taras's scholarly interests can be seen in the bibliography of his writings that follows this article. An assessment of his contributions to the study of philosophy can be found in "Taras D. Zakydalsky (1941–2007)" by George L. Kline, Taras's colleague and former professor, in *Russian Studies in Philosophy* 46, no. 4 (2008): 93ff.

6. A quarter century earlier Taras had translated the Smoloskyp collection of documents about the trials and imprisonment of Lisovy, Yevhen Proniuk, and Mykola Bondar, *Three Philosophers: Political Prisoners in the Soviet Union* (Baltimore, 1976). Soon after Taras died, Lisovy's reminiscence and assessment of Taras's contributions to the study of philosophy in Ukraine, with excerpts from their correspondence, were published as "Pam'iati radisnoho filosofa" and "Iz lystiv Tarasa Zakydalskoho," *Krytyka* (Kyiv), 2007, no. 12 (122): 24–25; on-line at <www.krytyka.kiev.ua/articles/s.11_12_2007.html>.

the event,⁷ as was a collection of scholarly articles dedicated to him, edited by Professors Pasichnyk and Atamanenko.

Taras was, of course, not only a serious and hard-working scholar, a good editor and translator, a community activist, and a committed defender of human and democratic rights, particularly in Ukraine. He was a genuinely decent person whose generosity of spirit, joie de vivre, and wit—what his son Orest has called “his peculiar brand of dry humour—sarcastic and ironic, but never mean”⁸—are well known. A devoted and loving son, husband, father, and grandfather, he was liked and respected by many, and hundreds of his friends and admirers attended his *panakhyda* and funeral. I had the privilege of emceeding his *tryzna* after his burial at Prospect Cemetery in Toronto.

This issue of the *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*, which Taras planned together with his Kyiv colleague Iryna Valiavko, contains six articles about Dmytro Chyzhevsky as a scholar of literature and philosophy.

7. “Vshanuvaly pam’iat Tarasa Zakydalskoho” <www.uosa.uar.net/ua/info/news/2008/21-01-2008>.

8. Orest Zakydalsky, “Memories of My Father,” *Novyi shliakh* (Toronto), 13 December 2007 <www.infoukes.com/newpathway/48-49-2007.html>.

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* Courtesy of Oksana Zakydalsky.

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Dmytro Chyzhevsky
1894–1977

The Concept of the Baroque in the Works of Dmytro Chyzhevsky*

Iryna Bondarevska and Larysa Dovha

In most most contemporary studies of the early modern period of Ukrainian culture, we find references to the works of Dmytro Chyzhevsky as an authoritative source with which one can agree or debate but that can by no means be ignored. And such references are no mere courtesy: rather, they indicate that to this day most of the writings, ideas, and even hypotheses of this scholar, who worked from the first half to the middle of the last century and is quite justly considered a pioneer of profound and unbiased study of the cultural legacy of the Ukrainian baroque, have not lost their relevance. Without slighting the contributions of such great scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Mykola Sumtsov, Stepan Golubev, Volodymyr Peretts, or Mykola Petrov, who discovered Ukrainian literary, theological, and philosophical texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and gave a preliminary analysis of them (or, as we say today, put them into scholarly circulation), we must acknowledge that it was Chyzhevsky who first carried out a complex study of the sources available to him, integrated diverse phenomena, often of conflicting form and content, into one picture, and set forth a panoramic vision of the Ukrainian culture of that period and its place in the general European cultural context, even if that vision was hypothetical and insufficiently grounded in actual facts. His systematization of diverse material, apt and convincing judgments that corrected superficial and dismissive views of the period, and outlines of productive future lines of research on the period became quite naturally normative for serious work in this field.¹

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1. Dmytro Chyzhevsky's contribution to research on Ukrainian baroque literature is particularly important, since he made the first (and, essentially, the only) attempt to write a structuralist analysis of it. On this, see particularly Oleksa Myshanych, "Dmytro

And yet, not all the noted scholar's assertions about the Ukrainian baroque² are equally credible: quite a few of them were based on informed intuition rather than on a fundamental analysis of the factual evidence and turned out to be simply unverifiable. Chyzhevsky himself was aware of the tentativeness of his chosen methodology. He constantly warned potential readers that his conclusions were quite hypothetical and that subsequent analysis of a broader range of authentic sources might lead to fundamental revisions or even to the complete refutation of those conclusions.³

Unfortunately, these proved to be vain warnings for some contemporary Ukrainian researchers, who have preferred to borrow from the authoritative diaspora scholar not the contributions representing his true forte, such as his complex and labor-intensive methodology of close

Chyzhevskiyi iak istoriyk davnoi ukrainskoi literatury," in Dmytro Chyzhevsky, *Literaturnyi ukrainskyi barok: narysy* (Kharkiv: Akta, 2003), 6–25; Leonid Ushkalov, "Skovorodiana Dmytra Chyzhevskoho," in D. Chyzhevsky, *Filosofiiia H. S. Skovorody* (Kharkiv: Akta, 2003), 7–29; Mykhailo Naienko, "Dmytro Chyzhevskiyi i ioho *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury*," in D. Chyzhevsky, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* (Ternopil: Femina, 1994), 3–15. It should be noted that Chyzhevsky's studies of the baroque were not limited to Ukrainian problems. The editing and first publication of the works of the eminent Czech thinker Jan Amos Komenský (Comenius) became almost his life's work. For a detailed discussion, see Werner Korthaase, "Pro komeniolohichni doslidzhennia Dmytra Chyzhevskoho," in his *Vid Melankhtona do Komenskoho ta Chyzhevskoho* (Drohobych and Kyiv: Kolo, 2005); idem, "Chyzhevskiyi i Komenskyyi. Z istorii vidkrytia ta interpretatsii osnovnogo tvoriv lana Amosa Komenskoho," *ibid.*, 201–26.

2. The basic ones are set forth in the following works of Chyzhevsky's: *Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini* (Prague: Ukrainskyi hromadskiy vydavnychiy fond, 1931); *Filosofiiia H. S. Skovorody* (Warsaw: Ukrainskyi naukoviy instytut, 1934); *Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok* (Prague: Ukrainske istorychno-filolohichne tovarystvo, 1941–44); *Survey of Slavic Civilization*, vol. 1, *Outline of Comparative Slavic Literatures* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1952); *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury (vid pochatkiv do doby realizmu)* (New York: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1956); articles, including those separately printed: "Zakhidnoevropeiska filosofiiia v starii Ukraini (XV–XVIII st.) — Dopovid, prochytana v Ukrainskomu naukovomu instyuti v Berlini 14 sichnia 1927 r.," "Do problem baroko," *Zahrava. Literaturnyi zhurnal* (Augsburg), 1946, no. 4: 49–57; "XVII stolittia v dukhovnii istorii Ukrainy," *Arka* (Munich), 1948, nos. 3–4: 8–14; *Pozna mezhamy krasny (do estetyky barokovoi literatury)* (New York: Ukrainsko-amerykanske vydavnyche tovarystvo, 1952); *Antychna literatura v starii Ukraini* (Munich, 1956); *Kulturno-istorichni epokhy* (Augsburg: Tovarystvo prykhylnykiv UVAN, 1948), as well as relevant articles in the *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*, 14 vols. (Munich, Paris, New York, and Lviv: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1949–2003).

3. D. Chyzhevsky, "Do kharakterolohii slovian. Ukraintsi," in his *Filosofski tvory u 4-kh tomakh* (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2005), 2: 39 and 42.

structural analysis of texts, but his often contradictory generalizations, which were based essentially on his brilliant scholarly intuition. Given the headspinning changes of methodology in the humanities over the last few decades, these generalizations, which are treated as dogma, have turned out to be a convenient means of opening scholarly discourse to new pseudoheuristic conceptions that not only find no support in the factual material but are directly contradicted by it. Consequently, many studies devoted to the culture of early modern Ukraine continue to suffer from the vulgarization of Chyzhevsky's weighty contributions, and, instead of offering a critical analysis of the existing conception and the historical material, they are mostly illustrative and caught in the toils of arbitrary poetic visions.⁴

This is what has prompted us to carry out at least a first approximation to a critical analysis of the concept of the baroque as presented in Dmytro Chyzhevsky's works; to reveal its essence and significance for contemporary studies in culture, art, and aesthetics. We shall attempt to answer a series of questions: Does Chyzhevsky's concept of the baroque offer something innovative and original in its general methodological approach? What significance did Chyzhevsky's application of the concept of the baroque have for his analysis of the history of Ukrainian culture? What are the prospects of this concept in relation to the current state of scholarly developments in this field? Thus it is our task to reconstruct the concept of the baroque on the basis of Chyzhevsky's works and outline approaches to its critical analysis.

The problem of the baroque

A characteristic feature of "novelty" in European aesthetics and criticism of the fine arts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was interest in baroque culture. As late as the second half of the nineteenth century, that culture had been considered uninteresting, barbaric, and generally retrograde both in its artistic achievements and in the ideology that they embodied. Formally, this shift in priorities coincides with the period when Jacob Burckhardt's student, Heinrich Wölfflin, created an original methodological foundation for the formal and comparative study of styles in his early work *Renaissance and Baroque* (1888). He con-

4. Larysa Dovha, "Snovydni fantazii z prysmakom elitarnosti (Pro Baroko, iakoho ne bulo)," *Ukrainskyi humanitarnyi ohliad* 11 (2005): 79–103; Mykhailo Minakov, "Ukrainska filosofiiia u poshukakh sebe: ohliad dysertatsiinykh tem z istorii filosofii za 1996–2006 roky," *Ukrainskyi humanitarnyi ohliad* 12 (2006): 261–71.

vincingly demonstrated the genetic kinship of baroque art with the achievements of all previous artistic periods (including the Renaissance) and thus “justified” baroque culture, as it were, lifting the anathema imposed on it by representatives of classicism and realism (academism).⁵ But the real reason for this “rehabilitation” of seventeenth-century culture lay not so much in this pioneering step on the part of the German scholar as in the inner kinship of the spiritual searching that characterized epochs two centuries apart. This situation is described quite eloquently by José Ortega y Gasset in his article “La voluntad del barroco” (The Will to the Baroque), published in 1915. He points out that “something attracts [his contemporaries] to the baroque style,”⁶ and, despite the lack of a “clear analysis of the foundations of the baroque,” this art was again affording aesthetic enjoyment, although in imaginativeness and complexity it was devoid of the excellencies of the Renaissance, which had raised the latter to the rank of the classical era.

In Europe the new stage of active interest in the phenomenon of the baroque began in the second decade of the twentieth century. Scholars divided into two basic schools: the first continued Wölfflin’s tradition by searching for phenomena analogous to the baroque in other historical eras and philosophical contexts (Franz Heinrich Weissbach, Nikolaus Pevsner), while the second strove to relate phenomena of artistic culture to the development of sociopolitical and philosophical thought of the seventeenth century (Henri Focillon, Max Dvořák, Wilhelm Hausenstein and others).⁷ “Baroque” was no longer considered a synonym of poor taste or vulgar and excessive decoration and detail in art. On the contrary, it was increasingly regarded as one of the great all-European styles (cultural and historical periods) that combined common aesthetic principles

5. The stylistic principles of baroque art were first subjected to fundamental analysis and given a positive appraisal in Wölfflin’s *Renaissance und Barock* (1888). His subsequent works on *Principles of Art History* (1915) and *The Sense of Form* (1931) prompted detailed study not only of the art and architecture but also of the literature of the seventeenth century throughout Europe; this was later followed by studies of the philosophy and dominant outlook of the era. Thus the baroque, which had been regarded for the two previous centuries as a decadent culture, primitive and completely unworthy of attention, was “rehabilitated” and is now considered equal in aesthetic parameters to the preceding and subsequent periods (the Renaissance and classicism).

6. José Ortega y Gasset, “Volia k barokko,” in his *Estetika. Filosofiia kultury* (Moscow: Iskuststvo, 1991), 152.

7. For a detailed review of the literature on these problems published up to the 1970s, see Czesław Hernas, *Barok* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), 581–626.

with vivid national (regional) coloring. Accordingly, it was seen more and more frequently as the period of the final establishment of national artistic schools in Europe, and discussion turned to the question of whether aesthetically similar phenomena encountered beyond the Old World could be called baroque. At this time, an interest in national forms of the baroque also emerged among the Slavic peoples.⁸

Against this background, Dmytro Chyzhevsky's works do not seem particularly original.

The theory of cultural periods in history

The basic methodological idea from which Chyzhevsky proceeded in his study of the baroque is most clearly formulated in his article "Kulturno-istorychni epokhy" (Cultural and Historical Epochs). In this article he gives a brief account of various approaches to the history of culture, pointing out the one-sidedness of the historical and sociological theory of progress and the positivist and populist schemata that prevailed in the nineteenth century. They sought to assess all of mankind's spiritual heritage on the basis of certain intellectual or aesthetic priorities of their own time. Chyzhevsky also points out that in his opinion the most effective and "objective" method of "cultural and stylistic" study is one borrowed from art history. That method makes it possible to establish a periodization of cultural development that characterizes every period according to its essential content, not on the basis of the scholar's abstract idea, and, secondly, to present every cultural and historical epoch "with all its different and variegated spheres (politics, art, literature, philosophy, religion, and so on) [as] a whole, with all its aspects representing the same cultural style."⁹ At the time the article was written, these ideas, according to the author's own words, were "only a 'working hypothesis' of individual researchers"¹⁰ that had yet to be substantiated and clarified. As things turned out, the hypothesis proved quite fruitful. By now this approach to cultural history has become almost a commonplace, and even an average textbook of cultural history begins by explaining that every epoch is marked by a specific mentality (or way of perceiving and representing the world) that informs all spheres of cultural life and serves as the axis that unifies all creations of a given time into one whole, and

8. For a detailed review of the literature on the baroque in the Slavic lands published up to the 1970s, see Hernas, *Barok*, 581–626.

9. D. Chyzhevsky, "Kulturno-istorychni epokhy," in his *Filosofski tvory*, 2: 27.

10. Ibid.

that it is wrong to impose current sociopolitical, moral and ethical, and aesthetic ideals or notions on past epochs. On the contrary, we must try to approximate as closely as possible the understanding of past events that was characteristic of those living at the time.

The Ukrainian thinker devoted most of his works on cultural history to substantiating and clarifying this theory, although he was far from consistent in defending it and often even cast doubt on it when speaking of the need to find a common denominator for phenomena that he considered "remote," in a sense, from the material on which characterizations of style were based. Thus, in the same article ("Cultural and Historical Epochs") in which he developed the theory of the "wavelike" oscillation of cultural and historical epochs, calling it "another step on the road to understanding the historical process not as a set of accidental petty processes, movements, or trends, but as a great uniform movement in the same direction in various spheres,"¹¹ he notes a series of objections to the fruitfulness of this schema, the most important of which he considers the question (unresolved then, as now) of whether styles are essentially historical or "extratemporal" phenomena that are invariably repeated in the historical process.¹²

Chyzhevsky is somewhat inclined to accept the second alternative when he tries to give an account of the specific features of national types as the basis for selecting ways of philosophizing that are characteristic of particular nations. In particular, by inferring the traits of the "Ukrainian national character" from an analysis of the "national world view," he arrives at the rather controversial conclusion that here the influence of the baroque, the features of whose "spirituality are still preserved in the Ukrainian national type," proved most "important and pronounced."¹³

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid., 34. Unfortunately, the question of the possible "metahistorical" existence of certain cultural phenomena, cautiously posed by Chyzhevsky and qualified by a whole series of warnings about the hypothetical and unproven character of such ideas, has become the subject of pseudoscholarly speculation among present-day scholars of Ukrainian culture. In their writings we encounter not only the uncritical application of some of the eminent thinker's hypotheses but also their *reductio ad absurdum*, with references to Chyzhevsky's works as the ultimate authority. Thus, for example, it has become popular to search for "baroque" features in all manifestations of Ukrainian culture, especially in the twentieth century (see the works of Anatolii Makarov, Volodymyr Lychkovakh, Ivan Ohorodnyk, and Ivan Tsekhmistro, as well as dissertations defended under their supervision).

13. D. Chyzhevsky, "Do kharakterolohii slovia. Ukraintsi," in his *Filosofski tvory*, 2: 41.

In these speculations Chyzhevsky proceeds from a certain theoretical understanding of the historical process that emphasizes the distinction between such concepts as historicism and historical consciousness. He stresses that it is not enough for historicism to discern changes in the life of nations. It must see in these changes an orderly, progressive movement in which every individual period is part of mankind's integral developmental process. Furthermore, the general schema of such a development may be interpreted as an "expulsion from paradise" and return ("renaissance") whose function is to fulfill history and constitute its meaning. This schema was characteristic of Christian historiography and was still influential in the nineteenth century. It can be found, according to Chyzhevsky, in Fichte and the Marxist "communist" periodization of history. The weakness of this schema, according to Chyzhevsky, is its excessive abstractness. It gives the appearance of having been artificially imposed on the actual historical process and pays little heed to the actual facts, substantially distorting their inherent diversity.

Chyzhevsky was much more favorably inclined toward Hegel's conception,¹⁴ according to which, in his estimation, the meaning of history is revealed through the prism of the historical development of the spirit, in which every concrete epoch and nation fulfills its mission. This requires an analysis of the unique "content" of every historical epoch, moderating the action of the abstract schema by means of the dialectic of the abstract and the concrete, the general and the particular in the movement of history. A given period and a given nation realize the general goal of historical development precisely in the specific nature of their existence.

But even this approach fails, in Chyzhevsky's opinion, to provide a reliable key to the periodization of history. He therefore turns to a "cultural" treatment of historicism oriented toward a concept of style borrowed from art history but interpreted more broadly as a fundamental feature of a period. The advantage of a "stylistic" history, Chyzhevsky believed, lay in its capacity to produce an integrated description of a period in the unity of various aspects of life, creativity, and ideals. The emphasis is to be on an analysis of historical facts and artefacts whose variety and complexity resist externally imposed theoretical schemata.

14. See Taras Zakydalsky, "Dmytro Chyzhevskiyi ta istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii v diaspori," in *Dialoh kultur. Materialy Pershykh naukovykh chytan pamiati Dmytra Chyzhevskoho*. Kirovohrad – Kyiv, 17–19 zhovtnia 1994 r. (Kyiv: Respublikanska asotsiatsiia ukrainoznavtsiv et al., 1996), 9. In this publication the author notes the kinship between Hegel's concept of the history of philosophy and Chyzhevsky's historiosophical principles.

“Every epoch has its own visage, its own character, its ‘style.’” Thus “style” is conceived as the style of a culture or “cultural style.”¹⁵ Consequently, historical progress from the Middle Ages to Chyzhevsky’s time looks like this: (1) Romanesque culture, (2) Gothic culture, (3) the Renaissance, (4) the Baroque, (5) the Enlightenment (or classicism), (6) Romanticism, (7) Realism (the new “Enlightenment”), and (8) Neoromanticism (“symbolism” in art).¹⁶ As for antiquity, Chyzhevsky does not propose a concrete periodization but notes that its unity should not be exaggerated and that it, too, consists of distinct epochs. Naturally, the concept of cultural style gives rise to that of cultural epochs in history. This in turn prompts the notion of an integral description of a period that combines the demand to recreate an epoch as a whole (the historical process) with the demand for concrete analysis of the historical material.

Reflecting on “stylistic history” and the periodization of cultural and historical epochs, Chyzhevsky constantly emphasizes that all generalizing schemata are conditional and must be reviewed and even modified under the pressure of analyzed facts, which after all remain the sole foundation of historical research.

It is worth noting that in his reflections about cultural and historical periods Chyzhevsky does not claim to have formulated an original conception. This is quite obvious. Referring to well-known authors (Joachim of Flores, Francis of Assisi, Fichte, Marx, Hegel, and, on the concept of the baroque, to Heinrich Wölfflin), he merely indicates the acceptability of one position or another and the strengths and weaknesses associated with them. It would appear that Chyzhevsky did not even try to create his own system of philosophy or cultural analysis, and that his main intention was to make prudent use of existing approaches to the analysis of Ukrainian culture. In this way he expected to restore to Ukrainian culture its unjustly neglected aspects¹⁷ and integrate its achievements into the general European context. Let us recall how critical he was of his predecessors’ research on early modern Ukrainian culture: “Lacking a firm view of Ukrainian baroque literature (the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), the old Ukrainian literary history could not discern any internal unity in its form and content and therefore considered its essential features simply an expression of some kind of personal unruliness, whim,

15. Chyzhevsky, “Kulturno-istorychni epokhy,” 29.

16. *Ibid.*, 28.

17. D. Chyzhevsky, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury. Vid pochatkiv do doby realizmu* (Ternopil: Femina, 1994), 239.

or authorial idiosyncrasy.... The old historians of Ukrainian literature and culture...condemned it as 'remote from life,' alien to the people's interests, and useless to anyone."¹⁸ Beyond a doubt, Chyzhevsky was completely original in his conceptual grasp of early modern Ukrainian literature, although even here he consistently displays the pedantic caution of a thoughtful scholar.

Taking account of the conceptual principles of historical research, the author formulated a number of fundamental principles. First, he noted the productive role of theory in historical cognition and emphasized that it was precisely theory that made possible "a new interpretation of the facts; penetration of the foundations of cultural development; clarification of particular traits."¹⁹ Consequently, however artificial and abstract concepts and theoretical schemata may seem, they alone enable the researcher to make progress in recreating the particular image of the epoch. Second, Chyzhevsky showed that a positive aspect of applying the theory of cultural and historical epochs is the possibility of bringing to consciousness the role and place of Ukrainian (or any other) culture in the European context, with which it is closely associated by origins and common history. Third, Chyzhevsky stressed that even the most attractive conceptions should not be adopted until they pass the test of thorough examination of concrete facts. He warned of the danger of bias and falsification arising from the blind application of the idea of cultural styles, which emerged from the study of other historical artefacts (primarily in Italy, Spain, Germany and elsewhere), to Ukrainian material.²⁰ In this case, Chyzhevsky emphasized that he was not referring to the recreation of the "influences" of Western elements of Ukrainian culture but to the awareness that Ukrainian culture is "an element of the European whole."²¹

It is precisely in these general principles that we can see Chyzhevsky's effort to conjoin theory with the "truth" of historical facts, as well as to shift the study of Ukrainian culture into the context of all-European cultural and historical studies, thereby bringing out the uniqueness of Ukrainian culture as an achievement of European culture with its own particular value.

18. Ibid.

19. Chyzhevsky, "Kulturno-istorychni epokhy," 30.

20. Ibid., 29.

21. Ibid.

The baroque as a “cultural style”

Another theme of the article “Cultural and Historical Epochs” is the conception of the baroque and its association with the theory of cultural and historical epochs.²² The author begins by singling out Heinrich Wölfflin’s contribution to the elaboration of the concept of the baroque as a cultural style and poses the question of the sense of this concept in the construction of generalized schemata of the historical succession of styles. The baroque can be assessed as an independent stage in the development of culture or as a mere transitional period (between the Renaissance and classicism). In the first case, the baroque appears as a distinct historical period; in the second, it is just a cyclically repeated stage of cultural development in which the harmony and statics of a culture (renaissance, classicism, realism, and neoclassicism) enter a temporary state of disharmony and movement (baroque, romanticism, neo-romanticism/symbolism). In the latter case we have a wavelike scheme of historical development that Chyzhevsky is prepared to examine as a hypothesis: aside from a rational core, it holds many concealed perils (just as one would expect of an excessively abstract schema). Consequently, instead of referring to the general schema, he proposes to concentrate on studying the facts of baroque art and literature.

In emphasizing the study of the baroque as a “cultural style,” Chyzhevsky sets forth several methodological requirements. How is one to define the “baroque man” or the style of an age? In his opinion, this question can be answered only by constructing “ideal types” on the basis of an analysis of the most remarkable and important phenomena.²³ We must seek out not what is common in a group of ordinary objects but rather isolate nonstandard and representative objects, which are to be deemed “typical.” Despite the rather vague formulation of this principle, we should note its methodological significance. Not everything that existed but only what was remarkable in the history of culture should serve as the basis for reconstructing the image of a period. But what is remarkable manifests itself as a historically resonant and important event; accordingly, it refers to the logic of historical progress and the essential manifestations of life. Evidently Chyzhevsky believes both that

22. This idea became popular among scholars in the first half of the twentieth century. See Carl J. Friedrich, *Das Zeitalter des Barock* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1954); Jean Rousset, *La littérature de l’âge baroque en France. Circe et le paon* (Paris: José Corti, 1954).

23. Chyzhevsky, “Kulturno-istorychni epokhy,” 33.

it is possible to construct a theory of “cultural epochs in history” that maximally coincides with their essence and expresses the general laws of human development and that such “laws” actually exist. This is probably the most vulnerable aspect of Chyzhevsky’s conception, inasmuch as it is associated with nineteenth-century historiosophy and much less correlated with the ideas of the Annales school (almost contemporaneous with Chyzhevsky) and research in microhistory and the history of everyday life, which became popular as early as the mid-twentieth century and offered extraordinarily valuable material precisely to students of the “mentalities” of various epochs and peoples. Unfortunately, studies of this nature based on Ukrainian material began to appear only at the end of the last century.

Having set forth his theoretical approach as directed toward “ideal types,” Chyzhevsky encountered the problem of defining the typical and atypical, which merely raises in different terms the already mentioned problem of the interrelation between theoretical schemata and concrete historical material. Chyzhevsky himself remained faithful to the requirement of testing the theoretical schema in the process of investigating the concrete material and therefore elaborated both theory and facts in parallel. The essays “Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok” (The Ukrainian Literary Baroque, 1941–44), “Do problem baroko” (On the Problems of the Baroque, 1946), “Poza mezhamy krasny (Do estetyky barokovoi literatury)” (Beyond the Bounds of Beauty [On the Aesthetics of Baroque Literature], 1952), and the corresponding chapter of *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* (A History of Ukrainian Literature, 1956) are examples of this kind of analysis. In them one may see how the author constructs the typological outlines of the baroque by following the path of phenomenological reconstruction of the world of the baroque as a world of human experiences and feelings. The structural analysis of texts to which he turns in *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* is correlated with previously defined typological features. What are these features, and how original is Chyzhevsky’s contribution on this question?

Chyzhevsky refers to Wölfflin again and again as a pioneer and innovator in the systematic study of baroque style. Since, as noted above, he finds the “stylistic” approach quite acceptable for the study of cultural and historical epochs, he accepts the list of baroque characteristics proposed by the Swiss art scholar. If the idea of analyzing epochs on the basis of the history of artistic styles is correct, then the description of the painting and architecture of the baroque must be operative, or at least taken into account, in considering the style of the whole period. Chy-

zhevsky is also impressed by the idea of linking the “style of a period” with the peculiarities of a nation’s view of the world.

As we know, Wölfflin counterposed the baroque as a style to the Renaissance and thus formulated a whole series of terms for it. Although they are related to the special features of painting and architecture, they are psychological descriptions of the view of the world that such art is supposed to reflect and evoke. Emphasizing the specific picturesqueness of the baroque, he writes that the play of light and shadow, plane and space, linearity and volume becomes important, giving rise to the illusion of movement. The same applies to correct representation, which is generally associated with order, clarity of outline, and statics; baroque art departs from these norms of correctness and asserts fluidity, boundless diversity, and incompleteness of form. Comparing the impressions that this kind of art is meant to evoke, Wölfflin formulates his definitions of the Renaissance and baroque quite clearly according to the principle of binary opposition. The Renaissance is identified with beauty, balance, and pleasure, that is, “divine peace.” The baroque is excitement, passion, and restless tension, that is, the grand or colossal. The psychological element of these definitions is obvious, and it can easily be developed into a characterization of the baroque as the style of a historical period. This is essentially what Chyzhevsky does in his works. The style of art and the style of the age correspond precisely on the phenomenological plane as a definition of a particular world view.

For comparison, let us list the characteristics of the baroque style that Chyzhevsky emphasizes in his works.

In his article “On the Problems of the Baroque,” Chyzhevsky writes that it is very difficult to find the dominant elements that characterize this style. This is a “syncretic” current in which “everything flows and everything changes.”²⁴ Thus, rejecting any attempt to base the definition on some single characteristic, we can begin by asserting the baroque is an “attempt to *synthesize the cultures of the Middle Ages (Gothic) and the Renaissance*”²⁵ (Chyzhevsky’s emphasis). In advancing this thesis, Chyzhevsky goes beyond Wölfflin, who compared the artistic style of the baroque with that of the Renaissance but also counterposed it to efforts to reduce the baroque to a socioreligious phenomenon (the “Catholic Counterreformation” or the “Jesuit Baroque”).²⁶ In expanding the horizon of

24. D. Chyzhevsky, “Do problem baroko,” in his *Filosofski tvory*, 2: 68.

25. *Ibid.*, 69.

26. See Benedetto Croce, *Der Begriff des Barock* (Zurich: Rascher, 1927).

definition beyond the limits of art, Chyzhevsky uses the same terms as Wölfflin: variety, restlessness, dynamism—features that generally characterize the impression made by Gothic art. At the same time, by introducing other elements of culture—primarily literary works—into his survey, he manages to identify another set of properties of the baroque style: antithesis, universalism, hierarchism, symbolism, and personalism.²⁷ In this work he also offers a fairly detailed description of the distinctive features of the baroque understanding of man and of human life and purpose in the world. He also stresses the striving for originality and “illusionism.”²⁸ The latter should be understood as the “transition from the depths to the surface” and at the same time as a belief in the illusoriness of being.

In “Beyond the Limits of Beauty (On the Aesthetics of Baroque Literature)” the baroque style is defined as one that is directed beyond the limits of beauty (static wholeness and perfection), with an orientation toward vivid impression, surface play, and illumination of the cruel aspects of human existence. In general, the baroque period is described as “stormy” and “catastrophic.” The intellectual element (learning) in literature is emphasized, and there is a stress on the characteristic linkage between learning and simple folksiness and vulgarity.

In his studies of the Ukrainian literary baroque, Chyzhevsky enumerates the distinctive features of the baroque style as a mental state: the movement from anthropocentrism to theocentrism; liveliness and dynamism (adventurism); strong emotion and “agitation,” naturalism and a taste for “nonaesthetic” features (the monstrous and the horrible). As for literature, it stresses formalism and paradox, as well as the grotesque, anonymity, theatricality, and so on.²⁹

In the chapters of the *History of Ukrainian Literature* devoted to baroque aesthetics and in the introductory chapter to *Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini* (Sketches in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine), one readily discerns the author’s deliberate stress on the particular “spirituality” of the baroque, which was probably the feature of that culture that most attracted Chyzhevsky and provided him with inexhaustible material for constructing his general concept of culture. Among the features that the baroque borrowed from the Renaissance he

27. Chyzhevsky, “Do problem baroko,” 71–73.

28. Ibid., 76.

29. D. Chyzhevsky, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury (vid pochatkiv do doby realizmu)* (New York, 1956), 249–50.

identifies an interest in the culture of antiquity, which is here conjoined with Christianity; nature, which the baroque perceived as a path to God; and the cult of the “powerful individual,” which the baroque also supposedly wished to cultivate simply in order to place it at the service of God.³⁰ It is on this point that Chyzhevsky’s conclusions give rise to the gravest doubts, since it cannot be forgotten that on the one hand Renaissance culture in Europe was not fully secular, and, on the other hand, that in Orthodox lands it was the baroque that first introduced a secular element into professional culture. The attitude to nature is also completely different: if the Renaissance artist thought that nature had to be “embellished and perfected,” for in itself it was unworthy of the artist’s attention, the baroque thinker saw nature as something finished that needed no perfecting. The baroque perceived the attainments of nature less as a path to God than as a manifestation of His infinite creative potential, which was perfect in its essence. For the first time man perceived nature as a necessary medium of his own existence: as the creation of the Almighty, it possessed a value equal to that of man. Accordingly, knowledge of nature, like the knowledge of man, was treated as one way of knowing God through reason, but not as a path to Him. Indeed, we should not exaggerate the geocentrism of seventeenth-century culture, for it was just at this time that early atheistic doctrines made their appearance, notably the philosophy of Baruch Spinoza, who is now considered one of the most striking representatives of the baroque era. Nor can we agree that the cult of the “powerful man” was intended to place him at the service of God. It suffices to recall only the most striking moral and didactic treatises of Baltasar Gracián and Emmanuele Tesauro to recognize that the basis of the upbringing of such a “heroic” individual was not so much service to God (or, even less, to the state) as service to one’s own glory, the gaining of honors in one’s milieu, and the ability to keep its attention focused on oneself or, better yet, to achieve glory and a lasting place in the memory of one’s descendants. These are purely secular treatises in which piety is discussed only to the extent that it may prove useful in public life.

In Chyzhevsky’s *Sketches in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine*, the chief trait of the baroque is defined as decorativeness, which “attributes higher value to the grand gesture than to profound content” and clearly prefers “appearance” to “being.”³¹ Chyzhevsky also emphasizes

30. Ibid., 240.

31. D. Chyzhevsky, *Narysy istorii filosofii na Ukraini* (Kyiv: Orii, 1992), 21.

the striving of baroque spirituality for the great and the unlimited and the fearless conjunction of opposites.

As we see, Chyzhevsky's general picture coincides with what Wölfflin wrote about the baroque and what is expressed by the concepts of the improper, dynamic, impressive, and variegated. More general descriptions of the baroque as the style of the period apply to relations between man and the world, to wit, in modes of correlation between life and death, the individual and the universal, and the internal and the external. In this sense, the studies of the less well known (and rarely cited by Ukrainians) Cornelius Gurlitt (1851–1938), who also saw the baroque as the style of a period and referred to the particular understanding of life characteristic of that period, are close to Chyzhevsky's reflections. His starting point was also a phenomenological approach that was geared to an intuitive grasp of style and affirmed the idea of the integrity of culture and its treatment as an artistic phenomenon.³² It is important that Gurlitt indicated irrationalism (in Chyzhevsky's terminology, "symbolism") and a slavish attitude to form (in Chyzhevsky, superficial decoratism, "figurality") as a specific life attitude (*derbe Lebenslust*—a healthy rejoicing in life) that is manifest in all spheres of culture. In contrast to Gurlitt, Chyzhevsky as a researcher seems more moderate and scientifically oriented in his analysis of concrete material. In his preface (written in 1950 in Halle an der Saale) to "Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok" (The Ukrainian Literary Baroque) he defines his purpose as follows: "to point out the formal qualities of the literature of the Ukrainian baroque."³³ And it is this aim that he consistently pursues. But he becomes a "visionary" of an integral style when he tries to move on to the characteristics of mentality; to establish a link between stylistic embellishments in art and a world view. Yet it is just at this point of his reflections—about "the baroque man" and the preference for the "grand gesture over profound content"³⁴—that present-day scholars who do not want to work with texts and facts find inspiration.

32. I. D. Chechot, "Barokko kak kulturologicheskoe poniatie. Opyt issledovaniia," in *Barokko v slavianskikh kulturakh* (Moscow: Nauka, 1982), 326–48.

33. D. Chyzhevsky, "Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok," in his *Ukrainske literaturne baroko: Vybrani pratsi z davnoi literatury* (Kyiv: Oberehy, 2003), 26.

34. D. Chyzhevsky, "Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini," in his *Filosofski tvory*, 1: 17. The taste for generalizations of this kind seems to disappear in Chyzhevsky's later works.

The development of conceptual principles

It is just when Chyzhevsky has recourse to broad generalizations that his judgments become unscholarly, but it does not follow that all generalizations should be abandoned in favor of a purely positivist research approach. In our opinion, Chyzhevsky's original intention—to see behind the history of artistic styles a history of man's attitude to the world and human experience—is a productive one, as confirmed by the development of twentieth-century scholarship in the humanities. The only problem is how to establish a link between the structural analysis of works and their phenomenological projections, that is, between the structure of a work and the experience that the work expresses or produces.

Chyzhevsky attempted to work out an approach to the analysis of cultural epochs in history, especially to the baroque, that would make it possible to eliminate the deformities of the external “view” from the position of a different epoch and culture. This means that he aspired to an immanent understanding of historical phenomena. In a formulation that is quite obscure from the scholarly viewpoint, he defined his theoretical approach as follows: “Only a *living* relation to the man of the baroque, with his needs, his taste, and his creative tendencies can lead to a *true understanding* of baroque culture”³⁵ (author's emphasis). The completely justified aspiration to give a description of a period from a position “within it,” as it were, is inherently paradoxical and can have both positive and negative consequences. Attempts to comprehend the baroque by relying on impressions and intuition (in the final analysis, the impressions of the investigator) that are not subject to critical analysis and at least partial objectification may be considered negative or dubious from the scholarly viewpoint.³⁶ And we are obliged to admit that such a widely practiced but unscholarly approach can indeed be “substantiated” by quotations from Chyzhevsky's works. But what is a “living” relation? Obviously, this means “empathizing,” an experience that leads one into a closed circle of subjectivity of a wholly artistic, intuitive kind. Because of its phenomenological emphasis, this approach neglects the question of the sources of experience and the basis on which they are transformed into foundations of theoretical structures.

35. Chyzhevsky, “Do problem baroko,” 2: 75.

36. Aside from Makarov's above-mentioned book, Serhii Krymsky's publication in the academic *History of Ukrainian Culture* may serve as an example of such an approach. See Krymsky, “Fenomen ukrainskoho baroko,” in *Istoriia ukrainskoi kultury*, 6 vols., vol. 3 (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2003), 67–93.

On the other hand, the very demand for an immanent understanding of a cultural epoch (“on its own terms”) is paradoxical. All cognition (even self-understanding) takes the form of observation: the view “from outside” is an inalienable property of observation, and wholeness is rendered accessible by defining its limits from the outside. In that sense, there is no getting around the “outside” either in the synchrony or in the diachrony of historical understanding. Nevertheless, taking into account the fundamental externality of theoretical analysis, and without relying on phenomenological experience (direct experience of the facts of culture), one can try instead to identify lines of transition from the structure of a work to the structure of experience, which are probably correlated in the synchrony of historical being. Thus the issue is the further theoretical development of approaches to the analysis of the baroque as the style of an epoch, not simply an artistic style.

Current work on the concept of the baroque as an epoch in the development of culture is considerably advancing the elaboration of such approaches. The structural analysis of texts (works) is being transformed into conclusions about the historical specificity of experience by focusing on questions that Chyzhevsky addressed in his writings but did not develop theoretically. First and foremost, this involves the understanding of an artistic work in the context of culture: the approach to the work and the delineation of its functions.

An example of such an approach is *Poetika baroko: zavershenie ritoricheskoi epokhi* (The Poetics of the Baroque: The Culmination of a Rhetorical Epoch),³⁷ the work of a Russian specialist on the baroque, Aleksandr Mikhailov. In his analysis of the concept of the baroque, Mikhailov refers to Wölfflin and criticizes him and his followers for their inauthentic approach, that is, for applying criteria of evaluation borrowed from other epochs and cultures. He demands that we find “our own” measure of the baroque, but one that relies on a thorough analysis of the literary sources. As a result, he isolates the concepts that enable him to move from the structure of texts to the structure of experience. These are the concepts of the author, the word (language), reality, and their correlates in experience—personality and its personification and depersonification in the text of culture. Experience is reconstructed on the basis of

37. A. V. Mikhailov, “Poetika barokko: zavershenie ritoricheskoi epokhi” in *Istoricheskaya poetika*, ed. P. A. Grintser (Moscow: Nasledie, 1994); or his *Iazyki kultury* (Moscow: Iazyki russkoi kultury, 1997); or www.philol.msu.ru/~forlit/Pages/Biblioteka_Mikhailov_Baroque.htm. See also Mikhailov, “Sudba klassicheskogo nasledii na rubezhe XVIII-XIX v.,” in his *Obratnyi perevod* (Moscow: Iazyki kultury, 2000), 19–33.

the structural analysis of a text or an analysis of the specificity of the rhetorical element in those texts. Mikhailov derives the methodological principles of his analysis from the well-known work of Ernst Curtius (1886–1956),³⁸ which was the first to substantiate the typological significance of the rhetorical element in literature and culture of the premodern period, thereby establishing a new scale for the historical evaluation of the baroque.

According to the proposed theoretical position, the point of departure for the analysis of the baroque is to be the work of art or, more precisely, the attitude to the work of art in the culture, which is correlated with the structure and functions of the work. The basic structural correlation that serves as a matrix for theoretical analysis is the following: “author”—“word (language)” —“reality,” in which the word can have a variety of functions. There are at least two possible variants: (1) There are works and cultures in which the connection with reality takes place only through the *word*, that is, reality can be conceived only as given in the word and is inaccessible in any other way; (2) There are cultures in which the word and reality are fundamentally differentiated. The word is secondary in relation to reality and serves only as an expression—not always exact—of the latter. In the first instance, work on the word is understood as access to reality; in the second, the word is a mere shell of reality and often an obstacle on the path toward it. The first variant is characteristic of premodern cultures or of “rhetorical culture,” which gained its name because of the particular status of the word within it; the second is modern culture, for which the word is mere rhetoric (in the negative sense)—the world of the illusory and unforced play of the imagination. According to Mikhailov’s definition, “rhetorical culture is the culture of the ready-made word.” In that culture, the word cannot be arbitrary because it has ontological status (the word fuses with reality)—that is, examples and rules dominate. In baroque culture as a rhetorical culture, argues Mikhailov, the ontological status of the word becomes quite problematic, but it is still identified with reality; hence formalist experiments in literature do not go beyond surface play; authorship is conceived as a change of masks; and the inner (invisible) world is developed through the topology of the external world. Baroque culture is the epoch of the maximum development and perfection of rhetorical culture, with all the attendant consequences.

38. Ernst R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern: A. Francke, 1948).

Viewing baroque culture through the prism of its rhetorical status allows one to explain many of the subjects of Chyzhevsky's writings and bind them into an integral "style." For example, the selfsame "*formalism*" of the baroque can be explained, and not merely identified, as a certain stage in the development of rhetoric and rhetorical thinking; *theatricality* can be glossed as a rethinking of the author's position in his work; the rhetorical foundations underlying the union of *word* and *image* in baroque emblematics can be penetrated. The propensity of Ukrainian baroque writers and artists to formalistic experiment and surface "decoration" comes to be seen as the result of a fundamental reorientation of world view. Structural analysis on this level goes beyond the bounds of art (literature) and particular works; the work is conceived as an element and means of constructing a world and, accordingly, as a possible experience. This is how one can proceed from efforts to comprehend the "man of the baroque" to the structural elements whereby that man was *fixed* in the literary and artistic works of the age. Under such circumstances, experiences cease to be "facts" for theory and become results of theoretical reconstruction.

Such an approach to the analysis of the Ukrainian baroque is a promising avenue of cultural research and is more resistant to the expansion of unbridled intuitivism, which has flourished so wildly on the basis of uncritical and careless reading of Chyzhevsky's works. As noted, Chyzhevsky was aware of the hypothetical status of his reflections and prepared for a critical review of them. Vagueness (or metaphorical expression) of methodological principles, such as "*living* understanding," became a theoretical trap for many of his followers, but not for the author himself.

Conclusions

We have attempted to reconstruct the concept of the baroque presented in Chyzhevsky's works and to evaluate his contribution to the development of scholarly research on the Ukrainian baroque. This study does not pretend to an exhaustive analysis; one might better say that it outlines foundations and directions. Even so, certain conclusions can be drawn.

There is as yet no basis to assert that Dmytro Chyzhevsky created an original theory of the baroque or developed original approaches to the study of culture. Rather, he made use of existing studies, general schemata, and approaches to the analysis of art, literature, and culture. The main achievement of his work in the cultural sphere is the use of a certain set of theoretical instruments for analyzing the history of Ukrainian

culture. Chyzhevsky carried out the task that he enunciated: to show by means of a theoretical analysis of concrete historical material that Ukrainian culture is an element of European culture and that its movement is subject to the same rhythms as that of the latter.

The basic contradiction in the concept of the baroque as represented in Chyzhevsky's works consists in the divergence between his declared intention of elaborating the "baroque" as a style and his concrete structuralist analysis of works (primarily works of literature). That contradiction may be characterized as a conflict between phenomenological and positivist principles. The first (phenomenological) principle, based on metaphorical notions of national character and the world view of the "man of the baroque," is the weak point of Chyzhevsky's concept. Yet it is this principle that has become a potent source of pseudoscholarly research on the Ukrainian baroque, in which experience is identified with historical fact and the play of imagination with the immanent understanding of culture.

The greatest conceptual achievement of Chyzhevsky's research on the Ukrainian baroque is his structuralist analysis of texts, both literary and philosophical (Skovoroda), which promotes dispassionate scholarly discourse as the only reliable basis for the study of culture. The systematic analysis of texts makes it possible to establish the sources and peculiarities of Ukrainian baroque literature not by analogy but according to the logic of their own structure and historical function.

Those aspects of Chyzhevsky's general conceptual elaboration of the baroque that are concerned with the transition from the analysis of concrete works of literature and art to the reconstruction of a holistic "cultural style" are potentially capable of being developed. If this is to be accomplished within the limits of scholarly discourse, however, further work will be required to develop a methodological basis for the historical study of culture.

Ernst Cassirer and Dmytro Chyzhevsky: An Instance of Cassirer's Reception among the Slavs

Roman Mnich

This article is part of a larger work about Dmytro Chyzhevsky (1894–1977) as a philosopher and his association with German philosophy of the 1920s and 1930s, as well as his dependence on the German hermeneutic tradition. In this text I shall briefly consider only certain aspects of this problem that bear directly on Chyzhevsky's references to the work of Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945).

The early period of Chyzhevsky's work abroad is now justly regarded as philosophical, for after his first publications in astronomy and philological investigations, he turned to the serious study of philosophy. Recently students of Chyzhevsky's legacy have paid more attention to his political activity in the years 1916–30 than to questions of the change in his scholarly interests. This may be due to the nonpublication of valuable material in the Kyiv archives about Chyzhevsky's studies at Kyiv University, the papers that he wrote at the time, and the questions asked of him at examinations.¹

In a chronological discussion of Chyzhevsky's philosophical work, it must also be noted that he came to the subject through philology (this would be significant, for example, in his assessment of Edmund Husserl, as noted below), to which he later returned. Thus, for Chyzhevsky, philosophy became a particular threshold that he *crossed*. His work in this field encompassed both theoretical philosophy—it would appear that most of his contributions were devoted to problems of formal ethics, mainly developing the phenomenological ideas of Max Scheler—and the history of philosophy, first and foremost Hegelianism, the philosophy of

1. Most of these documents have now been prepared for publication and are to appear in the second volume of *Slavistyka*, which is to be issued in Drohobych.

Hryhorii Skovoroda, and the history of Ukrainian philosophy. A major problem, not yet investigated, is that of the extent to which Chyzhevsky remained a philosopher in his literary studies. We have become accustomed to speaking of the “philosophical literary studies of Dmytro Chyzhevsky” without actually considering exactly what philosophy was present in those studies. And in resolving this problem we encounter a number of contradictions, for, on the one hand, Chyzhevsky wrote a whole series of formal literary studies that bear no relation to philosophy, but on the other, after his return from the United States he took part in the purely philosophical meetings of the Poetics and Hermeneutics group, published studies in philosophy and hermeneutics, and the like.²

It should also be noted that Chyzhevsky as a philosopher never studied with Karl Jaspers (1883–1969) or Martin Heidegger (1889–1976) in person, although statements to that effect keep being repeated from one publication to another. That whole generation was tremendously influenced by Edmund Husserl (1859–1938), but each of them interpreted the ideas of phenomenology in his own way. Deserving of particular attention, to be sure, is Husserl’s highly positive assessment of Chyzhevsky in his well-known letter of 2 November 1931 to Emil Utitz, in which he wrote about him as an outstanding, thoroughly educated individual who thought for himself and came to Hegel through Slavic studies, but under the strong influence of phenomenology (“ungewöhnliche Persönlichkeit...ein gründlichst ausgebildeter selbstdenkender Philosoph, von seiner Slavistik aus hauptsächlich für Hegel eingekommen, aber doch auch wesentlich von der Phänomenologie bestimmt”).³

Clearly, Chyzhevsky remained a philosopher who thought for himself, but one without a philosophical system of his own: according to Hans-Georg Gadamer, he had too much knowledge to create one. Yuri Sherekh (George Y. Shevelov) gave a similar assessment, writing of

2. Attesting to the importance of Chyzhevsky’s contribution to the work of this group of scholars in Constance, who were concerned with reception theory, is the fact that an entire volume of studies was dedicated to him: *Poetik und Hermeneutik. Arbeitsergebnisse einer Forschungsgruppe*, vol. 8, *Identität*, ed. Odo Marquand and Karlheinz Stierle (Munich: Fink, 1979).

3. Edmund Husserl, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, *Die Brentanoschule* (Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 1994), 188. In the same letter, Husserl paradoxically refers to Chyzhevsky as a “Ukrainian Russian” (*der ukrainische Russe*, 187)—a fact of no small importance, since it shows that Chyzhevsky somehow manifested his Ukrainian identity while studying with Husserl: after all, it is hard to believe that this founder of phenomenology had any expertise of his own with regard to the complexities of Russo-Ukrainian relations.

Chyzhevsky's "boundless erudition," which prevented him from grasping the distinctive qualities of art: "He divided his interests between philosophy and literary history but, with great self-satisfaction, made excursions into linguistics and even astronomy. He possessed extraordinary erudition and exceptional memory but could be careless about facts. He did not understand literature as art, although he constructed its history as a history of styles. But he had no feeling for aesthetic values. He was rarely able to grasp the originality of an artist or an artistic work: however strange it may seem, his boundless erudition prevented him from doing so."⁴

In summary, it is hard to say which of the German philosophers of the 1920s and 1930s had the greatest influence on Chyzhevsky. Published excerpts of his correspondence show, for instance, that he was rather critical of the philosophy of Martin Heidegger, whose intentions he considered "quite incomprehensible." As for Heidegger's *Being and Time*, Chyzhevsky wrote that "it is not a very good book": upon reading it, he had the impression of knowing "more or less everything that it is about."⁵ And in his article "Beginnings and Ends of Ideological Epochs" Chyzhevsky wrote openly: "For Heidegger, too, came out with ideas that were no longer new. First, they had already been prepared by the works of another 'existentialist,' Karl Jaspers; second, Heidegger himself (Jaspers to a lesser extent) imposes his own ideas on those of an older philosopher who had not even been forgotten but was read with delight in broader circles (there were several German printings of almost all of his works), without offering a philosophical explanation of his thought: that precursor of existentialism was the Danish philosopher and theologian of the middle of the last century, Søren Kierkegaard"⁶ (we still await a full assessment of Chyzhevsky's attitude to Heidegger's philosophy).

Just because he was so well read, Chyzhevsky very often took a *déjà vu* attitude not only to the philosophic searchings of Martin Heidegger but also to many other novelties of the European philosophy of his day. On 22 February 1926, for example, Chyzhevsky lectured on "Spengler and His *Decline of the West*" at a meeting of the Hryhorii Skovoroda

4. Iurii Shevelov (Iurii Sherekh), *Ia — mene — meni... (i dovkruiy)*. *Spohady*, vol. 2 (v *Evropi*) (Kharkiv and New York: M. P. Kots, 2001), 115.

5. For a more detailed discussion of this point, see Werner Korthaase, "Dva i ody — Dmytro Chyzhevskiy, Hans-Georg Gadamer i Martin Haidegger," in his *Vid Melankhtona do Komenskoho ta Chyzhevskoho* (Drohobych and Kyiv: Kolo, 2005), 288ff.

6. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, "Pochatky i kintsi ideolohichnykh epokh," *Bohoslov. Orhan Ukrainskoho Studentskoho Tovarystva Bohoslovskoi Akademii U.A.P.Ts.* 1, nos. 4–6 (April–June 1949): 29.

Scholarly and Philosophical Society in Prague, as noted in the Ukrainian émigré press. In his lecture Chyzhevsky stressed that the basic structure of Spengler's work was not new, nor was the practice of dividing history into particular cultures and giving characterizations of those cultures an innovation on the part of the author. Chyzhevsky noted that Spengler's book was full of contradictions, referring to the author as a dilettante who aroused the reader's interest solely by his literary style of exposition.

Judgments and charges such as those just cited not only attested to the breadth of Chyzhevsky's reading but also displayed his character, including criticism of colleagues that could be wholly unjust, as attested by many reminiscences.

The fundamental difference between Chyzhevsky and the German philosophers of his time was that he read an extraordinary amount on the most varied subjects. As his creative path shows, he never concentrated on a problem for any great length of time but did parallel research on different themes. Today we might call such work interdisciplinary, since it involved philology, philosophy, history, and art. This fundamental difference was very accurately grasped by Hans-Georg Gadamer, who noted that Chyzhevsky did an amazing amount of reading: "That is something I cannot do," continued Gadamer, "I spend a long time reading one book."⁷

In this context, the problem of Chyzhevsky's reception of the legacy of Ernst Cassirer takes on particular significance. Cassirer was the last German philosopher to create his own integral philosophical system. He produced fundamental works on cognitive theory, the history of German literature and philosophical thought, Enlightenment and Renaissance philosophy, and, finally, three volumes on *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*. His greatest achievement was the creation of a new concept of the European philosophy of culture.⁸ This last point seems fundamentally important with reference to Chyzhevsky, who, like Cassirer, inclined toward a cultural approach in the study of literature and even philosophy.

In considering Chyzhevsky's reception of Cassirer's philosophy, let us begin by recalling that their names appeared together on the title page of one of the most authoritative German philosophy journals. The *Archiv für*

7. See "Ja – chelovek dialoga (Interviu s Khansom Georgom Gadamerom)," *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta*, Series 7 – Philosophy (1998), no. 5: 4.

8. The so-called Hamburg edition of Cassirer's complete writings in twenty-four volumes is now almost complete: *Gesammelte Schriften*, Hamburger Ausgabe, ed. Birgit Recki (Hamburg: F. Meiner, 1998ff.). There is also an encyclopedic dictionary of Cassirer's philosophy: *Kultur und Symbol. Ein Handbuch zur Philosophie Ernst Cassirers*, ed. Hans Jörg Sandkühler and Detlev Pätzold (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2003).

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Geschichte der Philosophie, founded in 1888 by Ludwig Stein, has been issued in Germany ever since (with an interruption from 1932 to 1960), publishing a variety of articles on the history of European philosophy from antiquity to the present day. In the years 1930–31, the names of Chyzhevsky and Cassirer appeared side by side on the journal's title page. In his foreword to the fortieth volume of the journal, its then editor Arthur Stein (the son of Ludwig Stein) noted the importance of publishing information about foreign philosophical literature. Chyzhevsky is mentioned in this foreword as the contributor responsible for information about Russian and Ukrainian literature (interestingly, Chy-

zhevsky figures here as a representative of Kyiv—this in 1931—and Freiburg).⁹

I know of no evidence that Chyzhevsky and Cassirer ever met. On the other hand, it may be asserted with confidence that Chyzhevsky carefully read Cassirer's books. Traces of such reading are apparent in Chyzhevsky's publications, and Cassirer's monograph on Einstein's theory of relativity and the second volume of his *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* have been preserved in Chyzhevsky's library in Halle.¹⁰ The three books of Cassirer's to which Chyzhevsky refers most often in his writings are *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*, the second volume of the *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, which is devoted to myth, and *Idea and Image*.

Now let us briefly consider those of Chyzhevsky's articles in which he refers directly to Cassirer's writings. Cassirer's epochal work, published in 1910, was his monograph on the concepts of function and substance as a problem in cognitive philosophy—a work that contributed to the differentiation of concepts in various branches of scholarship and culture.¹¹ In his *Logic*, issued in Prague in 1924 as a copyrighted manuscript, Chyzhevsky commented as follows on Cassirer's proposed division of concepts: "It is also worth noting the division given by E. Cassirer (born ca. 1870):¹² *substantive* concepts constitute a certain group of concepts, while *functional* ones by definition construct this group as a particular system (e.g., second-degree curves, quadrilaterals, and most mathematical concepts in general); the first display characteristics on the basis of which objects subject to a particular concept may be *found*, while the others present rules on how to *construct* those objects (or their concepts)!"¹³ This quotation attests not only to the breadth of Chyzhevsky's reading but also to his basically high opinion of Cassirer's philosophical conception.

Chyzhevsky's long article "New Research on the History of Astrology (1913–1928)," published in Kyiv in 1929, presents very

9. See *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 40, ed. Arthur Stein (Berlin, 1931), 3.

10. Dimitrij I. Tschizewskij und seine Hallesche Privatbibliothek, ed. A. Richter (Münster: Lit, 2003), 57.

11. Ernst Cassirer, *Substanzbegriff und Funktionsbegriff. Untersuchungen über die Grundfragen der Erkenntniskritik* (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1910).

12. Cassirer was born in Wrocław (then Breslau) on 28 July 1874.

13. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, "Logika. Konspekt lektsii, prochytyanykh u Vysshchomu Pedagogichnomu Instytuti im. M. Drahomanova u Prazi v litnomu semestri 1924 roku," copyrighted manuscript (Prague, 1924), 71.

interesting comments on and quotations from Cassirer's works.¹⁴ Chyzhevsky wrote in particular about the specifics of the ancient Greek world view, stressing that the Greeks considered all existence "individual and concrete." Precisely because existence was concrete, it could serve them as a symbol of a different concrete and individual existence. After all, being a symbol means being a representative of a different existence (further on, in a footnote, Chyzhevsky makes direct mention of the importance of Cassirer's conception of symbolic forms).¹⁵ It was on the basis of this symbolic world view of the ancient Greeks that belief (both symbolic and, in Chyzhevsky's opinion, real) in the influence of heavenly bodies on earthly human life arose and developed.

On the following pages of his article, Chyzhevsky wrote: "A good book on the association of astrology with the philosophical world view of the Renaissance is E. Cassirer's *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Leipzig, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, vol. 10, 77–129 and passim). Cassirer attempts to track down the links between necessity and astrological notions. At the foundations of astrology, he thinks, there lay *particular and definite* (Hellenistic) concepts of necessity, causality, the 'microcosm,' and so on. The decline of astrology is associated with the new concept of causality (the one we still have). That analysis of Cassirer's is incomplete, for it does not consider the *metaphysical* assumptions of astrology: it was not limited to logical andgnoseological ones. An appendix reproduces Carolus Bovillus's *Liber de sapiente* (301–412), an interesting example of the Renaissance philosophy of nature: having no direct astrological significance, it offers clear illustrations of 'symbolism' and 'hierarchism' in the Renaissance (and Hellenistic) world views, both of which are basic assumptions of astrology. An analysis of the Renaissance 'Cosmos' remains a task for future research."¹⁶

In this instance, Chyzhevsky makes reference to the third chapter of Cassirer's *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy*,

14. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, "Novi doslidy nad istoriieiu astrolohii (1913–1928)," *Etnohrafičniy zbirnyk* (Kyiv), 1929, no. 8: 190–215.

15. Ibid., 200–201. Analogous ideas on the link between various forms of existence and the life of the individual are to be found in Chyzhevsky's book on the philosophy of Hryhorii Skovoroda, where he also refers to Cassirer's monograph on Renaissance philosophy: see *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody* (Warsaw: Ukrainskyi naukovi institut, 1934), 23–24.

16. Chyzhevsky, "Novi doslidy," 207.

which is entitled "Freedom and Necessity in Renaissance Philosophy."¹⁷ Chyzhevsky's critical remarks are doubtless unjust, as Cassirer devoted his monograph to Renaissance philosophy and, naturally, had no place in it for metaphysical preconditions of astrology that were characteristic of earlier epochs.

Chyzhevsky also wrote about the first two volumes of the *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* and about Cassirer's article "Die Begriffsform im mythischen Denken" (Conceptual Form in Mythological Thinking). Here the subject is categories of scientific thought and Chyzhevsky's opinion that astrology continued to be a form of thinking in the post-mythological development of European culture: "The problem is more radically presented in Cassirer's works: we have in mind E. Cassirer, *Philosophie der symbolischen Formen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1923), vol. 2 (Berlin, 1925), and his brochure *Die Begriffsform im mythischen Denken*, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, 1 (Leipzig, 1922). Cassirer thinks that, along with categories of 'scientific thinking,' the history of thought includes categories of 'mythical' thinking, which is also a distinctive form of cognition (*gnoseologia inferior*, to use the words of the founder of aesthetics, Alexander Baumgarten). These categories of mythical thinking are also principles for the ordering of the objects of our cognition, but here that unification takes place in other forms: the whole world is divided into parts, groups, or classes in which all objects are simultaneously associated by resemblance and actual ties. The astrological principle is also one such principle for the formation of groups (let us recall the division of humans according to their subordination to one planet or another; let us recall the 'astrological geography' according to which every country is subject to a particular planet, the principle of 'representation' in the paranatellonta, and the like). Particular areas of the world resemble the universe as a whole (the world is like a crystal that, however we divide it into smaller and smaller parts, maintains the same structure in every one of them). Astrology offers us a representation of such a world view, based on the conceptualization of the world according to the categories of mythological thinking. Astrology joins together the *primitive* horror of demons and the *scientific* mathematical method. It is these last words that indicate the error of Cassirer's subtle and precise analyses.

17. Ernst Cassirer, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1927), chapter 3, "Freiheit und Notwendigkeit in der Philosophie der Renaissance," 77–129.

Astrology is not *only* the conceptualization of the world according to the principles of 'mythological thinking.' Astrology no longer belongs to the sphere of the '*primitive* world view.' On the contrary, it is a certain perversion or aberration of the *scientific* world view. A savage may believe in myth as a *traditional* belief. But a representative of a typical 'astrological epoch,' such as Proclus or Iamblichus, *creates myths for himself!* Similarly, Kepler rejects the astrological tradition in order to establish *new* laws for *his own* astrology, which is not based on any tradition."¹⁸

The problem of symbols was important to Chyzhevsky because of his own theoretical searchings, as well as his work on Ukrainian baroque symbolism and the symbolism of Hryhorii Skovoroda, the Russian symbolists, and the like. Like Cassirer, Chyzhevsky thought that in the course of its historical development the human race develops particular symbolic forms of its existence that serve to guarantee the existence of culture as such. Thanks to such forms, any individual creation is linked to what is general and common to all, thereby becoming accessible to interpretation and understanding. Chyzhevsky noted: "The value and dignity of man are associated with his rationality and morality, whose characteristic feature is undoubtedly some form of *life in common*. Thinking and moral action both represent plunges of the individual into the mainstream and participation of individual human existence in common existence." And it is precisely diverse symbols and symbolic systems that "last and live on—in history, at any rate (and life in history is by no means a lowly form of existence!)." ¹⁹

Naturally, when it comes to works of Cassirer's that Chyzhevsky carefully read and reviewed, parallels between them cannot be accidental. But similarities in their views and in certain ideas may also be due to their reading of the same works and their orientation on the same tradition—that of classical German philosophy. This is the context that allows one to understand Chyzhevsky's conclusions about the symbolic presentation of higher forms of existence in the direct experience of life and art, which is basic to any presentation: "The basic elements in the sphere of ethical symbolic acts are the direct participation of the ethical subject in the higher forms of existence and the symbolic expression of

18. Chyzhevsky, "Novi doslidy," 213–14.

19. D. Chizhevsky, "Etika i logika (k voprosu o preodolenii eticheskogo 'formalizma,'" in *Nauchnye trudy Russkogo narodnogo universiteta v Prage*, no. 4 (Prague, 1931), 52 (author's emphasis).

those higher forms in the life of the ethical subject in all its immediate concreteness.... The principle of expression brings the sphere of ethical action closer to the sphere of art, inasmuch as creation is basic to all expression.”²⁰ In his *Philosophy of Symbolic Forms*, Cassirer wrote similarly about the active nature of sensibility itself, often forgotten by students of the subject, which manifests itself in various spheres of creativity. These spheres create a figurative world of their own—a world whose immediate features still retain the coloring of sensibility, although in fact the sensibility that it presents is fully formed and thus mastered by spirit.²¹

It is also worth emphasizing that the theoretical substantiation of the problem of symbols in Chyzhevsky’s “Ethics and Logic” turns out to be extraordinarily close to Cassirer’s thinking on the matter.²² Chyzhevsky speaks directly of the link between symbols and poetic language and about the transformation, in poetry, of the defining function of language into a poetic function (here we may also note parallels between Chyzhevsky’s thinking and the ideas of one of his contemporaries, the Russian philosopher Aleksei Losev, another careful reader of Cassirer’s works):²³ “The *actual* unity of plural existence is achieved in the *symbol*. The symbol is concrete existence in the fullness of its concreteness, expressing another existence (that other existence may also be existence in general). All concrete existence possesses *infinite* content. Infused in that polysemy, however, is the principle of liberty and the possibility of ‘free diversity’ of content and expression.... The symbol is irreplaceable, for any other symbol is concrete in a different way and fulfills the symbolic function differently.”²⁴

20. Ibid., 66.

21. For a more detailed discussion, see *Kultur und Symbol. Ein Handbuch zur Philosophie Ernst Cassirers*, 191–210.

22. For more detail on the theoretical problems of symbology in Chyzhevsky’s work, see Roman Mnich, “Etika tvorcestva i estetika simvola v osmyslenii Dmitriia Chizhevskogo,” in *Literatura. Mit. Sacrum. Kultura*, ed. Maria Cymborska-Leboda (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000), 109–18; idem, “Problema poeticheskogo tvorcestva v russkom zarubezhnom literaturovedenii: primer Dmitriia Chizhevskogo,” in *Russische Emigration im 20. Jahrhundert. Literatur – Sprache – Kultur*, ed. Frank Goebler (Munich: Sagner, 2005), 135–49.

23. See Roman Mnich, “Retseptsiiia Kassirera v Rossii v svete nekotorykh osobennostei russkoi filosofii,” *Revue des études slaves* 74, nos. 2–3 (2002–3): 563–75.

24. Chizhevsky, “Etika i logika,” 62.

We may also assert that Chyzhevsky's enthusiastic interest in symbols generally and Cassirer's work on symbols in particular reflected a general tendency in Ukrainian, Russian, and even Polish philosophical thinking of the day. The tremendous influence of Cassirer's philosophy on Mikhail Bakhtin can now be considered an established fact.²⁵ Other Russian philosophers such as Aleksei Losev, Olga Freidenberg, Boris Pasternak, and Boris Fokht may also be mentioned here. As for the Ukrainian context, mention should be made first and foremost of Borys Navrotsky, whose sharply critical articles on the problem of Cassirer's "mythical thinking" appeared in *Etnohrafichnyi visnyk* (Ethnographic Herald) in the 1930s.²⁶ Among Polish thinkers, the one closest to Cassirer with regard to the problems discussed here was of course Roman Ingarden.²⁷

In a paper given at a congress in Lund in 1929, Chyzhevsky, expressing his high opinion of Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms as important and necessary groundwork for the development of a general theory of symbols, nevertheless ventured into discussion with Cassirer on the question of differentiating scientific and religious thought, noting that he dreamt of a study of symbols capable of treating them as integral and self-contained phenomena, using a methodology reminiscent of Heidegger's existentialist philosophy: "Cassirer's book *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* constitutes an important preliminary to this urgent task. But he goes astray owing to excessive rationalization of primitive thought; he gives living symbolism a foundation of categorical forms that, although entirely different from the categories of our scientific thought, nevertheless fulfill a similar function in thought, although in reality it is by no means a function in *thought* that determines religious symbolism. What I have in mind is a study encompassing symbols themselves in their entirety and completeness.

25. On this, see Brian Pool, "Bakhtin and Cassirer: The Philosophical Origins of Bakhtin's Carnival Messianism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 97, nos. 3–4 (1998): 537–78; Craig Brandist, *The Bakhtin Circle: Philosophy, Culture and Politics* (London: Pluto Press, 2002); idem, "Neobkhodimost intelektualnoi istorii," *Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie*, 2006, no. 79 (3): 56–68; Mnich, "Retseptsia Kassirera v Rossii."

26. See B. O. Navrotsky, "Problema 'mitychnoho myslennia,'" *Etnohrafichnyi visnyk* (Kyiv), 1927, no. 5: 126–42.

27. I shall note only one of Ingarden's articles, almost forgotten today, in which the problem of man's creation of symbolic reality in the process of his historical development is posed directly: "Człowiek i jego rzeczywistość," in his *Szkice z filozofii literatury*, vol. 1 (Łódź: Polonista, 1947), 5–14.

In this regard I am thinking of a method analogous to the one that Martin Heidegger uses to study particular 'life situations.'"²⁸

This project (a distinctive challenge to Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms), like dozens of others announced and promised in Chy-zhevsky's publications, remained a mere plan and was never realized.

28. D. Tschizewskij, "Zur Frage über die Pflanze als religiöses Symbol," in *Actes du V^e Congrès International d'histoire des religions à Lund, 27–29 août 1929* (Lund: Gleerup, 1930), 71.

Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Petr Bitsilli on the “Problem of the Double”

Maria Vasilieva

The history of relations between Petr Bitsilli¹ and Dmytro Chyzhevsky is not substantiated by any record of correspondence or active cooperation. At any rate, the archives accessible to us provide no documentary evidence of it. This “history of relations” developed without personal contact. However, even in this “intermittent” form, it was highly significant in Bitsilli’s scholarly activity. If one considers the statistics of mutual “citations,” reviews, and references, they do not add up to very much. Nevertheless, this meeting “without personal contact” was of unquestionable significance and led the two scholars to an expression of unqualified mutual respect.

Here are a few of the most important stages in the “intersection” of their scholarly interests: Chyzhevsky’s review of Bitsilli’s *Outlines of a*

1. Petr Mikhailovich Bitsilli (b. Odesa, 1 [13] October 1879–d. Sofia, 24/25 August 1953), historian, philologist, and literary critic. The works that he published before the Russian Revolution were contributions to medieval studies. He emigrated to Serbia in 1920. In 1924 he moved to Bulgaria, where he held the chair of world history at Sofia University on a contract basis until 1948. The émigré period of Bitsilli’s life was marked by a change of disciplinary preference: he became ever more involved in philological studies. In 1948 he was dismissed without pension, largely because of the change in Bulgaria’s political orientation. Bitsilli’s bibliography is extensive: he was eagerly sought by Russian diaspora publications as a reviewer and contributor. His articles were invariably distinguished by refined scholarly culture and academic “bearing,” as well as extraordinary liveliness of thought and a brilliant style. His most important literary studies are *Etiudy o russkoi poezii* (Prague: Plamia, 1926), “Tvorchestvo Chekhova: opyt stilisticheskogo analiza,” *Godishnik na Sofiiskii Universitet. Istoriko-filologicheski fakultet* (henceforth *GSU*) 38, no. 6 (1941–42): 1–138; “Pushkin i problema chistoi poezii,” *GSU* 41, no. 11 (1944–45): 1–61; “K voprosu o vnutrennei forme romana Dostoevskogo,” *GSU* 42 (1945–46): 1–75; “Zametki o chekhovskom ‘Rasskaze neizvestnogo cheloveka,’” *GSU* 44, no. 4 (1947–48): 1–13; and “Problema cheloveka u Gogolia,” *GSU* 44, no. 4 (1947–48): 1–32 (third pagination).

Theory of Historical Science;² Bitsilli's close attention to Chyzhevsky's programmatic article "On the Problem of the Double (From a Book on Formalism in Ethics)"³ and his article "On Gogol's 'Overcoat'";⁴ Bitsilli's review of Chyzhevsky's fundamental study of *Hegel in Russia*;⁵ and the posthumous publication of Bitsilli's *On Chekhov* in German translation in the *Forum Slavicum* series established by Chyzhevsky.⁶ Despite the paucity of these "intersections," some of which were brief indeed (amounting only to mentions, stipulations, or references), they became decisive in the history of the dialogue "without personal contact" between Chyzhevsky and Bitsilli. It is also significant that the works inspiring a response from the two scholars were of definitive importance not only to their own careers but also to the research space of the Russian diaspora. It was this joint sense of what was important, critical, and innovative that turned the impersonal association of Chyzhevsky and Bitsilli into something of a joint creative enterprise.

The most important subject of their intellectual relations—one that determined the structure of their association, so to speak—was the "problem of the double" raised in Chyzhevsky's article. Originally published in the first collection *On Dostoevsky* edited by A. L. Bem,⁷ the

2. Review of *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki* in *Sovremennye zapiski*, 1929, no. 39: 542–47.

3. D. Chizhevsky, "K probleme dvoynika (Iz knigi o formalizme v etike)," in *O Dostoevskom*, no. 1 (Prague, 1929), 9–38. Bitsilli's review of this article appeared in *Chisla*, 1930, nos. 2–3: 240–42.

4. D. Chizhevsky, "O 'Shineli' Gogolia," *Sovremennye zapiski* 67 (1938): 172–95. Bitsilli constantly refers to this article in his "Pushkin i Viazemskii," in *GSU* 35, no. 15 (1939) and "Tvorchestvo Chekhova" (1941–42), where, examining the motif of Bashmachkin's infatuation with an inanimate object—an overcoat—he notes: "On this, see Professor Chyzhevsky's excellent article on 'Shinel' in *Sovremennye zapiski* 67" (Bitsilli, *Tragediia russkoi kultury: Issledovaniia, stati, retsenzii* [Paris: *Sovremennye zapiski*, 1933], 351). Constant reminiscences of this article of Chyzhevsky's are to be encountered in a number of Bitsilli's works, including "K voprosu o vnutrennei forme romana Dostoevskogo" (1945–46).

5. D. Chizhevsky, *Gegel v Rossii* (Paris, 1939). Bitsilli's review appeared in *Sovremennye zapiski* 70 (1940): 289–91.

6. P. M. Bicilli, *Anton P. Cechov. Das Werk und sein Stil*, ed. V. Sieveking, *Forum Slavicum*, ed. D. Tschizewskij (Munich: Fink, 1966). I am grateful to the translator of the German edition, Vincent Sieveking, for relating its history in a letter to me. The translation was initiated by a student of Chyzhevsky's, D. Gerhardt. At first Chyzhevsky contemplated a Russian-language version, which would be simpler to publish, but, thanks to German Slavists, Bitsilli's work appeared in German translation.

7. Three collections entitled *O Dostoevskom* appeared in the years 1929–36, reflecting the work of the Dostoevsky Studies Seminar at the Russian People's University

article appeared with a subtitle in "From a Book on Formalism in Ethics." In the same period, Chyzhevsky published two more articles: "On Formalism in Ethics (Notes on the Current Crisis in Ethical Theory)" (1928)⁸ and "Ethics and Logic: On the Question of Overcoming Ethical Formalism" (1931).⁹ Both were published by the Russian People's University (Prague) and stand apart from Chyzhevsky's work on Dostoevsky's "Double." However, in a footnote to his article on "Ethics and Logic," Chyzhevsky observed that "Because I am unable to publish my book on formalism in ethics in toto in the near future, I am taking the liberty of offering abstracts of particular chapters. This work is related to two other publications, 'On Formalism in Ethics'...and 'On the Problem of the Double.'"¹⁰ Although Chyzhevsky's article about Dostoevsky's work is formally and thematically distinct from those chapters, it must be borne in mind that he regarded the "problem of the double" as an inalienable part of a large-scale research project devoted to a critique of ethical formalism. Thus, his article "On the Problem of the Double," a successful instance of applying the method of "close reading" (*melkie nabliudeniia*) to literary studies, as practiced in the seminar directed by Bem, was assigned by Chyzhevsky himself first and foremost to the sphere of philosophy, ethics, and ontology, and not to that of literary studies.

In his article Chyzhevsky argues that the theme of the double, raised in Dostoevsky's early story, not only was not abandoned by the writer but also manifested itself "again and again in his work in a variety of metamorphoses."¹¹ By means of close reading, Chyzhevsky draws attention to a variety of leitmotifs in "The Double"—those of imposture,

in Prague. A. L. Bem, the guiding spirit of the seminar, wrote: "In character it was more a scholarly society than a standard university seminar. Those who joined it were mainly mature scholars interested in Dostoevsky's work.... The seminar's work repeatedly attracted the attention of the Russian and foreign press, especially in connection with the first issue of the collection *O Dostoevskom* (1929), which consisted of papers read at the seminar" (see *O Dostoevskom*, no. 2 [Prague, 1933]: 123–24).

8. D. Chizhevsky, "O formalizme v etike. (Zametki o sovremennom krizise eticheskoi teorii)," in *Nauchnye trudy Russkogo narodnogo universiteta v Prage*, no. 1 (Prague, 1928), 15–29.

9. D. Chizhevsky, "Etika i logika. K voprosu o preodolenii eticheskogo formalizma," in *Nauchnye trudy Russkogo narodnogo universiteta v Prage*, no. 4 (Prague, 1931), 50–68.

10. Ibid., 50.

11. Chizhevsky, "K probleme dvoynika," 11.

perfect likeness, and loss of place. Tracing the problem of place back to the baroque tradition and actualizing it, Chyzhevsky relates it to ideas of Hryhorii Skovoroda with which he was completely familiar.¹² He emphasizes that “the appearance of the double and his forcing Goliadkin out of his ‘place’ merely reveals the illusoriness of that ‘place,’” and, by the same token, is closely related to the “problem of security, reality, and stability of actual human existence.” He stresses the ontological (not psychological or social) insecurity of the protagonist of Dostoevsky’s story and, tracking the ontological “idea of the double” in Dostoevsky’s work, convincingly shows that it was one of his central ideas, as manifested in Versilov’s “split personality” in “A Raw Youth”; Ivan Karamazov’s “doubles” (the devil; Smerdiakov); and Stavrogin’s “doubles” in *The Possessed*. According to Chyzhevsky, the “problem of the double” reaches its apogee in the novel *The Possessed*, since all of Stavrogin’s disciples are his “doubles” or “emanations of his spirit.” For Chyzhevsky, a split personality or duality are the results of a tragic disintegration of the soul; of the lack of a “spiritual anchor,”¹³ ontological security and integrity: “in Stavrogin’s soul there is no ‘direction’; he possesses no spiritual ‘magnetic meridian,’ and for him there is no ‘magnetic pole’ toward which, in Dostoevsky’s opinion, every *living* soul is drawn—*there is no God*. Man’s living, concrete existence; any ‘place’ for him in the world is made possible only through a living link with divine existence.”¹⁴

“The problem of ‘security’ and the ontological stability of the individual’s ‘ethical existence’ is indeed...the essential problem of the nineteenth century,” notes Chyzhevsky. However, having uncovered many aspects of the problem of the double and its relevance in the

12. Chyzhevsky’s article “On Gogol’s ‘Overcoat’” is imbued with the same idea. “The ‘Center’...of Christian mysticism is God. Certainty and stability are to be found in Him. He also shows man ‘his place’ (which everyone possesses).... Loss of connection with that Center means the loss of one’s place in the world” (192). Chyzhevsky closely associates the subject of “loss of one’s place” with the traditions of Christian mysticism, the verses of Hryhorii Skovoroda, Paisii Velychkovsky’s “Love of Goodness,” and the prose of Hryhorii Kvitka-Osnovianenko. He develops this theme in detail in articles devoted to the work of Nikolai Gogol/Mykola Hohol. In his article “Neizvestnyi Gogol” (*Novyi zhurnal*, 1951, no. 27: 126–58), he notes: “In Gogol’s opinion, God gives everyone ‘his place’ in the world (this is later repeated by Dostoevsky)” (145). As we see, Chyzhevsky actively developed ideas raised in the Dostoevsky Studies Seminar for many years afterwards.

13. See Chizhevsky, “O ‘Shineli’ Gogolia,” 192.

14. Chizhevsky, “K probleme dvoynika,” 22.

intellectual constructions of nineteenth-century philosophy, Chyzhevsky fundamentally revises the understanding of that problem and makes it one of the most important points of his single-minded critique of ethical rationalism. In Chyzhevsky, the critique of ethical formalism is directed above all against the rationalist ethics of Fichte and Nietzsche, as well as against Kant's "categorical imperative," which reduces the understanding of an ethical system to the general laws of nature. In Chyzhevsky's opinion, such a breach with concreteness forces one to contemplate the world "through the eyes of an impassive and faceless universal double."¹⁵ Thus Chyzhevsky raises the idea of the individual's *concrete existence* in its most acute form, stressing that abstract thinking basically presupposes the idea of "similar beings" as passive embodiments of rational principles and abstract ideas. It is this very point—the postulation of the concreteness and individuality of man's ethical activity—that reveals an obvious "point of contact" in the thinking of Chyzhevsky and Bitsilli. When Chyzhevsky traces the problem of ethics and ontology back to the idea of the irreplaceability, unrepeatability, and uniqueness of a concrete individual, his arguments coincide with the systematic argumentation deployed by Bitsilli as a consistent critic of the philosophy of history. In order to track these "points of contact," we must turn to Bitsilli's programmatic *Outlines of a Theory of Historical Science*. That fundamental work was issued in 1925 by the Plamia publishing house in Prague.

We must begin with the reservation that the *Outlines* are not devoted to the problems of history as a subject but to those of the historical discipline (method) and to the author's convincing demonstration of a crisis of theory in that discipline. What are the basic postulates of that book, and wherein does its author discern the groundlessness of a variety of rationalist theories in historical science, first and foremost in historiographic theories? According to Bitsilli, history as it really is cannot be subsumed entirely under any metaphysical scheme, as this inevitably excludes the accidental and irrational aspect of the historical process and leads involuntarily to the rationalization of history. Treating history through the prism of supreme ideas leads logically to the question: What principle is to be used for the selection of historical material? What is to be taken as a model? And can everything that happened in history be taken to conform to such a model, coincide with it, and explain it? As a result, whole aspects of history have to be sacrificed to an ideal history—an abstraction of some kind. But consciousness, reflecting what has al-

15. Ibid., 30.

ready taken place and claiming mastery of reality, strives to control, shape and construct it according to its own discretion. Thus the philosophy of history does not describe a subject (historical reality) but creates it. The merging of strictly philosophical and strictly historical viewpoints, the effort to find one absolute meaning in historical reality, and approaching history in a "spirit of optimism" leads to the destruction of its living substance and to rejection of the idea of the creative individuality of every actual agent of the historical process, that is, the individual.

From Bitsilli's viewpoint, the conception of historical existence as movement toward a higher goal established from above—a process of the gradual realization of higher absolute values—is fundamentally ahistorical: the subjects of historical life are here presented as passive counters; as objects, not subjects, since the "meaning of history" does not *unfold* creatively in their concrete actions and intentions but is merely *disclosed* in their fate. In excluding the individual as the subject of history and the autonomous sources of the spirit, the philosophy of history undermines itself from within, casting doubt on the absolute impossibility of repeating or recreating a particular historical reality, moment, or subject.

The context of the *Outlines* takes simultaneous account of several historical epochs, currents, and schools in the theory of historical science. The immediate polemical target of the work is the new branch of Russian historiosophy as part of the West European philosophical tradition, first and foremost Lev Karsavin's philosophy of history.

On broader inspection, the *Outlines* are opposed to any "modeling" of history in the spirit of infinite progress, whether defined by the developing Absolute, as in Karsavin's *Philosophy of History*, or by an ideal society in the spirit of Marxist theory. Bitsilli shows convincingly that each of these theories treats the history of mankind as the realm of necessity, not of liberty, and insistently stresses the new task of historical understanding: "It differs in principle from the problem of the relation between free will and necessity as that question was posed in antiquity by theologians and philosophers of history. At that time freedom was understood as the right to choose one of several predetermined paths; as the possibility of carrying out or not carrying out any one of a number of preformulated tasks. Having exposed the roots of the old historical understanding, we gain the opportunity to formulate it more or less as follows: if Tolstoy had not written *War and Peace*, then that novel could have been, or perhaps even should have been written by someone else. A

similar idea is concealed beneath most Marxist constructions.”¹⁶ According to Bitsilli, “programmed” history, which does not admit the possibility of accident, rejects creativity—for the philosopher of history, the “individual” and the “accidental” turns out to be a residue not subject to rationalization and is therefore expendable. In his review of the *Outlines*, Chyzhevsky notes that very argument as one of the most convincing in the polemic with the philosophy of history.¹⁷

Bitsilli insistently directs the attention of the historical scholarship of his day to the problem of the *absolute* value of the individual. “The thousands and thousands of combinations; the thousands and thousands of individual wills striving to objectify themselves, coinciding and competing, agreeing and conflicting, make up the living, constantly changing substance of history, which is constantly renewing itself. Each atom of the historical whole; each bearer of a charge of volition is limited in two aspects: first, from within, as an individual; secondly, from outside. His external limitations consist of psychic atoms like himself, as well as the products of their activity and, finally, of the period. Any attempt to determine the specific gravity of any of those categories of limitations and within any of them is doomed to failure, for experimentation in the strict sense is impossible here.”¹⁸ Written during a tremendous onslaught of reason, which had taken on the mission of experimenting with historical reality, the *Outlines* were unquestionably a response to the destructive experiment of the Russian Revolution. At the same time, the *Outlines* seemingly foretold the crisis that would engulf Europe and Russia in subsequent decades, involving the large-scale application of various abstractions, theories, and schemes, leading ultimately to a global “crisis of humanism.”

As an alternative to the philosophy of history, Bitsilli insists first and foremost that no external formula be imposed on history but that an effort be made to comprehend its inner law of development. Expressing doubt about theoretical “experimentation,” he appeals to his readers not to “formulate” or “invent” but to “discover,” that is, to engage directly in profound study of the historical process itself and individualize each moment of history, comprehending it on its own terms. “Life is infinitely more complex than our constructions and schemes. It is an impossible

16. P. M. Bitsilli, *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki* (Prague, 1925), 32.

17. Chizhevsky, review of *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki* in *Sovremennye zapiski*, 1929, no. 39: 544.

18. Bitsilli, *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki*, 231–32.

task to comprehend it at once philosophically and historically, both in the multiplicity of its manifestations and in its basic tendencies.”¹⁹ Bitsilli’s thinking is sharply at odds with the historiosophy of Lev Karsavin, whose emphasis on the *common* elements in history runs counter to Bitsilli’s *individualizing* method and idiographic principles of understanding historical reality. However, in his insistent stress on history as an “idiographic science” concerned with “individual” phenomena,²⁰ Bitsilli comes up against the distinctive characteristics of idiography: because it describes historical and cultural phenomena as unique, it cannot offer any means of reconstructing the whole. “It may appear,” writes Bitsilli, “that an individualizing treatment of historical material makes history disintegrate completely and that the formulated...*principlum individuationis*, if consistently applied, would make any periodization impossible.... In that case, where is the limit to the division of history?”²¹ Consequently, the questions of how to formulate historical reality and how to synthesize or periodize history become central to the *Outlines of a Theory of Historical Science*. “Precisely because historical truth is a process of ceaseless becoming, in every moment of which Absolute Being manifests itself, that truth as a whole and its every moment take on their own particular value.”²² How, then, is one to resolve the antinomy between the diversity of empirical reality, which yields to no comparison, and its absolute flux; how can the evolutionizing (genetic) and aesthetic/individualizing approaches to history be reconciled?²³

In an article on “The Antinomy of Historicism and the Crisis of Historical Science,” Bitsilli demonstrates the ineluctable antinomy between these two approaches and the groundlessness of all the diverse theories that attempt to resolve it. According to him, this insuperable antinomy cannot be eliminated because it is rooted in human history itself, inherent in the antinomy between evolution and creation. It is that insoluble antinomy, noted in Bitsilli’s *Outlines*, that transforms his

19. Ibid., 27.

20. Ibid., 263.

21. Ibid., 264.

22. Ibid., 148.

23. Bitsilli devoted another monograph to the problem of historical synthesis: *Uvod v izuchavaneto na novata i nai-novata istoriia (Opit za periodizatsiia)* (An Introduction to the Study of Modern and Recent History [A Trial Periodization]) (Sofia: Izdatelstvo na Bŭlgarskata akademiia na naukite, 1927).

understanding of the historian's work as an unceasing approach to truth; an eternal movement toward primal experience, free of "ideational" deformation. Bitsilli's departure from rigid constructions, final verdicts, and the desire to present experimental results as final and definitive make his method creatively mobile, attuned to the infinity of cognition. Theoretical caution would always be a defining feature of Bitsilli's work. Even the most clever and brilliant hypotheses and approaches that characterized him as an original thinker usually seemed to "hang" in their trajectories, avoiding final incarnation and conceptual "completeness." To be sure, these features are not evidence of "conceptual weakness" but of a deliberate choice in favor of painstaking analysis, to the detriment of "stylish" theory.

Such theoretical "incompleteness" is a distinguishing feature of the *Outlines of a Theory of Historical Science* and should be taken as an inalienable aspect of his historical outlook. Having posed the question of historical synthesis (the theoretical formulation of historical reality), Bitsilli does not solve it or propose an answer. The fact that the question of synthesis is posed in the *Outlines* does not oblige the author to present his own solution. Synthesis in historical science as an effort (quite artificial, in Bitsilli's view) to join together or merge individual historical phenomena runs counter to the idiographic method on which the author of the *Outlines* relies. Here idiography turns out to be not only Bitsilli's subject but his method as well. For him, the question of what criterion the historian should use to make sense of the chaos of reality remains open. Let us simply note that if he attempted to give an answer, he would inevitably eliminate the insoluble antinomy of historicism that he himself discovered and thereby negate the fundamental purpose of his work.

Criticisms pertaining to the "disorganization" and "incompleteness" of the *Outlines* were already raised by Bitsilli's contemporaries. Thus, Chyzhevsky referred to the "volcanism" of the book as its principal defect, noting that "The author himself seems unaware of that 'volcanism': he has placed his desk in the middle of a lava flow and written a 'book' with footnotes, 'excurses,' and citations."²⁴ It is hard to say whether the reviewer noted the organic connection of that 'volcanism' with the scholarly method employed in the *Outlines*, but his recognition of the "fruitfulness of the book, not only methodologically but also philosophically," can hardly be considered accidental.²⁵ In this regard Chy-

24. Chizhevsky, review of *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki*, 542–43.

25. *Ibid.*

zhevsky resembles another reviewer, the philosopher and philologist Nikolai Bakhtin, who wrote: "The broad and precise presentation of the problem; the erudition and penetration of the analysis and, finally, the exposition, not lacking in brilliance and acuity—all this makes Bitsilli's book hardly less than the most significant phenomenon of our philosophical literature of the most recent years."²⁶

Generally speaking, the ambivalence of Chyzhevsky's review is telling. His critical observations concerning the organization of the material do not reduce his interest in the author's innovations: "P. M. Bitsilli rejects the possibility of a 'philosophy of history' because...for the philosopher of history, all that is specifically historical is 'a residue not subject to rationalization.' For all its simplicity, this argumentation, in our view, is a very painful blow to any *rationalization* of the philosophy of history."²⁷

In his article "On the Problem of the Double," Chyzhevsky takes up this idea of Bitsilli's: in an abstract understanding of ethics, "the living subject of ethical action becomes...a soulless executor of the commands of abstract law; a superfluous pendant in the system of universal morality—superfluous because he can be replaced by any other ethical subject."²⁸ Bitsilli's criticism of a philosophy of history operating with an "average 'soul in general'"²⁹ is akin to Chyzhevsky's critique of the "faceless universal double" in the abstract constructions of ethical rationalism.

Chyzhevsky himself notes the correlation between the basic ideas of the *Outlines* and the critique of ethical rationalism in his review of the book. Commenting on Bitsilli's idea of the impossibility of history "in general," Chyzhevsky notes: "The statement of the problem is reminiscent of the statement of the problem of 'formal ethics' in contemporary philosophy. See my article in the collection of the Russ[ian] People's Univ[ersity] in Prague"—a reference to his article "On Formalism in Ethics (Notes on the Current Crisis of Ethical Theory)" (1928). In this connection, however, one should note the chronology. Chyzhevsky's article "On Formalism in Ethics" appeared three years after the publication of the *Outlines*, and his review of the book only saw print a year

26. N. Bakhtin, review of *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki*, *Zveno* (Paris), no. 12 (16 March 1925): 4.

27. Chizhevsky, review of *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki*, 544.

28. Chizhevsky, "K probleme dvoynika," 30.

29. Bitsilli, *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki*, 235.

after that. Priority in this dialogue therefore more probably belongs to the *Outlines*, which opened this “impersonal” exchange between the two scholars.

For Chyzhevsky, the theoretical self-limitation of the *Outlines* does not conceal the undoubted relevance of the problem revealed by Bitsilli: “the book gives no positive description of the peculiarity of the historical element. That positive description is only hinted at in such epithets as ‘individuality,’ ‘irrationality,’ ‘singularity,’ ‘transitoriness,’ ‘uniqueness,’ and so on. But the author himself evidently feels that such epithets are far from sufficient, as he does not settle on any one of them. It seems to us that the author’s basic attitude here is perfectly correct. A description of historical being certainly cannot be reduced to any abstract formula.”³⁰ Let us note that Chyzhevsky’s own critique of “abstract thinking”³¹ in ethical rationalism, as well as his subsequent revision of the understanding of ethics, would be based on those same “alternating” concepts: the idea of “singularity,” “transitoriness,” and “uniqueness” would become central to his study of the “problem of the double” in Dostoevsky’s work.

Nikolai Lossky, operating with the same “epithets” that Chyzhevsky and Bitsilli used concordantly, noted in his review of the Dostoevsky studies collection: “Chyzhevsky uncovers the profound philosophical significance of duality as a consequence of the moral collapse of the human subject, to wit, his failure to carry out his concrete *individual* purpose, which makes it possible to replace one subject with another, leading to his loss of *uniqueness*” (emphasis added).³² Positive reviews of “On the Problem of the Double” were written by S. I. Gessen,³³ S. L. Frank,³⁴ and L. A. Zander.³⁵ The problem of the double, raised in the Prague Dostoevsky seminar, also met with a response from Bitsilli. Judging by his letter of 19 March 1930 to A. L. Bem, he made a point of sending Chyzhevsky his review of the collection: “I trust that you received my two reviews of your collection.... Along with your offprint, I have included one for colleague Chyzhevsky, whose address I have

30. Chizhevsky, review of *Ocherki teorii istoricheskoi nauki*, 543.

31. Chizhevsky, “K probleme dvoynika,” 29.

32. Review of *Dostojewskij-Studien* (Reichenberg: Veröffentlichungen der Slavistischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft an der Deutschen Universität in Prag, 1931), in *Sovremennye zapiski*, 1932, no. 49: 463.

33. *Sovremennye zapiski*, 1930, no. 43: 503.

34. *Rul* (Berlin), 1930, no. 2709.

35. *Put* (Paris), 1930, no. 25: 128.

lost.”³⁶ It is apparent from the letter how important it was for Bitsilli to establish a dialogue with Chyzhevsky. In his next letter to A. L. Bem, written on 15 April 1930, Bitsilli agreed to Bem’s request for a review of the first collection *On Dostoevsky* and noted how important it had been in renewing his own vision of Dostoevsky’s work: “I must say that recently I have somehow begun to perceive Dostoevsky quite differently than before, and a large role in this has been played both by the collection (I have in mind Chyzhevsky’s article and your thoughts on the significance of sleep in D[ostoevsky]’s work)³⁷ and Bakhtin’s excellent work.”³⁸ Bitsilli’s review of the collection, which appeared in the Paris journal *Chisla*, was constructed mainly around the problem of the double, not around the significance of sleep in Dostoevsky (cf. Bem’s article “The Dramatization of Delirium”).

The review made Bitsilli a participant in a complex discussion among prominent thinkers of the Russian diaspora—N. O. Lossky, S. N. Bulgakov, A. L. Bem, and S. L. Frank. In Russian émigré philosophy and philosophical literary criticism, the “problem of the double” developed in a new direction as a concept of the “other” or the “counterpart,” becoming ever more distant from both the Russian philosophical tradition (Vladimir Soloviev, Pavel Florensky) and the phenomenology of the “other” in Mikhail Bakhtin’s book. One of the most active initiators of that discussion was the seminar led by A. L. Bem, which pursued its declared intention of making Prague a center of Dostoevsky studies.³⁹ The same intention may be discerned in Bem’s editorial policy with regard to the seminar materials: he placed Chyzhevsky’s “On the Problem of the Double” and Nikolai Osipov’s “The Double: A St. Petersburg Poem” at the beginning of the first collection as most representative of the Dostoevsky Studies Seminar at the Russian People’s University in Prague.

Against the background of this extensive study and rethinking of the problem of the double, Bitsilli’s brief review of the collection *On Dostoevsky* might be considered a mere apropos remark. However, as the

36. “Pisma P. M. Bitsilli k A. L. Bemu,” edited and annotated by M. Bubenikovaia (Prague) and G. Petkova (Sofia), *Novyi zhurnal/The New Review* 2002, no. 228: 129.

37. A. L. Bem, “Dramatizatsiia breda (“Khoziaika” Dostoevskogo),” *O Dostoevskom*, no. 1, 77–124.

38. M. M. Bakhtin, *Problemy tvorchestva Dostoevskogo* (Leningrad: Priboi, 1929). For this quotation, see “Pisma P. M. Bitsilli k A. L. Bemu,” 129–30.

39. A. L. Bem, “Ot redaktora” in *O Dostoevskom*, no. 1, 8.

literary critic G. V. Adamovich justly observed of Bitsilli's reviewing style, "in a hundred or a hundred fifty lines...[he] sometimes manages to touch upon so many subjects and questions that it would take a major piece of research to work them all out."⁴⁰

Strictly speaking, the publication in *Chisla* can hardly be called a review: the author gives no extended analysis of the Prague collection; instead, he undertakes a miniature research essay and develops the theme of the double, which has excited his interest. The reviewer's "disproportion" is no accident: in many respects, it is predetermined by the *Outlines of a Theory of Historical Science*. Like Chyzhevsky, who addressed the problem of the double in the context of an extensive polemic with ethical rationalism, Bitsilli viewed "duality" through the prism of a polemic with rationalizing historiosophy. In response to Chyzhevsky's article, Bitsilli presents his treatment of the problem of the double. "All of Dostoevsky's work," he writes, "is devoted to the tragedy of the individual. The elements of that tragedy are the conflict of the individual and his milieu (*pochva*), the individual and the cosmos (*zemlia*), and the individual and God. These conflicts are associated with the basic conflict—that of the individual with himself. The individual's alienation from universal unity is equivalent to his *disintegration*: the 'pure' I ceases to be an *individuum* (indivisible) and loses itself; its *identity*. This is the disease of the 'Enlightenment' with its nominalist rationalism."⁴¹ To find oneself; to overcome internal chaos and, ultimately, the disintegration of individual consciousness (insanity is a *moral* disease) is to assert *one's own* concreteness, which means realizing the concreteness of the Whole, the World and God.... The passive mysticism of the East and 'enlightened' theomachy ultimately lead to one and the same thing: for Kirillov, becoming God means *destroying oneself*. Opposed to those two paths is a third—the path of active mysticism of European humanity: to become conscious of oneself as a *microcosm*; as a monad associated with the whole, *representing* it but not swallowed up by it."⁴² As we see, Bitsilli considers the problem of the double through the prism of the problem of individuality, which is central to his scholarly legacy. Bitsilli himself was well aware of the complexity and novelty of the problem posed in his review; hence his summary

40. G. Adamovich, "Literaturnye zametki," *Poslednie novosti* (Paris), 29 August 1934, no. 4900, 3.

41. On this, see the valuable observations in Chyzhevsky's article (Bitsilli's note).

42. Bitsilli, *review of O Dostoevskom in Chisla*, 1930, nos. 2–3: 241–42.

comment: "Further work along those lines would illuminate yet another aspect of the selfsame problem of duality."⁴³

But the reviewer himself was not to return to the problem noted in the review either in the immediate future or in the long term. This does not mean that Bitsilli gave up working on the "problem of the double"; on the contrary, it occupied a substantial place in his fundamental philological work "On the Question of the Inner Form of Dostoevsky's Novels."⁴⁴ Bitsilli's path to that work was a complicated one. As early as 1930, he presented philology with the task of substantiating, from the viewpoint of esthetics and style, the organic necessity of the inner form of Dostoevsky's novels that Bakhtin called the "polyphonic novel." In a letter to A. L. Bem, Bitsilli would note: "Bakhtin has not shown how polyphony nevertheless leads to harmony; a fugue, after all, is not the same thing as the simultaneous sounding of various melodies: therein lies the problem, and I am racking my brains over it."⁴⁵ The fundamental study undertaken in 1945, completely dedicated to the investigation of the problem over which Bitsilli had "racked his brains" back in 1930, presented literary studies with one more version of the inner form of Dostoevsky's novels. That version was constructed not so much on the basis of the idea of polyphony as on that of duality. The conceptual apparatus of Dostoevsky studies was enriched by yet another term—the "novel-drama"—and the "problem of the double" found its further development in the sphere of poetics, thereby adding yet another page to the dialogue "without personal contact" between the two scholars, Petr Bitsilli and Dmytro Chyzhevsky.

43. Ibid., 242.

44. Bitsilli, "K voprosu o vnutrennei forme romana Dostoevskogo," *GSU* 42 (1945–46): 1–75.

45. "Pisma P. M. Bitsilli k A. L. Bemu," 130.

Dmytro Chyzhevsky as a Comenius Scholar

Werner Korthaase

Today there is a rather large number of scholarly studies devoted to the work of Dmytro Chyzhevsky and its significance. In these studies he is usually considered as a literary historian, and in others as a historian of philosophy. To this day, however, scholars have completely ignored Chyzhevsky's "Comeniological" works on Jan Amos Komenský, or Comenius (1592–1670), with the exception of a few studies by the author of the present article, which have attracted insufficient attention. The reason for this may be that scholars simply do not realize how significant a figure Comenius was in European intellectual history. A contemporary of Francis Bacon and René Descartes, he was one of the boldest thinkers of the early modern age.¹ During the era of Soviet distortions of intellectual history, Comenius was known only as a "progressive educator," somewhat along the lines of a pioneer of socialist/communist pedagogy.

In the West, too, scholarly interest in Comenius has been limited. Comenius the philosopher was overshadowed by the "great educator" and therefore generally ignored by philosophers, historians of philosophy, and literary scholars. From their perspective, it was the business of pedagogues to deal with the history of education, and pedagogues, in turn, had little interest in the period before the Enlightenment, which they regarded as an era in which children were suppressed. Hence we read in the *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* that Comenius was an "educational reformer and religious leader, remembered mainly for his

1. See the article "Novye i noveishie raboty o Komenskom" in my collection *Vid Melankhtona do Komenskoho ta Chyzhevskoho*, ed. Roman Mnykh and Ievhen Pshenychnyi, 2d ed. (Drohobych and Kyiv: Kolo, 2005), 111–23.

approach to teaching.” Nowhere in the encyclopaedia do we find even a hint of his importance in the field of intellectual history.²

Such a politically distorted image of Jan Amos Komenský has contributed to a situation in which Chyzhevsky's groundbreaking work about him has not yet been adequately appreciated. Chyzhevsky himself considered his studies of Comenius extremely important and regarded them as his crowning scholarly achievements. One such achievement, in his estimation, was his discovery in 1934 (in the library of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle an der Saale, Germany) of Comenius's fundamental work, which had been lost for centuries.³ In unearthing this valuable work by one of the most distinguished Slavic thinkers, Chyzhevsky rescued it from possible destruction during the bombing of Germany by Allied aviation in the Second World War. He went on to develop a pioneering interpretation of Comenius's significance in world intellectual history.

In the present article, the author gratefully takes the opportunity to acquaint international readers with Dmytro Chyzhevsky, the premier researcher of Comenius's work.⁴

I

In 1957 the distinguished Czech researcher of Comenius's work, Jan Patočka (1907–1977), a student of Edmund Husserl's, wrote: “Chyzhevsky the Comeniologist is the result of Chyzhevsky the Slavist.”⁵ With these words Patočka was defending, very decisively and openly, the émigré from Kyiv who was living in the hostile “capitalist” West against slander by a lecturer in education from the communist-ruled German Democratic Republic (GDR).⁶ In an article entitled “Základy a

2. *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica in 30 Volumes. Micropaedia*, vol. 3 (Chicago, 1982), 34.

3. See my article “Pro komeniolohichni doslidzhennia Dmytra Chyzhevskoho. Shcho vidbuvalosia z osnovnym tvorom Iana Amosa Komenskoho *Consultatio catholica* u 1934–1945 ta 1945–1966 rokakh?” in *Vid Melankhtona do Komenskoho ta Chyzhevskoho*, 124–51.

4. See *Comenius und der Weltfriede / Comenius and World Peace*, ed. Werner Korthaase, Sigurd Hauff, and Andreas Fritsch (Berlin: Deutsche Comenius-Gesellschaft, 2005).

5. Jan Patočka, “Nad komeniologickou prací Dmytra Číževského,” *Acta Comeniana* (Prague) 16 (1), no. 2 (1957): 208.

6. The German Democratic Republic arose on the territory of eastern Germany after the defeat of the German Reich in the Second World War. The Communist Party held a monopoly of power in the republic.

perspektivy německé komeniologie” (Foundations and Prospects of German Comenius Studies), this lecturer associated him with “German imperialist philosophy” on the grounds that he had put forward a “mystical concept”: “In numerous articles and reviews he never tired of criticizing Comenius’s positivist approach and stressed how the origins of Comenius’s thought lay in the spirit of mysticism.” This slander was published in the Prague-based journal *Acta Comeniana*.⁷

In connection with this incident, Patočka expressed the following sympathetic views of Czech Comenius scholars in a letter addressed to a colleague of Chyzhevsky’s: “If you have a chance to speak with Professor Chyzhevsky, kindly tell him that I find this affair extremely unpleasant. At the moment I do not dare to write to him directly, although he probably will not manage to clarify the situation for himself: the Comeniological journal [*Acta Comeniana*] is beginning its new life with an attack on the greatest Comenius scholar.”⁸ Thus, as the cited letter indicates, in 1957 Chyzhevsky was already recognized by the Czechs as the “greatest Comenius scholar.”

But the matter did not end with the empathy expressed in this letter: Patočka threatened the journal’s publishers that he would cease to cooperate with the Comenius Department of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences if it did not publish his response in defense of Dmytro Chyzhevsky. His threat was taken seriously: as there were few specialists in the Czechoslovak Republic who dealt with Comenius at the time, refusal to cooperate with Patočka was not an option. The next issue of *Acta Comeniana* contained the article in defense of Chyzhevsky whose opening sentence I have quoted above. The junior East German lecturer who had been put in his place never again dared to write negatively about Chyzhevsky.

How, when, and why did Dmytro Chyzhevsky become the “greatest Comenius scholar”? Little is known about this, although he studied Comenius no less intensively than he did the other poets, thinkers, and writers about whom he wrote. Chyzhevsky was the one who discovered Comenius’s most important work, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (General Advice on Correcting Human Affairs), on 24 December 1934. Comenius had labored over this work for more than

7. Franz Hofmann, “Základy a perspektivy německé komeniologie,” *Acta Comeniana* 16 (1), no. 1 (1957): 26–30. Obviously, there was no way of avoiding the publication of this article in the journal.

8. Jan Patočka to Dr. Klaus Schaller, 6 June 1957 (author’s collection).

twenty-five years, and even on his deathbed his final thoughts returned to it. The work, consisting of seven parts handwritten in Latin, was never published and later vanished. Two hundred sixty-four years after the death of Comenius, this work, which sprang from the universal spirit of the baroque and was extremely important for the intellectual history of Europe, was discovered by the tireless researcher Dmytro Chyzhevsky. That was the beginning of Chyzhevsky's major work in this field, although he had already encountered Comenius in the course of his studies of Hryhorii Skovoroda and was familiar with the principal features of his thought.

Chyzhevsky's discovery was the greatest in the history of the systematization of Comenius's literary legacy, which was scattered in numerous archives and libraries throughout Europe. Only a handful of scholars ever succeed in making such sensational discoveries. Chyzhevsky went on to complete a new analysis of and commentary on Comenius's book. Thanks to his work, a new era began in the assessment of Comenius's legacy, which ultimately led to Comenius being recognized as the spiritual father of the United Nations Organization and UNESCO.⁹

The question arises: why is the "distinguished Ukrainian thinker, researcher of cultural problems, and historian of Ukrainian philosophy, literature, and Slavic studies, [who] was born in the town of Oleksandriia in the Kherson region,"¹⁰ so little known among Slavists as a Comenius scholar, even though in his numerous studies he emphasized his own works devoted to Comenius? In 1964, for example, Chyzhevsky still expressed the conviction that his literary works would be "highly esteemed by the Czechs," mainly because he was the one who had discovered Comenius's manuscripts.¹¹ Yet there is very little about Chyzhevsky in existing Ukrainian, Russian, Czech, English, or German studies of Comenius's life and works.

Naturally, the prohibitions of twentieth-century totalitarian regimes on thinking and reading about certain topics further contributed to this silence. This is indicated by the proceedings of an international symposium in Moscow devoted to Comenius, which were published in 1997.

9. See *Comenius und der Weltfriede*.

10. Iu. O. Fediv and N. H. Mozhova, *Istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii* (Kyiv: Ukraina, 2000), 418–19.

11. See *Orbis scriptus. Dmitrij Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Dietrich Gerhardt, Wiktor Weintraub, and Hans-Jürgen zum Winkel (Munich: Fink, 1966), 26.

In high-flown tones the publishers of this book glorify “Comenius’s universal genius” (“Only at the end of the twentieth century can we adequately appreciate the full profundity of Comenius’s synthetic theses”),¹² but they know nothing about the first discoverer of the fundamental work of that genius. Even more recent studies on the history of education do not indicate, along with the *Didactica magna*, another significant pedagogical work by Comenius, the *Pampaedia*, the fourth part of his magisterial *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*,¹³ the Russian translation of which appeared only in 2003.¹⁴

Be that as it may, the distinguished Ukrainian scholar—“philosopher, historian, philologist, Slavist”¹⁵—was indeed “rediscovered” some years ago. Yet even Vasyl Lisovy, who refers several times to Chyzhevsky’s works on Comenius, names the latter only in enumerating the many other writers whose works Chyzhevsky studied, without emphasizing Comenius: “He also made an important contribution to Czech culture with his Comeniana (research on the works of Jan Komenský) and to Slovak culture with his works on Ľudovít Štúr, a figure of the Slovak national renaissance.”¹⁶ This should come as no surprise, given that even today in Western countries, where Comenius’s works were never banned, very little—in fact, almost nothing—is known about the details of Chyzhevsky’s large-scale studies of Comenius’s work, which are marked by a different intensity than, for example, his studies of the Slovak Hegelianist Ľudovít Štúr (1815–1856),¹⁷ or about Chyzhevsky’s new interpretations of Comenius. At issue here is a particular sphere of research in which Slavists rarely show any interest. Thus, in the *Literaturnaia entsiklopediia Russkogo Zarubezhia 1918–1940* (Literary Encyclopedia

12. *Chelovek, kultura, obshchestvo v kontseptsii Iana Amosa Komenskogo. Materialy Mezhdunarodnogo simpoziuma k 400-letiiu so dnia rozhdeniia Ia. A. Komenskogo* (Moscow: Reka vremeni, 1997), 6.

13. Cf. Volodymyr Kravets, *Istoriia kliasychnoi zarubizhnoi pedahohiky ta shkilnytstva* (Ternopil: Navchalna knyha—Bohdan, 1996) (“Pedahohichna systema Iana Amosa Komenskoho”), 122–78.

14. The complete text of the *Pampaedia* was published in Moscow with a badly distorted Latin title. See Ia. A. Komensky, *Panpediia. Iskustvo obucheniia mudrosti* (Moscow: URAO, 2003).

15. V. S. Horsky, *Istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1997), 272.

16. Vasyl Lisovy, “Dmytro Chyzhevskyy: zhyttievyi shliakh ta svitohliad,” in his *Kultura, ideolohiia, polityka* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo im. Oleny Telihi, 1997), 298. Comenius is mentioned on pp. 303 and 304.

17. Dimitrij Čiževskij, *Štúrova filozofia života. Kapitola z dejín slovenskej filozofie* (Bratislava: SUS, 1941).

of Russia Abroad, 1918–1940) we find only the following brief entry: “Here [in Halle] Chyzhevsky first became interested in Jan Komenský, whose works he discovered in 1935 in the archive of the university library. In Heidelberg in 1960 the scholar published the book *Komensky, Jan Amos*.”¹⁸ *Istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii* (History of Ukrainian Philosophy) by Yurii Fediv and Nataliia Mozhova also contains only a vague allusion.¹⁹ There is absolutely nothing about Chyzhevsky and Comenius either in Ivan Ohorodnyk and Vasyl Ohorodnyk’s book *Istoriia filosofskoi dumky v Ukraini*, Vilen Horsky’s *Istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii*,²⁰ or Petr V. Alekseev’s *Filosofy Rossii XIX-XX stoletii. Biografii, idei, trudy*.²¹ The third volume of Dmytro Chyzhevsky’s four-volume *Filosofski tvory* (2005) does, at last, offer three of his studies devoted to Comenius.²²

II

In the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth, Comenius was highly regarded as a theoretician of pedagogy and school reform. An engaging article about Comenius as a Slavic pedagogue of the realist school appeared in Odesa in 1871.²³ The Comenius Department of the Pedagogical Museum of Institutions of Military Training, established in

18. M. A. Vasilieva, “Chizhevsky, Dmitrii Ivanovich,” in *Pisateli russkogo zarubezhia* (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 1997), 436. A few insignificant errors should be corrected in this otherwise very fine article: 1) The greater part of Comenius’s work *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* was rediscovered as early as 1934; 2) The library in which it was rediscovered was not a university library but the archive of the main library of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle; 3) The title of the book that Chyzhevsky published in Heidelberg in 1960 is Johann Amos Comenius, *Pampaedia*.

19. “While in emigration, primarily in Halle, Chyzhevsky published 450 works between 1921 and 1945 and made a number of valuable archival discoveries. This pertains above all to the works of the famous seventeenth-century Czech educator and thinker Jan Komenský” (*Istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii*, 419).

20. See the chapter “Dmytro Chyzhevsky,” 462–68, in Horsky, *Istoriia ukrainskoi filosofii* (Kyiv, 1997). Cf. n. 15 above.

21. Chizhevsky Dmitrii (Dmitro) Ivanovich, 3d ed. (Moscow: Akademicheskii proekt, 1999), 875.

22. The above-mentioned volume contains Ukrainian translations of the following studies: “Komenskyi i zachidna filosofii,” 145–52, “‘Labirynt svitu’ Iana Komenskoho: Temy tvoriv ta ikhni dzherela,” 158–200, and “Iak ia shukav rukopysy ‘Pansophie,’” 201–7. All four volumes were issued in 2005 by the Kyiv-based Smoloskyp Publishers.

23. V. Grigorovich, *I. A. Komenskii, slovianskii pedagog-realist XVII st.* (Odesa: V tipografii P. Frantsova, 1871).

St. Petersburg in 1892, lauded the "father of contemporary pedagogy"²⁴ in particularly exalted terms. Great interest in the "prophet of the school," "influential pedagogue," "prophet of the future," "teacher of nations," "teacher of humanity," and "giant among pedagogues" is to be observed throughout nineteenth-century Europe. The renowned French historian Jules Michelet (1798–1874), the author of the well-known multivolume *Histoire de France*, called Comenius the "Galilean of education."²⁵ Later, philosophers of Marxism-Leninism sought to liberate Comenius from his "obsolete" religious convictions. Their efforts in that regard were at times grotesque, like those of Academician Georgii Nikolaevich Dzhibladze (1913–1989), a full member of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR (1959) and the USSR (1967).²⁶ In 1950 the Czech academician Otakar Chlup (1875–1965) assured Czech readers of Comenius that all contemporary educators and historians of education in the Soviet Union, such as Medinsky, Kairov, Gruzdev, Goncharov et al., were delving into Comenius's pedagogical legacy and making every effort, "with the aid of the new scholarly method of historical and dialectical materialism," to purge Comenius's thinking of overlays and obsolescence, to the very core, "so that it will remain an undimmed treasure of every upbringing."²⁷

Chyzhevsky never espoused such a view of Comenius: he never divided the "progressive" part of his legacy from another part that would best be forgotten. Chyzhevsky described Comenius as follows:

"Comenius stands at the transition between two epochs. His philosophical ideas have their roots in the Renaissance. It is a well-known fact

24. See *Pamiati ottsa sovremennoi pedagogii, Iana Amosa Komenskago. Po povodu 301 godovshchiny ego rozhdeniia* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia E. Evdokimova, 1893). Among Russian publications on Comenius, see *Ian Amos Komenskii. Ukazatel russkikh perevodov i kriticheskoi literatury na russkom iazyke 1772–1992*, comp. N. L. Glazkova (Moscow: Rudomino, 1995).

25. Cf. my "Urteile über Comenius und den Wert seiner Schriften für unsere Zeit," in *Comenius und unsere Zeit*, ed. Reinhard Golz, Werner Korthaase, and Erich Schaefer (Baltmannsweiler: Schneider, 1996), 252, 254, 256. (This book is dedicated to Dmytro Chyzhevsky.)

26. Dzhibladze's book *Filosofii Komenskago* (Moscow: Pedagogika, 1982), published in the series "Trudy deistvitelnykh chlenov i chlenov-korrespondentov Akademii pedagogicheskikh nauk SSSR," is unbelievably tendentious. Academician Dzhibladze did not even take account of Comenius's fundamental work *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, which was published in Prague in 1661!

27. Otakar Chlup, "Všenápravou k jednotě lidstva," in Jan Amos Komenský, *Všenáprava (Panorthosie)*, ed. Josef Hendrich (Prague: Orbis, 1950), p. 13.

that he took a variety of impulses from the works of Francis Bacon, Juan Luis Vives and Tommaso Campanella. However, both the aim of his philosophical endeavours and the stature of his philosophical world-view are indeed characteristics of his own epoch, the Baroque era. It is not the individualistic point of view of the Renaissance that is typical of him, but Baroque universalism; the starting point for his ideas is not natural beings but human beings in their relationship to God. His attempts at developing a philosophical point of view are basically of a polyphonic, not a monophonic, nature. This polyphony arises, not from the juxtaposition of diverse elements, but from the uniting of opposites. The term 'pansophy' can be used to describe the universalist basis of his world-view. Even though, in his day, he was not the only pansophist—i.e., a thinker who strove to combine all of human knowledge to form a unified system—no one else showed more vigour in pursuing this ideal.... No one else drew such far-reaching, varied and practical conclusions from pansophic ideals as he did....²⁸ Without doubt, it would be possible to detect in the major philosophical movements essential elements whose intellectual father was Comenius. On occasions, there is an indisputable genetic link to him, especially via Leibniz. The most significant of these movements are Edmund Husserl's phenomenology, and that current of mathematical logic, whose programme did not include the abolition of philosophy, but aimed rather at a methodological reform of its basic ideas (Bertrand Russell). And we should also mention many of the vitalistic currents in the philosophy of Nature. It is likely that a more intimate knowledge of Comenius' work, especially with his hitherto unpublished writings, will enrich these philosophical movements."²⁹

These lines, written in Halle early in 1939 and published later that year in Prague, contain the essence of Chyzhevsky's new assessment of Comenius's place in intellectual history.

III

Chyzhevsky became acquainted with the work of Comenius in the early 1930s. In 1924 or somewhat later he had read an article by Ivan Lapshin (1870–1952), who declares: "What iron strength of will, what ineradicable capacity for vital effort (*clivium uno spirito superare*) to ascend to the pinnacle without respite (according to his own expression), what ardent

28. D. Čiževskij, "Comenius and Western Philosophy," in *Comenius und der Weltfriede*, 237–38.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 248–49.

faith in the ultimate victory of goodness! Comenius bequeathed to the world the ideal of a free school and prophesied for his native land political and spiritual liberation from its oppressors.”³⁰ But it was not this article that led Chyzhevsky to Comenius. Around 1930, Panas Fedenko (1893–1981), his friend from the Oleksandriia gymnasium, a political confederate from the camp of Ukrainian international socialists, and a onetime member of the Central Rada, was also engaged in researching the works of Comenius, but only one particular aspect: “Comenius’s Political Plans and Ukraine.”³¹ But political subjects had long ceased to interest Chyzhevsky, who was working intensively on Hegel and his impact on Russia, the sources of Hryhorii Skovoroda’s philosophy, and European intellectual history in the age of the baroque. There were as yet no references to Comenius in the typewritten manuscript of his book *Filosofiiia na Ukraini. Sproba istoriohrafii* (Philosophy in Ukraine: An Essay in Historiography, 1926), during the writing of which he had perused volumes of philosophical literature, or in his studies of Skovoroda³² published in 1929. However, in the 1931 edition of *Filosofiiia na Ukraini* Comenius is mentioned as a writer popular in Ukraine, although no sources are indicated.³³ By 1932 at the latest, Chyzhevsky had read

30. Ivan Lapshin, “‘Il grande divinatore’ (Pamiati Ia. A. Komenskogo),” *Russkaia shkola za rubezhom* (Prague) 7 (1924): 16.

31. See Panas Fedenko, “Politychni pliany Ia. A. Komenskoho ta Ukraina,” in *Pratsi Ukrainetskoho Vysokoho Pedagogichnoho Instytutu im. Mykhaila Drahomanova u Prazi. Naukovyi zbirnyk*, vol. 2, ed. Vasył Simovych (Prague: Academia Paedagogica Ucrainensis, 1932), 388–404. See also his article “Dmytro Chyzhevskiy,” *Ukrainskyi istoryk* 1978, nos. 1–3 (57–59): 102–18. Like Chyzhevsky, Fedenko was an associate professor at the Mykhailo Drahomanov Ukrainian Advanced Pedagogical Institute in Prague, but, unlike Chyzhevsky, he continued to deal exclusively with political topics. See Panas Fedenko, *Isaak Mazepa. Borets za voliu Ukrainy* (London: Nashe slovo, 1954); idem, *Ukrainskyi rukh u 20 stolitti* (London: Nashe slovo, 1959).

32. See Dmytro Chyzhevsky, “G. S. Skovoroda i nemetskaia mistika,” in *Nauchnye trudy Russkogo narodnogo universiteta v Prage*, no. 2 (1929): 283–301; Dmitrii Tschizhevskij, “Skovoroda, ein ukrainischer Philosoph (1722–1794),” in *Der russische Gedanke. Internationale Zeitschrift für russische Philosophie, Literaturwissenschaft und Kultur* (Bonn) 1, no. 2 (1929): 163–78.

33. “In the late seventeenth century the works of philosophers of the modern era begin to arrive in Ukraine by various routes. We encounter references to Descartes. As mentioned earlier, the system of the Cartesianist Pufendorf (a follower of Descartes) has an impact on philosophy lectures at the [Kyivan] Academy. The political and juridical works of T[eo]fan Prokopovych show the notable influences of Hobbes and Hugo Grotius; Spinoza is mentioned (probably on the basis of a paraphrase) in the later work *Pro ateizm* by the same Prokopovych. There was also familiarity with the works of Comenius” (Dmytro Chyzhevsky, *Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini* [Prague: Ukrainskyi hromadskyi vydavnychy fond, 1931], 30).

many of Comenius's philosophical works, in particular *Centrum securitatis* (The Center of Security, 1633), *Prodromus pansophiae* (Precursor of Pansophy, 1639), and *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (1631). He was also familiar with the collection of works *Veškeré spisy Jana Amosa Komenského* (Collected Works of Jan Amos Komenský)³⁴ and the landmark work of the German scholar Dietrich Mahnke (1884–1939).³⁵

It should be emphasized particularly that Chyzhevsky discovered Comenius by way of Ukrainian intellectual history, and not through literary analysis or pedagogical topics, with which he was also highly conversant.³⁶ The source of his research on Comenius's works may be established categorically. In his book on Skovoroda published in Warsaw in 1934, Chyzhevsky writes: "For me, my work on Skovoroda's philosophy is not isolated—it is closely linked to my work on other representatives of Slavic mysticism (for the most part, even less studied than Skovoroda)—I will have to return to Skovoroda in those studies on the Slavic mystics that I am slowly preparing: studies on the Ukrainians P[aisii] Velychkovsky and Hamaliia, on the Czechs Štítný, Jan of Jenstein, Comenius, and [Bedřich] Bridel, on the forgotten Polish mystic [Bartholomaeus] Scleus.... But in studying Skovoroda one can already discern certain basic guidelines for the characterization of Slavic mystics in general."³⁷

For Chyzhevsky, Comenius was an important figure in Christian mystical philosophy, whom he placed on the same level as Meister Eckhardt (1260–1328), Johannes Tauler (1300–1361), Henri Suso (1300–1365), Sebastian Franck (1499–1542), Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), Jacob Boehme (1575–1624), and Angelus Silesius (1624–1677)—"pansophist" thinkers and spiritual predecessors of Skovoroda. "In Comenius, the struggle is also part of general harmony (Panharmonia)"; "We also encounter this image in Comenius, for whom the whole world is a

34. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody*, Pratsi Ukrainskoho naukovoho instytutu, vol. 24, seriia filosofichna, bk. 1 (Warsaw: Ukrainskyi naukovyi instytut, 1934).

35. Dietrich Mahnke, "Der Barock-Universalismus des Comenius," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts* 21 (1931): 7–128, 253–79, and 22 (1932): 61–90. Mahnke is cited in *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody*, 59.

36. See his numerous reviews and surveys published in the years 1925–29 in the Prague-based journal *Russkaia shkola za rubezhom*.

37. Chyzhevsky, *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody*, 4.

system of wheels and circles; Comenius also cites Alain de Lille, among others.”³⁸

Chyzhevsky was familiar with Comenius’s concept of “three books” and worked it into intellectual and historical associations: “After Boehme, the idea of three worlds (or “three books”) was broadly disseminated and became one of the leading ideas of the new mysticism. It was also linked to older speculations about astral writing ([Robert] Fludd; the Pseudo-Weigel). This is evident in the writings of the ‘Rosenkreutzers’: the foundation of knowledge is the ‘Bible, the macro- and microcosmos’.... This image of ‘three books’ plays a huge role in Comenius.”³⁹

Chyzhevsky cites a long passage from Comenius’s work *Centrum securitatis* and compares it with Skovoroda’s ideas: “Noteworthy are those images of the dual world that we encounter in Comenius and that are reminiscent of Skovoroda.... Skovoroda depicts the movement of this world in approximately the same colors as Comenius in his *Labyrinth of the World*: this unflagging movement and multicolored variety are only a deep sleep and a wilderness.”⁴⁰

In an article about Chyzhevsky, Iryna Valiavko very precisely calls attention to the formulation of his goal, namely, to fit Skovoroda into the broad context of European intellectual history. Comenius was also part of that intellectual context: “Against this background, Chyzhevsky’s work is of outstanding scholarly significance. It emphasizes the mystical aspect of Skovoroda’s world view, and by means of a comparative analysis of the historical and philosophical context Dmytro Chyzhevsky seeks to establish the affinity of the Ukrainian philosopher’s views with the ideas of the representatives of so-called ‘German mysticism’ (Eckhardt, Tauler, Suso, Sebastian Franck, Weigel, Boehme, Silesius), behind which stand the mystics of the Middle Ages (St. Bernard, Hugo of

38. Ibid., 14, 22.

39. Ibid., 57.

40. Ibid., 77, 142. Proof of how much emphasis Chyzhevsky placed on the connections between Comenius and Skovoroda is to be found in a very fine bibliography by Leonid Ushkalov, Serhii Vakulenko, and Alla Ievtushenko, *Dva stolittia Skovorodiani: Bibliohrafichnyi dovidnyk/Two Centuries of Skovorodiana: Bibliographical Guide* (Kharkiv: Akta, 2002). See the following entries: nos. 521, 1041, 1066, 1134, 1135, 1136, 1281, 1589, 1650, and 1818. The author recently received a new and noteworthy edition of Chyzhevsky’s book *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody*, which includes a detailed introduction by Leonid Ushkalov (“Skovorodiana Dmytra Chyzhevskoho,” 8–30), also issued by the Kharkiv-based publisher Akta in 2003.

St. Victor, Bonaventura), the Fathers of the Church (primarily the anonymous "Areopagite"), and the representatives of classical Platonism (Plato, Philo, Plotinus). In addition, Chyzhevsky considered his work on Skovoroda's philosophy an important component of his studies on the spiritual legacy of other representatives of Slavic mysticism—the Ukrainians P[aisii] Velychkovsky and S[emen] Hamaliiia, the Czechs Štítňý, Jan of Jenstein, Comenius, and Bridel, the Pole Scleus, and others."⁴¹

IV

On 17 December 1931 Dmytro Chyzhevsky was officially appointed to the post of "adjunct lecturer in the Russian language" at the United Friedrich University of Halle-Wittenberg.⁴² In terms of Chyzhevsky's scholarly research, whose results enthrall us today, this was one of the happiest changes in his life⁴³ and had great significance for his further work, as there were many large research libraries in Halle an der Saale, and one of them—the library of the Franckesche Stiftungen—soon attracted his particular attention.⁴⁴

41. Iryna Valiavko, *Filosofiiia Hryhoriia Skovorody v osmyslenni Dmytra Chyzhevskoho* (Kyiv: AKD, 1996), 7–8.

42. Germany was still a democratic republic at the time (Hitler did not become chancellor until 1933). See my "Dmitrij Tschizewskij—ein Philosophiehistoriker wird Lektor der russischen Sprache" in *In memoriam Dmitrij Tschizewskij (1894–1977): Beiträge des Festkolloquiums am 30.04.1977*, ed. Angela Richter (Halle an der Saale: Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 1997), 19–50. (The Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg was known until 1933 as the Vereinigte Friedrichs-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.)

43. See my article "Der Philosophiehistoriker, Literaturwissenschaftler und Comenologe in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik und in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in *Ukrainska kultura v ievropeiskomu konteksti*, ed. Rolf Göbner and Alexander Kratochvil (Greifswald: Kiebu-Druck, 2002), 22–42. In 1932 the Mykhailo Drahomanov Ukrainian Advanced Pedagogical Institute in Prague, where Chyzhevsky was professor of philosophy, was obliged to dismiss all its lecturers and professors owing to the lack of Ukrainian émigré students (see Ivan Mirny, *Ukrainskyi vysokyi pedagogichnyi instytut im. M. Drahomanova 1932–1933* [Prague: Vydannia Ukrainskoho vysokoho pedagogichnoho instytutu, 1934], 57). After losing his source of income, Chyzhevsky found himself in dire financial straits.

44. This was the main library of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle an der Saale, in whose archives Chyzhevsky discovered Comenius's works in 1934–35. The collections of the Franckesche Stiftungen were founded by the Protestant professor of theology August Hermann Francke (1663–1727). They were affiliated with an orphanage for poor children, a school for paupers, a high school, and a printing house and bookstore. Francke was influenced by Comenius's pedagogy and sought to implement some of his ideas. He collected numerous works about Comenius and various Slavic publications for the

Picture the immense reading room of the library, with its numerous bookshelves reaching all the way to the ceiling—that is what Chyzhevsky saw as he reached for volume after volume, manuscript after manuscript. Nowhere did the passionate discoverer of old publications feel so happy as in that recondite library. Fedor Avgustovich Stepun (1903–1965), a professor of Russian intellectual history and culture at the University of Munich, who was a good friend of Chyzhevsky's, writes: "In large university libraries I feel somehow alone: I feel sad, hopeless, and almost terrified; my arms simply drop. So much has been written about Plato, Spinoza, Kant, and Dostoevsky that you think nothing more can be written, unless you forget what has already been written before you. Dmitrii Ivanovich is another matter. I would run into him in libraries and always felt that a single, all-encompassing glance at the endless books carried him away, like a boat on a wave, into some sort of distance. In no one else have I ever encountered such a gift for speed reading as Dmitrii Ivanovich possesses.... Strange to say, it often seemed to me that he had eyes on all ten fingers."⁴⁵

On 24 December 1934, Chyzhevsky, who was searching for old Slavic publications and manuscripts in the library, came upon three bulky sheaves of manuscripts marked "Pansophia." These were the first three of the seven extant books of Comenius's fundamental work,⁴⁶ which for two centuries had been considered lost or never written. As noted above, the work was entitled *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*.⁴⁷

library. See Michail Fundaminski, *Die Russica-Sammlung der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle. Aus der Geschichte der deutsch-russischen kulturellen Beziehungen im 18. Jahrhundert. Katalog, Hallesche Quellenpublikationen und Repertorien*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1997).

45. Fedor Stepun, "Dmitrii Ivanovich Chizhevsky," *Russkaia mysl* (Munich), no. 2174 (7 July 1964): 4.

46. Jan Amos Comenius's fundamental work consists of seven books: 1) *Panegersia*; 2) *Panaugia*; 3) *Pansophia*; 4) *Pampaedia*; 5) *Panorthosia*; 6) *Panglottia*; and 7) *Panuthesia*.

47. *Neue Comenius-Funde* (1936), repr. in *Comenius und unsere Zeit* (1997), 183. See also Dmitrij Tschizewskij, "Die Handschrift der 'Pampaedia' und ihr Schicksal," in Johann Amos Comenius, *Pampaedia*, ed. Dmitrij Tschizewskij (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1960), 490–97. In this study Chyzhevsky mistakenly gives 1935 as the year of his discovery of Comenius's manuscripts (p. 490). See Dmitrij Tschizewskij, "Wie ich die Handschriften der Pansophie fand," in Dmitrij Tschizewskij, *Kleinere Schriften*, vol. 2, *Bohemia* (Munich: Fink, 1972), 215–23.

In one of Chyzhevsky's many announcements of his discoveries in the library of the Franckesche Stiftungen, we read: "In my continuing work on the book collections in the library of the Franckesche Stiftungen (and they number approximately 35,000 items), other works by Comenius were cropping up everywhere. Some of them, in fact, belonged to the Francke Library; others to the library of the German 'fanatic' Friedrich Breckling, which Francke could have acquired after [Breckling's] death in Holland. It was precisely in Breckling's library that I found the already published *Panaugia* (printed in folio format) and the *Pannuthesia*, lacking the last few pages. The first part of the *Panorthosia* was located in the archive. The books from the libraries of Breckling⁴⁸ and Milde⁴⁹ were not shelved in order but scattered throughout the reading room, as in Russian libraries.... Nevertheless, after many years of searching, eighty-nine works by Comenius (Comeniana) were discovered; these were mostly genuine first editions that had almost never been catalogued under the author's name."⁵⁰ As Chyzhevsky writes, the library in Halle with its Slavic manuscripts also owns an "infinity of materials" that are, so to speak, intermediately "Slavic."⁵¹

V

Chyzhevsky was now in possession of the central philosophical work of the age of the European baroque, Comenius's *Pansophia*—"a scholar's dream," as Frank E. Manuel described it in his brilliant study *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (1979). The distinguished intellectual historian characterized the *Pansophia* as a magnificent effort "to establish the unity of European culture on religious ground independently of 'sectarian malice,'" noting that "Bruno, Bacon, Campanella, Andreae, Comenius, and Leibniz are the largest planets in the pansophist system."⁵² Chyzhevsky now believed that his earlier views on the age of

48. Friedrich Breckling (1629–1711) was a German Lutheran clergyman and writer, a passionate opponent of the Lutheran Church and the owner of a large collection of books.

49. Heinrich Milde (1676–1739) was a Slavist who worked at the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle for two decades, painstakingly collecting and publishing Slavic works. Chyzhevsky had one of his doctoral students write his dissertation about Milde: see Alfred Mietzschke, *Heinrich Milde. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der slavischen Studien in Halle* (Halle an der Saale: Eduard Klinz, 1941).

50. Tschizewskij, *Kleinere Schriften*, 2: 219–20.

51. D. Čyžev's'ky, "Neue Comenius-Funde," *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* (Leipzig) 12 (1935): 181.

52. Frank E. Manuel and Fritz P. Manuel, *Utopian Thought in the Western World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1979), 212.

Comenius would have to take on a “completely new form.”⁵³ In Prague it was decided that the work he had discovered would be published in *Veškeré spisy Jana Amosa Komenského* in three volumes. In a letter of 10 October 1935, Stanislav Souček (1870–1935), the editor of the *Veškeré spisy* and professor of literary history at the Masaryk University in Brno, asked Chyzhevsky to prepare “Comenius’s pansophic works” preserved in the manuscripts of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle for publication in the series “as soon as possible.”⁵⁴ Such international cooperation across the borders of the German Reich and the Czechoslovak Republic was still possible in the first years of Hitler’s rule and even later, after Germany took over Czechoslovakia.

Now it was necessary to recopy 2,700 manuscript pages (written in Latin), as well as Comenius’s *Lexicon reale pansophicum* (Pansophical Lexicon of Things), which Chyzhevsky had also discovered.

In order to envision Chyzhevsky’s singular attitude to Comenius, one must reflect on his painstaking work, which went on for several years and was completed only in 1945. It should also be taken into account that at the same time Chyzhevsky had to prepare many other works for publication. He wrote the book *Gegel v Rossii* (Hegel in Russia), which was published in Paris in 1939;⁵⁵ books on baroque literature that were issued in Prague by the publishing house of the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society;⁵⁶ *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury* (A History of Ukrainian Literature, book 2), which was published in Prague in 1942; a brochure entitled *Ukrainski druky v Halle*⁵⁷ (Ukrainian Publications in Halle; Cracow and Lviv, 1943); the above-mentioned book about Lüdovít Štúr,⁵⁸ and numerous journal articles. Throughout this period, he was

53. D. Čiževskij, “Ztracené části pansofie Komenského nalezeny,” in *Slovo a slovesnost* (Prague) 1 (1935): 119.

54. Letter of 10 October 1935 in the Chyzhevsky archive, Heidelberg, Division C: Letters, Letter J.

55. Chyzhevsky had probably established contact with Russian émigrés in Paris as early as 1939. In any case, he could not have told the German Gestapo that he did not know anything about the publication of his book in Paris. The note “From the Author” reads: “When the prospect of a Russian publication opened up, the question arose before me: how to use the text of my German work” (p. 5).

56. *Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok, narysy*, pt. 1 (1941); pt. 2 (1941); pt. 3 (1944) (Prague: Vydannia Ukrainskoho istorychno-filologichnoho tovarystva v Prazi).

57. It appeared as no. 8 in the series “Ukrainska knyhoznachna biblioteka.” This generously illustrated brochure was printed in Cracow.

58. See n. 17 above.

also engaged in his studies of Comenius. In Rýmařov, a small town in northern Moravia in the Czechoslovak Republic, where his wife was working as a physician, Chyzhevsky published a brochure entitled *Neue Comenius-Funde* (1936; now extremely rare), which he later destroyed.⁵⁹ But this booklet must be regarded as evidence that Chyzhevsky was still endeavoring to come to grips with Comenius's thought. In the brochure we read: "Since I am currently working on the preparation of this manuscript for publication (a large edition of the works of Comenius, *Veškeré spisy Jana Amosa Komenského*, vols. 30–32), and simultaneously on a study of parts of the work that particularly interest me, as well as on a study of Comenius's pansophist writings within the general context of the history of pansophist thought in Western Europe, there is probably no need to announce the content of the work ahead of time."⁶⁰

In order to write an expert commentary on *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, Chyzhevsky had to study practically all the existing literature on Comenius, which was too extensive to survey rapidly even then, as well as all available old and new editions of Comenius. Chyzhevsky's bibliographic knowledge was astonishing. He was soon conversant with all the merits and shortcomings of Comeniological studies, thereby cementing his reputation as an unparalleled authority on Comeniology—"the greatest Comenius scholar" and "coryphaeus."⁶¹

Chyzhevsky considered his numerous and long-term studies on Comenius to be unquestionably important, inasmuch as he wanted to

59. Dmitrij Tshiževskij, *Neue Comenius-Funde* (Römerstadt, 1936). A number of errors were corrected in this brochure, which was reprinted in 1997 (see *Comenius und unsere Zeit*, 92–99). The errors, which were noted by Chyzhevsky, pertained to the Latin section of the text; hence he destroyed the brochure. Fortunately, two copies survived.

60. *Comenius und unsere Zeit*, p. 95.

61. After the Second World War, when the German professor of education Andreas Flitner (b. 1922) was preparing a new German translation of *The Great Didactic* for publication, he asked for Chyzhevsky's help. He claimed that the scholar's well-grounded studies were crucial to any "more detailed research" on Comenius, since Chyzhevsky had provided information "1) about numerous discoveries of manuscripts, mostly by the author himself, and particularly of Comenius's entire late pansophist work; about as yet unknown and more recent editions of his texts; 2) about the state of research on Comenius's oeuvre, biographical and specialist literature, and research on the historical background." See Andreas Flitner in Comenius, *Grosse Didaktik* (Düsseldorf and Munich: H. Küpper, 1954), 240. The honorary title of "coryphaeus" may be traced back to the secretary of the Comenius working group at the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague (Josef Brambor to Dmytro Chyzhevsky, 20 May 1957, in Chyzhevsky's Heidelberg archive).

reveal the figure of a “new Comenius,” free of its earlier colorations of positivism and Marxism-Leninism. He therefore decided to write a book entitled *Der neue Comenius*.⁶² His lectures “Komenský a západní filosofie” (Comenius and Western Philosophy) and “Komenský a němečtí pietisté” (Comenius and the German Pietists), published in 1939 (and 1940) in the Czech compilation *Co daly naše země Evropě a lidstvu* (What Our Lands Have Given to Europe and Humanity), were the first steps along that path.⁶³

Chyzhevsky constantly struggled against ideological superstitions. In equal measure he opposed the prejudice, still to be encountered today, that although Comenius was a great educator, perhaps even the “greatest pedagogical thinker that Europe ever produced” (as the German philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey⁶⁴ once hinted), his philosophical views led him to a “dead end,” as he never produced anything of note in the sphere of the emerging philosophy of the modern age.⁶⁵ Such a view of Comenius’s philosophy held sway in the Czechoslovak Republic at that time,⁶⁶ for, according to prevailing opinion, there had always been only one philosophical and scientific “main trend” in European intellectual history, initiated first and foremost by René Descartes (1595–1650), that pointed to the future, generating and guaranteeing “progress” in the direction of the “modern era.” This interpretation of European intellectual history, which has now been recognized as erroneous, was already discovered by Chyzhevsky in the 1930s. Thus, even for him, Comenius stood at the “turning point of two epochs,” but, in Chyzhevsky’s opinion, Comenius’s philosophy was by no means mired in a “dead end” and did indeed point to the future. Chyzhevsky wrote: “Comenius’s universalist program and his pansophist plans were so attuned to the needs of the day that we find

62. Dmytro Chyzhevsky to Josef Hendrich in Prague, 19 January 1944, in the Hendrich archive of the J. A. Komenský Museum (Uherský Brod).

63. Fritz Erlenbusch (Chyzhevsky), “Komenský a západní filosofie,” 181–85; “Komenský a němečtí pietisté,” 185–88. This collection of articles was published in Prague in 1939 and 1940. For his own safety, Chyzhevsky used the pseudonym “Fritz Erlenbusch,” as the book was published during the German occupation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

64. Wilhelm Dilthey, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 9 (Stuttgart and Göttingen: Teubner, 1960), p. 169.

65. See Josef Hendrich, “Komenského logika,” *Archiv pro bádání o životě a spisech J. A. Komenského* (Brno) 14 (1937): 131, 138.

66. See my “Emanuel Rádl’s Warnungen vor dem ‘Mystiker, Peripatetiker’ und ‘sehr schwachen Philosophen’ Comenius,” *Studia Comeniana et historica* (Uherský Brod) 63–64 (2000): 74–113.

echoes of them throughout the baroque currents that were seeking in one way or another to construct a system of universal wisdom.... We have already said that in many respects Comenius transcends the framework of Renaissance philosophy. He does not stop, however, at the general formulations and pious hopes of the Renaissance, but in certain places offers concrete instructions on how to act in order to carry out philosophical plans. Many of those concrete instructions turned out to be effective, that is, they accurately prognosticated what was achieved in the philosophical development of subsequent epochs."⁶⁷ As we know, Chyzhevsky tried to give his contemporaries a true picture of the age of the baroque, as well as a true image of Comenius untarnished by superstition.

In 1940, in an article published in a Prague newspaper, Professor Josef Hendrich (1888–1950), a Czech researcher of Comenius's work, informed the Czech community as follows: "Specialist circles are aware that Professor Dm[ytro] Chyzhevsky (Halle an der Saale) has managed to rediscover the lost portions of *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*. This 'general advice' is a work with the aid of which Comenius wanted to place before the court of public opinion his plans concerning omniscience, the universe, and total perfection. We have known only of the first two parts, the *Panegersia* and the *Panaugia*. In the library of the Halle orphanage, Professor Chyzhevsky discovered other sections of the manuscript, partly printed in folio and partly in manuscript. Thus, the following parts were acquired: 3) *Pansophia*; 4) *Pampaedia*; 5) *Panglottia*; and 6) *Panorthosia*. But the final, seventh part (*Pannuthesia*) was missing. Chyzhevsky thoroughly described the discovered manuscripts in his article "Hallské rukopisy děl J. A. Komenského" in the journal *Archiv pro bádání o životě a spisech J. A. Komenského* (Archive of Research on the Life and Works of J. A. Komenský), no. 15. This issue has just been published....⁶⁸ When Chyzhevsky's article was already in press, he made a new discovery: he located a second copy of *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, printed in folio, which also contained the *Pannuthesia* (but without the last three chapters listed in its table of contents). This newly discovered publication filled the gap that had hitherto existed in the *Panorthosia*. Using the contents of the new parts, Chyzhevsky added a

67. Čiževskij, "Comenius and Western Philosophy," 101–2.

68. This issue of the journal was published in Brno in 1940. Chyzhevsky's article is on pp. 85–107.

seventh chapter to his work. Thanks to this felicitous discovery, we have acquired the entire work, with the exception of certain small lacunae. Thanks to Professor Chyzhevsky's discoveries, our knowledge of Comenius will of course be significantly enriched. The discoverer is preparing the whole *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* for publication in *Veškeré spisy Jana Amosa Komenského*.⁶⁹

Until the last days of the Second World War, Chyzhevsky worked on *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, preparing it for publication. On 15 August 1944 the final sections of the *Panorthosia* were received in Prague in "perfect condition." They were followed a few days later, on 21 August, by the first three chapters of the *Pampaedia*. Later that month the final section of the copy of *Lexicon reale pansophicum* also arrived in Prague. In late March 1945, in a letter sent to Hendrich in Prague, Chyzhevsky complained that there were frequent air raids in Halle, so it would hardly be possible even to think of doing serious work, although he was still engaged in "a rather old incomplete project." The last letter to Chyzhevsky was sent from Prague on 16 March 1945.⁷⁰

How closely Chyzhevsky identified himself in 1938, 1939 and, of course, in subsequent years with the person of Comenius and his uncertain fate as an émigré, as well as with his work for "the correction of human affairs," is clearly apparent from the following fact. In his article "Komenský a západní filosofie," which Chyzhevsky wrote shortly before German troops overwhelmed the Czechoslovak Republic and published under a different name in Prague in 1939, he cites a poem by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) written in 1671, after Comenius's death, in memory of the Czech philosopher. What mattered to Chyzhevsky was not merely the continuation of the "genetic" philosophical line "from Comenius through Leibniz to modern philosophy," as is apparent from a reading of Leibniz's⁷¹ poem "In Comenii obitum" (On the Death of Comenius), cited below in English translation:

Fortunate elder, new inhabitant of the true world,
of which your searching efforts have given us a picture;

69. Josef Hendrich, "Ztracená kniha Komenského nalezena" (Comenius's Lost Book Found), *Lidové noviny* (Prague), 10 October 1940.

70. See Werner Korthaase, "Was mit der *Consultatio catholica*, dem Hauptwerk von Comenius, von 1934 bis 1945 geschah," *Comenius-Jahrbuch*, vol. 3 (Sankt Augustin: Academia Verlag, 1995), 86.

71. Erlenbusch (Chyzhevsky), "Komenský a západní filosofie," 184.

Whether you, now free, are looking down on human affairs
 and on our senseless quarrels, still troubled by our sufferings,
 or whether you now, perceiving the truth of things and the secrets of the
 world,
 have achieved the very pansophy denied to you during your earthly life;
 Do not surrender hope, for your songs survive your death,
 and the field retains the seed that was not sown in vain.
 Not too late will prosperity harvest, the crop is already sprouting.
 Fate knows how to observe the right time;
 gradually Nature reveals itself. Together we may
 partake in the bliss, if only we unite our efforts.
 The time will come when the mass of good people
 will carefully study you, Comenius, and your work and hopes
 and even your most intimate wishes.⁷²

VI

Chyzhevsky's private library, which was left behind in Halle in 1945,⁷³ contains not only the *Veškeré spisy Jana Amosa Komenského* and volumes of Comenius's correspondence published by Adolf Patera and Ján Kvačala, but also issues of the periodical *Archiv pro bádání o životě a spisech J. A. Komenského* (Brno) and numerous publications by Czech scholars on the works of Comenius. Of the early literature on Comenius, Chyzhevsky owned Hermann Ferdinand von Criegern's work *Johann Amos Comenius als Theolog* (Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1881), as well as Ján Kvačala's two-volume work, *Die pädagogische Reform des Comenius in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1903–4). He even had the first seventeen issues (1892–1912) of the *Monatshefte der Comenius-Gesellschaft*, the first four issues (1893–96) of the *Mitteilungen der Comenius-Gesell-*

72. Translated from the Latin by Dr. Philip Devlin (Dublin) in *Comenius und der Weltfriede*, 246.

73. The library was confiscated immediately after Chyzhevsky fled the city. Red Army officers borrowed the books that interested them, mostly works by the German philosopher G. W. F. Hegel, but invariably returned them. The valuable library and numerous typewritten works, letters, and notes were locked inside the university building (as told to the author by Dr. Wolfgang Busch of Glandorf). Despite numerous attempts, Chyzhevsky was unable to reclaim his library, which he had built up with great effort, even though he was not well off. It was illegally confiscated by the communist regime.

schaft, and many volumes of the periodical *Časopis musea Království českého*, which contain articles about Comenius.⁷⁴

The results of Chyzhevsky's historical and philosophical research on Comenius are summarized in two articles—the above-mentioned “Komenský a západní filosofie”⁷⁵ and “Die Stelle der *Panaugia* im Werk von Comenius.”⁷⁶ Nor should his literary articles, published as *Comeniana* (written in 1947–48), be overlooked.⁷⁷

After the Second World War, in 1948, Chyzhevsky issued an announcement about a book of his that he had prepared for publication. Its title probably came as a surprise to those who knew him only as a historian of philosophy and a literary scholar: *J. A. Comenius und sein Völkerbundplan aus dem Jahre 1666*.⁷⁸ In this work he addressed Comenius's political ideals (understanding among nations and world peace). This planned book about Comenius's project for a union of nations was designed to acquaint readers with ideas put forward in the *Panorthosia*, the sixth part of Comenius's *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultation catholica*, that became the founding principles of the UN and UNESCO. Chyzhevsky came out in favor of Europe as a “reconciliation of nations.”⁷⁹ In one passage Comenius describes succinctly how world peace can be attained: “The college of light, the court of peace and the consistory of holiness are to be established.... Without these three colleges, it will be impossible to reform the world.”⁸⁰ It is more than likely that Chyzhevsky also included this passage in his book, which, sadly, was never issued

74. Cf. “Reihenfolge der Bücherei ‘Ex libris Tschizewskij’” (manuscript), Halle, 1948 (copy in the author's collection). Today the library is housed in the Institute of Slavic Studies at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.

75. See n. 63 above.

76. Published in Johann Amos Comenius, *Panaugia* (Munich: Fink, 1970), v-xvi.

77. Published in *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* (Leipzig) 19 (1947): 410–39, and 20 (1950): 144–64.

78. See Dmitri Tschizewskij, *Geschichte der Altrussischen Literatur im 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. Kiever Epoche* (Frankfurt am Main: V. Klostermann, 1948), 467.

79. Elsewhere, he writes: “My life's path led me from Russia to Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Holland, Sweden, etc., and everywhere I became convinced that the narrow limits within which history has placed the life of these nations harm these countries and nations not only in economic but also in cultural terms, and they will continue to hinder their development if these narrow limits are not overcome in some way—without, however, violating the natural rights of these large and small nations” (Dmitrij Tschizewskij, “Lebenslauf,” typescript in the Garback Collection, Heidelberg).

80. Printed in *Comenius und der Weltfriede*; translated from the Latin by Dr. Philip Devlin (Dublin).

because the proofs were lost at the publisher's. In a letter to Thomas Mann (1875–1955), dated 1945, Chyzhevsky sought a peaceful European order with democratic equality for all nations: "It should be explained, however, that in the new world there should be no 'second-class' destinies."⁸¹

Chyzhevsky's assessment of Comenius's poetical works is to found in two analyses that are exemplary in content and style: "Comenius' Labyrinth of the World: Its Themes and Their Sources," first published in *Harvard Slavic Studies* in 1953,⁸² and "Das Labyrinth der Welt und das Paradies des Herzens des J. A. Comenius. Einige Stilanalysen."⁸³ Both these articles are among Chyzhevsky's finest works. I only mention them here, as the scope of this article does not permit a detailed account of their content.⁸⁴

After the Second World War, Chyzhevsky tried to resume his research on Comenius's works and their reception and to promote them. At last the scholar became known not only for his concept of the Slavic baroque but also, mainly among Czech scholars working on Comenius, for his views on the need for a correct assessment of Comenius. Two episodes that took place in 1956 and 1957 attest to the renown that Chyzhevsky achieved as a Comenius scholar.

In 1956 Chyzhevsky returned to Germany from the United States. In November of that year he was invited to become coeditor of a new edition of Comenius's works that had the support of the Communist Party and government of the Czechoslovak Republic.⁸⁵ He also received an invitation from the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences to give a paper at the 1957 international conference on Comenius in Prague. "During your stay," wrote Academician Otakar Chlup,⁸⁶ "you will be an honorary

81. Chyzhevsky's letter to Mann, which is very interesting and significant for any attempt to understand him, is published in Russian translation in my article "Dmitrii Chyzhevskii i rodina ego vybora Germaniia," in *Dmytry Chyzhevskij: The Man and His Work* (Prague: Slavonic Library at the National Library of the Czech Republic, 2004), 111–15.

82. Dmitrij Čiževskij in *Harvard Slavic Studies* 1 (1953): 83–135.

83. In *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* (Vienna) 5 (1956): 59–85. Reprinted in Tschizewskij, *Kleinere Schriften*, 2: 145–67.

84. Comenius is a "poet" even in his Latin-language works and scholarly tracts. In his work on Comenius's "Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart," Chyzhevsky uncovers "specific stylistic" constructions: no fewer than 582 "verbal chains" with up to 37 elements in each (*ibid.*, 165).

85. Jan Patočka to Dmytro Chyzhevsky, 29 November 1956 (Chyzhevsky's Heidelberg archive).

86. From 1946 to 1953 Otakar Chlup was the first dean of the Faculty of Education established in 1945 at Charles University in Prague. He was also the founder (1957) and

guest of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, which will also cover the costs of your return trip.” The appended program contained the following entry: “The Current Situation and the Task of Researching the Life and Creative Path of J. A. Komenský. Head: Professor G. H. Turnbull, Great Britain. Introductory remarks: Professor D. Chyzhevsky, Federal Republic of Germany.”⁸⁷ For reasons of personal safety, and because he did not wish to lend support to an interpretation of Comenius colored by communist and materialist ideology, Chyzhevsky refused to travel to a country that was under the Soviet Union’s control. After many years of waiting, he finally decided to risk a trip to Prague in 1968, by which time the USSR’s influence on the Czechoslovak Republic had diminished. This happened only once, for the country’s newly achieved independence was soon crushed by Soviet tanks.

In 1960 Chyzhevsky published the *Pampaedia*, the fourth book of *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica*, on the basis of his typewritten copies from Halle.⁸⁸ Thus was the Latin text published for the first time, while the Czechs did not manage to issue the Latin text of their eminent compatriot’s major work until 1966. And so it first appeared in the “capitalist” West—quite an embarrassment to the Czech side, which had been in possession of the manuscripts found by Chyzhevsky since 1945 but had done nothing in the course of more than two decades to make the work known to the public. In 1968 a reprint of Comenius’s *Janua rerum* (Gateway of Things) was published in the series *Slavische Propyläen*, which Chyzhevsky founded.⁸⁹ He established contact with a young German professor of education, Klaus Schaller (b. 1925) and acquainted him with his research on Comenius’s works. Schaller continued this research according to his own judgment, as attested by his numerous publications devoted to Comenius.⁹⁰

director of the J. A. Komenský Institute of Pedagogical Sciences, Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences.

87. *J. A. Comenius III: Bulletin of Information* (Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1957), 3.

88. Comenius, *Pampaedia. Lateinischer Text und deutsche Übersetzung*, ed. Dmitrii Tschizewskij, Heinrich Geissler, and Klaus Schaller (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1960).

89. Johann Amos Comenius, *Janua rerum*, *Slavische Propyläen*, vol. 9 (reprint of the 1681 edition with an introduction by Klaus Schaller) (Munich: Fink, 1968).

90. See Klaus Schaller, “Universalizm Ia. A. Komenskogo,” in *Chelovek, kultura, obshchestvo v kontseptsii Iana Amosa Komenskogo*, 65–73. “One can speak of Comenius’s universalism only if—and I wanted to show this—we keep in mind both his pedagogical

In 1956 the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the government of the Czechoslovak Republic resolved that by 1970 the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences would be required to collect and prepare for publication all of Comenius's works in thirty-two volumes.⁹¹ A working group of philologists fluent in Latin and Czech had to be assembled in Prague to carry out this task on a high professional level. Given his many professional obligations as professor of Slavic philology in Germany, Chyzhevsky declined to continue publishing Comenius's works. But he was greatly dissatisfied with the pace of work on the publication of Comenius's legacy in Prague, as the first volume, which had been scheduled to appear in 1956, did not see print until 1969.⁹² There could be no question of publishing all thirty-two volumes by 1970.

VII

For the commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the death of Comenius (1970), Chyzhevsky, who was already quite elderly, published a photomechanical reprint of the Latin original of Comenius's *Panaugia*⁹³ and then embarked on a series of lectures in many institutes of Slavic studies at universities in West Germany. Before his departure he circulated the following message: "Dear Colleague: Since the anniversary of the death of Jan Amos Komenský is approaching for the 300th time on 10 November 1970, this day, which is a momentous one for educators, philosophers, theologians, and literary scholars, will be celebrated in many places. The International Institute of Philosophy in Paris, the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences, and the University of Heidelberg are eliciting the greatest interest in this connection. However, it appears that

and his political and moral concerns" (p. 73). This article is the only one of Schaller's numerous studies to have been translated into Russian. The following publications, dating from his initial period of collaboration with Chyzhevsky, should be mentioned: *Die Pampaedia des Johann Amos Comenius* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1957); *Pan. Untersuchungen zur Comenius-Terminologie* (The Hague: Mouton, 1958); and *Die Pädagogik des Johann Amos Comenius und die Anfänge des pädagogischen Realismus im 17. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1962).

91. *Usnesení UV KSČ a vlády republiky o vydání spisů J. A. Komenského* (Decision of the CC of the CPC and the Government of the Republic on the Publication of the Works of J. A. Comenius), *Rudé právo* (Prague), 28 March 1958, p. 1.

92. *Johannis Amos Comenii Opera omnia/Dilo Jana Amose Komenského*, ed. Antonín Škarka, vol. 1 (Prague: Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 1969).

93. Johann Amos Comenius, *Panaugia*, *Slavische Propyläen*, vol. 48 (reprint of the 1660 publication with an introduction by Dmitrij Tschizewskij) (Munich: Fink, 1970).

in Prague this anniversary will be marked very modestly. Since I am preparing various openings and commemorative sessions with a few colleagues, I want to give you timely notice about this day. I would be very much obliged to you if you or your university would arrange certain measures for this event. For my part, at a designated time I will send you some bibliographic and other data. Professor Dmytro Chyzhevsky.”⁹⁴

In November 1970 Chyzhevsky presented a paper on the significance of Comenius before an audience of German Slavists. But his attempts to awaken interest in Comenius in the German Slavic studies milieu produced no results. Even now, there is no discernible interest among Slavists in this great Slavic thinker, writer, and linguist. Clearly, this circumstance can only be explained, if at all, by the fact that Comenius’s best-known works were published in Latin, and only the lesser-known ones in Czech.

Chyzhevsky remained emotionally connected to Comenius until the end of his life. During the Comenius jubilee in 1970 he wrote two more important articles: an introduction to Comenius’s *Panaugia* and an article on the reception of Comenius’s works among the Eastern Slavs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The latter article begins with the words: “It is often supposed that Comenius’s works became known among the Eastern Slavs in the late eighteenth century, when their first translations appeared. We shall be interested in the appearance of Comenius’s original writings among the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belarusians. This means that we should seek to establish the fact of the utilization of his works in schools and their presence in school and private libraries. This is not so easy to do.”⁹⁵ Chyzhevsky concludes his thoughts with these words: “The terminology of pedagogical works indicates that Comenius’s writings on education were read by pedagogues in the Latin originals. According to Russian researchers, such words as *avtopraksiia*, *avtoleksiia*, and *avtoftetsiia* (?) are to be encountered (and are even “prevalent”) in Russian works of the late eighteenth century. Later, only the word ‘autodidact’ was preserved, which, in my opinion, can hardly be traced back to the works of Comenius.... The subsequent history of Russia’s acquaintance with Comenius’s works has yet to be

94. This undated letter was probably sent in early 1970. Sender: Slavisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg (collection of Professor Klaus Schaller, Bochum).

95. Chyzhevsky, “Proizvedeniia Komenskogo u vostochnykh slavian v XVII-XVIII veke,” *Slavia* (Prague) 39, no. 4 (1970): 512.

written.”⁹⁶ This task, whose importance was recognized by Chyzhevsky, has not yet been carried out.

And there is another task that remains to be done. As a scholar of Slavic intellectual history and the history of Slavic philosophy, as well as the author of extensive comparative studies on European intellectual history, Dmytro Chyzhevsky believed that Comenius was the sole Slavic thinker of “world significance.”⁹⁷ He argued that, with the exception of Comenius, no other Slavic thinker had gone “beyond the borders of his country and his time” in his work. Although Vladimir Soloviev, August Cieszkowski,⁹⁸ Hryhorii Skovoroda, or Rudjer Bošković⁹⁹ may be placed “objectively on the same level” as Comenius, “fate did not grant them lasting activity outside their native lands.”¹⁰⁰ To date no Slavist has examined, refuted or confirmed the validity of this thesis put forward by Dmytro Chyzhevsky.

96. Ibid., 530.

97. D. Čyževs'kyj, “Wesen und Aufgaben der tschechoslovakischen Philosophiegeschichte,” *Slavische Rundschau* (Prague) 8 (1936): 15. *Slavische Rundschau*, an “informative and critical journal devoted to the intellectual life of the Slavic nations,” was published by Franz Spina (1868–1938) and Gerhard Gesemann (1888–1948), professors at the German University in Prague, and commissioned by the German Society of Slavic Studies in Prague (Deutsche Gesellschaft für slavistische Forschung in Prag).

98. August Cieszkowski (1814–1894), a Polish philosopher and economic theorist, was president of the Polish Society of Friends of Scholarship.

99. Rudjer Bošković (1711–1787), born in Dubrovnik (Dalmatia), was a mathematician and a Christian philosopher (*The Theory of Natural Philosophy*, 1758).

100. Čyževs'kyj, “Wesen und Aufgaben,” 15.

Dmytro Chyzhevsky and the Tradition of Ukrainian “Cordology”

Maryna Tkachuk

My decision to address this subject is prompted by two circumstances: on the one hand, the fact of the triumphant establishment in our philosophical (and not only philosophical) literature of the concept of “Ukrainian cordocentrism,” whose sources go back to the work of Dmytro Chyzhevsky, and, on the other, the realization that perhaps the very first characteristic of philosophical thinking is a critical attitude toward stereotypes of all kinds and adherence to those elementary demands of rationality beyond whose bounds the work of the philosopher and, *a fortiori*, the historian of philosophy, loses its purpose.

I shall begin with the first point. Those who follow the development of historical and philosophical work in post-Soviet Ukrainian studies need no extended account of the particular place assumed by the so-called “philosophy of the heart” in textbooks, scholarly articles, monographs, and academic dissertations on the history of Ukrainian philosophy. It may be said without exaggeration that the number of publications devoted directly to Ukrainian cordocentrism or its representatives now defies all enumeration. Considering only the most recent years, the most notable achievements in the sphere of Ukrainian “knowledge of the heart” include the anthology *Sakralnaia pedagogika serdtsa Pamfila Iurkevicha* (Pamfil Yurkevych’s Sacral Pedagogy of the Heart, 2000), published in Luhansk by Valerii Ilchenko; the textbook *P. D. Iurkevich i ego filosofiia ‘serdtsa’* (Pamfil Yurkevych and His Philosophy “of the Heart,” 2001), published by the Dnipropetrovsk author Liudmyla Kostriukova; and Yaroslav Hnatiuk’s dissertation “Ukrainskyi kordotsentryzm: istoryko-filosofskyi analiz” (Ukrainian Cordocentrism: A Historical and Philosophical Analysis), defended in 2005 at the Ivan Franko National University of Lviv. Not only keeping pace with “cordological” research publications but even occasionally outdoing them in rhetorical competition are the authors of current Ukrainian philosophy texts. In the

textbook *Liudyna i svit* (Man and His World; Kyiv, 1999), for example, prepared by specialists at the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, one may learn of the “cordoantheism” of Ukrainian philosophy, which is claimed to be the Ukrainian people’s “original system” and “original method” of philosophizing.¹

Given the considerable number of publications devoted to the subject of “Ukrainian cordocentrism” over the last fifteen years, it is quite natural to expect a thorough analysis of it, or at least a clear definition of the concepts of “Ukrainian cordocentrism” and “philosophy of the heart.” Unfortunately, most Ukrainian “cordologists,” making free with these concepts, consider them so self-evident and axiomatic that they show no concern for constituting their meaning. As for the insignificant number of scholars in this field who do, after all, make an effort to reflect on these concepts, in reading their work we sometimes encounter such oddities that it is embarrassing even to speak of them in a professional context. How, for example, is one to take seriously an explanation of Ukrainian cordocentrism as a “theory of the identity of human and spiritual reality”?²

It is telling that scholars of both categories draw inspiration (and quite often the content of their articles) from one and the same source—Dmytro Chyzhevsky’s *Sketches in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine*. They try to outdo one another only in the intensity of their apologetic and reverential attitude toward the views of this eminent Slavist, whose suppositions (hypothetical by his own account) about a Ukrainian national type and its manifestation in the philosophical works of a number of figures, set forth in the *Sketches*, have taken on almost dogmatic status in post-Soviet Ukrainian studies.

What, then, is the essence of Chyzhevsky’s view, from which present-day Ukrainian “cordology” has drawn such inspiration? Convinced of the existence of national “styles” of philosophizing³ and of the presence of a direct link with the “nontransient” elements of the national culture in whose depths it had originated, Chyzhevsky affirms that a description of the historical development of any philosophy must begin with “an outline of the national foundations on which that philosophy

1. See *Liudyna i svit*, ed. L. V. Hubersky (Kyiv: Ukrainskyi tsentr dukhovnoi kul'tury, 1999), 501.

2. Yaroslav Hnatiuk, *Ukrainskyi kordotsentryzm: istoryko-filosofskyi analiz*, abstract of dissertation for the degree of candidate of philosophical sciences (Lviv, 2005), 1.

3. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, *Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini* (Kyiv: Orii, 1992), 10.

develops."⁴ He regards those foundations as a "national world view," which he defines as "the nationally determined outlook of a given people on the world and on life."⁵ Distinguishing historically determined elements of a "national world view" from elements "determined by a nation's particular psychic makeup,"⁶ Chyzhevsky pays particular attention to the latter, and even though he is well aware of the complexity involved in establishing a psychological profile of any national type,⁷ he ventures to define a number of characteristics of the "Ukrainian psychic makeup" that find expression in the national world view, to wit, emotionalism and sentimentalism, sensitivity and lyricism, individualism and striving for freedom, restlessness and liveliness (these characteristics are "more psychic than external").⁸ Chyzhevsky discerns the philosophical correlative of the "emotionalism" characteristic of the Ukrainian national world view in "the high valuation of the life of the emotions," which is conceived as "a way of knowledge."⁹ Thus the emotionalism of the national world view, transferred to the sphere of philosophy, becomes a "philosophy of the heart," which, as Chyzhevsky affirms, "is characteristic of Ukrainian thought." To substantiate this thesis, he appeals to notions of the "heart" as the deepest subconscious wellspring of the human psyche and to the recognition of the human being as a "microcosm." In this connection he mentions the names of Kyrylo Stavrovetsky-Tranquillon, Hryhorii Skovoroda, Nikolai Gogol (Mykola Hohol), Panteleimon Kulish, and Pamfil Yurkevych, whom we are obviously meant to honor as exponents of the "philosophy of the heart." In his lecture on "Ukrainian Philosophy" included in the well-known anthology *Ukrainska kultura* (Ukrainian Culture), Chyzhevsky adds the names of Paisii Velychkovsky and Semen Hamaliia to this list but offers no additional explanation concerning the essence of the "philosophy of the

4. Ibid., 17.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. "In every nation," we read in the *Sketches*, "there are always a variety of psychological types of people; there are certain variegated social types; there are, finally, local variations that we may call tribal. All such variations greatly complicate a people's national countenance, making its characterization an extraordinarily complex task" (18).

8. Ibid., 19.

9. Ibid., 21–22.

heart" and repeats the corresponding passage of the *Sketches*,¹⁰ written ten years earlier, almost verbatim.

Thus, if we summarize what Chyzhevsky wrote about the "philosophy of the heart," it amounts to the affirmation of that philosophy as a characteristic feature of Ukrainian thought (a subject of which Chyzhevsky, a rather eloquent thinker, managed to dispose in a few sentences) and the illustration of that thesis with a selection of quotations that disclose the meaning of the "heart" as a concept in the writings of Skovoroda, Kulish, and Yurkevych but unfortunately cast no light on the concept of the "philosophy of the heart" itself. Gathering together all that Chyzhevsky wrote about the concept of the "heart," we cannot scrape up even ten pages' worth, but even that has proved quite enough to stimulate a tradition of Ukrainian "cordology" to whose creation a number of diaspora historians of Ukrainian philosophy have contributed, joined subsequently by post-Soviet colleagues. Chyzhevsky's imitators very quickly lost sight of his cautions about the hypothetical nature of his characterizations of the Ukrainian national world view, which he himself considered "very general." "Without a great deal of elaboration," wrote Chyzhevsky, "they can hardly be considered a basis for a 'characterology' of the Ukrainian people."¹¹ In order to create the myth of Ukrainian cordocentrism as an "original" philosophy, however, it proved quite enough to invoke the confidence with which the younger Chyzhevsky wrote of Skovoroda, Gogol or Yurkevych as "typical representatives of the Ukrainian national character"¹² and, consequently, of national philosophy, as well as the equals sign that, in effect, the *Sketches* placed between Ukrainian national philosophy and the Ukrainian national world view. Breaking down all boundaries between philosophy and the "national world view" and appealing to the "Ukrainian soul," "Ukrainian spirituality," and "the Ukrainian people's sense of the world," the present-day "cordologists" find the sources of philosophical cordocentrism in folk customs, folklore, traditional Ukrainian hospitality,¹³ or even in the embroidery of shirts covering the chest, whose function was

10. See Dmytro Chyzhevsky, "Ukrainska filosofiiia" in *Ukrainska kultura: Lektzii*, ed. Dmytro Antonovych (Kyiv: Lybid, 1993), 187.

11. Chyzhevsky, *Narysy*, 18.

12. *Ibid.*, 15.

13. See Stepan Iarmus, "Pamfil Danylovych Iurkevych (1826–1847) ta ioho filosofska spadshchyna," in P. D. Iurkevych, *Tvory* (Winnipeg: Tovarystvo Volyn, 1979), 28.

to protect the "heart" from corruption.¹⁴ However strange it may seem, the conviction that Ukrainian cordocentrism may be "characterized as a teaching about the dominance, firstly, of irrational community (the population of a village or farmstead) over rational association (an urban population) and, secondly, spiritual experience (mystical encounters; leaps of intuition) over logical and discursive thinking"¹⁵ does not prevent some scholars from discerning a "historical type and paradigm of philosophizing"¹⁶ in that selfsame Ukrainian cordocentrism.

Understandably, the present-day "cordologists" have had to make serious exertions in order to substantiate the latter thesis. Highly symptomatic in this regard are Yaroslav Hnatiuk's complaints about the lack of a source base or the fragmentary nature of the "text of Ukrainian cordocentrism" ("As far as form is concerned, one may encounter treatises, letters, and poems; as for content, one finds thoughts presented in a disorderly, chaotic manner") and about the complications involved in establishing "where exactly one finds original, independent Ukrainian philosophy and where one encounters literal or fairly free paraphrase of biblical subjects and works of the holy fathers."¹⁷ But complications do not daunt those bold scholars who aspire, in the words of the same Yaroslav Hnatiuk, to complete the "unfinished philosophical project" of Ukrainian cordocentric philosophy or, in actual fact, to invent what never existed. This is the aspiration that gives rise to the myth of a continuous Ukrainian cordocentric tradition in which Yurkevych is proclaimed the "spiritual son of Hryhorii Skovoroda";¹⁸ it shapes the "sacral pedagogy of the heart" that endows the pedagogue with powers rivaling those of the Almighty;¹⁹ finally, it is the source of the "varieties of Ukrainian

14. See Liudmila Kostriukova, *P. D. Iurkevich i ego filozofia "serdtsa"* (Dnipropetrovsk: V-vo Dnipropetrovskoho universytetu, 2001), 15.

15. Hnatiuk, *Ukrainskyi kordotsentryzm*, 1.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 5.

18. The logic employed by those who regard Yurkevych as Skovoroda's "son in spirit" is quite symptomatic: "it would be strange if...the philosopher Pamfil Yurkevych had not heard of Hryhorii Skovoroda or remained indifferent to him. Anyone incapable of appreciating the greatness of Skovoroda is no philosopher!... It is therefore most probable that there was indeed a time and place when some work of Skovoroda's or an article about him came into the hands of Pamfil Yurkevych, arousing his acute interest, and he went on to read all the 'Skovorodiana' of his day!" (Volodymyr Bilodid, "Filosofia 'liudyny utaiemnychenoho sertsia,'" *Ukrainskyi svit*, 2002, nos. 7–12: 25).

19. It was Valerii Ilchenko who discovered the existence of this current in our country's nineteenth-century pedagogy and proclaimed Pamfil Yurkevych and Konstan-

cordocentrism”—creative, actional, and introspective.²⁰ The latest oddity brought forth by Ukrainian “cordology” is, in our view, a production in the finest traditions of pseudoscholarly literature and is distinguished by extraordinary artificiality and pointlessness. Even if one leaves it to the author’s conscience to deal with passages about “biological personality,”²¹ the proclamation of Ukrainian cordocentrism as a factor in the religious and philosophical renaissance in Russian culture of the Silver Age,²² and the identification of the gospels of Luke, Matthew, and Mark as the “religious precursors” of Pamfil Yurkevych, while Aristotle, Adam Smith, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Madame de Stael²³ figure as his philosophical forerunners, what is one to make of a typology of Ukrainian cordocentrism derived by juggling the concepts of the “spiritual heart,” feelings, “affect,” and will in a variety of combinations, followed by the construction, for example, of “affective,” “voluntarist,” “affective-voluntarist,” and “voluntarist-emotive” varieties of cordocentrism, while one and the same thinker turns out to be an exponent of two different types of cordocentrism: for instance, Skovoroda is a bearer of creative (philosophical and theosophical) and introspective (voluntarist) cordocentrisms, while Yurkevych’s creative (philosophical) cordocentrism is reconciled with his actional (affective) cordocentrism?

The obstinacy with which the myth of “Ukrainian cordocentric philosophy” continues to be propagated today is particularly surprising, given the existence of well-founded reservations both with regard to the appropriateness of singling out “some particular” tradition of cordo-

tin Ushinsky creators of the “sacral pedagogy of the heart.” Whether those thinkers would rejoice at such a “discovery” may easily be conjectured on the basis of a passage such as the following: “the concept of the **sacral** derives from the Latin *sacri, sacer, sacrum* (holy, sacred, object of worship, venerable, inviolable, noble, religious rite; endowing people, objects and phenomena with sacred content). It follows from this definition that pedagogues, tutors, and teachers should be bearers of divine, sacred faith, the advanced arts, *scientific knowledge of miracle-working* [emphasis added], and the ability to influence their charges, offering them protection and assistance in the course of their personal development. Creating those blessed conditions is the aim and task of sacral pedagogy” (Valerii Ilchenko, “Vvedenie,” in *Sakralnaia pedagogika serdtsa Pamfila Iurkevicha. Khrestomatiia nauchno-khristianskoi pedagogiki* [Luhansk: LOT, 2000], 37).

20. Yaroslav Hnatiuk is responsible for this latest invention of Ukrainian “cordology” (cf. his *Ukrainskyi kordotsentryzm*, 7–15).

21. See Hnatiuk, *Ukrainskyi kordotsentryzm*, 9.

22. Ibid., 10.

23. Ibid., 12.

centric philosophy on Ukrainian soil and about the "Ukrainian" origins of the very idea of cordocentrism—assertions encountered in current historical and philosophical literature. In this connection, let us recall particularly the conclusion drawn by Taras Zakydalsky on the basis of a comparative analysis of the concept of the "heart" in the works of Skovoroda, Yurkevych, Gogol, and Kulish: "Although each of these thinkers used the word 'heart,' it played a different role in the thinking of each of them."²⁴ In one of his later articles, Zakydalsky expressed himself even more categorically: "The thesis that Ukrainian philosophy is 'cordocentric' cannot withstand criticism: first, because the theme of the heart is restricted to just a few thinkers; second, because even among the few thinkers discovered by Chyzhevsky, it is not the principal subject of their reflections; and, finally, because those thinkers do not constitute a philosophical tradition: their teachings about the heart are not mutually related, and each of them approaches the subject from a different perspective and with a different purpose."²⁵

As for the thesis of the "Ukrainianness" of the idea of cordocentrism, its refutation does not even require a textual comparison of Pamfil Yurkevych's well-known article on "The Heart and Its Significance in the Spiritual Life of Humanity According to the Teachings of the Word of God" (1860) with the article on "The System of Biblical Psychology" (1855), no less well known in its day, by the German theologian Franz Delitzsch, as proposed by Roland Pietsch.²⁶ Many such comparisons (entailing the establishment of textual coincidences) may be made not only with Protestant but also Catholic theological literature with reference to biblical teachings about the heart and commentary on that subject grounded in the works of the church fathers. In this connection, finally, it is worth attending to the affirmation with which Yurkevych begins his article on "The Heart": "Whoever reads the word of God with due attention can easily note that *in all the sacred books and all authors inspired by God* [emphasis added] the human heart is regarded as the center of all human bodily and spiritual life; as the most important organ and the most proximate location of all human powers, functions, move-

24. Taras Zakydalsky, "Poniattia sertsia v ukrainskii filosofskii dumtsi," *Filosofska i sotsiologichna dumka*, 1991, no. 8: 137.

25. Taras Zakydalsky, "Doslidy v diaspori nad istorieiu vkrainskoi filosofii," *Filosofska i sotsiologichna dumka*, 1993, no. 4: 95.

26. See Roland Pietsch, *Beiträge zur Entwicklung der Philosophie bei den Ostslawen im 19. Jahrhundert—Pamfil D. Jurkevych (1826–1874)* (Ulm: Humboldt-Studienzentrum Universität, 1992), 81–98.

ments, desires, feelings, and thoughts, with all their directions and gradations.”²⁷ For confirmation of the rightness of Yurkevych’s words, one need only look into the Bible, where the concept of the “heart” is to be encountered at almost every turn, as well as at the patristic texts, in which its significance as a key concept of Christian anthropology and teachings about the knowledge of God is perfectly obvious. Moreover, the significance of the concept of the “heart” is not limited to the Christian tradition, and here one cannot help agreeing with Boris Vysheslavtsev, who stressed its “central place in the mysticism, religion, and poetry of all peoples.”²⁸ Is it love of truth, then, that gives rise to the desire of the apologists of “Ukrainian cordocentrism” to present the “philosophy of the heart” as grounded in “the most characteristic particularities of Ukrainian national psychology and world view”?²⁹

The search for an answer to this question inevitably brings us back to Chyzhevsky and his model of “Ukrainian philosophy” rooted in the “Ukrainian national world view” and, more precisely, in the “Ukrainian psychological makeup.” The nonviability of this model later became apparent to the philosopher himself, who, judging by his later works, distanced himself from the ethnopsychological approach and “impressionistic characterizations” based on “study of the soul.”³⁰ Perhaps this metamorphosis was not uninfluenced by those of Chyzhevsky’s scholarly contemporaries who came to the conclusion that there is no such thing as national character; that it is no more than a myth and an illusion.³¹ It is also worth considering that Chyzhevsky’s retreat from ethnopsychologism took place after the Second World War, which revealed the content and logic of the development of any “national idea” better than any theoretician and showed what evils may be perpetrated “in the name of the people.” Finally, the tenuousness of the link established between philosophy and ethnopsychology in Chyzhevsky’s early works could not fail to become apparent to him in the course of his intensive historical and philosophical studies of the 1930s and 1940s. A heightened “emo-

27. Pamfil Iurkevych, “Sertse ta ioho znachennia u dukhovnomu zhytti liudyny, zhidno z uchenniam slova Bozhoho,” in his *Vybrane* (Kyiv: Abrys, 1993), 73.

28. Boris Vysheslavtsev, “Vechnoe v russkoi filosofii,” in his *Etika preobrazhennogo Erosa* (Moscow: Respublika, 1994), 271.

29. *Rozvytok filosofskoi dumky v Ukraini* (Lviv), no. 1 (1991), 91.

30. See especially Dmytro Chyzhevsky, “S. L. Frank iak istoryk filosofii i literatury,” *Filosofska i sotsiologichna dumka*, 1990, no. 11: 33–45.

31. See, e.g., Hamilton Fyfe, *The Illusion of National Character* (London: Watts, 1940).

tionalism," unwillingness to engage in self-reflection, and the absence of speculative interest in the level of universal characteristics of the Ukrainian mentality are themselves sufficient to negate the possibility of a Ukrainian philosophy: after all, one of the constitutive features of philosophical thinking is *rationality* (not to be confused with rationalism or scientism), or, to cite the words of Vladimir Soloviev, "the unconditionally independent and self-assured activity of human reason."³² This logical contradiction inherent in the model of Ukrainian national philosophy as it took shape in Chyzhevsky's early writings is particularly apparent in the works of his successors, who asserted the tremendous dominance of the "element of feeling and emotion over the intellectual, rational factor"³³ in the Ukrainian mentality, discerning in it a "feature of our national supremacy"³⁴ and maintaining that Ukraine was characterized by a "high level of philosophical creativity among the broad masses of the people."³⁵

Unfortunately, the present-day "cordologists" are by no means preoccupied with such "trivia" as the logically contradictory and illusory nature of the Ukrainian cordocentric philosophy that they never tire of affirming and propagating. They care only about what is "exalted": after all, in their imagination, Ukrainian cordocentrism as a "historical type and paradigm of philosophizing" functions as a "traditional symbol of the national self-awareness of the historical Ukrainian movement, secures its national identity, and promotes the consolidation of the Ukrainian nation."³⁶

But somehow the path being marked out by those who have set themselves to the task of completing "Ukrainian cordocentric philosophy" strikes one as less than attractive. There is room for doubt about the great future of a world view that speaks through the lips of our "cordologists," proclaiming "the movement of feelings," "the spiritual heart penetrated by affect," "will," and "emotion"—in a word, everything but reason—as the wellspring of morality and ethical action.

32. Vladimir Solovev, "Natsionalnyi vopros v Rossii," vyp. 1, in his *Sochineniia*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Pravda, 1989), 1: 348.

33. Ivan Mirchuk, "Istoriia ukrainskoi kultury," in Viktor Petrov, Dmytro Chyzhevsky, and Mykola Hlobenko, *Ukrainska literatura* and Ivan Mirchuk, *Istoriia ukrainskoi kultury* (Munich and Lviv: Ukrainisches Technisch-Wirtschaftliches Institut, 1994), 300.

34. Ievhen Onatsky, "Ukrainska emotsiinizm," in *Ukrainska dusha* (Kyiv: Feniks, 1992), 39.

35. Mirchuk, "Istoriia ukrainskoi kultury," 300.

36. Hnatiuk, *Ukrainskyi kordotsentryzm*, 1.

“Reason,” we are now told, “...is the servant of necessity; hence the individual who relies on it knows only lack of freedom and enslavement, and mere rational cognition only multiplies the chains that fetter human beings to existence.”³⁷ Instead of reason, our “cordologists” propose that we make exclusive use of a “home-grown” product, Ukrainian cordocentrism, which affirms the “dominance of heart over intellect,” and thus the “dominance of freedom over necessity.”³⁸

As they say, no comment required.

37. *Ibid.*, 16.

38. *Ibid.*

The Legacy of Dmytro Chyzhevsky in Ukraine: Reconstruction, Research, Prospects and Tasks*

Iryna Valiavko

The scholarly and archival legacy of Dmytro Chyzhevsky is at last gradually making its way back to Ukraine: Chyzhevsky's name is now known not only to a restricted scholarly milieu but also to fairly broad circles of educated Ukrainians; his works are beginning to be studied in various regions of Ukraine, and many of them are in current scholarly circulation.¹ Thus we may assert that the culture of the Ukrainian "home-land," which banished one of its eminent countrymen from its scholarly ranks for more than half a century, has finally "rediscovered" him and taken him to its bosom.² Nevertheless, Chyzhevsky himself was never displaced from the Ukrainian context and remained bound to Ukrainian culture, to whose development and study he made a significant contribution, by many spiritual ties.³ An important methodological aspect of

* This article is a revised and enlarged version of a paper given at an international conference devoted to Dmytro Chyzhevsky that was held in Halle, Germany, in May 2007

1. I would like to stress that in this article I consciously limit the range of available material and consider Dmytro Chyzhevsky only in the Ukrainian context, analyzing his contribution to Ukrainian studies. His scholarly interests were not restricted to that field: he studied the intellectual history of Slavdom as a whole and made a weighty contribution to the cultures of many Slavic peoples.

2. It is worth noting that throughout this period the Ukrainian diaspora extensively availed itself of Chyzhevsky's legacy and that he worked with many Ukrainian institutions and scholarly associations abroad.

3. For more detailed biographical information, see my article "Notes towards an Intellectual Biography of Dmytro Chyzhevsky," *Journal of Ukrainian Studies* 30, no. 1 (2005): 75–95.

his work, in my opinion, was his practice of approaching Ukrainian intellectual history within the all-European context. Chyzhevsky noted that "the point of applying an all-European schema of cultural development to the Ukrainian past is that thereby we are obliged to recognize Ukrainian cultural development as a component of general European development and Ukrainian culture as part of the European whole; if Ukrainian cultural development underwent the same stages as European development in general, it was not because 'influences' came to Ukraine from outside and 'agents' and 'factors' of foreign provenance were active in Ukraine but because Ukraine, as part of the European cultural whole, underwent the same internal processes as the whole to which it belongs."⁴ The thematic range of Chyzhevsky's work in Ukrainian studies is broad and multifaceted, beginning with studies of the literature and culture of Kyivan Rus' and ending with an analysis of Ukrainian intellectual life in the nineteenth century. For all the thematic and temporal diversity of Chyzhevsky's scholarly interests, however, they may be divided into several main currents: the history of philosophy and literature, the study of culture, and Germanoslavica (that is, the influence of the ideas of German thinkers on the development of Slavic, and particularly Ukrainian, intellectual history). Chyzhevsky's greatest contribution was his research on the history of philosophy and literature in Ukraine, and it is worth dwelling on this at least briefly.

Dmytro Chyzhevsky was the author of the first serious, methodologically grounded works on the history of Ukrainian philosophy, which laid the foundations for the development of this field of the humanities in Ukrainian studies. Until his works appeared, that branch of Ukrainian culture remained practically unstudied, and the publications that appeared on the subject in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were more popular than scholarly in character.⁵ Only with the appearance of such monographs of Chyzhevsky's as *Filosofia na Ukraini. Sproba istoriografii pytannia* (Philosophy in Ukraine: An Essay in the Historiography of the Problem; Prague, 1926), *Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini* (Sketches in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine; Prague, 1931), and *Filosofia H. S. Skovorody* (The Philosophy of H. S. Skovo-

4. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, "Kulturno-istorychni epokhy," in his *Ukrainske literaturne baroko. Vybrani pratsi z dawnoi literatury* (Kyiv: Oberehy, 2003), 351.

5. See Cl. Hankiewicz [Klymentii Hankevych], *Grundzüge der slavischen Philosophie* (Cracow, 1869); Vasyl Shchurat, *Ukrainski dzherela do istorii filosofii* (Lviv, 1908).

roda; Warsaw, 1934)⁶ can we speak of the true beginnings of Ukrainian studies in history and philosophy as an independent branch of scholarship.⁷ Setting forth his methodological principles in *Sketches in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine*, Chyzhevsky advances the hypothesis that the specific features of a national philosophy are characterized by three factors: the form of expression of philosophical thinking, the method of philosophical research, and the structure of a philosophical system, which determines the status and role of particular values within that system. In Chyzhevsky's opinion, the eminent thinkers of every nation bear these characteristics.⁸ Ukrainian philosophical thought in particular is represented by Hryhorii Skovoroda, Nikolai Gogol (Mykola Hohol), Pamfil Yurkevych, Mykola Kostomarov, and Panteleimon Kulish. It might be objected that these figures differ considerably from one another by level of education, nature of activity, and subject matter of works. Moreover, none of the Ukrainian thinkers put forward by Chyzhevsky created a philosophical system of his own. Nevertheless, I think they may be regarded as representatives of "philosophical culture" not in the narrowly professional but in the broader sense. After all, works of literature and essays may contain profound expressions of philosophical thinking and well-grounded philosophical reflections of their authors. And with regard to the general context of culture as a whole, these works are no less important than, let us say, professional works of philosophical theory. Taking this into account, Chyzhevsky considers the development of philosophy in Ukraine as the development of philosophical culture and philosophical thought in general, basing himself both on

6. Before the appearance of the monograph about Skovoroda, Chyzhevsky wrote a German version of it that remained unpublished but has been preserved in manuscript. Decades later, Chyzhevsky published a German-language work on Skovoroda under a different title: D. Tschizewskyj, *Skovoroda. Dichter, Denker, Mystiker*, Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies 18 (Munich: Fink, 1974). This version of the work differs from the others in the composition of its sections and additions to its content (my German colleague Wladimir Janzen has also written about this). These three versions of Chyzhevsky's work await further research and study. I shall note only that the Ukrainian version of Chyzhevsky's work has already been reprinted twice in Ukraine (unfortunately, without commentary or a serious scholarly apparatus). See D. Chyzhevsky, *Filosofiiia H. S. Skovorody*, ed. Leonid Ushkalov (Kharkiv: Acta, 2003); D. Chyzhevsky, *Filosofski tvory u 4-kh tomakh*, ed. V. S. Lisovy (Kyiv: Smoloskyp, 2005), 1: 163–388.

7. On this, see also an article by a well-known Ukrainian scholar, the late Vilen Horsky, "Dmytro Chyzhevskyi iak istoryk filosofii Ukrainy" in Chyzhevsky, *Filosofski tvory*, 1: xxxi–xxxviii.

8. D. Chyzhevsky, "Narysy z istorii filosofii na Ukraini," in *Filosofski tvory*, 1: 10.

professional works of philosophy and on works that do not conform to that criterion.

The growth and development of philosophical culture in Ukraine, like any process that takes place within particular historical time frames, has passed through various stages and felt the influence of other cultures. Chyzhevsky considered that the development of philosophical thinking in Slavdom as a whole was significantly influenced by German thinkers. As for Ukraine, he maintained that it had been most greatly influenced by German mystics, as well as by representatives of German romanticism and idealism—Georg W. F. Hegel, Friedrich Schelling, and Johann Friedrich Schiller—since it was their ideas that had broad resonance in the Ukrainian lands. Many of Chyzhevsky's works are devoted to the influence of German philosophical thought on the development of Ukrainian culture, for example, *Magister Johann Herbinii ta ioho knyha pro kyivski pechery 1675 r.* (Master Johann Herbinus and His Book of 1675 about the Kyivan Caves; Prague, 1927); *Zakhidnoevropeiska filozofia v starii Ukraini (XV–XVIII st.)* (West European Philosophy in Old Ukraine from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century; Berlin, 1927); *Skovoroda i nimetska mistyka* (Skovoroda and German Mysticism; Prague, 1929); his book *Hegel in Rußland* (1939, which also includes a great deal of material on Hegelianism in Ukraine); *Ukrainski druky v Halle* (Ukrainian Printed Publications in Halle; Cracow and Lviv, 1943); and *Vplyv filosofii Shellinga (1775–1854) v Ukraini* (The Philosophy of Schelling (1775–1854) and Its Influence in Ukraine; New York, 1956).

In his methodological introduction to *Sketches in the History of Philosophy in Ukraine*, Chyzhevsky also attempts to describe the Ukrainian “national character.” In his view, there are three ways to produce such a description: by researching folk culture, studying the most striking epochs of national history, and analyzing the life and work of the nation's greatest representatives.⁹ On the basis of all three methods, Chyzhevsky attempts to identify the characteristic features of the Ukrainian people, recognizing that these are merely preliminary efforts requiring further research and emphasizing that “the features we have noted are unfortunately very general, and without considerable elaboration they can hardly be considered a basis for a ‘characterology’ of the Ukrainian people.”¹⁰ I shall not dwell in any detail on the description of “national character” advanced by Chyzhevsky or on the possibility of

9. Ibid., 15.

10. Ibid.

such a description in general, as that is a rather broad and somewhat controversial subject requiring special investigation; it does not bear directly on the problem addressed in the present article. I shall note only that the theses advanced by Chyzhevsky may be contradicted or elaborated, and one may propose other ways of resolving these problems, but one cannot help acknowledging that Chyzhevsky's works took the history of Ukrainian philosophy to a new level and gave it a considerable stimulus to further growth. At present Chyzhevsky is acknowledged in Ukraine as the first systematizer of the historical development of philosophy in that country and the founding father of research in that field. In 1999, in recognition of his achievements, the Presidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine established a Dmytro Chyzhevsky Prize for significant achievement in the sphere of philosophy.

No less important was Chyzhevsky's contribution to research on the history of Ukrainian literature. In his fundamental *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury vid pochatku do doby realizmu* (History of Ukrainian Literature from the Beginnings to the Age of Realism; New York, 1956),¹¹ he developed and presented an original conception of the history of Ukrainian literature that differed from the approaches of his predecessors and most particularly from the conceptions of literary scholars in the socialist camp. Chyzhevsky considers artistic creation as an aesthetic phenomenon and analyzes the artistic form of literary works, taking account of the dynamics of literary styles. He treats the latter quite broadly (as stylistic systems, as a system of genres and, in some measure, as world views). For him, the literary process is one of change in style and form. There is clear evidence here of the "structuralist tendencies" of the Prague Linguistic Circle, of which Chyzhevsky was an active member for almost a decade.¹² Chyzhevsky also proposed an interesting periodization of the

11. As early as the 1930s, Chyzhevsky began work on a monograph on the history of Ukrainian literature, some chapters of which were published during the war. See D. Chyzhevsky, *Istoriia ukrainskoi literatury*, bk. 2, IV. *Renesans ta reformatsiia* V. *Barok* (Prague: Vydavnytstvo Iurii Tyshchenka, 1942).

12. During his Prague period (1924–32), Chyzhevsky was a member of the Prague Linguistic Circle and worked actively with its members, who included Josef Vachek, Vilém Mathesius, Jan Mukařovský, Vasyl Simovych, Nikolai Trubetzkoy, Roman Jakobson and others. His membership and activity in this learned society was reflected to some extent in his scholarly opinions and methodological approaches, but he did not become a true "formalist." Chyzhevsky described his membership in the Prague Circle in his memoirs. See D. Tschizewskij, "Prager Erinnerungen. Herkunft des Prager Linguistischen Zirkels und seine Leistungen," in *Sound, Sign and Meaning: Quinquagenary of the Prague Linguistic Circle*, Michigan Slavic Contributions, 6, ed. Ladislav Matejka (Ann

history of Ukrainian literature, dividing it into nine periods. His schema may be contradicted or developed and augmented, but it aptly combines historical and stylistic approaches to the analysis of literary phenomena. In essence, Chyzhevsky summed up the contributions of his predecessors (Mykhailo Hrushevsky, Serhii Yefremov, Mykhailo Vozniak) and proposed a periodization well grounded in scholarly terms that fits logically into the European context.

Another substantial contribution to the development of Ukrainian literary scholarship was Chyzhevsky's *Ukrainskyi literaturnyi barok. Narysy* (The Ukrainian Literary Baroque: Sketches; Prague, 1941–44). Here, too, Chyzhevsky was an innovator, as he was one of the first to speak of the significance of the baroque for Ukrainian culture as a whole and to begin doing serious research on it.¹³ He wrote that for Ukraine the seventeenth century became one of the epochs that long determine a people's historical fate. And for Ukrainian culture this was the time of the flourishing of the baroque, which became if not the "golden" then at least the "silver" century of its development.¹⁴ This is also associated with the rather late arrival of the Renaissance in Ukraine (in the second half of the sixteenth century), where it held sway only briefly. Moreover, in Chyzhevsky's opinion, the Renaissance was indistinct and spiritually "insignificant" in Ukraine. The baroque, by contrast, came to Ukraine at a moment of general quickening in every sphere of existence (after something of a decline), and that circumstance promoted the awakening of cultural needs among all strata of the population. As Chyzhevsky saw it, the fact that the baroque found itself obliged to make up for all the omissions and lacunae of the past was of considerable significance for its flourishing in Ukraine, and that, in turn, promoted the influence of the baroque on Ukrainian culture in general.¹⁵ This is also linked with the

Arbor: Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, University of Michigan, 1976), 15–28.

13. The baroque was one of Chyzhevsky's favorite subjects, and he continued to study it throughout his life. See the interesting introductory article by Renate Lachmann, "Dmitrij Tschizewskij (1894–1977) als Barockforscher," in *Slavische Barockliteratur II. Gedenkschrift für Dmitrij Tschizewskij (1894–1977)* (Munich: Fink, 1983), vii–xi, as well as my article "Dmitrii Chizhevskii kak issledovatel slavianskogo barokko," in *Sbornik. Chelovek v kulture slavianskogo barokko* (Moscow: Institut filosofii RAN, 2007), 116–28.

14. D. Chyzhevsky, "Simnadtsiate stolittia v dukhovnii istorii Ukrainy," in his *Ukrainske literaturne baroko*, 371.

15. *Ibid.*, 370–72.

historical memory of the Ukrainian people, in whose spiritual development the seventeenth century was a turning point of striking significance. Analyzing Chyzhevsky's works on the problems of the baroque, it should be noted that he did not formulate any original "theory of the baroque" of his own.¹⁶ Still, given his broad erudition and masterful research, he managed to discover hitherto unknown "lacunae" in the Slavic cultures that directly influenced the subsequent development of culture as a whole.

Chyzhevsky devoted considerable attention to Ukrainian literature in his well-known *Vergleichende Geschichte der slavischen Literaturen* (Berlin, 1968), considering it in the context of other Slavic literatures and noting its significance in the Slavic world. Besides the above-mentioned fundamental works, Chyzhevsky wrote a considerable number of articles, sketches and essays in which he examined various problems of Ukrainian literary studies, analyzed the works of individual authors, and identified tasks for future research. His achievements in that field were recognized by the naming of the chair of Ukrainian literature at Harvard University after him in the 1970s, while he was still alive. The chair still bears the name of Dmytro Chyzhevsky.

Beyond any doubt, Chyzhevsky's studies greatly enriched Ukrainian culture as a whole. Unfortunately, during his lifetime his works were banned in Ukraine and kept in special collections to which only a limited number of scholars could gain access. Some of them were allowed to acquaint themselves with Chyzhevsky's works, but mainly for the purpose of criticizing him in their writings, which remained the practice for many years. He was labeled a "bourgeois falsifier," an "enemy of the people" and a "Ukrainian nationalist," while his works were considered "Western sabotage."

Only in the 1990s did the situation begin to change fundamentally. Information about Chyzhevsky and his contributions to Ukrainian culture appeared initially in various scholarly publications and journals; then, one by one, his articles began to be published. But all this was rather chaotic, and those interested in Chyzhevsky's scholarly legacy had no easy time locating his works, which required searching masses of publications. Along with articles, some of Chyzhevsky's monographs began to be reprinted. Thus, in 1992, his *Sketches in the History of Philosophy*

16. For more detail on this subject, see the article by Iryna Bondarevska and Larysa Dovha, "The Concept of the Baroque in the Works of Dmytro Chyzhevsky," which appears in this issue.

in Ukraine were published in Kyiv and sold out very quickly, recognized as a work of great value by historians of philosophy. The year 1994 saw the publication of his *Antychna filosofii. Zbirka lektsii* (Classical Philosophy: A Collection of Lectures) and his *History of Ukrainian Literature*. The latter had considerable resonance among literary scholars and was reprinted in 2003. The centennial of Chyzhevsky's birth was widely celebrated in Ukraine in 1994: there was a large international conference in Kyiv that continued in Kirovohrad, which is located in his native region. On the basis of papers delivered at the conference, a collection titled *Dialoh kultur I. Materialy pershykh naukovykh chytan pamiati Dmytra Chyzhevskoho* (Dialogue of Cultures I. Materials of the First Dmytro Chyzhevsky Memorial Lectures; Kyiv, 1996) was published. This work continued, and *Dialoh kultur II* was published in Kyiv in 1999: besides articles devoted to the analysis of Chyzhevsky's legacy, it contained a number of his works that were little known in Ukraine and had been translated into Ukrainian for the first time. In Chyzhevsky's birthplace, the town of Oleksandriia, as part of the festivities marking this notable date, a memorial plaque in his honor was affixed to the building in which the Chyzhevsky family had lived, and one of the town's streets was renamed Chyzhevsky Street. His name was also given to the oblast scholarly library in the town of Kirovohrad, where, thanks to enthusiasts of the cause (especially Oleksandr Chudnov), material on Chyzhevsky's life and work was collected: some of it has been posted on the library's Internet site. In the foyer of the Kirovohrad library there stands a copy of a bust of Chyzhevsky, the original of which was created during his lifetime by the Ukrainian-American sculptor Mirtala Pylypenko-Kardinalowska.¹⁷ In April 2006, at the Philological Institute of the Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, a memorial plaque in honor of Chyzhevsky was unveiled. And in 2007 Chyzhevsky's name was given to the Oleksandriia raion library, located in the building where the Chyzhevsky family used to reside.

The removal of the taboo from Chyzhevsky's name and publications and the publication (even if partial) of his works has given a stimulus to

17. The original of this Chyzhevsky bust is preserved at the Institute of Slavic Studies of Heidelberg University. A copy was made by permission of the sculptress and the institute administration, and in 1999 I brought it to the library as a gift. I also wish to offer sincere thanks to the head of my DAAD program, Professor Willy Birkenmaier, for assistance rendered in the course of producing the copy of the bust and the preparation of requisite documents.

the more profound appreciation of his scholarly legacy.¹⁸ Interest in Chyzhevsky as a scholar and in his works spread easily from central Ukraine to its eastern and western regions, where his scholarly legacy began not only to be studied but also published. The year 2003 proved especially productive in that regard: two of Chyzhevsky's monographs, *The Philosophy of H. S. Skovoroda* and *The Ukrainian Literary Baroque*, were published in Kharkiv, and in Kyiv the Institute of Literature, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, published a collection of his articles on problems of the baroque under the title *Ukrainske literaturne baroko. Vybrani pratsi z davnoi literatury* (The Ukrainian Literary Baroque: Selected Articles on Older Literature). It contained many of Chyzhevsky's works, as well as the reminiscences of his countryman, the political activist and writer Panas Fedenko, and his colleague at Heidelberg University, Andrzej de Vincenz. In the same year, at the Ivan Franko Pedagogical University of Drohobych in western Ukraine, an international seminar devoted to the study of Chyzhevsky's legacy took place. Later, on the basis of the seminar materials, a large and interesting collection was published under the title *Slavistyka, t. 1: Dmytro Chyzhevskiy i svitova slavistyka* (Slavic Studies, volume I: Dmytro Chyzhevsky and Slavic Studies throughout the World). Besides scholarly articles by participants in the seminar, it contains articles by Chyzhevsky himself (in Ukrainian translation), as well as materials from his personal archive and reminiscences about him. Another seminar on this subject was held at the same university in 2005, and a second (no less interesting) volume in this series, *Slavistyka, t. 2*, is to be published.¹⁹ Chyzhevsky's comparative monograph of 1968 on Slavic literatures was translated from the German into Ukrainian for the first time and published in Kyiv in 2005 under the title *Porivnialna istoriia slovianskykh literatur*.

18. Thus, in 1997, I defended a candidate dissertation at the Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, that presented the first fundamental analysis of Chyzhevsky's contribution to research on the history of philosophy in Ukraine. Its title was "Dmytro Chyzhevskiy yak doslidnyk ukrainskoi filosofskoi dumky" (Dmytro Chyzhevsky as a Researcher of Ukrainian Philosophical Thought). In 1999, Andrii Pohorily defended a candidate dissertation entitled "Dmytro Chyzhevskiy yak istoryk filosofii" (Dmytro Chyzhevsky as a Historian of Philosophy). I am aware of several more dissertations devoted to the analysis of Chyzhevsky's scholarly legacy that are currently being written.

19. The conference and the publication of the two volumes of *Slavistyka* were initiated by a group of enthusiastic researchers of Chyzhevsky's legacy in Drohobych, most notably Yevhen Pshenychny and Roman Mnich (who has just become the holder of a professorial chair in Poland).

While conferences, seminars, and publications of particular articles and monographs considerably expanded prevailing notions about Chyzhevsky's scholarly legacy, a representative edition of his scholarly works was conspicuously lacking. Such an edition began to be prepared in the mid-1990s at the H. S. Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy, National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, under the direction of Vasyl Lisovy. Because of adverse financial circumstances, however, it was long impossible to publish that edition. Finally, with the support of the Ukrainian diaspora, most notably the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States, a four-volume edition of Chyzhevsky's selected works, including his contributions to the history of philosophy, literary studies, and the study of culture, was issued in Kyiv in 2005 by the Smoloskyp publishing house. This first comprehensive edition of Chyzhevsky's works brought out on post-Soviet territory gave Ukrainian readers an opportunity to acquaint themselves with a fairly broad range of his publications, many of which had been translated into Ukrainian for the first time. While welcoming its appearance as an important step toward the restoration and assimilation of the legacy of eminent Ukrainian thinkers, notably Dmytro Chyzhevsky, one cannot overlook the sad fact that in practical terms this edition is a mere reprint of his works, not the critical academic edition that it actually should have been. Thus the four-volume edition lacks a scholarly commentary on Chyzhevsky's works and is marked by a number of annoying textual errors that could have been avoided by more detailed and thorough editing.²⁰ All that was done was to provide an index of names (which also contains quite a few serious errors) and indicate the place and date of publication of those editions of Chyzhevsky's works on which the translation was based. That is generally considered inadequate. Yet it applies not only to the four-volume edition of Chyzhevsky's works: practically all his works published in Ukraine have appeared without commentary or scholarly apparatus, and some contain textual errors. True, in defense of the publishers and editors of Chyzhevsky's

20. Thus the publisher's efforts to release this edition as quickly as possible and the rather poor interaction between the publisher and the editorial staff led to the publication of some of Chyzhevsky's texts and introductions to them without the signatures of the authors or editors. Hence the proofs were not given a thorough reading, which led to the appearance of a multitude of textual errors. Other texts were almost omitted from the publication and proofread by the editors at an "accelerated pace," which improved the quality of their work but afforded no opportunity for a thorough correction of errors. All this is most unfortunate, especially as it pertains to the first Ukrainian edition of Chyzhevsky's works, which was so long in the making.

works it may be noted that he had such broad scholarly interests and knowledge of such encyclopedic scope that a commentary on his work would require the recruitment of a strong research team with a generous allowance of time to devote to its labors—and that, unfortunately, has so far proved impossible to accomplish in Ukraine. Thus the question of a critical edition of Chyzhevsky's works with a good scholarly apparatus, well-grounded commentary, and the use of a broad range of research devoted to these problems (some of it published since Chyzhevsky's death) remains open even now.

Nevertheless, in spite of certain unfortunate features of the publication of Chyzhevsky's work in Ukraine, his scholarly legacy is gradually being assimilated into the context of Ukrainian culture and taking on a life of its own. His name is mentioned in many textbooks and methodological aids on the history of philosophy, literary scholarship, and the study of culture, and his works are being cited and analyzed. With every passing year, the number of articles devoted to analyzing Chyzhevsky's works and, to some extent, continuing his scholarly investigations continues to grow. This is clear evidence of interest in his work and serves to reemphasize that for present-day scholars Chyzhevsky's writings are not merely interesting material representing the culture of a bygone century. After all, Chyzhevsky never considered his own research to represent "truth in the last instance"; on the contrary, he strove to initiate further research, identifying long-term tasks and problems to be resolved. It should be noted that some of these tasks have not been carried out even yet and require further investigation. Thus, Chyzhevsky's legacy is no mere historical monument but part of contemporary culture and should therefore be studied and researched, as is apparently being done. But it should not be forgotten that we are operating with only part of Chyzhevsky's legacy, while another fairly significant portion of his scholarly and archival legacy still remains unknown in Ukraine. This raises the question of prospects for further research on Chyzhevsky's legacy. I believe that such prospects exist and that they are not particularly bad, but there are problems as well. One of the most important problems, in my view, is the remoteness and partial inaccessibility of Chyzhevsky's private archive, which is located in Germany, where he spent most of his life. The difficulty is that Chyzhevsky's library and archive, which are preserved in Halle and Heidelberg, do not constitute a single corpus of material. Moreover, his archive, located in Halle and containing material from the 1920s to 1945, is closed to researchers because it is being catalogued, and there is no telling when it will be opened (indeed, it was previously unavailable for free use by research-

ers). As for the Halle portion of Chyzhevsky's library, it has been catalogued by now, and the catalog has been posted on the Internet, but it requires prompt restoration and perhaps even digitalization. Chyzhevsky's library may be consulted directly only at the Institute of Slavic Studies of Halle-Wittenberg University. His archival collection, preserved in the library of Heidelberg University, is available for free use and copying, but it is only partly catalogued, and no one can say when that process will be completed.²¹ Considering the large amount of material in the Chyzhevsky collection and the lack of a detailed finding aid, it is a difficult and sometimes impossible task to locate and process the documents that one requires.²² As for the library component of the Chyzhevsky collection in Heidelberg, it is now preserved only in part,²³ and it is hard to establish the precise number of items in it. These books may be found in the library's general catalog and consulted in its reading room.

As for Chyzhevsky's archival legacy in general, its geography extends far beyond the boundaries of Germany and even Europe: his letters are preserved in the archives of his correspondents throughout the world, and there is little immediate prospect of collecting and processing all this material.

Chyzhevsky's scholarly legacy also remains less than fully collected and does not constitute a corpus of material that can be studied without exerting (sometimes considerable) effort in order to locate a particular source or article. During Chyzhevsky's lifetime, his monographs, articles

21. As far as the cataloguing of Chyzhevsky's Heidelberg archive is concerned, a significant contribution has recently been made by Vincent Sieveking. On the basis of a brief catalog of correspondents that I prepared in the course of my work in the archive, he has compiled a complete and flawless catalog of Chyzhevsky's correspondents, working his way through a great quantity of material and organizing it in appropriate files. Moreover, Mr. Sieveking, a pensioner, has done this work on a volunteer basis.

22. There are also two private collections in Germany with considerable material on the life and work of Dmytro Chyzhevsky. They have been compiled by two serious researchers of his scholarly and archival legacy, Werner Korthaase (Berlin) and Wladimir Janzen (Halle).

23. In 2003 the Chyzhevsky book collection sustained serious losses: for reasons unknown, the administration of the Heidelberg University library sold part of it to the Hatri secondhand bookstore in Heidelberg, thereby violating the university's obligation to preserve Chyzhevsky's archive and library and organize it as a single corpus of material, as promised to Chyzhevsky's daughter, Tetiana, when she presented her father's private collection to the university. There has still been no appropriate reaction to this on the part of the scholarly community. The only scholar to have spoken out is Wladimir Janzen, who bought part of Chyzhevsky's collection from the bookstore at his own expense in order to preserve it. Those books are now part of his large private collection, to which he allows scholars from various countries free access.

and reviews were published in different countries and in various languages:²⁴ finding them today, especially if one is based in Ukraine, is a fairly difficult task. Furthermore, we still have no complete bibliography of Chyzhevsky's works,²⁵ so that at times one has only an approximate notion of what needs to be located, and where. Regardless of all these objective difficulties, which are being overcome, research on Chyzhevsky's legacy goes on and has become an unstoppable process. And it is most important, in my view, that the "restoration" of Chyzhevsky's legacy be associated with the assimilation and reconsideration of his works, that is, with the ability to read his texts, evaluate them critically, and fit them into the structure of present-day scholarship. This is not always the case—yet another significant problem in the assimilation of Chyzhevsky's legacy. As an example, one may cite his attempt to describe the Ukrainian "national character," a problem that he treated quite cautiously, stressing that his observations could hardly be considered definitive without considerable elaboration and research. But some writers take the inappropriate step (to put it mildly) of using these observations of Chyzhevsky's, made as long ago as the 1930s, as a basis for drawing conclusions of their own. Without further investigation, they incorporate those observations into their works, sometimes descending to *reductio ad absurdum* even as they continually stress Chyzhevsky's "irrefutable authority."²⁶ These are manifestations of lamentable misunderstanding and lack of scholarly professionalism that need to be corrected in order to assert the true scholarly value of Chyzhevsky's works.

Thus, as we continue to study Chyzhevsky's legacy, a number of tasks need to be resolved in the course of further research. These include the following:

- the study and assimilation of Chyzhevsky's archival collection and the publication of finding aids;

24. Although most of his works were published in Germany.

25. Several bibliographies of Chyzhevsky's work are available today, but none of them is complete. See *Festschrift für Dmytro Čyževskij zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden and Berlin: Harrassowitz, 1954); *Orbis scriptus: Dmitrij Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich: Fink, 1966); *Vchenyi-entsyklopedyst Dmytro Ivanovych Chyzhevskiy (1894–1977)*. *Bibliografichni pokazhyk*, comp. Oleksandr Chudnov (Kirovohrad: Oblasna universalna naukova biblioteka im. D. I. Chyzhevskoho, 1997). Work is proceeding on the preparation and publication of a complete bibliography.

26. Maryna Trachuk touches on this subject in her article, "Dmytro Chyzhevsky and the Tradition of Ukrainian 'Cordology,'" which appears in this issue.

- the preparation of a new critical edition of Chyzhevsky's works, with commentary and a serious scholarly apparatus;
- the publication of Chyzhevsky's letters, which constitute an important and very interesting part of his legacy, as yet little known in Ukraine and abroad;²⁷
- the critical reconsideration of Chyzhevsky's works and their dissemination in scholarship;
- biographical research on Chyzhevsky's creative path;
- encouraging young scholars to study Chyvesky's legacy;
- the establishment of an international learned society of specialists in Chyzhevsky studies, to which scholars in various countries engaged in researching his legacy should belong.²⁸

These are rather broad and extensive tasks that will take time to accomplish, but carrying out even part of this agenda will give renewed impulse to research on Chyzhevsky's legacy and stimulate deeper reflection on its significance. Chyzhevsky, an eminent thinker of the twentieth century, deserves such attention. Ukrainian by origin, he was European in the broad sense, that is, a man who felt at home in many cultures and aspired to preserve them for future generations. Ukrainian studies were part of his scholarly work; more generally, his plans included research on the intellectual history of various Slavic peoples, as well as comparative studies on the history of philosophy, literature and religion in the Slavic realm. We are already in a position to conclude that despite his

27. Work is proceeding on an edition of Chyzhevsky's selected letters, which is to be issued first by the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute and then in Ukraine.

28. This is already being done to some extent, as there is contact among scholars in various countries who are doing research on Chyzhevsky's legacy. But this takes the form of private contacts and exchanges of information. I think the time has come to establish something more effective: an official international association of researchers of Chyzhevsky's legacy that would unite the efforts of all those interested in preserving and studying the work of this extraordinary thinker.

hard life as an emigrant and a variety of misfortunes, he managed to bring most of his plans to fruition and made a significant contribution to research on many Slavic cultures, notably Ukrainian culture, to the study of which he devoted many years. The legacy of Dmytro Chyzhevsky is thus one of the elements of our culture, to be assimilated and studied as it deserves.

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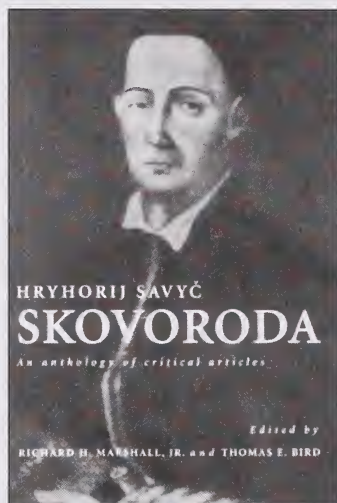
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Book Reviews

Roman Mnykh and Yevhen Pshenychny, eds. *Slavistyka*. Volume 1, *Dmytro Chyzhevsky i svitova slavistyka: Zbirnyk naukovykh prats*. Drohobych: Kolo, 2003. 444 pp.

Dmytro Chyzhevsky is one of the leading names in twentieth-century Ukrainian and Slavic literary criticism. This collection offers commentary on the man and his world, but not many insights into his critical works. Chyzhevsky the critic was viewed as a Russian by many of his acquaintances in postwar Germany, and they found it amusing that he declared himself a Ukrainian upon moving to Harvard (1949–56). As a member of the Russian Social Democratic Party in the Central Rada, he had voted in 1918 against the declaration of Ukrainian independence. However, Russian friends in the United States considered him a “Ukrainian nationalist.” Scholars like Ernest Simmons disliked him because he declared that Vissarion Belinsky’s reputation was one of the most undeserved in all Russian culture. Chyzhevsky made few attempts to endear himself to America, which he considered superficial. He had a very narrow circle of friends at Harvard, thought Cambridge “a hole,” and lamented the fact that “each year fewer and fewer Europeans come to visit.” He refused to speak English, although he understood the language. To be sure, his perceptions were colored by the fact that he was denounced as a Soviet spy on more than one occasion, both by academic colleagues and by members of the Ukrainian emigrant community. At the end of his stay in the United States, he wrote to a colleague that he agreed with Maiakovsky’s pronouncement that America should be “closed down, cleaned up a bit, and then reopened” (p. 51). The scholar was glad to return to Germany in 1956. In the 1960s, Ukrainians accused him of cosmopolitanism, excessive tolerance of Russian, and lack of patriotism (p. 55). Chyzhevsky’s voluminous writings covered Russian, Polish, Czech, and other Slavic literatures, and his wife was Jewish. At the same time, Soviet and East German commentators denounced him as a Ukrainian nationalist. For the record, he always considered himself a Ukrainian. Naturally, he had many admirers. Yurii (George) Shevelov and Yurii (George) Luckyj were two of many who kept up a long correspondence with him.

The key to understanding Chyzhevsky’s literary criticism and his scholarship more broadly is probably his pan-European orientation. An associate of the Prague structuralist circle in the 1920s, he became a student of Edmund Husserl’s in Heidelberg. But his literary criticism also developed in the shadow of Ernst Cassirer and

the generation of comparativists who stubbornly insisted that literature and culture be seen as a European phenomenon. Chyzhevsky always sought to describe the European background to phenomena in Russian, Ukrainian, or other Slavic cultures. His enduring achievements, such as his "discovery" of the Ukrainian baroque as a literary style, or his comparative study of Slavic romanticism, were due to his broad erudition and his ability to see the local phenomenon in terms of the larger European picture. But this advantage was also his downfall. He often tried to fit all phenomena into an overarching scheme that he had conceived a priori. His notorious comment on Ukrainian literature as an "incomplete" literature of an obviously incomplete people stems from this desire to see all phenomena as part of a preordained universal whole: in this case as part of the ebb and flow of the major European styles. Another notorious example is his simplistic reduction of European cultural history to the swinging of a pendulum between two Ur-styles: a continual alternation between the poles of classicism and romanticism, simplicity and complexity, faith in reason and the pull of emotion. The original inspiration for this approach is to be found in the writings of the Russian formalists, who insisted on seeing the evolution of all cultures as a series of radical ruptures, violent clashes, and literary scandals. This was also the view of the Ukrainian critic Viktor Petrov in the interwar years. However, Chyzhevsky was often unable to adjust the telescopic big picture to the microscopic details of textual analysis. Unsupported by evidence from individual writers and works, his sweeping generalizations were unconvincing. The reader sometimes feels that he is left with a historiosophical scheme that bears little relevance to the material in hand. The weaknesses of Chyzhevsky's approach have been criticized by George Grabowicz in a long dissection of the scholar's *History of Ukrainian Literature*. Some further insightful, if rather unflattering, comments about Chyzhevsky can be found in Sherekh's (Shevelov's) recently published memoirs.

The present collection contains ten articles that add to our knowledge of the scholar's biography, with contributions on his work in Prague, Heidelberg, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. These are by Roman Mnykh, Zoriana Petrukhina, Halyna Udiak, Volodymyr Kemin, Mykola Zymomia, and Mark Holberh (all from Drohobych), Iryna Valiavko (Kyiv), and Werner Korthaase (Berlin). There are also six recollections about Chyzhevsky by Hans-Georg Gadamer, Andrzej de Vincenz, Dietrich Gerhardt, Hans-Jürgen zum Winkel, Assya Humesky, and Osyp Danko. Fifty-five letters that constitute the scholar's correspondence with the educational activist and linguist Vasyl Simovych are also included. These provide a more rounded picture of the man and his time than has hitherto been available. The collection disappoints in its failure to advance our understanding of Chyzhevsky's literary and cultural criticism. There is nothing on his studies of Skovoroda or of Hegel in Russia. As though to compensate for the lack of a thorough analysis of Chyzhevsky's literary and cultural criticism, the editors reprint four essays by Chyzhevsky: "Do problem baroko" (On the Problems of the Baroque), "Deiaki problemy porivnialnoi istorii slovianskykh literatur" (Some Problems in the Comparative History of Slavic Literatures), "Knyha iak symbol kosmosu" (The Book as a Symbol of the Cosmos), and "Svedenborg u slovian" (Swedenborg among the Slavs). The first still stands up remarkably well. The second, however, appears extremely dated today. At one point, for example, the scholar offers the following instructions to those in the field of

Slavic studies: "Every [Slavic] scholar can easily research all the Slavic literatures as an indispensable supplement [*dopovnennia*] to the works of West European literary historians, who generally either neglect Slavic literatures completely or examine them in a way that makes one wish that they would stay away from this branch altogether" (p. 355). Not only do Slavic scholars need to know all, or most, Slavic literatures, they also have to adapt their scholarship to current West European scholarship by producing "supplements." This approach leaves no room for understanding a Slavic literature as a *sui generis* phenomenon or for the emergence of a school of literary criticism in Eastern Europe or...North America. The sentiment simultaneously captures both Chyzhevsky's at times infuriating "Eurocentrism" and his exhilarating and challenging intellectual ambition for the field of Slavic studies.

This volume is the result of a conference held in Drohobych at the State Pedagogical University on 17–18 May 2003. There is a useful index of names, and care has been taken to provide substantial footnotes of an explanatory nature. It represents a first attempt in contemporary Ukraine to stimulate research on Chyzhevsky, who was both a complex individual and an important scholar.

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Alexander Kratochvil. *Mykola Chvyli'ovyy: eine Studie zu Leben und Werk*. Slavistische Beiträge, vol. 379. Munich: Otto Sagner, 1999. 244 pp. Paper.

Few Soviet Ukrainian writers have enjoyed as sweeping a rehabilitation as has Mykola Khvylioviy. Long undeservedly vilified by Soviet and diaspora Ukrainian critics alike, he has gradually reclaimed the leading position that he held on the Ukrainian literary scene of the 1920s, thanks to the appearance in North America of Hryhorii Kostiuk's five-volume edition of his collected works (1978–86). A complete two-volume Ukrainian edition, which felicitously came out in the year of the Soviet Union's demise, has ensured Khvylioviy an avid new readership, as independent Ukraine, carving out a post-Soviet identity for itself, comes to grips with his once again topical exhortation, "Away from Moscow!"

Alexander Kratochvil's study does broad justice to Khvylioviy the man and the writer by debunking the long-standing myths of traditional biographical/textual approaches. The first two of the book's four chapters are devoted to a "biographical sketch" and an account of Khvylioviy's organizational activity, including his participation in the so-called literary discussion of 1925–28. Reworking earlier commentaries, Kratochvil presents a sensible case for dismissing popular conjectures about Khvylioviy's civil-war activity and suicide, whose persistence owes much to hitherto failed attempts to unearth more conclusive source material. By the same token, the author does not shy away from his subject's immodest ambitions in striving to chart new directions for Ukrainian literature, noting that Khvylioviy was both "victim and culprit." The last two chapters, making up almost two-thirds of the book, address the question of conceptual and artistic influences across a judicious selection of

Khvylioviy's journalistic writings, experimental prose, and postrevolutionary satire. Noteworthy in this respect is Kratochvil's correction of the widespread notion that Khvylioviy was susceptible to the influence of Boris Pilniak and his adept analysis of Khvylioviy's rewriting of Russian narrative traditions and Western-inspired Ukrainian modernism. The latter is well served by a reading of "The Poodle" as an implicit deconstruction *avant la lettre* of Kotsiubynsky's "On the Road."

Kratochvil's book deserves special praise for its account of Khvylioviy's reception of Spengler (chapter three), easily the most comprehensive provided by any scholar to date. The author contextualizes Khvylioviy's borrowings from *The Decline of the West* within the selective popularity that the work enjoyed in the pan-Slavic *Zeitgeist* of pre- and postrevolutionary Russia. The result is a persuasive explanation of how Khvylioviy's perplexingly metaphorical concepts of an "Asiatic Renaissance" and "romantic vitaism" draw on the literariness of Spengler's writing while reformulating the German philosopher's theory of cycles for the purposes of Ukrainian cultural messianism. In this regard, Kratochvil demonstrates that a central role is played by Khvylioviy's analogy between postrevolutionary Ukraine and *Sturm und Drang* Germany, as well as by his conception of the old "European-Faustian type" reinvigorated by Ukraine's "Asian vitality." Both these latter categories are appropriations of Spenglerian cultural types—the latter, as the author points out, being a more accurate transposition of the "undiscovered magical (Arabic) type" than the magical Russian spirit popularized by the Eurasian school. Kratochvil usefully frames these conceptual appropriations in a typological reading of *The Woodsnipes* in which Dmitrii's rejection of the Russocentric Ukrainian provincialism represented by his wife, Hanna, and his seduction by the vital European/Faustian figure of Aglaia serve as potent symbols of Ukraine's social and cultural regeneration beyond the confines of national (Russian) Bolshevism.

Kratochvil's other comparative analyses have, however, the slight drawback of casting Khvylioviy in a rather derivative light. This impression could easily be banished (or more fully justified) by some consideration of Khvylioviy's readership and the sociolinguistic dynamics and preferences that underpinned it. Indeed, the author's allusion to the tenuous hold of the Ukrainian language in Ukrainian cities and on the country's intelligentsia invites such consideration (p. 122). Closer attention to textual continuity between Khvylioviy the cultural polemicist and Khvylioviy the writer—specifically, how the strategies of the former are inherited by the latter in seeking to engage the reader—could also be profitably factored into the broad discussion of narrative technique. This would serve as a useful methodological link in the book's twin approach of literary-historical and intertextual analysis. The preponderance of artificial dialogue in *The Woodsnipes* is a clear case in point. On an unrelated note, the author's dismissal of borrowed names in *The Woodsnipes* as a "diversionary tactic" (p. 124) overlooks a crucial metaliterary device that inscribes Ukraine's historically Russocentric cultural orientation in a work arguing against its continuation.

Kratochvil's study is well researched, and his bibliography usefully supplements that of the five-volume edition with titles that have appeared in Ukraine and in the West since 1986. The short-chapter format, a legacy of the book's evolution from a doctoral dissertation, makes for digestible reading. Unfortunately, typographical er-

rors occur frequently in Ukrainian-language quotations, most irritatingly in the alternation of *i/i/и* (even *ы* makes an indiscreet appearance on p. 139). Slight over-zealousness in inserting parenthetical exclamation marks where quoted text is grammatically correct also needs to be attended to (“*І хто зна,*” p. 33, and “*hrupy*” on p. 39). By rights, the author’s rendering of the pseudonym Khvyliovy as “*augenblicklich, plötzlich, unbeständig*” (p. 14) should admit the dual meaning of the derivative *khvylia* (“wave,” as well as the more archaic “minute, moment”). For this reviewer, the more “romantically vitaistic” association with “wave” has been the favored one.

All in all, Kratochvil’s book competently revisits and adds much-needed substance to several commonplaces in Khvyliovy scholarship, inviting a more informed reading of cultural and ideological inscriptions in Khvyliovy’s fictional prose. In the case of Spengler’s influence on Khvyliovy’s oeuvre, Kratochvil provides a definitive account that will doubtless be the point of departure for further treatment of this question.

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Vitaly Chernetsky. *Mapping Postcommunist Cultures: Russia and Ukraine in the Context of Globalization*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006. xxii, 361pp.

This is one of the first books to attempt a comprehensive description of the cultural logic operating in postcommunist Russia and Ukraine. Although it does not focus on popular or mass culture, it succeeds in surveying a broad range of literary phenomena while simultaneously drawing analogies to art and cinema. The first half of the book deals with Russian literature. It contains chapters on “sots-art” or conceptualism, heterotopic texts, gender issues, and queer sexuality. The second half of the book examines developments in Ukrainian literature, devoting chapters to magic realism, carnivalesque writing, and writing on gender issues. Although Chernetsky finds parallels between Russian sots-art and the carnivalesque poetry of Bu-Ba-Bu, and between Russian heterotopic prose and Ukrainian magic realism, his conclusion is that the “logical accents” in the two literatures are different, and discrete evolutionary dynamics have led to radically different responses—particularly to issues of national identity, post-imperial melancholy, and gender.

The examination of literary texts is preceded by a long (fifty-two-page) survey of theoretical literature dealing with postmodernism and postcolonialism. The author argues for the inclusion of Second World experience (by which he essentially means that of postcommunist societies) in the global cultural models and analytical frameworks associated with postmodernism and postcolonialism. This introduction begins with a forceful repudiation of critics who have dismissed such inclusion as an absurdity, apparent anomaly, or oxymoron, and lauds those critics, like Susan Buck-Morse and David Chioni Moore, who have argued the opposite. Chernetsky indi-

cates aspects of the theoretical literature that he feels can usefully be applied to an analysis of contemporary Russian and Ukrainian culture. These aspects include Jean Baudrillard's idea of "simulacra" replacing reality, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's idea of "rhizomatic" construction, Linda Hutcheon's idea of historiographical "metafiction," and most particularly Fredric Jameson's concepts of cognitive mapping and national allegory. In Chernetsky's opinion, these elements of postmodernism/postcolonialism/postcommunism can engage in a form of resistance to received ideas and imperial legacies, providing "ground for the continuing affirmation of the principle of hope in contemporary culture" (p. 12).

Chernetsky's account is illuminating on Russian and Ukrainian critical theory. He demonstrates the strong resistance, particularly on the part of critics in Russia, to the postcolonial, and their misreading of Western postmodernist discourse. At the same time, he argues that feminist and postcolonial theory has enjoyed a boom in Ukraine. Although there is widespread confusion about the meaning of both "postmodernist" and "postcolonial," since both terms are often applied loosely, with no serious attempt to define them, Chernetsky argues that when it comes to postcolonialism, Ukraine is "slowly but surely witnessing the establishment of a rich idiosyncratic intellectual discourse on the topic" (p. 48). This may be a rather premature judgment, not only because of the term's semantic inflation, but also in light of the still widespread ignorance of the intellectual contexts that have given rise to the discourse of postcolonialism.

Chernetsky takes issue with Marko Pavlyshyn's presentation of postmodernism, which he finds too focused on the playful and cathartic, and too dismissive of internal contradictions, especially its homophobic and xenophobic aspects. It is these that Chernetsky brings to light in his discussion of both Russian and Ukrainian literature. In a similar vein, the critic finds that Pavlyshyn presents postcolonialism as "too utopically happy and coherent a phenomenon." Whereas Pavlyshyn sees anticolonialism as caught in a structure of negation and resistance, and suggests that postcolonialism liberates itself from the past by using old myths playfully to construct a new identity, Chernetsky insists that most critics would see the anticolonial and postcolonial dynamics as much more closely interconnected. The postcolonial must both recall the colonial past and work through it. This involves the reconquest of a national identity that is still unknown to many readers—a view that would be echoed by many intellectuals in Ukraine. The advantage of Pavlyshyn's formulation, however, lies in its accentuating the need to get beyond the victim complex and the eventually debilitating focus on national traumas. The danger is that an excessive concern with these can lead to an obsession with national exclusiveness.

In fact, such a danger is posed by Chernetsky's own privileging of Frederic Jameson's view of reading for the national allegory. In contrast to Western literature, where the radical disjunction between private and public supposedly makes this impossible, all postcolonial texts, according to Jameson, should be read in this way, for in postcolonial texts the story of private individual destiny is always an allegory of the public, postcolonial culture and society. This view comes close to forcing a reductive reading on all contemporary texts. It is precisely against reductive political interpretations, so familiar to them from Soviet days, that many writers have rebelled. Of course, the enrichment of a writer's work by a wide and deeply felt politi-

cal awareness is an advantage, but the requirement that all literary production be viewed in this way eliminates the possibility of reading through other contexts. In fact, it would once more compartmentalize and limit Second and Third World literatures. As Chernetsky realizes, this is precisely the trap that Russian and Ukrainian literature have sought to escape since early Soviet days and the Literary Discussion of the twenties. Hence the need to go beyond the "anti" to the "post," widely felt among writers and critics, may not be well served by a focus on the political/national allegorical.

Many readers will find Chernetsky's reading of particular authors rewarding. In the section on Russian literature he deals with Igor Irtenev, Vladimir Druk, Aleksandr Levin, Vladimir Sorokin, Mikhail Kuraev, Evgenii Laputin, Venedikt Erofeev, Viktor Pelevin, Elena Tarasova, Svetlana Vasilenko, Nina Iskrenko, Valeriia Narbikova, Yaroslav Mogutin, and Evgenii Kharitonov. In the section on Ukrainian literature he focuses primarily on Valerii Shevchuk, Yurii Vynnychuk, Yurii Andrukhovych, and Oksana Zabuzhko. The sections on Kharitonov as a practitioner of an *écriture gaie* and on Mogutin as a subverter of stable constructs of sexuality and nationhood are especially strong. His final chapter, which focuses on the body as marked in Ukrainian culture by gender and national identification, is another highlight. Indeed, Oksana Zabuzhko, the last author discussed, emerges in many ways as a paradigmatic case. She has worked through the national and sexual traumas that haunt the contemporary Ukrainian cultural consciousness, and her writing offers one of the most powerful explorations of the position of women in the postcolonial order, along with strategies of national recuperation and affirmation. It is precisely the conjunction of the emancipatory feminist and nationalist, as exemplified by Zabuzhko, that mark the best of contemporary Ukrainian literature and distinguish it strongly from Russian writing. In this context, not the least interesting part of the book is Chernetsky's deconstruction of the so-called Kharkiv Center for Gender Studies, which is not only poorly informed about Western feminism but also fiercely anti-Ukrainian. The Center attempts to link Ukrainian national discourse with anti-feminism. Chernetsky demonstrates the outlandishness of this claim and the Center's profound ignorance of Ukrainian literary and cultural traditions. He concludes that "the Kharkiv school offers a bizarre latter-day confirmation of Fanon's insight: a colonial subject comes to experience the metropolis as the norm and *him/herself* as the Other" (p. 240).

The author succeeds not only in showing how the three "posts" (postmodernism, postcolonialism, and postcommunism) are linked, but also in demonstrating how developments in Russian and Ukrainian literature can be examined within the chosen comparative framework.

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Liudmyla Skoryna. *Literatura ta literaturoznavstvo ukrainskoi diaspori. Kurs leksii*. 2d ed. Cherkasy: Brama-Ukraina, 2005. 384 pp.

This is a textbook (*navchalnyi posibnyk*) for school and university students, which probably explains the demand for a second edition. It was brought out thanks to the support of Yar Slavutych, who has supported the publication of similar textbooks. Most importantly, it demonstrates interest in Ukrainian literature produced abroad as a significant cultural phenomenon and an integral part of the Ukrainian literary process. In her timely work, the author addresses a serious issue in Ukrainian literary criticism, in which the “displacement” of some works and writers has been ignored, either by treating them as mainstream writers (e.g., Volodymyr Vynnychenko) or by omitting specific details pertinent to diaspora life (e.g., Ulas Samchuk’s novel *Na tverdii zemli*).

The textbook consists of six lectures: 1) historical phases of the Ukrainian emigration; 2) public and literary organizations of Ukrainians abroad; 3) poetry of the Ukrainian diaspora; 4) prose; 5) dramaturgy; and 6) literary studies. Each lecture is accompanied by a bibliography and methodological recommendations (e.g., the number of hours appropriate to each lecture), while the text presents both an overview and literary portraits. Although this book has some merit as an educational tool, it also contains a number of controversial and erroneous statements and tautologies. There are significant omissions as well. This highlights a recurring problem in current Ukrainian literary discourse that has been articulated by George Grabowicz: is the production of such all-embracing works justified, inasmuch as they prioritize superficial and general descriptions over critical analysis? The work under review highlights the pitfalls of such “big narratives”: the vastness of the material is part of the reason for the book’s numerous shortcomings.

The genre-based structure of the book is valid, but the presentation of material lacks balance and consistency. It is not clear why the author discusses Canadian pioneer poetry while completely ignoring the prose of this period, represented by such important authors as Illia Kiriak, Vasyl Sofroniv-Levytsky, Myroslav Irchan, and Mykhailo Petrivsky (the latter three are mentioned only as playwrights). Following Leonid Rudnytzky’s approach, Skoryna discusses only the prose of the post-World War II period and then returns to the previous period to analyze drama.

Certain works, writers and regions are neglected. For instance, in analyzing the poetry of the third wave of Ukrainian emigration, Skoryna emphasizes Canadian poetry. The writings of Yar Slavutych are discussed at considerable length (pp. 130–49), while the overview takes up only a few pages (pp. 127–30), ignoring the innovative poet Oleh Zujewskyj. Skoryna might justify her approach by a desire to introduce noncanonical writers, such as Mykola Lazorsky, Sviatomyr Fostun, and Ilarion Cholhan. Even so, she is inconsistent in her presentation of well-known writers (e.g., Yevhen Malaniuk) and individual works (e.g., *Soniachna mashyna*).

The style of the book resembles that of a reference work, and the text has been put together on the basis of existing textbooks on the subject, a method that produces imbalance and the repetition of clichés. In discussing the Ukrainian Artistic Move-

ment (MUR) of the DP period, Skoryna associates it with Soviet literature in general instead of distinguishing specific trends, such as the romantic school of Mykola Khvyliovyy (pp. 41–42). In describing Vynnychenko's *Soniachna mashyna*, she sometimes incorporates whole paragraphs of Marko Pavlyshyn's article on this writer without supplying quotation marks (pp. 258, 260). This dependence on existing sources affects the exposition (the author jumps from critical passages to bombastic ones) and incorporates outdated references. For example, the author states that only two hundred Ukrainians live in Spain today, whereas the latest statistics, which take account of recent labor emigration, indicate two hundred thousand (p. 28). Deceased individuals (e.g., Danylo Husar Struk) and defunct organization (e.g., *Slovo*) are mentioned as part of the current literary scene.

Some of the author's misleading observations are puzzling. For instance, she aligns Dmytro Dontsov with Yuriy Lypa in their utilitarian approach to literature, opposing them to the aesthetically oriented group *My*, even though Lypa later rebelled against Dontsov and became close to *My*; ascribes social-democratic views to Vynnychenko during the interwar period, although he renounced them after the collapse of the UNR; emulates certain Ukrainian critics who date Vynnychenko's émigré writings from *Soniachna mashyna*, omitting his first period of emigration in the years 1907–14 (p. 256); and assumes that Myroslav Irchan did not support Ukrainian independence (p. 297).

Such questionable judgments also extend to her profiles of certain works and writers. It is hard to see what synthesis of Ukraine, Western Europe, and aristocratism is to be found in Leonid Mosendz's long story "Zasiv," a highly didactic work for youth about how to get rid of the national inferiority complex and become a true Ukrainian (p. 63). Readers will probably take issue with Skoryna's rather naïve analysis of Slavutych's ballad "Three," which idealizes Ukrainian immigrants' love of freedom and industriousness, as contrasted with the English and French preoccupation with "profit" and "fun" (all personified in Ivan, John, and Jean, p. 144). She offers a literal interpretation of Vynnychenko's plays *Velykyi sekret* (p. 306) and *Prorok* (pp. 308–10), missing their main ideas: the corruption of human nature under "savage" capitalism and the transformation of attractive ideologies into dogmas to support established power relations in society. Such deficiencies are to be found throughout the text: Skoryna's uncritical analysis of Vynnychenko's novel *Leprozoarii* is based on Halyna Syvachenko's study; she refers to Emma Andriiivska's surrealist novel *Roman pro dobru liudynu* as a work of realism (p. 274).

The book is rife with annoying technical shortcomings, such as inconsistency: one paragraph states that Vasyl Barka worked on his novel *Zhovtyi kniaz* for twenty-five years, while the next says that he completed it in two (p. 236); the section on the fourth wave of emigration begins with the dissidents of the 1970s (p. 333) but is then dated from the late 1980s (p. 294); dates of birth and death are given for some writers but not others. There are chronological lapses (Struk comes before Borys Oleksandriv and Lazorsky before Lypa and Mosendz) and factual errors (Ihor Kostetsky's real name is given as Ivan Merzhiakov, 1913–1984, instead of the correct Ihor Merzhiakov, 1913–1983 [p. 322]; the photograph of Bohdan Boychuk is captioned as "Bohdan Rubchak"). In discussing the periodization and scope of Ukrainian diaspora literature in the preface, Skoryna lists a number of approaches employed by Sla-

vutych, Kostiuk, Grabowicz, Struk, and Soroka. Even though the last of these favors the inclusion of writers born in new countries of residence, Skoryna omits them from her discussion and mentions only a few—Vasyl Paluk, Yurii George Ryga (should be George Ryga), Ted Galay, and Ray Lapica—as playwrights. Referring in the text to important authors of works on Ukrainian literature in the diaspora (Petro Kravchuk and Mykhailo Marunchak, p. 50), Skoryna omits them from her bibliography, which lists numerous minor publications, including some that appeared in periodicals (e.g., *Literaturna Ukraina*, *Ukrainska mova ta literatura*, *Ukraina*, and *Holos Ukrainy*). Nor does she refer to English-language sources, which would have strengthened her work.

Overall, the work under review does not qualify as a significant contribution to contemporary Ukrainian literary discourse. It may, however, be used with caution as a textbook that provides references for studying the literature of the Ukrainian diaspora. It should be noted that Ukrainian educational institutions often lack primary sources and rely on textbooks of this kind. That traditional deficiency must be remedied, and the authors of textbooks should be more critical and exacting in their work, distinguishing, for example, between levels of discourse appropriate to pupils and university students.

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Paul D'Anieri. *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design*. Armonk, N.Y., and London: M. E. Sharpe, 2007. x, 297 pp.

Ukraine is not unique. Its political system hovers somewhere between authoritarianism and liberal democracy in a netherworld that Paul D'Anieri calls "electoral authoritarianism." This intermediate world comprises a great many other contemporary countries, within the former Soviet Union and without. While the Orange Revolution marked a potential turning point for Ukraine, an opportunity to leave behind the power politics of the Kuchma era, achieving consolidated democracy is today no more inevitable than it was in 1991. Being abnormal, neither authoritarian nor democratic, might well become the new normal.

"Electoral authoritarianism" is D'Anieri's term for a series of states around the world that have discarded the traditional means of (or substitutes for) authoritarian legitimation (coercion, ideology, and intimidation or terror) in favor of elections. Nevertheless, apart from democratic elections, everything else to do with government is highly politicized and arbitrary. This includes law enforcement, the judiciary, executive-legislative relations, the media, the economy, and public administration and patronage. He illustrates the applicability of this concept by reference to Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, and Venezuela. (Hugo Chavez's acquisition of still greater powers in early 2007 fits the pattern marvelously.) Ukraine has, up to now, shared these countries' principal features: democratic elections plus authoritarian government.

Ukraine's politics are the result of an unfortunate institutional design—an overly strong presidency together with a correspondingly weak parliament—coupled with a tendency to resort to informal “power politics” instead of regular procedures and rules. This configuration was reinforced by the country's Soviet institutional legacy, the absence of revolution on the road to democracy, weak political parties, the electoral laws enacted along the way, and regional cleavages. Leonid Kuchma's two terms as president (1994–2004) also contributed significantly. The lesson is clear: “presidentialism” is inappropriate for Ukraine, but, having become institutionalized, it will be difficult to modify, notwithstanding the constitutional changes of 2004. With constitutional changes having come into effect in 2006, Ukraine may now begin to move away from authoritarianism—and back into deadlock, ineffective government, and instability.

D'Anieri's new book transcends all earlier work on Ukrainian politics—the descriptive studies and chronological political histories. It is truly comparative, and the richer for it. He makes excellent use of standard works in comparative politics by the likes of Arend Lijphart, Giovanni Sartori, and Juan Linz (although he might have delved just a bit further into the literature on presidentialism *versus* parliamentarism in new democracies). He identifies the gaps in that literature, too, such as the origins of institutional designs and the formation of political parties. There is in this work an amazingly keen sensitivity to power, its location and exercise. His model of “machine politics” is extremely helpful. Focusing on institutions, and on the actors within them, D'Anieri offers an interpretation of Ukrainian politics that no one with a serious interest in the topic can afford to neglect. Those earlier tomes will still be needed to cover the basics for undergraduates; *Understanding Ukrainian Politics* can be used for senior and graduate courses and seminars to assess current developments in a more rigorous rather than anecdotal manner.

In the final chapter of this book the author offers suggestions for a series of reforms that Ukraine needs in order to extricate itself from “electoral authoritarianism.” It will be an uphill struggle, he admits. Since the book's publication we can already see evidence of the ills that D'Anieri has so skillfully diagnosed: disputes over the appointment and dismissal of ministers, calls for a new constitution, and appeals for fresh elections. Owing to the design of its institutions, as well as the weakness of political parties, Ukraine's politics continue, as before the Orange Revolution, to be more in the nature of fundamental power struggles instead of democratic government. Change is certainly possible, but, for reasons made clear in this book, it is not inevitable.

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Andrew Wilson. *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005. xviii + 332 pp. Notes. Index. Illustrations.

This powerful book will crush the remaining illusions of those political scientists who are still trying to interpret developments in post-Soviet states as a “transition” to democracy. Wilson argues that in the successor states the legacy of late Soviet cynicism and political manipulation has translated into “virtual politics,” in which highly paid “political technologists” (spin doctors) stage democracy in order to maintain the rule of their clients, the predatory elites, which are truly concerned only with plundering public property. The social conditions that make “virtual democracy” possible include amoral elites, a passive electorate, a culture of information control, and lack of pressure from abroad (p. 41). In order to construct simulated democratic politics, political technologists use a variety of dirty tricks, from spreading *kompromat* to “cloning” candidates to creating completely sham parties designed as scarecrows or vote splitters (or both).

Most of Wilson’s material comes from Russia and Ukraine. Readers will be fascinated by his careful investigation of some high-profile figures and events. Thus, Wilson shows that the firebrand Russian nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy was originally launched as a democratic vote splitter before being “rebranded” twice to fit the Kremlin’s subsequent needs. Likewise, Vladimir Putin was originally just a “template,” an unknown figure with traits calculated to please an electorate that had grown tired of Yeltsin’s rule, although he did become his own man by 2003–4. The 1996 Russian presidential elections, which probably cost in excess of one billion dollars, “became the archetype of the postmodern, post-Communist campaign” (p. 95). For all the extensive use of political technologies, the communists still won but were robbed of their victory by crude electoral fraud. The West kept silent for ideological reasons, but Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine was watching closely and absorbing these lessons.

Moving to Ukraine, Wilson does a superb job of clarifying the political uses of such infamous “projects” as Natalia Vitrenko’s Progressive Socialist Party of Ukraine (PSPU) and the extreme-right UNA-UNSO. Originally Kuchma’s spoiler party dividing the leftist vote, the PSPU began to function as a “scarecrow,” reminding voters and the West of the communist danger, partly because the mainstream Communist Party of Ukraine came to have a “stabilizing function” (p. 221) in Ukrainian politics. The UNA-UNSO was reportedly infiltrated by Leonid Kravchuk’s security service in the early 1990s and covertly supported as a bogus nationalist party to undermine Rukh’s electoral appeal. Under Kuchma, after Rukh ceased to be a threat, UNA-UNSO activists still had their uses as *agents provocateurs* stirring up violence and providing the authorities with an excuse to launch a crackdown.

Wilson also sheds light on one of the most puzzling “virtual parties” of the 2002 parliamentary elections, the Winter Crop Generation Team (Komanda ozymoho pokolinnia), which came out of nowhere just before the campaign, ran the sleekest ads on TV, and disappeared without a trace after obtaining only 2 percent of the vote. A project funded by Pinchuk and run by two Russian political technologists, Petr Shchedrovitsky and Efim Ostrovsky, Komanda was a simple copy of Russia’s Union of Right Forces, a successful electoral project in 1999. A liberal party of the

new middle class, cultivating an openly “yuppie” image, it attracted the attention of the under-30s, but they were precisely the audience least likely to vote.

In order to make sense of the constantly changing Ukrainian political scene, Wilson adopts a helpful rule: look for the sources of a party’s funding and voting patterns after the elections. Indeed, few parties have identifiable programs, but the majority serve as “fronts for specific clans and their economic interests” (p. 142). Based on his extensive research on the Internet and in newspapers, as well as revealing interviews with political technologists, the author digs deep into the dirt of Ukrainian politics. But the numerous smoke-and-mirrors systems are so pervasive that even Wilson himself is unsure at times which conspiracy theory to endorse. Thus, the Constitutional Court’s decision of 2003 granting Kuchma the theoretical right to a third term is presented as a ploy to create a media storm that would either help cancel the election or build support for Viktor Yanukovych as the “lesser evil.” Wilson explains that Yanukovych himself could be a “technical candidate” designed to frighten the deputies into reducing the president’s powers or backing some unknown “third force” (pp. 200–201). Having no fewer than four conspiracy theories on the table is mind-boggling for the reader, but perhaps there is a much simpler explanation: confusion and contradictory moves within the presidential camp itself—the kind of disarray at the top that often signals a coming revolution.

Virtual Politics devotes only a few sentences to the Orange Revolution, the subject of Wilson’s companion volume, but orange-clad protesters are featured on the cover of the book—ironically, just beneath the subtitle, “Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World.” Was the revolution just an example of “virtual politics” failing or, perhaps, of a virtual project acquiring genuine mass support and growing into a democratic revolution? Either way, the importance of the Orange Revolution for Wilson’s overall argument is such that readers would expect more than just a quick summary of the reasons behind the political technologists’ fiasco in Ukraine: the elite was split, civil society (which, by the way, appears out of nowhere in the author’s narrative) shadowed the fraud, and the West intervened decisively (p. 271).

Like most Western specialists on Ukraine, Wilson displays a certain bias toward the Orange side in his otherwise excellent book. In his version, bad (and mostly Russian) political technologists always use their dirty tricks against Viktor Yushchenko and Yulia Tymoshenko, but never on their behalf. This is not realistic, of course, and does not help the reader understand subsequent events, when the political war between Tymoshenko and Yushchenko resulted in unprecedented mudslinging contests, and the apparent reconciliation between the two was followed by the creation of a typical “virtual project,” Yuriy Lutsenko’s People’s Self-Defense, which was bankrolled by pro-Yushchenko oligarchs and designed to whittle away some of Tymoshenko’s support. One also wonders what Wilson would make of both Yushchenko and Yanukovych hiring the most expensive US spin doctors in the summer of 2007. Would he still see post-Soviet “virtual politics” as *sui generis* (p. 267), unlike anything in the West? All in all, however, this is an excellent and timely work that will be a must-read for anyone interested in post-Soviet politics.

Serhii Plokhyy. *The Origins of the Slavic Nations: Premodern Identities in Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 379 pp.

In the introduction and conclusion of his book, Serhii Plokhyy invokes the Tower of Babel story and draws an analogy with the construction project embarked upon in the early twelfth century by the Kyivan princes and literati, who aimed at building a common identity for the people of Rus'. This project collapsed in the mid-thirteenth century under the impact of the Mongol invasion. For the last two hundred years, historians have continued to debate whether the rulers of Kyiv succeeded in forging a coherent and cohesive nationality that later subdivided into three modern nations (Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus), or whether divisions were already present and the three nations existed at this early time. Plokhyy's answer to both questions is negative. He does not support the "primordialists" who trace the modern nation back into the distant past. But he also disagrees with the "modernists" when they refuse to admit that nations cannot have existed before the modern era. Instead, he follows John A. Armstrong, Anthony D. Smith, and Adrian Hastings in detecting the ethnic origins of nations in premodern times. Plokhyy accordingly explores the constituent elements of premodern cultural identities: the myths, memories, symbols and values used to define a group, such as its name, territory, origins, and sense of mission from the tenth to the eighteenth century. He indicates how the early articulations of identity were recycled in later periods and adapted to new requirements.

The book therefore suggests that nations existed before modern nationalism. It proposes a new "ethnonational" model as the basis for understanding historical developments and urges a corresponding reconceptualization of East Slavic history. A key thread in the narrative is the succession of identity-building projects, each of which came to be discarded or modified as new conditions and demands emerged. Plokhyy weaves into his discussion knowledge of debates among historians, which have taken on renewed vigor since the disintegration of the Soviet Union. He also deserves great credit for a careful reading and often provocative reinterpretation of frequently overlooked sources, especially chronicles, histories, saints' lives, and literary documents, which have a bearing on identity politics. By using these, he is able to show how, as the political borders changed and states were created or reconfigured, the meanings of the terms Rus', Russia, Poland-Lithuania, Ruthenia, Muscovy, Ukraine, Little Rus', and Great Rus' mutated. One of the great merits of the account is the way in which it traces these shifts, which are sometimes slight and sometimes dramatic.

Plokhyy reaches a firm conclusion. The first East Slavic identities bore little relation to the later three nations; in the post-Kyivan period, a separate Muscovite identity and ethnicity arose in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on the basis of loyalty to the tsar and Muscovite Orthodoxy; the Ruthenian identity was fully formed during the struggle of the Ukrainian and Belarusian elites against the Synod of Brest (1596), which united the metropolitanate of Kyiv with Rome. He sees this last identity as an example of an early modern nation (the first among the Eastern Slavs) because it was based on the concept of the nation (*narod*), which included a wide range of estates

and classes—not only nobles and princes but also Cossacks, burghers, and sometimes even peasants. This Ruthenian identity was then displaced by a new Ukrainian identity after Bohdan Khmelnytsky's successful uprising of 1648 and the creation of the Hetmanate. The outline of this new history of identity-building projects needs to be supported and augmented, the author affirms, by further probing into popular identities and self-definition in local communities. Nonetheless, even as a preliminary outline, Plokhy's book is a valuable contribution, for the history of these changing identities has often been poorly understood and sometimes deliberately obscured in the name of political expediency. The book is a response to this unsatisfactory situation and a challenge to some of the major modern historical narratives that deal with this subject.

The implications for understanding the present are large. Such a reassessment of national self-image and dominant myths and symbols encoded in the culture's texts will inevitably disturb some readers. However, it might also go some distance toward explaining the behavior of contemporary elites, who live in the shadow of the imperial legacy (witness Russia's entanglements in the Caucasus), the legacy of conflicting national narratives (witness the western-central versus eastern-southern divide in Ukraine), and the long struggle for self-definition (witness today's Belarus).

The methodology selected draws attention to Anthony D. Smith's injunction that national identity be studied as a cultural phenomenon, and that clues to understanding the mechanisms of identity formation be sought in continuities between the modern nation and the premodern *ethnie*. According to this line of thinking, myths of common ancestry or territory, of golden ages, or of foundational traumas have always exerted a powerful emotional attraction on the psyche through which they have bound the individual to the community. Thus, for example, the "homeland" has been depicted as a sacred space, the nation's cradle, the site of its historical memories where its saints and heroes lived. Such myths reach back into the distant past, but the stories they tell have changed and evolved as they have been adapted to modern requirements. In the present, as in the past, they have promoted an awareness (or perhaps an illusion) of shared roots and inheritances and maintained cultural boundaries and markers. Plokhy's account supports this line of argument to particular effect by paying special attention to the way in which myths have been reiterated in new contexts, and how they have been used to frame and integrate new experiences. Legends of origin have been retold many times, literary landscapes repainted continually, and foundational traumas revisited endlessly—all with the goal of reaffirming bonds and mobilizing the people to renewed action. If this is indeed the case, it raises the issue of the degree to which people are "hard-wired" to see the world through a powerful national mythology, and how far departure from such an acquired mythology is possible, or even desirable, given the human need for collective identity myths.

In light of the importance of this issue for any understanding of modern national identity and nationalism, it is surprising that the study of mythic/symbolic narratives and their cultural and psychological impact is not more developed. Recent interest in this field has grown, no doubt in part as a response to the violence following the breakup of Yugoslavia, the growth of nationalist movements, and discussions focused on the clash of civilizations. Plokhy's account does scholarly service in showing how such mythic/symbolic narratives have originated and been deployed in the

East Slavic context. Often the author takes a gently “demystificatory” approach, particularly when dealing with such topics as myths of origin, the Tatar yoke, the Third Rome, the Time of Troubles, or the idea of the frontier steppe. The analysis is greatly furthered by being set in a comparative framework that often shows how these stories have arisen in response to competing stories elsewhere. The interlocking, myth-bearing texts of Russian, Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Polish literature have sometimes claimed the same territories as their ancestral homelands or have developed analogous interpretations of history, shaping heroes and events to fit their own narratives.

Much of Plokyh's account is devoted to the history of Ukraine (Rus', Polish-Lithuanian Rus', Ruthenia, Little Rus') and its dealings with Poland and Muscovy-Russia. This perspective has its advantages. Ukraine has often been the spoiler in the schemes of greater powers or has been cast in the role of renegade nation in imperial narratives. Plokyh knows this well, since one of his earlier books was devoted to Mykhailo Hrushevsky, the great Ukrainian historian who challenged the established Russian scheme of history. In the present volume Plokyh follows in Hrushevsky's footsteps, using Ukrainian history to overturn what he sees as the dominant historiography. He takes particular aim at the idea of cultural unity in the time of Kyivan Rus' and the supposed drive for “reunification” of the three nations in the modern period. The book's last sentence reads: “Talk of an East Slavic civilization and a common Orthodox or East Slavic moral tradition, encouraged in different degrees by politicians in Moscow, Kyiv, and Minsk, seems ineffective as an antidote to the ongoing nationalization of the post-Soviet societies.”

One of the book's drawbacks is the difficulty of accessing scattered references to a text. Although the general index includes, for example, references to the Pereiaslav Treaty of 1654, or the Time of Troubles, this is not true of most literary works mentioned in the text. Comments on the *Life of St. Stefan of Perm*, the *Zadonshchina*, the *History of Kazan*, the *Tale of the Expedition of Stefan Batory to the City of Pskov*, and a large number of other titles appear in more than one place but are not referenced in the index. An augmentation of the index would have made it considerably easier to find references to the many anonymous works. Nevertheless, the wealth of issues and texts examined here and the successful condensation of a broad time-frame into a single account make this volume an impressive achievement.

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Liubomyr Vynar (Lubomyr Wynar). *Mykhailo Hrushevsky i Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1892–1934*. New York, Drohobych, and Lviv: Ukrainske istorychne tovarystvo, 2006. 384 pp. Illustrations.

Mykhailo Hrushevsky (1866–1934), an iconic figure in modern Ukrainian history, was the greatest of modern Ukrainian historians and the first president (*holova*) of the independent Ukrainian People's Republic in 1917–18. He was also the most im-

portant organizer of modern Ukrainian scholarship and played a leading role in early Ukrainian scholarly institutions such as the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv in the 1920s, the Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Vienna after 1919, the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kyiv after 1905, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv from 1894 to 1914. It is the last of these—the first in chronological order—that is the subject of Professor Wynar's study.

There is no doubt that, during the two decades before the First World War, the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh) reached its apogee under the leadership of Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Before his arrival in Lviv, the capital of Austrian Galicia, in 1894, the NTSh had been an important institution—a literary society publishing books that could not be issued in Dnipro Ukraine, where censorship prohibited the printing of Ukrainian-language materials. But at this point the society did not yet concern itself with learned journals or scholarship. Shortly before Hrushevsky's arrival, however, the NTSh was transformed into a "scholarly" society and began publishing scholarly materials and a learned journal, the *Zapysky NTSh* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). But it was only when Hrushevsky took over leadership of the institution that scholarship really took off. To help the impoverished Galicians, the young historian solicited funds in Dnipro Ukraine to support the society and its work. He used these funds to purchase a suitable building with lecture halls, seminar rooms and a library, to publish and expand the journal, and to pay its contributors. He contacted scholars and institutions all over Europe and Russia to arrange for contributions and exchanges, and he conscripted his local colleagues, students, and even his family members into submitting papers and documents for publication. Besides all this, he had to deal with the hostility of the Russian government, which impeded distribution of NTSh publications in its empire, and local politics in Austrian Galicia, which threatened to impede the society's progress. Not only was the Polish-controlled Galician administration unfriendly to the enterprise, but Galician Ukrainian politicians often had priorities quite different from those of Hrushevsky. The historian firmly resisted all these pressures from the time of his arrival in 1894 almost until his departure in 1914. Thus, at the start of his career in Galicia he fought Ukrainian conservatives and managed to draft the talented radical writer Ivan Franko into the society's work. As late as 1913, he was still battling certain local Ukrainian politicians and some of his younger protégés, who had joined them, as he sought to achieve his long-term pan-Ukrainian scholarly goals.

By 1913, some very real and measurable progress had been made: 111 volumes of the *Zapysky NTSh* had been published, the series *Etnohrafičnyi zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Collection) numbered 37 issues, and the collections *Zherela do istorii Ukrainy* (Sources for the History of Ukraine) and *Pamiatky ukrainskoi movy i literatury* (Monuments of Ukrainian Language and Literature) numbered several thick volumes each and were on a solid footing. Even the *Zbirnyk* of the Mathematics and Natural Science Section numbered another twenty volumes. Hrushevsky's excellent judgment and editorial skills ensured that this scholarship was of good quality. Thus there was no doubt that scholarship in the Ukrainian language, which had not even existed a few decades earlier, had to be taken into account by the non-Ukrainian societies and governments that dominated eastern Europe at the time.

Professor Wynar's book on Hrushevsky and the NTSh tells this story in all its details. Wynar divides the historian's relations with the society into three parts: the early period to 1897; the middle period to 1914, when he was head of the society; and a later period, extending to the 1930s, when he was far from Galicia but still corresponded with the society's leading lights. The middle period is, of course, the most important. The text of the book is supplemented by some excellent illustrations and a large number of appendixes illustrating various aspects of the story told in the text. The material in these appendixes includes articles and memoirs by Hrushevsky, as well as articles by his friends, colleagues, and opponents, such as Oleksander Barvinsky, Serhii Yefremov, and Ivan Franko. It should be mentioned that Professor Wynar has also published a highly detailed book on the conflict of 1913 between Hrushevsky and his opponents in the NTSh. (See Liubomyr Vynar, *Mykhailo Hrushevsky: Nasha polityka: Materiialy do istorii konfliktu v NTSh 1913 roku* [New York and Drohobych: Kolo, 2003]). When put together, all this material provides a very detailed picture of Hrushevsky's Galician period and forms an important contribution to his biography. Professor Wynar does a good job of portraying Hrushevsky's broad national (rather than simply regional) vision, his enormous energy and organizational abilities, and his sincere devotion to the Ukrainian national cause. At this point, only one serious criticism of Professor Wynar's work may be made: his attitude toward Hrushevsky is that of a sincere admirer of the famous historian; consequently, the tone is more than slightly hagiographic. When the first edition of *Mykhailo Hrushevsky i Naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka* was published in Munich in 1970, such a flaw was understandable and excusable in light of the constant attacks on Hrushevsky by the Soviet authorities and general Western ignorance of the historian. The situation has now changed, and such a tone is no longer necessary or constructive. Hrushevsky can now stand on his own, warts and all, as the larger-than-life figure that he really was. This consideration aside, Professor Wynar's book remains a solid contribution to Hrushevsky scholarship that will be consulted by specialists for many years to come.

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Christopher Hann and Paul Robert Magocsi, eds. *Galicia: A Multicultured Land*. Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2005. 259 pp.

This volume contains eleven articles originally presented as papers at a conference on "Galicia: A Region's Identity" held in 1998 in Århus, Denmark. Paul Robert Magocsi, a professor in the departments of history and political science at the University of Toronto, is widely known as the author of the outstanding *Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide* (1983) and other works. Christopher Hann, a director of the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle an der Saale, Germany, is one of the most prolific analysts of post-Soviet communities.

Most of the scholars who gathered at the Århus conference have already published on Galicia. The volume focuses on the Austrian period (1772–1918), but several articles also deal with earlier or later periods. A map at the beginning of the book shows the borders of “Galicia” before 1772 (the meaning of the term in this context is clarified in Magocsi’s opening study), Galicia before 1918, contemporary international borders, and the “approximate ethno-linguistic boundary between Poles and Ukrainians” as of 1930, that is, in the period prior to the forcible expulsions immediately following the Second World War. Interestingly, the Lemko region is included in the Ukrainian half of the “approximate ethno-linguistic boundary” of 1930 with no further comment; this comes as something of a surprise to those who know Magocsi’s numerous works on the Rusyn question.

The volume opens with Magocsi’s concise survey “Galicia: A European Land” (pp. 3–21). At the very beginning, the author clarifies the distinction between “historic” or eastern Galicia, which “essentially meant the lands east of the San River” (p. 6), and Galicia in its second, Austrian sense, which also comprises “western Galicia,” whose western boundaries are neither defined in the article nor marked on the map.

Magocsi refers to a highly improbable etymology of the name *Halyčyna/Halyč*, originally put forward in 1944 by a Ukrainian archaeologist who related the name to the Indo-European root **hal* ‘salt’ but failed to see that Indo-European *h* did not yield Slavic *g*, from which Ukrainian *h* developed only later. In a footnote, however, the reader is also told about the widely acknowledged alternative etymology, according to which *Halyč* derives from the root **galb* ‘black’ (cf. Serbian *gao*), as in *halka* ‘jackdaw.’

Characteristically, western Galicia is excluded from the survey except for the chapter on “The Habsburg Heritage,” where the author informs the readers of the role of Galicia’s Jews, the *Galitsyaner* (pp. 10–12), and about Galicia as a stronghold of Polishness and as a Piedmont for the Ruthenians/Ukrainians (p. 13). Again, one is surprised that the Rusyn issue is not highlighted at all, and that the “small mountainous strip of land known as the Lemko Region” is mentioned only once (p. 15). Magocsi’s assertion that “in both the United States and Canada, Slavic immigrants from this region continued for generations to identify themselves to census-takers not as Poles or Ukrainians, but rather as Galicians” (p. 16) is one that many readers will find interesting. In his conclusion, Magocsi offers additional arguments for the persistence of a fairly strong regional Galician identity and pleads convincingly for a New Europe that should “consist of multinational states linked by permeable borders” and be characterized “by an increase in the self-governing status” of “historic regions” (p. 17).

Although John-Paul Himka’s article “Confessional Relations in Galicia” (pp. 22–35) is designed as a brief survey, it offers a range of interesting insights, some of which may not be well known even among specialists. This applies particularly to his discussion of the pre-Reformation period.

In his study “Ethnic Communities of the Polish-Ukrainian Borderland in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries” (pp. 36–51), Jerzy Motylewicz correctly points out that “the term *Ruthenian* was often applied to all people of East Slavic heritage belonging either to the Orthodox or Greek Catholic Church, regard-

less of their precise ethnic origin" (p. 38). One might add, however, that the Poles, too, could hardly be characterized as a homogeneous ethnic group at the time. The study deals exclusively with the populations of towns and cities, which reflect the image of "ethnic communities" in Central and Central Eastern Europe only to a very limited extent.

Stanisław Stępień recalls in his article, "Borderland City: Przemyśl and the Ruthenian National Awakening in Galicia" (pp. 52–70), that in 1772 the Habsburg authorities considered making Przemyśl the capital of the newly created Crownland of Galicia and Lodomeria before they eventually chose Lviv. The author highlights several aspects of Przemyśl's important role in the Ruthenian national awakening, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although it is not true that Austrian public schools were "under the [Greek Catholic] church's control" during the *Vormärz* period (the church controlled only parish schools), this well-documented study is a generally useful survey of significant developments in Przemyśl that have been forgotten for decades.

In his brief study "Orthodoxy and Autocephaly in Galicia" (pp. 71–81), Harald H. Jespen emphasizes the importance of rite for ethnic consciousness "during the formation of Ukrainian national identity in Galicia" (p. 72). Although the author claims that Greek Catholic purists who wanted to remove Roman Catholic elements from the Byzantine rite "had been active since the early 1830s" (p. 72), this seems too early a date. On the other hand, the author correctly describes the complex relations between Galician Russophiles and Old Ruthenians (*Starorusyny*), focuses on their close ties, and reports on later periods up to the present.

Volodymyr Potulnytsky's "Galician Identity in Ukrainian Historical and Political Thought" (pp. 82–102) questions whether "the problem of Galicia" was "considered to be a separate one from the problem of Ukrainian national identity" (p. 82) between 1860 and 1945. While the author discusses "two images drawn by Ukrainians from outside Galicia, the populists and the conservatives of eastern Ukraine and another two images from within, the conservatives and national-statists of Galicia" (p. 83), some readers may conclude that a more thorough analysis of particular aspects of this rather general study might have been of even greater value.

"Peasants and Patriotic Celebrations in Habsburg Galicia" (pp. 103–38) is the title of Kai Struve's intriguing article, which analyzes how these celebrations were used by Ukrainians and Poles for purposes of nation-building. In particular, the author deals with Polish festivals commemorating the Battle of Grunwald, Jan Sobieski, Tadeusz Kościuszko, and Adam Mickiewicz, as well as Ukrainian festivals commemorating the abolition of serfdom and Taras Shevchenko's anniversaries.

In her article "Neighbors as Betrayers: Nationalization, Remembrance Policy, and the Urban Public Sphere in L'viv" (pp. 139–159), Anna Veronika Wendland discusses the case of two Ukrainian-born sisters who fell victim to denunciation in the 1930s, when they were accused of having betrayed a Polish soldier to the Ukrainians during the battle for Lviv in November 1918. She highlights the role of the authorities here.

"Back to *Galicia Felix*?" is the title of Luiza Bialasiewicz's paper (pp. 160–184), which begins and ends with reflections on the contemporary Polish-Ukrainian border and the background of the contemporary Polish myth of Galicia. The author pays at-

tention to the rediscovery of the Habsburg myth in the post-communist world in general and Galicia in particular, which she regards as the “idealization of multicultural and multinational *diversity and inclusion*, envisioned to be fundamental ‘European’ values” (p. 177).

In the introduction to his article “Historical Memory and Regional Identity among Galicia’s Ukrainians” (pp. 185–209), Yaroslav Hrytsak also emphasizes that the concept of Galicia, as created by the Austrian administration, still exerts a significant impact on both Ukrainian and Polish society. He reports some of the findings of his well-known project on regional identity in Lviv and Donetsk and relates them to the Austro-Galician heritage. Hrytsak demonstrates his admirable knowledge of the sources as he intriguingly assesses various competing Galician approaches to the history of Rus’.

In the concluding study, “The Limits of Galician Syncretism: Pluralism, Multiculturalism, and the Two Catholicisms” (pp. 210–237), Christopher Hann discusses some aspects of the history of Greek Catholicism in Przemyśl, focusing on the intriguing developments during the 1990s, when the struggle over a Greek Catholic church building led to the reshaping of the Church of the Carmelites and the former garrison church, originally built by the Jesuits.

This book, which offers a good mix of valuable surveys and innovative studies, contributes much to our understanding of Galicia as a “multicultural land.”

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Roman Paul Fodchuk. *Zhorna: Material Culture of the Ukrainian Pioneers*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006. 156 pp. Glossary, bibliography, index, color photos.

A *zhorno* (pl. *zhorna*) is a millstone. It is a utilitarian object. Yet, when made by hand and properly grooved, it can be an object of wonder and an object of beauty. We can marvel at the skill required to make grooves in unyielding stone to just the right depth and at just the right intervals. And we can admire the symmetry and proportions of so weighty an item so delicately transformed by human hands. Roman Fodchuk’s ability to make us look at a millstone in a new way is characteristic of this book as a whole. It revels in the beauty and wonder of simple things, and it affords sensual pleasure on every level.

Although Fodchuk chose the millstone as his symbol of the aesthetics of pioneer material culture, his greatest admiration seems to be for tools made of wood. He evokes the shape and the patina of planes, carding combs, spindles, churns, ladles, and a myriad of other objects. He does so through description and by providing his own drawings. These are truly marvelous. While working as a district agriculturalist for the province of Alberta, Fodchuk sketched the hand-crafted tools that he encountered. The result is page upon page of every conceivable type of carpenter’s plane, washboard, oil press, churn, clamp, hinge, and so forth. Fodchuk is a gifted

artist. He has produced beautiful drawings of tools and detailed illustrations of their use. One example is the set of drawings that illustrate the thatching process. Fodchuk shows us how the straw is combed, cut, tied, and placed upon the roof frame. He also shows us the results. One page shows just the types of corner possible in log-building construction. The drawings are supplemented by photographs, most made when old crafts were resurrected in the construction of the Ukrainian Heritage Village Museum near Edmonton.

Fodchuk should be commended not only for beautifully rendered drawings but also for thoroughness of coverage. He describes the emigrants' departure from Ukraine and arrival in Canada, providing settlement maps and charts that describe the stores and services available in rapidly growing Ukrainian-Canadian towns. There are descriptions of the clothing worn in Ukraine and descriptions and drawings of the ornate chests, or *skryni*, used to transport material goods to Canada. Some of the settlers were craftsmen, and Fodchuk focuses on a woodworking shop, giving us both pictures and drawings of the various tools used. Next comes coverage of house types. Fodchuk tells us about the very basic and not very comfortable *burdei*, a semi-underground sod hut used by settlers when they first arrived. He then describes log houses, and finally the farmhouse or *khata*. For each, he details construction techniques, gives drawings and photos, and provides sketches of house layout. Tools naturally receive special attention, and Fodchuk gives us the many varieties of saws, augurs, and awls. He tells us about farming activities such as reaping hay and stacking sheaves, which are illustrated with drawings and photos. There is a section on threshing and one on gardening. The milling of grains is, of course, detailed, as is pressing oil, along with the types of presses used, the oils produced, and their uses. Fodchuk describes fencing and shows us fence types. There is a lovely section on weaving, along with pictures of spinning wheels and looms, as well as descriptions of the proper preparation of flax and hemp. Food is not neglected, and there are details of seasonal and other celebrations and the foods that went with them.

Throughout the book, Fodchuk enlivens his descriptions with reminiscences and quotations. He draws on recollections from his boyhood, accounts of his experiences as an adult, searches for material remains of the Ukrainian pioneer experience, and details from the construction of the Ukrainian Heritage Village, in which he was most actively involved. Fodchuk also gives voice to others. He has interviewed pioneers about their experiences and quotes liberally from those interviews and from the recollections of family and friends. He also uses the memoirs of pioneers, most notably Peter Svarich, along with archival materials and published articles and books.

Fodchuk ends his book with a letter to his grandchildren expressing his wish to leave them a suitable monument to their roots. He has certainly done so, and he has enriched all our lives by putting together a truly beautiful book. In this regard, the University of Calgary Press should also be commended. This book is a fine publication, printed on heavy paper. The book itself is a sensual pleasure, just like the tools of everyday Ukrainian pioneer life to which it pays tribute.

Natalie Kononenko
University of Alberta

L. S. Galetsky, editor in chief. *An Atlas of the Geology and Mineral Deposits of Ukraine (Scale 1: 5 000 000)*. Kyiv and Toronto: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Ministry of the Environment and Natural Resources of Ukraine, and University of Toronto Press, 2007. 168 pp.

In its 42 cm by 30.5 cm cover format, this *Atlas* immediately catches the eye as an attractive and wieldy volume that seems surprisingly compact, given the vast scope of its subject matter. Part of the "Canadian connection" of the *Atlas* is outlined in an introduction by James Temerty and his Mineral Advisory Group. A page devoted to credits lists an editorial board of sixteen members and an impressive team of eighty-two authors. O. Omelianska is credited with the translation of the original Ukrainian-language *Atlas* and T. Podolsky and W. Peredery with some "additional English text." The editors of the English text are I. Stebelsky and W. Peredery. President Viktor Yushchenko addresses both editors and readers with some well-chosen supportive comments. Brief prefatory remarks by L. S. Galetsky (editor in chief) and N. M. Cherniyenko (production manager) provide a background to the preparation of this major work and an overview of its content. Each of the promotional passages underscores the rich mineral endowment of Ukraine, with hopes that the *Atlas* will help generate broader awareness of it and promote commercial activity.

A short introduction summarizes the content of the *Atlas*, continuing the theme of its informational and planning-related applications. It is accompanied by an explanation of the use of personal and geographic names, the approach to the referencing of sources, and a transliteration table. The seventy-five maps of the *Atlas* are presented in seven sections that deal with administrative, geographic and geological themes of a general nature (I); geophysics and deep structure (II); structural maps, which include features of the sedimentary cover and the basement rocks (III); "geological-slice maps" for successive divisions of the rocks (IV); "lithological-facies maps," with a focus on Middle Eocene and Cretaceous strata (V); ecological (environmental) and hydrogeological maps, with significance for geochemical prospecting and environmental planning (VI); and, in the largest section, mineralogical maps, which cover the full range of mineral resources and end with a section on "unusual geological features" (VII). Bibliographic and cartographic references are cited in the original languages, Russian and Ukrainian. Production credits appear on the final page. There is no index.

With the non-geologist reader of this review in mind, it seems appropriate to note that the academic and commercial applications of the *Atlas* have a common starting point. This involves recognition of the spatial coincidence of (1) dominant trends in particular geological features shown over a wide area on a given map; and (2) anomalies, or more localized departures from the dominant trends of these same characteristics; along with (3) showings (traces) of particular mineral resources and trends of existing commercial development specified on other maps. For example, dominant trends in thickness variation of particular associations of rock types, as well as deviations from these trends, may coincide with current or past petroleum production and point the way to petroleum resources as yet undiscovered. Other geological phenomena,

such as straight-line ground features (lineaments), recognized from the analysis of satellite imagery, commonly show a dominant trend that alone might justify exploration where coincidence with particular resource showings can be demonstrated.

Section I begins with a map of administrative districts and satellite imagery juxtaposed with a map of physical features. This section also presents Ukraine in the political and geological context of Europe. Significantly, the geographic center of Europe is shown on the southwestern slopes of Mt. Hoverla in the Carpathians.

The eighteen geophysical maps of Section II include nationwide compilations of magnetic, gravimetric, geothermal, deep-penetration geophysics (magneto-telluric, deep seismic, common depth point), conductivity and electrical resistivity surveys. In general, the maps integrate the results of airborne and ground surveys with data from boreholes, including the "super-deep" boreholes of the Kryvyi Rih and Dnipro-Donets Depression. The electrical heterogeneity of the lithosphere is presented on the basis of magneto-telluric results. A map of crustal thickness includes representations of the main fault belts as patterns of lineaments, straight-line features. A map of the deep structure of the lithosphere is based on seismic and electrical potential data, although explanations of particular anomalies involve the integration of other types of geophysical survey. Moreover, the deep structure of the crust is shown along three geotraverses.

The structural maps of Section III begin with the nature and distribution of the Quaternary and Glacial sediments (the oddly named "Glaciers and Quaternary Sediments") and the main structures of the sedimentary cover. The main features of the Quaternary deposits are presented on a nationwide scale for the first time. Separate maps show the main tectonic features, the structure of the basement, and linear and ring features identified from the analysis of satellite imagery. A map of neotectonic zones, with a summary of recent tectonic movements, and a geodynamic map bring the section to a close. It is noteworthy that the geodynamic map represents "the first attempt to generate geological and geophysical information of the area from the point of view of plate tectonics."

Section IV consists of a series of "geological slice maps" that reveal the structures affecting progressively deeper strata, as the packages of overlying rocks are successively "peeled away." In general, the bounding surfaces of these packages of rocks are regional unconformities. There are fourteen maps altogether, beginning with Pre-Quaternary, Pre-Neogene and Pre-Paleogene and covering successive system boundaries down to the Pre-Cambrian, closing with maps for Pre-Vendian and Pre-Riphean rocks. A single legend is provided for all the maps. The explanation of each map includes a brief summary of the main mineral resources associated with the lithologic associations and structural features that are shown.

Three "lithological-facies" (lithofacies) maps provide the basis for Section V, which is the shortest of the seven sections. They demonstrate lithological variation in strata of the Middle Eocene and Upper Cretaceous (Turonian-Santonian and Cenomanian) ages. In fact, the depositional systems shown on the three maps are taken as representative of those from a total of twenty-six such maps compiled for the Mesozoic and Cenozoic strata of Ukraine by the state company Geoprophnoz. The distribution of Middle Eocene and Cenomanian phosphorite deposits is shown to underscore the relationships between sedimentary processes and the occurrence of mineral depos-

its. The importance of lithofacies maps in exploration for a wide range of mineral resources receives emphasis in the explanations of the maps.

Section VI consists of eight maps dealing with "ecological" (environmental) and hydrogeological issues. All these maps reflect the interplay between natural and anthropogenic factors in the shaping of the modern environment. The division of Ukraine into hydrogeological districts, the nature and distribution of surface geological processes, and the impact of surface geological processes are the main themes of the first three maps. The next three show a classification of risk categories, the relationship between landscape and geochemical zones, and the distribution of types of industrial waste. Natural radioactivity, in relation to the main geostructural units, is the subject of a separate map. The final map of the series sums up the "eco-geological situation" and is described as "the first one of its kind in Ukraine." It is intended to spur the application of new approaches to environmental monitoring and to serve as a basis for the planning of mineral-resource development and environmental management. All the explanations of maps in this section draw attention to the need to plan future land use with reference to natural and industry-influenced environmental factors under consideration; several make reference to adverse environment-related effects on human health.

The final part, Section VII, includes nineteen maps that address the mineral-resource endowment of Ukraine. Presentations of mineralogenic zones and metallogenic provinces are followed by separate maps for petroleum and coal resources. Then come maps for iron, manganese and chromite (grouped together as "ferrous metals"), gold deposits, and rare metals (the map legend lists tantalum, niobium, the rare earths, beryllium, lithium, rubidium-caesium, zirconium, germanium, uranium, fluorite and apatite). Titanium and zirconium placers and their source deposits are shown on the next map of the sequence. Diamonds and then gems, semiprecious and decorative stones occupy the next two maps. Two different aspects of water resources, namely geothermal power and mineral waters, are treated separately. A map of clay and kaolin deposits brings the coverage of particular resources to a close. A series of closely related themes follows: enterprises, industrial wastes and mine tailings; mineral deposits; mineral deposits currently under development; mining areas; and the history of mining in Ukraine. The final map of the *Atlas* has the intriguing title "Unusual Geological Features," comprising the oldest basement rocks, with ages on the order of 3.65 billion years; unique outcrops of Vendian strata (including occurrences of Ediacaran fauna and the Vendian-Cambrian contact); a Middle Miocene barrier reef; meteorite impact features and meteorite finds; and an area of mud volcanoes.

In general, the maps are of high quality, drawn on a base map that includes the major drainage patterns and the main cities. The linked reservoirs of the Dnipro Cascade occur on all maps except the one for clay and kaolin resources (p. 141) and thus provide a useful frame of reference. It is not easy to present detailed information on a scale of 1: 5 000 000, and this is achieved by means of comprehensive color coding, combined with systems of symbols and numerical designations, all categorized in the accompanying legends, to the exclusion of superfluous wording on the maps. At first glance, some of the legends threaten to overpower the reader with their "all-inclusiveness." In this context, it is noteworthy that the legend for the important mineralogical maps (p. 114) includes an explanation in its bottom right corner.

Each of the seven sections includes photographs of Ukraine's very diverse scenery, as well as more detailed images of geological features on the scale of an outcrop. These are augmented with shots of the phases of mineral-resource development and of hand specimens of rocks and minerals in Section VII. The final section also includes photographs of cultural artifacts and decorative items (Copper-Bronze Age, Scythian, Trypilian), dating back more than six millennia. The quality of all of the photographs is excellent and the subject matter well chosen. They offer a powerful incentive for *Atlas* users to take their knowledge of mapped features into the field. Indeed, near the end of the final section, the authors include separate lists of geosites of special interest and suggested geological field trips, as well as geological and mineralogical museums and cultural centers with displays that give expanded treatment of the book's subject matter. To help promote commercial activity, a future edition of the *Atlas* might also include lists of locations where subsurface data (drill cuttings, cores, geophysical well logs, core analyses) can be examined directly.

This reviewer has not seen the original, Ukrainian text. The decision to use sentences of generally simple structure, whether taken by the authors or by the translator, was sound indeed. In some of the map explanations there are extensive tracts of text in which commas do not make an appearance, except to separate items in lists. Typographic errors are relatively rare. For the most part, the translation flows well, with only sporadic faulty uses of articles, unusual juxtapositions of words, and convoluted expressions. In any event, these present no serious obstacle to understanding. The writers show a fondness for three-word expressions and corresponding abbreviations, some of which are first put to use in particular sections but do not occur in any obvious way in later parts of the *Atlas*. In a future edition, this might be addressed by means of a glossary in which relationships between features widely separated in the text, such as the strangely named structural matter complexes (SMCs) of Sections III and IV and the structural-formational zones (SFZs) of Section VII, are clarified. The common context of these seemingly linked concepts applied to particular rock associations and their tectonic settings appears to be the later rejuvenation of ancient structures and related emplacement of mineral deposits. One of the strong points of the *Atlas* is that, where appropriate, the authors draw attention to the continuity of the geological features of Ukraine beyond its borders into neighboring countries.

The wide-ranging subject matter of the *Atlas* will be most appreciated by individuals who use a broad knowledge of geology, possibly in conjunction with the investigative tools of other disciplines, to solve resource-related and environmental problems. In the context of the professional practice of geology in Ukraine, the book contains numerous innovations. For many years to come, it will serve as a spur to creativity for industrial exploration teams and environmental management committees alike, using the spatial coincidence of structural trends, lithofacies associations and resource occurrences as a basis for idea generation and more detailed study. This *Atlas* is a worthy starting point for expanded development of the nation's highly diversified mineral-resource endowment, combined with a comprehensive approach to environmental stewardship.

Frank Simpson
University of Windsor

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World War II and the (Re)Creation of Historical Memory in Contemporary Ukraine

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During the post-World War II period, the narrative created by the Soviet Union from the events of the war played a significant role in the construction of an ideology of Soviet unity in the struggle against and victory over fascism and in the creation of a new Soviet society. A highly politicized mythology of loyalty and unity amongst all Soviet peoples during the great struggle was propagated through the establishment of state holidays, celebrations and rituals, film and literature, public monuments, and public education that emphasized unity. In the process, alternate memories and interpretations of Ukrainians' relationship to the Soviet state and its policies were forbidden or forcibly suppressed. Since independence in 1991, Ukraine and scholars of Ukrainian history have only slowly begun to address the formulation of a new national identity and the evaluation of the ideology and mythology created in the Soviet era. Events such as the genocidal famine of 1932–33, forced collectivization, the Holocaust, and Stalinist persecutions remained hidden deep within the collective memory of most Ukrainians. Among the least studied topics to date has been the role Ukraine and Ukrainians played during World War II in the context of the Soviet Union and of Europe in general.

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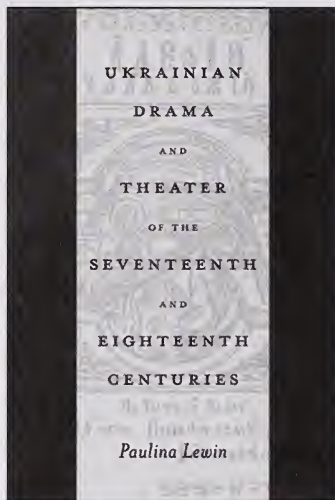
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в—v	й—i	ф—f
г—h	к—k	х—kh
є—g	л—l	ц—ts
д—d	м—m	ч—ch
е—e	н—n	ш—sh
є—ie	о—o	щ—shch
ж—zh	п—p	ю—iu
з—z	р—r	я—ia
и—y	с—s	ь—omit
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