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UKRAINE: A SYNOPSIS



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RUS', RUSSIA AND UKRAINE

A HISTORICAL FALLACY

A well known Ukrainian writer, Yuri Yanovsky, in his work "Chotyry Shabli" (The Four Sabres) describes the struggle of the Ukrainian people against the invasion of Ukraine by the armies of General Denikin who was sponsored by the Western allies in order to restore the autocracy and unity of the Russian Empire in 1919. Ukraine was in a state of national and social revolutionary agitation. The Ukrainian government, harassed by the Bolsheviks in the north-east and by the Poles with French backing in the west, with no military or medical supplies, was faced with another invasion from the south — from the Black Sea. Where the Ukrainian government could not provide a successful defense, the Ukrainian people spontaneously organized in self-defense against the atrocities committed by the Bolsheviks on the one hand and by the so-called White Armies with allied backing on the other. Guerrilla warfare proved to be the result.

The author of this novel has his hero, Shakhai, a commander in chief, say the following words in a speech to his officers:

If our struggle ends in victory, we shall be glorified for what we did, and even somebody else's glory will be added to our own and our names will be cited to the future generations as an example worthy of following. Should we be defeated, there is nothing we may expect either now or in future. Our glorious deeds will be attributed to somebody else, our virtue and courage will be dishonoured and our goal — disgraced... Sorrow and distress remains for the vanquished; the conqueror is judged only by himself.¹

These few lines contain a profound philosophical explanation of the behaviour, morals, and justice, as they exist in our twentieth century community of nations. Justice is not considered in terms of Christian teaching but in terms of what is good for the conqueror and what we

may expect from him in return for our loyal (but far from honest) services.

Before going into the discussion any further, it is necessary to give some introductory information about the terminology used in this paper. The term "nation" as used here, means the people who are joined together by a common language, associated with a particular territory, who are sufficiently conscious of their unity to seek or to possess a government peculiarly their own. Consequently the term "national" is a corollary used as a derivative from the term "nation" as defined above, peculiar or common to the whole people of a country. The term "country" in this paper means the territory inhabited by the same people (nation) in one compact and continuous manner, regardless of how it is politically or geographically subdivided. The ethnographic principle is the criterion in a definition of the limits of a country.

The term "Russia" denotes the north-eastern part of Europe which is sometimes referred to as "Great Russia" (Starting from the beginning of the eighteenth century.). For the period between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, Russia is usually referred to as Muscovy.

The term "Ukraine" does not necessarily mean the territory of the present day Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is used for the territory inhabited by the Ukrainian speaking people as defined under nation.

The term "state" denotes a political unit of a sovereign nature, i.e. in the meaning of a German "Staat" or Italian "stato" which has a much broader meaning than the American "state" of Pennsylvania or Texas, which is a rather different expression of a province.

The Ukrainian nation due to unfavorable circumstances belongs even today to that group of peoples which have not yet achieved full sovereignty. Before the first World War the entire country was divided between the Austro-Hungarian and the Russian Empires. In the period between the two World Wars it was divided into four or rather five parts. The Western provinces belonged to Poland, Carpatho-Ukraine (officially — Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia) formed a semi-autonomous part of Czechoslovakia, Ukrainian parts of Bukovina and Bessarabia were incorporated into Rumania,, while the main body of the Ukrainian territory was organized into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The North-eastern part of Ukraine, as well as the Kuban area, were and still are incorporated into the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. After World War II all the western parts of Ukraine, with minor exceptions, were united with Soviet Ukraine.

This brief information is sufficient to indicate that Ukraine was of great importance to her neighbours as a territory for political expansion. Every neighbour tried to present the Ukrainian case in such a light as to justify the occupation of what was already in their possession and even to extend their claim to some more Ukrainian territory. The struggle of the Ukrainians for an independent life during the period between 1917 to 1920 proved to be a failure not so much of internal disorder as because of international circumstances. Ukraine rose on the ruins of two European Empires — the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian. The fall of Austria-Hungary was welcomed by the Western Allies while the fall of the Russian Empire was considered disastrous. Since Ukraine was one of the causes of that fall, the Ukrainian case was stamped as an anti-allied case which did not deserve any support. Rumania was a Western ally, newly formed Poland had staunch allies in France and the United States. Whole Russian armies under Denikin were sponsored by the Western allies, i.e. France and Britain. Political circumstances, as dictated primarily by economic reasons, were against the Ukrainian State in Eastern Europe, and heroic deeds of nation are not enough to overcome all the difficulties of internal and external nature, especially the hostility of the powerful victors of World War I. The Ukrainian case was doomed to failure. If the West was not interested in Ukraine at the time when she was the first to raise arms against the Russian Communists — that is when she was performing with no outside help that which the volunteer army of Denikin was supposed to be doing —, why should it be interested at the time when Ukraine was conquered and partitioned?

From the political point of view such a stand could be justified, but from the historical point of view it is only just to look at the Ukrainian case in a scholarly way and not through the glasses of political machinations, or, as is done more often, through the dark glasses of Russian imperialism.

According to the hero of Yanovsky's novel this is the only natural course. The glorious past of the Ukrainian nation in the form of the Kievan state in the X—XII centuries, in the Galician-Volynian state

of the XII—XIV centuries, and in the constant struggle against the Tatar invasions in the XVI—XVIII centuries, have been attributed to the Russian nation which in fact only began its formation in the twelfth century.

In the thirteenth century Europe experienced the worst invasion since the coming of the Huns in the fifth century—the invasion by the Tatar hordes. Ukraine, in the form of the Galician-Volynian state, was just overcoming her internal difficulties and was therefore unable to stop the invasion which reached as far as Silesia. Perhaps if there was no Ukraine-Rus' at all in Eastern Europe, or if Rus' had allied herself with the Tatars, Europe would have experienced another Hunnic-like invasion and conquest.

Kiev Rus' played a very important role in the development of Western European culture and civilization. And yet, today in the age of research and discovery, when nineteenth century ideals and virtues are being crushed by rapid progress in every field of life, the nineteenth century notion of Eastern Europe still persists among some of the scholars engaged in social sciences and above all in history. Some of them pretend to be specialists in East European affairs even though lacking an adequate knowledge of Slavic languages and the historical past of that area.

In the last decade North America became full of specialists on Soviet affairs. Two or three weeks stay in the Soviet Union on a tourist visa, without any knowledge of any Eastern European languages, qualifies many a man to become a specialist on Soviet affairs in general and often even in the Soviet nationalities problems. One cannot help thinking that many of these "histories" are written to meet the popular demand and thus become "best sellers". It is small wonder then that there are so many misconceptions and so much misinformation about Eastern Europe.

The book market is full of all kinds of books written on the Russian Empire and on the Soviet Union which have nothing in common with scholarly treatments of the subject. Every university thinks it is a matter of prestige to offer courses in the history of Russia and to call them the history of Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, to offer the course itself is not everything; there must be good and well prepared lecturers to conduct these classes. In many universities these courses are conducted by professors who are not specialists in this field, who do not

have an adequate knowledge of Slavic languages and are therefore unable to do research in the original works, not to mention the original documents. As a result, stereotyped opinions even if false, are being preciously preserved for the "purity" of the "science of history". This sterile and discriminatory approach produces titles like W.E.D. Allen, *The Ukraine*; a history, or A.J.P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809—1918*. (They are not exceptions, but merely taken as examples at random.).

These two authors in writing their books used historical authorities and facts as mere sources. They adopted a technique as R. G. Collingwood writes, "for dividing witnesses into sheep and goats. One class is disqualified from giving testimony; the other is treated exactly as authorities were treated under the old dispensation".²

A real scholar will not and should not stick to outdated opinions; if new facts and documents modify it or even completely revolutionize it, *the truth is the main essence of historical teaching — truth even if it collides with political considerations*.

The old Tsarist regime of the Russian Empire denied the existence of other East Slavic nations within its boundaries, and claimed the history of the Kievan Empire as its own. And yet the Russian historians did not claim that the Kievan Empire was Russia but always stated that it was Rus'. The Anglo-Saxon historians, on the other hand, for the sake of simplicity call it all Russia. Consequently, the term Rus' is being translated as Russia and if anybody dares to raise any objections to such a term, he is considered a separatist, a nationalist, or even a man not quite himself, — in short, an unreasonable man who does not know what he is talking about.

Such a "scholarly" tradition was peculiar to nineteenth century historiography but it had not always been so. By the end of that century, the Ukrainian historians (notably M. Hrushevsky) began to challenge the Russian concept of history on the basis of new historical research. They pointed out that the peoples living between the Carpathian mountains in the south-west and the Ural mountains in the north-east are not all Russians and even those of Slavic origin are divided into three distinct nationalities: the Russians or Muscovites; the Ukrainians or Ruthenes; and the White Russians or Byeloruthenes. Each of these peoples have their own historical past with their own cultural, political and religious traditions. Furthermore, Hrushevsky and his

school challenged the view that contemporary Russia is the rightful heir to Kiev-Rus'. The beginning of Russia should be sought not in Kiev but in the north-eastern regions of the former Kievan Empire, in Suzdalia. The center of that Empire had been in Kiev as a capital and thus Kiev is in today's Ukraine and is the "*sancta sanctorum*" of the Ukrainian nation now as it used to be centuries ago. The historical documentation of Hrushevsky was successfully supported by anthropological and archeological research. There was neither cultural nor racial continuity in Russia as related to Kiev-Rus', while there is an ample amount of evidence to prove such a continuity in Ukraine.

This was a revolutionary idea in historical thinking, and curiously enough, it found much more acceptance among the Slavists, i.e. among the intellectuals who were acquainted with Slavic languages, culture, in short, with all kinds of documentation related to Eastern Europe. However, there were many who denied not only Hrushevsky's statements as fact, but even as a possibility. This group of historians could be roughly divided into two groups: a) imperialistically minded Russians who remained faithful to the statement of P. Valuyev, minister of education from 1861—1868, that "there was not, there is not, and never will be a Ukrainian language" and corollary there has never been a Ukrainian nation; b) Western historians who did not have direct access to the original documents through their lack of knowledge of Slavic languages and relied on incorrect translations, as well as those who were unable to free themselves from traditionally accepted opinions; those people who live with all their being in the past.

Instead of arguing with these unfounded opinions of some of the Anglo-Saxon historians we will quote some specialists of highest repute in the field of the history of Eastern Europe. Everyone of them states that Rus' is not Russia in a modern term, just as the Soviet Union is not Russia either, but the Union of many different nationalities with their own cultural and historical pasts. What some "expert" calls "traditionally" Russian, is not Russian by any right but by subjugation. A robbery committed on an individual or on a family is punished by law; the robbery on nations is for some reason accepted as the right thing to do. Conquest is robbery on large scale, involving in most cases the happiness and well being of millions of people.

By reason of conquest the nineteenth century Russian government denied the existence of Ukraine and the Ukrainians. Even their name and

use of their language was banned and forbidden. The heritage of Kiev-Rus' was claimed by modern Russia as her own. But the end of World War I proved that the Ukrainian and Byelorussian nations were alive. They had fought gallantly for their national recognition and selfdetermination. In Eastern Europe the Ukrainian nation and state was "born".

THE ORIGIN OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION

Modern Russian historians, "red" or "white" alike, have shifted their stand and now no longer deny Hrushevsky's claim to Kiev Rus' for the Ukrainian nation, "The history of ancient Rus'", says a well known Russian historian, Boris Grekov, "was not a history of Ukraine, nor of Byelorussia, nor yet of Great Russia alone. It was the history of the state that enabled all three to mature and gain strength".³ This is the middlestand between the old Russian and the Ukrainian historians.

A former professor of Moscow State University and a member of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., P. I. Liaschenko, denies Russian statements that after the Tatar invasion and destruction and capture of Kiev in 1240, the population of the left bank of the Dnieper shifted toward the north and into the modern Russia territory. He writes, "Ukrainian historians like Antonovich and Maksimovich proved definitely that no wholesale resettlement or "utter" dislocation existed, but rather that the Dnepr area, particularly the west bank, suffered less from the Tatars than the northern Russian provinces".⁴

In his brief paragraph on the origin of the Ukrainian nationality he has the following to say:

The group of Slavic tribes which lived along the middle courses of the Dnepr, Bug and Dnestr consisted of the Polyane, Derevlyane, Volyniane, Uglichi, and partly Severyane. Having outgrown their clan mode of life and tribal and communal customs... became part of the state organization of Kiev Rus', changing their former tribal capital of Kiev into the capital of the state. Through numerous wars and resettlements they lost their ethnographic tribal unity and mixed with other peoples, in particular, apparently with the Turkic nationalities (the Polovtsy). After the col-

lapse of the political unity of Kiev Rus', they formed the feudal principalities of Kiev, Chernigov-Sever, Pereyaslav, Volyn, Galicia, Turov, and Podol, embracing both, the west and east banks of the Dnepr... Judging by linguistic data as early as the fourteenth century a separate "Ukrainian" dialect and nationality had already begun to manifest itself distinctly in this area".⁵

Lyaschenko put the word "Ukrainian" in quotation marks and rightly so. At that time that term was not in general use, although chroniclers have noted it as early as the twelfth and thirteenth century. The Ipatiev chronicle uses the word "Ukraine" twice, in 1187 and 1189, and the Galicia-Volynian chronicle four times, under the years 1213, 1268, 1280, and 1282. The Kievan Empire bore the name "Rus'" which originated with the Polyane tribe of the ninth century around Kiev and later spread to all the distant peripheries of the Empire, although centrifugal tendencies have never completely disappeared within various principalities. The population of the princedoms enumerated in Lyaschenko's quotation called themselves "Rusyn" (Rusyny in plural), while the population of the north-eastern provinces which constitute today's Russia, have always called themselves "Russkii," (Russkie in plural).

The former term, "Rusyn" is a noun which for the sake of example, would correspond to the noun "Briton", while the latter term, "Russkii", is an adjective which corresponds with the term "British". The same distinction exists in these terms as here where "Briton" denotes the aborigine of Britannia, and "British" denotes political (national) affiliation. (British subject). The old Ukrainian Chronicle, *Ipatievskii litopys* (Hypathian Chronicle) used the name "Rusyn" quite frequently to denote the inhabitants of Rus' e.g. on page 25 it is repeated seven times, while the word *ruskii* is used as an adjective only.¹¹ "Kievan Rus" translated into Latin became "Russia", (and also Rusia, Ruscia, Ruzzia) but the term for Rus' inhabitants, "Rusyny", was translated as "Ruthenus", while the adjective from "Rus'", "Rus'kyi", was written "ruthenicus" and the northern form, "Russkii" became "Rusus".

The name "Rusyn" is to be found in use even in documents of international importance. In the Treaty of Prince Oleh of Kiev with the Eastern Roman Empire in 911 A.D., the word "Rusyn" (Rhos in Greek language^{5b}) stands for "Rus' ". It is used again in the same mean-

ing in 945 A.D. in the Treaty made by Prince Ihor (Igor) of Kiev with the same Empire. The same term in the Latin translation occurs as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, in various European chronicles, e.g. Thietmar's, Hugo's, *Annales Augustani*, *Galla Chronica* and old Polish documents. In the fourteenth century, King Yurii II (George II) of the Galicia-Volynian State used the title "*Rex Russiae*" in official documents and called his people "*Rutheni*".

Both Lithuanian Prince Gedyminas and Great Prince Vytovt (Vitautas) in the first quarter of the fifteenth century used the title "*Rex Lithwinorum et multorum Ruthenorum*". Polish Queen Sophia in her *Charter of 1441* called the law of Rus'—"rus'ke pravo"—*Jus ruthenicum*. Pope Urban VIII in his message to the Ukrainians in 1629 addressed them "*Mei Rutheni*". In fact until 1962 the Ukrainian Church in the Vatican documents was officially called "*Ecclesia Riti ruthenici*" (the Church of the Ukrainian rite). And it was only in 1963 that the Directory of the Catholic Church entered the Ukrainian Church as *Ecclesia Riti Ucrainici* thus replaced for the first time the historic term "*Ruthenus—Ruthenicus*" with the modern term "*Ucrainus—Ucrainianus*". At the same time it is very important to note that the Vatican sources have up to the eighteenth century never referred to modern Russia as "*Russia*" but always as "*Moscovia*" and called its people "*Moscoviti*". The name "*Russia*" and "*Ruthenus—Ruthenicus*" was reserved to denote Ukraine and Ukrainians.

In short all foreign documents using the Latin language used the term "*Rutheni*" to denote Ukrainians and *ruthenicus* means Ukrainian. But the previously mentioned W. E. D. Allen in his history of Ukraine, did not trouble himself to find this evidence. Speaking of the "*Ruthenians*" of Galicia he writes: "...the central government of Vienna, which adhered to an ingenious policy of upholding the lesser nationalities of a region against the dominant element, did not neglect to acknowledge the existence of the Russians to whom was accorded the official denomination of "*Ruthenians*".⁶

This passage is far from being clear. Does the author mean that the Austrian government favoured the "*Russians*" of Galicia more than the Poles? If so then he should study the policy of the Austrian government in Galicia in more depth. But to return to the precise issue, it seems somewhat odd that Allen discovered that in 1867 the inhabitants of Galicia were Russians, and had been "accorded" the of-

ficial denomination of "Ruthenians", and yet missed the fact that since 1848 these same people had their own national council in Lviv (Lemberg)—the "Ruthenian National Rada" as their national representative body. The Austrian government could not "accord" to the Ukrainians within the Empire the name "Ruthenians" because it was theirs for at least eight centuries.

This historical "discovery" by A. J. P. Taylor in *The Habsburg Monarchy 1809—1918*. He writes: "In 1846 there had been two and a half million Little Russians in Galicia... The Little Russians were allowed schools and even newspapers... At one time they dreamed of emancipation by Great Russia; later they were seduced by the fantasy of an independent "Ukraine"... The Tsarist government could never decide whether to encourage the Little Russian feeling as a weapon against the Habsburg monarchy or suppress it as a danger to Tsardom..."⁷

Mr. Taylor did not feel his "revelation" to be sufficiently clear so he gives a footnote: "These people call themselves "Rusini". The official name, both in Galicia and in Hungary was "Ruthene" which is dog Latin for "Rusin". A later attempt to differentiate them from the Russians led to the invention of a "Ukrainian" nationality; ... "Ukraine" is merely Russian for the frontier... and the Ukrainians are the people of the frontier... The Russians call the inhabitants of central Russia ("Russki") Great Russians and the men of the frontier Little Russians; both are Russians..."

From Galicia Mr. Taylor turns to Subcarpathian "Russia" and here "the Little Russians... had even less political existence. Their national life was preserved only by the Uniate priests, and this Uniate religion as in Galicia, cut them off from all support. It estranged them from the Poles; it estranged them equally from Tsarist Russia and in Hungary the Little Russians were too backward to even dream of an independent Ukraine".⁸

There is a lot more in Mr. Taylor's *The Habsburg Monarchy* of this same incorrect nature, but these several quotations should be sufficient to show his knowledge of history of Eastern Europe, and of Ukraine in particular. Where did he acquire this "extensive" knowledge about the Slavic peoples in general? The best answer to this is in his bibliography. There is not a single title in any Slavic language on Galicia, Bukovina or Carpatho-Ukraine or on any Slavic country within

the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In fact there is no title in any language dealing with these parts of Europe. But there is a significantly high handed note at the end of his scarce bibliography: "This list does not exhaust all the books that I have consulted. Some with profit, most without". The term profit is not defined by Mr. Taylor. However, there is no doubt that if he would have consulted some Slavic titles on the subject, since we believe that the Slavs have also something to say on the subject of their own history, his book, as well as the author himself, he would have profited. There would have been no such unreasonable statements about the Slavs in general and about the Ukrainians in particular.

MUSCOVITE—RUTHENIAN RELATIONS IN THE XII—XIV CENTURIES

The incorrect statements of Allen and Taylor in their "historical" works about the Russians, Little Russians, and Ukrainians, deserve some fuller explanation. The fallacy of Allen's statements that the Austrian government accorded to its "Russians in Galicia", the name of "Ruthenes" has been dealt with already. But here it seems necessary to review the origin of the Russian nation and their political formation as compared to that of the Ukrainians.

To present this data correctly it is necessary to return once more to Kievan Rus'. The northern provinces, especially Novgorod the Great, had never been too happy with their dependence on Kiev. Although each principality had a ruler of its own, the Suzerain's throne was the Kievan throne. Each prince cast a greedy eye on Kiev and always awaited the moment when he could be the Suzerain of all the Princes of Rus'. Many wars were fought for that throne.

The grandson of Volodymyr Monomakh, Andrew Bogoliubskii, had a more revolutionary idea for his times. He was "a typical chieftain of the North, in his habits, ideas and political upbringing".¹⁰ Andrew did not want Kiev as his capital nor did he want any Princedom in the South. But as Prince of Suzdalia he envied the beauty and glory of Kiev. So in 1169 he sent his son to conquer Kiev, which was taken "with spear and shield".¹¹ i.e. by storm. The city was sacked "so thor-

oughly that the chronicler declares that neither churches nor women, nor children were spared when they fell into the victors' hands, Then was there among the people of Kiev anguish and wailing-grief that would not be comforted and tears without ceasing.' But despite the success of his troops. Andrew did not come southwards... in person to assume the Suzerain's throne, but delegated it to his younger brother Gleb."¹²

This in itself is not too surprising since all his activity was dedicated to strengthening Suzdalia. No less interesting are the reactions of the chroniclers: the northern chronicler of the time wrote, that Andrew's son, commander of the Suzdalian troops that sacked Kiev, returned home to his father in the North, "with honour and great glory",¹³ while the southern chronicler said that he returned home "with a curse upon him".¹⁴ Never before had such a calamity befallen the "Mother of the Russian Towns". writes Kluchevsky.

"In any case", writes Kluchevsky further, "it was in his person (Andrew Bogoliubskii) that the Great Russian first entered upon the historical stage... The lesser towns of Suzdal formed a world of their own — a world created by the Russian colonization of the region and by the consequent rise of new ideas and relations of a kind unknown in the original provinces of Rus'."¹⁵

In this respect we may compare Muscovite Russia to the United States. The American nation developed on its British heritage which included the English language, but it became distinctly American. The Russian nation originated from the Slavic tribes of Radimichi and Viaticchi who were already distinguished by the XIth century chroniclers as being of a different stock than the Polyane, Siveryane and other tribes which laid the foundation for the modern Ukrainian nation. The language of the northern chroniclers is not the same as that of those in the south. The Muscovites, i.e. the modern Russians, did not inherit from Kievan Rus' even as much as the Americans from the British. Why then do the Americans not claim British history as their own?

Kiev never again rose to the glory of the times of St. Vladimir and Yaroslav the Wise. By this time the Galician principdom, west of Kiev, and Suzdalia in the north-east, in the upper Volga region, were on the ascendancy.

Did the old ideas and old relations die out in what Kluchevsky called, the south, or to be more specific, in the land of the Ruthenes? Not at

all—they were merely shifted from the declining Kiev to the rising Halych, the capital of the Galician principedom. Thus during the XIII and XIVth centuries the center of Kievan Rus' shifted to the West to the distant provinces of the Kievan Empire, of Halychyna (Galicia) and Volynia. A few years after the sacking of Kiev, Prince Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halych was virtual ruler of Kiev. The Suzerain's throne of Kiev was taken over by Halych and although Kiev was still the seat of Princes, these Princes ruled there by the grace of Yaroslav Osmomysl and later Prince Roman of Halych and Volynia.

In Halych and Volynia, Western influences became more evident, especially in the use of Latin in official documents and titles. Close foreign relations with Western powers under King Danylo and his successors increased these influences even further. But the inhabitants still called themselves not "Russkii" but "Rusyny-Rutheni".

Under Danylo (Daniel) (who by 1240, while still Prince Danylo, was already in power in Galicia and Volynia) the decline of Kiev became so evident that the Prince of Kiev did not even attempt to defend it from the onslaught of the Tatar Hordes and, instead, ran away leaving the once proud metropolis of Rus' undefended. Prince Danylo of the Galician-Volynian state, took it upon himself to defend Kiev, the capital of his ancestors. Thus the dynastic, political and cultural continuity of Kievan Rus' was transferred westward to Halych, and the earlier center became just a part of the Galician-Volynian state.

In connection with the Tatar invasion there are more interesting facts bearing on this issue. Before the Tatar horde reached Kiev, it had already conquered the area which today is modern Russia. The Tatars were able to establish themselves firmly there and not only inaugurated the collection of taxes but even began mobilizing men to their armies for the conquest of Europe. After the conquest was accomplished as far as the Tatars considered possible, they ordered all the princes of the former Kievan Empire to apply to the Khan for a "yarlik" — a special permission to rule their respective principalities in the name of the Khan. All the northern princes went to the Khan, asking not only for their own principalities but even for those of their relatives. With the exception of Mykhaylo of Chernyhyv, none of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) princes went to the Khan. Mykhaylo's journey ended in disaster; he was cut to pieces by the Khan's body guard because he refused to bow in front of a pagan Tatar idol.

For six years after the fall of Kiev and while the Tatars devastated the Galician-Volynian state, Danylo refused to go to the Khan to ask for a "yarlik". Instead, he attempted to organize a crusade against the Tatars. When he finally saw that the other European powers, living safely and peacefully behind the backs of the Ruthenians, were not interested in their own defense,, he felt compelled to visit the Khan of the Golden Horde to secure precious time for preparation of his defense.

The political wisdom of Danylo's attempts to organize a coalition for the crusade is open to challenge. He would have gained much more for himself and his people had he submitted to Tatar demands and followed the example of the northern princes. But Danylo was too much of a knight and Christian to submit to the pagan Tatars. In the long run, he and his people paid too dearly for defending Western Europe with no profit for themselves. However, Danylo enjoyed one victory — although Galician-Volynian Rus' had to recognize the Tatar suzerainty, it did not lose its sovereignty as did the northern princedoms which were to form modern Russia.

The Ruthenians enjoyed independent life for another century in the Galician-Volynian state which comprised most of the territory on which lived the Ukrainians. Then followed another century of union with the Lithuanians and Byeloruthenians (Byelorussians) in the Lithuano-Ruthenian state, in which the Ruthenian language and culture became dominant even in the courts of the Lithuanian princes.

All through this time Suzdalia, Tver', Rostov and many other northern principalities were under the oppressive government of the Tatars as well as of their own princes. And it was here and in such circumstances as described that Moscow as a principality was born and developed into what we today call modern Russia.

WHY LITTLE RUSSIANS?

This vast land and its rulers only very rarely used the name Rus' as their own. In Europe this state ,after it freed itself from the Tatars in the late fifteenth century, was known as Muscovy "Moskovskoe gosudarstvo" until 1713 when Peter I renamed it "Rossiiskaia Impe-

ria" or in short "Rossiia", which is the Greek word for Russia. When Ukraine was brought gradually under the sway of Muscovy, the Muscovites began to call themselves "Velikorossy" while the Ukrainians were called by them "Malo-rossy". This was the official name accorded to distinguish the Russians from the Ukrainians. However, in Ukraine, the Russians were called "moskali" or more often by the derogatory name "katsapy" while the Russians called the Ukrainians "kha-khly" or "cherkassy". Of essence here is that whatever name was used for either people, it was never the same for both, because it was known on both sides that they were not all one and the same people.

The name "Malorossy" used in official terms (which is translated into English as Little Russian), is a completely foreign and artificial name. It was used by the Patriarchs in church documents to distinguish the Galician Church Metropoly from that of Kiev. On one or two occasions it was used by the Kings of Galicia in the fourteenth century. But in the Ukrainian language it is in fact used as a derogatory term to denote a person who has been in the service of the Muscovite regime. Moreover, this term was never used outside of the Russian Empire. In Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine, the name "Rusyny" (Rutheni) was used throughout the centuries. (The last was officially known until October 1938 as Subcarpathian Ruthenia). The Polish government in the period between the two world wars was very reluctant to accept the name "Ukrainian" and persistently used "Rusini" instead. ("Rusin" is the Polish term for the Ukrainian "Rusyn"). It is true that in this distinction the Polish government had a strictly political interest — that is to prevent unification of the Western Ukrainians with the Eastern Ukrainians, who were within the Soviet Union, in an effort to hold on to the Western Ukrainian provinces. But the distinction was based on historical facts.

Why A. J. P. Taylor preferred to call the Ukrainians in Austro-Hungary by the term accorded to them by the Russian government and not by that accorded them by the Austrian government of "Ruthenians" is difficult to explain. Especially as he explains in his footnote, that "Rusini", "Little Russians" and "Ukrainians" are just different terms for people who are actually Russians. Probably he favored the Russians more and trusted them more than the Austrians. It seems that he was not able to find out that the term "Rusyn" is a noun, while "Russkii" is an adjective, which in Kievan Rus' used to denote the po-

litical adherence of a subject and not his nationality. The term "Rusyn" in Latin is "Ruthenus", "Russkii" is "Russicus", while the adjective from "Rusyn" — "Rusk'kyi" — is "Ruthenicus".

IS THE NAME UKRAINE A MODERN INVENTION?

So far we have discussed the terms, Rusyn, Russkii, Russian, Ruthenian, Maloross, and Little Russian. Now it is time to review the history of the term "Ukrainian". It was indicated that this term can be found in the chronicles of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, this term is used quite frequently in folklore, especially in the songs called "dumy". In the sixteenth century the name "Ukraine" was used interchangeably with the name "Rus'", both in the country and abroad in official documents.

On November 3, 1564 Sultan Suleiman I (The Magnificent) in a letter to the King of Poland, Sigismund August, writes about the castle of Kamianets Podilsky in "Ukraine".¹⁶ This is a Turkish document. A few years later, Charles IX, the King of France, ordered a new map of Europe for his brother Henri, the Duke of Anjou, who was invited by the Polish nobility to the vacant royal throne of the Polish Commonwealth. The map was produced in 1572 and it bore the name "Ukrania" in the Dnepr region.

The French engineer Sieur de Beauplan, who was in Ukraine in the service of the Polish Crown in the years 1630—1647, produced some ten maps and on each of them the name "Ukrania" was used. In addition to this he wrote a book, *Description de l'Ukraine depuis les confins de la Moscovie jusqu'aux limites de la Transylvanie*, which was also translated into English and published in London in 1732 under the title, *A Description of Ukraine*. The fact that the name "Ukraine", regardless of how it was spelt, was used in written documents not only in Ukraine but also abroad, indicates that by the XVI century it was widely used.

In the seventeenth century the Ukrainian Hetmans,* Bohdan Khmel-

* HETMAN — Elected Commander in Chief of the Cossack Army and a ruler of the Ukrainian Cossack State in the XVII—XVIII centuries.

nytsky, Ivan Vyhovsky, Petro Doroshenko, Ivan Mazepa, and others used both names “Rus’” and “Ukraina” interchangeably to denote the country that they ruled.



In 1731 in the city of Rouen in France, the famous French philosophe, Voltaire published his *Histoire de Charles XII* in which he dedicated several pages to Ukraine. This title was soon after translated into English and published in London. Voltaire had this to say about this country: “...Ukrainia... the country of the Cosaques, situated between the lesser Tataria, Poland and Moscovy This country extends about a hundred French leagues from the south to the north, and almost as many from the east to the west.”¹⁷ He goes on to say, “Ukrania has always aspired to be free; but being surrounded by Moscovy, the dominion of the Grand Signior, and Poland, it has ever been obliged to seek for a protector, and consequently a master, in one of those three States.”¹⁸

This no doubt indicates that the name Ukraine was widely used in the

XVI—XVIIIth centuries all over Europe and that Europe was aware of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom and independence.

All this should clearly indicate that the names "Rus'"—"Ukraine" and "Ruthenus"—"Ukrainian" are the same. The former is the historic name, the latter is the modern one. Furthermore, it should be an obvious fact as Maximilian Braun writes, "That the Ukrainians in their racial characteristics and in their character as people differ widely from the Great Russians and this is beyond dispute. There are two peoples, that divided between themselves the so called "European Russia".¹⁹

The confusion resulted from the Latin term "Russia" which was applied to Kievan Rus', to the Galician-Volynian State, and even later. Up until the end of the seventeenth century when either Ukraine or Russia were used, no confusion arose because the two terms were synonyms. It was only after Peter I changed the name of Muscovy to "Rossiia" (but *not* Rus') which Western sources still translated as Russia, that the confusion arose, especially after modern Russia became a dominant power over all of Eastern Europe. This confusion in Western European languages hurt the Ukrainians most since all their past history has been attributed to the victor—modern Russia—because of a general lack of knowledge of Eastern European history. There is no such confusion in Slavic languages. This confusion necessitated the change in name for the Ruthenes. Since two names were used interchangeably, the term "Ukrainian" came more into use and gradually replaced the word "Rusyn"—"Rus'kyi" which was too close to the name introduced by Peter I. And so,

...Since the names Russia and Russian are specifically applied to the nation which in later centuries was formed precisely in that north-eastern colonial region, it is highly questionable to identify these names with Rus' and to apply them to all East Slavic tribes, even to those who are the ancestors of the present day Ukrainians and White Russians or Byelorussians. For the latter the designation White Ruthenians would be more appropriate, since in the Latin sources both western groups of the Eastern Slavs are usually called Ruthenians from the Slavic "Rusini" which is derived from Rus' and clergy distinguishes from Muscovite (Rossiia).²⁰

The discrepancies in terminology in western historiography of Eastern Europe are chiefly based on the lack of knowledge of Slavic languages.

It is a well established rule that before writing any history of a certain country one has to get acquainted with the original documents. If one does not, then the result may be a work such as W. E. D. Allen's *The Ukraine; a history*, which originally appeared in 1941 and of which a second edition was published recently. A reader who knows at least something about Ukrainian history and the Ukrainian language, will see that no greater nonsense could have been written than that in the cited history. The author, in fact, did not make up his mind whether Ukraine and the Ukrainians are a separate cultural, linguistic, and ethnic entity or not. But let us quote:

"Annexed to Poland in the XIVth century, Galicia had been severed from the historical life of other *Russian* regions but had retained her *Russian* population, *Russian* custom and *Russian* language." ²¹

Anyone who is even slightly acquainted with the two Slavic peoples, the Russians and the Ukrainians, knows that the language in Galicia, while the same as that in Ukraine, has always been different from that in Russia. The people of Galicia have never called themselves "Ruskie" (Russian) but always "Rusyny" (Rutheni). As far as the customs are concerned, there is not the slightest similarity between those of Russia and of this Ukrainian province of Galicia.

But Mr. Allen's "knowledge" of all things Ukrainian (and perhaps Russian too) is best illustrated in the following: "Hrushevsky's versatile and insistent genius contributed also to the creation out of the peasant dialect of Galicia, a real Ukrainian literary language which others, under more favourable circumstances, had failed to create on the banks of the Dnepr."²²

In a previous quotation Mr. Allen had said that Galicia retained her Russian language. A few sentences later he no longer speaks of the Russian language but about a "peasant dialect" of which a Ukrainian historian M. Hrushevsky created "a real Ukrainian literary language". It also means that there was no Ukrainian literary language before Hrushevsky. In what language then wrote Ivan Kotlyarevsky, Taras Shevchenko, Marko Vovchok, P. Kulish, and many others who lived and wrote on the banks of the Dnepr long before Hrushevsky was born? What then was the language used by Markian Shashkevych in Galicia and Yurii Fed'kovych in Bukovina?

"For philologists", writes Maximilian Braun, "there is no doubt that the Ukrainian language is no "Little Russian dialect" but an independent language. It is related to Russian but at the same time it is also different."²³ In fact all Slavic languages are related to themselves like Germanic or Romanic languages within their respective linguistic families.

In short, it is not enough to have the good intention to write a history of one nation or another; it is necessary to be thoroughly familiar with all aspects of national life of a given nation to be able to grasp the essentials. When writing a history of some nation one has to write it from the national point of view, to emphasize the national interests, and obstacles encountered on the way to national development. W. E. D. Allen wrote *The Ukraine; a history*, from the Russian point of view. This is clearly visible on almost every page of the book, but the best example of it is in the following paragraph:

Mazeppa's treason had made an indelible impression on his (Peter I) mind. And it was not only Mazeppa: the Hetman Vyhovsky, Yuri Khmelnytsky and Bryukhovetsky had all proved traitors.²⁴

Why were they "traitors"? Because they all attempted to get rid of the Muscovite alliance originally entered into against Poland which proved to be very disadvantageous to Ukraine. On the other hand, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky who instigated and led the uprising against Poland, and in his search for support allied himself with Muscovy, in Mr. Allen's opinion is not a traitor. Is there a double standard of morality? For the Ukrainian nation Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Vyhovsky and Ivan Mazeppa all stand as a symbol of the Ukrainian struggle for freedom and independence.

—If Vyhovsky and Mazeppa are traitors then in this case there are no heroes in the world. Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla of Mexico. Simon Bolivar of South America, George Washington of the United States, Giuseppe Mazzini of Italy, Thaddeus Kosciuszko of Poland, all should be considered traitors, since all of them, and many others, fought against their "legitimate" governments. All of them roused their peoples to the fight for freedom and independence, just as did Hetman Mazeppa by allying himself with Charles XII of Sweden against the tyranny and oppression of the Muscovite Tsar, Peter I (the Great).

Mr. Allen and Mr. Taylor are not the only ones that come out with such histories. They are only examples of how ignorance of a subject may lead to such discriminative nonsense. "Truth and correspondence are interchangeable terms. Truth means correspondence with fact. The statement which does not correspond with fact cannot be true."²⁵ writes W. H. Walsh in his "Philosophy of history". The "facts" given by W. E. D. Allen and by A. J. P. Taylor in their history works are neither true nor do they correspond with historical facts and therefore they cannot be considered histories.

"Three or four scholars, Russian and Ukrainian, have collaborated in the preparation of the material, and in the completion of the maps and index which service abroad compelled me to leave undone. In the circumstances of today these friends wish to remain anonymous,"²⁶ writes W. E. D. Allen in acknowledgment. These "three or four, Russian and Ukrainian Scholars" did a good job for Russian imperialism but did not bring any honour to Mr. Allen as a historian. A self-respecting Russian historian would not sign his name under such a "history" and therefore it is small wonder that the three or four scholars who collaborated with the author wished to remain anonymous.

Fortunately not all books published on Eastern Europe in English are of the same "quality". Mr. Allen and Mr. Taylor are by no means exceptions, but they are not a general rule either. In recent years more and more American scholars are interested in Eastern Europe and some exceptionally good books have been produced. It may suffice just to mention a few: Richard Pipes, *Formation of the Soviet Union* (Harvard, Univ. Press, 1955); John Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution* (Princeton Univ. Press, 1952); John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism 1939—45*, 2. ed. Columbia Univ. Press 1963; Robert Sulivant, *Bolshevik politics in the Ukraine 1917—1957*, (Columbia Univ. Press, 1962) and others. Among the British scholars, Prof. Hugh Seton-Watson is one of the leading specialists on Eastern Europe. It is true that all the enumerated materials are studies of specific periods in modern Soviet Russian, or Ukrainian history, but there are also general histories of Russia where the Ukrainian and Byelorussian problems get a fair treatment. And this is encouraging, since it proves that there are scholars who are in search of the truth and write what they find even if it is unpopular.

History is a science, a *social science*, when it is treated by a scholar—

historian who sincerely believes that his work should throw some more light on the human past in an attempt to make the present more understandable, It becomes art if it is treated by a "historian" who wants to suit public opinion and the public in general. Such "paste and scissors" history is not worthy of being called history. A real history should not praise the victor and condemn the vanquished. There were many more heroic deeds accomplished by the weaker than by the stronger. History should be a mirror of human progress, of the ups and downs of a society as a whole, not of its leaders only. A leader is nothing without followers, just as followers will achieve nothing if there is no one to follow. History is made as much by the victors as by the vanquished, especially as no nation has got a monopoly for victories. Let history be what it should be, let every factor in it play its own role.

FOOTNOTES

1. Y. Yanovsky, **Chotyry Shabli**, 2 vols. (Winnipeg, Novyi Shliakh, 1951-1952), vol. 1, p. 57.
2. R. G. Collingwood, **The Idea of History**, (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1951 c1946), p. 269.
3. B. D. Grekov, **Kiev Rus'**, (Moscow, Foreign Publishing House, 1959), p. 12.
4. P. I. Lyaschenko, **History of the National Economy of Russia**, (New York, Macmillan. 1949), p. 116. (Originally published in Moscow under the title: **Istoriia narodnogo khoziaistva SSSR**. The translator or publisher preferred the name Russia to U.S.S.R. for the sake of "simplicity" even at the cost of misleading information.)
5. *ibid.*, p. 117.
- 5a. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, vol. 1, p. 434.
- 5b. *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei*, Tom 2. St. Petersburg, 1908.
6. W E. D. Allen, **The Ukraine; a history**, (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1941) p. 248.
7. A. J. P. Taylor, **The Habsburg Monarchy 1809—1918**, new ed. (London, Hamilton, 1957, 1948) p. 149-150.
8. *ibid.*, p. 149.
9. *ibid.*, p. 188.
10. V. O. Kluchevskii, **A History of Russia**, vol 1. (New York, Russell and Russell, 1960), vol 1. p. 223.
11. *ibid.*, p. 223.
12. *ibid.*, p. 223.
13. *ibid.*, p. 223.
14. *ibid.*, p. 223.

15. *ibid.*, p. 229.
16. V. Sichyns'kyi, *Nazva Ukrainy*, (Augsburg, 1948) p. 27.
17. F. M. A. Voltaire, *The History of Charles XII*, 3-d ed. (London, 1732), p. 165-166.
18. *ibid.*, p. 166.
19. M. Braun, *Der Aufstieg Russlands (1000—1700)*, (Leipzig, Hierse-mann, 1940), p. 91.
20. O. Halecki, *Borderland of Western Civilization*, (New York, Ronald Press, c1952) p. 34.
21. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 252.
22. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 252.
23. Braun, *op. cit.* p. 91.
24. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 208.
25. Collingwood, *op. cit.* p. 73-74.
26. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 2.

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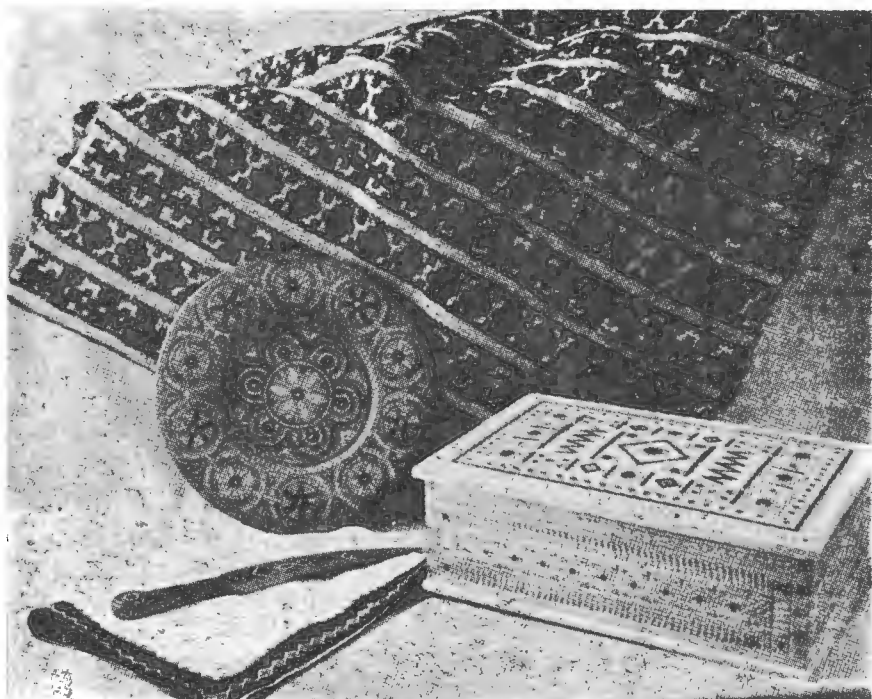
The folk art of the Ukrainian people, like that of other nations, is closely connected with their way of life. It flowered in the development of cottage industries, especially after the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom into a period of consequent material independence. However, the sources of folk art are to be found in pre-historic times. The end of cottage industries caused the development of urban manufacturing and trade and the resulting increase in products overcrowded the markets for folk handicrafts. In Ukraine folk art and handicrafts flourished for a relatively long time. They preserved the beauty of great artistic traditions until the beginning of the twentieth century. Then, collectivization, which brought an end to private property and industry by its control over raw materials and replacement of handicrafts by mass factory production, completely eliminated folk art.

As a result of this, Ukrainian folk art, probably the last of such art in Europe, came to an end in its natural development. It now exists in other forms: as museum pieces, theatre props, designs and materials for artistic products in industry.

The main field for development of Ukrainian folk art was in clothing. Here the chief treasures of folk art were preserved in the form of various weaves and ornamental needle-work. The second place that preserved elements of this art was the home — the house, furniture, tableware, etc. Here we find products of the loom in the form of “kylymy” (tapestry), sheets, pillowcases, towels; wood carvings in various home furnishings; on tables, benches, cupboards, doors, as well as on gates outside. Similar carvings are found in wooden churches chapels, and wayside crosses. Ceramics — the oldest material of everyday life — portrays in its forms and ornamentation memories of early life at the cave fire. Ukrainian pottery is particularly rich in decorative designs and is probably one of the most interesting elements of folk art. Ukrainian houses were painted with special ornaments both on the inside, around the fire-place-oven and on the outside, on the white walls near doors, windows, and other essential parts of house construction. In some regions of Ukraine, the fire-place-oven was constructed of ceramic

tiles which were arranged in very interesting artistic combinations, taking into account composition and design.

The special Ukrainian art of ornamentation of Easter eggs, (known in Ukraine as “pysanky”) belongs to the most original form of folk art. Traditionally, the ornamented Easter egg (“pysanka”) reaches back to



Ukrainian embroidery and wood-cuts

pre-Christian times. In the age of Christianity it serves as a symbol of brotherly love when given to friends and acquaintances outside the church on Easter morning or at any time during the joyful festivities celebrating the Resurrection of Christ. But even as Easter itself is based on a more ancient tradition — the celebration of the coming of spring — so the “pysanky” also contain ancient pre-Christian symbols preserved in their ornaments, traditionally perpetuating the old beliefs and customs.

The large territory of Ukraine has its own geography in character and variants of folk art. The regions, which are determined by the dialects spoken in them, vary also in modes of attire, tapestry, embroidery, ceramics and wood carvings. In some aspects these vary sharply in their specifications from region to region; in others there are no differences. The variations according to regions are most clearly defined in modes of attire, tapestries, embroidery, as well as designs on Easter eggs. There are also differences in the ornaments on ceramic ware, although its forms, which originate from a common tradition of ancient culture, are the same throughout. Very similar forms occur throughout all regions in decorative carvings especially in wood, horn, and metal.

The style of clothing depends on the history of its origin and the preservation of certain elements of its development. The oldest type of dress is that in which rectangular pieces of cloth envelop the body. Of later date is the type where pieces of cloth are joined by seams but remain rectangular in cut. The most modern type of attire is sown to fit the lines of the body. All these forms are found in Ukrainian folk dress, especially in women's clothes.

The oldest style is characterized in Ukrainian folk dress, by belted articles of clothing such as the "zapaska", "obhortka", or "plachta" (forms of wrap-around skirts, consisting of one or two rectangular pieces of woven material, usually wool or silk and ornamented with gold and silver metal thread). The second type is evident in shirts and pants sown from rectangular pieces of cloth. Articles like the "korsetka" (a sleeveless bodice of fine cloth) and "Chumarka" (a man's woolen jacket), are of the latest type of clothing. The oldest ornaments of tapestry-work are preserved in the oldest form of attire. Chessboard ornamentation found on Ukrainian "plachty" appear as early as the second half of the first millenium B.C. in the wall ornaments of Scythian burial crypt. Examples of embroidery on men's shirts were found on cult statues traced back to the Antes (in the middle of the first millenium of our era). Embroidery on towels and the sleeves of women's shirts can be seen in the attire of the Blessed Virgin and angels on Ukrainian icons from the Middle Ages.

In their archaic forms, the ornaments on Ukrainian tapestries, embroidery, carvings, ceramics, are all in geometric patterns. Ochre paintings on mammoth bones found in the Mizyn remains (of the late paleolithic period) as well as tools and bracelets of that age, are decorated

with geometric designs with motifs which are very popular in Hutzul needle-work even today.

These facts speak for the age of the traditions involved in Ukrainian folk art. Its geometric-abstract forms, so obvious in ceramics, have much in common in character with the Trypillian culture of the third millenium B.C. This is also obvious in the forms of modern ceramic



Ceramics (Poltava region)

toys, which are very similar to the cult figurines of the Neolithic culture in Ukraine.

The folk dress of Poltava is considered the national folk dress of Ukraine, although it is only one among various regional styles. The most original are the attires of the people in the Carpathian regions, the Hutsuls, Boyky, and Lemky, and the inhabitants of the northermost region, Polissya. Different forms of clothing are also found among the Ukrainians of Podillya and Pokuttia. The region of Chernyhiv and Kiev — the cradle of the Ukrainian nation — are similar in their styles to the dress of Poltava, which has also influenced the character of the newer provinces such as the steppe, Subcaucasian, and Kharkiv areas of Ukraine.

The ornamentation in tapestry, and even more so in embroidery, in the central parts of Ukraine, was influenced by the Renaissance and Baroque styles, as well as those of Scandinavian origin which introduced the previously unused motifs of vegetable ornament. These influences are most evident in embroidery (in Volynia, Kyiv, Poltava regions), in tapestries (especially of Poltava), and in the ornamentation of ceramic ware. However, on the whole, these vegetable motifs did not affect the geometric design of wood-carvings, nor the method of structuring ornaments in general. At no time did ornamentation become completely naturalistic, non-geometric in form, as it did among northern peoples and especially the Russians. Artificial grafts of such motifs in Ukrainian S.S.R. are further signs of industrialization and decay in folk art. The Ukrainian Easter egg, which also came under the influence of vegetable ornamentation, did not, however, replace this for the older traditional symbols such as the sun, moon, star, water, fire, etc.

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