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CONTENTS

The Shevchenko Scientific Society; Its History and Activity (1873-1951)	5
The Proceedings of the Shevchenko Scientific Society	8
The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe	10
The Nature of Ukraine and Its Influence on the Material Culture of the Ukrainian People in Prehistoric Times	26
The General Characteristics of the Scythia of Herodotus	48
The Spiritual Trend of Ukraine in Her Antiquity	52
Vernadsky's Conception of the Origin of the Slavs	56
Early Christian Architecture in Ukraine ..	63
Sphragistic Studies	67
<i>Pechat' Malorossiyskaya</i> (The Little Russian Seal)	72
The Derivation of the Term <i>Czech</i> as the Ukrainian Denomina- tion of the Polish <i>Pivtorak</i> (<i>Pultorak</i>) of King Sigismund III	76
Discoveries in Eastern Ukraine of Venetian Coins of the Thir- teenth and Fourteenth Centuries as a Historical Source	80
Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties of Alliance (1708-9), as a Historical Source	82
Documents Relating to the History of Ukraine Extracted from the War Criminals Trial in Nuremberg. <i>Eugene J. Pelensky</i>	84
New Views Regarding Catholicism and Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe	86
The Transition to Orthodoxy in the Province of Kholm in the Forties of the Nineteenth Century	94
The Democratic Character of the Criminal Law of Ukraine in the Period of the Princes	97

The Humaneness of the Criminal Law of Ukraine in the Times of the Princes (XI-XIII Centuries)	<i>Yaroslav Padokh</i>	99
The Treaty of Pereyaslav in the Light of International Law	<i>Bohdan Halaychuk</i>	102
The Juridical Aspect of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (Concluded in 1654 Between Russia and Ukraine)	<i>Sokrat Iwanytsky</i>	106
The Problems of International Criminal Law	<i>Yuri Starosolsky</i>	109
Ivan Franko's Social and Political Activity	<i>Matviy Stakhiv</i>	111
German Concentration Camps. (A Psychological Study)	<i>Volodymyr Yaniv</i>	114
Remarks to the Present Spiritual Crisis	<i>Volodymyr Yaniv</i>	117

THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY ITS HISTORY AND ACTIVITY (1873-1951)

THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY, the most active research institution of the Ukrainian people, was founded in 1873 in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, which was then under the rule of Austria. At that time in Russian Ukraine the tsarist government, by the decrees of Minister Valuyev, had outlawed all Ukrainian cultural activity by forbidding all printing in the Ukrainian language. As a result, the scholars of both Russian and Austrian Ukraine chose Lviv as the seat of an All-Ukrainian scientific and research institution, for in Austria all the peoples of that multi-national state possessed relative freedom of cultural development. The Society chose for its patron Taras Shevchenko, the outstanding poet of the Ukrainian people.

With the material and intellectual support of Ukrainians from all sections of the country, the Shevchenko Scientific Society developed great activity in the various branches of the arts and sciences and it soon became in fact an All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

The scientific and research activities of its active members were carried on through three sections: the Section of History and Philosophy, the Section of Language and Literature, and the Section of Science. The results of these studies were published in various series and in the central organ of the Society, the *Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society*. Up to 1939 there had appeared more than 600 scientific works in the various series. The publications of the Society are now in all Slavic sections of the great libraries of the world. In America, they are to be found in the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Columbia University Library, the Yale University Library, the Library of the University of Michigan, Stanford University Library, etc.

Among the active members during the past 78 years are to be found the most distinguished scholars of three generations of the Ukrainian people. Among the members that are known outside of Ukraine we can only mention the historian Volodymyr Antonovych, the historian Michael Hrushevsky, the writer Ivan Franko, the mathematicians Dmytro Grave and Michael Kravchuk, the chemist Ivan Horbachevsky, the anthropologist Ivan Rakovsky, the geographer Stepan Rudnytsky, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, an authority on old Christian literature, the philosopher Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, the linguist Stephen Smal-Stotsky and the geologists Pavlo Tutkovsky and Volodymyr Vernadsky.

Among the active members were also many scholars from other countries: some of these were: Joseph Strzygowski and Raimund Kaindl of Austria; Michael Arnaudov, George Bonchev and Stephen Vatev of Bulgaria; Yaroslav Bidlo, Karel Kadlec, Yury Kral, Mathias Murko, Lubor Niederle and Thomas Masaryk of Czechoslovakia; Antoine Raoul, Leon Manouvrière and André Mazon of France; Max Vasmer, David Gilbert, Hans Koch, Albrecht Penk and Max Planck of Germany; Olaf Brokh of Norway; Przemyslaw Dombkowski, Ludwik Kubala and Henryk Ulaszyn of Poland; Vladimir Bekhterev, Nikolay Krylov, Avraam Yaffe, Alexander Pypin and Aleksyey Shakhmatov of Russia; Alfred Jensen of Sweden; Lubomir Miletich, Milan Reshetar and Vatroslav Yagich of Yugoslavia; Albert Einstein, Arthur Coleman, Clarence A. Manning, Alexander Granovsky, Murray Senkus, Stephen Timoshenko and Volodymyr Timoshenko of the United States; Watson Kirkconnell, George Simpson and Constantine Andrusyshen of Canada.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society organized fifty years ago in Lviv the finest library in the world with more than 500,000 volumes, dealing with Ukraine, a museum of Ukrainian prehistory and art, a museum of war monuments, and a museum of natural history, and also several laboratories.

The occupation of Lviv and of Western Ukraine by the Red Russians in 1939 brought ruin to this last centre of Ukrainian scholarship. The Bolsheviks immediately suppressed the Shevchenko Scientific Society and confiscated all of its scientific material. The active members succeeded for the most part in saving their lives; and two thirds of them went to the West with their President, Dr. Ivan Rakovsky, and most of the directing officers. In Munich, Germany, in 1947, they resumed their activity in exile and began again to organize researches and to publish scientific works, although the Society had lost all of its property and its scientific institutions. In exile the Society added to its members the most distinguished scholars who had come to the West from Soviet Ukraine through the wartime gaps in the iron curtain.

In recent years the majority of the active members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society have come to the United States and Canada. Only a small group is left in Europe, and it is now organizing in Sarcelles, near Paris, its European headquarters. There are now in the Shevchenko Scientific Society 89 active members: in the Section of History and Philosophy 39, in the Section of Language and Literature 21, in the Section of Science 29. Of these 54 have been in America for some years, including the Vice-President, Dr. Nicholas Chubaty, and a majority of the directors. They reestablished the Society here as an incorporated scientific institution with the tax exempt privilege granted by the U.S. Treasury Department.

In exile the Society has published from its own scanty material resources four volumes of "Memoirs," two volumes of the learned journal "Present and Past," and has begun to publish a "Ukrainian Encyclopedia" in three volumes. The first volume of 850 pages is ready and the second is in press. The scholars of the Shevchenko Scientific Society have renewed their former contacts with the American scholarly world. The further extension of this scientific work and the preservation of this valuable gathering of Ukrainian scholars representing in exile free Ukrainian scientific research, which has been enslaved in Soviet Ukraine, is now dependent on the moral support of the American people.

The Proceedings of the Shevchenko Scientific Society

THE CUSTOM OF PUBLISHING the proceedings separately of the three Sections of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, originated in the period between the two World Wars, when, as a result of Austria's downfall and of the emergence of the Bolshevik rule in Eastern Ukraine, the Society was deprived of some eighty percent of its material resources and for that reason was not in a position to print all the learned works of its members whose research papers had been accepted for publication by their respective Sections. That custom, however, did not obtain in the Shevchenko Scientific Society before 1914, because the fairly high subventions from the Austrian government's public fund and liberal donations and financial assistance from the benefactors of Ukrainian learning, who lived in Eastern (Russian) Ukraine were sufficient to cover the costs of printing all the works accepted by the Sections for publication as a whole. The publication fund of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the fiscal year of 1913-14 had reached almost thirty thousand dollars in its current value.

The transference of Western Ukraine and the city of Lviv (the chief center of the Shevchenko Scientific Society) to Poland deprived the Society of all the subventions from the state public funds. The conquest of the Russian Ukraine by the Communists curtailed the flow of private donations to Lviv for the benefit of Ukrainian learning and science. In spite of the increase of the number of talented scientists of the younger generation whose ranks were greatly expanded by the influx of the learned emigrants from Eastern Ukraine, the Board of Directors of the Shevchenko Society was in a position to publish but a small part of their works in their entirety, and that only in those fields of research which dealt directly with studies of the Ukrainian spiritual culture.

The members of the Mathematical, Natural Sciences, and Medical Section were the ones who felt most slighted. Their new researches in the fields of their respective sciences were not printed anywhere and eventually became outdated. It often happened that the findings or discoveries of a Ukrainian scientist became a personal tragedy to him by remaining unpublished or by being taken up by some foreign scientist who found it easier to get his work into print. In that manner the works of many a member of the Society went to seed. And that was precisely the reason why the members of this Section of the Society had decided to publish in one of the chief world languages short reports

on the research of Ukrainian scientists, as well as brief resumé and conclusions of their discoveries, under the German caption "Sitzungsberichte." Of these there appeared up to 1939 twenty-six issues.

The material condition of the Shevchenko Scientific Society worsened even more when, after the occupation of Lviv by the Communists, the majority of its members found themselves abroad.

The Society renewed its research activity in Munich without any funds whatever. It resumed its publications and, with the financial assistance of the Ukrainian emigrants, brought out in print nine volumes of its works. The publication of the "Ukrainian Encyclopedia" absorbed the meager material funds of the Society to the point where no money is now available for the publication of unabridged works of its members.

After the greater number of its active members migrated to the United States, where its scientific work eventually became concentrated, the Directors of the Society decided to publish the *Proceedings* of each of its three Sections separately. The works will be published in full only in exceptional cases. In principle only those reports which had been presented orally or in writing at the sittings of the members of the Society in the European Headquarters or New York will be published. And the purpose of the *Proceedings* is to inform the scholarly world about the scientific and scholarly endeavors of the Ukrainian men of learning and the results attained by them. In the meantime, it is the fervent wish of every Ukrainian scientist to acquire normal outlets for his research and to find himself in the happy situation of being able to publish his works in their entirety.

The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe

by Nicholas Chubaty

(Presented at the meeting of the members of the Shevchenko
Scientific Society in New York, June 30, 1951)

THE SCIENTIFIC DETERMINATION of the history of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples has been unfavorably affected by the political conditions existing in Eastern Europe for the last five centuries. The building of the Russian Empire out of the Grand Principality of Moscow by the conquest of the neighboring nations called for the creation of a solid, ethnic, national basis for the Empire,—one Russian people composed at least of the East Slavic population. As a result the picture of the historical development was not drawn by a study of the objective historical facts, but by the political desires of the dominating power which harnessed historical science to the service of the interests of the empire.

Since in fact there was not in Eastern Europe that one Russian people which was so necessary for the permanence of the empire, it had to be created artificially. Russian historical science from the time of Peter I played an important role in the creation of this non-existent one Russian people embracing all Eastern Slavs. From that time Russian official science especially in the fields of history and language worked intensively to prove that in Eastern Europe there was one ethnic mass, the Russian people, with the "Little Russian" dialect in the south and the Byelorussian on the western border of Russia and that these dialects were not the languages of distinct peoples.

The official Russian historical science tried also to show that there existed in Eastern Europe only the one stream of Russian history, one stream of the development of Russian culture from the first historical times of Kievan Rus' to the time of Stalin. In fact there was no such one historical current in Eastern Europe but there were several. The old Kievan Rus' and its culture were formed not on the territory of the Russian people but on the territory of Ukraine; here lived a people different in language and in their national psychology from the Russian people and so Russian historical science often invented very unnatural theories to connect the Kievan state with the history of the Russian people, which had developed in the north around their centre of Moscow. Among these artificial attempts to connect the old history of Rus'-Ukraine with the history of the Grand Principality of Moscow were the theory of the migration of the Ukrainians to the territory of Moscow (by Pogodin), the modern Eurasian theory and most recently

the theory propagandized by the Soviets of the periodic national integration and disintegration of the Eastern Slavs.¹

In Russia not only now when Soviet science is regulated by the linguistic and historical pronouncements of Stalin and the resolutions of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks but also in tsarist times, although not in such a striking form, the political administration exerted an influence upon the results of Russian historical science. The official science, which rested upon the two forces: science and the police, worked so that there should not appear a separate Ukrainian people as an ethnic entity or as a political nation.

The chief of the imperial police Valuyev announced in 1863 that "there was not, is not and cannot be" a Ukrainian people and Ukrainian language; his successor Iozefovich in 1876 forbade the printing in Russia of anything in Ukrainian and their ideas were echoed by the majority of the Russian linguists and historians in the universities. We emphasize the word "majority," for under the tsars there were progressive Russian scholars who tried to defend the freedom of science and often took a position different from the official Russian linguistics and history.

Thus the highest scientific organization of Russia, the Imperial Academy of Sciences, did not always follow the political wishes of the administration. In 1905 it declared the full independence of the Ukrainian language from Russian throughout historical times. There were also Russian historians who departed from the official historical line of the one uninterrupted stream of Russian history and refused to connect organically the history of the Russian people with the history of the old Kievan Rus'-Ukraine.

The historical science of Eastern Europe was influenced not only by the official policy of the Russian Empire but also, although not so strongly, by the policy of Poland, the former claimant to the rule over the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian (Byelorussian) territories. The political ambitions of Poland in the east thus influenced strongly the attitude of Polish historical science toward Eastern Europe and confused also the historical realities in this section of the world.

The studies of the Ukrainian historians held a position between these two tendencies, Russian and Polish, and represented the liberal desires for freedom of the non-Russian peoples of the Russian Empire. Ukrainian historical science accepted as its basis the full ethnic and cultural individualities of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples. Despite the denial of the independence of the Ukrainian people by Russia and even the administrative ban on displaying its identity as a people, the Ukrainian people continued to exist and regarded itself

¹ V. Mavrodin, Basic stages of the ethnic development of the Russian people. *Voprosy Istorii*, April, 1950.

as a distinct national individuality with its own language, history, traditions and political aspirations to become a fully independent nation.

The Ukrainian people felt the connection between the Ukrainianism of the present day and the period of Kozak Ukraine and it considered itself the direct heir of the state of Kievan Rus' and its culture. The old name of Ukraine—Rus' and Rusin—have been used in Ukraine until our own time. Likewise to denote their northern neighbors, the Russians, the people constantly used in their popular speech the mediaeval name for the Russians—Muscovites (Moskals). This term as the name of the Russian people was the only name in the works of the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

The organic connection of the modern Ukrainian history with the old period of Kievan Rus' was cherished in Ukraine as early as the beginning of the 17th century. A Ukrainian writer of the time, Kasiyan Sakovych, rector of the Kiev school, in his verses written in 1622 on the grave of the Kozak hetman Peter Konashevych Sahaydachny, emphasized that the Ukrainian Kozaks were the successors of the glorious "Rusychy" of the time of Oleh (d. 914), the monarch of Rus', who in his boats sailed the Black Sea, approached the walls of Constantinople and stormed the capital of the emperor. He emphasized also the descent of the Ukrainian ancestors from the tribe of Japheth, i.e. their kinship with the European peoples.

The greatest Ukrainian scholar of the time, Melety Smotrytsky, defined the conception of the Ukrainian nationality and his contemporary Mohyla restored from the ruins the splendor of Kiev of the time of Volodymyr and Yaroslav. The author of the first history of the Ukrainian people, the *Istoriya Rusiv*, at the end of the 18th century recounted the history of his people from prehistoric times to his own day and especially separated their history from the history of the Moscow tsardom not only politically but also spiritually. He set forth in the pages of this work the ideas of humanity, religious tolerance and political liberalism of the French writers of the 18th century, i.e. the ideology which was at the basis of the United States of America.²

Studies on the ancient monuments of Kievan Rus', i. e. the *Chronicles*, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign* and the other specimens of the old Ukrainian literature, reveal the organic connection of ancient Ukraine with Europe as a distinct antithesis to the Eurasianism which became the basis of the present Russian historical thought, both inside and outside of the Soviets.³

² N. Chubaty, "Ukrainian Independence Movement at the time of the American Revolution," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 3.

³ The Russian historian, George P. Fedotov, in his book *The Russian Religious Mind*, Harvard University Press, 1946, p. 330, asserts that the ideology of the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* was foreign to the Russian conception of knightly honor, for such a conception was known only in the west.

Studies of the Ukrainian emigration of the 18th century, the so-called Mazepyntsy, show the clearly crystallized idea of an independent democratic Ukraine closely connected by its traditions to the old Kievan Rus'-Ukraine.

On the basis of the monographic studies of the Ukrainian historians of the 18th and 19th centuries, Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, the greatest Ukrainian historian and the author of a 10 volume *History of Ukraine* drew a clear distinction between the Russian history and that of the other Eastern European nations in a treatise, *The Usual Scheme of Russian History and the Question of the Rational Composition of the History of the Eastern Slavs*.⁴

Mykhaylo Hrushevsky started with the actual ethnic and national division of the Eastern European Slavs into the three nations, Russians, Ukrainians and White Ruthenians and asserted that this division existed at the very dawn of history. The three Eastern European Slav-groups were therefore formed before the historical tribes of Eastern Europe were consolidated in three East Slav peoples. Leaving aside the political changes in Eastern Europe, the existence of the state of Kievan Rus', the Lithuanian-Rus' state, the Tatar state, the Grand Principality of Moscow and the Russian Empire, the three peoples maintained their identities with their own ethnic and spiritual qualities. It is therefore necessary to treat separately their histories. The existence of the Russian Empire is no reason for the treatment of the history of these three peoples as one stream of Russian history. Each of the histories of these three peoples have had their own course. Ukrainian history developed on the present territory of the Ukrainian people which was bent and broadened under the pressure of the hordes from the east but remained unchanged in its basic territory bordering with the Russian, Polish and the White Ruthenian people.

The oldest history of the Ukraine is the history of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine, which was the creation of the Ukrainian people. The state of Kievan Rus' was on its peripheries a multinational structure. In the northwest a group of East Slavic tribes quickly became differentiated into a separate people, the White Ruthenians, around their centre of Polotsk. The Russian people somewhat later, but by the beginning of the 12th century had begun to be formed out of the northeast Slavs and non-Slavic or Ugro-Finnic tribes around their political centre of Suzdal, then Vladimir on the Klyazma, and Moscow. Novgorod the Great developed its own political and cultural individuality and was only later absorbed politically and culturally by Moscow.

The old Ukrainian Kievan state was continued by the Galician-Volynian Kingdom which lasted until 1349 and after its fall by the autonomous Ukrainian principalities of the Lithuanian-Rus' state, which lasted until the new Kozak state formed by the rebellion of

⁴ Collection of articles on *Slavistics*, Vol. I, Petersburg, 1904.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1648. In a word, to the mind of Hrushevsky, everything which in prehistoric and historic times was developed in Ukraine was a topic of Ukrainian history because it was the product of the genius of the Ukrainian people. Everything that arose on the present lands of the Russian and White Ruthenian peoples was their property. Ukrainian history should not extend its field to the territory of present Great Russia or White Ruthenia and contrarywise neither Russian nor White Ruthenian history takes in what was done in the Ukrainian lands by the Ukrainian people.

The scheme of East European history by Hrushevsky based as it was upon the ideals of democracy and international justice was accepted not only by all Ukrainian but also by all White Ruthenian and progressive Russian historians. Prof. Hrushevsky only outlined his scheme of history of the Eastern Slavs but the historians of his school developed the ideas of their teacher and applied them to all fields of historical investigations, of literature, laws, arts, etc. As a result the Ukrainian conception of the history of Eastern Europe took this form.

KIEVAN RUS'-UKRAINE AND THE EASTERN SLAVS

The creator of Kievan Rus', as the first state political organization in Eastern Europe, was the Ukrainian people, i.e. the Eastern Slavic group of the Antae. This state creation was formed around the Kievan centre by alliances and conquests of related tribes, by the Kievan Polyane, who were also called Rus' (the Slavic theory of the origin of the Kievan state). The views of the Ukrainian Normanist historians as to the role of the Varangians in the creation of the Kievan state only slightly disagree with the view of Hrushevsky and do not reduce the decisive role of the Ukrainian people in the formation of the state. The culture of Kievan Rus' was based upon the culture of the prehistoric Trypillians and the partly historical Antae. It was greatly influenced by the culture of the Iranian peoples and of the classical Greeks through their Black Sea colonies. Thus the old Ukrainian culture of the first historical period was not only under the strong influence of Byzantine culture but also of the still older classical Greek culture.⁵

For the Kievan state, as an ethnically non-homogeneous political unity, Kiev was not only the political centre but also the ecclesiastical and cultural centre. In Kiev there was formed a special type of civilization which civilized not only the ethnic Ukrainians but also ethnically non-Ukrainian territory. The limits of this area were the boundaries of the ecclesiastical organization of the Kiev metropolitanate and of the East Slavic type of Christianity.

The Kievan state was maintained by the strong central power of

⁵ Andriy Kocevalov, "Ukraine's Participation in the Cultural Activity of the Ancient World." *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. V, No. 2.

the Kiev centre. This central authority weakened after the death of Yaroslav the Wise (1054) and there came the division of the old Kievan Rus' into fiefs. At once there emerged the ethnic individualities of the other tribal groups, the White Ruthenian people and the Russian people. These now formed separate nations on the basis of their national qualities and the circumstances that influenced their histories.

In Ukraine the aristocratic boyar element gained the supremacy and struggled against the urban democracy represented by the city viches (general meetings). The princes often relied upon the urban democracy but finally the boyars gained definite supremacy. This was best shown in the Galician-Volynian Kingdom. The democratic order became the characteristic feature of the Ukrainian people only in the following period, when after the loss of the higher classes the Ukrainian masses in the Kozak state revived the nation.

In White Ruthenian Polotsk the city viche triumphed and represented the urban population under the leadership of the rich urban class. The Hansatic cities which had commercial dealings with the White Ruthenian cities through the Baltic had an influence on the White Ruthenian republican framework.

Novgorod the Great, at one time a northern colony of Ukrainian Kiev, also came under the influence of the Hansa. This was based ethnically upon the tribe of the Slovines and created its own type of urban democracy under the leadership of the rich merchants. There is every reason to believe that the group of cities around and rivalling Novgorod as Pskov might have formed under the influence of Novgorod a fourth East European nation, but Novgorod was conquered in 1478 by Moscow, politically absorbed and its republican institutions and the freedom-loving character of its culture annihilated. That is why the advocates of the historical outline of Hrushevsky now consider the territory of Novgorod the Great-Pskov and the entire culture of this area as the property of the Russian people.

The Russian nation developed under special conditions in the north-eastern expanses of the principality of Suzdal, Murom and Rostov which belonged to the Kievan Rus' state. The population were only partially Slavic and the introduction of Kievan civilization, including Christianity, met there great resistance. For this reason in this area the Kievan princes strengthened their power through their princely and boyar retainers autocratically without the cooperation of the indigenous population, of "the tribal eldest" (stariyshyny rodov). A strong rule of the prince began immediately on the fall of the Kievan state centre. The absolute power of the prince became the characteristic feature of this third East European Russian nation, which had arisen on the colonial territories of Kievan Rus' with the centre in Suzdal, Vladimir on the Klyazma and finally Moscow. This was the beginning of the autocratic power of the Moscow princes, who soon took over the traditions of the dynasty of the Rurykovichy and their

aspirations to gather the old lands of Kievan Rus' under their own power. It is interesting that the same views of the division and the character of the new political centres in Eastern Europe were expressed by the authority on the history of Russian law, M. F. Vladymirsky Budanov.⁶

WHO WAS THE CREATOR OF KIEVAN RUS' CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION?

In accordance with the historical outline of Hrushevsky and his historic school, the Ukrainian people were the creators of the culture of Kievan Rus' which for centuries influenced not only the Eastern Slavs but also, even after the decline of the Kievan state, the Rumanians and other neighboring peoples. This culture was chiefly produced on Ukrainian territory. There were of course provincial centres of this culture as Novgorod the Great, Pskov and Polotsk; their creations obviously were the property of the Russian or White Ruthenian people.

The Ukrainian people produced the ecclesiastical organization and the type of Rus'-Ukrainian church culture. The Ukrainian people created the old Ukrainian literature, the old *Chronicles*. The genius of the Ukrainian people produced that epic masterpiece, *The Tale of Ihor's Campaign*, which shows excellently the Ukrainian freedom-loving spirit, of western origin, the respect for human dignity and the same ideology which we find centuries later in the Kozak knightly orders and the modern Ukrainians. The Ukrainian people created the legal system of the *Ruska Pravda* which is permeated with the same universal humane ideals. Even in the opinion of Russian law historians the laws of the *Ruska Pravda* are not continued in the legal system of the Grand Principality of Moscow but in the autonomous statutes of Ukraine and White Ruthenia within the Lithuanian-Rus' state.⁷

On the basis of the culture of Rus'-Ukraine was created that type of Ukrainian-Rus' civilization which with the aid of the Church Slavic literary and the official languages of the entire Kievan state spread throughout all the sections of the state. From Kiev came the ecclesiastical order, the mercantile system, and the type of Kievan-Rus' administration. The influence of the Kievan Rus' civilization in the expanses of Eastern Europe was nevertheless superficial. It was far from having the power to produce one Rus' nation.

The pure Church-Slavic language, which played the same role as Latin did in the West, never became the colloquial language even of the educated classes, not to speak of the masses; it was intermixed by educated people with local vernacular tongues. The vernacular speech was different on the territory of the present Ukraine, White Ruthenia

⁶ *Sketch of the History of Russian Law*. Petersburg-Kiev, 1909, p. 211, 61 sq.

⁷ M. F. Vladymirsky-Budanov, l. c. p. 211. "In the Muscovite State already in the 14th century there are no more traces of the influence of the legal system of *Ruska Pravda*."

and Russia. On the territory of the present Russia a great part of the population did not even speak a Slavic language and was poorly Christianized. Accordingly the old culture of Kievan Rus', was the old culture of the Ukrainian people. The cultural values of that period created on the Russian or White Ruthenian territories (especially in Novgorod the Great) were the property of the Russians or the White Ruthenians.

THE MEANING OF WORDS "RUS'" AND THE "RUSKAYA ZEMLYA"

These two ideas of *Rus'* and the *Rus'kaya Zemlya* (*Rus' Land*) are found in the literature of the Kievan Rus' period. They are often misinterpreted from ignorance or deliberately, although their meanings appear in the ancient sources as clearly non-identical conceptions. The different meanings of those two conceptions are not denied even by Vladymirsky Budanov.⁸

"Rus'" has the narrower ethnic meaning and denotes first the territory of the Kievan Polyane, that is the territory on both sides of the Dnieper which in the 12th century came to include Volyn and the neighboring sections of Polissya (Ipat. 1152). In the 13th century Galicia is also Rus'. At the same time no part of Rus' are—Novgorod the Great (Ipat. 1147), Suzdal and Rostov (Ipat. 1141, 1146, 1148-9, 1154-55, 1175), Smolensk and the so-called Upper Principalities on the Russian-White Ruthenian border (Ipat. 1148).

Not only the Ipatyevsky version of the old Kievan Chronicles (which was made on Ukrainian territory) but the I Novgorod Chronicle (1149) believes that Novgorod the Great is not Rus'. Other sources of the 12th and 13th centuries make it clear that Rus' is only the present Ukraine. In the words of the Novgorod Chronicle the "Ruska Oblast" (*Rus' Region*) is only Kiev, Chernyhiv, Pereyaslav and Volodymyr Volynsky, i.e. Ukraine. The Lavrentyevsky version of the old Kievan Chronicles, which was prepared on the present Russian territory, expressly differentiates Rusky Pereyaslav (in Ukraine) from the Zalisyan Pereyaslav in territory of Moscow (Lavr. 1199, 1201, 1215, 1227, 1228, 1230). In a word Rus' is the basic territory of the Rus' state, i.e. the present Ukraine, and all the other lands in the Kievan state had been annexed by Rus'-Ukraine.

The words "Rus' Land" (*Ruskaya Zemlya*) have a completely different meaning. Rus' is an ethnic concept. The Rus' Land is a political concept for it is identical with the Rus' state. That is the sense in which the author of the oldest Ukrainian Chronicle used the word "the Rus' Land" on the title page of his work: "Whence came the Rus' Land." This means whence came the Rus' state. The chronicler speaks in the same way of the Lyadskaya Zemlya (*Polish Land*), the Uhor-skaya Zemlya (*Hungarian Land*) and the Hretskaya Zemlya (*Greek*

⁸ l. c. p. 24, 68 sq.

Land). In this sense the Rus' Land is not only the regions of Kiev, Chernyhiiv and Pereyaslav, Volyn Galicia but, also it includes Novgorod the Great, Rostov, Suzdal, and Polotsk. In this sense the chronicler uses the word to oppose his own to a foreign country. It is very natural that even after the division of Kievan Rus' by the last will of Yaroslav the Wise the moral bond existed between the separated parts of the Rus' Land. For protection against foreigners, the patriots of the Rus' Land appealed to all sections of the old Rus' state to protect the Rus' Land against the pagans or foreigners. We find a similar meaning of this term in the *Tale of Ihor's Campaign* especially in the address to the Vladimir-Suzdal prince Vsevolod. This sense of the Rus' Land we find also outside of Ukrainian territory used by the author of the *Word about the Ruin of the Rus' Land*, a work dating from the thirties of the 13th century. The author speaks as a patriot of the Rus' Land i.e. the regions included in the former Kievan state.⁸ There is no doubt that the civilization of Kievan Rus' had taken over many peoples outside ethnic Rus' and had produced that type of state patriots later used by Moscow, when in the 14th century, relying on the prestige of the dynasty of the Rurykovichy it claimed to collect from the Moscow centre the lands of the old Kievan Rus'.

KIEVAN RUS' AND THE THREE MODERN EAST SLAVIC PEOPLES

There is a tendency in studying the history of Eastern Europe to compare Kievan Rus' with the empire of Charlemagne, where also there developed three nations out of one state and each of them claimed the right to this empire. This is an extreme simplification of the historical process in Eastern Europe which does not correspond to the reality in the period of Kievan Rus'. The empire of Charlemagne joined two very different elements; the Romanized Gauls and the Germans, each of which in its own territory had made an advance in civilization along the line of its own ethnic character. Besides the empire of Charlemagne lasted a relatively short period and was not able to develop its own type of civilization. That had not happened with Kievan Rus'.

Accepting this line of thought, the new Russian historiography (Soviet and anti-Soviet), which is no longer able to deny the existence

⁸ He thus specifies the borders of the Rus' Land: "From here to the Hungarians, the Poles, the Czechs, from the Czechs to the Yatvyahy, from the Yatvyahy to Lithuania, to the Germans, to Korela, to Ustyug, where are pagan settlements and beyond the disturbed Sea, from the sea to the Bulgars, from the Bulgars to the Burtasy, from the Burtasy to the foggy Cheremysy, to the Mordva, all was subjugated by God to the Christian tongue, the pagan lands to the Great Prince Vsevolod and his father, the prince of Kiev, his grandfather Volodymyr Monomakh, to whom the Polovtsy brought their children as hostages. And Lithuania from the marsh did not come out into the light, and the Hungarians built stone cities with iron gates so that the Great Volodymyr should not attack and so did the Germans dwelling beyond the blue sea." (Cf. *Trudy of the Section of Old Russian Literature*. Vol. V, p. 188. Leningrad, 1947.)

of a Ukrainian people, draws the conclusion that Kievan Rus' was not an old Ukrainian state, a separate creation with colonial regions to the north but the joint property of the Russians, Ukrainians and White Ruthenians. Under this idea they formed at that time a single political nation and so they must form again in the future a single political nation, Russia or the Soviet Union.

The Soviet government has even turned this into a political weapon, for the Soviet hymn speaks of the joint Rus' which created three Slav nations now living in one Soviet Union under the leadership of the older brother, the Russian people.

From what has been said, it is clear that this was not the case in Kievan Rus'. Kievan Rus' and its culture were the work of the Ukrainian people. Rus' in those times was expressly identified with the modern conception of Ukraine and the old Kievan Rus' was not like the short-lived empire of Charlemagne but was rather like the Roman state of the period of the Empire.

The influence of the Kievan civilization on Eastern Europe during the existence and the falling apart of the Kievan state was much like that of the Roman (Latin) civilization of ancient Rome on its provinces with their different populations (Romanization). There also, with the help of the governmental Latin language, Roman religion, the commercial and administrative links, Roman civilization spread to all the corners of the empire. But the Romanization of the provinces was still superficial, as was the civilization of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine in the regions beyond its cradle in Ukraine. The disintegration of the Roman Empire at once brought to the surface the ethnic qualities of the Gauls, Iberians, and the other peoples of the former Roman provinces and while accepting as their base the Roman civilization, they created their own national individualities and cultures.

The same thing happened on the ruins of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. We can make out these differences and local patriotisms even in the middle of the 12th century. Novgorod the Great and Pskov lived their own lives, independent of Kiev. Polotsk went its own way and Suzdal (and Vladimir on the Klyazma) also became independent in the middle of the 12th century. In 1169 the Suzdalian prince Andriy Bogolyubsky ruined Kiev, "the Mother of the Cities of Rus'," the sanctuary of the Rus' Land even more thoroughly than had the Polovtsy and he adorned the cathedral in Vladimir on the Klyazma with the ecclesiastical objects stolen from Kiev.

That part of the old political structure of Kievan Rus' which survived the longest was the ecclesiastical metropolitanate of Kiev. But in the middle of the 12th century Prince Yury Dolgoruky of Suzdal appealed to the Patriarch of Constantinople to create in Suzdal a separate metropolitanate. He was unsuccessful. At the same time the bishop of Novgorod received the title of Archbishop. A definite ideological and ecclesiastical antagonism between Ukraine and the

present Russian territories was clearly seen at the church council in Kiev in 1147 in regard to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

In view of these facts, it is clear that the culture of Kievan Rus' arose chiefly in Ukraine and was the work of the Ukrainian genius. The Russian people took no part in its creation. The fact that the greater part of the monuments of this culture have been preserved at the time of the Tatar invasion in the north, on the lands of the Russian people, is only a proof that the civilization of the Kievan centre had already spread to all sections of the old Kievan state and was there highly cherished. Likewise many of the monuments of Latin literature and art were preserved in the provinces of the old Roman Empire and not in restless Italy.

The stream of the Ukrainian history found its continuation in the Halych-Volynian Kingdom, in autonomous principalities of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian State, further in the Ukrainian Kozak-State created 1648 by Khmelnytskys uprising and finally in the United Ukrainian National Republic 1917-20.

The White Ruthenian stream of history found its own continuation in the autonomous status of the White Ruthenian principalities of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian State, the Russian again in the lands of the Grand Duchy of Muscovy which emanated from the principalities of Suzdal, Rostov of the 12th century as well as from the united political structure with its capital in Vladimir on the Klyazma in the 13th century.

These are the general outlines of the development of Ukrainian and East European history as elaborated by M. Hrushevsky and his students and they have been accepted by all Ukrainian historians, wherever there is free science. The logicity of it and its firm basis in objective facts and historical sources have led all the White Ruthenian historians as Picheta, Lyubavsky, etc. to accept it as the basis for the White Ruthenian history. It has been accepted and applied to the history of the Russian people by the progressive Russian historians in the last years of tsarist Russia as Presnyakov, Lyubavsky, etc. Presnyakov even began his history of the Russian people with the beginnings of the Suzdal-Rostov principality, the predecessor of the Grand Principality of Moscow.

The outline of Hrushevsky became in the first ten years of the Soviet regime the official outline for the historical investigations in the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. More than that, it was accepted by the most eminent authority among the Russian Bolshevik historians, Mikhaylo Pokrovsky, the assistant commissar for education of the Russian Soviet Republic after 1918.

THE INFALLIBLE AND CONDEMNED BOLSHEVIK HISTORIAN
MIKHAYLO POKROVSKY

The October Revolution of 1917 in Russia faced the complete disintegration of the Russian Empire into national states, in which the national sentiments were developing rapidly. In planning to unite them again into the Soviet Union, it was necessary to make some concessions to the nationalities. They could not pour oil upon the flaming waters.

There is no doubt that among the scholarly supporters of Bolshevism in the first period there was a large progressive element which from an ideological viewpoint judged the Russian revolution from its best sides. Such was the Russian historian Mikhaylo Pokrovsky, who from the beginning took the Bolshevik side. Pokrovsky not only condemned the Russian tsarism as a black stain on Russian history but he attacked also Russian chauvinism and imperialism over the non-Russian peoples.

Pokrovsky, in introducing into the internal history of Russia the Marxist approach (the theory of trading capitalism) and the principles of internationalism, acknowledged the right of the Ukrainian people to selfdetermination and national development. He assigned the entire Kievan Rus' period to Ukrainian history and condemned Peter I and Catherine II as the oppressors not only of the Russian but also of the Ukrainian people.

Pokrovsky gathered around him a whole school of Bolshevik historians who followed their teacher. During the first decade of the Soviet government, his authority was almost undisputed and his ideas passed usually as the views of the official Soviet historiography.

They did not long retain this position, for in 1930 Great Russian chauvinism began to threaten the non-Russian peoples and the old ideological Communists were replaced by the Communist bureaucrats, the new builders of the Russian Empire. Very soon the historical outline of Hrushevsky was condemned, his historical school in the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was dispersed and his historical views which had defended an independent stream of Ukrainian history from the most ancient times to the present were condemned by the Russian Communists as anti-Communist Ukrainian "bourgeois nationalism." The outline of Hrushevsky is now on the Index in Soviet Ukraine as the worst crime against the unity of the Soviet Empire.

Pokrovsky died a year later (1932) and his historical school was soon brought before the court of Communist orthodoxy. It was several times condemned and then by a decree of the Sovnarkom of the USSR and the Central Committee of the VKPb, it was banned as an anti-Communist science harmful to the Soviet fatherland. The official Soviet historians considered the condemnation of the historical views

of Pokrovsky as the turning point in the development of Soviet historiography. It is worth while to cite the words of one of these official orthodox Stalinists, Smirnov: "The decisive moments in this task of a new periodizing of the history of the USSR were the two great events in the development of Soviet historical science: 1) the shattering of the anti-Marxist historical 'school' of Pokrovsky and 2) the publication of the *Short Course on the History of the VKPb* by Stalin in 1938.

"The shattering of the anti-Marxist 'school' of Pokrovsky was based upon a decree of the Sovnarkom of the USSR and the Central Committee of the VKPb, published January 27, 1936 together with an exposure of the anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist, really destructive, anti-scientific views on historical science, spread by Pokrovsky and his 'school.' It liquidated that outline of the Russian historical process which had been propagandized in the works of Pokrovsky and his followers, and also that 'periodizing' which was contained in these works."

"The liquidation of *this deeply vicious historical outline (with its omission of the Kievan Period)*, the anti-Marxist theory of 'trading capitalism', by the perversion of the actual role of the movements for national liberation—from the battle of Kulikovo to the popular movement headed by Minin and Pozharsky and the 'unveiling' of the real progressive leaders as Peter I, cleared the way for the Soviet historians".⁹ Soviet official historiography considered Pokrovsky's acceptance of the outline of Hrushevsky as his chief fault. "The omission of the Kievan Period" from the Russian history in the interests of the Ukrainian people, i.e. the historical views regarded in the Soviets for 15 years as the most scientific and infallible, now in 1930 after the liquidation of Hrushevsky and his school became 'anti-Marxist, unscientific, and exceedingly harmful for the fatherland."

There is no doubt that this rejection of the scientific ideas of Pokrovsky in the Soviets was greatly influenced by the nationalistic historical theory of the Eurasians, which was created in the emigration but was soon practically accepted in the Soviet Union as a historical theory which would be valuable in the building of a Soviet empire and with special importance in Asia. The Russian Eurasian historians emphasized the importance of the Asiatic influences in the creation of the Russian nation, Russian culture and the Russian Empire in the past and in the future. The Eurasians could not deny such an evident fact as the existence of a separate Ukrainian people, but they regarded the period of Kievan Rus' as the joint property of the Russians, Ukrain-

⁹ N. Smirnov, General Question of the Periodizing of the History of the USSR, *Voprosy Istorii*, December, 1950, pp. 77-78. Official decree on the liquidation of the historical views of Pokrovsky published separately: *Collection Toward the Study of History*, Partizdat CK VKPb, 1937.

ians and White Ruthenians, as peoples forming a constituent part of a political united Russian Nation.¹⁰

After the controverting of the school of Pokrovsky, the Eurasian views became noticeable in the official Bolshevik historian of the period, A. M. Pankratova, in her four volume handbook of the *History of the USSR*, published in Moscow, 1940-41, under very definite Eurasian inspiration tracing the beginnings of the culture of the present Russian Empire even in Assyrian times, because that culture was expanded on certain territories of the present Soviet Empire.

The increase in the power of the Soviet Empire after World War II and the simultaneous development of the centrifugal forces through the arousing of the nationalisms of the non-Russian peoples by the war has caused the Soviets as formerly the tsar to seek a firm basis for the Red Russian Empire in the form of one nation, a newly created "Soviet people." There began a nervous search for a new historical conception under the innocent name of the "*periodizing*" of the history of the USSR. For some years the old one Russian people had been replaced by the idea of the Soviet people, which was to support the Empire. The maintenance of the Red Empire and its interests now became the leading idea of the new Soviet historical science. Yet the kernel of the Empire had to be the Slavic-speaking people and so now in the *Soviets the linguistic and historical sciences are instructed to prove that one Russian people existed in the period over the whole territory of Rus' State already in the IX century*. It had to have one language, one set of customs, one law, one culture,—in a word, all the attributes necessary for one people. That one Russian people broke up for economic reasons during the later part of the 11th century.

Of course in early historical times there were two important groups in Eastern Europe, the Antae alliance of tribes (the former Dulibsky Alliance of Prof. Klyuchevsky) of the II-VII centuries and the north-eastern group of Slavic tribes. The Antae alliance formed a sort of Slav state parallel to the Slav state of Samo in the west but it was destroyed by the Avars (Stalinist law of integration-disintegration).¹¹

After the fall of the Avars, the Antae began again a new state creation, that of Kievan Rus'. The Kievan Rus' state created one Russian people (the law of integration). Then, it is claimed, there was created one Russian language, first as the language of the upper class, and later as the language of the masses. This took place even before Christianization. The same language had to be spoken in Kiev, Novgorod the Great and in Suzdal-Rostov. Next was created the patriotism of the "Russian Land." There was created one material and spiritual

¹⁰ The most prominent representative of the Eurasian historical viewpoint among the Russian historians in USA is Prof. George Vernadsky of Yale University.

¹¹ V. Dovzhenyuk—M. Braychevsky, *On the Time of the Formation of Feudalism in Ancient Rus'*, *Voprosy Istorii*, July, 1950.

culture "from Uzhorod and Berlada (on the Danube river) to Murom and Rostov (near Moscow). The national unity was shown even in the architecture of the IX-XI centuries. In a word there arose one Russian people in the ethnic sense.

"In this unity," says Mavrodin, "we also see the great inheritance of the Kievan period . . . It is scarcely possible to doubt that in the IX-XI centuries, Eastern Slavdom was formed into the one Russian people . . . Thus on the basis of the old connections and traditions, on the base of the ethnic community of Eastern Slavdom in the conditions of the emerging old Russian state, on the basis of the community of language, customs 'of their fathers,' laws, ideology, on the basis of the unity of material culture and the contemporary struggle for the 'Russian Land and Faith' there began to emerge the consciousness of the unity of the Russian people."

"Thus on the basis of the merging into one ethnic mass of the East Slavic tribes in the IX-XI centuries was formed the Russian people, the distant ancestor of the Russian, Ukrainian and Byelorussian nations."¹²

The author speaks the language of Pan-Russian patriots of the XIX century, but he advances absolutely no proofs of the fact that at this period there existed one language of this "ethnic mass" of the Eastern Slavs, one set of customs, one spiritual culture, one law, even one ideology and one patriotism, whereas dozens of passages can be brought from the old *Chronicles* against all this argument of Mavrodin. The conception of one Russian people again is needed by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks for imperialistic purposes. The stream of such new Soviet history was indicated by the pronouncement on such an authority in history as Joseph Vissaryonovich Stalin.

After this assumed original process of the integration of the East Slavic tribes—assert the new Soviet historians—came the process of disintegration caused by the feudal dismemberment of Kievan Rus' and the coming of the Tatars. These events caused the arising of the three nationalities: "the really Russian, the Ukrainian and the Byelorussian." In the understanding of the historians who have constructed this new "periodizing of the history of the USSR," the Russian nationality came directly from Kievan Rus', while the origin of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian nationalities came later in the 13th century. "The problem of the formation of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian nationalities demands special consideration," remarks V. Mavrodin.¹³

All the authors of these new views of the existence of one ethnic mass of the population, especially of the existence of one language

¹² V. Mavrodin, *Basic Steps of the Ethnic Development of the Russian People*, *Voprosy Istorii*, April, 1950, p. 56 ff.

¹³ V. Mavrodin, *op. cit.* Different views expresses Vladymirsky-Budanov, *o. c.* 23 f.

throughout the whole of Kievan Rus' period rely constantly on the views of Stalin as those which will finally decide the question.¹⁴ This is a testimony to their scientific value.

In accordance with Stalinist dialectics, the process of disintegration followed the first process of integration. Now in the Soviet Union has come a new period of integration, i.e. the recreation of one Russian (now Soviet) people. The means of integration is the Soviet empire, the interests of which must be placed at the centre of the thought and studies of the Soviet historian.

The editorial staff of the historical journal, *Voprosy Istorii*, for March, 1951, collected all the opinions which had appeared in this journal during the preceding year and a half and came to the conclusion that before 1936 the harmful historical school of Pokrovsky took as the subject of its researches the popular masses. Now the new Soviet "democratic" historians place at the centre of their studies, the "state principle." *In the now accepted periodizing the "state principle" occupies a high place, the changes in the policy of the state and legislation are placed first while the history of the peoples, the history of the laboring masses is relegated to second place.*¹⁵ It is natural that in this period of the new integration of the Russian Empire as in the days of the tsars there can be no place for unbiased Ukrainian history. The present Russian historiography is making every effort to find in the new history of the Soviet Union one legitimate process of the development of a state type which lacks any natural process of development. The natural process of every empire formed of several nations is subject to the natural process of final disintegration.

IN THE DISCUSSION took part Dr. P. Kovaliv, Dr. Sichynsky, Dr. Dombrovsky, Dr. Kisilevsky and the author. Dr. Kovaliv touched the problem of the literary and vernacular language in the Kievan Rus' period. Dr. Sichynsky mentioned the ancient sources of Ukrainian folklore and the different types of architecture and painting in Ukrainian and Russian territories. Dr. Dombrovsky emphasized the influences of the classical Greeks on the customs of Ukrainian people. Dr. Kysilevsky paid attention to the fact that elements of the Ukrainian living tongue are evident in the literary works of the old Kievan Rus' period (Gospel of Ostromyr).

¹⁴ Smirnov, Question of Periodizing. *Voprosy Istorii*, December, 1950. The answer of Stalin to Sanzheyev in the matter of a common language. *Voprosy Istorii*, August, 1950.

¹⁵ The Summing up of the Discussion on the Periodizing of the History of the USSR. *Voprosy Istorii*, March, 1951.

The Nature of Ukraine and Its Influence on the Material Culture of the Ukrainian People in Prehistoric Times

by Gregory Makhiv

(Delivered at the meeting of the members of the Society, in
New York, Dec. 30, 1949)

THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT of a given people, as a nation, is closely connected with the development of the territory they occupy and with the evolution of nature in which they live and from which they derive the means of their existence.

The historical period of the development of the Ukrainian people embraces only the last millenium, when written monuments reveal to us the development of their spiritual and material culture.

But a profound knowledge of the ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian people cannot issue out of this relatively brief period, because the bases of the physical and spiritual cultures of the people had been laid much earlier, during those prehistoric periods of life (later part of the Stone Age) concerning which we have no written monuments.

The nature of the Ukrainian land areas and their evolution during the historical period continued the normal course of gradual development of those territories where the process took place. In that connection the chief factor of the various changes in the natural surroundings was man himself.

The ploughing up of the steppes and destruction of a considerable part of the forest influenced, of course, the climate of the country and the condition of its surface; and those changes became indisputably reflected in the economics of the country, requiring more rational methods of husbandry and compensation for some periods of time during which the natural balance was disturbed.

The sharp increase of the processes of erosion, the destructive influences of dry winds, drought, and so-called "dark storms," the worsening of the water level of our fields — all these negative phenomena are caused by man himself by his improper husbandry. But it must be admitted that man is likewise able to rectify them at a later time by a higher level of land economy.

The views of different scientists, as for example Liebig, and later—of the Russian scientist Williams, that the cultures of peoples often decline as a result of ignorance and violation of the natural laws, are of course an exaggeration and an untrue explanation of the phenomena of the political-social order.

The prehistoric period of the development of mankind left us no written monuments, and our knowledge of the life of man at that time is based solely upon the study of the material remains which have been preserved in the earth and found from time to time by archaeologists. These remains have been preserved only in a few places and are often represented by particular regional objects, less often by human skeletons. For that reason therefore it is very difficult to reconstruct the daily life of the people and culture of a given region on the basis of these remains. Hence it is quite impossible to establish their exact chronology.

The typological method of studying the products of very early man is most important in this case, because the man living in those times, becoming more accustomed to, and gaining more experience in, fashioning various utensils and objects appropriate to the prevailing conditions, changed their appearance and, as time went on, imparted to them a more improved and more complex form.

Along with this, archaeologists employ likewise the stratigraphic method, i.e., study the conditions which are conducive to the discovery of the material remains of man in the earth. But this method is legitimate only when it is used together with the geological investigation of the strata of the earth and when a normal sequence of geological strata is observed, i.e., the deeper strata by the older layers, and the outer ones by the younger. As a result of the diluvial or dislocating processes, this normal sequence of the geological strata is often disturbed, and then they no longer have any meaning with regard to the establishment of the chronology of the various cultures.

In connection with the difficulties of chronological distinction of the material remains of man, there arises an imperative necessity of studying the origin of mankind in prehistoric times according to a complex method, making, besides the fundamental methods of archaeology, anthropology and ethnology, full use of the methods of geology, geomorphology, paleo-botany, and the study of the fossil soils.

Ukrainian archaeologists, beginning with V. Khvoyko, have accomplished much in the way of establishing the origin of the Ukrainian people. Unfortunately, not everything discovered by the creative effort of Ukrainian scientists has been published. Many of their materials are still inaccessible to the scientific world.

In the works of V. Shcherbakivsky we have valuable summaries and a combination of archaeological, anthropological and ethnographical data; and in his course of lectures on "The Stone Age in Ukraine" we have a detailed analysis of the known materials and a full bibliography arranged according to the various divisions of prehistory. In 1947 Professor V. Petriv published his work on the Trypilyan Culture which became a component part of the ethnographic culture of the Ukrainian people.

In the mentioned works the authors have, among other things,

considered the problem of synchronizing the cultural remains of man with certain geological events, and present the problem regarding the connection of the very early man with the various factors of nature (e.g., the Tripilyans and the chornozem in the work of Professor Petriv).

Since we have some materials on the evolution of the nature of Ukraine in the glacial period, which materials we have collected during our investigations of the genetics of the soils, we will deal succinctly with these, simultaneously expressing the hope that the lot of Ukrainian science will allow Ukrainian soil experts and archaeologists to work often in common on the problems of the genetic interrelations of the Ukrainian people and their land.

Prehistoric man existed under certain, very often severe, conditions of nature, and continually felt his complete dependence on the natural powers. As much as he could, however, the early man applied to those forces his own activity, his mode of life, and reflected the images of that nature in his art. Only at a certain stage of culture a man may, in a greater or lesser measure, subject nature to himself, employing her forces as means for his own productiveness, and even create new landscapes. But the prehistoric man, even that man who belongs to the end of the Neolithic Age, found himself under the direct influence of natural factors which forced him to conform to them his entire mode of life. The type of construction of the Tripilyan settlements (settlement-enclosures for cattle) clearly confirms that. And yet even the neolithic man influenced nature to some extent; and what is even more curious—that influence, as we shall see later, is being documented even in our soils and geo-botanical maps.

Science places the first appearance of man on the earth towards the end of the Pliocene Age, when the climate of Europe was warm and damp. At the end of that period the Pontic (Black) Sea receded from southern Ukraine and in that part of the land there prevailed such climatic conditions as obtain in the Mediterranean lands with their perpetually green foliage and with the soils of the red soil type formed at the time on the red products resulting from the weathering of lime substances on the so-called *terra rossa*. In the Pliocene period the greater part of Ukraine was the southern forest-steppe, on which terrain leafy forests alternated with the expanses of the steppe; while the river valleys were filled with rich and multifarious fauna, such as three-toed horses, gazelles, deer, rhinoceroses, antelopes, mastodons, wild boars, beavers, ostriches and eagles. But we are not much interested in the reconstruction of the Pliocene period, because man in that period was still on a very primitive level and in his manner of life hardly differed from other creatures, and for that reason was not able to leave behind any material remains whatever.

We are mainly interested only in the nature of the Pleistocene, or the Quarternary Era, inasmuch as the existence of man, and even

the progressive development of his pristine culture in the course of this Era, is established without a doubt. Among the natural phenomena of the Pleistocene the most significant was the existence of four glacial periods, during which a considerable part of Europe was covered by solid ice, as today is Greenland, to the thickness of 1 km, with the exception of the narrow strips along the coast. These ancient ice sheets were incomparably stronger than the present ones, because they had formed as a result of the damp, cold climate that prevailed then on the vast expanse of northern Europe. These ice periods were each gradually followed by warmer interglacial periods, when the ice receded to the far north, and in the cleared spaces vegetation was renewed and soils were developed.

The surface of all the Ukrainian lands was covered with a layer of lumpy deposits which were formed during the glacial period and which, by their structure, reflect the different periods.

The territory of Ukraine was directly invaded by only one (the third) glacier (Riss) which left till and terminal moraines behind it in the region of Polisia and, spreading out in broad tongue-shaped prongs, pressed southward down the valleys of the Dnieper and the Don.

These commonly known events of the glacial period are variously explained in different scientific circles, and we are compelled to pause briefly in order to consider the factual Ukrainian materials. We are mainly interested in the evolution of the territories of the Ukrainian lands throughout the glacial and post-glacial periods; and we must be careful to investigate this process on the basis of existing Ukrainian research materials, and not on the basis of some artificially invented hypotheses, even if the latter tend to prevail in contemporary Soviet research literature.

The geomorphological evolution of the Ukrainian plain, as well as that of the neighboring countries, has its beginning in the glacial period, according to the views prevailing in the Soviet official science. From the deposits left by glacial drifts, because the entire territory of the country presented itself somewhat as if it were a sloping undismembered plain down which flowed the glacial waters during the melting of the ice. According to these views, even that surface deposit which covers compactly 5/6 of the territory of Ukraine, from Galicia to Kuban', and is called loess, likewise comprises the alluvial sediment that settled down from the glacial waters.

If we take into consideration, that the loess covers the higher points of Galicia (over 400 meters), of eastern Podilya (375 meters), of the Donets Ridge (370 meters), and that the difference between these higher points and the river valleys (the Dnieper valley formed as far back as the Pleistocene) reached more than 200 meters, it follows that the territory of Ukraine at that time must be imagined as being a freshwater sea with suitable depths. How could in such a sea, where

there undoubtedly existed currents of various strength, have arisen such a uniform, thin bed, so unlayered and rich in salts, as loess, is a mystery presented by the authors of such hypotheses.

The authors of this hypothesis imagine the evolution of the territory of Ukraine as its gradual emergence from the alluvial state in proportion to the formation and deepening of the river valleys, and to the processes of denudation and erosion. It is quite evident that the supporters of this theory consider that even in the late Neolithic Age the Tripilyans could settle only on the higher points of the plateau, because all the valleys, lowlands and ravines were filled with water.

In order to think in that manner one must deliberately forget the fact that the relief of Ukraine, in its fundamental features, was formed as far back as the Pleistocene and that the Dnieper and the Don glacial tongue-shaped prongs appeared for the reason that the valleys of these rivers had already been in existence before the approach of the glacial age and, according to new data, were deeper than they are at present.

The recession of the last (Würm) glacial epoch lasted 9,000 years. It is therefore quite erroneous to imagine this process as some sudden melting of the ice together with a formation of vast masses of water which could not but transform Ukraine for a time into a freshwater sea. The melting of the ice, of course, took place during the periods of warmth, but the water-glacial layers (sands) do not cover the watershed areas of Ukraine anywhere except in Polisia.

The climate of the arctic lands, as is generally known, is noted for only a small amount of atmospheric precipitation (the Arctic tundra of Europe has only 200mm. precipitation a year), and over the center of the glaciers an anticyclonal state of atmosphere is formed, in consequence of which in the adjacent plains prevail dry fens which result from the glacier. In such conditions the process of the mountain rocks becoming weather-worn, i.e., of that rock which is brought by the glacier and laid bare on the surface after the ice departs; continues with the accumulation of a considerable amount of salts which are not washed away, both as a result of the presence of the frozen deeper layers and of the drying up of the surface.

The richness of calcium, magnesium and sodium in salts is characteristic even for the present tundra areas of Greenland and Europe. On the surface of the tundra and on its exposed mountain rock researchers have observed crusts of salt.

The fanning away by the glacier fens of the products of weather actions (evaporation), which products, so rich in salts, had been brought by the glacier from mountain rock-sediment, and the deposit of dust particles on the Ukrainian plain—all this caused the formation of loesses. The hypothesis of the aeolian origin of loess, which was some time ago suggested by Pavlo Tutkivsky, is now confirmed by

all extant research material and needs correctives only as regards the prevalence of not eastern winds, as P. Tutkivsky believed, but of north-western blasts; for, as we have already established, the mechanical composition of loesses gradually changes and acquires greater clayiness in the direction from north-west to south-east, which means that the aeolian washing away of the dust proceeded exactly in the same direction. Our explanation regarding the richness of the Ukrainian loess in salts solves likewise the last mysterious problem concerning the loess.

The groundlessness of the alluvial hypothesis of the origin of loess is also proved by the distribution of the water-glacial deposits on the territory of Ukraine where they have watersheds only in the moraine-sandiver zone (in Polisia), and, beyond the limits of the former Riss glacier, enter only the river valleys and hollows, without anywhere covering the watersheds.

In their 20 to 25 meter profile the loesses of Ukraine are clearly divided into four layers, each of which corresponds to a definite glacial period (Günz, Mindel, Riss, Würm). The mechanical constitution of the various strata of loess is very close, with the exception of the loess of the Riss period which is noted for a considerably greater sandiness; and that is conditioned by the nearness of the zones where the drifting away and the drifting in of loess was taking place during that period of maximum glaciation.

On the surface of the second, third and fourth layers of loess we find fossil soils, quite similar to the present soils. These soils, as our field and laboratory experiments have shown, belong to the genetic types of thick chernozem, podzolized soils of leafy forests, and rarely swampy soils, solonetz soils and solonchak soils. Loess, as a thin, porous and relatively dry formation, fixes firmly the fossil soils and the organic and mineral colloids which are coagulated by the calcium of loess and, as a result, are not dissolved in the water. The geography of the soils of the interglacial periods is somewhat different from the present geography. And so in the Mindel-Riss and Günz-Mindel glacial periods chernozems reached the coast of the Black Sea which was then a semi-freshwater lake with its level lower than the present one by 40 to 50 meters. In the Riss-Würm interglacial period the coast of this lake was quite forested, especially with coniferous growth on sandy soils as is shown by the finds of fir dust in coastal loesses. The leafy forests, which were in the unfavorable conditions of the Riss glacial period, remained in several sheltered places (*refugium*) of which the following are factually established: the Dniester region (Warm Podilya), the Right Region of the Northern Donets, and the Donets Ridge.

The chief feature of the profile of the loess which belongs to the Riss glacier is that in the region of the Dnieper prong (tongue) it contains a stratum of the Riss moraine which is underlaid and covered by



FIG. 1.—Two cross-sections (20 metres deep) of the soil structure of Ukraine from the so-called forest area. The left cross-section was made in the Dnieper glacial protrusion. At a depth of 8-10 metres is seen the layer of the moraine. The profile of the forest is divided into 4 strata, in the upper part of each can be seen soil. In the left cross-section the present soil (the topmost) and the first fossil soil belong to the type of forest-steppe podzolized soils; the lower two fossil soils are chernozems.

The right cross-section was made in the steppe region of Ukraine, outside the limits of the former Riss glaciation. This cross section has the present (upper) soil chernozem and to this type of soil belong also the three fossil soils which formed the surface in the corresponding interglacial period.

Each upper level of the forest strata corresponds to a definite glaciation, of which there were four in northern Europe (Günz, Mindel, Riss, Würm).

layers of loess of the same mechanical constitution, i.e., those that belong to the same glacial period.

The full series of four strata of loess was not, of course, preserved solidly and uninterruptedly on the entire territory of Ukraine. Thus we find that it is partially washed away in the Donets Ridge, the stony top of which is covered with only two layers of loess: the Würm and the Riss types. But on all the steppe plain of Ukraine and on the Podilyan Plateau all four layers of loess, together with three buried soils, have been well preserved.

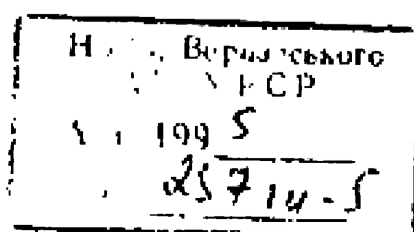
The stratigraphic significance of the levels of loess and of the fossil soils allows us to synchronize adequately even those material remains which are to be found in one or another level of loess. The traces of the old Paleolithic sites (Mousterian) in the region of Chernihiv, with the remains of the fauna, belong to the glacial period; and the fact that the products of the Mousterian man were found in the sub-moraine sands of the Riss glacier, confirms the synchronization of the Mousterian period with the maximal (third) glaciation

which was the only one that proceeded across the boundaries of Ukraine. This, of course, was not the warm Mindel-Riss interglacial, but a later period of the advance of the Riss glacier, before which the Mousterian man withdrew and finally found refuge in the caves of the Crimea. In the Paleolithic finds of Bonch-Osmolovsky in the Crimea there were an arctic fauna, coal, birches, etc. The conditions of the tundra in the Crimea apparently prevailed only during the maximal expansion of the Riss glacier which, in Ukraine, spread along the valley of the Dnieper and reached Kremenchuk. Among the Crimean finds, a very valuable one is the skeleton of a human being belonging to the Neanderthal type. From *homo primigenius* to *homo sapiens* man had passed down a long-lasting road of evolution; and it would be strange to synchronize with the later Würm also the very early Mousterian and the younger Aurignacian. This evolution of *homo primigenius* may have been hastened by the migration of the more developed man from the South; yet it lasted for the three millenniums that separate the two different glacial periods.

The Paleolithic station in Novhorod-Siversky with its arctic fauna, among which the most convincing is the presence of lemmings, affirms the synchronization of the Ukrainian Mousterian with the period of the advance of the Riss glacier and of the southward expansion of the northern fauna towards the Crimean Mountains, and the corresponding withdrawal of man.

Most of the investigators synchronize the top Paleolithic finds with the maximal development of the Würm glacier and with the first phase of its recession. Stratigraphically the stations of the later Paleolithic are connected with the lower strata of the first (counting from the top) stratum of loess. The post-Bühlian warming of the climate is fixed in the profile of loess by a small organic stratum, and for that reason there is possible here a certain definiteness in dating suitable finds. The finds of an arctic fauna (in Hessen, Germany, and in the Chernihiv Station of Professor V. Shcherbakivsky) confirm the synchronization of the Aurignacian with the stationary stage, and the early recession, of the Würm glacier. And then the Eo-Aurignacian of Professor J. Polansky, or the pre-Aurignacian of Professor V. Shcherbakivsky could be connected with the advance of the Würm glacier and the second half of the Riss-Würm interglacial, but for that purpose one must know the fauna and the stratigraphical position of the various finds.

As for the fauna, it is necessary to notice that in each separate case what is more convincing is not the presence of distinct representatives of the polar or, on the contrary, steppe fauna, but a certain correlation or preponderance of either the polar or the steppe aspects or forms. The arctic forms of animals, as a result of the slow warming up of the climate, were preserved for a long time even in the steppe conditions of the interglacials, and approximately up to the middle



of each interglacial period the fauna shows a mixture of the arctic and the steppe forms with the consistent predominance of the latter.

In the first half of the post-glacial period, as a result of a very slow warming up of the climate, there was a gradual growth of nature in Ukraine. The last (Würm) glacier did not reach the territory of Ukraine, having stopped somewhere upon the expanses of Minsk, and for that reason the conditions of the arctic tundra prevailed only in the northern part of Ukraine, more or less on the territory of the present Polisia. Elsewhere on the territory of Ukraine, with the exception of the Carpathians and the Sub-Carpathian plains, where the local glacier prevailed, there was a gradual formation of the steppe with its characteristic flora and fauna.

Under the conditions of cold and dry climate, only the low-mountain forms of flora migrated at the beginning to the Ukrainian loess plains. To that flora belongs the Ukrainian feather-grass. That migration of mountain plants came from the Balkans; and on their way they were joined by some xerophytes from the East.

The formation of the steppe lasted a long time, because in proportion to the recession of the glacier there followed the process of the creation of loess with a very slow thickening of its mass. The witness of that period is the very formation of the loess thickness which is filled through with small channelled pores which are the former ways and passages of the roots of steppe plants. The present loess preserves in all its mass about 0.5 organic substances. The glacial fens deposited on the Ukrainian plain a thin, dusty, salt-containing formation—loess, which consisted mostly of mineral dust that was a little thicker in the northern and central part of Ukraine and was finest in the south-eastern part.

Thousands of mechanical analyses with the estimation of the fraction of sand and dust (0.05-0.001 mm.) and of clay (particles 0.001), which we conducted during our investigation of the loesses of Ukraine, gave us a clearer picture of the aeolian washing away of that formation on the terrains of all Ukrainian lands. For every 100 km. in the direction from north-west to south east, the number of particles 0.001 mm. in loesses increases by 7%.

In the origins of loesses one must differentiate their formations by way of deflation of the weather-worn products of mountain rock, which was brought by the glacier, from the processes of their further evolution which caused great changes in their physical-chemical state.

South-eastern loesses which always remained under the conditions of the driest climate in Ukraine, preserved a high content of salts, and show the presence of gypsum, while in the loesses of western and central Ukraine gypsum was washed away from the entire thickness of loess. But the Roentgen graphical analysis reveals, in all the changes of the loesses of Ukraine, traces of their former richness in salts,

especially the salts of sodium; and even the loesses of the Chernihiv region have in the composition of their colloidal part clayey minerals—aluminium-silicate salts of sodium (the mineral hedrocyte) and others. In the loesses of Ukraine, already after their formation, there took place, with various intensities, different processes of hydrolysis of the prime minerals with the formation of new clayey minerals of the Montmorillonite type and with a greater or lesser washing away of the salts.

The process of formation of steppe chernozems began in the very early period of the post-glacial age, for the climatic amplitude of the chernozem type in soils formation is very broad; as is known, chernozems exist extensively even in dry savannahs of Africa, on mountain plateaus of India, and even in quite severe temperature conditions in Northern Yakutsk in Siberia.

A semi-dry climate is the main condition for chernozem formations; and temperature conditions in summer should be of that minimum which does not hinder the development of the steppe plants and of the bacteria which transform the organic remains of plants into the humus characteristic of chernozem.

Under the conditions of a moderately cold and, in addition, dry climate, the migration of flora and fauna continued to the Ukrainian plain from the Balkans and the eastern steppe.

In the stations which archaeologists date back to the upper Palaeolithic, there are always to be found the remains of both the arctic and the steppe fauna. This transitional nature of the fauna was typical apparently also for the Mesolithic which is partly confirmed by the petroglyphs of the Melitopil region where the oldest drawings reproduce both the mammoth and the steppe horses.

Therefore in the nature of Ukraine early in the post-glacial age, there was a characteristic gradual dying off of the arctic fauna and a corresponding expansion and migration of the steppe fauna northward. The transitional zone of the forest-steppe did not exist as yet, because the expansion of the forests was hindered by the dryness of the climate, cool winds, and a considerable salt content of the soils, and only towards the end of the Mesolithic did the forests begin a broad advance on the steppe.

As regards the microlithic culture of the Mesolithic, its becoming accustomed to sandy terraces permits its synchronization with certain stages of the development of Ukraine's territory in the post-glacial period. The sandy drifts (dunes) are the formations of the sandy terraces of small rivers, which terraces as yet have no loess covering, and for that reason, during the Würm glaciation and the recession of the glacier, which corresponds to the period of the Würm loess formation, those terraces remained in the stage of flooding. From that stage they emerged only as a result of the epeirogenetic updoming of Ukraine's territory, the development of erosion, and the deepening

of river valleys. Chronologically therefore the microlithic culture corresponds to the beginning of a warm and damp period, i.e., it becomes connected with the early Neolithic Age, which fact is confirmed by the consistent evolution of the drawings of animals on the "stone burial mound" in the region of Melitopil (Professor V. Shcherbakivsky: "Kamyana Doba v Ukraini" [The Stone Age in Ukraine]).

In the age of the Neolithic culture the development of the climate of the Ukrainian lands reached a certain optimal manifestation. In other words, it was the age of a warm and damp climate. The leafy forests which, in the severe climatic conditions of the Würm glacier and during its recession, hid themselves in their territorially limited shelters, began in this Age to spread within the limits of the northern steppe of Ukraine, occupied the western and eastern parts of Podilya and in several places reached the Dnieper. On the Left Bank of the Dnieper the expansion of the forests, as a result of the influence of barometric maximums, was considerably smaller, but it became again considerable in the foothills steppe of Kuban.

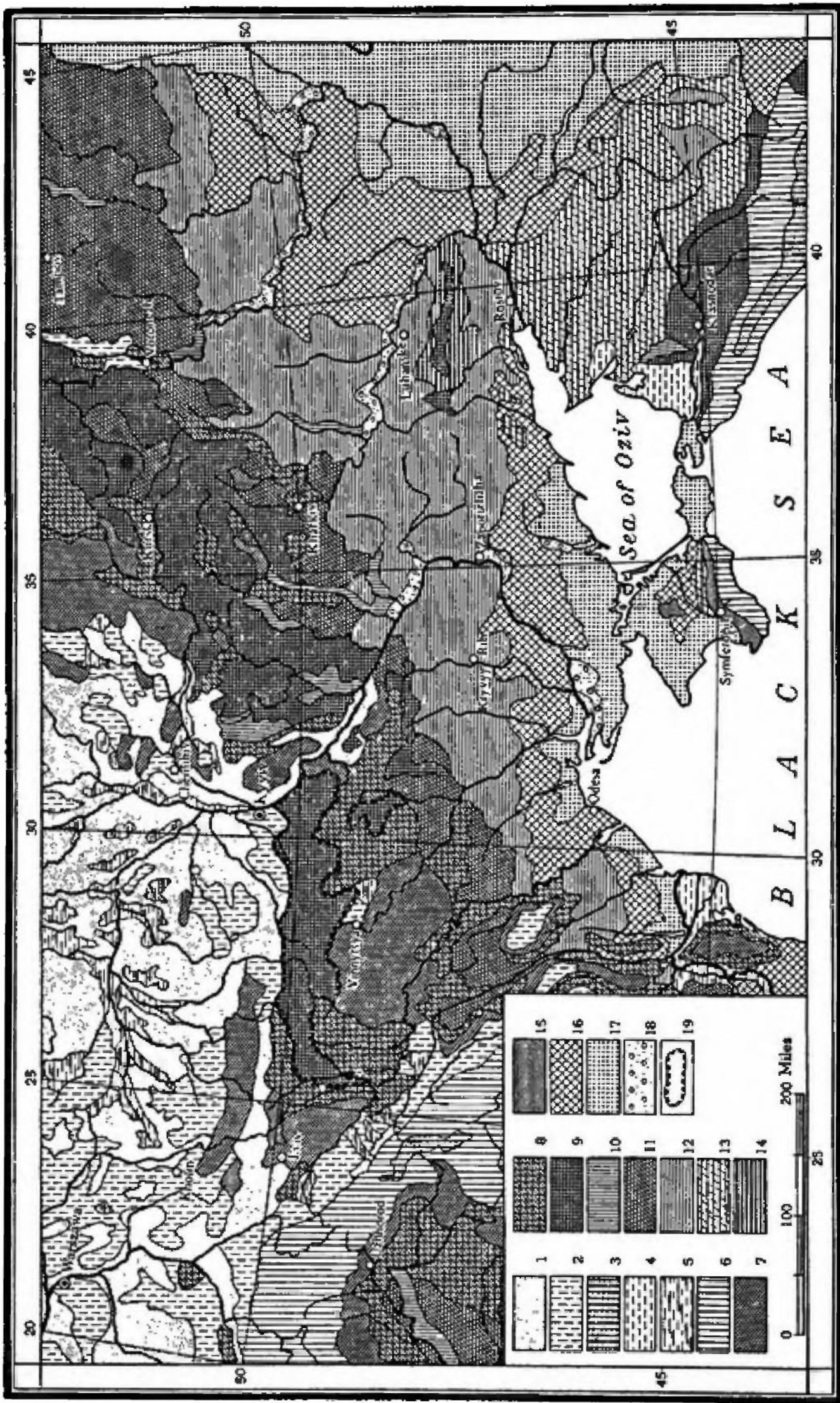
We see therefore that the formation of the forest-steppe zone of Ukraine is a relatively later phenomenon which corresponds chronologically to the Neolithic culture with its development of agriculture. That development was especially favored by the optimal climatic conditions of that Age.

In order to show the mutual influence of nature and the Neolithic culture we shall investigate the most important culture prevailing then in Ukraine, the so-called Tripilyan culture, or, broadly speaking, the culture of painted ceramics, which, in its various forms, was quite wide spread in all Ukrainian lands.

The culture of painted ceramics was the culture of an agricultural people, who simultaneously made use of wood both for construction and fuel. One of the tools of that time was the axe. In a larger measure therefore it was the culture of a forest-steppe country with fertile chernozems and optimal climatic conditions for agriculture. The population of that period had already mastered the chief methods of agriculture brought there from the south and south-east, cultivated cereal grains and possessed domestic animals and cattle. The knowledge of how to fashion clay and to produce ceramic objects of fairly high quality further characterizes this culture. To this culture is devoted Professor Petriv's special Study (1947) in which he places the Tripilyan culture in the third millenium B.C. He rejects quite rightly the ungrounded hypotheses regarding the too damp climate of Ukraine at that time, which condition was supposed to have prevented the Tripilyans from settling along or near the rivers. Professor Petriv states that the disposition of the Tripilyan settlements coincides with the plane of the expansion of chernozems; but at the same time he observes the absence of data regarding the forest areas of Ukraine in the Tripilyan period. But such data we find in the nature of the soils

of Ukraine. A soils map of Ukraine which we have prepared shows the extent of the forests in those times to be many times greater than at present. The forest, settling on chernozem, effects a sharp change in the soil, causing a redistribution of its colloidal-mineral portion and of the lime salts, as a result of which the forest soils have a sharply different profile from chernozems. This difference of the forest soils is being preserved throughout milleniums, and does not disappear even when the forest disappears and a new process of chernozem formation begins. This new process of chernozem formation changes only the top surface of the soils; in its lower layers there remain the characteristic traits of forest soils, and so the present soils map reveals the expansion of forest soils throughout several past milleniums. Besides that, in the profile of the soil we see signs of numerous and often repeated changes of the forest growth into the steppe growth, and vice-versa. The problem of the so-called "struggle of the steppe and the forest" presents one of the more involved geographical problems; and until recently it had no final solution. The soils map convinces us that the advance of the forests on the steppe, within the limits of the damp steppe or of the so-called "forest-steppe" in Western Ukraine and on the Right Bank of the Dnieper, was successful. The forests advanced in broad strips from the Podolyan Plateau eastward into the Kiev region and in several places (Kaniv, Chihirin) reached the banks of the Dnieper. But in their conquering advance the forests did not occupy any special steppe plateaus which undoubtedly were more suitable for them, because those plateaus, situated mostly to the north of the steppe-forest, were covered with lighter chernozems and had the most favorable climatic conditions for leafy forests. The absence of forests in the watersheds in the regions of the Seret and Stripa rivers to the south of Ternopil, in the surroundings of oak-beech-hornbeam forests, cannot be explained by citing the influence of natural factors. The absence of forests from the great steppe plateau of the Dnieper-Ros', and from the wide expanse of the northern steppe to the west of Bila Tserkva and further through Berdychiv-Polonno-Lanivtsi, remains a geographical problem to this day.

The problem of the absence of the forest has often been debated in literature, in which some researchers thought the reason for that to be the insufficient amount of precipitation (Behr, Midendorf, Vysotsky); others considered the main reason to be the physical properties of the soils and subsoils (Kostichev), and still others saw the reason of that absence in the richness of the steppe subsoil and soils in salts (Dokuchayev, Tanfilyev). Professor Korzhinsky explained the absence of the forest from the steppe by a struggle between the steppe and the forest growth, with the victory of the former. Finally, Professor Taliyiv of Kharkiv considered that the absence of the forest from the Ukrainian steppe is a secondary phenomenon and that formerly the steppes were compactly forested, but that those forests had been



Surface of Ukraine in Prehistoric Times. (See explanation on following page.)

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED ON THE MAP OF THE "SURFACE OF UKRAINE IN PREHISTORIC TIMES" (THE LATE NEOLITHIC PERIOD)

1. Pine forests on sandy soils and pine forests with a mixture of oak and sometimes of alder.
 2. Pine forests with a mixture of oak and hornbeam (*Carpinus*) and on eastern area of linden (*Tilia*) on sandy and clayey podzolized soils, sandy and light loams. On heavier soils deciduous forests of oak (*Quercus pedunculata* and in the western regions *Quercus sessiliflora*) together with ash, ordinary maple, and hornbeam. In Sub-Carpathia and on the Bessarabian plateau forests of beech and oak.
 3. Alpine fir and spruce forests in the Carpathians.
 4. Forests and meadows on seasonally flooded lands.
 5. Swampy forests of pine and birch and of pine and alder; in places swamps with alders and green moss.
 6. Forests of beech and of oak and beech on brown soils. Subtropical forests on red soils on the shore of the Black Sea (Crimea, Caucasus).
 7. Ancient expanses of forests of oak and beech (in the west) and of oak and hornbeam and oak and linden (on the left bank of the Dnieper), which spread from their places of refuge in the early Neolithic period.
 8. Isolated extensions of deciduous forests in the late Neolithic. The forest areas are surrounded by steppes or surround steppe areas.
 9. Steppes covered with colored, broad-leaved grasses, which have usually remained unforested, for in the late Neolithic, the culture of grain spread on the right bank of the Dnieper. The steppes on the left bank of the Dnieper remained without forests because the climate was unfavorable for forest growth. The steppes of the Kuban had islands of deciduous forests in the Sub-Caucasian zone.
 10. The alkali steppe of the middle Dnieper and the basin of the Tysa (Tisza) river—the Hungarian lowland.
 11. The unforested steppes with colored grasses. In these steppes oak groves are found only in the valleys watered by seasonal brooks.
 12. Steppes with the typical colored feathergrass.
 13. Oziv (Azov) steppes passing over to the southern steppes with the narrow-leaved feathergrasses.
 14. Stony steppes of the Donets highland with steppe and endemic (specially local) vegetation.
 15. Grassy steppes on cretaceous and calcitic soils in the Crimea and Volynia.
 16. Southern chernozem and south eastern steppes with narrow-leaved feathergrasses.
 17. Saline steppes on the shore of the Black Sea and the lower Don (salt steppes).
 18. Sandy steppe with patches of oak and birch (terraces of the southern rivers).
 19. Northern unforested steppe, where grain culture spread in the late Neolithic period.
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destroyed by man in prehistoric times. Even if all these various hypotheses, with the exception of that of Professor Taliyiv, could be accepted in order to explain the absence of the forest from the southern Ukrainian steppe, that absence from certain other parts of the steppe-forest remains nevertheless a mystery.

The maximal expansion of the forests within the steppe-forest region of Ukraine coincides with the warmest and dampest period of the post-glacial period which is removed from our own times by approximately five thousand years, i.e., it coincides with the development of the culture of painted ceramics. The advance of the forest was undoubtedly compact, because within the limits of the steppe-

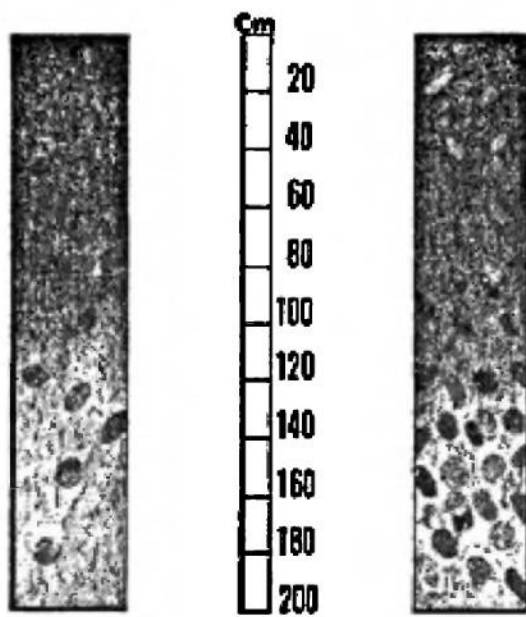


FIG. 2.—Two cross-sections of the chernozem soil. The left cross-section is the chernozem of the unforested steppe with the usual amount of animal burrows, i. e. passages of earth-digging animals.

The right cross-section is a chernozem of an old unforested area surrounded by forests. The animal population of the soil was so dense that the profile of the soil has been almost everywhere burrowed to a depth of 2 metres.

forest on the Right Bank of the Dnieper there are no parts to be observed which are drier as a result of climatic conditions, and neither are there any considerable areas of salt-rich soils. But the forests of those times met in their advance a considerably expanded agricultural industry which prevented them from occupying those steppe plateaus. That was the Trypilyan culture which extended on the watershed of the Dnieper-Ros' (Trypilya-Bila Tserkva) to the north-west of Bila Tserkva and through Berdychiv-Kozyatin, and in Galicia—mostly on the watershed Seret-Stripa southward from Ternopil. A strip of forestless plateaus continues southward from Bila Tserkva in the direction of Volodarka and Stavische-Talne. In the region of Human, regardless of the fact that the forests had quite early forced their way into it from Podilya, separate steppe plateaus remained quite free of the forest, although they were surrounded by forests on all sides. The broad forestless strip of chernozems extends on the right bank of the river Sinyukha. Professor V. Petriv claims the region of Human to be the center of the Trypilyan culture. That is altogether improbable, because regardless of their being compactly surrounded by forests, great areas of chernozems had remained there forestless. That our hypothesis, regarding the possibility that the advance of the forest was stopped by the Trypilyan culture, corresponds to reality, may be confirmed by the fact that all steppe nature, which was pressed all around by forests in their overbearing movement, became centered on these Trypilyan plateaus. And so it happened that earth rodents (gophers), as they withdrew at the approach of the forest, settled precisely on these plateaus, burrowing the soil through and through. Those burrowed chernozems of the above mentioned plateaus are preserved to this very time, (drawing 2) but the nature of the tiny mounds, resulting from the burrowings of the rodents, such as the loss of color, indistinct boundaries, a second burrowing through the very

early mounds—all that bears witness to their being three or four milleniums old. The fact that gophers and other rodents were attracted to the Tripilyan tilled fields is explained also by the fact that the Tripilyan were adopting the fallow system of agriculture, and gophers find in a fallow ground most of those plants on which they feed.

One may also confirm the synchronization of the maximal advance of the forest with the Age of the Tripilyan culture by the additional fact that in the following prehistoric age the climate of Ukraine already revealed the tendency of growing colder; as a result, some forest plants requiring the comfort of warmth had already ceased to spread (beech and hornbeam). In the Tripilyan Age the forests had reached the Dnieper only in those places where agriculture (sown fields, to be precise) was absent, because the conditions of the locality relief were here unfavorable. Such is, for example, the compactly forested Kaniv region which, although situated near the chornozem of Tripilya but connected nevertheless with the processes of dislocation, has a very twisted relief and is so dismembered by deep valleys, that agricultural labor is here impossible. The other region in which the forest had settled very early, regardless of the contiguity of the Tripilyan fields, is the strip on the right bank of the river Tyasmin and between the Tyasmin and the Dnieper. The sands and the hilly, deep-creviced relief prevented agriculture here also. For that reason the influence of the Tripilyan agriculture on the nature of the steppe-forest was considerable, and it is well documented on the soils map of Ukraine.

In his invaluable work *The Origin of the Ukrainian People* (1947) Professor Petriv writes: "As regards black earth, what immediately arrests one's attention is the circumstance that the territory upon which the Tripilyan settlements had been distributed, coincides essentially with the area of the black earth in Ukraine (in the steppe-forest—G.M.). And at this point there naturally arises the question: did the Trypilyans settle only in those places where they found black earth, or did the cultivation of the soil for almost two milleniums, and their tillage by the Tripilyans, bring about the formation of the highly qualitative layer of humus. For the time being that question still awaits a reply." (Prof. Petriv: *The Origins of the Ukrainian People*, p. 4.)

As regards the coincidence of the distribution of the Trypilyan settlements with the expansion of chornozems, we have already dealt with that question above. Now we shall endeavor to answer the second question posed by Professor Petriv.

The Trypilyans could with their agriculture stop the advance of the forest on the steppe expanses which they tilled and sowed, but of course they were not strong enough to influence the soils to increase their quality, because agriculture at that time, regardless of its great expansion, could not but be primitive. In fact, there was

no need of a high technique of village economy, because there prevailed the fallow-ground system of agriculture, which meant that a given tract of land was tilled and sown for several years, after which it was abandoned for about a dozen years so that it might regain its fertility, while the tillers went to cultivate new tracts of land.

The nature of the Trypilyan settlements (field-enclosures) is also known for the fact that cattle was driven into for the night, to give it protection from wild beasts. The Trypilyans therefore did not gather manure and did not haul it out to the fields.

The fallow system of agriculture, as is known, prevailed in Ukraine even in historical times, and within the limits of that system nobody thought about better methods of tilling the soil, let alone about the means of its betterment by fertilization.

The Trypilyans had already such implements as flint, and sometimes even cooper, axes; but to clear the forests consistently with the view of transforming them into arable areas, they were not powerful enough yet. They possessed only the steppe chernozems dating from time immemorial, and in the profiles of those soils we see no signs to indicate their being contiguous with the forest even for a short time. Of course, the forests could have been burned down, but the task of clearing them was quite complicated in those times, and besides there was no need then to undertake the task of clearing the forest covering vast expanses for the purpose of increasing areas for tillage. It was only much later, in the period between the first and fifth centuries A.D., in the period of a new development of agriculture, that a full colonization of the steppe began and man expanded his land area for cultivation by clearing the forests. This new wave of agricultural colonization of the steppe-forest has clear signs in the nature of the soils, and those natural witnesses of the development of culture testify that the mastery of the wide expanses proceeded from the river valleys on an incline, and only much later did it move towards the higher points of the watershed plateaus. On the entire steppe-forest of the Dnieper's Right Bank we have the following general picture of the distribution of soils: near the rivers, on the lower level terraces, are situated the best chernozem soils, those especially which for the shortest time were contiguous with the forest (the degraded chernozems); further, on declivities, lie soils which have been more noticeably changed by the forest, while the watershed plateaus possess typical forest soils which are quite similar to those which border on the forests today. Such a distribution of soils we have, for example, in eastern Podilya and on the Volhynian loess plateau; and that distribution also indicates that the colonization of the forest-steppe part proceeded gradually, at the beginning only along the river valleys; and only considerably later did it also occupy a part of the watershed plateau by means of agriculture, because even now parts of the soils remain under beech-oak forests.

In the development of every new territory great significance is attached to the processes of geologic dynamics, i.e., the processes of mountain formation, of the epeirogenetic movements of the earth crust, as well as those of erosion. The territory of Ukraine at the beginning of the glacial period was not an ideal plain, for on the south-west and south it was surrounded, as it is now, by the mountains of the tectonic line—the Carpathians, Crimean, and Western Caucasian. The river valleys of the Dnieper, Dniester, Don and their tributaries were formed as far back as the Pliocene. Only the valleys of certain rivers in Polisia, as for example, Pripyat', were formed during the ice ages, because the Riss glacier in its advance radically changed the hydrographic network of the northern part of Ukraine.

In proportion to the development of the glacial masses in northern Europe, Scandinavia and the neighboring countries gradually dropped in relation to the Ocean level at the time when the territory of Ukraine rose gradually and revealed itself as a dismembered plain. The epeirogenetic vacillations of the territory of Ukraine, which consisted of periodic rises and falls, were repeated several times during the glacial period. At the beginning of the Mesolithic period Ukraine again experienced a rise. The Black Sea was then a semi-freshwater lake with its level from 40 to 50 meters lower than the present one. The Ukrainian crystalline Plate laid in the direction from north-west to south-east, from Volhynia to the coasts of the Sea of Azov, revealed the highest strip with an abrupt incline towards the north. In connection with that the Dnieper formed in the Zaporoggian region a great waterfall, because the difference in the levels of the central and lower Dnieper reached several tens of meters. Therefore the historic "road from the Varangian region to Greece" did not as yet exist, because the Dnieper in that part could not have been the road of communication, inasmuch as a boat would have had to be dragged by ropes across dry land and for greater distances, the banks of the Dnieper being too steep. The existence of that great waterfall is confirmed by the fact that below the Dnieper Rapids in the granite bottom of the Dnieper, at the present site of the Horse Rushes, (Kinsky Plavni) there is to be found a great basin formed by the waters of the Dnieper which fell from a considerable height. The rise of the territory of Ukraine caused at that time a great development of erosion and a deepening of the river valleys. The Dnieper and other rivers deepened their beds and the sand deposits which they left as sediment in flooded areas during the Würm glacier found themselves already at the height of ten to fifteen meters above the river level and formed sandy terraces of those rivers. With the geological age of these terraces one may synchronize the microlithic dune stations found in the sands of the regions of Chernihiv, Poltava, and Donetz.

And so at the very beginning the territory of Ukraine presented a

high, very dismembered plain, and the middle Dnieper was separated from its lower reaches by a huge waterfall.

The high coastal steppe north of the Black Sea had then a greater territory and a completely different coastline, joining the Crimea by a wide strip of the steppe. The Dnieper flowed into the Black Sea at the place where now is situated Tender Island which at that time presented a like sandbank to the Dnieper as now is presented by the Kinburn tongue of land. On the sandy coast of the Dnieper and the Lake (Black Sea) there was a luxuriant forest growth with a considerable part of it taken by pines, the dust of which is found in the loesses of the Nad-sivashya region.

Above the sandy coast of the Lake there rose a high loess steppe which was covered with chernozems and luxuriant plant life consisting of feathergrass (kovyl) and the various herbs of the steppe. The northern elements of nature being closely connected with the Würm glacier, continued for a long time yet on the sandy terraces of the rivers.

About five thousand years ago there began a new transgression of the Black Sea which became joined with the Mediterranean Sea and raised its level by 40 to 50 meters. As a result, there were formed estuaries of the rivers which flow into the sea, and the broad strip of the coastal steppe was covered with water.

Between 1925 and 1931 we investigated the terrace-delta of the Lower Dnieper and the Yahorlitsk and Tender Bays of the Sea. The bottom of these Bays (0-8 meters) revealed a loess steppe, and the small islands (Babin and others) were the raised points of this steppe which remained under water and upon which was preserved the steppe plant life and the soils. Our borings on the coast of the Black Sea revealed that the loess thickness had almost completely disappeared below the sea level. In the region of the Yahorlitsky Peninsula and Skadovsk-Khorly it does not even form a steep coastal bank, while the surface of the steppe inclines gradually and disappears under the level of the sea.

The lowering of the coastal steppe from Odessa to Ochakiv and further to Skadovsk, Khorliv and Balaklava in the Crimea is taking place even now. The famous Sebastopol bays are mountain valleys covered with sea water, like the Scandinavian fjords. The new transgression of the Black Sea continues and is slowly flooding the southern steppe of Ukraine and Rumania.

We had as our aim to establish the time which it took for such a noticeable destruction of the coastal steppe to take place. For that purpose, besides deep borings, we undertook to investigate the burial mounds which were to be found on the coast of Yahorlitsk Bay. What struck one's notice in the position of these mounds was the fact that the sea had begun to surround them with water, and that the soils around the mounds showed themselves to be the wet coastal saltwater area.

The mound near the village of Ivanivka, on the lower coast of the Yahorlitsk Bay, was excavated by us with the assistance of Madame Irena Fabricius who was the directress of the Kherson Museum. Under a high burial mound was found a very ancient burial place in a rectangular hole. Besides the skeleton of a man we also found the remains of an oak chest which was rotted almost completely. The hole was covered with chornozem soil which at present is not to be found in the surrounding district of the village of Ivanivka for tens of kilometers around. The hole was covered with some utensils which more resemble dippers for drawing water than ordinary spades. Madame I. Fabricius placed this burial at four to five thousand years ago, i.e., in the early period of painted ceramics.

It is interesting to note that in the Middle Ages, 700 years ago, this mound had been dug at the top (without touching the ancient burial) and in the hole made was buried a Mongolian horseman together with his horse and rich accoutrement. All the finds of that mound were deposited in the Kherson Museum, and after having carefully studied the material, Madame Fabricius and I were prompted to compose a collaborative work because these finds offered great opportunity for making interesting archeological and geographical conclusions. Unfortunately our work was interrupted by circumstances beyond our control and we no longer could avail ourselves of that material.

The burial mound excavated by us proved that at the time of that burial the coast of the Black Sea presented a high steppe with chornozem soils. The rise of the level of the Black Sea had a suitable influence on the level of the Lower Dnieper; the current of the river became slower and the Dnieper began to deposit silt at the bottom of the riverbed, which sediment now fills its valley and the vast deep basin below the Rapids. As a result of the rise of the level of the Lower Dnieper, the waterfall below the Zaporoggian Encampment became transformed into rapids. And so at the end of the Neolithic period the Dnieper began to assume that new completely changed aspect in which it has been known in early historical times, as a "road from the Varangian region to Greece." Since the time of that transformation the Dnieper certainly has played an important part in the development of the communications between the populations of the lower and central regions of the Dnieper.

The rise of the level of the Black Sea radically changed the nature of Ukraine's southern steppe. As a result of the drop-dust salt moisture being transported by the winds to the surface of the soils of the lower coast, these soils became rich in the salts of sodium and gained in salt content as time went on. Chornozems became transformed into saline dark-brown soils, and where the saline subsoil waters rose near the surface (2 to 3 meters) salt-marshes and *solonchaks* were formed. That the saline dark-brown steppe of Ukraine is not the result of the semi-desert climate, as some authors had thought, but was formed

exclusively under the influence of the Black Sea, may be proved by the fact that the soils here have all the while revealed the freshwater quality, i.e., the loss of salinity and the return to the chernozem type; but new quantities of salts which arrive from the sea prevent this. The salinization of the soils also takes place in another manner: during the blowing of the wind from the sea, the compact crust of salts on the surface of the Sivashi salt-marshes is broken and if a man walks towards the sea he feels the crystals of the salts strike his face. An actual "salt-storm" is taking place.

The present submersion of the coastal steppe under the level of the sea is confirmed by the findings of the "burrowings" in the coastal steep banks below the level of the water, and by the gradual increase of the area of the salt-marshes which are formed as a result of the rise of the level of the saline subsoil waters which are directly connected with the level of the sea.

In our research work we continued the study of the facts connected with the climatic optimum during the Neolithic period. Investigating the soils of the Carpathian Mountains we showed that the present layers of decayed matter beneath the black soil to be found under the fir-spruce forests of the Carpathians have relict signs of a former existence in the brown earth stage under beech forests. The geo-botanical investigation of the Carpathians, conducted by the well known Ukrainian botanist Yuri Kleopov, gave him the possibility of reaching the conclusion that in a former much warmer period the eastern Carpathians were covered with beech forests. Our observations of the Carpathian soils are not a single fact; a whole series of facts corresponds with it, and they all testify as regards the warm period which is separated from our times by three or four thousand years. In the Dniester region were preserved distinct relics of that period, such as *Tilia argentea* and *Hedera helix*. The warm, damp climate prevailing at the time of the Neolithic Age on the entire vast East European Plain, and even on the coast of the Northern Sea, was considerably warmer than at present, for the investigation of the tundra soils proves that the present soils of the arctic tundra were formed from the dust-particle soils of the coniferous forests, which, in the former climatic period, covered compactly the Ocean coast which is now forestless.

From what has already been said we see that the origin of the people proceeded with the accompaniment of certain changes in nature, some of which, such as the increasing cold of the climate during the glacial periods, interrupted the development of culture and forced man to withdraw southward; others, on the contrary, favored a migration to Ukraine of the southern peoples who brought with them agriculture and the experience of a higher industry.

Professor Petriv, in his work "The Origins of the Ukrainian People," writes that "as far back as in the Tripilyan period Ukraine

acquired a full amount of characteristic signs which remained as special attributes of the present ethnographic culture of the Ukrainian people." He characterizes further the Tripilyan culture as a "variegated and blossoming culture of vivid colors, intricate ornament, magnificent decorativeness of painted houses, vivid coloring of stoves, and multi-colourous designs of its kitchen utensils." A more luxuriant and picturesque nature than the one obtaining in our own times must have surely influenced the psychic nature of the Tripilyan man, since it had produced such a "luxuriant, unrestrained fantasy and a triumph of color (Prof. Petriv) in that particular art."

In the nature obtaining in the pre-Tripilyan and Tripilyan times the positive influence of the South reveals itself distinctly: from the South there proceeded to the territory of Ukraine a migration of plants from which the steppe plant life took its rise; and from the South came the numerous steppe fauna, and in the southern regions of Ukraine the leafy forests underwent all the misfortunes connected with the northern influence of the glaciers.

The southern transgression of the Black Sea created for Ukraine new and vast possibilities of relations with the southern cultural centers; and with the southern peoples Ukraine was invaded by agriculture and the knowledge of cultivating useful plants.

The prehistory of the material culture of Ukraine presents itself to us in the aspect of a shattered book from which many pages have been torn out, while on others only shreds of information have remained, and where only a few pages are to be found in a satisfactory condition. But we can renew the significant pages of this book, which is so invaluable for the purpose of establishing the origins of the Ukrainian people, by applying, besides the methods of archaeology, ethnology and anthropology, also the methods of natural sciences with the assistance of which one may delve into the prehistoric nature of things. Our present study is an attempt to make use of concrete data with regard to the science of prehistoric soils in order to recreate certain significant moments in the prehistoric material culture of the Ukrainian people.

IN THE DISCUSSION that followed A. Dombrovsky spoke about the Trypilyan culture; N. Chubaty emphasized necessity of cooperation in such problems of archaeology and ethnography with geology; V. Sichynsky paid attention to the artistic characteristics of Trypilyans.

The General Characteristics of the Scythia of Herodotus

by Aleksander Dombrovsky

(A Report of his study "Ukraine and the Ancient World" delivered at a meeting of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York, December 17, 1949)

SCHOLARLY STUDIES OF the most important source for the prehistory of Eastern Europe, and especially Ukraine, the Scythia of Herodotus, have already had a long tradition. As a result of the unwearied work of East European scholars (among them Ukrainians) as well as the scholars of the entire world, the evaluation of the work of the father of history and the interpretation of different passages in it have passed through a long evolution, much to the advantage of the author and his work. The development of the auxiliary sciences of history and the newer methods of scientific investigations have cleared up more than one question concerning the *Scythia* of Herodotus by giving an interpretation quite different from that of the scholars of the older school.

We can divide the contents of the *Scythia* into three parts: ethnography, geography, and history. All students agree that the ethnographical portions are the most important. The rich ethnographical material acquaints the reader with the life, customs and, in part, with the religious beliefs of the ancient peoples and tribes who lived in Eastern Europe, and especially in the pre-Ukrainian territory between the Carpathians and the Caucasus. It permits us to draw certain conclusions of an ethnographical nature. Among these one of the most important is that in addition to the various nomads, especially of Thracian and Iranian origin, who entered the pre-Ukrainian territory, ruled for a certain period and then vanished, there lived also on the Ukrainian lands from unrecorded times, probably from the stone age, a settled, autochthonous, agricultural population. This ethnographical substratum, in which the usually limited numbers of the ruling classes of the invaders were submerged, passed through various prehistoric cataclysms and at the time of Herodotus existed under the foreign name of their then conquerors, the Scythians. In the ethnographical section of the work there are evident remains of matriarchy, which was kept relatively late on the pre-Ukrainian territory as the result of definite social and geopolitical conditions. Sociology explains this phenomenon chiefly by the existence of a terrain favorable for nomadism, and ultimately by the close neighborhood of Asia Minor, where the matriarchal system was long preserved. This is the only explanation

for the Amazons and the Sauromatians. In addition to these two examples there are other definite traces of matriarchy in the *Scythia* of Herodotus. In view of the fact that the settled agricultural life of the autochthonous ethnic substratum continued side by side with nomadism, we must suppose that in earlier times, and even in the days of Herodotus, there existed side by side on the lands of Ukraine two forms of social order, the patriarchy and the matriarchy. The polygamy of the Agathyrsi with the community of women also creates the idea that in this case matriarchy had not been rejected since the father was unknown. Further, the father of history devotes relatively a great deal of space to the religious beliefs of the people of his time and skirts the edge of the veil of antique mysticism. Various passages in his entire work, but especially in Book 4, show that Herodotus had certain knowledge, especially in the field of religio-mystical beliefs, that he did not wish to reveal, as he confesses in his own words: "I know, but I will not say." This indicates that the father of history might have belonged to one of the ancient mystical groups, perhaps one quite close to the Pythagoreans, who were sworn by dire oaths to maintain certain secrets. No previous investigator has noticed this. As regards his use of ethnographical material, it is proper to say that Herodotus broke with the tradition of idealizing the peoples of the northern bank of Pontus and shows himself a realist in his depiction of them. The fear of the barbarian, so often met in ancient historiography, and especially in the Hellenic world, was alien to Herodotus. On the contrary, certain passages of his work indicate, if not a friendship for the barbarians, at least a highly ethical objectivity of a historian (the characterization of Darius, the mention of the Ionians who were guarding the bridge over the Danube, praise for the freedom-loving Scythians, etc.) This spirit of humanity, of superrational ethics, and even of a kind of cosmopolitanism, was also at the basis of Pythagoreanism and other religio-mystical groups.

The geographical part of the work is of less value, especially the hydrography. The father of history broke entirely with the mythical geography of his predecessors, especially Homer and Hesiod; but this did not preserve the geographical part of his work from great errors. His lack of knowledge of the terrain and the often contradictory information which the historian received from Greek merchants, probably in Olbia, or, in any case, on the north shore of the Pontus, had their results. Herodotus did not go into the interior of the pre-Ukrainian territory. His conception of Scythia as a square is completely incorrect. Perhaps his other ideas as to the geography of Scythia were based upon his conception of this shape of the territory. Yet the topographical excursus of the *Scythia* of Herodotus are at times excellent, especially his description of the region of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) with all of the details of a typical Ukrainian landscape.

The historical part of the work, which is built around the account

of the campaign of Darius against the Scythians, is full of errors which probably resulted from the author's ignorance of the geography of the country. The ancient historian says that Darius marched with an enormous number of men from the Danube to the Volga, a thing which is obviously improbable. The military operations of Darius probably were on the Bessarabian steppes. If the Persians pushed deeper into the country, we must assume that it was not much further than the region of the Dniester. The accounts of the campaign of Darius by Ctesias and Strabo are much more realistic than the tale of Herodotus. The fantastic story of the expedition dealt a blow to the authority of Herodotus, in both the old and the modern historiography. But the most recent studies have rehabilitated the father of history, for he wanted to tell the truth and did tell it as far as his knowledge permitted. To the historical part of the work belongs also the tale of the attack of the Scythians on Asia Minor in their pursuit of the Cimmerians. Here the father of history was apparently confused, for he wanted to connect the Scythian attack on Asia Minor with the expedition of Darius as cause and effect. At the same time there is a question as to whether these two events can be connected in one chain of historical events. Some passages in the *Scythia* of Herodotus assume that the political-social structure of the Scythians was founded on the principles of feudalism, but of a much more primitive form, suited to the comprehension of the East European nomad (the arrangement of the tribes during an expedition, the role of the Scythian tsars in the campaign against the Persians). In contrast to this Scythian governmental decentralization, Darius appears as the oriental monarch and autocrat in whose hands is concentrated all the power, together with the handling of the expedition.

In the *Scythia* of Herodotus we also find some statements on economic affairs. The settled population of the pre-Ukrainian territory receive their appellation from the general name of their conquerors, "ploughing Scythians," and according to the words of Herodotus: they "grow grain not for themselves but for sale." Perhaps the story of Aristes is an echo of very ancient economic relations between the lands of Ukraine and central Asia. Archaeological evidence supports in large degree the ideas of Herodotus about the Central Asiatic road, which led from Ukraine to the east. In the *Scythia* of Herodotus there are some traces of the personal observations of the father of history, but these are limited to the shore of the Black Sea. (The Scythian pot made from the points of arrows, a result of the visit of Hercules.)

The whole work of Herodotus, including its large excursus on Scythia in Book 4, is a proof that the father of history broke definitely with the oldest period of Greek historiography, the so-called logography, and took his stand firmly for actual history, a position later improved by Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. He also broke with the geographical studies of the so-called Ionian

school, with whom he constantly polemizes, for he did not like the Ionians and considered himself their equal. Without the *Scythia* of Herodotus studies of Ukrainian palaeoethnography and palaeoethnology would be almost impossible, the more so as this work has become to a certain degree the canon for many representatives of ancient historiography who have worked with the pre-Ukrainian past.

IN THE DISCUSSION that followed Professor P. Kovaliw spoke about the origin of the names "Scythes" and "Sarmathes"; Dr. V. Sichinsky rejected the view held by some that the inhabitants of Scythia were settled people; Dr. N. Chubaty suggested that there is no mention any where about a dualism in the religion of the inhabitants of Scythia; V. Shuhayevsky argued that the old graves reveal the Scythian era as between the second and seventh centuries.

The Spiritual Trend of Ukraine in Antiquity

by Aleksander Dombrovsky

(A Report based on his study *Ukraine and the Ancient World* delivered at the meeting of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York, March 3, 1951)

THE ORIGIN OF THE spiritual process of ancient Ukraine reaches back to the oldest prehistoric times when man first appeared on its territory. The oldest world of religious ideas of a Ukrainian human being in the antiquity is as yet submerged in the unfathomed abyss of ages. The most distant traces of that trend are indicated in the archaeological finds, especially those revealed in the excavations of grave-mounds, which disclose two main types of burial: crematory, which, according to some researchers, is characteristic of the Tripilyan culture and of the peasantry; the second type, that of burying the dead in a crouching position and covering them with ochre is associated with the nomads. The objects found in the mounds bear witness to the belief in life beyond the grave, because they reveal both domestic and military use. The crematory type of burial speaks for the idea of the emancipation of the soul from the somatic element, and reveals a higher degree of belief in afterlife.

Many finds representing figures of women in a pregnant condition point to the matriarchal system of tribal order as well as to the cult of the female deity, which most probably originated in Asia Minor. With this is perhaps connected the matter of the Amazon stories of Herodotus and other representatives of ancient historiography. It is of interest to note the archaeological finds of weapons, and even of altars, beside the figures of women in the tumuli of the Sarmatian age, which may indicate that the Sarmatian woman not only fought in battles but was also a priestess. In general, as a result of geopolitical conditions, the Asia Minor influences played a large part in the ancient historical period of Ukraine, especially in her spiritual structure. In the written sources for the prehistorical period of Ukraine, especially in the *Scythia* of Herodotus, and in the archaeological materials, we come across some, though not too numerous, remains of animism, fetichism and totemism. Rostovtsev expresses a view that the so-called animal style of the Scythian, or rather Pontic, art likewise appears to be a remnant of primitive religious beliefs.

In the *Scythia* of Herodotus we find a religious system of polytheism which was already fairly crystallized and comprised, besides the elements of Iranism, the marks of Eurasian nomadism, and was complemented, mainly among the higher strata of the nomadic popu-

lation, by features from the Greek religion and mysticism, as examples of which one may take the history of Anarchasis and Skyles (Herodotus 4, 76-80). Herodotus writes of the religion of the Scythians, the ruling class of conquerors (Herodotus 4, 59), and partly that of their neighbors, without directly mentioning even by a single word the population forming the substratum and subjected by the Scythians. But the settled, autochthonous population of ancient Ukraine which, in Herodotus, very probably appears under the appellation of "Scythians-plowers," undoubtedly had its own religion which was of a higher level than that of the Scythians-nomads. The religion of the population which formed the substratum must have been agrarian in nature. We find the agricultural character of that religion in hyperboreology, i.e., in Herodotus' account of the Hyperboreans (Herodotus 4, 32-35) who were thought to have carried the fruits of the earth as sacrifices to the island of Delos. It must be noted that hyperboreology was connected mainly with the cult of Apollo, hence with the Hellenic Pantheon. The hyperborean *motif* in the cult of Apollo originated rather in Delphi than on Delos. On Delos one hears more echoes of the influences of Asia Minor; while Delphi, as a result of its geopolitical situation, extended its influence to the Balkan lands and further northward. Only from there did the hyperborean influences reach Delos. The younger center, Delphi, revealed clear features of a social organization. In the older center, Delos, there emerged the cult of Apollo against an agrarian background, together with its matriarchal element. That is precisely why it is the hyperborean young women, and not men, who appear as ambassadors and carry gifts of the fruits of the earth to Delos, and not to Delphi which was closer to them. In addition to the cult of Apollo, there appears in hyperboreology the cult of Artemis. With the cult of Apollo is connected the history of such ancient miracle-workers as Abaris, Aristeas of Proconnesus and others.

Somewhere in the Homeric Age the spiritual process of ancient Ukraine takes on a clearer aspect and continues distinctly in two directions: down the road of Iranization of the ancient Ukrainian element, and by the infiltration of Hellenic influences into the spiritual nature of the ancient Ukrainians. It is quite characteristic that, on the basis of the known ethnographic materials, we do not find on the ancient Ukrainian terrain, either among the nomadic Scythians or their neighbors, any clearer signs of Persian dualism and demonologic elements. In the cult of Tabiti, the Scythian goddess of the hearth, one might notice the influence of the Iranian cult of fire. On the basis of the teachings of Zoroaster, Parsism propagated a settled life, which apparently had some influence on the development of the human spirit. Likewise the strict adherence to truthfulness among the Scythians and the custom of taking oaths on the royal hearth (Herodotus 4, 68) are clear signs of Iranism. Darius was supposed to have

hated the false god Smerd not so much on account of the latter's usurpation of the royal powers as, above all, for the fact that the god revealed himself a liar, pretending to be that which he was not. It may also be that the idea of the Scythian rectangle is connected with the Iranian world of mythology.

The influence of Hellenic culture, especially that of the Pantheon, on the spiritual process of ancient Ukraine, was quite extensive. The religious process issued from the worship of objects which man could seize with his senses, continued towards abstraction, and from there to spiritualization. With the rise, on the Black Sea coast, of a Bosphorus state, the Pantheon of the Greek colonists gradually assumed a greater political and social significance. The gods became patrons of individual towns and cities; and this political use of religion by the Greeks could not but have an influence on the religious outlook of the ancient Ukrainians. The Hellenistic culture, a syncretism of the West and the East, likewise had an influence on ancient Ukraine. In addition, elements of autochthonous nature increased as a result of the growth of man's awareness of his tribal distinction and of a kind of ancient Ukrainian patriotism which often gave way to so-called xenophobia. This spiritual process which, in the first place, was based on the influences of Iranism and Hellenism and was generally complemented by the Asia Minor elements, appears to be one of the most important factors in the formation of the Ukrainian spiritual individualism, hence of the Ukrainian people, who emerged at the dawn of the Slavic world as the heir of the ancient spiritual values and of the territory comprising the ancient Ukrainian Scythia. The closer the ancient world drew to the new era, the more radical became the changes in its spiritual life. The polytheistic system of religion, compromised in the eyes of the intellectual *élite* of the ancient times, ridiculed by the philosophers, and tolerated for the common good by official circles, began gradually to lose its authority among the great masses of the people.

The monotheistic ideas which were taught behind closed doors by the ancient religio-mystic orders composed of members sworn to secrecy, slowly found their way into the open, preparing the people for the lofty teachings of Him who was soon to appear in Palestine as the realized ideal of the Old Testament Messianism. On the soil of general enlightenment and deepening intellectualism of the ancient times the influence of the monotheistic system of the Old Testament Yahvism began to operate with an ever increasing sway. The fruit of this action in the ancient world appeared to be a type of Judeo-paganism which did not bypass Ukraine. On the basis of archaeological and epigraphical evidence we know that on the northern coast of Pontus, in Pantekapeia, Gorgippeia and Tanaissa, to be exact, there existed Jewish communities which were scattered in smaller groups likewise in other cities and towns. To these belonged also the faithful

of the local population who called themselves in Greek: "Sebomevoithean Hipsiston."

At the end of the third century of our era, i.e., in Gothic Age, there already existed in Southern Ukraine early Christian communities, which had accepted Christianity probably from the captives of Asia Minor, especially those of Cappadocia. The earliest dated monument of Christianity in Tauris is the old tomb stone found in Kerch, which bears the name: Eutropius. It is a plate upon which is chiselled out a cross together with an inscription: "Here rests Eutropius—601" (the date, according to the counting in the Bosphorus region, meaning the year 304). The Gothic Church in Crimea was under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine patriarchs who consecrated bishops for Gothic Ukraine. Two centuries of Gothic sojourn on the territories of ancient Ukraine must have led to a certain stabilization of ethnic relations, and that may have had a positive influence on the spiritual process of the ancient Ukrainian population by creating conditions favorable for Christianity. The Hun invasion in 375 shattered what was in a way a Gothic Peace and began new ethnic movements which to a great extent changed the spiritual countenance of ancient Ukraine, having torn from it the gilt covering of Hellenism and of ancient culture in general, and, as a result of the inflow of a new ethnic element, brought about the process of Slavonization of the ancient territory of Ukraine and simultaneously initiated new elements of spirituality into the life of the people.

A DISCUSSION of the Report followed, those taking part in it being: Dr. K. Kisilevsky, Professor I. Stankevich, Dr. V. Sichinsky. The first brought up the question of the Hutsulian dualism and its derivations. The second stated that the Slavs had a religion distinct from that of the Scythians and nomads, and that the Hyperboreans with their cult of Apollo exerted an influence on them; hence the religious syncretism. The third spoke of the cultural influences emanating from Asia Minor, and expressed regret that this matter has not as yet been adequately investigated.

Vernadsky's Conception of the Origins of the Slavs

(A WRITTEN REPORT)

by Roman Smal-Stocky

(Our recent publication, *Slavs and Teutons, The Oldest Germanic-Slavic Relations*, The Bruce Publishing Company, is devoted to the problems of the oldest Slavic history, which has now become very timely in the United States because of a forthcoming history of the state now called the Soviet Union)

TWO HISTORIANS, Prof. George Vernadsky and Prof. Michael Karpovich, are publishing *A History of Russia* in ten volumes. To date there have appeared the first (1943, 1944, 1946 editions) and second (1948) volumes of Prof. G. Vernadsky's *Ancient Russia and Kievan Russia*. Thus we are witnessing an attempt to present to American scholars and students a history of the state, now called the U.S.S.R., and of its origins, on a really large scale.

These volumes will obviously have a deep influence on the attitude American scholars and students will assume towards basic problems in Slavic history. We are certain, therefore, that in the interests of scholarly objectivity and historical truth, American scholars would welcome a broad critical discussion of these basic problems. And so it was decided to initiate such a discussion and to invite American historians to act as arbiters. The subject is limited in our book to: (a) ancient Slavic history, (b) the earliest Slavic-Germanic relations. We wish to investigate the following problems:

- I. The Proto-Slavic question, the Proto-Slavs and their aboriginal home;
- II. The relations between the Proto-Slavic and the Proto-Germanic peoples;
- III. Gothic-Slavic relations and Gothic cultural influences on the Slavic world;
- VI. The Rus' problem: a new explanation of this old historical term; a partly "Gothic" explanation (in opposition to the opinion of Prof. G. Vernadsky) will be presented.

To sum up Prof. G. Vernadsky's* conception of Slavic origin:

(a) He rejects the idea of one "aboriginal Proto-Slavic people, language, and mother country," but he postulates "one homogeneous Proto-Slavic cultural sphere."

* George Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1946, Yale University Press, pp. 1-8.

(b) He postulates three groups of Proto-Slavic tribes, the West Slavs, the Middle Slavs, the East Slavs, with their own dialects, but coming under different influences. The Teutons influenced the West Slavs, the Thracians the Middle Slavs, and nomadic and semi-nomadic steppe tribes the East Slavs. In spite of these various influences, he postulates however, a homogeneous "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" for a millennium, from 500 B.C. to 500 A.D.

(c) The East Slavs, who early developed navigational skill in the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea, came at the beginning of their history under the sway of a Eurasian influence.

There are obviously some inner contradictions here which do not elucidate the important question: Where did the three Slavic groups come from?

Why is this problem neglected, while the archaeology of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia from the earliest times is considered in detail? On what principle is the above division of the Slavs based? Where are their frontiers? Does Slavic history really start with three branches which are supposed to be not the branches of the "old genealogical tree of languages," but are based on the "evidence" of early authors? Does not the "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere," accepted for a millennium 500 B.C.—500 A.D., also have a history? Why has the Eurasian background influenced only the East Slavs and not the other Slavs? Is it possible to speak about a "homogeneous Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" if only the East Slavs were influenced by their Eurasian background? Are not these ideas of the "Proto-Slavic cultural sphere" merely "oversimplifications and generalizations?"

The following remarks can be made about Prof. Vernadsky's basic conception of Slavic origin and the Eurasian background of the Eastern Slavs:

(1) While fully appreciating the very instructive archaeological survey from the beginning of the Paleolithic Era, and the comprehensive Eurasian background of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia, every student of Slavic history must feel that in comparison with that archaeological survey the actual Slavic history, as given by Prof. Vernadsky, is much too brief. Archaeology is used very extensively up to the Paleolithic Era, but why were modern linguistic researches not also used to illuminate the darkness of ages?* His linguistic archaeology, which settled so many problems for the whole Indo-European family of languages and which has already developed into a separate science, nothing to say about the centuries before (according to Prof. Vernadsky) Slavic history really starts?

The results of linguistic research cannot be disregarded; indeed, they may be more valuable than those of archaeology. The discoveries

* Cf. the monumental works of V. Hehn, O. Schrader, J. Hoops, S. Feist, etc.

of linguistic archaeology are not mute, they are "vocal." Of course in the Soviet Union Western European linguistics and Comparative Indo-European philology were regarded by the orthodox Marxist scholars as bourgeois deceit and nonsense, until June 1950. (*The Controverting of Marr's Theory* by Stalin) but this branch of knowledge cannot be ignored in America.

As to the Eurasian background of the East Slavs we believe that the East Slavs also had a (West-) European-Slavic background, and that it deserves at least as much attention as the supposed Eurasian one. We oppose the constant exaggeration of Eastern and Asiatic influences and the underestimation of all connections with Western, especially Germanic, Europe. It seems probable that quite modern Eurasian conceptions are here reflected back into ancient times, creating some distortions.

(11) Prof. Vernadsky is badly informed about the present state of research in linguistics and Slavic studies in Western Europe and the U.S.A. when he believes that there is no sufficient evidence for the existence of an "aboriginal Slav people" and their "aboriginal home." He is badly mistaken when he believes that the existence of such a people is demanded by the "oversimplified scheme of the genealogical tree of languages." The genealogical tree of languages for the Indo-European family including the Slavic group was sketched by the German linguist August Schleicher (1821-1868), under the influence of Darwin's theory. He thus established the so-called "Stammbaum" theory for comparative philology. His *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* appeared in 1861. But already by 1872 Johannes Schmidt had refuted this theory and created his own "wave" (Wellen) theory in his work, *Verwandschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Schmidt, instead of using the picture of a "genealogical tree," describes linguistic phenomena as "waves" which diffuse gradually from the center to the periphery, all the time becoming weaker in impulse. In 1876 this theory was supplemented by the German Slavist August Leskien in his *Die Deklination im Slavisch-Litauischen und Germanischen*, where he illustrated disturbances and interruptions of the "waves" by historical events, migrations, etc., whereby "splittings" are produced. These "Spaltung" and "Wellen" theories complement each other and are the basis of the modern "Isoglossen" theory.

In spite of the fact, however, that philologists gave up the "genealogical tree" theory long ago, they believe that there is sufficient evidence to postulate not only an "aboriginal Slavic people, language, and home," but even a previous "Proto-Balto-Slavic" unit or a very close linguistic and cultural relationship existing between the Balts and the Slavs. Historians cannot disregard these theories in favor of such beliefs as those held by Prof. Vernadsky about Slavic history and origins.

This Balto-Slavic problem has produced a vast literature, and the establishment and explanation of the close linguistic and cultural relationship between the Balts and the Slavs is of paramount importance for Slavic history especially as far as the location of the "original home" of the Slavs is concerned.

The study of Slavic languages teaches us that the deeper we go into the past the more all Slavic languages resemble each other in all aspects: sound, declension, conjugation, word-formation, vocabulary, and syntax. Therefore the logical conclusion is that they originated from a common source, a common original language and its dialects spoken by an aboriginal Slavic people in an aboriginal Slavic habitat. Just as linguistic analysis of the history of the Germanic languages postulates a "primitive or aboriginal Germanic language" and an analysis of Semitic languages demands an "aboriginal Semitic language unit," so do the Slavic languages postulate their common aboriginal existence.

All Slavic languages developed from the dialects or dialectic tendencies of this aboriginal basic language, used once by an ethnic-cultural group, a people in their aboriginal mother country. Studies of the Slavic vocabulary and the whole grammatical structure of the Slavic languages led to the theory that there was a period of many centuries during which the peculiarities of this aboriginal Slavic language evolved, matured to a unit (of course with dialectic differences), expanded in space, and dissolved in the course of time. One of the best proofs of the existence of this aboriginal language is its common ancient loan-word strata. Moreover, this aboriginal Slavic language can be reconstructed with great accuracy.

It is not, therefore, the "genealogical tree" theory which postulates an aboriginal basic Slavic language, people, and mother country, but facts of linguistic research, a study of the history of Slavic languages, and the observation of modern Slavic languages and their dialects. If Prof. Vernadsky's "East Slavs" developed into Russians, Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians, the "Middle Slavs" into Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and the "West Slavs" into Czechs, Slovaks, Sorbs, and Poles, does not logic demand that the origin of these three branches be traced to a common aboriginal Slavic people having a common language? Why has the principle of linguistic evolution, manifest in the later development of all these supposed branches, the West, Middle, and East Slavs, to be excluded from an explanation of their own origin?

Finally, we must also stress that Prof. Vernadsky's belief that the West, Middle, and East Slavs "even in remote antiquity spoke their own dialects" is unacceptable to modern linguistics. This idea presupposes a clear linguistic demarcation line between the West and the

Middle, and between the Middle and the East Slavs. We believe that the contrary is the truth, and we are inclined to agree with the "wave" theory and the modern "Isoglossen" conception, according to which these three separate dialects did not exist and that the Slavic territory was differentiated by isoglossic waves gradually changing dialectically from the west to the east and from the north to the south at the period in question.

Prof. Vernadsky's starting point with the supposed division into three groups of Slavs refers actually to a fairly advanced stage of Slavic history. Earlier history can be traced back to the aboriginal Slavic period. This "three group" conception is, in our opinion, but a truncated edition of the "old genealogical tree of languages."

(III) Aboriginal Slavic and Germanic relations demand elucidation in the interests of history, especially in the interests of common Slavic history. The "East Slavs" have been put at once under "Eurasian" influences, and Prof. Vernadsky maintains that the "West Slavs" alone had "some intercourse" with the Germans in the west, and with the Balts (Lithuanians) in the north.

The science of linguistics demands:

(a) Not only for the "West Slavs," but for all aboriginal Slavic people, not "some intercourse," but, as we have already mentioned, at least a Proto-Balto-Slavic common culture for the earliest period. During the later period, not only the "West Slavs" but also the "East Slavs" together with the Baltic groups (including the Latvians and the extinct Prussians as well as the Lithuanians) participated in the very restricted intercourse possible at that time.

(b) Not only for the "West Slavs" but for the whole aboriginal Slavic people, not "some," but a very intensive intercourse (not with the Germans, because the Germans did not then exist) but with the Proto-Germanic tribes, the Teutons. This intercourse resulted in important cultural influences on all Slavs; influences which represent the oldest pages of Slavic cultural history and surely merit a presentation.

(IV) Gothic-Slavic relations in their cultural aspects are summed up by Prof. Vernadsky in four lines (vol. I. p. 120), in which the following loanwords are meant to show Gothic cultural influences on the ("East"?) Slavs: *kniaz'* (prince) from Goth. *kuni* (clan elder); *penazi* (money) from Goth. *pannings*; *polk* (armed people, regiment) from Goth. *volk*; *shlem* (helmet) from Goth. *hilms*.

We should like to point out that:

(1) *kniaz'* is not derived from Goth. *kuni*; Goth. *kuni* does not mean "clan elder" but "family, tribe"; such a Gothic word as *pan-*

nings is not recorded and must be marked with * as a reconstruction; Gothic *volk* does not exist at all.

(2) These four lines and examples do not adequately represent Gothic influence on the Slavs as a whole. This influence was more extensive and is, in our opinion, of fundamental importance for Slavic and especially Ukrainian history.

(V) In connection with this Gothic period we shall put forward a new explanation of the term "Rus'" in opposition to the etymology set forth by Prof. Vernadsky.

To sum up, three basic problems of Slavic History are included in our controversy:

- (a) The period when Slavic history begins;
- (b) The problem of the linguistic, cultural and historical background of the emergence of the Slavic peoples;
- (c) The problem as to which neighbors had the decisive cultural influence upon the rise of Slavic peoples.

Prof. Vernadsky answered the questions in the following manner: (a) a Proto-Slavic people did not exist; consequently, the Balto-Slavic problem also does not exist. Slavic history begins for him with the recorded tripartition, therefore (b) the Indo-European background also did not exist either for the Slavs, or the East Slavs who are put immediately under the Eurasian influences. (c) Thus he does not take into consideration the linguistic evidence of the Proto-Slavic—Proto-Germanic relations and of the Germanic influences upon the Proto-Slavs, and regards the Eurasian and Iranian influences as decisive for the East Slavs.

We regard this manner of thought as an "ideological marriage" of Prof. Vernadsky's Eurasian theory (a Russian offshoot, similar to German "Geopolitik," of Kiellien's theory) with the tenets of N. Ya. Marr's linguistic theory which, until revoked by Stalin in June, 1950, was the "official linguistic teaching" in the U.S.S.R., based on Marxism-Leninism, denying the conceptions of the Proto-Slavs and of the Indo-European family of languages. We oppose Prof. Vernadsky by affirming: (a) Slavic history starts with the reconstruction of the culture of the Proto-Slavs; (b) the background of the Proto-Slavs is formed by the aboriginal Indo-European people and its cultural heritage; (c) the oldest pages of the Slavic history are the Proto-Slavic—Proto-Germanic relations and Teutonic influences upon the Slavs, which were continued later by the Goths and Vikings. Thus not Eurasia but above all North-Western European were the cultural forces shaping the Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians and Novgorodians. (Among the Muscovites, now called "Russians," who arose by the hybridization of Slavic and

Finno-Ugric tribes, these influences were weaker. In the lower strata they were supplanted by Finno-Ugric, in the upper strata later by Tatar influences.) Finally, our Rus' etymology is but a corollary of this anti-Eurasian conception.

In order not to leave the readers in doubt, it must be stated that, in our belief, frank acknowledgment of cultural influences does not represent a depreciation or degradation of one's own race or extraction. For history has taught us that none of the European nations developed its own culture without foreign gifts and stimulation. On the contrary, we are deeply convinced that the acceptance of foreign cultural values, their digestion, transformation, and further development are convincing evidence of the cultural talents of a race.

Early Christian Architecture in Ukraine

by Volodymyr Sichynsky

(A Report on his study *Architecture in Ukraine*, delivered at the meeting of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in New York, December 10, 1949)

FROM THE OLDEST HISTORIC times the Black Sea coast of Ukraine played an important role in the history of culture and civilization of Eastern Europe, especially in its relations with the cultural area of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Greek colonies on the Ukrainian coast existing from the eighth century B.C. to the second century A.D., show a certain independence in art and life. In architecture they even surpass the achievements of old Greece, especially in the use of vaulting made of wedge-shaped stones.

When the wave of nomadic peoples passed through these regions, the ruin was not great. Christianity had spread much earlier in these old "Greek" cities, beginning with the third century. Then the Greek element weakened, and gradually the influence of the population from the north increased.

The old Christian period of the Black Sea area has interested scholars but little, especially Russian scholars, and, as a result, the architectural monuments have been investigated unsystematically and insufficiently, and not enough care has been taken to preserve those remains of antiquity.

At the end of the eighteenth century, as is revealed in the descriptions of foreign travellers, the remains of the old Greek colonies still stood as quite imposing ruins, with their defensive walls, towers, gates, ancient houses, and old Christian churches which sometimes had vaulted domes.

Since the time when the Crimea was annexed to the Russian Empire (1783), and during the several decades of Russian administration, all these valuable monuments of architecture not only disappeared from the surface of the earth but, in many cases, from under the earth, together with their foundations. They were demolished for the construction of "strategic" buildings, roads, "modern" houses. And the churches were "renovated" to the extent that they were rebuilt completely in a pseudo-Byzantine style, with material from the early Christian churches which were reared between the fourth and eighth centuries.

Investigations of the monuments of architecture and cognate research works on the ancient and early Christian periods, have been

done chiefly by foreign and Ukrainian scholars. Despite the lack of reliable investigations, the old Christian architecture of the Black Sea area gives us a majestic picture of the development of architecture and its high artistic and technical level beginning with the fourth century.

The most numerous and most valuable monuments of old Christian architecture were found in Chersonesus (near the present Sevastopol), some 27 buildings. Other monuments are known to stand on the shores of the Crimea (Gursuf, Mangun, Eskikermen, Kerch), and of the Sea of Azov. All the churches thus far discovered can be divided into four types: those with central foundations, basilicas, small chapels with one nave, and an intermediate type between the central and basilican types. The material of the structures, which might explain the origin of the building and the history of its construction, has been scarcely studied. We find two types and methods of building: with hewn stone, and with alternating rows of brick and stone. The oldest buildings were churches, baptisteries, and chapels of central construction, in the plan of a Greek cross with all four arms equal (fig. 1.). This type of building apparently best suited the mentality of the population. The rhythmic repetition of the structure in all four directions of the earth, with one hanging mass of symmetry, emphasized the impression of man's equality and of the equal worth of the people in the eyes of the highest Being, a lofty idea indeed. The centre of attention was focused on the middle of the dome, the high, unattainable, and eternally incomprehensible height and space, where rules the highest and All-wise Power. One of the oldest churches was studied by Father Trotsky. It dates from the fifth, perhaps even the fourth century.

Among the churches of the central type in Chersonesus, there existed also so-called rotundas (round churches) of which there was an especially interesting baptistery of large dimensions (13.5 x 12 metres) (fig. 3). Originally this baptistery had a vault over the apses and possibly a central dome. The method of building the walls of brick and stone was strictly Byzantine, while the brick itself approximated that used in Rome and Ravenna. The building was studied by Bertié de Lagard and gives us a rare archaeological case of being accurately datable, just before 602. This valuable building was completely taken down in 1891, when there was built a new Russian Church of St. Volodymyr. The plan of the baptistery (fig. 3) is very important for the history of the origin of this type of buildings. This form of the "acorn" was known in ancient Roman architecture (the Villa Adriana) and also in the Hellenistic centres of Syria. All other similar buildings in Armenia, Dalmatia, Constantinople, etc., are from later times. The rotundas in Chersonesus served as models for the rotundas in Ukraine between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, in Vyshhorod near Kiev, in Halych, Uzhorod, Volodymyr in Volhynia. A building

very similar to the rotunda of Chersonesus was found in Krakow on the Wawel in 1917, probably belonging to the twelfth or the thirteenth century.

The central type of buildings in the form of an equal-armed cross (fig. 1) became typical for Ukrainian wooden architecture, which is marked by its originality. In the stone architecture in Ukraine, this type is known in Senty in the Kuban (eleventh and twelfth centuries), in Sutkivtsy in Podilya (1470), and was widespread during the Ukrainian baroque in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The well-known Viennese professor, J. Strzygowski, and other students believe that Ukraine must be considered as the place of origin of the central construction (in the form of an equal-armed cross).

The second type of the Chersonesus basilica churches belongs to the so-called Roman type, which was also known in the East, especially in Syria. The oldest of these, perhaps a cathedral, was studied in 1862 by Count Uvarov. Just as the others (fig. 2), it had three naves, of which the central one was wider than the two side ones. The small churches and chapels were similar in both the central and the basilica types, and to these we can find analogies in the buildings of Ukraine between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries: Percyaslav, Chernyshiv, Starohorodka, Bilhorod near Kiev, Halych (fig. 4).

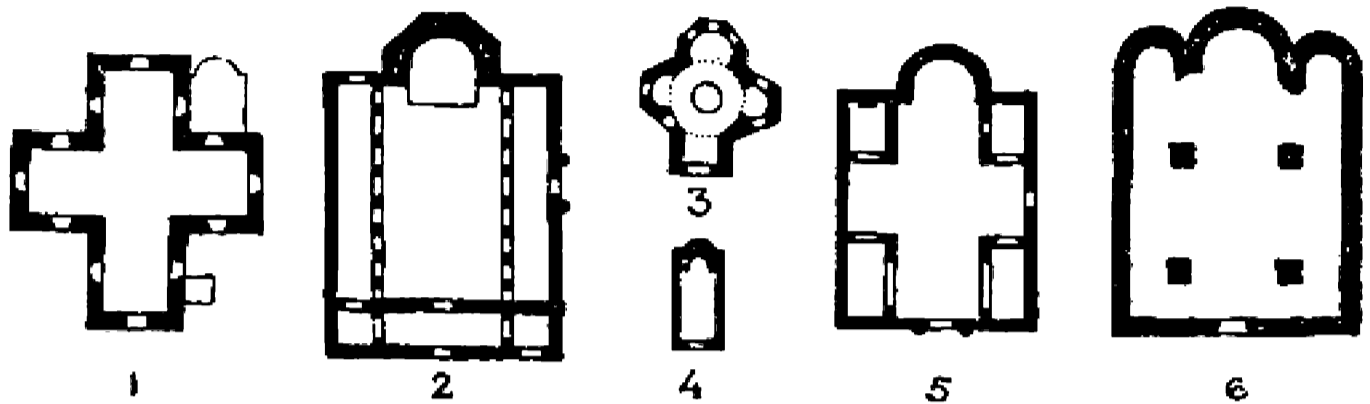
Along with these types in Chersonesus, there was developed an intermediate type of structure with three naves and three apses, where the central character of the structure was concealed by its greater size, but with the main dome in the middle (fig. 5). To this newer type belongs the Church of St. John the Baptist in Kerch, of the thirteenth century. This is the only building of early Christian times that is comparatively well preserved in our days, with fine arches between the four columns, pendentives and a dome of typically Byzantine style. The so-called Partenit Basilica near Gursuf, dating from the end of the eighth century, was also very important, for it was built of masterfully carved stone with sculptured details.

Two early Christian basilicas are known in Mangun and Eski-Kermen in the Crimea, both probably dating from the sixth century. Recently there were found small early Christian buildings in the old town of Sarhel on the Don, near Rostov on the Don (near the fortified places of Kubyakovo and Sambetska).

The studies of the last ten years have proved that the whole of the Azov region between the sixth and tenth centuries was thickly populated with Slav (old Ukrainian) tribes. This area formed a natural link joining the old Hellenistic and early Christian centres of the Crimea, Tmutorokan (Kuban), the Caucasus and Asia Minor with central Ukraine, in the central basins of the Dnieper, Dniester, and Buh.

From the Crimea and the Azov areas there spread into Ukraine

this intermediate type of structure, known in the Black Sea area between the eighth and tenth centuries (fig. 6). here were similar buildings in Ukraine between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, and they are typical of the period (Kiev, Chernyhiiv, Pereyaslav, Ostrih, Volodymyr in Volhynia, Halych, etc.)



The artistic currents which came from the Black sea region and were spread throughout the whole of Ukraine, can be confirmed also by historical sources, which indicate the connections of the old Ukrainian princes with the then Hellenistic and early Christian centers existing on the north coast of the Black Sea, from which they received their political and general cultural conceptions. Here special importance must be given to the little principality of Tmutorokan of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This was called by the Greeks Maeotian Rus', and by the Byzantines Tamatarkha (the present Taman in the Kuban). These Black Sea lands, in their turn, were closely linked with the Mediterranean cultural area.

DISCUSSION of the above Report: Dr. N. Chubaty agreed with the lecturer's views regarding Christian influences on the Crimean architecture. He stated that Prince Volodymyr was baptized in the Crimea. To the above he added the fact that the ancient basilica type of architecture developed in those regions which belonged to the Roman Empire. Professor C. A. Manning discussed the existence of Christianity beyond the confines of the Roman Empire. Prof. P. Kovaliv inquired about the written monuments in Ukrainian architecture. Prof. A. Dombrovsky inquired about the Gothic influence on Ukrainian art. In his reply, Dr. V. Sichinsky stated that in the east the cruciform type prevailed. Most of the inscriptions have not as yet been deciphered.

Sphragistic Studies

by **Vyacheslav Prokopovich**

(A WRITTEN REPORT)

(I-III Introduction, 80 typewritten pages. Foreword with three illustrations. . . . A posthumous work edited by Professor A. Yakovliv, and summarized by Professor O. Ohloblin)

TWENTY-FIVE TYPEWRITTEN pages and manuscript materials in separate notebooks were brought to order by Professor Yakovliv who prepared the *Index of Sources and Literature*. The work comprises five Studies and the final part with the author's conclusions.

In Study I, under the caption of "Sphragistics as an Auxiliary Science" (pages 1-28), the author presents a history of the development of this science in the West and outlines in details some of its more important literature, beginning with its founder, Conrad von Muret, in the thirteenth century. The author then gives a description of a seal as a subject of sphragistics, its definition, the terms which the science of sphragistics uses for the parts of a seal, and the images which a seal impresses on wax or on any other plastic mass applied to a document. He then discusses the contemporary stamps and critically describes the state seals of Ukraine at the time when the Central Council governed the country, as well as those used during the regime of Hetman P. Skoropadsky. He also deals with the project of a seal by M. Bitinsky.

Following these preliminary explanations the author deals with the importance of a seal in both public and private life, and especially with its import as regards historical sciences. He examines the foreign influences on Ukrainian seals and presents examples from old Kievan and Galician seals which reveal a Byzantine influence, and the seal of Prince Yuri II of the city of Volodymyr, and that of Prince Dmitro Koribut Olgerdovich, which both reveal the influence of Western Europe. The seals bear a variety of representations: hagiographic subjects, portraits of their owners, landscapes, architectural monuments, presentations of costume, fashion, weapons and objects in common use. The seals representing coats-of-arms offer rich material for heraldic studies and genealogy, and more especially for the history of Ukrainian noble families. These seals may be of great service in the matter of establishing the origins of those Ukrainian noble families which had been Polonized or Russified. Finally, the author explains the connection of sphragistics with other auxiliary sciences, such as heraldry, numismatics, palaeography, diplomacy, history of art, and iconography.

Then in Study II (pages 29-50) the author discusses that part of Ukrainian sphragistics which still has been neglected. He limits his *exposé* to a few observations, hypotheses and conclusions, and lists the works in that field of study by Barsunov, Slabchenko, Krypyakevich, and himself. In his outline of the history of Ukrainian sphragistics the author brings up the chronicler Nestor's mention of the seals of the "Rus' merchants." About the appearance of those seals we know nothing. The first known seals were metal "bulls" of our princes, and they bore the image of some saint and a Greek inscription. This Byzantine tradition was preserved in Ukraine throughout centuries, the exception being that the Greek legend on the seals in time gave way to the Slavic inscription. The image of Grand Duke Volodymyr on his seal, similar to the images on imperial and royal seals, reveals a West European influence; and, on the other side, the Trident, which we also see on coins, tiles and bricks belonging to the period of the Princes, may have been an emblematic sign of the seals. One may also suppose the existence of seals with "runes and incisions" during the period of the Kievan State, because runic signs could have been easily incised on the hard material of the seals, and likewise because, later on, runic signs gave a considerable number of heraldic bearings for Ukrainian seals. Beginning with the fourteenth century Ukrainian sphragistics enters the orbit of Western Europe, and there its technical level of workmanship equals the European standards, as in, for example, cameo seals. The transition to modern times brought a development in Ukraine of family seals, those bearing coats-of-arms. In the new age the seals bearing coats-of-arms predominate and, in their outward appearance, composition and workmanship, are related to Polish seals. But their contents, on the other hand, are genuinely Ukrainian. The Slavonic legend places a clear boundary between our seals and those of the neighboring Western countries with their Latin script. It is only in the latter half of the seventeenth century that Latin begins to invade the West Ukrainian seals, and in the eighteenth century it predominates over the Cyrillic script even on the Right Bank of the Dnieper, although the old Ukrainian signs and inscriptions on seals continue to exist.

In the age of the development of Ukrainian statehood, in the Hetman period, Ukrainian sphragistics likewise continues to develop, because the seals of the new nobility and officialdom bear the favorite kozak emblems, such as crosses, swords, arrows, bows, hearts, half-moons. The general type is that of coats-of-arms, and to it are added the West European types: equestrian figures, and iconographical, topographical and architectural types. The majority of the seals are round, oval, rhomboidal, as in the West; but we also have an original Ukrainian octagonal form which is rare in the West. The Ukrainian nation did not spurn foreign influences, but it digested them, making them conform to its own taste and needs.

Towards the end of this Study the author considers in this connection, the influences of, and relations with, Poland and Moscow, and deals with the great influence exerted by Ukrainian sphragistics on the lands that went to form the present Rumania. The Turkish influence in that respect was very limited in Ukraine. We see its results only on the seal of Yuri Khmelnitsky which was made in Constantinople and on which was engraved: "pohonyu, knyazhestvo Malorosiyske . . . tomu Yurasyu dannoye," and on the seal of the Trans-Danubian Sitch of the Eastern type and with a Turkish inscription. The Crimean influences were greater, as is evident on the seal of Sukhoviiv, and probably on the seal of Petryk, as well as on the kozak coat-of-arms seals. In Muscovy there were no distinct family or even individual seals, because every Muscovite could use any foreign seal he liked. The author gives two unbelievable examples of such a custom, e.g., the gem seal with the subject of "Leda and the Swan" on the testament of the monk Sergius Saburov, and the ring seal with the coat-of-arms of the German noble family of Weldershausen, with which Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich stamped his letters. After 1654 the Ukrainian influence was quite evident in the spread of the coat-of-arms seals among the Muscovite governors in Ukraine, and later it is seen even in Moscow in the reign of Tsar Fyodor Alekseyevich. On the other hand, the Muscovite influences are not evident in Ukraine. This matter, however, has not as yet been fully investigated.

Study III (pages 50-53) is devoted to the State Seal in general, and in particular to the special types of it used in heterogeneous states, and to the "Little Russian Seal" (*Pechat' Malorossiyskaya*). The State Seal is one of the external signs of Ukraine's sovereignty. In Ukraine it figures at the election of a hetman. Its impression and safekeeping is entrusted to one of the highest state dignitaries during the Hetmanate, the Secretary-General, and in Moscow—to the Keeper of the Seal, or to the "Protector of the Tsar's Seal and Secret Matters," in the West—to a "Chancellor or Lord Guardian of the Seal." The State seal has two chief elements: the emblem and the legend. The image of a ruler or the state coat-of-arms serves as an emblem; the legend gives the name of the state, the name of the monarch and his title. The various types of state seals have different forms and sizes, different titles in the legends, and different purposes and uses. In a heterogeneous state there were separate state seals for each of the component parts of the state. The Muscovite Tsar used the special "Little Russian Seal." It was considered as the sovereign's Great Seal. And this fact reveals how Moscow had from the very beginning treated Ukraine.

In Study IV (pages 54-60) the author writes about the State Seal of the fundamental type and gives its particular differences, its characteristics, and the more important moments of its evolution in connection with the scheme of its history. At the time of the revival of

Ukraine's statehood, its State Seal became the Seal of the Zaporoggian Army (Kozaks) with the coat-of-arms of that military Organization and with an appropriate legend around it: a kozak with a musket over his shoulder and with a sword and powder-horn at his side. From that time on, it appears that he remained in that attitude, as if on guard of Ukrainian "rights and liberties," until the end of the sixties of the eighteenth century; he survived the profound changes in the Ukrainian State, and even its very existence. As time went on, that Seal was technically improved.

The differences in the fundamental type of the State Seal, which resulted from the attempts at various political orientations after the death of Bohdan Khmel'nitsky, remain beyond the limits of observation. Yet these differences present much that is new and original. As sphragistic monuments they bear witness to the various stages of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for its independent statehood. A series of seals begins with the Seal of the "Great Rus' Principality" of Hetman Vyhovsky. Both in its content and composition this monument of the Union of Hadyach clearly reveals the separateness of Ukraine. Of no less interest should be the Seal of the "Reign of the Sarmatian and Little Russian Ukraine" of Yuri Khmel'nitsky. It is less known, and unfortunately we have neither a good reproduction of it nor its full description. It is also interesting in the complexity of its elements, as well as in the novelties which it introduces into the standard type: an equestrian figure, and an apple of state. Its legend is unknown to us, but, according to the general principles of sphragistics, it must have borne the title of the Duke of the "Sarmatian and Little Russian Ukraine."

Further, we have the Seal of Sukhovienko, who at the Zaporoggian Encampment was elected Hetman in opposition to Hetman P. Doroshenko. In its emblem it had a bow and arrows. The author's interest is also roused by the Seal of Yohan Duka, a Wallachian hospodar, whom, after the death of Yuri Khmel'nitsky, Turkey recognized as Hetman of Ukraine; and the Seal of Yohan Draginich whom Yohan had appointed Hetman of the Right Region of the Dnieper. Then there is the Seal of Petryk who so staunchly defended the independence of Ukraine. All these Seals are unknown to us as to their appearance, but they must certainly exist somewhere in Russian and Rumanian archives. Finally, the author pauses to consider the Seal which was designed by Governor-General Rumyantsev, and which was to replace the Seal of the Zaporoggian Army. The component parts of the planned Seal were to have been the respective coats-of-arms of the Ukrainian Principalities of Kiev, Chernihiv and Pereyaslav.

In the final Study (pages 61-71) the author deals with the "Seal of the Zaporoggian Army in the times of Hetman P. Orlyk," which was found, in 1838, in the Saxon Archives at Dresden. The author

notes that the reproduction of the State Seal of the Orlyk period has already been published by M. Voznyak in the collection "Mazeppa," Vol. II, 1939, but in much too small a form. Besides this there are likewise preserved two copies of the impressions of this Seal in the Archives of the College of External Affairs in Moscow under the original text of an oath taken by the Hetman, and on the letter written by Orlyk to the Zaporoggian Kozaks in 1719, which is preserved in the Moscow Collegial Archives dealing with the matters of Little Russia. Further, the author gives from memory the description of the document and of the Seal appended to it. It is a protective government declaration regarding the properties of Colonel Rohovsky, with P. Orlyk's autograph appended, and with the Seal impressed in the manner of that period—through the paper of the first page, and with a reproduction of the Seal on the third page of the document. The Seal represents a kozak wearing a high cap, and at his sides below: maces of office, batons of command, banners, *bunchuks*, spears, muskets and cannon. All this reminds of the Mazeppa period. The legend: THE SEAL OF LITTLE RUSSIA AND OF THE GLORIOUS ZAPOROGGIAN ARMY. The author supposes that this Seal was made during the hetmanate of Mazeppa, following his rupture with Moscow, at the command of Secretary-General P. Orlyk and according to his instructions. The Seal is important for the reason that it does not bear the addition—"of His Tsarist Majesty." Hence it is the Seal of a completely independent Ukrainian State.

In the "Conclusion" (pages 71-74) the author regrets the lack of interest in Ukrainian sphragistics by Ukrainian scholars. He points out the services this science might render to history, and outlines a plan of preparatory studies, investigations and lectures.

This work of V. Prokopovich is the first Ukrainian history of sphragistics based on documents and illustrations, and is a considerable contribution to the literature of this young and as yet undeveloped science.

"Pechat' Malorossiyskaya"

(The Little Russian Seal)

by Vyacheslav Prokopovich

(In connection with the question regarding the authenticity of the "Articles of Bohdan Khmelnitsky in the redaction of 1659")

V. PROKOPOVICH HAD PLANNED to write a research paper on the Seal which was prepared at the tsarist command following the signing of the armistice of Andrusovo in January 1667, and which had a particular purpose: with it were sealed all tsarist documents directed to the Hetman and the Zaporoggian Army, and it was used on other Acts dealing with Moscow's relations with the Zaporoggian Army, or, as it was then known, "Little Russia." For that reason it was called officially "The Little Russian Seal." It differs greatly from those tsarist seals that preceded it and were contemporary with it in its outward appearance as well as in the shortened tsarist title engraved in its legend which describes the Tsar as the "Autocrat of the Entire Great, Little, and White Russias," and especially in its armature which represents a scene of an hetman's investiture. That is why it deserves a special study. In the course of his studies V. Prokopovich observed that this Seal had been erroneously considered as the Seal "with the newly introduced abbreviated signs" of 1654, and that it had been used on the tsarist documents dated after March 27, 1654, among which was the document of B. Khmelnitsky with regard to the city of Hadyach. Among other things, this error served as a proof of the above in the polemics between Professor A. Yakovliv and the late Professor V. Shcherbina and partly M. Petrovsky concerning the authenticity of the "Articles of B. Khmelnitsky" in the redaction brought to Ukraine in 1659 by the tsarist ambassador, Prince Trubetskoy. The documentary materials collected by V. Prokopovich in the light of sphragistic research became, in the opinion of V. Prokopovich, convincing and decisive to such an extent that he changed his original plan of work, postponed for some future time the main part of his study of the "Little Russian Seal" itself, and began to write a second, additional part, in which he presented his arguments against the opinion of V. Shcherbina and M. Petrovsky. His sudden death, in June 1942, unfortunately broke off his work. Professor A. Yakovliv found the full text of the complementary part written in V. Prokopovich's own handwriting, together with the collected material from the main part, and in a separate note gave a description of the Seal for the sake of a greater

clarity of the matter and in order to make the reader more familiar with it.

This part of V. Prokopovich's work is based on numerous historical documents illustrated with arguments from the domains of sphragistics, diplomatics and numismatics, and solves many problems which up to that time had not been treated fully. In his work V. Prokopovich points out that the originals of the tsarist documents dating from March 27, 1654, and from October 4, 1654, as well as their impressions on the documents, would immediately solve the question as to whether the addition: "and of White Russia" was really begun to be used in March 1654 or later in 1654. But the originals of these official Acts are missing, and for that reason one has to resort to other documents. In the Russian practice a divergence between the formula of the tsarist title on the Act and the seal impressed upon it is an impossibility. On that basis therefore V. Prokopovich does not admit the possibility that in the Act concerning the city of Hadyach the "Seal of Little Russia" was impressed with its tsarist title engraved not in the way it was written in the text of the Act, but shortened and with the addition: "and of White Russia." One cannot admit even a suggestion as to any error in the tsarist title in the mentioned documents on account of the strictness of Russian orders, severe punishments, the complicated procedure of inscribing the tsarist Acts and their double readings in the Boyar's Duma in the presence of the Tsar himself. And so in March 1654 the tsarist title was written without the addition: "and of White Russia." Further, the author refers to a series of official Acts, both tsarist and Ukrainian, addressed to the Tsar between March and September 17, 1654, in which the tsarist title was also written without the addition: "and of White Russia." Finally, he refers to the new tsarist coins minted in June of the same year for the payment of a grant to the Zaporoggian Army, and in that connection he cites the report of Prince Pronsky to the Tsar dated June 25 of the same year, in which report was written: "on new *yefimka* roubles in the tsarist title it was impressed: 'of all Great and Little Russia,' and on the small golden coins the old stamp was preserved with the title: 'of all Rus,' " because there were no master-engravers to make a new stamp. The first title had begun to be employed in February 1654, as bear witness the contemporary documents cited by V. Prokopovich, and that only in the external Acts, in relations with the Zaporoggian Army, and in the Acts of the Army and Hetman to the Tsar; but in the Russian internal Acts the old title: "of all Rus' " continued to be used. In order that the new title might become general, a special tsarist order was necessary. And, to be sure, after such an order that compound tsarist title began to be used even in Russian internal affairs. Finally, V. Prokopovich presents the tsarist *ukase* dated July 28, 1654, in which there is no addition: "and of White Russia." Therefore it could not have been on the tsarist seal which was made after the

promulgation of the *ukase* dated July 1, 1654. Neither did that addition appear in the summer of 1655, as the letters of Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich, cited by V. Prokopovich, clearly show.

When, then, did the addition: "and of White Russia" enter the tsarist title?

The tsarist orders dated September 3 and 19, 1655, bear witness as to that. In the first order it was stated that the Russian army had occupied the capital of Lithuania, Vilna, and other cities in Lithuania and White Russia, and that the Kozak Army had entered cities in Volhynia and Podolya, and for that reason "We, the Great Sovereign, have directed that We be inscribed in Our imperial denomination and title as the Great Prince of Lithuania and of White Russia, Volhynia and Podolya." On September 19 the same was repeated in the Provincial Administration in the order to the Governor of Bels, Boborykin: "We, the Great Sovereign, have directed that in Our Acts and formal replies Our Imperial denomination be written: of all Great and Little and of White Russia Autocrat." The first tsarist Act bearing that title was issued on September 7, 1655 to Lukyanov, councillor of Mohilev, according to the expert archivist, Karpov.

Why precisely at that time it was ordered to use the addition: "and of White Russia," V. Prokopovich explains in the final pages of his work, referring to M. Hrushevsky. Reasons of an international nature forced the Tsar to do so, such as the Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance, the Swedish successes; and internal matters—the extension of the hetman regiment to Polishya, the sharpening of differences between the Ukrainian and Russian commands in the occupied territories.

Then V. Prokopovich, on the basis of cognate Acts and tsarist seals, presents an interesting outline as to how, as a result of successful military events, the tsarist title increased and reached its apogee in 1655, when, instead of the old title, the following began to be used: "of All Great, Little and White Russia Autocrat of Moscow, Kiev, Vladimir . . . Grand Duke of Lithuania, Smolensk . . . Volhynia, Podolya, Chernihov, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Mstyslav . . ." all being new titles added in September 1655; and then, how the Tsar was forced to shorten that sumptuous title. On the basis of the Treaty of Andrusovo, January 15, 1667, the Tsar promised not to use the titles of the provinces which formerly partly belonged to Poland, or to which the Polish King had pretensions. As a result, from the tsarist title was omitted: Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolya, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Mstyslav, all being the titles added recently. It was also necessary to have other new seals made with a shortened tsarist title, and to announce it besides "within the confines of the realm." It was then that the so-called "Little Russian Seal" emerged, while a description was given in the Registry of Tsarist Seals in 1682: "a large silver imperial Seal, with an imperial denomination and with short tildes, made after the Peace Treaty of Andrusovo . . . and announced within the confines

of the realm." That Seal bears a triple title of the Tsar. And so the "Little Russian Seal," upon which V. Shcherbina based his argument, could not have appeared before the tsarist order which was issued following the Treaty of Andrusovo in 1667. Therefore that Seal could not have been, as Shcherbina thought, impressed on the Act concerning the city of Hadyach, which Act was issued on March 27, 1654.

In his concluding remarks V. Prokopovich stated that, having made it his object to investigate the "Little Russian Seal," and after having analyzed the available sphragistic, diplomatic and, to some extent, numismatic material, he reached the same conclusion as Professor A. Yakovliv. This work casts much light on the act of great historical importance committed by the government of Tsar Aleksey Mikhaylovich, which government in a cunning and secretive manner had changed the authentic text of the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654, having, under the guise of the "former articles" which were sent to B. Khmel'nitsky and remitted to him by the messengers Bohdanovich and Teterya, handed to young Yuri Khmel'nitsky a spurious text of the Treaty with considerable changes and limitations of the conditions stated in the authentic Treaty of 1654. For over one hundred years that spurious text was officially considered as authentic.

The Derivation of the Term "Chekh" as the Ukrainian Denomination of the Polish *Pultorak* ("Pultorak") of King Sigismund III

by Valentin Shuhayevsky

(A Report based on his *Studies in Ukrainian Numismatics* presented at the meeting of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, New York, May 12, 1951)

THE AUTHOR STATES THAT, according to the numerous written sources of the seventeenth and partly eighteenth centuries, the term "chekh" was given in the Ukrainian monetary system of the seventeenth century to the Polish denomination *pultorak* which was worth 1½ groschen (pennies) and which was coined during the reign of Sigismund III in the period between 1614-1628; and also to foreign coins of the same value minted in Pomerania, Brandenburg, Elbing, Riga, Livonia and other places, which coins bore the denominations: "groschen" and "dreipolkers."

All those coins, especially the Polish *pultorak*, were circulating in huge amounts in both the Polish and Ukrainian monetary currency and had in both the Ukrainian and Polish monetary systems a very important position.

In those cases where in Ukrainian written sources there is a question about great sums of money and where are mentioned the denominations comprising those sums, to the "chekhs," among other denominations, belongs a very important place, and, at times, the first place in the total amount of the sum. Especially significant is the example concerning the property of Hetman Ivan Samoylovich, who was arrested in the latter eighties of the seventeenth century, and of his two sons.¹ In the monetary part of that property, estimated in round numbers at 350,700 Polish *zlotys* (of which in golden coins, "ducats," 29,496 "Polish *zlotys*"), the "chekhs" alone represented almost 48% of the entire value of silver money (321,204 "Polish *zlotys*"), exceeding even the value of the high quality *thaler* coins which represented approximately 45% of the general value of silver currency. As far back as 1729, i.e., a hundred years after the coining of the Polish "pultoraks" or "chekhs" was abandoned, the General Under-Treasurer of the Hetmanate, Yakov Markovich, makes a mention of whole sacks of "chekhs" which had remained as part of the estate of the Hetman's widow, Anastasia Skoropadska, after her death in 1729.²

¹ The description of this property is to be found in *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka*, vol. VIII, St. Petersburg, 1884, No. 15, pp. 949-1204.

² "Dnevnik Heneral'noho Podskarbiya Yakova Markovich'a," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894. Kiev.

The question which arises is—how did the term "chekh" come very often in Eastern Ukraine to be applied to particular coin, and why was it applied precisely to the Polish "pultorak" of Sigismund III?

In the outward appearance of the "pultorak" there are no peculiarities which might justify its denomination "chekh" in Ukraine. Neither does the Polish monetary system offer anything to the solution of this problem (although many Ukrainian monetary terms had been borrowed from it), because there was no term "chckh" in it for any coin whatever, either in the eighteenth century or previously. And it would be even more useless to seek that term in the Russian monetary system. One therefore must seek the origin of that term in its connection with the coins which had such a name, or similar to it, somewhere else, in some other monetary system.

Such coins were known to exist. They were the famous "Prague money," "grossi Pragaenses" which were coined in Bohemia from the beginning of the reign of Vaclav II (1278-1305) to the middle of the sixteenth century (1547). In Germany, where they were in wide circulation, they were called "Boehmen," i.e., "chekhs." The "Prague money," especially the money of Vaclav III (1378-1419) were in extensive circulation also in the Polish-Lithuanian State (where they were called "broad money" or "grossi lati"), and in Silesia. In the latter place they were likewise called "Boehmen." There that term took firm root. Later it gradually was transferred to all those coins which in their value were equally related to the "Prague money" and which gradually, one after another, and at the very beginning, took the place of the "Boehmen." That term was preserved among the people throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was known even in the first half of the twentieth century.³

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Austrian "dreikreuzers" (*kaisergroschen*) were called "Boehmen" in Silesia, as well as the local "dreikreutzers" which were coined by the Silesian dukes. As a result of a lively trade, they reached Poland and the lands subjected by her, especially Ukraine (to which indisputably bears witness the composition of the Ukrainian monetary treasuries of the first half of the seventeenth century), where its population, perhaps for the first time, became familiar with the Silesian term.

The Silesian local "dreikreutzers," which were quite low in value, were sent to Poland deliberately in order to impair the Polish monetary currency.⁴

Probably in order to offset that tendency, there were coined in Poland, in the period 1615-18, "dreikreutzers"—*tres cruciferi* which, in

³ F. Schrotter, *Wörterbuch der Münzkunde*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, *vid.* "Präger Groschen"; Halke: *Handwörterbuch der Münzkunde* (1909), *vid.* "Boehmen."

⁴ Gumowski, *Podręcznik numizmatyki polskiej*, Cracow, 1914, p. 74. Same author, *Monety Polskie*, Warsaw 1924 p. 111.

their outward appearance, were very similar to the Silesian coins. That likeness opened for them the road to Silesia. There is no doubt that in Silesia they were called "Boehmen," "chekhs," just like the local "dreikreutzers." Although these *cruciferi* (for so were these coins called in Poland) were coined for the special purpose of establishing their circulation in Silesia, they also became adjusted to the Polish monetary system. They equaled in value the new Polish denomination "pultorak," which has already been mentioned, with the value about 1½ groschen, or three groats, and whose coining began about a year before that of the *cruciferi*, in 1614, to be exact. The "pultorak," outwardly similar to the northern German "groschen" ("Alpengroschen," "Fürstengroschen") was not destined for export to Silesia, but being in the first years of its minting (approximately around 1619) a coin of quite high value, it found its way there, was taken into intensive circulation and, here and there, caused the minting of its local imitations.⁶

It is quite probable that the term "Boehm-chekh," which was applied to the *crucifer*, as to the Polish issue of the Silesian "dreikreutzer," was shifted also to the Polish "pultorak" which was equal in value to it.

The difference in the outward appearance had no importance in this case, because the monetary term "Boehm," as its former history bears out, was applied in Silesia to all the coins which gradually replaced in circulation the original "Boehmen," i.e., "Prague money," and not to the coins which might only *outwardly* recall that money. This appropriation of the name "Boehm," "chekh" may have especially strongly clung to the Polish "pultorak" after the Polish *crucifer*, had failed to receive "recognition" in circulation.

Later on the same happened as a little earlier befell the *crucifer*. The "pultorak," which had been reaching Ukraine in large amounts, undoubtedly directly from Poland, appeared in Ukraine at the same time directly from Silesia—as a result of close commercial relations between the two countries. This influx from Silesia was in the beginning perhaps even of a greater amount than it was from Poland. Simultaneously its widely known Silesian term "chekh" was introduced especially in the rural localities of Silesia where the Czechs constituted the majority of the population. Thanks to its sound, ease of enunciation, and because it could be easily remembered, it soon became common in Eastern Ukraine and remained firmly fixed in the life of the people until the disappearance of the "pultorak" from circulation sometime in the eighteenth century. Such then is the most probable solution of the question regarding the origin of the monetary term "chekh" in Eastern Ukraine.

The "chekh-pivtorak" gained such popularity among the popula-

⁶ Friedensburg, *Schlesiens Neuere Münzgeschichte*, Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae, vol. 19, Breslau, p. 28.

tion of Eastern Ukraine that the new coin to be minted specially for Ukraine to replace the "chekhs" which were much worn out by circulation, was planned to be very similar in outward form to the Polish "chekhs" and to retain the very term "chekh." That plan was presented in the seventies of the seventeenth century to the Russian government by Hetman Samoylovich. Although the Russian government agreed, with some limitations, to the proposition of Samoylovich, the minting of the new coins, which was to have taken place in the town of Putivl in the Province of Kursk, for some reason was abandoned.⁶

But in the years 1686-7, in the town of Sevsk in the Province of Orel, at the order of the Russian government, the coin which quite realized the plan of Samoylovich was actually minted. In its general scheme that money quite imitated Sigismund's "chekhs," even as far as their Latin inscription, the only major differences being the replacement of the Polish-Lithuanian coats-of-arms by the Russian emblem, and the name of the Polish King by the titles of the then Russian Tsars Ivan and Peter Aleksievich. On this coin was also indicated the place of minting: *Moneta nova facta Siev(sko)*. This coin was called the "chekh of Sevsk." On account of the poor quality of its metal this "chekh" was soon removed from circulation and its place was again taken by Sigismund's "chekh."

Although they were out of circulation in Eastern Ukraine sometime in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the monetary term "chekh" was long retained by the people. The historian A. Lazarevsky states as a fact that it existed, as an outdated memorial of olden times, in the northern part of the Chernihiv region as late as the latter half of the nineteenth century.

DISCUSSION: Professors V. Chaplenko, M. Chubaty, Sichynsky, P. Kovaliv, and C. Kisilevsky emphasised the need of research into the monetary system of Ukraine.

⁶ M. Gumowski, in his *Monety polskie*, p. 22, issued out of it and was firmly and exclusively replaced by the "pultorak."

In numismatics that unissued "chekh" is known under the name "chekh of Putivl."

Discoveries in Eastern Ukraine of Venetian Coins of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries, as a Historical Source

by Valentin Shuhayevsky

(A Report on his *Studies in Ukrainian Numismatics* presented
at the meeting of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific
Society, New York, June 17, 1951)

IN THE INTRODUCTORY part of his Report the lecturer gave a general outline of the most important varieties of money that were in circulation in Ukraine during the pre-Mongolian period. He also presented an outline of the chief features of the research done concerning them. He further stated that up to this time little attention has been given to one special section of Ukrainian numismatics, viz., the discoveries of coins in Ukraine, and more specially the discoveries of treasures. An accurate study of the composition of those treasures in relation to the surroundings in which they were found constitutes a very important historical source. As an example, the author suggested the treasures of the Arabic silver coins, "dirhems," dating from the period between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D. Careful research as to their entire amount made it possible recently to establish quite clearly that the "dirhems" first appeared in the East European area at the very end of the eighth century or at the beginning of the ninth century A.D. That means that the trade with the Arab East likewise began approximately at the same time. But historians are convinced that this trade was established at the end of the eighth century, and even earlier—in the seventh.

Taking into consideration the necessity of strengthening the research dealing with the discoveries of coins in Ukraine, the lecturer chose as the subject of his report one series of coin discoveries which up to this time has not attracted serious attention, viz., the discoveries of Venetian coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, known under the name of "matapans."

Two such discoveries, one in the province of Kiev (one coin), and the other in the region of Podilya (4 coins), were published in Ukraine before the second World War, but did not attract the interest of researchers. The lecturer was able to establish factually three other discoveries of the copies of "matapans," found, each separately, in the period between 1932-39 on the Right Bank of the Dnieper. They all belong to the first half of the thirteenth century. Such a number of discoveries (five in all) of Venetian coins not known in Ukraine up to that time (thirteenth century), bear out the fact

that certain relations, very probably commercial, had been established between Ukraine and Venice, perhaps also with other Italian city-republics. This supposition is supported by the assertion of Plano Carpini who in 1246-7 saw in Kiev merchants from Venice, Genoa, Pisa and other Italian cities. Those merchants came to Kiev via Constantinople. Among the archaeological monuments in the museums, discovered during the excavations on the terrain of the palace of the Grand Dukes in Kiev, the lecturer found an enamelled disc, belonging to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, with a low relief on which a rider is represented. That disc undoubtedly originated in France, in the workshops of the Limoges enamels, or perhaps in Italy. Such objects of Italian, or partly other West European origin, might be revealed in greater numbers if the archaeological inheritance of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were fully investigated.

Accurate study of future discoveries in Ukraine of Venetian coins of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may reveal certain historical facts which up to this time are still unknown.

IN THE DISCUSSION that followed Dr. N. Chubaty stated that there are in the museums of Venice and other Italian cities materials of archival value regarding the history of Ukraine. Prof. P. Kovaliv was interested in the origin of the names of money. Dr. V. Sichinsky emphasized the importance of research with regard to the coins which have been found in Ukraine and to which so little attention is given.

Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties of Alliance (1708-9), as a Historical Source

by Boris Krupnitsky

(A written report presented to the members of the Society in
Munich, February 19, 1949)

THE FIRST SOURCE known to us, which gives most material regarding the Swedish-Ukrainian treaties of alliance (as well as those with the Poles) is the anonymous account of the battle of Poltava. That account first appeared in print in 1740 as an appendix (vol. 4) to the well known work of Adlerfeld.

It was printed for the second time by the well known Swedish researcher Hallendorf under the title "Charles XII in Ukraine" (Stockholm, 1915).

The basis of Hallendorf's edition was the manuscript in Swedish, found in the Library of Upsala, which manuscript must undoubtedly be recognized as the prime source. This redaction is considerably shorter and clearer than the translation of Adlerfeld (Junior) into French. Between the two redactions there is for us one important difference. While the anonymous account of Adlerfeld's edition speaks of two alliances—between Mazeppa and Charles XII, and between Mazeppa and Stanislas Leszczyński, the Swedish text speaks only of a single alliance. Here we have only two contractual stages: in the first are recounted the conditions of the Alliance (all being of military nature), and in the second is given the Treaty itself between Charles XII, Stanislas and Mazeppa.

Let us now pass to another source, that of the Treaty between Mazeppa and Charles XII as presented by P. Orlyk in his well known "Presentation of the Rights of Ukraine" which was discovered by I. Borschak.

M. Andrusyak considers this Treaty to be identical with the one which was made in the spring of 1709 in the town of Budyschi between Mazeppa, the Zaporoggian Kozaks and Charles XII. But it is hardly possible to agree with this.

In my opinion, out of the six clauses of the Treaty, the concrete ones, i.e., those that go beyond generalities and reveal something about the factual responsibilities of the allies, are two in number: the first and sixth. The first speaks of sending auxiliary forces, under the command of Swedish generals, to help Ukraine in case of need; the sixth binds the Ukrainian Government to turn over to the Swedish king, for the duration of that War, some of its fortresses, such as those of Starodub, Mhlin, Poltava, Hadyach.

Four other clauses are of a propagandistic nature, and in them was formulated the idea of full independence for Ukraine and her equality of status with regard to her Swedish partner,—an idea which corresponded exactly with the ideological tendencies of Orlyk during certain periods of his activity in Bender. For that reason therefore those clauses have no convincing power. Both clauses, the first regarding the auxiliary forces, and the sixth—dealing with the matter of fortresses, make plain that this is not the Treaty which was made in the spring of 1709 in Budyschi when the Swedish-Ukrainian forces were occupying a tiny territory around Poltava, because Baturyn no longer existed at that time, and Starodub and Mhlin could have interested Charles XII only at the beginning of the Swedish operations in Ukraine. The mention regarding the auxiliary forces was also needless, because the main body of the Swedish army had already entered Ukraine.

One must therefore suppose that the Treaty brought out in the "Presentation of the Rights" of Orlyk, must have been concluded (if there was a treaty at all) before the appearance of the Swedes, or at the moment of their appearance in Ukraine.

We find ourselves on solid grounds only when we begin to consider the allied negotiations between Charles XII, Mazepa and the Zaporoggians at Velyki Budyschi. Nordberg's account of these events (*Histoire de Charles 1744*) deserves credence not only because he witnessed them, but also because there was no reason to hide them from anyone. Everything was done candidly, with doors wide open. Before us we have two Acts. One is the Treaty concluded in writing between Mazepa together with the hetmanite kozaks on the one hand, and the Zaporoggians under the command of Hordienko on the other, in which the two parties solemnly promised continual mutual assistance to each other, and bound themselves to act together. The other, which was also a written Act, was the Treaty of Alliance between Charles XII, Mazepa and the Zaporoggian Kozaks.

As regards the contents of the Swedish-Ukrainian Pact, it consisted of clauses of general and local nature. In the general clauses the King accepted Mazepa and Hordienko together with their troops under his protection and promised not to lay down his arms until Ukraine and the Zaporoggian region were fully liberated from the Russian rule. In the local clauses it was stipulated that the population was to deliver to the Swedes all the necessary provisions and not to show any enmity towards them; while the King promised that the Swedish troops would preserve good discipline and behave in such a manner as not to arouse dissatisfaction among the population.

Thus from the contents it is seen that the Treaty of Budyschi is altogether unlike that Treaty about which Orlyk speaks in his "Presentation of the Rights."

Documents Relating to the History of Ukraine Extracted from the War Criminals Trial in Nuremberg

by Eugene J. Pelensky

(A summary of his study on the above subject presented to the members of the Society in Munich, December 17, 1948)

THE SECOND WORLD WAR was fought by the Germans for the so-called "Lebensraum" (living space) in Eastern Europe, or, to be more exact, for the territory of Ukraine. For that reason, during the Nuremberg trial of the leaders of the third Reich there were gathered many documents which had direct or indirect connection with Ukraine, especially those referring to the period between 1941-42. Those documents are of great importance for the history of Ukraine because they quite fully reveal the fate suffered by that country during the German occupation. They are the more important because they all have been scrupulously examined as to their credibility by the International Supreme Court and by the German Bar Association. With regard to their origin and the strength of their revelations, these documents can be divided into four groups: 1) the German prewar documents and those drawn during the war; 2) the Ukrainian war time documents; 3) the minutes based on the examination of German war crimes after the German retreat; 4) the evidence presented by the witnesses at the trial.

The documents of the first group are the most revealing. Their importance is the greater as they bear witness against their own perpetrators of crimes. It seems unbelievable that the Germans themselves should have described their own deeds in as bad as light as they actually did. The documents drawn by the Ukrainians and presented to the Germans are of as equally revealing force as those of the first group. Taking into consideration the fact that they had been checked by the Germans themselves, we may be certain that the data contained in them are authentic, because it is only too true that for the slightest exaggeration or departure from the truth those who had drawn up these documents would have been severely punished. The documents of the last two groups are of a subjective nature, and for that reason they are less revealing. Our selection will therefore be limited only to the first two groups.

The documents selected and prepared for publication by the author are divided by him into four sections: the first comprises those which bear witness as to the aims of the third Reich in Ukraine, reveal the methods used in its warfare, and the treatment and fate of

the prisoners of war. In this portion of the work are included relevant excerpts from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and from Goebbels' newspaper articles, as well as pertinent quotations from the minutes of the conferences at which the fate of Ukraine was being decided. Among the latter quotations there is an interesting record representing Rosenberg's unsuccessful attempt to grant Ukraine a certain cultural and political autonomy. That proposition did not carry on account of the negative attitude towards the Ukrainian problem on the part of Hitler and Goering.

The second section comprises the documents relating to the German rule in Ukraine, especially with regard to the persecution of the Ukrainian people and the destruction of the relics of the Ukrainian past and of the monuments of Ukrainian culture. These facts had been corroborated by the German scholars and scientists who had visited Ukraine at that time, and above all by Professor V. Kubyovich in his courageous letter of protest to Frank, the then Governor General of the occupied Polish territories, including Western Ukraine.

The third section consists of the documents concerning the harsh and precarious living conditions of the Ukrainian workers in the slave camps in Germany. One of the most interesting documents of this group is the one containing Hitler's order of compulsory Germanization of half a million of Ukrainian women. That Germanization was planned with a view to increasing the number of Germans in the next one hundred years to two hundred million.

In the last section are included the documents concerning the Ukrainians in concentration camps. It is of some interest to note one of Himmler's orders with regard to using Russian women to castigate Polish female prisoners, and Polish women to punish Ukrainian and Russian women. That order confirms the fact that in concentration camps Ukrainians refused to castigate their fellow-prisoners, or, if forced to do so, did it very gently. That, of course, had been known to Himmler. Hence his order.

The collected documents will be published in due course.

New Views Regarding Catholicism and Orthodoxy in Eastern Europe

by Nicholas Chubaty

(A Report based on his Study of the *Rise and Fall of Catholicism in Eastern Europe*, presented at the meetings of the members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and invited guests in New York, May 20 and June 3, 1949)

CHURCH MATTERS ON THE territory of eastern Christianity, and more especially in Eastern Europe, are much more connected with questions concerning the cultural, political and national life of the relative peoples than is the case on the territory of western Christianity. In the West there prevailed the principle that religion is a private matter of each individual and that in reality there are no national churches; and even where they exist, as in England, religion does not enter into the public life of the people as deeply as is in Eastern Europe. There, the religious affiliation often assumes a semblance of nationality. Certain forms of religious life, such as Orthodoxy (for Russia) and Catholicism of the Latin rite (for Poland) were throughout the centuries tools for political expansion. Even today the Russian patriarchal Orthodoxy plays as large a role in its service to Russian imperialism directed by the atheistic Politburo as it had played formerly when it was in the service of the very same imperialism under the leadership of the Orthodox tsars. The assisting role of the Orthodox Church itself in the extermination of Catholicism of the Eastern rite was quite the same during the old regime as it is today during the Communist regime.

Likewise Latin Catholicism (not Catholicism as a whole) for many centuries represented in Eastern Europe the imperialistic interests of the once powerful Poland and was there identified with Polish nationality. In the course of the centuries it was an instrument for the denationalization of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian nobility.

Such a role was imposed upon Latin Catholicism by occupants soon after the downfall of the last Ukrainian State which was connected with the ancient Kievan Rus' (1349) by means of the establishment on Ukrainian territories of a complete ecclesiastical organization of the Latin Catholic Church under the leadership of the Metropolitan See established in Halych in 1375. That event started in Eastern Europe (especially on the Ukrainian territories) a struggle between two cultures—the Polish Latin-Catholic, and the Ukrainian Eastern-Christian which rested on the foundations of the ancient Kievan traditions.

That struggle lasted for six hundred years until our own times. If the liquidation by Stalin of the separate organization of the Latin Church on the Ukrainian territories were lasting and the political boundaries set by him remained as at present, that would put an end to the 600-year-old struggle between the two cultures and the eventual balance would be the gain for the Polish nation, and for the Latin-Catholic and Polish culture, of historical Ukrainian territories as Kholm, Syanik, Peremyshl and of the Ukrainian-Polish belt running along the boundary about fifty miles wide.

In the sixteenth century a third religious factor, Protestantism, entered between these two camps as a form of organized religion. Protestantism brought with it a Western point of view on the position of religion in the life of a nation; but it was not strong enough to maintain itself on the terrain between the other two camps, since it lacked tradition both in the Polish and Ukrainian-White Ruthenian past.

As long as Russia made no attempts to conquer and to annex the territories of the ancient Kievan Rus', the Ukrainian people had a single front of struggle against Poland, and based themselves on the cultural power of the Christianity of the ancient Kievan traditions which were more cordial to the West. Its antagonism towards Catholicism increased in proportion to the increase in strength of the Polish advance together with its Latin-Catholic culture. But when Russia began its conquest ("collection") of the territories of the ancient Kievan Rus' (White Ruthenian in the sixteenth century, and Ukrainian in the seventeenth), there arose for the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples an imperative need to find such a religious and cultural-national form as would be helpful in the defense of their respective nationalities, strong enough to withstand the advance of Poland with its Latin Polish Catholicism, as well as to stem the tide of Moscow with its Messianic Orthodoxy which sought the establishment of Moscow as the third Rome. That was the base upon which was reborn the idea favored by Rome,—the Catholicism of the Eastern Church culture, which had been formerly known in Ukraine and White Ruthenia. The Catholicism of Eastern culture and of the Eastern rite was to have formed a religiodogmatic front against Moscow, and a cultural front against Poland. Thus there developed a new form of organized religious church life which was the most appropriate for the needs of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples.

Confronted by this importance of Orthodoxy, Latin Catholicism, and Eastern Catholicism in the life of the peoples of Eastern Europe, historians of church affairs have on that score quite a difficult task, because political interests were openly at work in obscuring the reality. There arose historical schools of researchers who, well in advance, had been given political ends which they were required to achieve in their research. There began to appear historical works with strongly

biased views. We even have evidence that some of the oldest chronicles were censored to suit the political interests of Moscow. As a result of the Tartar, and later of the Turkish, destruction of Ukraine, those chronicles were preserved to some extent in the north, on the Russian territory.

In the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth, Poland and Muscovy developed their own religio-ecclesiastical conceptions of Eastern Europe. Against the Russian ideal of Moscow becoming the third Rome, the center of the Orthodox world, and later of the whole of Christianity, there arose the Polish religio-ecclesiastical conception of the Latin-Polish East, the Polish Catholic Mission in Eastern Europe. But when, at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, a renaissance of the national cultures of Ukraine and White Ruthenia came about (partly through the ferment of Protestantism), there appeared a third conception of Catholicism, that of the Eastern rite, as a religio-ecclesiastical conception of the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians, which was to oppose both the former conceptions—that of Moscow as the third Rome, and that of the Polish Mission in Eastern Europe, both of which were in the service of their respective national interests.

This religio-cultural triangle in Eastern Europe is one of the most interesting problems in the history of the Church and in the history of Eastern Europe as a whole. It takes several quite significant and divergent courses whose historical colorings are quite different. They are colored by Russian historians in one manner, in another by Polish historians, and still differently by Ukrainian historians. It is of course understood that we speak of the official schools of historians of those peoples, for in each of them there were critical researchers who dared cross the limits of the official historical school and present ideas which were "heretical" from the point of view of the biased researchers of their respective nationalities. In the course of our two sittings I shall deal with some of these provoking problems and give a Ukrainian conception which is partly my own.

The first debatable problem is the matter of the origin of the ecclesiastical organization in the Kievan *Rus'-Ukraine*, or to put it more concretely—the *beginnings of the Kievan Metropolitan See*. All the editions of the first Chronicle are silent concerning this matter, making one suspicious as to the reasons why it is not mentioned even with a single word. It is only mentioned that St. Volodymyr, after the baptism of Rus', appointed his *persona grata*, Nastas of Korsun, to serve as priest in the Tithe (Desyatynna) Church, the newly erected cathedral of Kiev. This Nastas was probably the first bishop of Kiev. The first mention of the Metropolitan See appears in the chronicle dated about 1039, in connection with the consecration of the new cathedral of St. Sophia. In other sources there is a mention of Metropolitan Ivan, still during the lifetime of Volodymyr. Still others tell of Metropolitans

Leontius and Michael, the latter being mentioned with an additional note that he was appointed by Patriarch Photius who, by the way, lived 130 years before.

The involvement of Photius in the matter of the establishment of the Kievan Metropolitan See clearly reveals an anti-Roman tendency of that additional note, which seems to give the impression that the first Kievan Metropolitan derived from the father of the first schism. It is noteworthy that the new work of F. Dvornik regarding the historicity and the myth of Photius' schism proves that Photius was not such an anti-papist as both the Orthodox and the Catholic historiography represented him to be throughout the centuries.

Parkhomenko and other historians call our attention to the possibility of the origin of the first Kievan Metropolitan from Bulgaria, from the Patriarch of Okhrida. Professor Vernadsky makes an attempt to evolve the Kievan ecclesiastical organization from the ancient Bosphoric Church whose remnants, in the form of the Tmutorokan diocese, survived till the times of Volodymyr the Great.

Volodymyr's connections with Rome, as is proved by the Chronicles, and the strong Bulgarian influences in the first decades of the ancient Christian Rus'-Ukraine, speak in favor of the Bulgarian origin of the first Metropolitan of Kiev, Ivan by name, whose tenure dates back to the first years of the eleventh century.

The next important problem which evokes very sharp differences between historians concerns the *Church relations of Ukraine to Rome and Byzantium after the schism of Cerularius in 1054*. Up to the present time it was generally accepted that the Ukrainian Church had automatically followed Byzantium, and that Kiev did not take an active interest in the quarrel between the two Churches. Today, on the contrary, new researches show that after 1054 there arose a fierce struggle between Rome and Byzantium as to whom Kiev should follow. In that struggle the majority of the Ukrainian Church took its stand on the side of Rome. In Kiev Rome had its supporters in the persons of Prince Izyaslav and Metropolitan Hilarion, while Byzantium had its support in Pereyaslav where ruled Prince Vsevolod Yaroslavich who was married to the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor-Monomachus. Metropolitan Hilarion opposed the Patriarch; and we find traces of the appointment of a certain anti-Metropolitan Yefrem who resided in Pereyaslav. This ecclesiastical quarrel was reflected in the political structure of Rus'-Ukraine and lasted for years. It was transferred to the calm recesses of the Cave Monastery (*Pecherska Laura*) where St. Anthony took the side of Byzantium, while the Abbot of the Cave Monastery, Theodosius, and his disciple and successor Stephen sided with Rome. For long decades after that Rome and Byzantium had their respective adherents in Ukraine and some traditional princely families cultivated a friendly spirit towards Rome. The Church cleavage became clearly evident only in 1104 with the coming of the

Greek, Nicephorus, to occupy the Metropolitan See. As far back as the middle of the twelfth century the Kievan Ecclesiastical Council (1147) not only appointed as Metropolitan one Klim Smolyatich, an opponent of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but at the same time theoretically established the principle that Ukraine had its own right to appoint its Metropolitans without the consent of the Patriarch. In fact, in the pre-Mongolian period Ukraine and the territories of White Ruthenia stood between Rome and Byzantium, while in Western Ukraine Catholic influences had always been strong, as is clearly testified by the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle.

Another debatable matter in the historical study of Eastern Europe is the *relation of the Church of Ukraine and the Vladimir-Muscovite Principality to the Mongolian world* after the incursion of Batu-khan into Europe. In principle the Tartars did not persecute the Christian Church; they even protected Orthodoxy. But they preferred that the lands they occupied should have no ties with Rome, because they considered the Papacy as their greatest enemy. That line of church policy of the Tartars was followed by the Church of the Vladimir-Muscovy Principality.

Ukraine, on the other hand, with her two representatives, manifested a unity of the Ukrainian Church, with the West. King Danilo began the organization of a coalition against the Tartars, entering simultaneously into a church union with the Papacy, and even received from it the dignity of kingship. Prince Mikhaylo himself died a martyr's death in defence of the Christian faith, while simultaneously his protégé, the Kievan Metropolitan Petro Akerovich, set out to attend the Council of Lyons, in 1245, seeking there help against the Tartars. Perhaps only during the times of Prince Yaroslav was Ukraine as closely connected with the West as it was then. The ecclesiastical and political events of the thirteenth century oriented the Ukrainian people clearly towards the West.

Even a more important, and to a certain extent critical, event in the history of the Church of Eastern Europe was the *Florentine Union of 1439* brought about by the active cooperation of Metropolitan Isidore, an ecclesiastical overseer of Muscovy, Novgorod Veliky, White Ruthenia, and Ukraine. The next church union effected in Berest one hundred and fifty years later was considered simply as a renewal of the Florentine Union. In the period of the Florentine Union the church policy of Moscow and Poland with regard to the lands of the ancient Kievan Rus' took shape. In Moscow originated the theory of the third Rome, i.e., of Moscow as the capital not only of Orthodoxy, but of the entire Christian world. In Poland there began clearly to emerge the idea that she was destined to play the part of a bearer of Latin Catholicism into the East.

The Russian Church declared itself fundamentally opposed to the Papacy and to any reconciliation with Rome. It even preferred to

break connections with the Patriarch, who was then in union with Rome, than to subordinate itself to ancient Rome. The Muscovite Church took advantage of its break with the Patriarch of Constantinople in order to gain its complete independence. An independent Moscow Metropolitan See was then established, and in the following century it began attempts to acquire the dignity of a Patriarchate. From that time on Moscow not only continually rejected all possibility of an agreement with Rome, but also implacably opposed a church union of any of the lands of the ancient Kievan Rus'-Ukraine with the Papacy.

At that time also the Moscow Church got a place in the imperialistic plans of the Muscovite State. In the first half of the sixteenth century the theory of Abbot Joseph Volotsky, who preached cooperation between the State and the Church, gained predominance. From that time on the Moscow Church began to serve the interests of Russian imperialism. His opponent Nilus Sorsky was perhaps the last representative in the Moscow Church of the view that the Church should be independent of the State and should serve only its own purposes, viz., the salvation of the souls of its faithful, and not the political aims of the Muscovite Tsardom.

The idea of the Florentine Union was likewise opposed by Latin-Catholic Poland which was then directed by Zbigniew Cardinal Olesnicki, a Polish potentate, who cooperated with the influential Archbishop of Vilna, Matthew. The Florentine Union created a new form of Catholicism, that of the Eastern rite, which was closely similar to the Christianity of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. This Catholicism became a hindrance to Poland in her propaganda of Latin Catholicism, which was identified in Eastern Europe with Polish culture as well as Polish political expansion. The struggle of Polish and Lithuanian Catholics against the Florentine Union is no longer a struggle between two faiths; it is rather a struggle between two cultures of which one is represented by Latin Christianity, and the other—by Greek Christianity, in spite of the fact that both were Catholic. Catholicism of the Eastern rite, as a synthesis of the East and the West, met with sympathy only in Ukraine and White Ruthenia. It likewise answered the needs of Ukraine—to find a connection with the world of humanism in Western Europe after the extinction of Byzantine culture which up to then served as the source of Ukrainian culture.

The direct result of the fundamental solution of the dogmatic differences of faith between the East and the West, and of the creation of a new form of Catholicism, was the *Union of Berest* which took place one hundred and fifty years later, in 1596. The Union of Berest is the most debatable question in the history of the Church of Eastern Europe, especially among the historians of Russia, Poland and Ukraine. The old interpretation of that Act by Russian historians, viz., that the Union of Berest was a Polish intrigue for the purpose

of Polonizing the Orthodox population of Ukraine and White Ruthenia, today is an out of date historical theory. The archives should also be the place for the Polish conception of that historical act, viz., that the Union of Berest was a creation of the Polish Catholic fervor to convert Orthodox Ukraine and White Ruthenia to Catholicism. Both interpretations were so categorical that they caused some Ukrainian historians to support them in a greater or lesser degree. Some interpreted that act closer to the Russian point of view; others—closer to the Polish conception. In modern Ukrainian historiography an independent appreciation of that fact from the Ukrainian point of view appears to predominate. Besides such views among Ukrainian historians are natural when we take into consideration the fact that that very event evoked among the contemporaries in Ukraine and White Ruthenia a fierce religious struggle which entailed sacrifices. Only after about a century did a cooler appreciation of that event appear in Ukraine; and later history fully justified the Union of Berest of 1596. In its wake that struggle brought victory to that culture of Ukraine which oriented itself towards Western Europe.

In the new historiography more and more scientific confidence is given to the Ukrainian interpretation of the Union of Berest, viz., that it was an attempt of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian peoples to find a cultural link with the Western world. It was a progressive movement. Catholicism of the Eastern rite survived because it was more in conformity with the ancient traditions of Ukraine and brought less of the revolutionary spirit into the life of the Church than did Protestantism. The Union of Berest in reality initiated Ukrainian Humanism. After the first collision of the two camps in Ukraine, the conception of the Eastern Catholicism began to gain the upper hand, as being the most appropriate to the interests of the Ukrainian people. Even the unrelenting Kozak Organization, secretly during Mazeppa's rule, and openly in hetman Pylyp Orlyk's time, assumed that religious idea which it had formerly fought against. In the middle of the eighteenth century at least two thirds of the Ukrainian people, and three quarters of the White Ruthenians, were Catholics of the Eastern rite. Only the coercive intervention of Moscow, that implacable enemy of Eastern Catholicism, caused Orthodoxy to regain preponderance in Ukraine. In the eighteenth century Eastern Catholicism even helped to regain Ukrainian positions lost some two hundred years previously, viz., its nobility, once Polonized, but now brought up and educated in the Uniate colleges. Eastern Catholicism gradually became a kind of national faith for the Ukrainians and White Ruthenians; and for that reason it was constantly attacked and finally destroyed, by Russia, as being a spiritual weapon of the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian separatist movement against the Muscovite conception of "one Russian people" and of Moscow as the third Rome.

The destruction of the church union by Russia lasted a hundred

years. It began during the reign of Empress Catherine II, continued during the rule of Nicholas I, and was completed in the time of Aleksander II. The latter, in spite of his somewhat more liberal views, could not have more mercy for the church union which bore ideas quite contrary to the Russian conception of the third Rome and worked against the unity of the Russian people. Finally, in our own times, the struggle which the Stalinist Russia declared against Eastern Catholicism not only in Ukraine, but also in Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, is a proof of the historical prolongation of the Muscovite church policy, and of the Church serving the imperialistic interests of Russia.

TAKING PART IN THE DISCUSSION were active and ordinary members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and guests: Professor Kovaliv, Dr. Tymish Oleksiuk, Fr. M. Wawryk, Fr. M. Voynar, Dr. H. Luzhnitsky, Dr. A. Dombrovsky, Dr. V. Lentsik. Professor N. Chubaty informed the listeners that the Reports presented at the two sittings of the S.S.S. were extracts from his extensive Study, on which he has been working fifteen years. The purpose of that Study is to bring to light the struggle of Catholicism, Orthodoxy and Protestantism in Eastern Europe, as well as to present the nature of these church currents in the political relations of Eastern Europe.

The Transition to Orthodoxy in the Province of Kholm in the Forties of the Nineteenth Century

by Ivan Levkovich

(A written report presented to the Historical-Philosophical Section of the Society in Munich, March 8, 1949)

AT THE TIME WHEN in the provinces annexed to Russia preparations were being made for the liquidation of the Union, the diocese of Kholm, which was part of the Polish Kingdom, was beyond the reach of the measures of the St. Petersburg Synod. Although in the thirties of the nineteenth century the Director of Internal and Spiritual Affairs, Shipov, made attempts to influence Bishop Shumborsky, their success did not justify the aims. The clergy who were very feebly secured materially, with the exception of a small group in the region of Pidlyasha, did not reveal any desire to ameliorate their condition at the price of a compromise with their own consciences. Bishop Shumborsky, like his predecessor Tsekhanovsky, tried by normal means to better the material lot of his diocese. In connection with his efforts and endeavors in this matter, after the establishment of Orthodoxy on those Ukrainian and White Ruthenian territories which belonged to Russia, the Tsar turned his attention to the diocese of Kholm. Shumborsky agreed to a partial de-Latinizing of the Greek-Uniate rite in 1841, but he could not gain for his clergy the rights to church tithes which were received by the Roman Catholic clergy also from the Greek-Uniat parishes.

The question of the transition to Orthodoxy was seriously raised in the forties only in the decanate of Tarnohorod as a phenomenon of an altogether local nature, although it was not without general importance for the whole diocese of Kholm. The Polish Press, which appeared outside the boundaries of the Polish Kingdom, was quite biassed in its explanations of the events which, after the January Insurrection had failed, anticipated in the diocese of Kholm the year 1875 which was so tragic for the Union. Under the influence of the views expressed in several publications regarding the Union in Kholm and Pidlyasha, which appeared in the Polish language in the nineteenth century, opinions were expressed that the Orthodox current in the Tarnohorod decanate was evoked by means of terror, or as some think, by the underhand maneuvers of the Governor of Lublin, Albertov. Mykola Petrov and other Russian historians emphasize that dissatisfaction with economic conditions in the Tarnohorod decanate

served as a goad for the transition to Orthodoxy. Up to this time, however, no historian took special interest in this question, although the transition was connected with quite complicated circumstances and reasons that brought it about. Up to 1809 the Tarnohorod decanate belonged to the diocese of Peremyshl. Its national aspect may be best judged by the fourteen Greek-Uniat churches dating from before the Union and five Roman Catholic churches most of which were built after the sixteenth century. A fairly short tradition of the Union in the decanate (since 1692) was not conducive to any tendency towards the Latinization of the rites and church customs, which fact did not please the local overseer of the churches belonging to the administrative district of the Zamoyski family. The passing away of the local priestly families offered an opportunity to the administrative organs of the district, in the second half of the eighteenth century, to fill a certain number of the parishes with clergy devoted to Polish aims and purposes. Polish sermons in Ukrainian churches were followed by other innovations alien to the national-religious tradition of the Greek-Uniat population. A number of churches, ordered by the administration to be reconstructed or renovated at the turn of the eighteenth century, took on the character of Roman Catholic churches, and many parishes handed over their church tithes to the clergy of the Latin rite. But the general dissatisfaction of the population increased when the local administration brought about a reform in its possessions. In extending the boundaries of the existing landed properties and manors, and in creating new ones, it caused the Ukrainian population of the western parishes to be mixed with the influx of the Polish population, and forced a part of it to settle along the wooded banks of the Tanva River. At the price of the material ruin of the Ukrainians, a national chessboard was created, and that brought about depressing moral consequences in the decanate. Some parishes were also destined for liquidation. Under such Polonizing influences did the decanate find itself at the time of the Polish November Insurrection which was recognized by the Sejm of the Kingdom of Poland as being thoroughly national.

These complex national and religious relations and circumstances created a favorable condition for the emergence of an Orthodox current in the decanate, especially when a retired general, Soymanov took up permanent residence in Lyukhiv. Indirect reasons for the appearance of that current were various. In Lyukhiv and in Horishny Potok the reason was the liquidation of parishes as a result of the failure of the church overseers to reconstruct or renovate the churches. In Babychi there was hostility between the population and the parish priest of the Polish orientation, and a quarrel with the administration regarding the rights to easement ensued. The transition to Orthodoxy took place on a voluntary basis, without any coercion. The dissatisfaction of the parishioners of Khmilko with their parish priest,

as well as the discontent of the faithful of the formerly liquidated parish at Lukovo which was given to him, also found their manifestation in the readiness of the people to accept the Orthodox faith. There were also individual transitions in the parishes of Knyazhpil, Kulno, Tarnohorod. The Greek-Uniat clergy worked against the Orthodox current, and thanks to that, a considerable number of families returned to their former faith. The Governor of Lublin, Albertov, favored the idea of the expansion and development of Orthodoxy, but his attitude in that respect was not the result of any preconceived plans. The development of the events in the decanate caused Bishop Shumborsky, in 1844, to revoke the orders he had issued with regard to the un-Latinizing of the rite. That fact, as well as the difficulties which arose during the construction of the churches in the newly established Orthodox parishes, and, on the other hand, the fear of possible disorders of a political nature in the Kingdom of Poland dictated to the responsible Russian officials to be careful in any further support of the Orthodox movement.

For the clarification of the problem of the transition to Orthodoxy in the forties of the nineteenth century the author, besides using the Acts concerning the civil status of the parishes of Horishny Potik, Knyazhpil, Kulno, Tarnohorod, also made use of the following as yet unpublished sources: "Zhurnal prikhodyashchikh dyel v Gornepotokskuyu Pravoslavnuyu Tserkov s 1842 goda"; ("Journal of Parish Events in the Orthodox Church at Horishny Potok in 1842").

"Otpuski metricheskikh vypisey, raportov, svidyetelstv i raznykh otnosheniy iskhodyashchikh ot svyashchennika Gornepotokskoy Pravoslavnoy Tserkvi—1842-50"; ("Issues of Birth Certificates, Reports, Testimonies, and other Matters Arising from the Activity of the Priest of the Orthodox Church at Horishny Potok").

"Wyciąg z Etatu Płatniczego Wydatków Wydziału Spraw Wewn. i Duch. z Funduszów Skarbowych dla Kościoła Prawosławnego w Potoku Górnym za 1849-50"; (An Excerpt from the Salary Scale and Expenses of the Department of Internal and Spiritual Affairs from the State Funds for the Orthodox Church at Horishny Potok for the years 1849-50").

"Protokół Proboszcza Parafji Tarnogród do Wpisywania Rozporządzeń Władz Duchownych i Rządowych oraz Odbieranych Expe-dycyi poczynających się 1852-go Roku"; (Record Book of the Priest of the Tarnograd Parish for the Entries of the Orders of Spiritual and Government Authorities Accepted for Dispatch, Beginning with the Year 1858").

Correspondence arriving to the parish of Tarnohorod in the forties of the nineteenth century; and the manuscript of A. Kurkevich: "Istoriko-statisticheskoye opisaniye Kulnskavo prikhoda" (Historico-Statistical Description of the Parish of Kulno).

The Democratic Character of the Criminal Law of Ukraine in the Period of the Princes

by Yaroslav Padokh

(A Report extracted from his study *Criminal Law of Ukraine in the Past*, delivered at the meeting of the Law and Social Economic Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in Munich, May 15, 1948)

THE CRIMINAL CODE OF the Kievan State was democratic. This was not accidental, because the entire social-political system of the Kievan State was democratic. The dualism of the state leadership—the prince and the popular assembly (“vitche”), only rarely gave predominance to the former, and even then that predominance was only factual. Legally, the “vitche” (moot) was always the highest state organ. The social system was also democratic. The free population was not divided into estates; there were only classes which rose on the basis of services rendered to the state, or as a result of the differences in the extent of individual possessions; but even they had no estate privileges guaranteed by the law, and the admission to them was free.

That equality is noticeable also in the criminal code, with very few exceptions. First of all, it is to be observed from the general principle that the subject of a criminal deed was not individualized, as was the case in the West. Neither was the object of a crime individualized. The criminals were punished in like manner, regardless of the fact against whom or to whose detriment the crime was committed. At the beginning that equality before the law was absolute, and it was only later that the princes’ retainers were secured with an increased protection. But here it was a question not of the estate privilege, but of the need of preserving the dignity of the state government. That is clearly shown by the fact that only *weregild* was paid for the head of a prince’s retainer, i.e., only a public fine (weregild in Ukraine, in contradistinction to the German wehrgeld, was a public fine) in double amount; while the fine for a murder, i.e., private indemnity to the family or a murdered person, was the same for all classes of the population.

The idea of democratic equality reveals itself not only in its relation to the free population, but also to the half-free, and partly even to the bondsmen. The half-free conscripts were, in principle, put on the level of the free in the criminal code, and the law protected the bondsmen from the unjustified treatment or abuse by their lords.

One of the most characteristic features of the ancient Ukrainian life and law was the mutual relations within the family. It, too, was

filled through and through with the ideal of equality. In it there was no trace of paternal despotism, such as prevailed among the Romans, or of the preponderance of the German *mundium*. And that humane feature found its echo in the criminal code. Woman, in principle, enjoyed the same protection of the criminal law as did man. For the murder of a woman there was the same punishment as for the murder of a man. The only exception was when a man killed his wife for marital infidelity. In such a case his punishment was lessened by half. When we compare the humanitarian character of the law with the law of other peoples, for example, with the German law which permitted a man to kill his faithless wife with impunity (this law was later limited to cases where a woman was caught in the act of infidelity), and taking into consideration that this exception must be placed in a category of special significance if one regards the marital fidelity of a wife in the light of the children who continue and prolong the existence of a family, this decree cannot be considered as a proof of discrimination against the woman as compared with the man. As regards foreigners, the decrees of the criminal code were likewise permeated with the ideal of democracy. Although the law of that day knew only a few categories of aliens, they all enjoyed the protection of the law on an equal basis with the citizens. The very word denoting an alien testifies as to that. "Host'" (guest) corresponded to the German "Gast," and that was not accidental.

The democratic equality of all citizens before the law, an ideal of modern law as yet unrealized, constitutes one of the more valuable features of the ancient Ukrainian law and world outlook. It is the more precious and dangerous for its bearers because it has no corresponding features in the world outlook and law of the neighboring peoples.

When later, under the influence of new ideas and circumstances, there began in Ukraine the process of the differentiation of the population, which process led to the inequality of the citizens before the law, after breaking them into various estates and classes (in which not a mean role was played by the accepted Roman and German city law), even then that inequality never reached, in Ukraine, such wide proportions or assumed such sharp forms as was the case among other peoples to the east and west of Ukraine. We think that the chief reason for that phenomenon is the fact that the Ukrainian people had assimilated the ideal of equality better than any other people. That ideal was the product of the ancient broadly democratic age governed by the moot ("vitche") order which all the European peoples had known and experienced. Later that idea was able to offer a more substantial opposition to the advance of new times and new ideas, for it had become at the very dawn of Ukrainian history the unchangeable component part of the world outlook of the Ukrainian people as a whole and as individuals.

The Humaneness of the Criminal Code of Ukraine in the Times of the Princes (XI-XIII Centuries)

by Yaroslav Padokh

(A Report extracted from his Study on the *Criminal Law of Ukraine in the Past*, delivered at the meeting of the Law and Social Economic Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in New York, March 18, 1950)

THE RESEARCHERS OF THE early history of Ukraine, both Ukrainian and others, discovered a deeply rooted humanism in the national character of her population. The oldest and most authentic proof of that is found in the well known Chronicle of Nestor who emphasized the fact that "the customs and habits of the Polyani (the central Ukrainian tribe) were meek." That was the case even at the time when the Polyani had to fight with dangerous neighbors, especially with the Asiatic hordes invading Ukraine about whom another (Laurentian) Chronicle writes that they "preserved the custom of their forefathers—that of shedding blood." The Ukrainians preserved that national trait of the Polyani up to the present day, although it brought them much harm and grief from their various partners.

That organic feature of the Ukrainian world outlook revealed itself likewise in the criminal code of the period of the Kievan State during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, and perhaps even earlier. Genuine humaneness is to be observed already in the age of bloody revenge and self-defense. That age was common to all peoples: therefore the differences between them reveal themselves only in what were the contents of that first institution of the criminal code, and in how long it held a dominant position in the land. In the early historical times of Ukraine revenge was already very limited and controlled by the state. After its fulfilment, the pre-judicial revenge gradually assumed the name of post-judicial revenge, and finally it could be changed to a ransom. In order to carry out one's revenge, a person needed sufficient proof. Revenge was allowed only for the greatest crimes; death revenge only for murders, and for lesser crimes only its lighter forms were permitted. But even that form did not exist long, because after the death of Yaroslav the Wise, in 1054, it was abolished. If one compares this date with the date of the Baptism of Ukraine, 988, or with the age in which revenge existed in the neighboring countries (in some highly civilized Western peoples up to the sixteenth century), one will then see even more clearly that early age in which bloody revenge in Ukraine was changed to a system of compensations.

The history of capital punishment is very characteristic for our subject. The oldest Ukrainian law did not know it. Prince Volodymyr the Great introduced it for a short time under the influence of Greek bishops who, in order to convince the Prince, had to present weighty canonical and theological reasons. That punishment, so alien to the Ukrainian law-consciousness, was soon abolished by the same Prince and was never renewed in the State of ancient Kiev. Later on, however, after the fall of the Kievan State, it began to press itself into the Ukrainian lands under the direct and coercive influence of the Tartars.

The same may be said about corporal punishments, especially about the punishments by maiming. In the pre-Tartar age these did not exist in Ukraine. The lack of the capital physical punishment in the system of penalties excluded the application in the criminal code of the law of talion. With the then generally existing theory and practice of the various contemporary European punitive laws, which are noted for their cruelty, this appears to be the proof not only of great humaneness but also of a generally high cultural level in the ancient Rus'-Ukraine. Even punishment by imprisonment was likewise unpopular in Ukraine. Whenever it was applied, it was not meant as a punishment, but only as a preventive means, in order to keep the criminal apart from society until the time of the trial and sentence. The punishment by enslavement was applied only in a subsidiary manner, when the criminal could not pay the fine and indemnity to the one he had harmed. It may be considered as being a temporary measure, because the condemned could free himself from it by making a payment in money.

The humaneness of the ancient Ukrainian law reveals itself also in the legal position of half-free people, called conscripts ("schuldsklave"), who in the criminal code were fully on the level with the freemen and within the legal, though limited, protection given to the bondsmen. They did not have a legal right to strict individuality and, on the basis of the Roman example, were considered not as persons (*persona*) but as objects (*res*); but they were protected nevertheless by the state from the abuse of their independence by the freemen.

Of special importance for our subject are the decrees of the criminal code concerning the aliens. In the ancient Ukrainian law not only was there no discrimination against the aliens but, on the contrary, they enjoyed a number of privileges which even the native population did not have. The ancient Ukrainian law did not possess either the "Wildfangsrecht" or the "Heimfallsrecht," and in the tenth century it also abandoned the "Standrecht" which was quite prevalent in Western Europe. The extra-territoriality of the alien merchant settlements was an extensive phenomenon in Ukraine. Foreign merchants took advantage of the privilege given them in satisfying their claims and pretensions, even in competition with the Prince's interests. They were protected by the law of inheritance, and enjoyed other

important prerogatives. The criminal law assured the aliens of full legal protection on the level with the local population. As the subject or object of a punitive act, an alien was subjected to the general decrees of the local law without any exception. Against the background of numerous grave limitations which restricted the aliens in Western Europe, this measure in the Ukrainian law, where aliens enjoyed almost full rights and privileges, has its special significance.

We think that besides reasons of an economic nature the chief part in this was played by the spirit of humaneness which is so innate in the Ukrainian individual and the Ukrainian state. Being so organic and complete, that spiritual and moral feature could not and would not limit itself to apply only to its own citizens, but meted itself out in the same measure to its own and alien citizens. "Do not allow the stronger to destroy the weaker,"—"Do not kill and do not order to kill anyone, even if he deserves death."—Those are the two injunctions left by the Grand Prince of Kiev — Volodymyr Monomach, in the twelfth century, in his legacy to his children. And these injunctions were practiced continuously in the period of the ancient Kievan State; and, as history reveals, they remain alive to this very day.

DISCUSSION: Dr. J. Andrushkiw emphasized that the subjective approach to the problem of crime is a feature of a higher culture, as was the case in ancient Ukraine.

Dr. N. Chubaty argued that the approach to the history of the Law must be careful and made on the contemporary basis. The customs and spiritual nature of the people must be taken into consideration. In many Ukrainian regions merciless punishment was meted out for horse-stealing; but capital punishment, however, was not accepted by our people. Besides the Rus' Law, (*Ruska Pravda*), one must also take into consideration and analyze the Church order of rules and regulations.

Dr. A. Dombrovsky was interested in the influence of the *Ruska Pravda* on the Lithuanian Constitution.

Dr. V. Sichynsky stressed the great importance of the comparison of our common laws with those of other peoples.

The Treaty of Pereyaslav in the Light of International Law

by Bohdan Halaychuk

(A Summary)

(A written report presented to the Law and Social-Economic Committee of the Society, in Munich, Feb. 16, 1949)

IN THE ORIGINAL this work comprises five parts, of which the first is introductory and devoted to the problem of the method, the second—to the nature of the Ukrainian Kozak State before the Treaty of Pereyaslav, the third—to an appraisal of the form of the Treaty, the fourth—to the analysis of its contents, and the fifth—to the classification of the condition established by the Treaty under one of the forms of international alliances.

Having briefly outlined the contents of the Treaty (following the plan of Yakovliv), the author gives a systematic review of the opinions that have prevailed up to date regarding the nature of the Ukrainian-Russian relations after the Treaty. It appears that eighteen historians and jurists who took a definite stand with regard to that question, expressed seven different opinions (later, some, like Lipinsky and Myakotin, changed their minds), viz., that the Treaty of Pereyaslav was: 1) an alliance, but not a lasting union; 2) a personal union; 3) a genuine union, i.e., an alliance on the basis of equal rights; 4) vassalage; 5) protectorate, i.e., a union on the basis of unequal rights; 6) autonomy; 7) incorporation.

Such variation in appraisal stems from the fact that in general they have no deeper theoretical foundation from the point of view of that science of the Law which deals with international alliances. When individual authors refer to the theoretical literature regarding this matter, that literature can only be narrow and outdated. For that reason the author—a) attaches great importance to the theoretical side of his work; b) takes as his scale the present standard of the science of international Law; but for the sake of the preservation of the historical perspective, he c) continually effects analogies between Ukraine and other contemporary dependent states (Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania, Crimea, Prussia, Livonia) with an appraisal of their separate institutions.

Because some Russian historians deny the contractual character of the Pereyaslav Act of 1654, and even deny the existence of the Ukrainian Kozak State, two sections of the work are devoted to that matter.

It is true that only a sovereign nation, one capable of acting on the basis of international legal rights, may conclude international treaties. And such precisely was Ukraine between the years 1648-54. The "Zaporoggian Army" was a State, and not, as Odinetz and Myakotin claim, an Estate. Even before 1648 the Zaporoggian Kozak Organization was not an Estate, but, generally speaking, a community forming a small Zaporoggian Republic. After 1648 Ukraine, as did every state in those times, had its chief stratum of population, in her case—the Kozak Organization. The name itself does not say anything; history knows states with the names of their Estates, and not those of geographical-national origin, e.g., the states of the Knightly Teutonic, and Maltese Orders, and the Crusaders. Besides, the Zaporoggian Army had been a State since the latter part of the 16th-century: it had its own territory, regardless of the fact that the *Sitch* (its Encampment) occasionally changed its abode on that territory; it had its own population, regardless of the fact that the majority of the people were not born on the Free Territories of the Zaporoggians and were formerly Polish subjects. Above all, it had its own government which was not delegated by anyone. The Zaporoggian government was subservient to the Polish government only when defeated in war; otherwise, it acted independently. The Zaporoggian Region may have been a Lithuanian and, later, a Polish sphere of interests, but it was never a part of their territory.

The Treaty of Pereyaslav consists of an exchange of notes, a form which was customary in international practice: on the one hand there is the Ukrainian proposition (the Articles of Khmel'nitsky), and on the other—the acceptance of the propositions by Russia (the Muniments and the Articles of the Tsar). The contractual character is not in any way altered by the style of the Treaty (Khmel'nitsky "bows deeply," and the Tsar "bestows"). On the basis of a number of quoted contemporary documents, those of Transylvania and Moldavia, the author shows that such a servile form was then generally accepted in relations between the respective rulers of a dominant and a dependent state, and even in the case of those independent states which did not possess the so-called royal distinctions. An oath was in those times an accepted form guaranteeing a treaty; and in that and no other manner did the Ukrainian side consider it, demanding that the Russian delegates likewise take an oath. An oath from the entire population may be considered as a kind of ratification. The Ukrainian State was a direct, and not representative, democracy. As a counter-balance to the Ukrainian oath was the Tsarist solemn promise. Being a despotic ruler, the Tsar was not an organ of the government, but its prime mover. Some authors explain the oath on the grounds that Ukraine entered into a personal union with Muscovy, by accepting the Tsar as the head of her State. In the contents of the Treaty of Pereyaslav some strange contrasts are to be noticed: Ukraine preserves

her international subjectivity, but loses her financial separateness and allows the Tsar to meddle in the regulations of her internal affairs. That kind of meddling, however, is often to be seen in protectorates, and even in quasi-protectorates. The Tsar did not regulate the position of the Ukrainian Estates; he only confirmed the existing conditions; and for that reason the decrees of the Treaty clearly have a declarative and not a constitutional character. In the countries of that period in which Estates prevailed, the individual Estates often took part in international treaties.

The Tsar was to levy taxes in Ukraine and pay for the maintenance of the kozaks and their officers. Such financial dependence often occurred in dependent states of those times: the Crimean khan received payment from the sultan; the Transylvanians paid to tax to the sultan (not a tribute), etc. The tsarist Voyevods (Governors) had no power over the Hetman and did not take over any part of the administration. They had consular capacities and control over the Russian military garrisons. In addition to that, they performed the duties in connection with the treaty decrees concerning the oath and taxes. Foreign military garrisons often were stationed on the territories of states bound under a protectorate, quasi-protectorate, or by an unequal alliance. The Russian garrisons came to Ukraine at the request of the Hetman for the purpose of mutual operations against Poland. And as all troops stationed on a foreign territory, they enjoyed the status of extra-territoriality. The differences between the Ukrainians and the Russian troops were subjected to a mixed jurisdiction.

The Treaty admitted Ukraine's passive right to a legation, with limitations on her relations with Poland and Turkey. Ukraine used that right (in an active manner) within the framework accepted in those times, i.e., through special diplomatic missions, not permanent embassies. The assertion of Myakotin that this was merely an administrative capacity delegated by the Tsar to the Hetman, as was the case with the Voyevoda of Novgorod, is not founded on fact. The right of a legation was not delegated, but only confirmed by a declaration. The Hetman was not a tsarist retainer, and he did not conduct international affairs in the name of the Tsar. After analyzing individual decrees of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, the author, for the sake of a comparison, gives synthetic characteristics of the legal situation of the then Prussia, Crimea, Transylvania, Moldavia, Wallachia. The position of Ukraine, according to the Treaty of Pereyaslav, was better than that of any of these states.

The last part is devoted to a critical review of all existing opinions regarding the legal nature of the Ukrainian-Russian union created by the Treaty.

If the Treaty had been concluded with the Tsar, it would have been a personal union, vassalage; if with the Russian State—it would

have been a union on an unequal basis, a protectorate, or quasi-protectorate. But it is impossible to present this difference clearly in our case, because the Tsar, being an absolute monarch, almost identified himself with the State. That relation had many elements of a personal union (preservation of a separate state order and of the international subjectivity of the law in contradistinction to a genuine union), and the lack of common institutions. But in such a scheme of things there is no place for a hetman. It therefore follows that this was a union made on an unequal basis: the Hetman remained the head of the Ukrainian State, but subordinated himself to the Tsar. That was not vassalage in the static sense (because its basis was an international treaty, not an Act of a sovereign based on state rights); nor in the dynamic sense because Ukraine was not in the process of gradual emancipation, but, on the contrary, then entered into the process of gradual decline into serfdom, as would a state under a protectorate). Nor was it really a protectorate, because of Ukraine's extensive capacities based on international rights. It was a relation most closely connected with the so-called quasi-protectorate, as for example the dependence of some Republics of Central America on the United States. Ukraine preserved almost full competency, on the basis of her international rights, in accepting her accurately delineated limitation (not the general control); and she further preserved her full state apparatus; but she did allow inroads into her internal affairs, and that subjected her internal system to the treaty regulations.

The Juridical Aspect of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (Concluded in 1654 Between Russia and Ukraine)

by Sokrat Iwanytsky Wanytsky

(A Report delivered at the meeting of the Law and Social-Economic Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in Munich, February 16, 1949)

THE INVESTIGATORS of the Treaty of Pereyaslav class it in almost all possible forms of legal union between two states, from a personal union down to a complete incorporation. The Treaty of Pereyaslav was, of course, an oral Act. A written copy of it never existed. And since the Ukrainian side had never possessed any official copy of the Act with its contents accurately recorded, it has been possible for Russia and her historians to interpret the Treaty of Pereyaslav in any manner suitable to their purposes.

The material upon which all known investigations have been based is contained chiefly in the so called *Stateyniy Spysok* (Collection of Articles), a notebook of the Russian delegation which conducted the negotiations with the representatives of the Ukrainian State, in January, 1654, in Pereyaslav, on behalf of the Tsar, i.e., on behalf of the Russian State, and which on January 8, 1654, in Pereyaslav, concluded a treaty with the Ukrainian State on behalf of the Russian State. Another source is that which contains the Articles which have been spuriously called *Articles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky* by the Moscow delegation, which Articles, to be sure, had been drawn up in Moscow in March 1654 and came to be known as *The March Articles*. Since they were never accepted by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, it is inappropriate to designate them as the *Articles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky*.

Finally, the scholars investigating the Treaty have availed themselves of the source contained in the *Tsarski Gramoty* (Tsar's Charters). But even these so-called official documents concerning the Treaty of Pereyaslav have remained from the very beginning in Russian hands, and could have easily been falsified in Russia, as indeed they were by the Moscow representatives. *The History of Ukraine in Documents and Materials*, published in Kiev, 1941, by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, calls attention to the fact that the Russian official documents do not agree with the situation. *The History of Diplomacy*, published by OGIZ, Moscow, 1941, especially stresses the fact that the Moscow ambassadors wrote the *Stateyniy Spysok* in a biased manner.

To justify their attitude with regard to the evaluation of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, the Russian scholars sought to emphasize the importance of the so-called "Articles of B. Khmel'nitsky" for the Treaty as a whole. Thus by diverting our attention from the Treaty of Pereyaslav, they try to create the impression that these so-called "Articles of B. Khmel'nitsky" are, in fact, the Treaty itself. In accepting that premise, wrong at its very base, as the starting point for their argument, some Ukrainian historians and researchers fall into another error by accepting some of, or all, the resulting situations in the Ukrainian-Russian relations that had been created fraudulently by the Russian delegation, going even so far as to accept the Treaty as implying that, from the strictly juridical point of view, it had effected a complete incorporation of Ukraine with Russia. It is true that between the conclusion of the Treaty and the incorporation of the Ukrainian State into the Russian State certain situations arose which resulted in such relations as to be comparable with situations that usually lead to legal state unions, under which classification some historians would place the Treaty of Peryaslav. The interval between the conclusion of the Treaty and the total incorporation of Ukraine into the Russian State lasted more than a century. The Treaty itself, however, taken as a historical act, was a matter of a moment. Furthermore, the conditions in the Ukrainian-Russian relations created by the Russian side during that century-long period by fraud and violence did not in any manner correspond with Ukraine's will in this historical matter which was strictly determined at the time in the actual drawing of the Treaty of Pereyaslav and its conclusion.

The *Moscow Articles* prove by their very contents that they could not be considered as the basic treaty by which juridical relations between two separate states could be effected. Besides, if these Articles had been accepted by the Ukrainian side, they would have become a supplement to the Treaty of Pereyaslav itself. The actual and genuine contents of the Treaty of Pereyaslav can be established in their broad outline if one gives careful attention to the situation which resulted in the conclusion of the Treaty. The contents may be also derived from Bohdan Khmel'nitsky's will ("animus") with regard to the Treaty. That "animus" is revealed in the conclusion of the Treaty, and it can be proved by facts. It follows quite clearly therefore that it was Khmel'nitsky's intention to conclude with the Russian Tsar, i.e., with the Russian State, a treaty of mutual military alliance. The intention stems from the entire situation amid which the Treaty was concluded; from Khmel'nitsky's letters addressed to the Tsar; from the Hetman's agreement with Turkey signed before the Treaty of Pereyaslav; from the steps taken by Khmel'nitsky and his successors in conformity with the provisions of the Treaty; from the Polish sources which, as the above-mentioned "History of Ukraine in Documents and Materials"

states, "described the events contrary to the historical truth, its aim being to degrade the Ukrainian people"; from clauses 7, 8, 10 of the "Moscow Articles" which were invented by the Russian side in order to be applied at some later date to the practical application of the Treaty; and finally from a number of reservations with regard to the clauses of the Treaty, which reservations had been brought up not only by Hetman B. Khmelnytsky but also by his successors who raised objections to the Tsar's attempts, after the conclusion of the Treaty, to limit in every manner possible the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian State. From clauses 2, 3, and 4 of the "Moscow Articles" one gathers that B. Khmelnytsky's "animus" at the conclusion of the Treaty revealed his intention to obtain a loan from Russia, because with the collapse of the Polish rule in Ukraine, money became scarce, and the Ukrainian State had not yet established a currency of its own on account of its military activity. It may be gathered from clause 1 of the "Moscow Articles" that, under the provisions of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, the Hetman had set aside a part of the revenues of the Ukrainian State for the repayment of that loan. The copy of the "Moscow Articles" also makes it quite clear that Hetman B. Khmelnytsky put forward a clause in the Treaty of Pereyaslav as a condition which stipulated that the sovereignty and integrity of the Ukrainian State and of its social order be guaranteed by the Tsar in the Treaty and be corroborated by him in a special Charter ("Gramota").

Hetman Khmelnytsky's relations, as well as the relations of the Ukrainian State, to the Russian Tsar as the protector of the Orthodox faith is quite irrelevant as far as juridical evaluation of the Treaty is concerned. The spiritual or ecclesiastical authority which was concentrated in the hands of the Russian Tsar has to be considered separately from his secular authority. In referring to the Tsar as the protector of the Orthodox faith, and even in admitting that the Tsar possessed the religious *autoritas*, as the protector of Orthodoxy, Bohdan Khmelnytsky did not admit that the Russian Tsar possessed any *potestas* with regard to the Ukrainian State, or, for all that, even *autoritas* in the political sense.

And so, juridically considered, the Treaty of Pereyaslav was an international treaty, bilateral, political, military, with certain financial elements included. Its aim was to establish a defensive-offensive alliance between the Ukrainian and Russian States to last only for a certain period of time.

The Problems of International Criminal Law

by Yuri Starosolsky

(A Report drawn from his Studies of *International Criminal Law*, delivered at the meeting of the Law and Social-Economic Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in Munich, June 3, 1948)

THE LECTURER REVIEWED critically the expanding tendencies of the so-called international criminal code, appraising them from the point of view of the *dogmatics of the criminal law*. Taking that position, the lecturer expressed an opinion that even up to the present time there was no international criminal law in the genuine sense of the term, regardless of the fact that there have been individual cases of trial, and even of punishment, on an international plane. The expanding tendencies of the recent times (especially the practice of international tribunals in trying "international criminals") is really a step forward, but even so, it is far from reaching its goal. In the opinion of the lecturer, the most decisive critical problem, which has been solved clearly for the first time, is the personal responsibility of physical persons for the deeds formally perpetrated by the state. Taking as his point of departure that the crime and punishment and the guilt are the bases of criminal responsibility, the lecturer considers that only an individual and not a juridical party (for example, the State, independently of the civil responsibility) can commit a crime and answer for it criminally. In the nature of a crime there lies (besides the conditions that make a person law-transgressing and punishable) the complicity of one's behavior. That means that there is a possibility of ascribing that behavior to the perpetrator as a guilt. Guilt is a psychic relation of the perpetration to the act; it is an understanding of, a desire for, and the direction of the behavior.

Considering the matter practically (and it must be remembered that the law serves the experience of life), we can find such a psychic activity only in a physical person. And the social reaction against the crime-punishment, regardless of whether one understands it as a retribution or as a means of inspiring fear or of correction, works only on the psychic nature of a man. Even the "crime" which is formally attributed to the juridical party (e.g., money fine imposed on a commercial firm) manages to strike at an individual (e.g., a member of a firm). Therefore, in the opinion of the lecturer, every criminal law, including the international, can exist only on the basis of the individual responsibility of physical parties; only physical persons can be the subjects of a crime and the objects of punishment. For the

international law that opens a number of problems. Among them are such as: Will only states then cease to be the subjects of the international law, and will individuals too become its subjects? Will therefore the international law regulate the relations only between the states, or also between the individuals and foreign states, or perhaps even between the individuals of one and the individuals of another state? Will then the "international law" be considered in the same sense as heretofore?

Among other demands with which the author confronted the future criminal law were the following:—Criminal law cannot exist in a system of pure contractual law; it requires the existence of a positive, objective law which is coercive (compulsory law). That means that there must exist a government which is independent of individual states, with the power of legal action against states, and with the possibility of compelling a state to a law-abiding behavior, regardless of the will of the individual states (analogous to the relations of the state judicial authorities to the citizens). With that is connected the demand of equality for all in the face of the law. Even a conqueror in a war may be tried and convicted. To that must also be applied the trial principle of legality, and not the principle of opportunism which is typical of politics.

The contents of the new positive law must not only apply formally to a court action (as has been mostly the case in the international law up till now), but the contents must also be material. The material law must take under its punitive—legal protection the properties and interests existing under the law, which belong not to the states but to the "natural centers" of these interests—individual and nation. The actions directed against these properties would in their nature be not international but "universal" crimes; it would not be an attack of one state against the interests of another state, but an attack of a member of the world (or united) society against the property of another of its members, group, or organization of members. One of the bases of the material law must be the awareness of the world (or united) society as regards the fact that the given protective legal properties are genuine material and moral-ethical values, and are in conformity with the cultural development of humanity, and that to protect them is the imperative demand of expediency and justice.

Ivan Franko's Social and Political Activity

by Matviy Stakhiv

(A Report on his Study of the above-mentioned subject, delivered at the meeting of the Law and Social-Economic Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in Munich, February 16, 1948)

IVAN FRANKO, as the great emancipator, is well known to the great majority of people. His scholarly activity is less known and has so far interested only the more educated. His social and political activities, however, have been studied very little, and the present generation of Ukrainians remains almost totally unfamiliar with that important phase of his life.

One cannot understand the progress made in the political and social spheres of Ukrainian national life without taking into account Franko's active and creative participation in it. Likewise, the rapid expansion of Ukrainian literature, as well as its history, would not have been possible without his substantial contribution.

As regards the aspects of his social, political and literary activity, Ivan Franko was brought up in the school of Mikhaylo Drahomaniv. In the West Ukrainian province of Galicia that school had acquired a renown for originality much through the painstaking and tireless efforts of such of its disciples as Ivan Franko, Mikhaylo Pavlyk, and O. Terletsy. It must be borne in mind that social and political activity was considered by Franko to be of prime importance in his life. All other aspects of his genius were very subordinate to that chief purpose. His social activity for the well-being of his people was considered by him as a duty imposed upon him by his conscience itself.

Franko's attitude towards that question is clearly expressed in his well known speech: "As the son of a Ukrainian peasant, nourished with black peasant bread, and brought up by the toil of hard peasant hands, I feel it my duty to repay, through forced labor of my entire life, those pennies which that callous peasant had had spent on me so that I might reach the luminous heights where liberty is felt and where shine the ideals of mankind. My Ukrainian patriotism is not a sentiment, it is not a national pride, but a heavy yoke placed on my shoulders by my destiny." In seeking to repay the debt he owed his people, Franko worked like a pioneering mason to erect a new and better structure of Ukrainian national life. All his struggle for social justice, his scholarly work, and his poetic output—his whole endeavor was directed towards a single purpose: to create from the Ukrainian ethnic mass a nation fully aware of its rights and duties.

The magnitude of Franko's creative social work, and that of those belonging to his immediate circle, can be clearly estimated only after one carefully considers in what state the Ukrainian people found themselves at the time Franko began his social activity.

1) From the social point of view, the Ukrainian people in Galicia formed only the lower strata of society. The upper classes there were non-Ukrainian. Galicia therefore had a mosaic population in which all component parts were isolated from one another, each having no intellectual contact with the other parts.

2) From the economic point of view, the Ukrainian people of Galicia suffered acute landlessness. The two hectar (ha) and smaller farms formed at that time 48% of all the farms, and that 48% was only 9% of the entire arable area of Galicia. At the same time, 3,235 great landowners held one half of the whole territory. The peasants, deprived of the forestry and pasturage privileges, in the end became political and economic dependents of these landowners. Usury often led to excessive exploitation, at times as much as 250% per annum. As a result, some three thousand farms were being auctioned annually in Galicia.

3) From the cultural point of view, the Galician villagers remained almost totally illiterate. That illiteracy was actually fostered by the Galician gentry by means of alcohol. In 1876 there was one tavern for every 233 persons in Galicia, and on the average 26 liters of brandy were consumed yearly per person.

4) From the political and organizational points of view, there was a total decline of the "narodovstvo" (national Ukrainophile party of Galicia). The leadership in the community life as a whole had been taken over by the Moskophiles (those whose orientation was towards Moscow) and by the "Rutentsi" (a Ukrainian political party in Galicia loyal to the Austrian monarchy). The Moskophiles regarded the whole Ukrainian national movement as a "Polish intrigue." There was a danger that the Ukrainians in Galicia would become a separate regional ethnic group of "Ruthenians" ("rutentsi").

Drahomaniv and Franko's group rose in protest against such a state of affairs and began to promote the study of social problems and foster the idea of social progress, thus initiating a movement of Ukrainian national liberation.

Franko and those connected with him, in promoting in Western Ukraine the study of social problems, fostered in fact something which had never before existed in Ukrainian literature or in any Ukrainian political movement. That program became for Franko an inseparable part of the general problem of the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. It also became an aspect of one of the main features of Ukrainian life—its humaneness. And so Franko tended towards Socialism, but

not towards Marxism, to which he and his followers remained antagonistic. His Socialism, considered from the point of view of Drahomaniv's doctrine, was the ethical and humane Socialism, and not of the proletarian stamp. Franko also rejected Marxian historical dialectics. He considered the *spirit* to be the permanent revolutionary factor working for progress towards the attainment of the absolute Good and final Truth, and not the technical and economic "production power." For that reason he worked for all classes of working people, and not for the proletarians alone. And the purpose of his efforts in that respect was the transformation of the Ukrainian working people into a nation conscious of its rights and duties. To that end all his physical and mental powers had been strained until he was finally overpowered by a serious illness that curtailed his activity.

In 1890 Franko's group organized the first modern political party in Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Radical Party, with a systematically elaborated socialist program. As the basis for the Ukrainian policy, Drahomaniv's principles were accepted as a fixed rule, viz., that the entire Ukrainian policy was to be independent and based solely upon the masses of producers, i.e., upon the peasantry. To induce activity and an organizing endeavor among the mass of peasants had always been one of the chief aims of Ivan Franko.

In its practical activity, Franko's school, faithful to Drahomaniv's principles, became a nation-wide, all-Ukrainian movement. After two decades of struggle that movement was the first to announce, in 1895, the chief aim of its program to be the achievement of an independent Ukrainian State and Freedom for its people. From that time on that postulate was the chief aim of the Ukrainian practical policy as a whole.

German Concentration Camps

(A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY)

by Volodymyr Yaniv

(The contents of this Study were reported at the meeting of all the Sections of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in Mittenwald, Germany, September 17, 1947)

THE STUDY UNDER THE above heading had as its object to clarify the psychic results of prison experiences and to establish what exactly comprised the specific nature of the concentration camps of the Nazi regime. On the basis of general psychology the author attempted first of all to define the central problem of prison life, which may lead one to understand all the psychic and spiritual experiences of an imprisoned person. The chief experience of a prisoner is the feeling of the loss of will, which leads to the loss of personality and evokes the impression that one's future depends exclusively on the dictates of blind "Moira." With the impossibility of asserting oneself in the present, there rises a fear as to the mysterious future, which kills the desire to plan any future course. As a result, a man feels his complete uselessness with regard to society, and the enforced lack of action makes him contemplate with horror the vacuum with which he is faced. And so a prisoner stands facing a spiritual death which occasionally leads him to moral downfall or to attempts at suicide. Only he who has preserved a faith in the significance of his suffering, or in the possibility of useful labor in the future, is able, after his release, to retain his spiritual equilibrium. But the preservation of that faith depends on the sentence; for how could one believe in his release and future work if one is sentenced to life imprisonment or to long years of incarceration? Long term sentences become for one imprisoned synonymous with eternity. In such a situation time assumes a kind of metaphysical significance, and the monotony of prison days gives a foretaste of the tortures in hell, such as envisioned by the stupendous imagination of Dante and Swedenborg.

The destruction of the faith in the future life is due not only to the prolongation of the punishment but also to the deliberate weakening of the physical strength of the prisoner. That leads him to a nervous exhaustion and to a continual apprehension as he faces the specter of fast-approaching death. And so the prisoner remains continually on the brink of a moral, spiritual and physical death; and that experience allows him fully to understand the profundity of Schiller's expression: "Besser ein Ende mit Schrecken, als ein Schrecken ohne

Ende." ("Better to end one's days in horror than to live in horror without an end.")

The specific nature of a Nazi prison might, at first glance, be understood only by studying the gradations of the intensity of the methods applied in it, and not in their quality. And yet an analysis of the practiced prolongation of punishment permits us to reach the conclusion that a Nazi concentration camp was in itself a manifestation of total lawlessness, if a prison is to be considered as normally being the function of the law. And so, for example, a sentence, during the period of the National-Socialist regime, had no clear form, and the number of years to be served in it was not specified. Of course, the fact that the prison term was not specified and that the length of punishment was prolonged *ad infinitum*, led to a horrible devastation of the prisoners' minds. That kind of lawlessness was visible everywhere. One may conclusively state that during the Nazi regime the "classical" task of the prison (condition of inaction) was being enforced by the "classical" method of lawlessness. That lawlessness gradually increased during the war and assumed the proportions of mass murders. As a result, we have seven and a half million victims, or ninety-four per cent of all the prisoners. The annual mortality in the camps wavered between 33% in times of peace and 50% in times of war, and during the last three months of the war it had reached 60%, or 604,000 in round numbers.

Lawlessness and unscrupulousness and the resulting uninterrupted mass executions—those are the three features of the Hitlerite concentration camps that transformed Germany, according to the witty expression of the prisoners themselves, from the "Land der Dichter und Denker" (Land of Poets and Philosophers) into the "Land der Richter und Henker" (Land of Judges and Hangmen).

The second part of the Study presents historical-sociological material, and illustrates with numerous facts the synthesis of the nature of concentration camps as offered in the Introduction. In a condensed form the author gives, by referring to more than five hundred places in the twenty-five cited books of Ukrainian, Polish, Czech and German authors, the nature of the individual kinds of lawlessness which fully disintegrated morally a considerable portion of the ruling class and, in the first place, those who were employed in prisons. These people lost gradually all feeling and became sadists, and later did not hesitate to commit all kinds of abuses and embezzlements which weakened the potentiality of the State itself. Much space was devoted to the discussion of individual methods of causing a person's death, such as unhygienic conditions of life and the resulting epidemics, work as a factor of death, hunger, cold, beatings and tortures, experiments, mass executions, gas chambers.

The Study ends with philosophical conclusions. The infernal

horror of the German concentration camps must compel mankind to consider well its own future. That specter must lead to the question: how is the destructive element that is latent in man to be restrained? That is perhaps the most timely question of modern philosophy of the most recent decades. "Drive the beast out of man!"—must become the motto of that philosophy if we do not wish to see mankind roll over the brink of physical ruin and spiritual deterioration.

The final words of the Study are devoted to the part the Ukrainian nation must play in the creation of that new philosophy,—a nation which, on the one hand, had suffered probably most losses in the Hitlerite concentration camps, and, on the other hand, revealed great moral resistance, which augurs well for a bright future of its people who are as yet enslaved.

Remarks on the Present Spiritual Crisis

by Volodymyr Yaniv

(A Report delivered at the meeting of the Philosophical-Pedagogical Committee of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, in Munich, September 23 and November 6, 1948)

THE STUDY BEGINS WITH a statement that the Ukrainian scientific and journalistic world had in the past two years devoted much attention to the problem of the present spiritual crisis. If one counts the number of well known names of those who had taken part in the discussions, one must arrive at the conclusion that the fate of West European culture is not at all indifferent to the Ukrainians, and that this fact is one of the proofs that Ukraine really belongs in the West European cultural orbit. The lecturer then occupied himself with an analysis as to why the awareness of a crisis is so spread, and he came to the conclusion that this awareness stems from two sources: the feeling of unrest, and also the reflections upon the purposes of existence and upon the unsatisfactory condition of their realization. Two fundamental elements point out the special importance and timeliness of the problem, viz., the danger of culture destroying itself and the undermining of the European world outlook at the time of the approaching conflict with the East. The latter subject is of a primary significance for the Ukrainians for whom the coming war might bring liberation or complete destruction. And since the outcome of a war depends not only on technical means but, in the first place, on the power of ideas and on the monolithic strength of one's outlook on life, the task of Ukrainian science and learning is to contribute to the overcoming of the crisis which at the present moment is weakening the attraction and power of the "eternal Europe."

In order to overcome the crisis decisively one must be aware of what it comprises, what are its signs, reasons and effects. The author sees the essential feature of the crisis in the disproportion between civilization and culture, or, to be more precise, in the predominance of civilization over culture, which predominance, naturally enough, results from the ever increasing importance of civilization and the simultaneous deterioration of culture. The discovery of the nature of the crisis makes possible the discovery of its chief cause. First of all the lecturer denied the views of some thinkers who consider the cause to be the inordinate development of civilization as a result of the overpopulation of Europe, and of some others who find that the fundamental reason is the weakening of the general outlook on life. However, an accurate analysis shows beyond any doubt, that the main

cause of the crisis is—the will to power. It has its own biological justification. A human being comes into the world weakly endowed with instincts, physical power, accuracy of the senses. This weakness of man is to be balanced by the intellect with the aid of which man attempts to subject to himself the powers of the almighty nature. That is the main source of the struggle for creating the means of mastery over the powers of nature; and the sum of the means is what we call civilization. Simultaneously, an irrational faith in the destiny of man and in the necessity of an endless progress stimulates man to constant attainment of those means. But the will to power is for man not only a chance—it is also a danger. The will to power, whose prime source is fully logical and justified, becomes in time a headlong rush and is transformed into an end in itself, which end is fraught with destructive force. Man is bent not only upon the subjugation of nature, but also upon the conquest of the world. That leads him to a clash with his opponents who are filled with like passion. That will to power is most characteristic of a European, because it has allowed him to gain mastery of the world and now leads him to the very brink of an abyss. The chief feature of the will to power is the rationalization which is based on the belief in the intellect being all-powerful, i.e., in rationalism. By rationalism we mean—an organization of life, which organization must bring the world to a full employment of its resources and to lead to the maximum systematization of human life. In itself rationalization is not an evil and does not pose for itself evil aims. Only when the equilibrium between the spiritual and the material factors is destroyed does the danger appear. To be sure, in the very structure of life on the principle of consequential expediency and material profit there lurks the danger of the deterioration of man's spirituality and of culture which is dependent on it.

The advancing signs of rationalization and, at the same time, of this critical situation, are the mechanization of life, division of labor, specialization and centralization. All these signs together lead one to the understanding of the apparatus which is indeed the ideal of modern organization and tends to limit the significance of individuality. The intellect which permitted mankind to reach the very apex of life, at the same time brought man to the state of a soulless being. It made man master of the world, but simultaneously it reduced him to the level where he is only the slave of the apparatus.

The cause of the crisis and of all the critical situations arising therefrom are quite different in nature. From the philosophical point of view, the crisis led to the weakening of the outlook on life and to the loss of dogmatic values and principles. The lack of faith and the overestimation of the intellect led to the questioning of revealed truths and, as a result, to the decline of religion. The overestimation of the human intellect simultaneously brought about

the weakening of the psychic harmony between *ratio*, *voluntas* and *emotio*. The attempt to find an equilibrium, in its turn, led from one extreme to another and revealed itself in excessive voluntarism, lapsed into sentimentalism, occultism, and into a mad pursuit of sensationalism, and so on. From the sociological point of view, the crisis brought about the preponderance of the mass over the individual, and in political life it led to tyranny of the individual over the mass. The fundamental weakening of the entire civilized life struck at the system of norms of the ethical and moral order; and that, in the first place, found its revelation in the field of static life. The dimension and cult of number took the place of depth and quality. Mankind was overpowered by haste and by the resulting superficiality, and the whole style of life is now characterized by incompleteness, nervousness and fragmentality. Consequently, man fell a prey to unrest and uncertainty. From that desperate situation he is unable to find a way out and as a result, has lost his contentment and happiness. All that forces the better individuals to seek help and salvation. With an outline of the possible countermeasures this Study ends.

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