

UKRAINE
A CONCISE
ENCYCLOPÆDIA

UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA

UKRAINE

A Concise Encyclopaedia

Prepared by
SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY

Edited by
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Foreword by
ERNEST J. SIMMONS

VOLUME I

Published for
THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL ASSOCIATION

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

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1963

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Printed in Canada

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The publication of this work, initiated in 1952, was conceived and inspired by the late Luke Myshuha, LL.D., editor-in-chief of *Svoboda*, the Ukrainian daily appearing in the United States since 1893, the late Dmytro Halychyn, president of the Ukrainian National Association, Inc., and Clarence A. Manning, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Slavic Languages at Columbia University and author.

The preparation of the volume has required much work on the part not only of the editors and contributors, but also of many others who generously contributed toward its completion. Although it is not possible to list all those who collaborated in some way in the preparation of this volume, the editors and sponsor wish to express their gratitude and appreciation to all of them, and especially to the following:

Lydia Burachynska, Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Damian Horniatkevych, Anthony Maluca, Vasyl Markus, Peter Odarchenko, Natalia Ossadcha-Yanata, Constantine Pankivsky, Yaroslav Pasternak, Myroslav Prokop, John S. Reshetar, Anthony Rudnytsky, Mykola Shlemkevych, Matthew Stachiw, Augustine Stefan, as well as several staff members of Columbia University, the New York Public Library, the New York Botanical Gardens and the American Museum of Natural History—for reviewing parts of the manuscript;

Yakiv Hnizdovsky—for designing the cover;

Nicholas Kulytsky, Arcady Zhukovsky, and Gregory Kolody—for preparation of maps and diagrams;

Sophia Janiv—for selection of some of the illustrations;

Constantine H. Andrusyshen, Volodymyr Lototsky, Roman Olesnicki, and Stephen Shumeyko—for partial translation of the manuscript;

Mary Dushnyck, Jeanette Kovaliuk, Mary E. MacAndrews, Mildred Milanowicz, June Mintz, and Helen Perozak—for language advisory services.

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STEPHEN VYTVYTSKY, ROSTYSLAV YENDYK, EDWARD ZARSKY

FOREWORD

Formal education in Slavic studies in the English-speaking world began about sixty years ago and for a long time it amounted to little more than a token interest. Before World War II only four or five institutions of higher learning in the United States offered courses in the field, and there were hardly any trained teachers and not many more interested students.

Shortly after the war, however, the new "one world" created by a revolution in communications helped to convince important educational circles that we had a great deal to learn from the history and culture, and from the social and economic experiences and aspirations of countries containing over two hundred million Slavs, to which must be added millions more—either Slavs or of Slavic descent—living in English-speaking countries. In a remarkably short time many colleges and universities introduced Slavic studies, a rapid expansion made possible by abundant financial aid from foundations and wise practical advice from learned societies. Today there are hundreds of trained teachers in the field; thousands of students are engaged in all aspects of Slavic studies; the holdings of research libraries in Slavic studies have greatly increased; a varied and significant body of published scholarship has been produced; and professional organizations and learned journals devoted to promoting Slavic studies are vigorously functioning.

No doubt a kind of cold-war psychology also contributed to the expansion, and hence Russia has received by far the major attention in this new educational development because of its transcending cultural and political importance and its leadership of the communist forces threatening the free world.

From the outset of these activities—and today more so than ever—experts in the field realized that only by studying the close interrelationships over the ages of the total complex of Slavic nations could one arrive at a deeper and more meaningful understanding of their individual historical, cultural, and social contributions and their influence on the world in which we live. At present an emphasis is being placed precisely on Slavic departments, Slavic area studies, and Slavic learned journals and organizations, and along with experts in disciplines connected with Russia, specialists in Western and Southern Slavic studies are increasingly finding a place in the educational programs of our universities.

In all these educational endeavors, however, a disproportionately small effort has been centered on Ukrainian studies, although Ukraine, with over forty million people, is exceeded among Slavic countries in population and in territory only by Russia. Part of this neglect, of course, has arisen from the notion that Ukraine, after centuries of oppression and deprivation of freedom, has lost its identity as a homogeneous people and nation. Nothing could be further from the truth, and in such thinking is implicit a dangerous corollary for all those who firmly believe that the central issue of

our time is liberty, the indispensable right of both individuals and nations—the right to choose. The Ukrainian people have passionately fought for this right through the ages and the ceaseless struggle has preserved their national identity, their collective soul. This continuity of national development from their ancient past to the present is everywhere reflected in their history and in their native culture and social structure which provide a wealth of material of the utmost consequence for an understanding of Ukraine and Ukrainians and their relations with other Slavic peoples and the world beyond their borders.

In our centers of Slavic studies the concentration on Ukraine should be greatly strengthened. Additional chairs of Ukrainian studies should be established, library resources built up, and in the major disciplines of the field more textbooks and reference works, suitable to the special needs of English-speaking students, should be produced. In this latter respect an invaluable step has at last been taken—the publication of the first volume of the English translation of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, a revised and substantially augmented version of the three-volume work published in Ukrainian in 1949 by the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The English translation was initiated by the Ukrainian National Association which secured for the work of revision the collaboration of a distinguished group of scholars and editors in the United States and Canada. The result is a vast body of authoritative reference material in English on Ukraine and its people, comprehensively designed and skilfully arranged for easy accessibility. And the selected bibliographies accompanying the many articles suggest rich sources for the curious who may wish to pursue any of these subjects more deeply. The finest traditions of objective scholarship have entered into the planning and execution of the *Encyclopaedia*. The Ukrainian National Association, the learned company of contributors and editors, and the supporting Ukrainian scientific societies that have made this magnificent reference work possible deserve the gratitude of all Slavic teachers and students in the English-speaking world. The very existence of such a work not only adds a dimension of its own to the identity of Ukraine and its people as a nation, but it will also advance the horizons of knowledge of serious students of the field, as well as great numbers of other English-speaking men and women who may wish to consult its pages.

That the *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* should have come into being at all, is a lasting tribute to those who laboured to create it—Ukrainians by birth or derivation who heeded the words of their great poet Taras Shevchenko (in the translation of Ethel L. Voynich):

Wretched is the fettered captive,
Dying, and a slave;
But more wretched he that, living,
Sleeps, as in a grave,

Till he falls asleep for ever,
Leaving not a sign
That there faded into darkness
Something once divine.

ERNEST J. SIMMONS

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INTRODUCTION

Like most modern encyclopaedias, this one is the result of a co-operative effort. Not only are the many contributors and the editors and their associates represented here, but also translators, reviewers, and consultants. Their task has been to translate, supplement, expand, edit, and bring up to date the material contained in the *Entsyklopediia ukrainoznavstva*, published in Ukrainian in 1949–52. Their aim was to tell the story of Ukraine as a related, intelligible whole rather than to demonstrate its place within the framework of the Slavic world. This emphasis, which may appear to some narrow or even isolationist, is consistently maintained and springs from the conviction that only a detailed and concise presentation of the whole range of knowledge on Ukraine can lead to a better understanding of that country's place in the world today. If, therefore, the reader finds new and unfamiliar arguments he must remember that he is faced with what has frequently been neglected and ignored—a Ukrainian view of Ukraine. The volume offers a considerable amplification of the information on Ukraine contained in present works of reference in English, while at the same time it continues the efforts of earlier Ukrainian encyclopaedias to be a comprehensive source of the latest information.

Volume one embraces the following fields: general information, physical geography and natural history, population, ethnography, language, history, culture, and literature. Editorial work on most chapters was concluded in 1961, although sometimes it extended into 1962. Volume two will include articles on the church, law and government, art, theater, music, dance, the cinema, the sciences, education, the press, libraries, the national economy, social history, public health, the armed forces, and Ukrainians abroad. Throughout, the humanities, inadequately represented in Soviet reference works, receive more extensive treatment than the sciences. Also, relatively more space has been devoted to the modern period in Ukrainian history.

Each section offers a general survey of its respective area, with most attention being devoted to major developments and essential facts rather than to details. The analysis of factual information often leads to a critical interpretation by the individual contributor. Numerous illustrations, maps, diagrams, and statistical tables are used to supplement the text. A selected bibliography is appended to each chapter and a detailed index at the end of the volume will assist the reader in finding his way. It is hoped that in addition to its function as a reference work the book will offer some synthesis of all available information on Ukraine.

The editors encountered great difficulty in systematizing both the terminology and transliteration. The choices made are not entirely satisfactory but are consistent within their own frame of reference and represent a consensus of many different views. The editors are aware of other shortcomings which in a work of such scope are unavoidable, especially as the

contributors and editors engaged on the task are scattered over many parts of two continents.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

I. Transliteration of Ukrainian and Russian

A. In the text and the bibliographies a modified Library of Congress system of transliteration is followed but without diacritical marks and ligatures. The principal departure from the accepted pattern is: the letters *є, й, ю, я* when initial letters of words are transliterated as *ye, y, yu, ya* (not *ie, i, iu, ia*).

B. In the articles on language and on some maps (see note III, below) a system of international transliteration commonly used in Slavic linguistics has been followed.

TABLE OF TRANSLITERATION

	A		B
а	a		a
б	b		b
в	v		v
г	h		h
ґ	g		g
д	d		d
е	e		e
є	ye	initially, otherwise -ie (e.g., <i>yednist'</i> , but <i>obiednannia</i>)	je
ж	zh		z
з	z		z
и	y		y
ї	y	initially, otherwise -i (e.g., <i>yoho</i> , but <i>Stryi</i>)	j
і	i		i
ї	ï		ji
к	k		k
л	l		l
м	m		m
н	n		n
о	o		o
п	p		p
р	r		r
с	s		s
т	t		t
у	u		u
ф	f		f
х	kh		x (or ch on maps)
ц	ts		c
ч	ch		č
ш	sh		š

щ	shch	šč
ю	yu initially, otherwise iu (e.g., Yurii, but Petliura)	ju
я	ya initially, otherwise ia (e.g., Yaroslav, but Kolomyia)	ja
ь	omitted (in titles of works and in bibliographies -')	'
Russian	г g	
	е e (je)	
	и i	
	й i (j)	
	ы y	
	э e	

II. Names of Persons

As a rule Ukrainian and Russian family names are transliterated according to the Table of Transliteration. However, in the main text, with the exception of the articles on language, Ukrainian family names ending with -ський (and Russian names ending with -ский) are transliterated as -sky; those with the endings -цький/-цкий/ are transliterated as -tsky. Polish family names are given in their original form.

For general ease in reading, Ukrainian, Russian, and Polish given names in the main text (language excepted) have been anglicized, except where the spelling of a Slavic name has been popularly accepted in English usage (e.g., Ivan, not John) or where no English equivalent of a Slavic name exists (e.g., Yaroslav). However, in order to facilitate cross-references in the index the anglicized form of the name is followed there by the Ukrainian name in parentheses, spelled out according to the Table of Transliteration, e.g., Hrushevsky, Michael (Mykhailo), Doroshenko, Peter (Petro), Khvylovyi, Nicholas (Mykola).

III. Geographical Names

In general geographical names in the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as well as of the adjacent lands predominantly inhabited by the Ukrainians, appear in the Ukrainian form according to the Table of Transliteration. Doubling of consonants in the endings is omitted, e.g., Podilia, Polisia, Zaporizhia.

Some well-known geographical names retain the form generally accepted in English usage, although they differ from the original form. Among these are the following:

Belorussia (on some maps	Cracow (Polish: Kraków)
Byelorussia or White Ruthenia)	Crimea (Ukrainian: Krym)
Brest-Litovsk (on historical maps,	Dnieper (Ukrainian: Dniro)
Berestie; in the text, Berestia)	Dniester (Ukrainian: Dniŭster)
Bucharest (Rumanian: București)	Galicia (Ukrainian: Halychyna)
Bukovina (Ukrainian: Bukovyna)	Kiev (Ukrainian: Kyïv)

Lithuania (on historical maps: Grand Duchy of Lithuania)	Polish: Podlasie) Prague (Czech: Praha)
Moscow (Russian: Moskva)	Sea of Azov (Ukrainian: Oziv)
Muscovy (on historical maps)	Vistula (Polish: Wisła)
Odessa (Ukrainian: Odesa)	Volhynia (Ukrainian: Volyn')
Podlachia (Ukrainian: Pidlashshia;	Warsaw (Polish: Warszawa)

Russian geographical names are used within the mixed Ukrainian-Russian territory (eastern Kuban region, the northern Chernihiv region—in the Russian SFSR). Double names, Ukrainian and Polish, are used within the formerly Ukrainian ethnic territory now under Poland: Buh (Bug), Kholm (Chełm). In cases of changes in geographical names, those in present use are given first, followed, in parentheses, by the older name (or names), e.g. Donetske (Stalino, Yuzivka). For technical reasons it has not been possible to maintain uniformity in the transliteration of geographical names on the maps.

In order to avoid possible confusion in the identification of geographical names, the different spellings of the same place will be given in the index—both those resulting from the use of two systems of transliteration and other non-Ukrainian forms of geographical names of major Ukrainian localities and areas, e.g., Chernihiv (Russian: Chernigov), Kharkiv (Kharkov); Lviv (Polish: Lwów; Russian: Lvov; German: Lemberg); Chernivtsi (Rumanian: Cernauti); Uzhhorod (Czech: Užhorod; Hungarian: Ungvar; Russian: Uzhgorod).

IV. A Note on Bibliographies

Selected but comprehensive bibliographies appear at the ends of chapters. Relevant sources (books, monographs, articles) in many languages are cited in the accepted bibliographical manner. Initials are used instead of the full given names of authors, which frequently appear in the transliteration of the language of the source (Grushevsky, M., when in Russian) or their otherwise common usages (Tschizevskij, Chyzhevsky as well as Čiževsky; Borschak as well as Borshchak).

V. List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the Text

AN URSS	—Akademiia Nauk Ukraïns'koï Radians'koï Sotsiialistychnoi Respubliky (Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
NEP	—Nova Ekonomichna Polityka (New Economic Policy)
NTSh	—Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka (Shevchenko Scientific Society)
OUN	—Orhanizatsiia Ukraïns'kykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)

RUP	—Revoliutsiina Ukraïns'ka Partiiia (Revolutionary Ukrainian party)
SVU	—Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukraïny (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine)
UCCA	—Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
UKP	—Ukraïns'ka Komunistychna Partiiia (Ukrainian Communist party)
UNA	—Ukraïns'kyi Narodnyi Soiuz (Ukrainian National Association)
UNR	—Ukraïns'ka Narodna Respublika (Ukrainian National Republic)
UPA	—Ukraïns'ka Povstans'ka Armiiia (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)
USDRP	—Ukraïns'ka Sotsiial-Demokratychna Robitnycha Partiiia (Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' party)
UPSR	—Ukraïns'ka Partiiia sotsiialistiv-revoliutsioneriv (Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Revolutionaries)
UPSF	—Ukraïns'ka Partiiia sotsiialistiv-federalistiv (Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists)
UNDO	—Ukraïns'ke Natsional'no-Demokratyчне Ob'iednannia (Ukrainian National Democratic Union)
UVO	—Ukraïns'ka Viis'kova Orhanizatsiia (Ukrainian Military Organization)
Ukrainian SSR	—Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic
URSR	—Ukraïns'ka Radians'ka Sotsiialistychna Respublika (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)
UVAN	—Ukraïns'ka Vil'na Akademiia Nauk (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences)
VUAN	—Vseukraïns'ka Akademiia Nauk (All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences)

Abbreviations used in the Bibliographies

AUWIB	— <i>Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Berlin</i>
AOBM	— <i>Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni, Rome</i>
ASEER	— <i>American Slavic and East European Review</i>
AUA	— <i>Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States</i>
CSP	— <i>Canadian Slavonic Papers (Toronto)</i>
ESS	— <i>Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences</i>
EZb	— <i>Ethnografichnyi Zbirnyk (Ethnographical Collection), Lviv</i>
HSS	— <i>Harvard Slavic Studies</i>
HZ	— <i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IsZ	— <i>Istoricheskii Zhurnal, St. Petersburg</i>
KSt	— <i>Kievskaia Starina (Kievan Antiquity)</i>
LNV	— <i>Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk (Literary and Scientific Herald)</i>
MUE	— <i>Materiialy do ukraïns'koï etnolohii</i>

- MEKhP** —*Materiialy z etnohrafii ta khudozhn'oho promyslu*
MS —*Le Monde Slave*, Paris
NTE —*Narodna tvorchist' ta etnohrafia*, Kiev
NZANU —*Naukovi Zapysky, Akademiia Nauk URSS*
NZUVU —*Naukovi Zapysky, Ukraïns'kyi Vil'nyi Universytet*
PSSS —*Proceedings, Shevchenko Scientific Society*, New York
RES —*Revue des Etudes Slaves*, Paris
RHi —*Revue Historique*, Paris
RIZ —*Russkii Istoricheskii Zhurnal*, St. Petersburg
RR —*Russian Review*
SE EJ —*Slavic and East European Journal*
SEER —*Slavonic and East European Review*, London
UQ —*Ukrainian Quarterly*, New York
UR —*Ukrainian Review*, London
UIZ —*Ukraïns'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, Kiev
URE —*Ukraïns'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopediia*, Kiev
UZE —*Ukraïns'ka Zahaľna Entsykl'opediia*, Lviv
VAN —*Visnyk Akademii Nauk URSS*, Kiev
VI —*Voprosy Istorii*, Moscow
VDI —*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, Moscow
ZIFV-UAN —*Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu Ukraïns'koï Akademii Nauk*, Kiev
ZNTSh —*Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, Lviv, New York
ZNTK —*Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva*, Kiev
ZMNP —*Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniia*, St. Petersburg

A NOTE ON EARLIER UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPAEDIAS

Attempts to describe Ukraine in concise form date to the seventeenth century. *Sinopsis* (1674), generally ascribed to Innokenty Gizel and published in



FIGURE 1. VIGNETTE OF THE UKRAINIAN GENERAL ENCYCLOPAEDIA (1930-5)

numerous editions, may be regarded as the first historical encyclopaedia of Ukraine. Similar efforts were made in the eighteenth century in the works by P. Symonovsky (*Kratkoe opisanie o kozatskom narode* [Short Description of the Kozak People], 1765), S. Lukomsky (*Sobranie istoricheskoe* [Historical Collection], 1770), V. Ruban (*Kratkaia letopis' Maloi Rossii* [Short Chronicle of Little Russia], 1776), and in several other accounts in chronicle form. Written before the emergence of modern literary Ukrainian, these were all in Russian. The first modern handbook on Ukraine, again in Russian, was *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem* (The Ukrainian People, Past and Present, St. Peters-

burg, 1914-16), edited by T. Vovk, T. Korsh, A. Krymsky, M. Tuhan-Baranovsky, A. Shakhmatov, S. Rudnytsky, *et al.*

The first encyclopaedia of Ukraine in Ukrainian was the *Ukrains'ka zahal'na entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian General Encyclopaedia, Lviv, 1930-5,) edited by I. Rakovsky. This was a general work of reference with special concentration on Ukraine in the third volume, edited by B. Simovych. An attempt to publish a projected 20-volume *Ukrains'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia* (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia) in the early 1930's in the Soviet Ukraine proved abortive when its editorial board was dissolved in 1934 before the first volume could appear. The chief editor of this project, Nicholas Skrypnyk, committed suicide in 1933 after being accused of nationalist deviations.



FIGURE 2. VIGNETTE OF THE UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPAEDIA (1949-52)

After the Second World War Ukrainian scholars in western Europe, members of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, prepared and published the *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva* (Ukrainian Encyclopaedia) in three volumes (Munich, 1949-52), edited by V. Kubijovyč and Z. Kuzela. The publication of the second series of this work containing information in alphabetical order is now in progress under the editorship of V. Kubijovyč; up to now three volumes (letters A-K) have appeared (Paris-New York, 1955-59). *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia* is based on the material of *Entsyklopediia ukraïnoznavstva*.

The first Soviet Ukrainian encyclopaedia, *Ukraïns'ka radians'ka entsyklopediia*, began to be published in 1960. Nine volumes of the projected sixteen had appeared by the end of 1962. A great deal of scattered information on Ukraine is contained in the standard Russian, Polish, and other Slavic encyclopaedias.

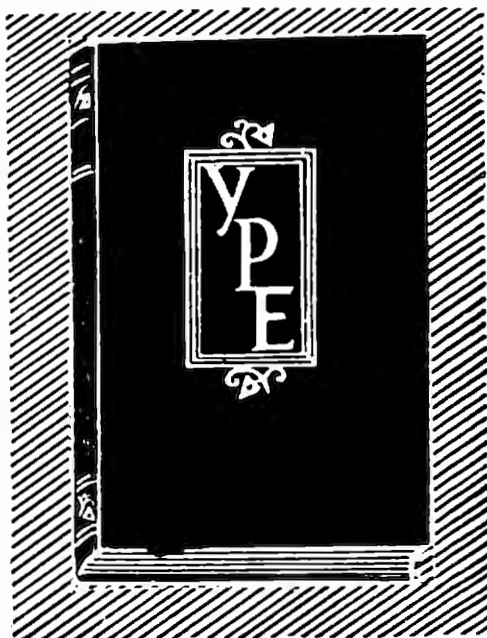


FIGURE 3. VIGNETTE OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA (1959-)

UKRAINE: A CONCISE ENCYCLOPAEDIA

I. General Information

1. THE NAME OF THE TERRITORY AND ITS PEOPLE

GENERAL REMARKS

The name of the territory inhabited by the Ukrainian people has varied through the centuries as has the name by which they have been known. At different times these names have taken on a broader or narrower meaning, sometimes being a general territorial and national appellation, and, at others, a provincial or tribal one.

The two principal names of the Ukrainian territory have been *Rus'* and *Ukraïna*. The name *Rus'* was used as early as the ninth century and during the tenth through the thirteenth centuries to designate both the territory and people of the Kiev-Pereiaslav lands and the Rurikide dynasty. The use of the name *Rus'* to denote Ukraine appears not only in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian Chronicles, but also in Kozak times, when the name "Ukraine" was already in wide use. Bohdan Khmelnytsky expressed the wish to liberate "the entire *Rus'* people up to the Vistula"; in the Treaty of Hadiach concluded by Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky in 1658, Ukraine was called the Grand Duchy of *Rus'*. In a set of instructions drawn up by Hetman Peter Doroshenko (1670), the "*Rus'* Orthodox Ukrainian people" is referred to, and foreigners such as Paul of Aleppo (1654) called Ukraine *Rus'* and the Ukrainians Ruthenians, thus distinguishing them from the Muscovites (*Moskovychi*, *Moskvyny*, or *Moskali*).

The original terms *Rus'* and *Rusyny* and all similar forms have been gradually replaced by the other old terms, Ukraine (*Ukraïna*) and Ukrainians, and these have been used regularly since the end of the nineteenth century by Ukrainians

and foreigners alike to denote the Ukrainian territory and people.

Z. Kuzela

THE NAME *RUS'*

The Chronicle applies the name *Rus'* to the Varangians: "They went beyond the sea to the Varangians, to *Rus'*, for the Varangians were called *Rus'* but others called them *Sveie* [Swedes] and still others, *Urmani* [Normans], *Angliane* [Angles], and others, Goths." The chronicler connects the appearance of this *Rus'* with the founding of a state in eastern Europe in the ninth century. Subsequently, the name *Rus'* is used in the Chronicle to denote the land of the Polianians—the triangle of the Kiev region formed by the Dnieper, the Irpen, and the Ros; further, it is applied to the entire territory of the Kievan state. *Rus'* is a collective word (like *znat'*—"a body of notables," *chern'*—"the common people," *cheliad'*—"the staff of a household"); the individual inhabitant of *Rus'* was called a *Rusyn* (e.g., in the *Ruskaia Pravda* or *Rus' Law* and in the Chronicle before 1050; in the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* [Tale of Ihor's Armament] the form *Rusych* is used). The terms *Rus'kyi* and *Rusyn* were used until quite recently in some parts of Western Ukraine. In Polish, these forms were applied to both the Ukrainians and the Belorussians; in Polish administrative terminology Galicia was called the *Ruskie województwo* (the *Rus'* [Ruthenian] province) from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

The term *Mala Rus'* (Little *Rus'*) appeared in the fourteenth century as a name for Galicia as opposed to the entire Kievan state (first attested, 1335). In the

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fourteenth century the Prince of Moscow began to call himself Prince of *Rus'* as well (in 1353—Prince of all *Rus'ia*). To distinguish the two *Rus'*, the Muscovite and the Ukrainian, the Patriarch of Constantinople applied to the first, with its twelve dioceses, the name of Great *Ros'ia* (in Greek, Μεγάλη 'Ρωσία), and to the second, with its five dioceses, the name Little *Ros'ia* (Μικρά 'Ρωσία). In this meaning these names are occasionally found in the church records of the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries. When he acquired, by the Treaty of Pereiaslav (1654), the protectorate over the Ukrainian Hetman State, the Muscovite Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich adopted the old terminology of the ecclesiastical administration and took for himself the title of "Tsar of Great, Little, and Other *Ros'ia*" (*Ros'ia* instead of *Rus'*, on the Greek pattern). From the end of the eighteenth century on the official Russian name *Malaja Ross'ia* was extended to the Ukrainian lands on the right bank of the Dnieper which had been newly annexed by Russia. At the end of the nineteenth century *Maloross'ia*, and the words *Maloros* and *Malorus* which are derived from it, acquired a contemptuous connotation and ceased to be used in scholarly literature. The terms *Yuzhnaia Rus'* or South *Rus'* and *Yuzhnorosy* were used in Russian literature in the second half of the nineteenth century but they did not find general acceptance. Beginning with the middle of the eighteenth century, the official name *Novoross'ia* (New Russia) was used to describe the territory of southern (steppe) Ukraine.

The origin of the name *Rus'* has not been determined although it has been the subject of many studies over a period of more than two centuries. Of the many views advanced, some do not stand up under scientific scrutiny. Among these are theories that the name and, to a certain extent, the people are in origin Finnish (Tatishchev, 1793, and others), Khazar (Evers, 1814, and others), Frisian (Gollman, 1816), Hungarian (Yur-

geevich, 1867), Lithuanian (Kostomarov, 1860), Polabian (Zabelin, 1876), Jewish (Barats, 1910), Arab (Rudanovsky, 1911), Turkic (Fritzler, 1923), Celtic (Shelukhyn, 1929). More plausible are the theories which hold that the word is of Scandinavian-Varangian, autochthonous Slavic, or Iranian origin.

The theory that the name *Rus'* is of Varangian origin, advanced at the beginning of the eighteenth century by Bayer and later vigorously promoted in the works of Müller (1749), Kunik (1844), and Thomsen (1877), relies on the passage already cited from the Chronicle and on the following facts: the *Rus'* were not Slavs but Varangians, as is confirmed by western European, Greek, and Arabic sources of the ninth and tenth centuries; Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in his treatise Περὶ ἔθνων, in 949, gives two sets of names for the Dnieper rapids, one in the *Rus'* language and the other in the Slavic, of which the former is traceable to the North Germanic languages; the names of the first princes in eastern Europe are of North Germanic origin; the Finns even today call the Swedes by a similar name, *Ruotsi*. It is true that no Swedish tribe of this name has been identified, but it may well be that the Finns derived it from the Swedish word *rōþs-menn* (seafarers)—compare the Old Swedish *rōþer* (rudder). Fitting in with this is the fact that part of the central Swedish shore—a place from which Varangians used to set out—is called Roslagen.

One of the chief objections to the Varangian-Scandinavian theory of the origin of the name *Rus'*, and of the tribe of that name, is that it does not explain why a Finnish and not a Swedish name was adopted for a state founded by a tribe of Swedish origin. Also important is the fact that *Rus'* in the form of 'Ρωσ appears in Greek sources as early as the eighth century when the Varangians had not yet secured the waterway from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and there is even one reference by Patriarch Proclus in con-

nection with the invasion of the Huns which is dated 434–47. To counter this argument the assumption has been made that there were several waves of Varangian-Germanic colonization, the first being that of the Goths. The Gothic modification of the Varangian-Scandinavian theory was developed by Kunik (1875) and later adopted by Shakhmatov (1904) and Tiander (1915); it is also supported by R. Smal-Stocki's suggestion that the light-haired Gothic conquerors may have been given the collective name *Rus'* by the indigenous inhabitants, as opposed to the name *chern'* (literally, "black people") denoting the socially subordinated autochthonous population, and that later the name *Rus'* was applied to the Varangians. Actually, this is an example of the so-called folk etymology which was known as early as the tenth century to Liudprand. Mavrodin too comes close to this assumption in his assertion that the word *Rus'* first had a social and not an ethnic meaning. Budilovich even traced a derivation of the name *Rus'* from the Old Norse word *hróðr*—"glory" (1890), but this is incorrect. Recently a substantial defense of the Scandinavian theory was undertaken by Stender-Petersen who postulates four successive stages of Scandinavian colonization in eastern Europe.

The partisans of the autochthonous origin of the name *Rus'*—in particular Maksymovych (1837), Lamansky (1859), Gedeonov (1862), as well as Volodymyr Antonovych, Mishchenko, Partytsky, Bahalii, Michael Hrushevsky, Padalka, and Parkhomenko—rely primarily on the similarity of the name *Rus'* to the names of rivers in Ukraine, the Ros and also the Rusna; these analogies were found by the author of the *Hustyn Chronicle* (1670). The identification in the *Primary Chronicle* of the *Rus'* with the Varangians is refuted by the assertion that Varangian was not the name of a tribe but of a band of sea raiders, the sworn members of a war party of any origin, and hence also Slavic (from *vár*—

loyalty, pledge). Some proponents of the autochthonous theory are forced to assert that in the remote past some of the Slavs settled in Scandinavia and later returned (Lamansky); others have regarded as identical with the Slavic *Rus'* all or many of the peoples who lived on the territory of Ukraine—the Roxolians, Sarmatians, Huns, and, above all, the Scythians (Ilovaisky, Marr, Grekov, *et al.*; their approaches to the theory vary in details). Alexander Potebnia supported the autochthonous theory for etymological reasons, deriving the name *Rus'* from the river names of the Ros type, which he alleged came from the Indo-European root *ars*—"to flow," but this is incorrect.

The theory of the Iranian origin of the name *Rus'* was first advanced by Knauer in 1899, and is now widely accepted in the USSR. According to this theory, the term *Rus'* is derived from the name of the Roxolians, which in its turn is derived from the Iranian *rokhs*—"light" (Siuziumov, Tretiakov, Vernadsky). The chronology of the first appearances of the name *Rus'* in the Greek sources fits well into this theory, but there are geographical difficulties: the Roxolians tribe was located in the lower Don basin, but in its oldest historical use the name *Rus'* was applied to the territory of the Polianians. Attempts have been made to counter this with the assumption that the name might have appeared simultaneously and independently in the Don basin in an Iranian setting and in the west in a Gothic setting (Mavrodin), or with a theory of a Varangian *Rus'* khaganate on the Don, which was later transferred to Kiev and Novgorod (Vernadsky). These last views are actually attempts to unite the Iranian and the Varangian-Scandinavian theories.

G. Shevelov

THE NAME UKRAÏNA

The name Ukraine is now the only one used to describe the territory inhabited

by the Ukrainian people. The term is of Slavic origin and is connected genetically with the word *ukraïna*, which originally meant (1) "borderland" (from the I.E. root * [s]krei—"to cut"). While the original meaning of the word *ukraïna* has been retained in other Slavic languages, in Ukrainian its meaning has been successively broadened from the fifteenth century on. Passing through a stage in which the word meant (2) "minor territorial unit," it arrived at its present basic meaning (3) "country," "land," "state" (with secondary connotations such as a "distant land," a "foreign land," which are found only in folklore). The oldest known example of the word *ukraïna* dates from the middle of the eleventh century (*po ukraïniam* in the Sermons of Gregory the Theologian). Later examples are found under the years 1187, 1189, 1213, 1280, and 1282 in the fifteenth-century Hypatian text of the Chronicle, where they also denote "borderlands," "lands on the edge" (of the Kievan state). This continued to be the basic meaning of the word *ukraïna* until the beginning of the sixteenth century, for example, *na ukraïnakh ot tatar*—on the borders with the Tatars—in 1501 (*Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*). The oldest examples of the second, intermediate meaning ("a minor territorial unit") for the word *ukraïna* come from the end of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, e.g., in the *Minet Chet'i* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—*ukraïny zeml'*, or "the regions of the land." The parallel meanings of a "frontier land" and a "minor territorial unit" are found in the Peresopnytsia Gospel (1556–61) and other texts of the period. The best example of this second meaning is found in the Act of 1667: *Ne yedno tsarstvo, kniazstvo, zemlia, ukraïna, povit* (Tymchenko) where the word *ukraïna* means an area falling somewhere between a land (*zemlia*) and a county (*povit*) in size. In the late sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries the word *ukraïna* received a new meaning

—"country, land, state." Examples of this are found in the Ukrainian *dumas*, the folk songs, the Kozak Chronicles (e.g., in the Chronicle of Velychko: *tamoshniu ukraïnu* in referring to Pomerania) and in many other sources.

The name *Ukraïna*—"Ukraine"—may correspond to the word *ukraïna* in all three meanings in historical records, but only in the basic sense of the "country," "land," "state" (inhabited by the Ukrainian people) in its present meaning. The oldest meaning of the name *Ukraïna*—"borderland"—is indirectly confirmed by the Iranian name Antes (fourth–seventh centuries A.D.) which is semantically identical with the name "Ukrainians"—inhabitants of the borderlands of Slavdom from the point of view of the Iranian tribes. The name *Ukrainiany* in Ukrainian sources is used by the chronicler before the year 1268 as a designation for the people of the Ukrainian-Polish borderland in the Kholm region. The meaning of "borderland" for the name *Ukraïna* was still applied in the middle of the seventeenth century as is recorded by the Venetian envoy to Khmelnytsky, Alberto Bianchi Vimina ("this country is called *Ukraïna*, that is, the borderland").

The name *Ukraïna* is found to correspond to the word *ukraïna* meaning "minor territorial unit" since the seventeenth century. Bohdan Khmelnytsky differentiated *Ukraïna* (the provinces of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv) from Volhynia and Podilia, although he also used the name in the broader sense to refer to the entire Ukrainian ethnic territory. In the Hustyn Chronicle of 1670 mention is made of "Moscow, Bilaia Rus', Volhynia, Podilia, *Ukraïna*, Pidhorja, etc." The Parochial Sermons of 1794 mention dialectal differences between the language in Volhynia, on the one hand, and in Podilia and *Ukraïna*, on the other (*na Volyniu inshii, na Podoliu i na Oukraini inshii*). Even in Shevchenko's works three instances of this narrower meaning are to be found,

as in the differentiation between Volhynia and *Ukraïna*, although otherwise he used the name *Ukraïna* in its basic meaning of all the Ukrainian lands.

The basic modern meaning of *Ukraïna* as the name of the entire Ukrainian national territory (a counterpart of the word *ukraïna* in its third meaning) is found from the sixteenth century on. Joseph Vereshchynsky used the name *Ukraïna* in this sense in 1594, as did Hetman Peter Sahaidachnyi in 1622, Obukhovych in his diary for 1648, and the Hetmans Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ivan Vyhovsky, Peter Doroshenko, Ivan Mazepa, and Philip Orlyk. The name *Ukraïna* in the broad meaning is found also in folk songs and folklore, in the Kozak Chronicles, and on maps (such as that of de Beauplan).

The proclamations of the Ukrainian Republic (November 20, 1917, and January 22, 1918) officially confirmed the name *Ukraïna*—"Ukraine"—and the adjective "Ukrainian" for both internal and international usage. Ukraine under Soviet rule is called the Ukrainian SSR—the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic—and under this name it became a charter member of the United Nations in 1945.

J. B. Rudnyckyj

THE NAMES FOR THE UKRAINIAN TERRITORY AND PEOPLE USED BY OTHER PEOPLES

Names Used by the Phœnicians and the Greeks

The oldest known names for the Ukrainian territory were identical with those of the peoples inhabiting the Ukrainian steppe. These people were known to the culture-bearers of the time, the discoverers and later rulers of the Black Sea coast of Ukraine: first the Phœnicians (ca. 1000 B.C.), later the Greeks (from the eighth or seventh century B.C.), and then the Romans and the Byzantines.

A Phœnician map of the world, which is supposed to date from the time of King Hiram I of Tyre (ca. 950 B.C.) and on which the oldest European geographical works were based (Albert Herrmann), gives the names of *Magog* and *Gomer* to the Ukrainian territory. The identification of the first name has caused great difficulty, but the second, which corresponds to the Assyrian cuneiform *Gimirrai*, the Greek *Κιμμέριοι*, and (G. Haloun) the old Chinese *Hien-yün* (old pronunciation *Kám-mier*), is the name of the Cimmerians, the predecessors of the Scythians on the Ukrainian steppe.

Thereafter, in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the Cimmerians were replaced by the Scythians, who were called *Σκίθαι* by the Greeks, *Ish-ku-za* or *Ash-gu-za-a-a* by the Assyrians, and, in Old Persian inscriptions, *Saka*. The Old Testament (Genesis X:3) speaks of the descent of the Scythians from the Cimmerians: Ashkuz appears there as the son of Gomer. The name Ashkuz (cf. its Assyrian forms) was read by the old Jewish scholars as Ashku (the Hebrew letters *waw* and *nun* were very similar); hence the Jewish *Ashkenazim* as a term of the eastern Jews—for the inhabitants of the northern, "Scythian" lands. The name *Σκίθαι* (*Scythæ*) was traditionally used in literature in later Greek and Roman times (from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.).

Basic Names for the Inhabitants of the Ukrainian Steppes during the Greek and Roman Periods

The Byzantine historians and geographers generally tended to employ literary and historical names to describe the northern "barbarians" who inhabited the Ukrainian territory. This use of archaic names is typical of nations which belong to old civilizations during a period when later generations are "systematizing" the knowledge discovered by their predecessors. They frequently used the name Scythians (*Σκίθαι*) to

refer to quite a few different peoples: Huns, Turks, Avars, Khazars, Magyars, and even the *Rus'*. This name is also found in the Kievan Chronicle of Bygone Years (*Velikaya Skuf*—"Great Scythia"—to denote the Ukrainian lands).

According to Herodotus (IV,6), the Scythians called themselves Σκόλοσοι. The etymology of this name has still not been explained satisfactorily. Soviet scholars (e.g., Udaltsov) have in general followed the etymology of Marr, who identified its root, *skolo*, with the root of the old name of the Slavs in the Greek form *skla* (Σκλαβηνοί).

If one assumes that the Νεῖροι (*Neuroi*) of Herodotus were the ancestors of the Slavs, who lived in the forest belt of Ukraine, this name would be the first given to the Slavic ancestors of the Ukrainians.

In late Greek and Roman times (from the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.) there were three basic names for the Iranian inhabitants of the Ukrainian steppe: (a) Σαρμαῖται—*Sarmatae*—there is no satisfactory etymology of this name; (b) Ἀλανοί (*Alani*), a North Iranian form of the name *Aryana*, i.e. Aryans; (c) Ῥωξολανοί (*Roxolani*), "White Alans," probably "West Alans," for in the symbolism of the Eurasian steppe the color white (in tribal names) denoted "west." The name of the Alans was carried to China by Sogdian merchants during the Chinese Han dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.). According to Chinese sources there was a state whose territory included part of present-day Ukraine (probably the steppe region) which had formerly been called *Yen-ts'ai* and, during the Han dynasty, had changed its name to *A-lan-na*. The name *A-lan-na* is usually interpreted as Alan.

In Europe Roxolania and Sarmatia again became popular as the classical names of the Ukrainian territory during the Renaissance. These archaic forms also found acceptance in Poland and eventually reached Ukraine; here they were willingly used by scholars and statesmen of

Kozak times. The favorite was Roxolania (*ius totius Ukrainae Antiquae vel Roxolaniae*, Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, 1657; *Muza Roxolanska* [the Roxolanian Muse], the title of a panegyric to Hetman Ivan Mazepa by I. Ornovsky, 1688, and others).

One also comes across the name *Savromaty* for the ancestors of the Kozaks; it is even a part of the title of George Khmelnytsky, prince of Sarmatia (1678–81).

Names for Ukrainian Territory in Monuments of the Fifth to the Tenth Centuries

In Gothic folklore, as recounted by Jordanes (Jornandes), appeared the name *Oium*, "a country cut by rivers." This may have been the name which the Goths gave to Ukraine when they were in occupation of the country (third to fourth centuries A.D.). The Goths had to fight for this land with the aborigines who were called *Spali*. The problem posed by the name *Spali*—which may conceal a name for the Slavic population of Ukraine—is still unsolved; attempts to connect it with the Σπύροι of Procopius have so far been unfruitful.

Only in the sixth century do we find a new name, Ἀρταί, for the territory, which corresponds to the Ukrainian territory of today. Recently, the derivation of this name has been traced to the Iranian languages. Some scholars (Vernadsky) connect the name Antes with the above-mentioned Chinese name *Yen-ts'ai* (old pronunciation, *iam-ts'ai*).

In the sixth century the name Slavs, Σκλαβηνοί (*Sclaveni*), appears for the first time. The Arabs adopted it, in the classical period of their geography (the ninth and tenth centuries), as the general name for the Ukrainian lands: *saqlab* (plural, *saqalib*)—"Slavs." Later *ar-Rús* is used (*ar* is an article). It is generally assumed that both names reached the Arabs through Byzantine geographical literature, although the Arab scholars may have learned them from their own merchants or the *Rus'* merchants who

reached Baghdad, the capital of the caliphate, in the ninth century at the latest. Both names refer primarily to the people of the forest belt; since, however, other peoples were often included as well, the Arab data must be used with caution.

Before the arrival of the Pechenegs in the ninth century, the Ukrainian steppe is known in Greek sources as Ἀτελοκόβου. At that time the Magyars lived in the area, and the name can be explained from Hungarian as meaning "land between the rivers." On the other hand, the written sources state that the word consists of the names of two rivers, Ἀτελ and Κόβου. In the latter, the old form of the Turkic name of the Dnieper, Közü (özü), can be seen; Ἀτελ may denote the Don or some other large river of the territory. Other names for the Ukrainian steppe are connected with the names of other nomadic tribes.

In the tenth century the Ukrainian steppe was called πατζινακία by the Byzantines, after the Altaic Pechenegs (Bächänäg), just as in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries it took its name κούμανοι—κουμανία from the Cumans (Kipchaks)—the Polovtsians—and was also known in medieval western Europe as Cumania. In Islamic (Arab-Persian sources), the name *Desht-i Qipchaq* (the Field of the Polovtsians) appears, derived from the name which the Polovtsians used for themselves—*Qipchaq*.

Names of Ukrainian Territory in Mongolian and Turkic Sources

Later names for the Ukrainian territory and people in foreign languages were based on the name *Rus'*, used in the Greek, western European, and Arabic sources (see above). The so-called Secret History of the Mongols (in Mongol, *Manggol-un niuca tobca'an*) written in 1240 calls the Ukrainian land *Orusut*. This is the proper rendering by the Turko-Mongols of the word *Rus'* ("r" is not used in these languages at the beginning of a word, and "-ut" is a plural suffix).

The Mongol form *urus* or *urusut* is the basis of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Chinese name for the Ukrainian territory—*Wu-lu-szu*, *Wa-lo-szu*. On a Chinese map published in 1331 (in the work *King-shi-ta-tien*) *Rus'* is marked *A-lo-szu*.

In the period of the Golden Horde, and, after its disintegration, in the succeeding khanates, especially in those of the Crimea and Kazan, the Ukrainian territory is referred to in the Turkic form *Urus*, *Orus*; the Islamic (Arab-Persian) sources of this period (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries) usually refer to Ukraine in the Arab literary form: *Rús* or *ar-Rús*.

Turkish geographers, who relied on the Arabic literary sources until the eighteenth century, called the Ukrainian territory *Rús* or *ar-Rús* as before. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries their historical literature and documents designate the Ukrainian lands as *Urus* or *Rús* and, even more exactly, as *Lih táifesi viláyeti kim Urus-dur* ("Rus', a province of Poland"). In the second half of the sixteenth century the name *Rus'* is identified with a new designation: *qazaq*—"Kozaks," *qazaq eshkiyási*—the Kozak raiders (in the times of the Kozak Black Sea raids).

Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the term *Rus'* was hardly ever applied to Russia and the Russians; they were called *Mosqu*, *Mosku*, *Moskof*, etc. This name was used also among the Orthodox of the Near East (e.g., among the Syrian Arabs, cf. Paul of Aleppo).

The Turks called Zaporozhia, *Sarī Qamish*—"Yellow Reeds." After the establishment of the Hetman State in 1648, the head of the state was officially referred to by the Turks as *Sarī qamish askerining hatmanī* (Hetman of the Zaporozhian Army). For the Republic of Zaporozhia, the title *Butqalī* was used (in some Ukrainian sources, *Butkal*), which might be explained as meaning "gruel eaters, gruel makers" (cf. the custom of making those who wanted to

join the Kozaks prepare gruel). Following the division of Ukraine into two hetmanates, one on each bank of the Dnieper, the Right-Bank hetmanate was usually called *Qardash Qazagī* (The Land of Reveling Kozaks). The Left-Bank hetmanate under the protection of the tsar of Muscovy was referred to as *Barabash* or *Barabash Qazagī*; this name may be of Ukrainian origin (*barabash*, "traitor").

From the second half of the sixteenth century on, the Turks also used the names *Uqranya*, *Ukranya*, *Uqrayna*, at first as geographical names for the lands of the Ukrainian Kozaks and later, chiefly in the seventies and eighties of the seventeenth century, as a term to denote the nation.

O. Pritsak

Rus', Russia

The Byzantine Greek name of the Rus' country—'Ρωσία—was already in use in the tenth century, e.g., in *De administrando imperio* by Constantinus Porphyrogenitus (905–59).

The Greek, 'Ρωσία, corresponded to Medieval Latin designations of Rus'—*Rusia*, *Ruscia*, *Rucia*, *Ruzia*, *Ruzzia*, a.o. (cf. Unbegaun, *Onomastica* 5, 6). These names are known to *scriptores* of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* of the tenth and eleventh centuries, for example, Thietmar of Merseburg (975–1018), Adam of Bremen (eleventh century), a.o. Pope Gregory IX used both forms *Ruscia/Russia* in 1233 and 1234 (cf. *Documenta Pontificium Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, I, 22, 23).

The ancient name of Rus'-Ukraine 'Ρωσία, and *Russia* (with its variations) had been used later for a long time in Byzantine Greek as well as in Western literature. Thus, for example, in the writ of the Byzantine emperor of 1347 there is the following statement: τὰ τὴ μητρόπολις 'Ρωσίας. In *Documentis Concilii Florentini de unione orientalium* of 1439, Isidore, the Metropolitan of Kiev, is called officially "metropolita Kievensis et totius Russiae"; in an Italian descrip-

tion of Poland by Julio Ruggiero in 1565 "tempo di Vlodomiro, duca di Russia" is mentioned; Leo Ludovicus Sheptytsky was called "Metropolitan totius Russiae" in the ancient meaning of Rus'-Ukraine in 1778.

The core of present-day Russia was originally known to the western world as a peripheral province of the Kievan Rus' under the Latin name, *Moscovia*. Official *Documenta Pontificium Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia* (1075–1700) clearly distinguish *Russia* (Rus'-Ukraine) from *Moscovia*—the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Thus, for example, in a letter of Pope Julius II to the Polish King Alexander of 1505, Ivan III, "Moscoviae dux," and "Lithuanie et Russie fines" are mentioned; in another Papal letter to the King Sigismund reference is made to the progress of "Moscoviticae expeditionis" (1611). Even Tsar Peter I was known in the West as "Magnus Moscoviae Dux" (1711). Sir Thomas Elyot in his *Dictionary* of 1538 (s.v. *Scytae*) gives the following distinction of Ukrainians, Russians, and Tartars: "They be nowe called Russyans, Moscovites, and Tartarians."

Since 1654 the names Great Russia, and Little Russia (sometimes with the addition: White) were used in official tsarist political terminology to emphasize the "unity" of the "Russian" (i.e., east European) "branches of one and the same nation." It was not until Revolution that these names, used to express the centralist conceptions of the old tsardom of Muscovy, disappeared and that the three separate eastern Slavic nations were officially recognized: Russian (originally called Muscovite), Ukrainian (originally called Rus', and in the West: Russia or Ruthenia, see s.v.), and Belorussian.

Ruthenia

The name Ruthenians (in Ukrainian, *Rusyny*) was until recently applied to Ukrainians who were subjects of Austria-Hungary (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcar-

pathian Ukraine). It was identical with the name Ukrainians, as noted in several works of that time, for example, the *Grammatik der ruthenischen (ukrainischen) Sprache* by S. Smal-Stocky and Th. Gartner (1913), *Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache* by O. Ohonovsky (1880), and *Ruthenisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* by E. Żelechowski, a.o.

Besides this narrow meaning, the name Ruthenians had a broader application, particularly in the late Middle Ages. It was employed to designate Ukrainians and Belorussians in the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, particularly those of Catholic faith (Uniates), or sometimes even all of the eastern Slavs—Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Russians.

The name was used for the first time in *Annales Augustani* (1089), viz., "Imperator [Henry IV] Praxedem, Ruthenorum regis filiam sibi in matrimonium sociavit" (cf. B. Unbegaun, *Onomastica* 5, 8). The application of the name *Ruteni* or *Rutheni* is frequently found in the twelfth and later centuries, for example, in *Vita Ludovici VI, Annalista Saxo* (1139), and *Vita Chunradi Archiepiscopi Salisburgensis* (1177) where "marchia Ruthenorum," designating contemporary Transcarpathian Ukraine, is mentioned (cf. Unbegaun, l.c.).

In later centuries, the Latin name *Ruteni* or *Rutheni* was used as a synonym of *Russi* designating Ukrainians, e.g., "omnes eiusdem Nationis seu Russae" in a Papal document of 1596 (cf. *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia*, I, 272). Until recent times, the traditional name, *Ruteni* or *Rutheni*, has been used in documents of the Roman Curia referring to Ukrainians and Belorussians.

Ucraina, Ucraina, Ucraina, and Others

The name Ukraine was also known in the sixteenth century among the Ukrainians' nearest neighbors, the Poles and the Muscovites. In the seventeenth cen-

tury the artificial and politically biased explanation of the name was developed as meaning "the borderland of Poland" (Grądzki). Analogous was the popular Russian explanation of the name as meaning "the borderland of Russia."

In western Europe the name of Ukraine in its Slavic form began to spread in the 1640's. It can be seen on maps of that time, in books written especially about Ukraine and in references to the country in western European publications (chiefly as a consequence of the Kozak-Polish wars). In particular the name Ukraine was popularized by the French engineer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan who published his well-known *Description d'Ukraine* in 1660 and a number of maps (edited between 1648 and 1660). The *Description* was later translated into Latin, English, German, Polish, and Russian, and thus the name Ukraine was introduced into geographical and historical literature.

After de Beauplan, the name Ukraine was used by the authors of Italian, German, French, English and other maps. Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII* and the first Ukrainian political emigration to western Europe (the followers of Mazepa) in the eighteenth century also helped to popularize the name.

On maps and in books concerning Ukraine the name was not always spelled consistently. In Latin it was written *Ucraina* or *Ukraina*, but in addition to these forms *Ucrainia* and *Ukrainia* or even *Ucrania* and *Ukrania* were also used; this last form has been adopted in some languages (Spanish, Portuguese, Flemish). In other languages the word has been given an ending common to that language; for example, the French *L'Ukraine* (pronounced [lükren]), the English Ukraine (in addition to the fairly frequent *Ucraine*). In German there are two forms: the older *Ukraina* and the newer Germanized *Ukraine*; the former was used until recently. A variation in stress (*Ukráine* and also the standard *Ukraine*) is explained by the

fact that in German the *i* usually forms a diphthong with a preceding *a*.

J. B. Rudnyckyj

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2. THE TERRITORY OF UKRAINE

UKRAINIAN LANDS AS A WHOLE

The boundaries of Ukraine, as of every other country, can be regarded as geographical, ethnic, or political boundaries. The national territory of Ukraine includes not only the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, but also the adjacent Ukrainian ethnic territories, i.e., the territories predominantly inhabited by the Ukrainians. These territories extend from the Tysa (Tisza) River, the mouth of the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Caucasus Mountains in the south to the swamps of Polisia and the upper reaches of the Desna River in the north; and from the Poprad, Sian (San), and Vepr (Wieprz) Rivers, and Bilovezha (Białowieża) Forest in the west to the semi-deserts near the Caspian Sea and the Don River in the east. Beyond these regions are scattered Ukrainian settlements extending in an easterly direction to the shore of the Pacific Ocean.

Ukrainians have lived within the territory thus defined since the dawn of

their history, although it is only in recent times that they have filled the entire area; on the other hand, there have been times when the Ukrainians lived in areas which are now beyond the boundaries of their ethnic territory. In the past, the Ukrainian ethnic territory belonged, in whole or in part, to the Kievan Realm, to the Ukrainian Kozak State, and to the Ukrainian state of 1917–20. Eighty per cent of the Ukrainian ethnic territory is included in the present-day Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. To a certain degree, the Ukrainian ethnic territory forms a natural geographical unit.

Changes in Ukrainian Territory

The boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic territory have undergone and are still undergoing great changes. This is the result of the border position of Ukraine and the unprotected nature of its frontiers. Only to the south do the Black Sea and the Caucasus Mountains form a complete natural boundary; the western marshes of Polisia and a few

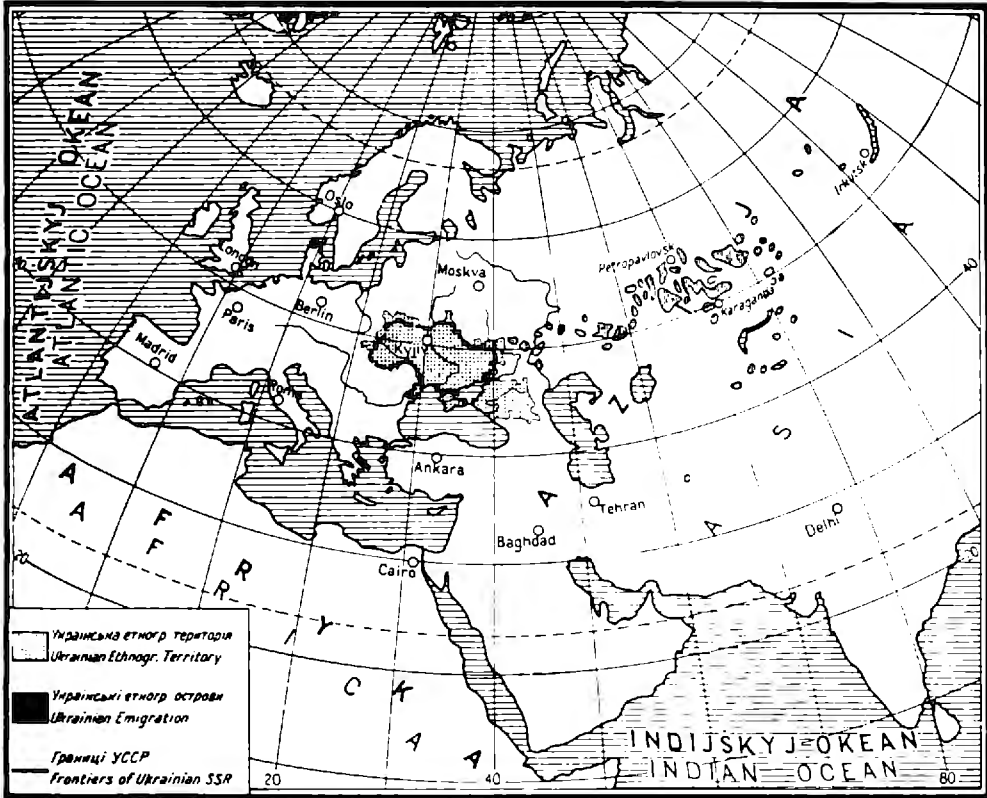


FIGURE 4. THE POSITION OF UKRAINE IN EURASIA*

areas in the Carpathian Mountains are likewise endowed with natural protection. Formerly, wide forests served as a natural frontier to the west, but they have long since been destroyed. The other borders of Ukraine, especially to the northeast along the frontier with ethnic

*The great majority of maps in this volume have been taken from the Ukrainian edition of the Encyclopaedia. Since these maps were made in 1949–50, the territory of the Ukrainian SSR is presented without the Crimean Peninsula which was added to the Ukrainian SSR in 1954. Similarly, the names of several cities are given in accordance with the nomenclature prevailing at that time (Voroshyl'ovhrad—now Luhanske; Stalino—now Donetsk; Stalingrad—now Volgograd).

All colored maps will be added to Volume II.

Grateful acknowledgment is hereby expressed to N. Kulytsky for the preparation of the old maps, and to G. Kolody and A. Zhukovsky for the preparation of several new maps.

Russia and to the east, are completely open. This situation is one of the principal causes of the fall of the Ukrainian independent states.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

The Ukrainian ethnic territory extends between $43^{\circ}20'$ and 53° north latitude and $20^{\circ}30'$ and 45° east longitude. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic lies between $44^{\circ}20'$ and $52^{\circ}20'$ north latitude and $22^{\circ}5'$ and $40^{\circ}15'$ east longitude. The Ukrainian lands are in the southeast corner of Europe.

Border Position

Ukraine is a typical borderland. It is a borderland of Europe, the gateway to Asia and its desolate steppe region, on the outskirts of the Mediterranean Sea

and on the border between the forests and the steppe.

Ukraine lies north of the Black Sea, the last arm of the Mediterranean Sea, which extends northeast into the continental mass of eastern Europe. Mediterranean influences are thus only slightly in evidence. The Black Sea and the Sea of Azov form the one natural boundary of Ukraine between the mouth of the Danube and the Caucasus. Into these seas flow several rivers, the most important of them being the Dnieper. Ukraine, like every other political organism which has ever existed in this area, has always tried to hold the shores of these seas.

Historical Results of Border Position

A vast belt of steppe stretches between the core of Ukraine and the sea, forming a continuity with the Asian steppes and deserts. From time immemorial, hordes of nomads have emerged from the Asian steppes and deserts and have pressed forward through the steppe against Ukraine, attempting to cut it off from the sea. Thus the steppe became a cultural and political peninsula of Asia, and Ukraine had to fight invading tribes from Asia not only in the east but also in the south. The peoples who inhabited Ukraine in the most remote times strove to reach the sea, while the people of the steppe drove to the west. The Mediterranean peoples often tried to establish control over the northern banks of the Black Sea. These expansionist trends brought the conflicting bands together on Ukrainian land, and the resulting turmoil lasted thousands of years.

The northern shores of the Black Sea often were subjected to the economic and political influence of the states to the south. Here the ancient Phoenicians and Greeks had their colonies, and parts of the coastal area were included in the Bosphorian, Roman, and Byzantine empires. As a result of contacts with the Mediterranean lands and their colonies, Ukraine was influenced by the high Mediterranean culture; consequently, for

a long time Ukraine was the most advanced country of eastern Europe. The Kievan Realm, beginning in the ninth century, dominated the shores of the Black and Baltic seas for a time. This "road from the Varangians to the Greeks" became the chief lifeline of the Realm—the source of its strength, wealth, and culture. The positive side of the border position of Ukraine was manifested by this situation; but, at the same time, the negative results of that position became clear.

The nomads invaded Ukraine through the steppes. The Kievan Realm had to defend itself and its western neighbors on two fronts—the east and the south. After three centuries of struggle, the Kievan Realm fell. (See "History," p. 604). The Galician-Volhynian state (i.e., the Principality of Halych and Volhynia), located in a more defensible position, lasted a century longer.

Not only did the raids of the nomads destroy the medieval Ukrainian state, but they also severed Ukrainian contacts with the centers of the high Mediterranean culture. Ukraine, which had hitherto been close to one of the great centers of European culture, Byzantium, found itself on the remote border of the other source of European culture, the West. Thus, the influences of the West began to penetrate on a small scale.

At the beginning of the second half of the fifteenth century, the Crimean khannate became a Turkish dependency. As a result, the entire northern coast of the Black Sea was annexed to the Ottoman empire and remained within its framework for the next 300 years. The border situation, to an important degree, caused Ukraine to lose its statehood and resulted in the shrinkage of its national territory almost to the forest belt. The population was greatly reduced because of the frequent invasions.

The Lithuanian and, still less, the Polish state, into which Ukraine was subsequently incorporated, could not protect the Ukrainian population against the

attacks of the nomads. The Ukrainian Kozaks, whose origin can be traced to the end of the fifteenth century, assumed this task. The Zaporozhian Sich was organized on the Dnieper, deep in the steppe. This nucleus of the second Ukrainian state was a typical result of its border position.

When the Tatars finally retreated in the eighteenth century, and when southern Ukraine (including the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov) became part of the Russian empire, the border position of Ukraine permitted the Ukrainian tiller of the soil to extend his territory quickly and easily to the east and south. The roles changed. Just as the nomads had formerly driven a wedge into the Ukrainian lands, now Ukrainians began to push the nomads out of southern Ukraine. The Ukrainian people, after an interruption of centuries, reached the sea again. It is true that the Black Sea did not at that time have the same cultural significance it had had in earlier centuries when European culture came from the south. The influence from the West was in its ascendancy. However, the Black Sea permitted Ukraine to increase its contacts with other countries and cultures.

BOUNDARIES OF UKRAINIAN TERRITORY

Evolution of Boundaries

As a result of the border position of Ukraine, its boundaries and size have undergone great changes through the centuries—far greater than those of the other nations of Europe except for Russia. Even now not all boundaries of the Ukrainian national territory are firmly defined.

It is known that the Ukrainian agricultural population at times advanced into the steppe as far as to the sea, at other times retreated into the belt of forests and the forest steppe. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian tiller of the soil had occupied the steppe

and, after centuries of struggle, he had again reached the Black Sea.

The efforts of the Ukrainians to gain control over more land did not end with the domination of the steppe. By the end of the eighteenth century, Ukrainian Kozaks had settled in the Kuban land; and during the second half of the nineteenth century, following the settlement of the southern, steppe Ukraine, Ukrainian settlers looked toward the Subcaucasus, the Volga area, and further into Asia. As a result, the westernmost part of the Subcaucasus became Ukrainian ethnic territory. Ukrainians and Russians jointly colonized the eastern half of the Subcaucasus, and it became an ethnically mixed Ukrainian-Russian territory. Ukrainian enclaves were formed along the Volga, and the Ukrainian settlements in Asia formed islands within foreign territory.

As a result of this spread of Ukrainian settlements, the Ukrainian ethnic territory increased considerably in a relatively short period. Consequently, the boundaries of this territory in the south-east are still not clear.

The Ukrainian territory has known many changes in the west, especially in relation to the Poles, Slovaks, Rumanians, and Hungarians. Its western neighbors, whom the Ukrainian people had protected from the nomads, were able to develop more peacefully, and later they advanced into the Ukrainian lands, which had been weakened in the struggle with the peoples of the steppe. In particular, streams of settlers came from the heart of Poland into the Ukrainian lands which had been devastated by the Tatar raids; as a result, the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary moved to the east, and Polish enclaves were established on Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainians suffered lesser losses to their other neighbors—the Slovaks, Hungarians, and Rumanians.

The boundaries of Ukrainian national territory described below are presented in accordance with data of the 1930's.

16 GENERAL INFORMATION

Subsequent changes are described only in general form. At present the national territory of Ukraine is smaller. As a result of the deportation of the Ukrainian population from the Ukrainian-Polish borderland, the western boundary of Ukrainian national territory has moved farther to the east. In the east, those Ukrainian ethnic territories, which are not included in the Ukrainian SSR but are part of the Russian SFSR, are subjected to an intense process of Russification.

BOUNDARIES OF UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY*

Ukraine borders to the south on the sea. To the southwest, it borders on Rumanian settlements. Rumanians have occupied the lands between the Carpathians and the Dniester and have thus broken the territorial ties of the ancestors of the Ukrainians with the Southern Slavs. Also to the southwest is the boundary between Ukrainians and Hungarians. To the west, Ukrainians have shared a boundary with Slovaks and Poles for centuries. The Ukrainian northern bound-

*See Figure 5. For a more accurate presentation, see the ethnic map of Ukraine (Vol. II) and Figure 134.

ary separates Ukrainians from Belorussians and Russians. The boundaries with the Don region in the east and the Subcaucasus in the southeast have been subjected to many changes and have yet to remain fixed.

We thus distinguish the following sectors of the Ukrainian boundaries: the southern, a sea boundary; the southwestern, that with the Rumanians and Hungarians; the western, with the Slovaks and Poles; the northern, with the Belorussians and Russians; the eastern, with the Don region; and the southeastern, with the Subcaucasus.

Southern Boundary

The southern boundary of Ukraine is its only natural boundary; in addition, by maritime routes, it also serves to connect Ukraine with the rest of the world. Although it is now the most permanent boundary, the Ukrainian people established dominance over it only at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The present maritime boundary of the Ukrainian ethnic territory extends from the delta of the Danube in an eastward direction to the city of Adler on the slopes of the Caucasus, a direct length

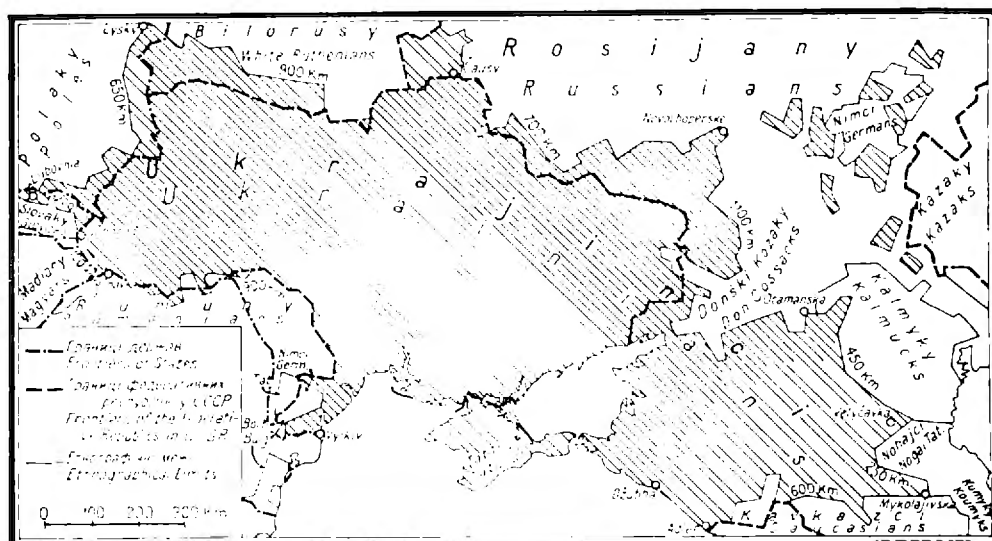


FIGURE 5. GENERAL SKETCH OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY

of about 1,300 miles; and it now includes the Crimea (making a total length of 1,800 miles). It can be divided into three sectors. The first and principal sector extends from the Danube's delta to the mouth of the Don River; this is the southern boundary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic except for fifty miles of coastline further to the east belonging to the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. A narrow strip at the mouth of the Don, settled by the Ukrainians, separates the territory of the Don region from the sea and forms a weak link between the first sector of the Ukrainian seashore and the second, that of the Kuban region. The third sector extends from Dzhubha to Adler; here the boundary with the sea passes through mixed ethnic territory. The maritime frontiers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are approximately 680 miles in length, without the Crimea (1,800 miles if the Crimean shore is included).

In dealing with the southern boundary of Ukraine, mention should also be made of the Crimea. Ethnically, it was a mixed Ukrainian-Tatar-Russian territory prior to World War II. The Crimean steppe was inhabited chiefly by Ukrainians, the foothills and mountains by Tatars (who constituted almost one-quarter of the population of the Crimea), and the cities were the stronghold of the Russians who congregated in them. After World War II, the Tatars were deported, and Ukrainians and Russians replaced them. Economically and geographically, the Crimea is closely connected with the mainland of Ukraine. In 1954, it was officially incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.*

Ukrainian-Rumanian Boundary

The Ukrainian-Rumanian ethnic boundary extends for almost 560 miles. It begins at the delta of the Danube and passes through Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia.

*The ethnic composition of the Crimea and of other Ukrainian borderlands is discussed in the chapter on ethnic composition, see p. 240.

In Bessarabia, the Ukrainians inhabit the southern part—including the cities of Bilhorod Dnistrovsky (Akkerman) and Izmail—and the northern part—including the Khotyn area. Central Bessarabia is inhabited by Rumanians (Moldavians). Along the ethnic boundary are many Ukrainian and Rumanian enclaves.

The boundary of the Ukrainian territory passes through the territory of Bessarabia north of Izmail, Kiliia, Chichma, and Eskipolos to Lake Sasyk; from there it extends north toward the Dniester, along the Kohylnyk and Sarat rivers to Roskivets on the Dniester. Then the boundary crosses to the left bank of the Dniester and runs about 6 to 12 miles from the river, now approaching very near it and again, as at Bendery, turning to the Bessarabian side. From Rybnytsia to Mohyliv Podilsky it passes, for the most part, along the Dniester, turns sharply west in the area of Khotyn, then turns south from the localities of Sekuriy and Brychany to the Prut River, then along this river or to the north of it past the towns of Lypkany and Novoselytsia, where the boundary leaves Bessarabia and passes into Bukovina.

In Bukovina, the boundary runs a little north of the Prut River to the city of Chernivtsi, which is in Ukrainian ethnic territory; then, proceeding in a southeasterly direction, it forms a long and narrow peninsula which extends to the outskirts of Suceava, from which point it returns to Chernivtsi, then turns southwest and south continuing into the Carpathians, to the east of the villages of Panka, Voloskyi Banyliv, Frasin, Ardzhel, Ruska Moldavytsia, Briaza, and Kyrlibaba. In Bukovina there are ethnic enclaves on both sides of the boundary, i.e., Rumanian in the Ukrainian territory and Ukrainian in the Rumanian territory.

The Ukrainian-Rumanian ethnic boundary on the territory of Bessarabia corresponds in general to the present political frontiers between Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Moldavia (Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic), except that in southern Bessarabia the majority of the Bulgarian,

former German, *Gagauzian*, and Russian enclaves which are wedged in between the Ukrainian and the Rumanian territories have been annexed to Ukraine. In Bukovina, the present political frontier between Ukraine and Rumania is almost identical with the ethnic boundary described above.

From Kyrlibaba, the Ukrainian-Rumanian ethnic boundary extends along the chief Carpathian ridge to Mount Budiivska; it then turns south first along the Vysheva River and later along the Tysa (Tisza) River. This boundary corresponds, in general, with the political frontier of Ukraine and Rumania, except that the valley of the Ruska River, which is inhabited by Ukrainians, belongs to Rumania. Between the two World Wars, this boundary was identical with the boundary of Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine) and Rumania. The frontier of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic is 330 miles in length and that with Rumania extends 320 miles.

The Ukrainian-Rumanian ethnic boundary has undergone rather substantial changes through the centuries. In the Middle Ages Bessarabia, most of Moldavia, and even northern Transylvania were populated by a Ukrainian element; it is only since the fourteenth century that the ancestors of the present Rumanians began to move into these areas. In most recent times, the Ukrainian element has yielded in places to the Rumanian and has been Rumanianized.

Ukrainian-Hungarian Boundary

Southeast of the town of Sevliush, the Ukrainian boundary loses contact with Rumania and there begins a short boundary with Hungary, about 62 miles in length. It passes to the south of the towns of Sevliush, Mukachiv, and Uzhhorod; and there are many ethnic enclaves on both sides of the boundary.

The Ukrainians have suffered slight losses along their boundary with the Hungarians, and the ethnic Ukrainian-Hungarian line has been pushed slightly

to the north. The present political boundary between Ukraine and Hungary, 55 miles in length, does not correspond fully with the ethnic boundary, for a narrow belt inhabited by Hungarians is included in Soviet Ukraine. The city of Berehovo is within this belt of Hungarian ethnic territory.

Ukrainian-Slovak Boundary

The boundary with the Slovaks begins near Uzhhorod, and it passes on to the territory of Czechoslovakia. During the last few centuries, the Ukrainians have had losses to the Slovaks; they have maintained themselves only in the Carpathian Mountains and have retained a small strip (which becomes narrow in the west) on both sides of the main crest along the political frontier between Poland and Slovakia. This western Ukrainian peninsula, inhabited chiefly by Ukrainian highlanders, the Lemkians, separates the Poles from the Slovaks.

The Ukrainian-Slovak ethnic boundary runs for almost 125 miles from Uzhhorod, northwest to Snina and Yablinka, then west to Hanushivtsi on the Toplia River, then north to Zborov, where the Slovak population extends far to the north along the Toplia River; it then passes south to Sabinov; from there it extends north to the valley of the Toryska, then south to Olshavytsia and near Lypnyk it joins the border with the Poles. The frontier between the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and Czechoslovakia is 55 miles in length.

South of this compact Ukrainian territory there is a series of Ukrainian ethnic enclaves. With the exception of the environs of Uzhhorod, the entire Ukrainian-Slovak ethnic boundary is on territory which politically belongs to Czechoslovakia, so that the western part of Transcarpathia, often called the Prešov (Priashiv) area, is not included in Soviet Ukraine.

Ukrainian-Polish Boundary

The boundary between the Ukrainians and the Poles in the Middle Ages was

formed by the great forest wilderness along the Wisłok, the lower Sian (San), and the Vepr (Wieprz) rivers. In the thirteenth century, the political and also the ethnic boundary between Poland and the Principality of Halych and Volhynia passed west of the line formed by Krosno, Rzeszów, Krzeszów, Biłgoraj, Puhaczów, Parczew, and Drohiczyn (Dorohychyn). When, in the fourteenth century, the Poles occupied the Principality of Halych and Volhynia, the forests were gradually destroyed, and the Polish element began to advance to the east. On the territory of Galicia, the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary was pushed steadily from the line of the Wisłok River almost to the line of the Sian River. East of the Sian, in Galicia, many Polish enclaves were established. Despite centuries-long colonization efforts, the ethnic boundary in the Kholm (Chełm) and Podlachia areas remained without substantial change. During the nineteenth century, however, part of the population of the Kholm and Podlachia areas came under the influence of the Polish Roman Catholic Church; and, at the beginning of the twentieth century, this group accepted the Roman Catholic faith. As a result in the Kholm (Chełm) area, and even more in Podlachia, there is, in addition to the Orthodox Ukrainians and Roman Catholic Poles, a group of Roman Catholic Ukrainians who have undergone intensive Polish colonization.

The Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary before 1946 was about 400 miles in length: of these, 90 miles were taken up by the Lemkian peninsula in the neighborhood of Sianok (Sanok), 85 miles by the boundary in Galicia, and the remaining 230 miles constituted the boundary in the Kholm (Chełm) and Podlachia areas. The Ukrainian-Polish boundary in the Lemkian region was very distinct; it extended from Lypnyk, where the Slovak-Ukrainian-Polish boundaries joined, west to east along a line south of the settlements of Piwniczna, Grybów, Dukla, Rymanów, and the

environs of Sianik (Sanok); it then turned north approximately along the Sian River near the settlements of Sianik, Dynów, Radymno, Yaroslav (Jarosław); Syniava (Sieniawa), and Ozhanna.

Near Kholm (Chełm) and Podlachia, the western boundary of the Ukrainian territory passed through the settlements of Tyshivtsi (Tyszowce), Voislavychi (Wojślawice), Pavliv (Pawłów), Vilkhivets, Opilia (Opole), Pishchats (Piszczac), and Yaniv (Janów) on the Buh (Bug) River; then it ran along the Buh to Drohiczyn. North of the Buh, the Ukrainian-Polish boundary was more definite; there was no mixed Ukrainian-Polish belt there. The boundary proceeded from Drohiczyn through Botsky to Lisna on the Narva (Narew) River where the western boundary with the Poles ended and the northern contact with the Belorussians commenced.

The Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary described above is now merely of historical importance, for, on the basis of the Soviet-Polish treaty of 1945, the Ukrainian population was removed from the Lemkian, Sian, Kholm (Chełm), and Podlachia areas. Today, the ethnic boundary corresponds to the present political frontier of Soviet Ukraine and, in the north, of Soviet Belorussia and Poland. This boundary extends from the upper reaches of the Sian along this river, then turns north near the town of Nyzhankovychi in the direction of Rava Ruska; from Rava Ruska it turns east and passes by Belz and Sokal to the Buh River, following it to the city of Brest-Litovsk, from which it proceeds in a northerly direction to the Narva River. The present Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary is approximately 340 miles in length. Of these, 250 miles form the political boundaries between Poland and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and 90 miles are those between Poland and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, which includes the northeastern part of Podlachia, inhabited by Ukrainians.

Ukrainian-Belorussian Boundary

The Ukrainian-Belorussian ethnic boundary is difficult to determine, for there are broad belts of transitional Ukrainian-Belorussian dialects on the expanses of Polisia, and the national consciousness of the population is rather low. On the basis of the studies of philologists, the Ukrainian-Belorussian linguistic boundary passes by the Narva (Narew) River, then by Pruzhany, Bereza Kartuzka, Lake Vyhonivske, Liusyn, and Turiv, then east along the Prypiat River to the Dnieper, and then north along the Dnieper to Loiev.

To the east, in the northern part of the former Chernihiv *guberniya*, at present, the southern part of the Briansk *oblast*, it is difficult to establish the boundary. All this area is a borderland shared by Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Russians. The language of the population is Belorussian, but it has undergone a rather strong Russification as a result of the inclusion of the territory in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. The population is related to the Ukrainians by its former dependency upon the Kozak State and by its later inclusion in the Ukrainian Chernihiv *guberniya*. We cannot determine definitely to whom this area belongs; and we fix for the Ukrainian territory two boundaries: one, excluding the four counties of the former northern Chernihiv *guberniya*, runs, like the present northern frontier of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in the direction of Dobrianka, Semenivka, and Chausy; the other, which includes the disputed region, extends to Mhlyn in the north. The length of the first boundary is approximately 560 miles and of the second approximately 680 miles.

The state boundary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic does not correspond with their ethnic boundary; the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic includes a rather broad belt inhabited by Ukrainians. It is 540 miles in length.

Ukrainian-Russian Boundary

The Ukrainian-Russian ethnic boundary goes from Chausy or from Mhlyn to Novokhopersk on the Koper River, a length of 435 miles. This boundary has only recently been established; it arose partly as a result of joint settlement, and is therefore winding, with many ethnic enclaves on both sides of it. This boundary first follows the frontier of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic from Seredyna Buda to Rylsk, then it enters the territory of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, penetrates the Kursk, Belgorod (Bilhorod), and Voronezh *oblasts* (provinces) in a straight line to Novokhopersk beyond the Don River, north of the towns of Sudzha, Ostrohozk, Buturlynivka, and Novokhopersk. In the eastern section, the ethnic boundary is distinct; in the western part, there is a broad mixed belt, especially near Belgorod.

Ukrainian Boundary with the Don Region

Near Novokhopersk, the boundary of the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory turns sharply to the south and there borders on the old tsarist region of the Don Cossack Host. Further to the east, there are only Ukrainian enclaves which extend to the Ural Mountains and further into Asia. The language of the Don Cossacks is Russian with strong Ukrainian influences in vocabulary, but these people developed a sense of separatism from Moscow and have made some attempts to establish independent statehood. Many Russians live in the Don region and Russianizing influences are very strong. The boundary between the Ukrainians and the Don Cossacks is composed of two sectors: the first extends from Novokhopersk in the north to Rostov in the south and forms the eastern border of Ukrainian ethnic territory; the second sector is the boundary between the Ukrainian ethnic territory and the mixed section of the Subcaucasus in the south and the region of the Don

Cossacks in the north. The first sector is approximately 465 miles in length, and the second extends for approximately 220 miles.

The first sector of this boundary runs to Manyra, Stara Milova, Mieshkov, Astakhiv, Mankova, Morozivska, then it goes west as far as Luhanske, a Russian peninsula; from there, it passes through Shakhty to Rostov, where the second sector begins, which runs along the Don region peninsula on the south. Thus, along the Don there is a large non-Ukrainian peninsula which separates Ukraine from the Ukrainian Subcaucasus.

The boundary between the Ukrainian Subcaucasus and the Don region passes from Rostov to Orlivka on the Sal River, through Bataisk and Balabansk, then along the Sal through Kryliv, to Otamanivska, where the boundary with the Don region ends and that with the Kalmyks begins. The ethnic boundary of Ukraine in the east and in the Subcaucasus is far outside the frontiers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The length of the frontier of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic is approximately 920 miles; of this, the northern sector covers 590 miles and the eastern 330 miles.

Ukrainian Boundaries in the Subcaucasus

The Ukrainian-Don boundary in the Subcaucasus as described above exists only in its western part, where the boundary is one purely between Ukrainian and Don territory; in its eastern part, it is a boundary between a mixed Ukrainian-Don-Russian territory in the south and the Don-Russian territory in the north. The eastern Subcaucasus is an ethnically mixed territory settled by Ukrainian, Cossack, and Russian colonists; therefore, in the Subcaucasus, we must define the two limits of Ukrainian territory—the minimum and the maximum. The former embraces only the western Subcaucasus and is predominantly a Ukrainian region (western part

of the Kuban area); the latter is a mixed territory.

The minimum boundary goes from Rostov to the southeast through Novobataisk to Mechetynska, where it turns south, passes through Tykhoritska and Ladovska, and reaches the Kuban River. On the left, or southern, bank of the Kuban, there is a long, narrow Circassian enclave; then the eastern limit of the compact Ukrainian territory extends further to the south through the eastern Kuban area, approaches the main ridge of the Caucasus, parallels it briefly to the west, again turns south, penetrating the area of the Black Sea, reaching that body of water near Dzhubha. The minimum boundary is 280 miles in length.

To the east of this compact Ukrainian area there extends a mixed belt. We have determined its northern limits; near Obilnaia the boundary turns sharply to the south where the boundary with the Kalmyks and Daghestani begins. It corresponds to the western boundary of the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic, that is, it runs along the western slopes of the Yergeni Hills to the Manych River, thence passing still further to the east, to the Kuma River near Velychave. There ends the boundary with the Kalmyks, and the boundary with the Daghestani begins. It extends straight south to the Kuma River. In this area between the Kuma and Terek rivers, islands of the Ukrainian population are scattered further to the east and in the direction of the Caspian Sea.

The southern boundary of this Ukrainian mixed territory is a boundary with Caucasian ethnic groups. It extends along the Terek and Malka rivers, then south through Kyslovodsk, Batalpashynsk, and Psebaisk; then southwest, cutting across the Caucasus and reaching the Black Sea near Adler.

The boundary between the Ukrainians and the Kalmyks is more than 250 miles in length, that with the Daghestani is 150 miles long, and that with the Caucasian peoples is approximately 370

miles long. This was the limit of the Ukrainian ethnic territory on the south-east in the 1930's. As a result of losses which the population suffered during the famine, Soviet repressions, World War II, and the forcible deportation of the Kalmyks and Caucasian peoples (Karachais, Ingushes, and Chechens, not all of whom had returned in 1957) the ethnic relations in the Subcaucasus changed, but no data are available concerning the extent of these changes.

BOUNDARIES AND TERRITORY OF THE UKRAINIAN STATES*

Kievan Realm

The Kievan Realm included almost all the territory populated by Ukrainians, and, in addition, many lands settled by other than Ukrainian tribes. During the reign of Volodymyr (Vladimir) the Great, this state occupied approximately 1.2 million square miles, but there were large areas which were almost uninhabited. During the medieval period, the permanently settled Ukrainian lands covered approximately 0.2 million square miles.

Ukrainian Kozak State

The Ukrainian Kozak State also attempted to secure all of the Ukrainian lands; and, for a time, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky succeeded in controlling almost all of the territory that was then ethnically Ukrainian. However, the territory which was permanently under Kozak rule covered only 80 to 120 thousand square miles.

Ukrainian State of 1917-20

The Ukrainian state of 1917-20 embraced almost all of the compact ethnic territory with the exception of the border lands. The western frontiers, established in the Peace of Brest-Litovsk, February 2, 1918, by the Central Powers and the Ukrainian National Republic, gave Ukraine the Kholm (Chełm) area

*For maps see "History."

and Podlachia. In the north, the Ukrainian state reached the Belorussian and Russian ethnic boundaries. However, in the east, the Ukrainian state, with the exception of a few attempts, did not press its claim to ethnic territory in the areas of the Don Cossack Host, the Kuban region, the Crimea, the eastern Subcaucasus, or the lands settled by Ukrainians in Asia. In the southwest, the Ukrainian state included Galicia, but the Lemkian area, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, and Khotyn areas were under Ukrainian political influence only for a short time.

The Ukrainian state included 250,000 square miles. With the Crimea, part of the Voronezh area, the Lemkian area, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina, it covered 275,000 square miles, i.e., less than the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory.

The present Ukrainian state existing in the form of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic covers 232,000 square miles.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF UKRAINIAN TERRITORY

Size

Within the boundaries already designated, the Ukrainian ethnic territory along with the lands of mixed population includes 365,000 square miles and has a population of 55 million. Exclusive of the mixed territories, the Ukrainian ethnic territory embraced 289,000 square miles at the beginning of 1959 and it had a population of 49 million. The territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic encompasses 232,000 square miles. The Republic has a population of 42 million (1959).

The Ukrainian ethnic territory is larger than the territory of any other European state except the Russian Republic. More people live in this territory than in any other national territory in Europe, with the exception of Russia and Germany. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has the second largest territory of any country in Europe; only

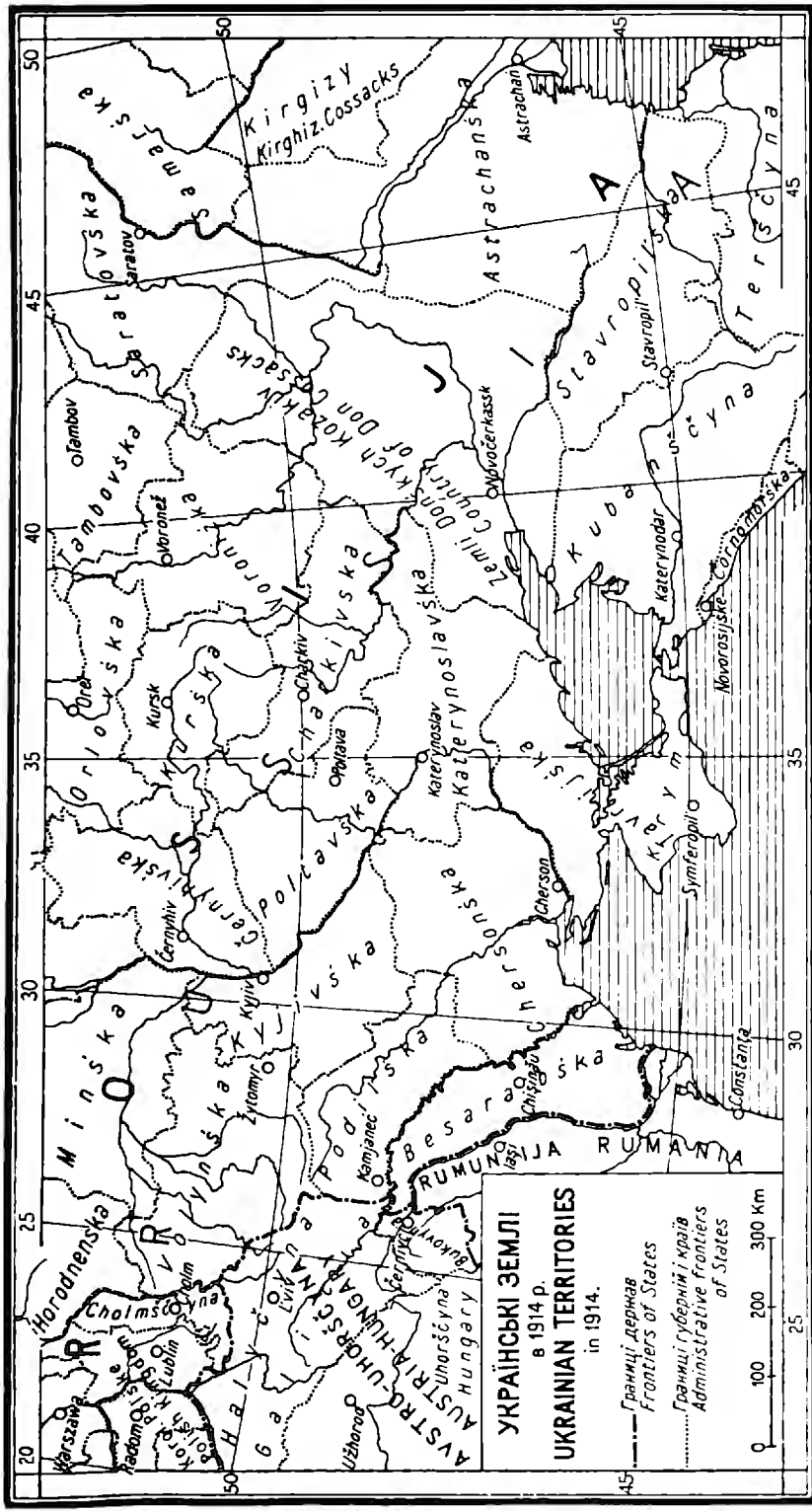


FIGURE 6. UKRAINE IN 1914

Russia is larger. It is sixth with regard to population, being surpassed by Russia, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and France.

Division of Ukrainian Lands prior to 1914*

Of the Ukrainian ethnic territory before 1914, 30,200 square miles belonged to Austria-Hungary and the remainder to the Russian empire.

The Ukrainian ethnic territory under tsarist Russian rule was divided into *guberniyas* (provinces) which were subdivided into *povits* (Russian *uezds*—counties); the counties were divided into *volosts* (rural districts). The territory comprised nine *guberniyas*: Volhynia, Podilia, Kiev, Chernihiv, Poltava, Khar'kiv, Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Tavria (including the Crimean peninsula). On the western borderlands, the Ukrainian territories belonged, in part, to the *guberniyas* of Lublin and Siedlce, from which a single *guberniya*, that of Kholm, was formed before World War I. In the southwest, the Ukrainian borderland formed part of the *guberniya* of Bessarabia. In the north, small parts of the *guberniyas* of Grodno and Minsk were inhabited by Ukrainians; in the northeast

*See map, Fig. 3.

and east, the Ukrainian frontier territories were incorporated into the *guberniyas* of Kursk and Voronezh and the territory of the Don Cossack Host. In the southeast, the Ukrainian compact and mixed territory comprised almost the whole of the *guberniyas* of the Black Sea, Stavropol, and the territories of Kuban and Terek.

The Ukrainian lands in the Austro-Hungarian empire were incorporated into two provinces which were then Austrian: Galicia (eastern regions called Eastern Galicia) and Bukovina (northwestern part); and into northern parts of seven *komitats* of Hungary to the north and northeast, namely: Marmarosh, Berehovo, Ugoch, Uzhhorod, Zemplin, Sarish, and Spish. This area is known as Transcarpathia.

Ukraine's Territory from 1921 to 1938

Following World War I and the short period of independence,† the Ukrainian lands were partitioned among the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia. The division of Ukraine in mid-1938 is shown in Table I with the territory of mixed population added in brackets. (Population data for January 1, 1933).

†See "History"; also see the map.

TABLE I

Ukrainian Lands in 1938	Area			Population		
	Country	in sq. miles	per cent of total Uk. terr.	per cent of the country	in millions	per cent of total pop. of Ukraine
USSR	217,700 (296,200)	77.4 (82.3)	2.7 (3.5)	37.7 (43.2)	76.5 (78.8)	23.0 (26.7)
Poland	51,000	18.1 (14.2)	34.0	9.3	19.2 (17.3)	28.6
Rumania	6,800	2.4 (1.9)	6.0	1.3	2.7 (2.4)	6.8
Czechoslovakia	5,800	2.1 (1.6)	10.6	0.8	1.6 (1.5)	5.0
TOTAL	281,300 (359,800)	100.0 (100.0)		49.1 (54.6)	100.0 (100.0)	
Ukrainian SSR	171,000*	60.8 (47.5)	100.0	31.9	66.0 (59.4)	100.0

*The Soviet official sources are not consistent in their estimates of the territory of the Ukrainian SSR (boundaries up to 1938). The area in square miles most frequently mentioned is 171,000 or 174,300.

The Ukrainian ethnic territory in the USSR does not correspond to the territory of Soviet Ukraine. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was formed from the nine *guberniyas* of the basic Ukrainian territory excluding the Crimea and the four northern counties of the Chernihiv *guberniya* but including the county of Putyvl from the old Kursk *guberniya* and small border areas of the territory of the Don Cossack Host. Thus, the following territories were placed outside the borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic: the Ukrainian parts of Belorussia (2,500 square miles; .17 million population), of the Kursk and Voronezh *guberniyas* (16,900 square miles; 2.4 million population), a part of the ethnically Ukrainian section of the Don territory (9,200 square miles; .9 million population), and of the western part of the Subcaucasus (18,000 square miles; 2.4 million population). To the ethnically mixed territories belonged the northern part of the old Chernihiv *guberniya* (5,500 square miles; .85 million population), the eastern Subcaucasus (63,200 square miles; 3.9 million population), and the Crimea—Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic—(10,000 square miles; .8 million population); these were incorporated into the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

The administrative division of the Ukrainian lands in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics underwent considerable changes. In 1924–5, the division into *guberniyas* (provinces) and *povits* (counties) was replaced by a division into *okruhas* (departments) and *raions* (districts). In 1931–2, there was introduced a division into *oblasts* (regions, provinces) subdivided into *raions* (districts) which included *sil'radas* (village councils) as the lowest local units. The Moldavian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was included in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a special unit. Parts of the Ukrainian ethnic territory beyond the boundaries of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

belonged to the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and the Adygei Autonomous *Oblast*.

The Ukrainian territory occupied by Poland included Galicia (21,500 square miles; 5.5 million population), the Kholm (Chełm) area and Podlachia (4,900 square miles; .7 million population), western Volhynia (13,800 square miles; 2.1 million population), and western Polisia (10,600 square miles, 1.0 million population).

The Ukrainian lands under Polish rule were divided into the following *voievodstvos* (provinces): Volhynia, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil, Lviv, Polisia, Cracow, and Lublin. The first three consisted of ethnically Ukrainian territories; the provinces of Lviv and Polisia included mostly Ukrainian ethnic territories; and the predominantly Polish provinces of Cracow and Lublin included only small parts of Ukrainian territories. The provinces were divided into counties and these were subdivided into towns and rural collective communities which included several villages.

The Ukrainian territory under Rumania was composed of part of the province of Bessarabia (the counties of Akkerman and Izmail in the south and the Khotyn county in the north—an area of 4,500 square miles with a population of .8 million), parts of the former Austrian Bukovina (2,200 square miles; .5 million population), and part of the Marmarosh area, which had formerly belonged to Hungary (270 square miles; .03 million population). From the administrative point of view, the Ukrainian territory in Rumania was divided into counties and these were subdivided into urban and rural communities.

The Ukrainian territory in Czechoslovakia formed almost the entire province of Carpatho-Ukraine, officially called Subcarpathian Ruthenia. It had an area of 4,400 square miles and a population of .64 million, excluding narrow strips in the southwestern frontier areas, which were inhabited by Hungarians. In

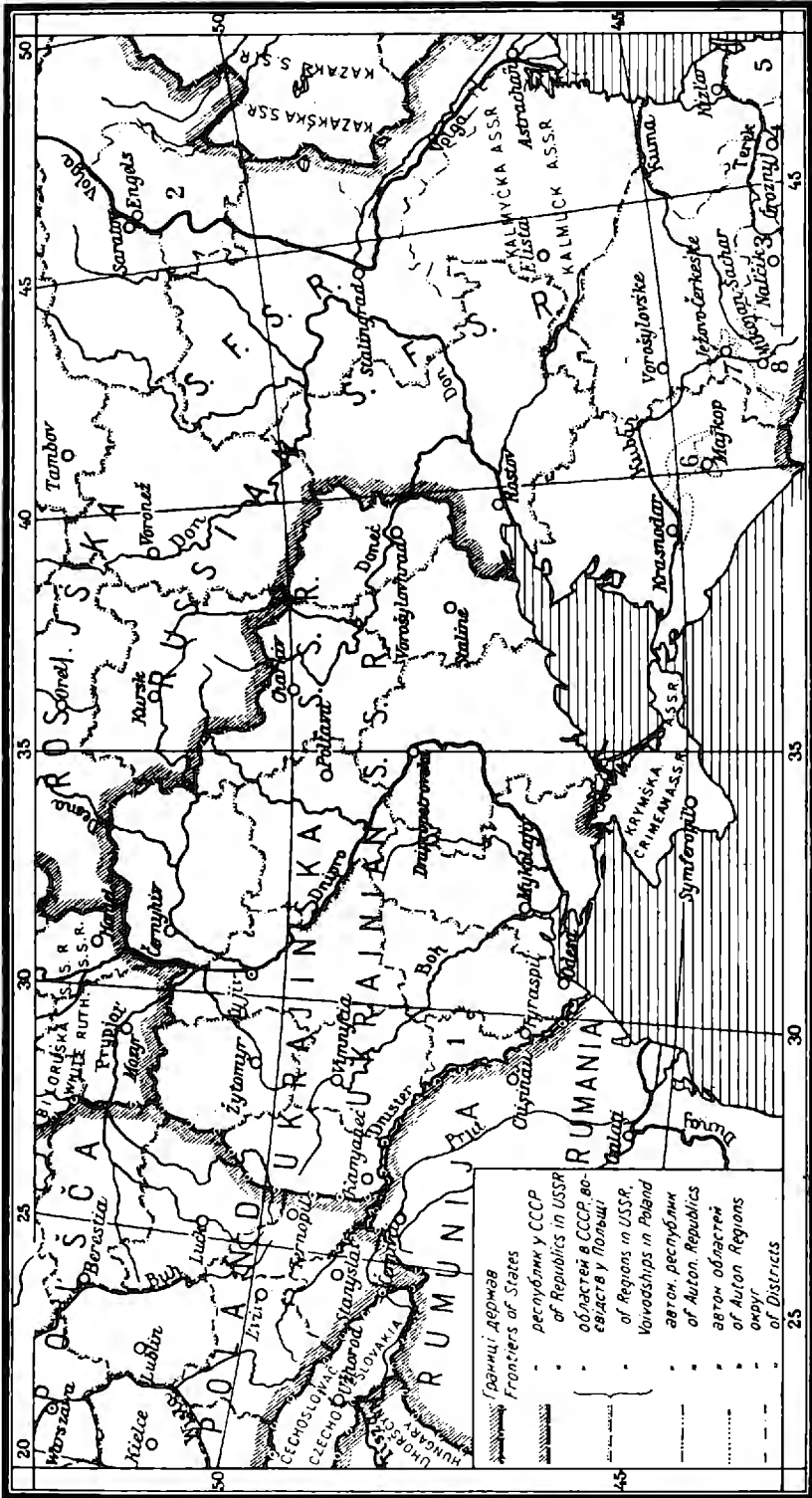


FIGURE 7. UKRAINE IN 1938

- (1) Moldavian Autonomous SSR;
- (2) Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Volga Germans;
- (3) Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous SSR;
- (4) Chechen-Ingush Autonomous SSR;
- (5) Dagestan Autonomous Oblast;
- (6) Adygei Autonomous Oblast;
- (7) Circassian Autonomous Oblast;
- (8) Karachai Autonomous Oblast.

addition, Ukrainian ethnic territory was included in the northeast corner of Slovakia, the area known as Prešov (1,350 square miles; .12 million population). Transcarpathia was divided into counties and these into urban and rural communities.

Changes between 1938 and 1945*

Many changes in the administrative division of Ukraine occurred as a result of World War II. The first change came in Transcarpathia in the autumn of 1938 when, as a result of the Vienna settlement, small border areas of Ukrainian ethnic territory including the capital of the province, Uzhhorod, were given to Hungary. In March, 1939, Hungary occupied the whole of Carpatho-Ukraine and the eastern borders of Slovakia. After the fall of Poland, almost all the Western Ukrainian territory formerly under Polish rule passed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, having been incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (small northwestern section was incorporated into the Belorussian SSR), with the exception of small outlying borderlands west of the Buh (Bug) and Sian (San) rivers, which were given to Germany. Germany included these lands in the so-called *Generalgouvernement* of Poland. In the middle of 1940, Rumania, under Soviet pressure, ceded to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics all of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina. The northern and southern parts of Bessarabia and Bukovina, inhabited by Ukrainians, were made a part of Ukraine. The remainder of Bessarabia formed the greater part of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, to which was annexed part of the former Moldavian Autonomous Republic, which had been part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic since 1925.

After the outbreak of war between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, all the Ukrainian lands, which had been under Soviet domina-

*See Fig. 485.

tion, were temporarily occupied by the Germans. Galicia was incorporated into the *Generalgouvernement*. Rumanian forces occupied not only the Ukrainian lands formerly controlled by Rumania, but also the territory between the Dniester and the Boh, giving it the name of Transnistria. The larger part of the Ukrainian lands formed the so-called *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*.

The defeat of Germany brought new changes. In the southwest, the frontiers with Rumania were restored to their 1940 position. Czechoslovakia, to which Carpatho-Ukraine was restored, yielded it voluntarily to Soviet Ukraine. By a new treaty, the frontier between Soviet Ukraine and Poland was established along a line similar to that drawn in September, 1939, between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Germany, with a few changes in favor of Poland. This boundary coincided, for the most part, with the so-called Curzon line, i.e., the eastern frontier of Poland as recognized by the Entente in 1919-23.†

Present Division of Ukrainian Lands

As a result of the changes brought by World War II, almost all the Ukrainian lands were placed within the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; 80 per cent of the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory and more than 87 per cent of the population are in Soviet Ukraine.

In the west and southwest, only small strips of Ukrainian territory have remained outside the borders of Soviet

†The Curzon line (the origin of which is described in detail in "History") ran on Ukrainian territory from the village of Yalivka on the Narva (Narew) River through Hainivka to Nemyriv on the Buh River, then along the Buh to the village of Kryliv on the former frontier between Russia and Austria-Hungary. From there, it extended west along the old Russo-Austrian frontier to the north of Rava Ruska, then almost straight south, east of the cities of Liubachiv and Dobromyl, to the sources of the Sian River in the Carpathians, i.e., almost along the western boundary of the counties of Rava Ruska, Yavoriv, Mostyska, Sambir, and Turka.

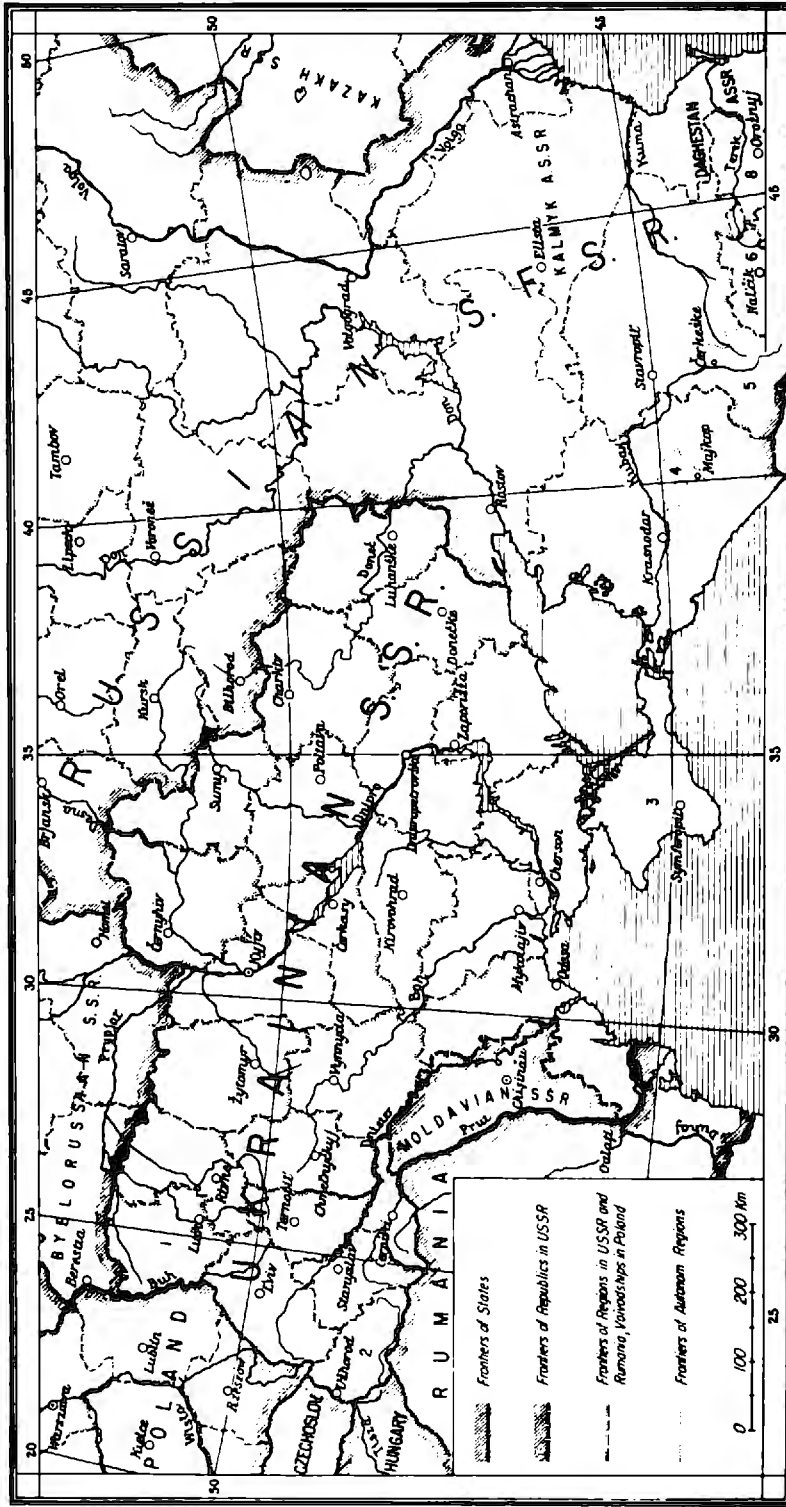


FIGURE 8. ADMINISTRATIVE TERRITORIAL DIVISION OF UKRAINE IN 1962

Administrative divisions bear the same names as their respective capitals, except those indicated by numbers: (1) Volhynian oblast (region, province); (2) Transcarpathian oblast; (3) Crimean oblast; (4) Adygei Autonomous Oblast; (5) Karachai-Circassian Autonomous Oblast; (6) Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous SSR; (7) North Ossetian Autonomous SSR; (8) Chechen-Ingush Autonomous SSR.

TABLE II
TERRITORY AND POPULATION OF UKRAINIAN LANDS*

Country	Area in		Population		Urban population		
	thousands of square kilometers	Area in thousands of square miles	in millions	per square kilometer	per square mile	in millions	per cent of total population
Ukrainian SSR ¹	601.0	232.2	41.9	70	180	19.1	46
Compact Ukrainian Ethnic Territory Beyond the Boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR							
Ukrainian territory in Russia (Russian SFSR)	114.3	44.1	5.7	50	120	1.6	28
Belgorod, Kursk, and Voronezh <i>oblasts</i> ²	43.9	16.9	2.4	55	142	0.3	12
Region of the Don ³	23.8	9.2	0.9	38	98	0.3	33
Western Subcaucasus (Kuban area) ⁴	46.6	18.0	2.4	51	133	1.0	42
Ukrainian territories in Belorussia ⁵	27.0	10.4	0.9	33	87	0.2	22
Ukrainian territory in Czechoslovakia ⁶	3.5	1.4	0.1	28	71	0.01	8
Ukrainian territory in Rumania ⁷	1.7	0.7	0.1	59	143	0.01	13
TOTAL	146.5	56.6	6.8	46	120	1.8	26
Ukrainian Ethnically Mixed Territory							
Northern Chernihiv Area ⁸	14.2	5.5	0.8	56	145	0.2	25
Eastern Subcaucasus ⁹	163.4	63.1	3.9	24	62	1.3	33
Ukrainian Territory in Poland ¹⁰	19.5	7.5	1.5	77	200	0.2	13
TOTAL	197.1	76.1	6.2	31	82	1.7	27
Ukrainian Ethnic Territory in Europe	747.5	288.8	48.7	65	169	20.9	43
Ukrainian Lands in Europe	944.6	364.9	54.9	58	151	22.6	41

*The population statistics are for January 15, 1959. The data for the Ukrainian lands outside the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic are only approximate.

¹The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is divided into 25 *oblasts*, namely: Cherkasy, Chernihiv, Chernivtsi, the Crimea, Dnipropetrovske, Kharkiv, Kherson, Khmelnytsky, Kirovohrad, Kiev, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odessa, Poltava, Rivne, Donetske, Stanyslaviv, Sumy, Ternopil, Transcarpathia, Vinnytsia, Volhynia (Luts'k), Luhanske, Zaporizhia, Zhytomyr.

²Southern part of the Belgorod, Kursk, and Voronezh *oblasts*.

³The western part of the Rostov *oblast*.

⁴Part of the Krasnodar *krai* and a small southwestern section of the Rostov *oblast*.

⁵Part of the *oblasts* of Brest and Homel.

⁶The eastern part of Slovakia (part of Košice area).

⁷Small parts of Suceava and Maramureş *oblasts*.

⁸Part of the Briansk *oblast*.

⁹The eastern part of the Krasnodar *krai*, together with the Adygei Autonomous *Oblast*, the Stavropol *krai* with parts of the Karachai-Circassian Autonomous *Oblast*, small portions of the Kabardino-Balkarian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, the North Ossetian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Kalmyk Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

¹⁰Parts of the *voivodstvos* of Bialystok, Cracow, Lublin, and Rzeszów. This formerly Ukrainian ethnic territory is at present settled by Poles after the deportation of the Ukrainian population in the years 1946-7. Statistics are for the year 1939.

Ukraine: in Czechoslovakia, 1,400 square miles; still less in Rumania (650 square miles); much more in Poland (7,500 square miles), but from the latter region the Ukrainian population has been deported. On the other hand, some small strips of Hungarian and Rumanian ethnic territory have been included in Soviet Ukraine. Thus the frontiers of Soviet Ukraine have reached their general ethnic limits in the west. In 1954, the Crimea, which had been a part of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, was incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In the north and east, the situation differs. There the frontiers of Soviet Ukraine fail by far to coincide with the Ukrainian ethnic territory, parts of which are in Soviet Belorussia and still other parts of which are in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic.

Soviet Belorussia includes part of Ukrainian Podlachia and Polisia with the important cities of Brest-Litovsk and Pinsk—an area of 10,400 square miles with a population of .9 million.

Outside the northern borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is the northern part of the Chernihiv area (the southwestern part of Briansk *oblast*), an ethnically mixed territory, and the southern part of the Voronezh, Kursk, and Belgorod *oblasts*, which are inhabited by Ukrainians. The western part of the Don region, inhabited by Ukrainians, also remains outside the boundaries of Ukraine. The Subcaucasus is outside the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic although its westernmost part belongs to the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory, while in the eastern part the population is mixed.

Thus, the principal part of the ethnic territory of Ukraine today is Soviet Ukraine, which covers an area of 232,200 square miles and has a population of 41.9 million. For a broader Ukrainian territorial whole (ethnic Ukraine), we should consider Soviet Ukraine along with the border belts on the frontiers

with the Belorussians, Russians, Don region, part of the Kuban region in the western Subcaucasus, and small land strips in Rumania and Czechoslovakia, inhabited predominantly by Ukrainians. This is a territory of 288,800 square miles with a population of 48.7 million (January 15, 1959). Finally, the entire Ukrainian territory, together with the regions of mixed population, covers an area of 364,900 square miles and has a population of 54.9 million. We must emphasize that the borders of Ukraine on the southeast, in the Subcaucasus, are the most unclear from the ethnic and political points of view. Also of importance is the fact that the Ukrainian population in the Western Ukrainian borderlands, which were incorporated into Poland in 1945, was later (1946-7) forced to re-settle either in Soviet Ukraine or in other provinces of Poland.

Table II shows the territorial division of the Ukrainian lands for 1961 (see p. 29).

V. Kubijovyč

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See also Bibliography, p. 168.

3. NATIONAL EMBLEMS

COAT OF ARMS

Saint Volodymyr's Trident

The national emblems—the coat of arms, the flag, and the seal—alternated during the millennium of Ukrainian history owing to various political, social, cultural, and other factors—a phenomenon common to many European nations.

The contemporary national coat of arms of Ukraine, *Azure, a trident or*, is the most ancient as well as the most dignified of all the Ukrainian insignia of nationwide significance and its emblazonment represents a synthesis of a preheraldic device of the ruling dynasty in the tenth century and of the oldest Ukrainian national heraldic tinctures from the thirteenth century. The classic form of the Ukrainian trident is found on the gold and silver coins of Volodymyr (Vladimir) the Great (979–1015), the Grand Prince of Kiev.

The problems of the origin and of the original meaning of the Ukrainian trident have still not been solved by scholars. The archaeological finds of tridents in Ukraine go back to the first century A.D. Undoubtedly this emblem was a mark of authority and a mystic symbol of one or of several of the ethnic groups which inhabited ancient Ukrainian territory and which came to compose the Ukrainian nation.

The trident, left to Volodymyr the Great by his ancestors (e.g., the banners of Sviatoslav the Conqueror, Grand Prince of Kiev 957–972), became a hereditary preheraldic badge of all his descendants and rulers of medieval Ukraine—the Grand Princes of Kiev and the Princes of all the other constituent principalities of the vast Kievan Realm. In each principality and in almost every generation it underwent certain augmentations (e.g., one or more crosslets—the prevalent type, crescents, pearls), and

there are cases where the trident passed into a bident and vice versa.

Tridents and bidents are found on many objects of that period: coins, stones, and bricks of significant buildings (palaces, castles, cathedrals, etc.), armor, signets, seals, official jewelry (e.g., rings and bronze breast medallions), lead seals used as toll devices, ceramics, manuscripts. As a result of archaeological excavations and studies, the number of specimens of the trident, in various forms, has increased and stands now at about 200.

During the twelfth century, the image of Saint Michael the Archangel superseded the trident as the highest national device, but tridents continued to be used by ruling houses as additional dynastic badges until the fifteenth century. With further modifications they were kept as ornamental figures in the handwritten books of the period between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries and in the wall decorations of the churches. The trident in its basic form is still used in Ukrainian folklore as a symbolic and religious device. The trident of Volodymyr the Great, a saint enrolled among those venerated by the Church, is also a frequently chosen charge in modern Ukrainian ecclesiastical heraldry.

After the renaissance of independent Ukraine on January 22, 1918, the trident was adopted, by a law of March 22, 1918, as the national device of the Ukrainian National Republic (a trident with the crosslet had been depicted on the banknotes of the autonomous Ukrainian government in 1917). It was adopted in the form of a Great and a Small Coat of Arms representing the classic trident of Volodymyr the Great in an ornamental wreath. Although the heraldic tinctures were not specified by law, the trident was emblazoned in official use (uniforms of the armed forces, service flags, etc.) in the

traditional colors of Ukraine, also the colors of the adopted national flag, as *Azure, a trident or*. A trident with the crosslet was decreed for the Ukrainian Navy and for the Foreign Service. The trident was used also by succeeding national governments of Ukraine (e.g., the Great Seal and the flags of the Ukrainian State under Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, as well as his personal official badge in 1918, and the insignia of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1919).

Saint Michael the Archangel

During the first half of the twelfth century, the high place of the trident was ceded to another device of nationwide significance, the sphragistic representation of Saint Michael the Archangel which was the hereditary emblem of the descendants of Volodymyr Monomakh, Grand Prince of Kiev (1113–25). The oldest relic preserved is the seal of Mstyslav the Great (1125–32) and his son Prince Vsevolod. Archangel Michael, defeating a dragon with a lance or holding a lance in his dexter (sometimes the labarum) and the imperial globe in his sinister, is shown on the seals of Rostyslav I (1154–67) and of Mstyslav III (1212–23), on the silver helmet of Yaroslav III (1236–46), and on the insignia of many rulers of Kiev and other Ukrainian principalities.

During the thirteenth century, the Archangel ceased to be the highest national device; but, as a coat of arms, *Gules, the Saint Michael argent*, he maintained for seven centuries his important place in Ukrainian dynastic, territorial, urban (e.g., the province and the city of Kiev), military, and family heraldry.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the figure of Saint Michael was among the three highest national insignia of the Ukrainian Kozak State.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Saint Michael was considered by some to be the true coat of arms of

Ukraine, and after 1848 it was accepted as the device of Ukraine, under Russian occupation. In 1918, the heraldic emblazonment of Saint Michael the Archangel was placed on the flag of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Navy.

The Aureous Lion

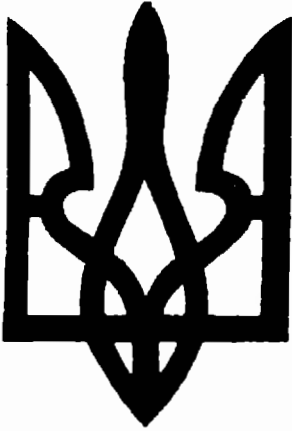
The last royal coat of arms of medieval Ukraine, *Azure, the lion rampant or*, was introduced by Leo (Lev) I (1264–1301) as his “canting arms,” and it was also granted to the new capital—the city of Lviv—founded and named in his honor by his father, King Daniel. The coat of arms of Leo I appeared on his seal and as a charge on the gothic escutcheon in the majestic seal of his son, King George (1301–8). It was also used by Leo II (1308–23), the last descendant of Roman the Great, and later by kings of foreign dynasties who ruled *Rus’* (Ruthenia) at first as a separate kingdom and afterwards in union with Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania from 1325 to 1432 (seals and coins have been preserved; coats of arms as well as armorial banners and standards were mentioned by ancient historians).

After the fall of the Galician-Volhynian State, its last coat of arms adorned the seals of Polish kings until the eighteenth century; it was incorporated by Western Ukrainian territorial heraldry (e.g., the Ruthenian province of the Polish Kingdom, fifteen to eighteenth centuries) and preserved by urban heraldry (e.g., the city of Lviv until the present time).

Azure, the Lion Rampant and Coronated Or was revived by the Supreme Ruthenian *Rada* in Lviv in its Manifesto of May 2, 1848, as the coat of arms of the reborn Ukrainian nation, true to the traditions of its lost independent kingdom. At the same time, the Ukrainian national colors, based on the ancient armorial tinctures, were proclaimed. The aureous lion was borne as the coat of

UKRAINIAN EMBLEMS IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

1. Trident (*Tryzub*) — Ukrainian national emblem.
2. The Trident on the coin of Volodymyr the Great of the X. century.
3. The Trident on the coin of Yaroslav the Wise of the XI. century.
4. The Lion — Coat of Arms of the City of Lviv on its seal from 1353.
5. A Kozak with musket — Ukrainian Kozak Army's Coat of Arms in the XVII. century.
6. The Great State Emblem of the Ukrainian National Republic, 1918.
7. The emblem of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic



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arms of nationwide significance until 1918, when the definitive coat of arms of Ukraine—Saint Volodymyr's trident—was decreed. Occasionally, it was dimidiated or impaled with the Kievan Archangel Michael in order to express the endeavor for national unity. On November 13, 1918, it was chosen for the coat of arms of the Western Ukrainian Republic.

Kozak with Musket

The armorial bearings of a Ukrainian Kozak, turned to the sinister with a saber at his side and a musket on his left shoulder, originated during the sixteenth century in the seals of the autonomous Glorious Zaporozhian Host (oldest authentic specimen dated 1596). This canting coat of arms was granted to the Ukrainian Kozaks by the rulers of the Polish Kingdom and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The grant was given for bravery in defending Christendom by combating the Ottoman empire and the Crimean khanate at sea and on land.

After the War of National Liberation, led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and his organization of the independent Ukrainian Kozak State in 1648, the Knight Kozak with Musket (a name given to the device by the Kozaks themselves) became one of the three highest insignia of the State, which were: (a) *Gules or Purple* (in Ukrainian heraldry the latter tincture resembles the crimson), *the Saint Michael argent*, used preferably on standards and colors as the coat of arms of the country; (b) Knight Kozak with Musket (*Or, the Cossack [Kozak] gules*) applied mostly to the seals as the emblem of the leading military class and of the people as well; and (c) the personal or family coat of arms of each respective Hetman, as the device of the ruler assigned usually for his personal use. During the eighteenth century, the Knight Kozak with Musket acquired first place among the three insignia; it was designated in official documents as

the "national coat of arms" and represented on the standards and colors.

The self-governing Zaporozhian Host retained the old coat of arms, augmented (a spear stuck in the ground to the sinister of the figure of the Kozak) and emblazoned in different tinctures.

After the decline of the Ukrainian Kozak State (1782), variations of this coat of arms were preserved by the Black Sea Kozak Host (1784–1864) and by many counties and towns of Ukraine until the Soviet occupation.

In 1918, the knight Kozak with Musket was adopted (but not decreed) for the Great Seal of the Ukrainian State and placed as an additional charge on the vessel flag of the Minister of the Army.

Coat of Arms of the Ukrainian SSR

The coat of arms of the Soviet Ukraine from 1937 until the end of World War II consisted of a red shield charged with crossed hammer and sickle below four cyrillic initials *УРСР* (standing for the official name of the republic in Ukrainian) and the rising sun in the base (all charges in gold), in a wreath of crossed sheaves of wheat bound below the shield with a red escroll bearing the motto in gold "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" (in Ukrainian).

After the Second World War, the coat of arms was changed. The initials were removed from the shield, and the red, five-pointed star was placed above it like a crest. An inscription in Ukrainian was placed in gold on the red escroll below the shield: "Ukrainian SSR", and the motto "Proletarians of all lands, unite!" appears in gold on both ends of the escroll on both sides of the shield in Ukrainian (dexter) and in Russian (sinister).

FLAG

Flags of Ancient Ukraine

Distinctive banners and standards were borne by ancient Ukrainian rulers

and their armies through the entire period of the medieval monarchy. Red was the most frequent color (*gules plein* was also the tincture of the Ukrainian knightly shields of the twelfth century); blue and white were used also (*plein* or in combinations), but yellow rarely appeared. The most frequent bearings were stars, crescents, crosses, and dynastic devices. Crosses, tridents, bidents, heads of spears, and other emblems ornated the tops of flag staffs. The highest significance was assigned to banners and standards of the rulers both of the Kievan and of the Galician-Volhynian realms. These old flags are represented in Ukrainian and foreign miniatures of that time (the Spanish Book of Knowledge depicts a St. George banner of the king) and are mentioned in the old Ukrainian literature (e.g., the epic poem Tale of Ihor's Armament) and in the chronicles.

The most eminent flags of the Ukrainian Kozak State were the first and the second standards of the Hetman. The national flag of the eighteenth century was the armorial one with the Knight Kozak with Musket. Military colors and standards displayed the national coat of arms and various heraldic crosses which derived from the favored insignia of the Zaporozhian Host. Red and crimson were the most frequent colors of the flag cloth and, therefore, a crimson banner often represented patriotic feelings of Ukrainians after the decline of the Hetman reign.

The National Flag

In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the national revolutions marked the course of European history, the necessity arose for a visible symbol of the self-determination of the Ukrainian nation. Seeking inspiration in the glorious historical past, the Supreme Ruthenian *Rada* in Lviv, reviving in 1848 the coat of arms of the former kingdom (*Azure, the lion rampant or*), simultaneously accepted the armorial tinc-

tures as the combination of national colors of Ukraine. Both, the light blue flag charged with the golden crowned lion and the horizontally striped flag (yellow above light blue substituting the charge and the escutcheon of the national coat of arms) were used at that time and the latter soon became the national flag in Galicia as well as all over Ukraine.

This composition of national colors was decreed by a law of the independent Ukrainian National Republic on March 22, 1918. In addition to the horizontally striped national and commercial flag, a complete system of governmental flags (ensign, jack, commission pennant, etc.) was developed and decreed by the Ukrainian State under Hetman Paul Skoropadsky in 1918. The light blue above yellow flag was established for the Western Ukrainian National Republic on November 13, 1918, and for the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic on March 15, 1939, as a symbol of the all-Ukrainian unity.

Both the yellow above light blue flag (defended by heraldists and historians) and the light blue above yellow flag were hoisted until 1949, and borne as military standards and colors during the War of Liberation of 1917-20. The flag with the yellow stripe on top was used exclusively in Western Ukraine under the Polish occupation until 1939. The light blue above yellow flag was provisionally confirmed by the Ukrainian National *Rada* in exile on June 27, 1949.

Flags of the Ukrainian SSR

The first flag of Soviet Ukraine was red with four cyrillic initials in gold *YCPP* (USSR-Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic), standing in Ukrainian for the official name of the republic in a red and gold bordered canton (occasionally without the golden border).

After Ukraine became one of the constituent republics of the USSR in 1923, a new flag was introduced: red, with a red, five-pointed, and gold-bordered star above a golden, crossed hammer and

sickle near the top of the hoist, and, below the emblem, four state initials in gold and in a slightly changed order *УРСР* (USSR—Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic).

By the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on November 21, 1949, a third flag was adopted: a red upper stripe (2/3), and a light blue lower stripe (1/3); at the top, one-third from the hoist, a red, five-pointed, and gold-embroidered star with a golden, crossed hammer and sickle below.

SEAL

Ancient Seals

The first mention of the seals of the Grand Princes is found in the text of the treaty of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Ihor I, with Byzantium in 945.

The oldest princely seals of the tenth and eleventh centuries resembled gold and silver coins of that period and bore, for the most part, dynastic tridents and bidents as well hagiographic representations of the patron saint of the respective rulers. During the twelfth century, the image of Saint Michael the Archangel became the predominant sphragistic device of the Kievan rulers (e.g., the gilded silver seal of Mstyslav the Great from 1130). Seals of the Galician-Volhynian period contain the armorial royal lion and the "Vir armatus"—the figure of the ruler in knightly armor. The seal of King George (1301–8) represents himself seated on the throne and his crown jewels (obverse), and holding the gothic armorial escutcheon as a mounted knight (reverse), as well as the legend proclaiming in Latin: "Sigil of Lord George King of Rus'" (obverse) and "Sigil of Lord George Duke of Lodomeria (Volhynia)" (reverse). The Keeper of the Great Seal as the chancellor was one of the highest offices in the royal court of medieval Ukraine.

Seals of the hetmans of the Ukrainian Kozak State continued the sphragistic

traditions of the Glorious Zaporozhian Host depicting the Knight Kozak with Musket, with the exception of Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky (1657–9) who placed his family coat of arms on the seal. The diameter of the hetman seals varied from 32 to 37 mm. (Bohdan Khmelnytsky 1648–57) to as much as 87 mm. (Cyril Rozumovsky 1750–64). The seal of the State was guarded by the chancellor who had the title of General Secretary.

Modern Seals

In 1918, the Ukrainian National Republic revived the oldest type of Ukrainian sovereignty seal, namely that with the trident.

The Great Seal, designed at the time of Hetman Paul Skoropadsky in 1918, displayed the Knight Kozak with Musket in a traditional octagonal escutcheon with ornamental accessory features, with the national trident as a crest and with the legend in Ukrainian language: "Ukrainian State."

The seal of Simon Petliura, head of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic 1919–20, had the trident between the three initials of the republic *УНР* (UNR) and the legend in Ukrainian: "Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Republican Armed Forces."

R. Klimkevich

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4. THE NATIONAL ANTHEM

The Ukrainian anthem, *Shche ne vmerla Ukraïna* (Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished), is of quite recent origin. In Western Ukraine after 1848 there were usually two songs which enjoyed popularity at national celebrations and patriotic demonstrations. One was by the Basilian Father Julian Dobrylovsky (1760-1825)—Grant, O Lord, in Good Time—and the other, the verse of Ivan Hushalevych (1825-1903)—We Bring You Peace, Brothers. In 1848 the latter was recognized by the Supreme Ruthenian Council in Lviv as the national anthem of the Galician Ukrainians. The Carpatho-Ukrainians, on occasions of

popular celebration, sang the song by Alexander Dukhnovych (1803-65)—I Was, Am and Will be a *Rusyn* [Ruthenian]. In the central and eastern Ukrainian lands the *Testament* of Taras Shevchenko was used for many years as a national anthem at manifestations and demonstrations. It was called, not inappropriately, the Ukrainian *Marseilaise*.

In 1863 the Lviv journal *Meta* (The Goal) published the poem of Paul Chubynsky (1839-84), *Shche ne vmerla Ukraïna*, which was mistakenly ascribed to Taras Shevchenko. In the same year it was set to music by the Galician com-

Maestoso

Ще не вмерла У - краї - на, ні сла - ва ні во - - ля,
 ще нам брат - - тя мо - ло - ді - і у - смі - хнеться до - ля.
 Зги - нуть на - - ші во - - ріженьки, як ро - са на сон - ці,
 за - па - ну - - єм і — ми браття, у сво - їй сто - рон - - ці.
 Ду - шу, ті - ло ми по - ло - - жим за на - шу сво - бо - - ду
 і по - ка - жем, що ми брат - - тя, з ко - заць - ко - го ро - ду.

poser Michael Verbytsky (1815–70), first for solo and later for choral performance. The song quickly acquired popularity; in 1864 it was performed in a choral arrangement in the Ukrainian Theatre in Lviv, and in 1865 it was sung at the conclusion of the program at the great Shevchenko celebration in Pere-myshl. The music was first published in the Lviv musical symposium, the *Kobzar*, in 1865. This song, as a result of its catchy melody and patriotic text, rapidly became popular and gained broad acceptance among the Galician population as well as among the Ukrainians within the Russian empire. In 1917 it was officially adopted as the anthem of the Ukrainian state.

Since its composition, the melody has been arranged many times by various Ukrainian composers. Today, however, as the Ukrainian national anthem, it is produced with only slight variations from the original by M. Verbytsky.

Other works having the character of national anthems are the martial song of Ivan Franko, *Ne pora* (This is Not the Time), and the prayer of Nicholas Ly-senko and Alexander Konynsky, O, Great

Lord, which is sung after the divine service in Ukrainian churches. It should be stated that until 1938 the official anthem of Carpatho-Ruthenia (Carpa-tho-Ukraine) was A. Dukhnovych's *Pod-karpatskii Rusyny* (Subcarpathian Ru-thenians).

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic had no anthem of its own until 1949. Instead, the *Internationale* and, later, the Hymn of the USSR were used. However, on November 21, 1949, by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, an anthem of the Republic, *Zhyvy, Ukraïno* (Live, O Ukraine) was adopted. The words were written by Paul Tychyna and Nicholas Bazhan and the music was by a group of composers headed by V. Lebedynets. Its principal theme is the loyalty of Ukraine to Russia. On June 5, 1950, the Supreme Soviet of the Republic adopted a corresponding amendment to the Soviet Ukrainian Constitution.

Z. Lysko

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II. Physical Geography and Natural History*

1. HISTORY AND THE PRESENT STATE OF GEOGRAPHIC AND NATURALISTIC STUDIES OF UKRAINE

THE PERIOD PRIOR TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that scientific studies of Ukraine's geography and natural history began to be made, although some aspects of the subject already had been studied at the close of the eighteenth century. Authors of ancient and medieval times left descriptions of Ukraine which often contained a large amount of valuable information. The earliest geographic descriptions of Ukraine are chiefly of its southern part; they are found in the works of ancient Greek scholars, mainly in those by Herodotus (484–25 B.C.). In the early medieval period information on Ukraine was contributed by Byzantine and Arabian writers, particularly Ibn Fadhlān (tenth century) and Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905–59) who presented a description of the Dnieper and its rapids. Much geographic data are found in the medieval chronicles. The geographical character of Ukraine was reported by west European travelers beginning with the thirteenth century: in that century by the Italian, Plano Carpini, and by William

de Rubruquis of Brabant; in the fifteenth century by the Frenchman, Guillebert de Lannoy, who described the western and southwestern parts of Ukraine, and by the Venetian, Josaphat Barbaro, who described the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. In 1523, Albert Campanese presented data on Ukraine in his report on Muscovy to Pope Clement VII.

The following works are important sources of geographical information: that about two Sarmatias by Matthias of Miechów (1457–1523) which was translated into many languages and for many years was a source of knowledge on the geography of eastern Europe; the memoirs of the German traveler Sigismund Herberstein (1486–1566) on Muscovy, Lithuania, and Ukraine; a report of Mykhalon Lytvyn (mid-sixteenth century) on central Ukraine; notes of the Frenchman Blaise de Vigenère (1573) on western Ukraine; a description of the Dnieper region (1594) by E. Lassota who was the Emperor's envoy to the Zaporozhians. The book entitled *Description d'Ukraine* (1660) by the French engineer and cartographer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan (1600–73) was the most valuable work of its time; it later appeared in several languages. De Beauplan was the first to compile maps of Ukraine on scales 1 : 1,800,000 and 1 : 452,000. When Khmelnytsky's Kozak State was established many travelers appeared in Ukraine, mainly envoys, who wrote on the ways of life and on the

*Material referring to the geography of Ukraine is to be found in several sections of the Encyclopaedia. This chapter covers physical geography and natural history. Human geography, along with demography and anthropology, is treated separately. Problems of the economic geography of Ukraine are dealt with in the section on national economy (Vol. II).

history of Ukraine—for example, the Venetian envoy, Albert Vimina; the secretary of Patriarch Macarius III of Antioch, Paul of Aleppo; K. Hildebrandt; and others.

Systematic description of the Ukrainian territory was begun in the eighteenth century on the initiative of the government and for purposes of practical application; systematic surveying of the territory also was begun in that period. Schematic maps and survey books of towns and counties appeared in Left-Bank Ukraine in the second half of the seventeenth century and contained abundant historical and geographic material. At the end of the seventeenth century a topographic survey of the Don region and the coasts of the Sea of Azov was done. In the 1730's Left-Bank Ukraine was surveyed, and in the second half of the eighteenth century the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. After the annexation of southern Ukraine (later officially designated *Novorossia*—New Russia) to the Russian empire, German scholars, members of the expeditions organized by the Russian Academy of Sciences, studied its geography and people. The most important studies were made by J. A. GÜldenstädt (1768 and 1773–4), Peter Pallas (particularly the study of the Crimea), and Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin (the Don and Donets regions, 1769). In 1781–2 V. ZUIEV studied the basins of the lower Boh and the Dniester.

A wealth of information is found in the Rumiantsev survey, 1765; still more geographic data are found in economic-statistical surveys of Left-Bank Ukraine such as Opanas Shafonsky's survey of the Chernihiv province (1786) and of the Kharkiv province (1788), K. German's survey of Tauria (1807), and D. Zhuravsky's description of the Kiev province (1852). Material on Ukraine was included in geographical, or rather geographical-statistical, surveys of the Russian empire at the close of the eighteenth century by A. Büsching, Kh.

Chebotariov, I. Hackmann, and particularly by J. Georgi (in German, 1797).

THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

More systematic studies of the geography and natural history of Ukraine were begun in the nineteenth century. These were, for the most part, concentrated at the universities: at Lviv, Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa, and at the Polish college at Kremianets. Associations of natural scientists were affiliated with universities in the Ukrainian lands under Russian rule and these organizations published their research findings. Institutions of the Ukrainian *zemstvos* (local self-government bodies) contributed valuable material to the knowledge of the natural history and geography of Ukraine, in particular, data on soils, on economic conditions, and on population. Also regional scientific associations, such as the associations for research of Volhynia and Kuban, were helpful in this respect.

At that time Ukrainian territory was studied chiefly by foreigners—by Russians, Poles, Germans, and others. Ukraine appeared in their works as a part of the vast territories of Russia, of Austro-Hungary, or of historical Poland, and the specific character of its geography and natural history was not given attention. Then at the close of the nineteenth century the Ukrainian natural scientists became active within the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv in the newly organized Mathematical-Naturalistic-Medical Section. They published their works, mainly dealing with the nature of Western Ukraine, in the Ukrainian language, thus initiating the creation of Ukrainian scientific terminology. They also rendered the first outlines of the geography of all Ukrainian lands. The physical character of Western Ukraine was studied also by the Polish Copernicus Association of Natural Scientists in Lviv.

Regional geologic studies of Ukraine were at that time much more advanced than those of other countries of eastern Europe. They were conducted for the most part by the Geological Committee of St. Petersburg, which was founded in 1882. (Between 1834 and 1882 geologic investigations were carried on by the staff of the Mining Engineers Corps.) Geologic research was continued and included the study of mineral deposits, mainly in the Donets Basin and Kryvyi Rih; in the 1890's geologic surveying was performed in order to compile a geologic map of European Russia on a scale 1:420,000. The following geologists contributed extensively to geologic knowledge of the Ukrainian territory: F. Chernyshev, N. Borisiak, N. Yakovlev, and especially L. Lutugin, all of whom studied the Donets Basin; S. Feofilaktov (Kiev and Poltava regions); P. Piatnitsky (Kryvyi Rih Basin); V. Laskarev (southern Ukraine, the so-called Ukrainian Crystalline Shield, Volhynia, several maps on a scale 1:420,000); N. Sokolov (Lower Tertiary deposits of southern Ukraine); I. Levakovsky and A. Gurov (Left-Bank Ukraine and the Donets Basin); N. Andrusov (Neogen deposits); P. Armashevsky (Left-Bank Ukraine); A. Mikhalsky (Podilia); P. Tutkovsky, who studied the geology, geography, and soils of Volhynia and Podilia, and who advanced the theory of aeolic origin of loess. Another prominent mineralogist and geochemist was V. Vernadsky, a Ukrainian and a professor at Moscow University, who became the first president of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1918; in the 1890's he studied the soils of the Poltava area.

In Western Ukrainian lands geologic research was performed mainly by state institutions such as the Geologic Institute in Vienna and the Polish Academy of Sciences in Cracow (which published the geologic atlas of Galicia on a scale 1:75,000). The most prominent students of regional geology of Western Ukraine were the Viennese geologists, W. Uhlig

and R. Titze, students of the Carpathian Mountains; J. Siemiradzki, W. Teisseyre, J. Medvedsky (Niedźwiedzki), R. Zuber, A. Alth, F. Bieniasz, V. Łoziński, M. Łomnicki, and others.

Geographical studies developed much more slowly. In the nineteenth century geomorphology and anthropography did not exist as separate sciences in Russia or, consequently, in Ukraine but considerable material was collected in these fields and a great deal of it was used later. The science of geography at that time consisted mainly of a description of land, a collection of geographic data. On the other hand, some branches of geography, such as climatology and meteorology, hydrography and oceanology, phytogeography and zoogeography, began to develop independently. The Southwest Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, the only section of this society in Ukraine, was active in 1873-6 in Kiev. The Southwest Section conducted research in ethnography and statistics. In the 1880's chairs of geography were established in the universities of Kharkiv and Lviv.

Works covering various fields of geography were published for the most part by specialists in related sciences who worked in Ukraine: P. Köppen (1793-1864), student of physical geography of southern Ukraine and Crimea; a German geographer, J. G. Kohl, author of a description of Ukraine (*Reisen in Südrussland*); students of geomorphology (mostly geologists), N. Borisiak, V. Dokuchaev, A. Gurov, V. Laskarev, I. Levakovsky, I. Sintsov, N. Sokolov, G. Tanflev, P. Tutkovsky, S. Feofilaktov; climatologists and meteorologists, P. Brounov, A. Klosovsky, I. Seletsky, R. Sreznemovych, and others; a hydrologist, M. Maksymovych. Materials on the geography of Ukraine were included in various geographic and topographic manuals, particularly in the collection *Polnoe geograficheskoe opisaniye nashego otechestva* (A Full Geographic Description of Our Fatherland) edited by V. Semenov. In Galicia geographic

research first was conducted by German geographers, later mainly by Polish scientists (A. Rehman, E. Romer).

These Russian, Polish, and German authors did not consider Ukraine as a whole. In the multi-volume work by the Belgian geographer, E. Reclus, Ukraine was presented more fully. A somewhat poorer coverage was given in such textbooks of geography of eastern Europe as those by the German, A. Hettner, and the Russian, A. Krasnov (in the German collection published by Kirchhoff). The physical geography of Ukraine was described best in G. Tanflev's work published after World War I.



FIGURE 9. S. RUDNYTSKY FIGURE 10. P. TUTKOVSKY

Stephen Rudnytsky, who began his scientific career in Galicia, was the father of Ukrainian geographical science. He was the author of the first scientific geographic publications in the Ukrainian language, chiefly dealing with morphology of the Carpathian Mountains and Podilia; of an outline of Ukrainian geographical terminology; of the first synoptic geography of all Ukrainian lands; of a survey of the national relations and political geography of Ukraine. He was also the first to compile maps of all Ukrainian lands. His book, *Ukraina, Land und Volk* (1916), is the first exclusively geographical study of Ukraine published in a foreign language. An English edition entitled *Ukraine, the Land and its People* was published in New York City in 1918. All these

works were published during and after World War I.

Beginning with the 1880's, soil science developed rapidly in Ukraine. Prominent scientists such as V. Dokuchaev, A. Nabokikh, C. Gedroits, and G. Vysotsky participated in the study of Ukrainian soils.

Early in the nineteenth century studies of the plant and animal life of Ukraine were made by V. Besser, A. Andzejowski (mostly Right-Bank Ukraine), K. Eichwald, A. Demidov, and others. Later the most important contributions to the knowledge of plant life were made by R. Trautfetter, A. Rohovych, I. Borshchov, G. Tanflev, J. Pachosky, A. Fomin, and others. I. Verkhratsky and O. Voloshchak studied plant life in Galicia. The distribution of animals was studied by K. Kessler, A. Brauner, A. Kovalevsky, A. Chernai, A. Nikolsky, P. Sushkin, and others.

THE 1920's TO THE 1950's

The 1920's, especially the years 1922-7, witnessed a rapid development of studies of the geography of the central and eastern lands of Ukraine. Research was carried on by Ukrainian scientists deeply interested in studying all aspects of the physical nature of Ukraine. At that time the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was the most important center for geological, botanical, and zoological research investigations. The Agricultural Scientific Committee of Ukraine, affiliated with the People's Commissariat of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR, was also of importance in such studies from 1920 until the committee was abolished by the government in 1927. The work performed at the universities was of lesser importance during this period. A great deal of valuable material was collected by regional nature-study societies which came into being in several cities. The studies dealing with conservation attained considerable importance. Numerous reserves were organized, as well

as research stations, botanical and zoological gardens, museums of natural science and of regional studies. Many specialized journals and valuable publications appeared. Much work was done in the field of standardizing Ukrainian terminology in all fields of natural sciences. The interdependence of all the natural sciences in Ukraine and their immediate practical value were characteristic features of the development of these sciences in Ukraine in this period.

In the 1930's the Bolshevik repressions limited the possibilities of study for Ukrainian scientists; many of them were arrested. Studies of the natural features of Ukraine were subordinated to changing demands of the government and became over-specialized. Research work was placed under strict control and was required to be conducted according to directives from Moscow. Results of research mostly remained unpublished. In order to meet specialized practical demands and to train new researchers, hundreds of research stations, specialized research institutes, chairs at universities and other institutions of higher learning (particularly at agricultural institutes) were organized.

Studies of the geography and natural history of Western Ukraine, carried on by Ukrainian scientists in the interwar period, were concentrated as before in the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv. Polish and Czech scientists (the latter in Transcarpathia) also contributed to the knowledge of the physical character of Western Ukraine. Ukrainian émigré natural scientists were associated with the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy before World War II (later the Ukrainian Technical-Husbandry Institute) in Czechoslovakia; since 1945 they have been working in the research institutions of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in western Europe and North America.

The great advance in geology in Ukraine, made during the 1920's, is due largely to the activity of the All-

Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, particularly to that of the Academician P. Tutkovsky. The Ukrainian Geologic Committee was engaged in geologic surveying and prospecting. Ukrainian geologic terminology was standardized for the first time. After the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was reorganized and repressive measures limiting Ukrainian scientific studies were increased, the Kiev geologic institutions were reorganized into the Institute of Geologic Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, which now publishes its quarterly, *Heolohichnyi zhurnal* (Geologic Journal), in Ukrainian.

The purposes of present-day geologic studies are of a practical character, such as prospecting for mineral deposits, hydrogeologic investigations, engineering geology, etc. Geologic mapping is well advanced in Ukraine, especially in the mining areas. "All Ukraine" has been covered by geologic survey. The older maps are compiled on a scale 1:420,000, and the more recent on scales of 1:126,000 and 1:200,000. For industrial areas of the Donets Basin, Kryvyi Rih, Nykopol, and the Carpathian Mountains, there are maps compiled on scales 1:42,000, 1:50,000, 1:25,000, and on scales still more exact. Many schools of higher learning train specialists in geology. Since 1945, geologic studies in Ukraine have been directed by the All-Union Ministry of Geology. Kiev is the most important center of geologic studies in Ukraine; Lviv and Kharkiv are next. Prominent students of geology of the most recent decades are as follows: M. Bezborodko (studies of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield); Volodymyr Bondarchuk (studies of Polisia, the Dnieper-Donets syncline, the Carpathian Mountains); A. Feshchenko; V. Krokos; B. Lychkov (the Crystalline Shield); V. Luchitsky (petrography and hydrogeology); L. Lungershausen; C. Makov; G. Mirchink; K. Novyk; V. Riznychenko; N. Shatsky; D. Sobolev; P. Stepanov (Donets Basin); N. Svitalsky; P. Tutkovsky;

R. Vyrzhykivsky; H. Zakrevska (Chernihiv, Polisia); and others. Outlines of the geology and tectonics of Ukrainian lands were presented by G. Poliansky and V. Bondarchuk (Ukrainian SSR, 1947). Tectonics of Ukraine was dealt with in publications by A. Arkhangelsky, A. Mazarovich, N. Shatsky, D. Sobolev, M. Tetiaev, and others. Western Ukraine was investigated in the 1920's and 30's by G. Poliansky (loesses of Podilia and diluvium of Polisia), S. Pasternak, I. Oleksyshyn, and the Polish scientists K. Tołwiński, B. Świdorski, H. Teisseyre, S. Rogala (mostly studies of the eastern Carpathians and the location of oil fields).

The most comprehensive works on the geology of the Ukrainian SSR are: V. Bondarchuk, *Heolohtia Ukraïny* (Geology of Ukraine), Kiev, 1959; *Tektonichna karta URSR i Moldavs'koï RSR* (Tectonic Map of the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR), accompanied by the book, *Tektonika terytorii Ukraïns'koï ta Moldavs'koï RSR* (Tectonics of the Ukrainian SSR and the Moldavian SSR), edited by V. Bondarchuk, *et al.*, Kiev, 1959. These works were published in Ukrainian by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Of utmost importance is the book, *Geologïia SSSR* (Geology of the USSR), volume V, *Ukrainskaïa SSR, Moldavskaïa SSR* (Ukrainian SSR, Moldavian SSR), edited by V. Yershov and N. Semenenko, published in Russian, Moscow, 1958. Another valuable work is *Atlas paleohrafichnykh kart Ukraïns'koï i Moldavs'koï RSR* (Atlas of Paleographic Maps of Ukraine) on a scale of 1 : 2,500,000, published by the Institute of Geologic Sciences at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

In the early 1920's geography as such did not develop as rapidly as did related fields. The All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences did not have a geographic research institution. As before World War I, geographic investigations were conducted by specialists in related sciences, particularly by geologists. A notable

geologist, P. Tutkovsky, was the first to present a characterization of Ukraine's landscapes. Economic geography fared better; several textbooks on the economic geography of Ukraine were published in the 1920's by C. Voblyi, O. Sukhov, P. Fomin, and I. Feshchenko-Chopivsky. In 1927 the Ukrainian Research Institute of Geography and Cartography, planned as a center for geographic studies in the Ukrainian SSR, was founded in Kharkiv. The Soviet government invited S. Rudnytsky to head the institute; in 1934, however, the institute was closed and S. Rudnytsky was exiled "for nationalism in geography." These repressive measures resulted in a new decline in geography as a separate science. Before World War II, the University of Kharkiv was the only institution of higher learning in Ukraine with a department of geography. Contributions to the geomorphology of Ukraine were made by R. Vyrzhykivsky, N. Dmitriev (*Relief URSR—Relief of the Ukrainian SSR*), H. Zakrevska, V. Krokos, B. Lichkov, S. Sobolev; some problems of the anthropography of Podilia were studied by V. Gerynovych and G. Velychko (geography of cities); the methodology of geography was a subject of works by C. Dubniak. The following climatologists and hydrologists should be mentioned in addition to those who worked prior to World War I: L. Danyliv, N. Danylevsky, A. Ohiiievsky, Ye. Oppokov, and others. Of importance were works on the division of Ukraine into districts (by G. Makhov, P. Tutkovsky, A. Fomin, A. Yanata) and a number of regional studies.

Geographic studies in Western Ukraine were conducted by Polish scientists associated with the Geographic Institute of Lviv University (E. Romer, A. Zierhoffer, J. Czyżewski, and J. Wąsowicz), and by the Geographic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society headed by V. Kubijovyč who studied the anthropogeography of the Carpathian Mountains region and the demography of Ukraine, and in general continued S. Rud-

nytsky's work in his *Heohrafiia Ukraïny* (Geography of Ukraine) and his *Atlas Ukraïny* (Atlas of Ukraine). G. Poliansky's studies (largely of Podilia) lie on the borderline between geography and geology. The following geographers of the Lviv group deserve to be mentioned: M. Dolnytsky (Prague), cartographer N. Kulytsky, V. Ohonovsky, S. Pashkevych, O. Stepaniv, I. Tesla, and I. Fediv. Valuable data on the anthropogeography of Transcarpathia were contributed by the Czech geographer, J. Kral.

After World War II, several new chairs of geography were organized at schools of higher learning: geographical studies are conducted at the universities, particularly Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, and Chernivtsi, and at some Pedagogical Institutes. Most of these schools issue publications. The Geographic Society of the USSR (formerly the Russian Geographic Society) organized a main branch in Kiev (the so-called Ukrainian branch) with several subdivisions in other Ukrainian cities. However, there is still no special geographic research institute in the framework of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The subjects of geographic research are largely ordered for practical purposes (for example, the study and mapping of economic areas). Among scientific publications meriting attention are the scholarly papers of geographic departments in schools; *Narys heomorfolohii URSR* (An Outline of the Geomorphology of the Ukrainian SSR) by V. Bondarchuk; *Narys ekonomichnoi heohrafiï URSR* (Essays on the Economic Geography of the Ukrainian SSR), I-II, 1949-52, which contains many important facts (published in Russian as *Ukrainskaia SSR* [Ukrainian SSR], I-II, Moscow, 1957-8); the textbook *Heohrafiia URSR* (Geography of the Ukrainian SSR) by A. Dibrova, 1958. *Atlas Ukraïns'koi i Moldavs'koi SSR* (Atlas of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSR) published in Russian in Moscow (1962) constitutes a valuable work.

The progress of soil science in the 1920's is connected largely with the previously mentioned Ukrainian Agricultural Scientific Committee and its Soil Science Section (1920-7), headed by G. Makhov, the author of the map of the soils of Ukraine on a scale 1:1,000,000. During the first years of collectivization of agriculture the development of soil science, as well as the other sciences related to agriculture, was hindered by the government. Beginning with the mid-thirties detailed soil investigations were carried on for the purpose of finding methods for increasing the crop capacity of the land. These studies have been, and are being, mainly performed under the auspices of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Soil Science in Kiev, and, beginning in 1956, of the Ukrainian Research Institute of Soil Science at the Ministry for Agriculture in Kharkiv. Numerous agricultural experimental stations and agricultural laboratories in state and collective farms are engaged in field investigations for this purpose. In regard to soils, Ukraine presents one of the most thoroughly studied and known regions of the world as a result of the efforts of many scientists; among them, in addition to those previously named (G. Makhov and C. Gedroits), are D. Vilensky, V. Krokos, A. Sokolovskiy, A. Dushechkin, P. Kossovich, N. Vernander, and A. Lebedev.

Studies of the plants and animals of Ukraine, are largely concentrated in various institutions under the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, and also in institutions of higher learning—particularly in agricultural institutes—and in experimental stations. Various publications have appeared of which two basic works are notable: *Flora URSR* (Flora of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), begun in 1935 and continued after the war (ten volumes were published up to 1961), and *Fauna URSR* (Fauna of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic), planned to be published in forty volumes (five volumes were pub-

lished up to 1962). The most important students of plant life in Ukraine are D. Zerov, Yu. Kleopiv, E. Lavrenko, A. Fomin, and A. Yanata; of animal life, D. Beling, A. Hrabar, N. Sharleman, and I. Shmalhauzen. In Western Ukraine, in the inter-war period, M. Melnyk and O. Mryts were engaged in studies of plant life, and V. Brygider, E. Zarsky, and V. Lazorko in studies of animal life.

V. Kubijovyč

MAPS OF UKRAINE

Maps of Ukraine up to the Middle of the Eighteenth Century

The oldest existing map which relates to a segment of the present Ukrainian territory is a map of the Black Sea coastal area (from Varna to Kerch) with Greek legends, preserved on the shield of a Roman soldier, found in Dura Europa on the Euphrates. This map is generally considered to be the oldest cartographic relic of the ancient era. During the Middle Ages, Ukraine appeared on the hand-drawn maps of the world, such as the *Tabula Rogeriana* of

the Arab geographer El Idrisi (1100–66); that of the Spanish monk Beatus, in 776 (which was preserved in a manuscript from the first half of the eleventh century); the so-called Ebstorf world map of the thirteenth century; the Hereford world map of 1280, and other maps of the Middle Ages, especially the maps of the Black Sea coast.

Beginning with the thirteenth century, maps including all the Ukrainian territory were made by copyists of the Geography of Claudius Ptolemy (87–150). They were printed for the first time as the “Eighth Map of Europe” (*Sarmatia Europae*) and the “Second Map of Asia” (*Sarmatia Asiae*) in the Ulm editions of the Geography of Ptolemy of 1482 and 1486 and were subsequently incorporated into all 57 editions of the Geography through 1730 inclusive. The Ukrainian territory was also represented in the *Tabula itineraria* or *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the authorship of which was ascribed to the Roman cosmographer Castorius of the fourth century, and which was preserved in the Augsburg library of humanist Conradus Peutinger (1508–47).

The first modern maps of eastern Europe, and therefore partly of Ukraine, were those of the Polish historian Bernard Wapowski (1475?–1535), who is the alleged cartographer of three maps, including one which embraced Poland, Rus', Hungary, Wallachia, Turkey, and Tatar, and another which encompassed Poland, Lithuania, Rus', and Muscovy; fragments of the latter map were found in 1932. Wapowski was also co-cartographer of the first “modern” maps of eastern Europe: the map of Marco Beneventanus entitled *Tabula moderna Poloniae, Ungariae, Boemiae, Russiae, Lithuaniae*, which was incorporated in the Geography of Ptolemy, published in Rome in 1507, and which also embraced the Ukrainian territory to the Dnieper, and the map of Martin Waldseemüller, printed in the Strassburg edition of the same Geography in 1513, entitled *Tabula*

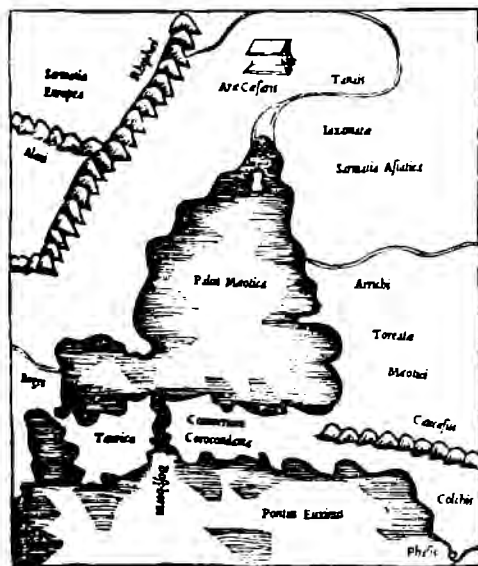


FIGURE 11. EUROPEAN AND ASIATIC SARMATIA
BY S. MUENSTER
In Solinus, C. J. Polyhistor., 1538.

moderna Sarmatie Eur. sive Hungarie, Polonie, Russie, Prussie et Valachie with the same area of Ukrainian territory. The maps of Wapowski, Beneventanus, and Waldseemüller had considerable influence upon the map-making of the sixteenth century, especially on the map of Poland, *Rus'* (Ukraine), Lithuania, and Muscovy, printed in the versified cosmography (*Rudimenta Cosmographica*) of J. Honter (1498–1549) and in the Cosmography of S. Muenster, and on the map of Moldavia and its neighboring countries, printed in Georg Reicherstorfer's *Moldaviae quae olim Daciae Pars*, published in Vienna in 1551.

The first map which included the Ukrainian territory east of the Dnieper River and southward to the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov was the map of Muscovy, made by the Italian geographer Battista Agnese, which was published in 1548. Another map which encompassed the eastern and southeastern areas of Ukraine was the map of Antonius Wied (1500–58). Another original western European map of *Rus'*, Muscovy, and Tatar, with the central and eastern Ukrainian lands and the Black Sea, was the map of the English traveler Anthony Jenkinson (d. 1611),

dated 1562, and printed first in 1570 in the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Abraham Ortelius (1527–98).

The more detailed maps of the Western Ukrainian lands were the map of Poland and the neighboring areas by W. Grodecki (d. 1591), which appeared in many editions of A. Ortelius' atlas; a similar map of Poland, printed in the atlases of Gerard de Jode (1515–91) of 1578 and 1593; the map of Lithuania and the Black Sea area of Gerard Mercator (1512–94), which encompassed almost all the central Ukrainian lands; as well as the Crimea and the Black Sea coast map made by a Ukrainian, Martin Broniovsky, and published in his work, *Tartariae Descriptio*, in Koeln in 1595. The map of Lviv and its vicinity by A. Passarotti also belongs to the same period.

The first maps of the Ukrainian territory made on the basis of topographic measurements were the maps of Thomas Makowski and Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan, published in the first half of the seventeenth century, which included for the first time the name of Ukraine. Thomas Makowski (1575–1620?) was also the cartographer of a great map of Lithuania and the Dnieper area, with a scale of 1:1,300,000, which was published by Hessel Gerritsz in 1613 in Amsterdam and financed by the Lithuanian Prince Nicholas Radziwill. This map was copied and reproduced many times in various atlases during the seventeenth century and encompassed the Ukrainian lands across the Dnieper, but in the south it embraced only the Ukrainian territory to the line of Sniatyn-Kamianets-Bratslav and Cherkasy; areas south of this line were subsequently marked on the maps of Hungary published by the Amsterdam cartographers, N. Fischer and K. Allard, and were published with the same scale and similar legends. The map of the Dnieper area by Makowski was also reproduced later as a separate map and appeared in many atlases during the seventeenth century.

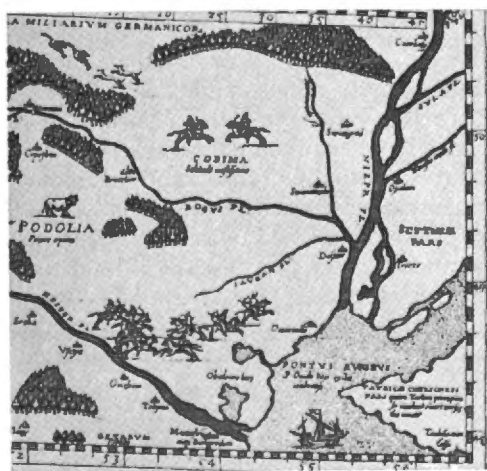


FIGURE 12. A SECTION OF THE MAP OF EUROPEAN SARMATIA BY A. POGRABIUS
Published in Venice, 1569.

The most outstanding cartographic works of the seventeenth century were those of the French cartographer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan, who was in the service of the Polish king. The largest and most important cartographic work of de Beauplan is his special map of Ukraine, *Delineatio specialis et accurata Ukrainae*, with a scale of 1:452,000, which was engraved and published in 1650–3 by W. Hondius on eight sheets, and which was subsequently reproduced by the Amsterdam

The general map of Ukraine by de Beauplan, *Delineatio generalis Camporum desertorum vulgo Ukraina* (1:1,800,000), published first in 1651 in Danzig and recopied and published with its French title in 1660 in Rouen and reproduced many times under the title *Typus generalis Ukrainae*, encompassed the entire Ukrainian territory, including the Black Sea coast, Volhynia, and a part of Red Rus' (Galicia).

The third cartographic work of de Beauplan is the map of the Dnieper



FIGURE 13. A SECTION OF THE GENERAL MAP OF UKRAINE OF DE BEAUPLAN. Published in Gdańsk (Danzig), 1648–51, by V. Hondius (south at the top).

cartographer, J. Blaeu, in four separate maps of Ukrainian areas: the provinces of Kiev, Podilia, Bratslav, and Pokutia. Later it was supplemented with a map of Volhynia and was reproduced on five sheets by the French cartographer N. Sanson in Paris.

area (from Kiev to the Black Sea) published by J. Blaeu in the Latin, Spanish, Dutch, and French editions of his Great Atlas in the years 1659–72, on three sheets, the first two with a scale of 1:226,000 and the third with 1:452,000, and subsequently published on one

sheet by Jansonius and Pitt. The maps of Ukraine by de Beauplan were used widely in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries by many western European cartographers, and such known maps of Ukraine as those by Guillaume Delisle, Johann B. Homann (two editions), Pier van der Aa, M. Seuter, T. K. Lotter, and Christoph Weigel were only exact copies of de Beauplan's maps. At that time, almost all the map-makers and publishers of maps of Poland, which encompassed Ukraine and Lithuania, copied the maps of Makowski and de Beauplan; some originality and new geographical data were included by the Nuremberg cartographer and mathematician Tobias Mayer (1723-62) and the French geographer Jean Baptist d'Anville (1697-1782).

As far as the eastern areas of Ukraine are concerned, the most outstanding cartographic work is an atlas of the Don River, including maps of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, made by the Dutch-born Russian Admiral Cornelius Cruys (or Creitz) (1657-1727) and published by Donkert in Amsterdam in 1703. Another map of Ukraine and the Black Sea was made by George von Mengden and Count Jacob Bruce and was published by J. Tessing in 1699 in Amsterdam.

During the reign of Hetman Ivan Mazepa at the end of the seventeenth and at the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, cartographic works in Ukraine were begun with the territorial maps of individual Kozak regiments, but, with a few exceptions, these have not been published or analyzed adequately thus far. Among the original maps of Ukraine is *Chertezh ukrainskim i cherkasskim gorodam ot Moskvy do Kryma* (Map of Ukrainian and Cherkass Cities from Moscow to the Crimea), which is preserved in the State Archives in Stockholm.

Maps of the Kiev province, the Crimea, the Black Sea area, the Don and Kuban River areas, published in the well-known *Rossiiskii Atlas* by the St.

Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1745, were rather sketchy and much inferior to those made in the seventeenth century by de Beauplan.

B. Krawciw

Maps of Ukraine from the Late Eighteenth Century up to 1917

More accurate topographic surveys based upon triangulation began to be undertaken in Ukrainian lands at the end of the eighteenth century by Russia, Austria, and, to a certain extent, Poland. On the basis of these surveys the first large-scale maps were produced, such as the map of historical Poland by Rizzi-Zannoni, *Carte de la Pologne* (1:700,000, 25 sheets, 1770-7), and the Russian general map of European Russia by Oppermann on a scale of 1:840,000 (114 sheets, 1801-4), which included all the Ukrainian lands belonging to the Russian empire at that time.

The general map of the Russian empire by Suchtelen (124 sheets, 1814-16) on a scale of 1:840,000 was a revision of the map of Oppermann. Special maps on a scale of 1:420,000 included the map of the western part of European Russia by Schubert (1832-44).

The Western Ukrainian lands, which were incorporated into Austria and Hungary, were also mapped at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth century. The first atlas of Galicia, by F. I. Maire, was published in 1790 (11 sheets). Among other maps of Galicia were those by Benedicti (1:172,000, 12 sheets, 1797), by Heldensfeld (1:172,000, 34 sheets, 1805), and by Liesganing (1:288,000, 1790, 1847); the manuscript map by Mieg (1:28,000, 413 sheets, 1779-83), and others.

During the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, basic topographic maps of Ukraine were made on the basis of new surveying and partly by photogrammetry. Prior to and during World War I, Russia, Austria, Hungary, and to

some extent Germany published topographic maps of Ukrainian territory.

Among the most important military topographic maps issued by Russia (Corps of Military Topographers) were: (1) the so-called special map of eastern



FIGURE 14. A SECTION OF THE RUSSIAN TOPOGRAPHIC MAP (1:126,000, I.E., 1 INCH TO 3 VERSTS).

Environs of Trypilia on the Dnieper.

Europe on a scale of 1:420,000 (1 inch to 10 *versts*) by Strelbitsky (1864-80) with symbols showing forests; its principal meridian is longitude 10° east of Pulkovo; (2) the topographic map on a scale of 1:126,000 (1 inch to 3 *versts*, 1863); the Bonne projection was used in making this map which extended to a longitude 43° east of Greenwich and included almost all Ukrainian lands in the Russian empire; however, the North Caucasus was not included; this map is monochromatic and relief thereon is represented by hachures; this map became outdated even before World War I; (3) the best topographic map of western Russia on a scale of 1:84,000 (1 inch to 2 *versts*) printed in two colors with employment of contours; it covered only the western part of central Ukraine not reaching the Dnieper in the east; (4) from the same original drawings which were used for the latter map, a map on a scale of 1:42,000 was made covering western areas of Ukraine, and a map on a scale of 1:21,000, including the Crimea and the westernmost area of Ukraine; both maps were monochromatic. All these maps

were based on the Pulkovo meridian (30°19'29" east of Greenwich), sometimes with additional references to the Paris or Ferro meridians (Ferro is the westernmost island of the Canaries); the altitudes were given in *sazhen* (7 ft.) measure. The first hypsometric parts of the European part on scales of 1:2,520,000 (1889) and 1:1,680,000 (western realm, 1896) were elaborated by A. A. Tillo; they also covered Ukraine.

In Austria-Hungary the following maps published by the Military Geographic Institute in Vienna were of importance: the special map on a scale of 1:75,000 first issued in 1873-89, and the map on a scale of 1:25,000; both are monochromatic contour maps with hachures used additionally. Among other maps constructed in Austria-Hungary mention should be made of the so-called general map on a scale of 1:200,000 and of the map of central Europe on a scale of 1:750,000; both are many-colored hachure maps and include also the



FIGURE 15. A SECTION OF THE AUSTRIAN SPECIAL MAP (1:75,000).

Environs of Staryi Sambir on the Dniester.

western part of central Ukraine within the Russian empire approximately to the Kiev-Odessa line in the east. Almost all the Ukrainian lands are included in the many-colored map on a scale of 1:400,000 with only slight relief. Among the older maps of Austria-Hungary were: the map of Galicia by Kummersberg on a scale of 1:115,000 (61 sheets, 1855, 1861, 1888); of Hungary and Galicia on

a scale of 1:288,000 (1869-72); the general map of central Europe by Sched on a scale of 1:576,000 (1871) which extended to Kiev in the east; and a revision of the latter map on a scale of 1:300,000 (1872-6). All these maps were based on the Ferro meridian.

During the Crimean War (1853-6) a physiographic map of the Crimea was published in Philadelphia.

The Ukrainian lands were partly covered by the following German maps: Ukraine's northwestern part was included in the 1:100,000 map; the Ukrainian territory up to the Kiev-Odessa line in the east was shown on the map of central Europe on a scale of 1:300,000; Ukraine was also on the 1:800,000 map of Europe. During World War I the Germans revised, to a certain degree, the Russian maps on scales of 1:84,000 and 1:126,000 and reissued them on a scale of 1:100,000. The Austrians republished the Russian 1:126,000 map on a scale of 1:125,000.

All the Ukrainian lands are presented on the *International Map of the World* on a scale of 1:1,000,000, which shows both their relief and populated areas in considerable detail. The original edition of this map is in English; others are in French and German.

In summary it may be said that approximately one-third of the Ukrainian lands was accurately surveyed prior to World War I and represented on maps with scales of 1:75,000 and 1:84,000. The most accurate map of the remaining territory was that on a scale of 1:126,000. No detailed map was produced for the North Caucasian front range.

Cartography in the Ukrainian State

The chief geodesic administration issued the following map in 1918: 54 sheets of an official "special map" of Ukraine on a scale of 1:420,000, a map of Ukraine on scales of 1:1,050,000 (4 sheets) and 1:1,680,000 (by Academician Tutkovsky), as well as two plans of Kiev each in 6 sheets; one of the latter presented relief by contours and em-

ployed the Ukrainian nomenclature, the other was based on the data of 1897.

Topographic Maps of Ukraine after 1918

In the beginning the USSR published revised maps of the Russian empire on scales of 1:42,000 and 1:420,000 (in part also of 1:126,000 and 1:21,000), but completely new maps were issued later based on new conic projections, using Greenwich as the principal meridian and employing the metric system. These maps were based upon a new survey with the aid of photography. The basic topographic map of the USSR is the map on a scale of 1:25,000 (earlier edition, 1937-9; new edition, 1950-2). It is a many-colored detailed contour map which shows the location of forests and many topographic details. Other maps have scales of 1:50,000; 1:100,000; 1:200,000; 1:300,000 (for aviation); 1:400,000; 1:500,000; 1:750,000; 1:1,000,000; 1:2,000,000. All of these maps are prepared for military purposes and usually are not available to the general public. The maps on the scales 1:100,000, 1:200,000, and others of various scales include all the Ukrainian lands. The map which best represents the physical features of the Ukrainian territory is the *Gosudarstvennaia karta* (State Map) of the USSR, on a scale of 1:100,000, 1941-57. The most accurate maps of the USSR are the agricultural and special geological engineering maps (scales 1:5,000-10,000 and 1:1,000-2,000). They cover only those parts of Ukraine rich in mineral resources, such as the Donets Basin, the Kerch Peninsula, the Kryvyi Rih area, the Lviv-Volhynian coal basin, and the Subcarpathian petroleum basin.

Western Ukrainian lands which were annexed by Poland between the two world wars are depicted on the Polish topographic maps: the many-colored map on a scale of 1:100,000; the monochromatic map on a scale of 1:25,000; and the many-colored survey map, on a scale of 1:300,000. All these are contour maps made with reference to the Greenwich meridian (since 1927) and showing

many topographic details. The same maps are used in Poland today. Carpatho-Ukraine was depicted on the Czechoslovak maps; Czechoslovakia retained the old Austrian maps on the scales of 1:25,000, 1:75,000, 1:200,000, and 1:750,000. Bukovina and Bessarabia were shown on a map with a scale of 1:20,000 (Bukovina) and three maps with scales of 1:100,000, 1:200,000, and 1:500,000.

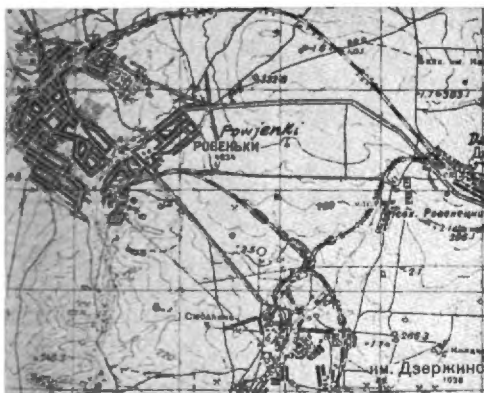


FIGURE 16. A SECTION OF THE SOVIET MAP (1:100,000).

German re-issue, 1942. Environs of Rovenky in Donbas. The original is in 4 colors (black, red, green, and blue).

The most important of the maps dating back to World War I, including those issued in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, were republished by the Germans prior to and during World War II. The Germans also revised the newer Soviet maps on scales of 1:100,000 and 1:200,000 and especially valuable many-colored maps on scales of 1:300,000 and 1:500,000; these maps cover all the Ukrainian lands. England and the United States published partially or entirely all the important maps of Poland and Czechoslovakia, including areas of Western Ukraine. The United States republished the German aerial map on a scale of 1:250,000, covering all the Ukrainian territory.

Of the popular maps which show all the Ukrainian lands, mention should be made of the *International Map* (published in the USSR as *Gosudarstvennaia*

karta [State Map]) on a scale of 1:1,000,000 (1940-5). Among the Ukrainian editions there are maps with scales of 1:1,000,000 (1918) and 1:500,000 (1930) by Stephen Rudnytsky and of 1:1,500,000 (1937 and 1942) by V. Kubijovyč and N. Kulytsky. A map of the Ukrainian SSR on a scale of 1:750,000 was issued in 1955-7. *Yug Evropeiskoi chasti SSSR* (South of the European part of the USSR), on a scale of 1:1,000,000, in two editions, hypsometric and contoured with forests, embraces almost all the ethnographic territories of Ukraine.

Other maps of Ukraine worthy of mention are the small atlas of L. Klovanii, encompassing the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic within its prewar boundaries (second edition in 1929), and the atlas of Volodymyr Kubijovyč (1937), which embraces all the Ukrainian ethnic territories. The Ukrainian territories are also encompassed in the great Soviet Atlas of the World (*Boľshoi sovetskii atlas mira*), the better edition of 1940 (physical and economic maps) and the inferior edition of 1954 (only physical maps). Other atlases of the USSR are: *Atlas SSSR* (Atlas of the USSR) by Svinarenko, 1954, 1955; *Atlas SSSR* (Atlas of the USSR) by Baranov, 1962, and *Atlas sel'skogo khoziaistva SSSR* (Atlas of Agriculture of the USSR), published in 1960. Especially important and valuable are the *Atlas sil's'koho hospodarstva Ukraïns'koï RSR* (Atlas of Agriculture of the Ukrainian SSR) which was published in 1958 and *Atlas Ukraïns'koï i Moldavs'koï RSR* (Atlas of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSR) published in 1962.

Hydrographic Maps

The maps of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, prepared in tsarist times on scales of 1:16,800, 1:54,768, and 1:126,000, have been changed since 1926 to metrical ones. The present maps range from 1:10,000, 1:30,000 through 1:50-100,000 to 1:1,000,000. More specialized is a radionavigational map on a scale of 1:750,000. The best general coverage of the relief of the Ukrainian seas is in the

Morskoi Atlas (Maritime Atlas, I-III, 1950-8).

There are also various tourist maps, plans of cities and their environs, and maps of some provinces or regions.

G. Kolody

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2. GEOLOGY

The largest part of the Ukrainian area lies within the Ancestral European Landmass, that part of the continent which has displayed no tectonism since the end

of the Proterozoic era. In the Archeozoic and the Proterozoic eras this craton (Stille) or cratogen (Kober) was the site of very intensive folding accompanied

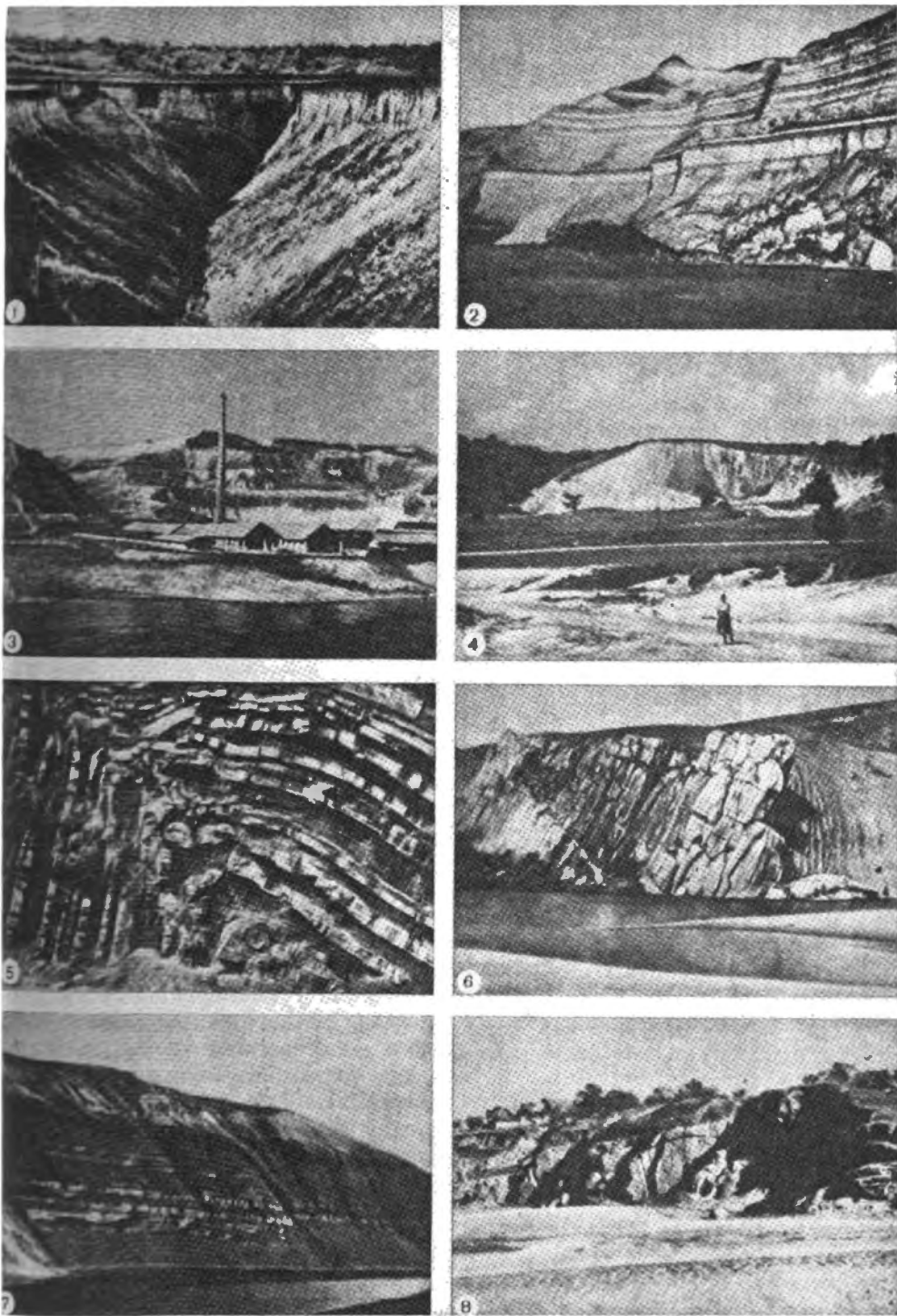


FIGURE 17. GEOLOGICAL EXPOSURES.

(1) Outcrop of Quaternary deposits near Kaniv, Cherkasy province; (2) Neogene deposits exposed near Bohdanivka village, Dnipropetrovske province; (3) Exposure of Kiev, Kharkiv, and Poltava stages between Trypilia and Traktemyriiv villages in Kiev province; (4) Cretaceous deposits north of Protopopivka village, Kharkiv province; (5) Exposure of Triassic-Jurassic deposits near Solnechnohorske, Crimea; (6) Outcrop of Middle Carboniferous deposits on the Nesvitai River, Donetsk province; (7) Outcrop of Devonian deposits near the town of Zalishchyky, Ternopil province; (8) Precambrian rocks (granite) near Babanky village, Cherkasy province.

by magmatic intrusions on a vast scale. These processes made this region so rigid that no orogenic movements developed later. There were only epeirogenic movements, that is, continuous but very slow rising and subsiding of the various parts of the craton which resulted in occasional transgressions of successive epeiric seas.

South of this craton the great Tethys Geosyncline was in existence from the early Paleozoic extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and associated with such geological provinces in Ukrainian territory as the Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains, and the Caucasus. Very intensive foldings accompanied by magmatic intrusions occurred in this mobile region contrary to the northern stable and rigid craton. As a result of the Alpine orogenic movements at the end of the Cenozoic, the geosyncline became consolidated, rigid, and as though attached to the northern craton. Thus the geosyncline ended its existence and the entire area of Ukraine became a craton consisting of various parts which underwent consolidation in different periods.

The Ancestral European Craton during the Paleozoic, Mesozoic, and Cenozoic eras was predominantly a continent only partially and occasionally transgressed by seas. The geosyncline was primarily under marine water and only at times and in places was it raised above the sea level. The craton has not revealed any

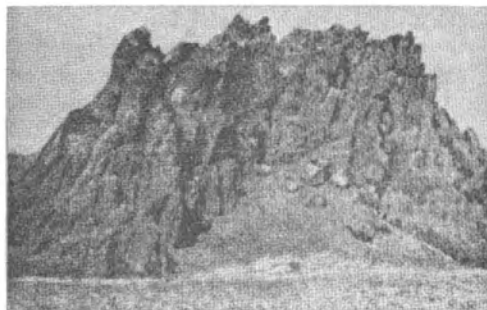


FIGURE 18. EXPOSURE OF PRECAMBRIAN FERROUGINOUS QUARTZITES
"Orlyne Hnizdo" ("The Eagle's Nest"), Kryvyi Rih iron ore basin.

signs of volcanic and seismic activities, whereas there has been intensive synorogenic and postorogenic volcanism and seismic activity within the geosyncline.

THE ARCHEOZOIC

The Precambrian Ukrainian Crystalline Shield makes the structural core of the Ukrainian territory. The Boh-Dnieper gneiss series, forming folded structures of northwestern strike, now denudated and exposed along the Boh and Dnieper rivers, are considered to be the most ancient rocks of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. This series was intruded upon by various magmatic rocks, both synchronous with the formation of the above structures and younger. Determinations of their absolute age usually render data ranging from 1,900 to 2,000 million years. Individual determinations indicate an age of 2,300 and even 2,800 million years. The chronological interrelations of formations described as Lower Archeozoic, such as the Teterev complex, and ancient formations exposed at the Azov Sea coast, are not clear yet.

Rocks considered to be of Upper Archeozoic age cover a large territory, mostly in the central part of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield where belts of the Saksahan folded system of submeridional strike are exposed with a total width up to 180 miles. Determination of the absolute age of the Upper Archeozoic rocks gives data ranging around 1,700 million years. Metabasites are distributed widely in several areas. Of paramount importance is the Saksahan or Kryvyi Rih ferruginous series stretching as a meridional belt for more than 130 miles and also occurring in other localities outside of this belt, as indicated by magnetic anomalies. Rich ore deposits are associated with these series.

THE PROTEROZOIC

Here belong the Ovruch series, widely distributed in the northwestern part of

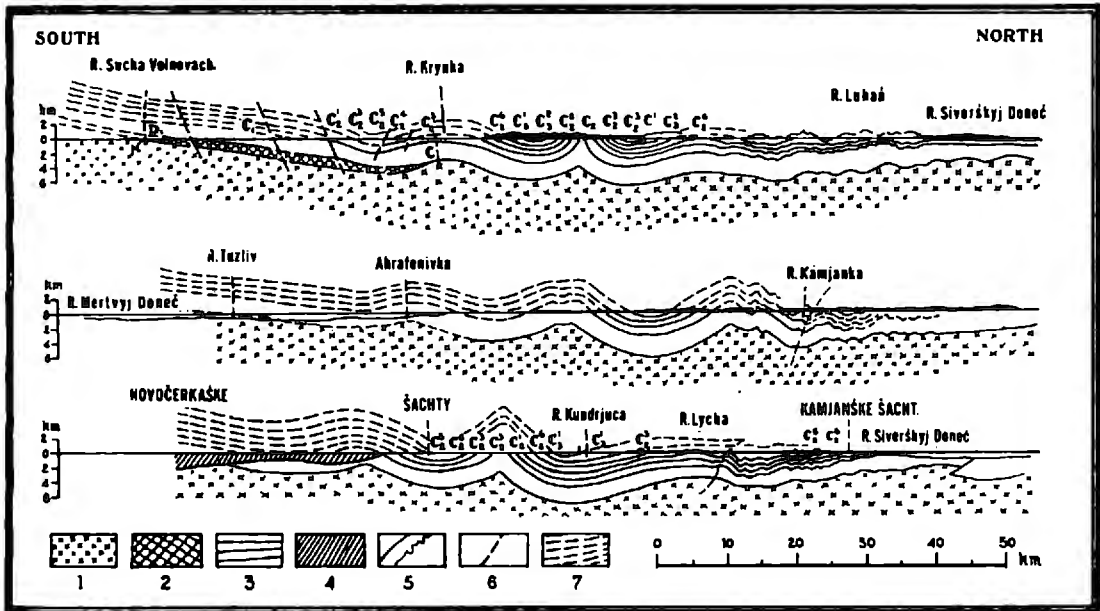


FIGURE 19. SCHEMATIC SECTION ACROSS THE UKRAINIAN CRYSTALLINE MASSIF AND DNEPER-DONETS TROUGH (B. LYCHKOV)

- (1) Precambrian rocks; (2) Paleozoic (Silurian and others); (3) Jurassic; (4) Cenomanian; (5) Turonian and Senonian; (6) Paleogene; (7) Quaternary sediments.

the shield and represented by quartzites and pyrophyllite schists, as well as several intrusive complexes: the Korosten magmatic complex, the Korsun-Novomyrhorod pluton, and the Azov syenite complex.

THE PALEOZOIC

All systems of the Paleozoic are known in Ukraine, being exposed in the east within the Donets Basin and in the west along the Dniester River and its tributaries.

Cambrian deposits have been found in the central Caucasus and in western Volhynia.

In the Ordovician period the area covered by the sea increased. Marine deposits occur widely in Podilia and Volhynia.

In the Silurian period the geosyncline spread from the Caucasus to the Carpathians. The sea crept in from the west over western Podilia and western Volhynia and connected, on one side, with

the Carpathian Sea, and on the other, with the Baltic.

The Podilian-Volhynian Silurian deposits lie almost horizontally and are represented by shales, marles, dolomites, and limestones of a thickness up to 1830 feet, with a very rich fauna.

At the close of the Silurian period the Caledonian orogenic movements occurred in the southern geosyncline, accompanied by granitic intrusions which metamorphosed a part of the sediments. The Ancestral Carpathians which arose at this time were structurally connected with the Caledonides of the Sudeten.

In the beginning of the Devonian period almost the whole of Ukraine was a dry land and only in Podilia are lagoonal deposits known, represented by the so-called Old Red Sandstone.

In the middle Devonian the sea again invaded and covered almost the whole of Ukraine with the exception of the great island of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. Within the southern geosyncline large thicknesses of limestones and dolo-

mites were accumulated in the Carpathians and enormous thicknesses of various sediments were deposited in the Caucasus.

The most important event in the Upper Devonian was the appearance of the Donets sub-geosyncline which separated the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield from the Voronezh Block. The Upper Devonian sea covered this depression and left a great series of deposits, partly salt-bearing.

of a geosynclinal type (about 40,000 feet) was accumulated in the Donets sub-geosyncline (Fig. 20). The Carboniferous rocks come to the surface only in the Donets Basin, but they extend to the northwest as far as Chernihiv, lying under the Mesozoic strata, and also to the southeast where they are covered only by the Tertiary strata. This area of distribution of Carboniferous rocks, which are in places coal-bearing, has been called the Great Donbas (Fig. 21).

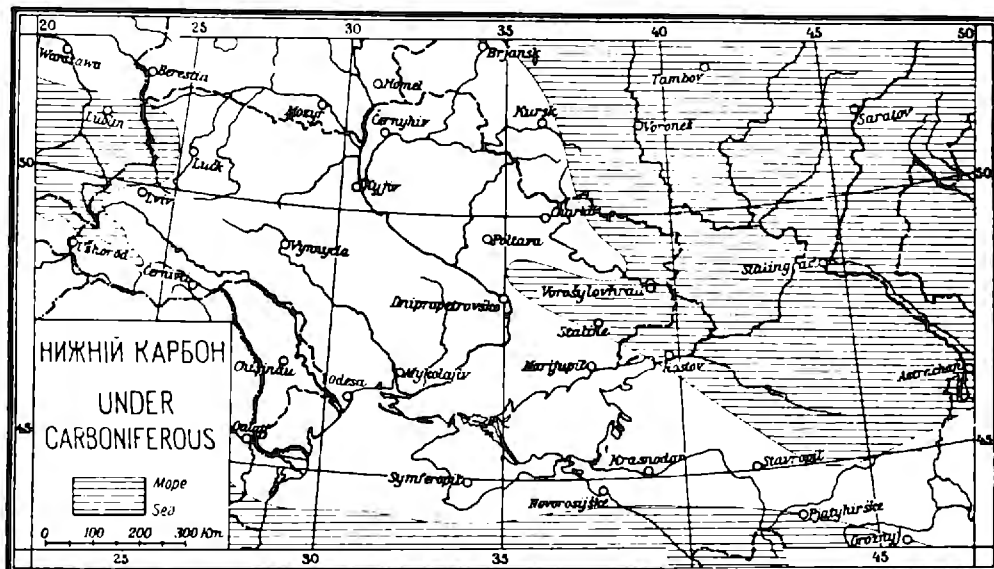


FIGURE 20. SCHEME OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF CARBONIFEROUS DEPOSITS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1) Area of the assumed distribution of Carboniferous deposits; (2) Area of the established continuous distribution of Carboniferous deposits overlain by younger sediments; (3) Area of outcrops of Carboniferous deposits (Donets Basin); (4) Bore-holes which encountered Carboniferous deposits; (5) Administrative boundary of the Ukrainian SSR.

The total thickness of Devonian sediments in the Donets Basin and the Dnieper-Donets Trough reaches 14,000–16,000 feet.

At the close of the Devonian period the orogenic movements of the Breton phase occurred in Dobrudja and in the Donets Basin accompanied by a rather strong igneous activity.

The Carboniferous Period

In the Carboniferous and early Permian periods a great thickness of deposits

The Lower Carboniferous of the Donets Basin is composed of shales and limestones which have a thickness of about 11,500 feet and lie unconformably on the folded Devonian.

The Middle Carboniferous (Westphalian), with a thickness of 8,200–17,700 feet, and the Upper Carboniferous (Stephanian stage), with a thickness of 6,900–9,200 feet, constitute a series of shales, sandstones, and limestones with coal beds. In the northern direction, towards the place where the Sea of the

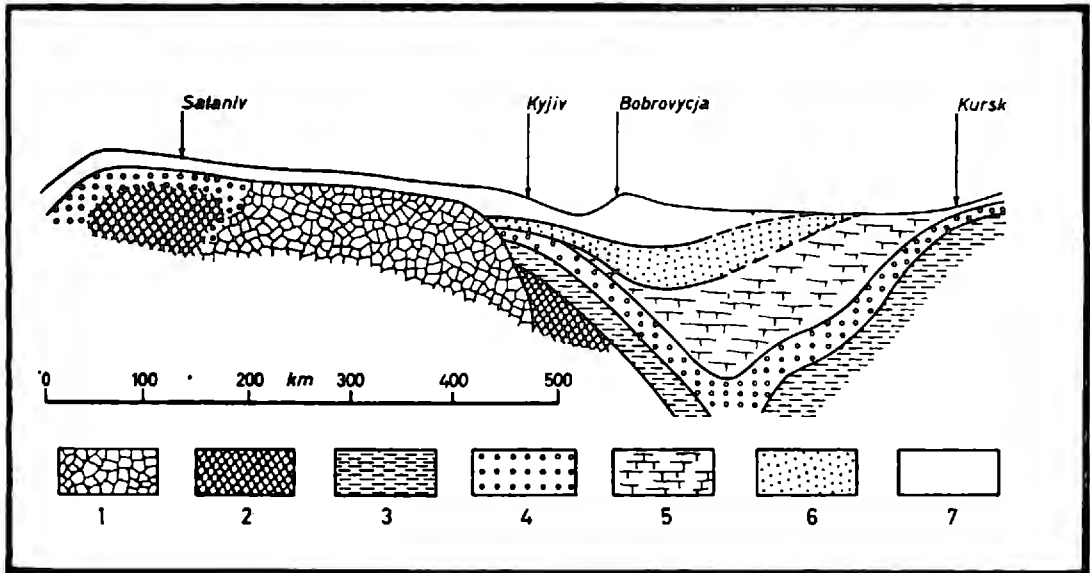


FIGURE 21. SCHEMATIC SECTIONS ACROSS THE DONETS BASIN (P. I. STEPANOV AND M. M. TETIAEV)
 (1) Precambrian rocks; (2) Devonian; (3) Carboniferous; (4) Mesozoic and Cenozoic;
 (5) Igneous rocks; (6) Faults; (7) Paleozoic rocks assumed to be eroded.

Donets Basin was connected with the open Ural Sea, the amount of sandstones decreases, while that of limestones increases.

The Upper Carboniferous of the Donets Basin passes directly into the Lower Permian. The Asturian folding did not occur in the Donbas.

The Permian Period

In the Permian period, Ukraine remained primarily a dry land, and submerging was recorded only in the south. In the region of the Donets sub-geosyncline the Carboniferous sediments are overlain by a thickness (1,000 feet) of Lower Permian deposits, which begin with the so-called Araucarite stage. These are arkoses, shales, clays, and limestones with unproductive coal seams. Then copper-bearing sands and dolomites with gypsum and salt follow. In the Caucasus the Lower Permian is represented by conglomerates, sandstones, and dolomites. In the Crimea and the southern Carpathians deposits of the Alpine type are found.

In the Middle Permian, the Carboniferous and Lower Permian rocks under-

went intensive orogenic movements which resulted in a folded system of the Donets Ridge. Orogenic movements also occurred at that time in the Carpathians.

THE MESOZOIC

In the Triassic period the Ukrainian Platform was again a dry land on which in places terrestrial sediments were deposited. In the south, in areas of the Carpathians, Crimea, and the Caucasus, shales, sandstones, and limestones were accumulated, correlated with marine sediments of the Middle and Upper Triassic in the Alps.

A crustal disturbance (the Old Cimmerian Phase) took place in the Donets Basin between the Triassic and the Jurassic periods.

In the Jurassic period the sea, which occupied the geosyncline, deepened and widened. In the Lias in the Carpathian-Dobrudja region at first continental deposits and later marine shales and limestones were accumulated. In the Crimean-Caucasian region a thickness of shales, limestones, and dolomites attained more than 16,500 feet.

In the Dogger epoch the sea spread from all sides over the Ukrainian Platform. The sea transgression reached its maximum in the Upper Jurassic and only the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield stood as an island.

In the Jurassic period, volcanic activity took place in the Crimea and the Caucasus.

The Cretaceous Period

At the end of the Upper Jurassic the sea retreated from the Ukrainian Platform which again entered a continental phase of development. However, the Tethys Geosyncline was occupied by the sea continuously through the entire Cretaceous and until the middle of the Tertiary. The tectonic disturbance in the Carpathian region caused interruptions in the sedimentary cycles; islands appeared, and deposits acquired a shallow water character (Flysh) being built of conglomerates, sandstones, shales, and marls. In the Crimean-Caucasus region, limestones were deposited attaining a thickness of about 2,300 feet.

The continental regime of the platform lasted up to the Middle Cretaceous; in the Albian age the sea invaded the North Ukrainian Basin from the north; in the Cenomanian age the sea spread from the Tethys over Podilia and Volhynia (see Fig. 22). Thus most of Ukraine was submerged under the sea level, in places quite deep. Limestones were widely deposited; shallow water deposits (glauconite sands, etc.) are found in the coastal zones, particularly near the island of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. The transgressions of the Upper Cretaceous were much more intensive than those of the Upper Jurassic epoch.

The Laramide Revolution completed the tectonic history of the Donbas and marked the beginning of the Alpine folding in the areas of the Carpathians and the Caucasus. The tectonic movements of the Donbas had a posthumous, although a rather intensive, character. The Laramide folding occurred also in the Caucasus.

Close to the end of the Upper Cretaceous, the sea, which had covered the

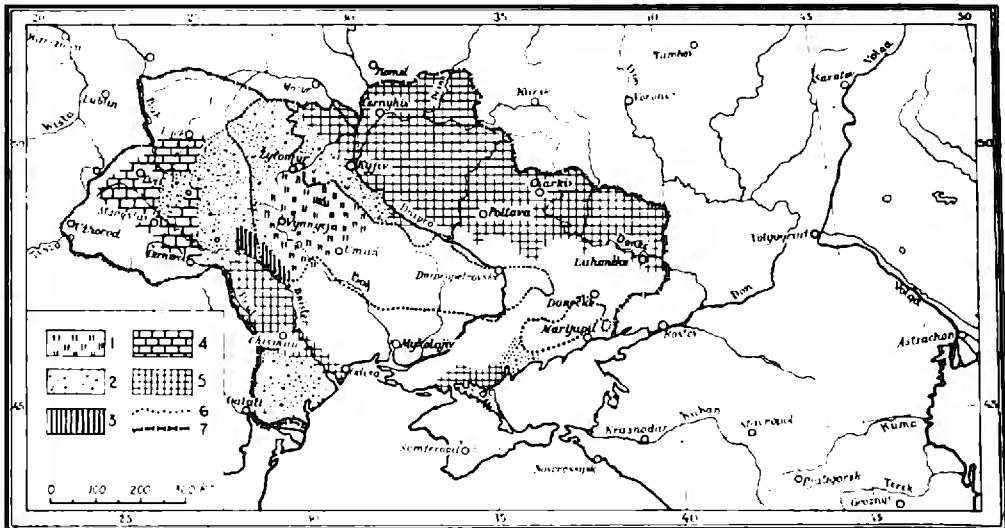


FIGURE 22. SCHEMATIC MAP INDICATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF FACIES OF CENOMANIAN AGE IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (*Geologia SSSR*, VOL. 5, 1958)

(1) Areas of denudation; (2) Sandy facies: glauconite sands, sands with flint, sandstones, and sandy marls; (3) Siliceous facies: opokas, tripoli, and more rarely sands; (4) Calcareous-marly facies; (5) Marly-chalk facies; (6) Contours of the elevated part of the Ukrainian Crystalline Massif; (7) Boundary of the Ukrainian SSR.

Ukrainian Platform, began to retreat, probably in connection with the tectonic disturbances in Tethys.

THE CENOZOIC

The Tertiary Period

In this period the Carpathians and the Caucasus rose out of the geosyncline. The Tethys Geosyncline ended its existence and its consolidated sediments joined the stable landmass. Thus the entire Ukrainian territory became a craton. At this time the principal topographic forms of Ukraine and its present drainage system were formed.

In the Carpathians the deposition of Flysh continued until the end of the Oligocene when the essential part of the folding of the outer Carpathian Arc occurred.

In the Crimea and the Caucasus the Paleogene sediments are variable and diverse. Limestones prevail, alternating with clays, sandstones, and bituminous shales. The end of the Paleogene was marked by intensive orogenic movements.

To the north of the Carpathians the so-called Carpathian Foreland Arc was formed; it includes Volhynia, Roztichia, Podilia, Bessarabia, and the western margins of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. This arch remained a dry land but beyond it, in the north and east, the Paleogenic Sea spread, in which the Donets Ridge protruded as an island. This was the last great transgression of the sea over the Ukrainian Platform. The sea was shallow and its deposits have a distinctly epicontinental character.

In the Neogene the sea gradually retreated. The Carpathians, which as a result of the orogenic processes had become dry land, were attacked by erosion.

On the northern side of the Carpathians, in the Miocene (the second Mediterranean epoch) the sea still remained, but it regressed to the southeast. On the south side of the Carpathians, in the Miocene, the Pannonian massif sank. Great masses of effusives (andesites, dacites, and rhyolites) came from fis-

tures formed at the inner side of the Carpathian Arc; the mountain ranges of Vyhorliat, Hegyalja, and Matra are built of those effusives. In the Carpathians during the Neogene a few orogenic phases were marked, particularly the Styrian and Attic ones, and in the Rumanian part of the Carpathians also the Wallachian (Pasadenian) phase.

The Crimean Mountains underwent in the Tertiary period only insignificant tectonic disturbances. Their structure was basically accomplished in the Cimmerian phases, but their elevation came in the Neogene.

In the Caucasus, to which the Kerch Peninsula structurally belongs, the Alpine folding continued in various phases up to and including the Quaternary period.

The Quaternary Period

In this period the Black Sea assumed its present configuration. At the beginning of the period it had no connection with the Mediterranean but was joined with the Caspian Sea (the old Euxine Basin). Later the Black Sea was connected with the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus but not for long; the connection was interrupted in the Upper Pleistocene and the Black Sea became a fresh-water body (new Euxine Basin). In the post-glacial time the connection with the Mediterranean was renewed and assumed its present form.

Three glacial ages are known in Ukraine: the Mindel, Riss, and Würm. The Riss glaciation was the most extensive and the ice sheets spread over a considerable area in northern Ukraine (see Fig. 23). The ice sheets of the last glaciation did not reach northern Ukraine but the outwash spread widely over Polisia.

The glaciers were developed in the Carpathians, where in the Chornohora and Gorgany ranges glacial erosional forms are found, and also in the Caucasus where deposits of the last glaciation are present.

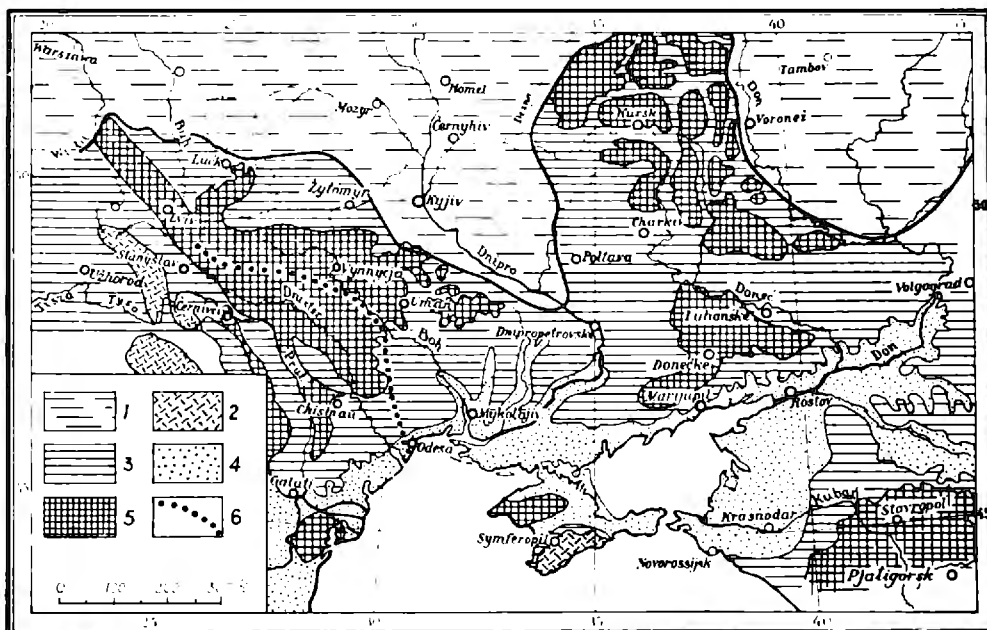


FIGURE 23. PALEOGEOGRAPHY OF UKRAINE IN THE RISS AGE (V. BONDARCHUK)

(1) Riss (Dnieper) ice sheet; (2) Glaciation in the Carpathians and the Crimea; (3) Area attacked by running water from the glacier and by wind; (4) Euxine Sea; (5) Area of weathering; (6) Eastern boundary of the distribution of Carpathian pebbles.

Extensive loess deposits cover nearly three-quarters of Ukraine. Loess is mostly of the aeolian origin and was accumulated in the glacial age. Remains of steppe and tundra animals and plants are common in loess deposits. The loess on the plateau in central Ukraine (the Dnieper bank) attains a thickness of 100 feet. From three to six layers of loess could be distinguished, separated from one another by fossil soils.

Tectonic processes of the Quaternary period which are responsible for the present physiography have had a predominantly epeirogenic character in Ukraine; the Pleistocene folding occurred only in the Caucasus. Uplifts in the Carpathians and in the Caucasus achieved around 1,000 and 4,000 feet respectively. Epeirogenic movements in the Crimea were on a smaller scale. Simultaneously the bottom of the Black Sea subsided, as did the Black Sea Lowland (the formation of limans), Polisia (the appearance of peat swamps), and the

Dnieper Lowland. On the other hand, plateaus were uplifted—the Volhynian-Podilian Plateau, Bessarabian Upland, and Right-Bank Upland. Uplifts and subsidences of certain regions influenced the development of drainage which gradually assumed the modern configuration.

The paleolithic man appeared in Ukraine in the Riss-Würm interglacial age.

TECTONIC FRAMEWORK OF UKRAINE

Tectonic elements of the Ukrainian territory are related to the following regions: the southwestern part of the East European platform (craton); adjacent mountainous structures of the Crimean-Carpathian geosynclinal zone; and the Donets folded structure. The Ukrainian Crystalline Shield (I)* forms the central

*The numbers in parentheses refer to the map, Tectonic Scheme of Ukraine and Adjoining Territories, Fig. 24.

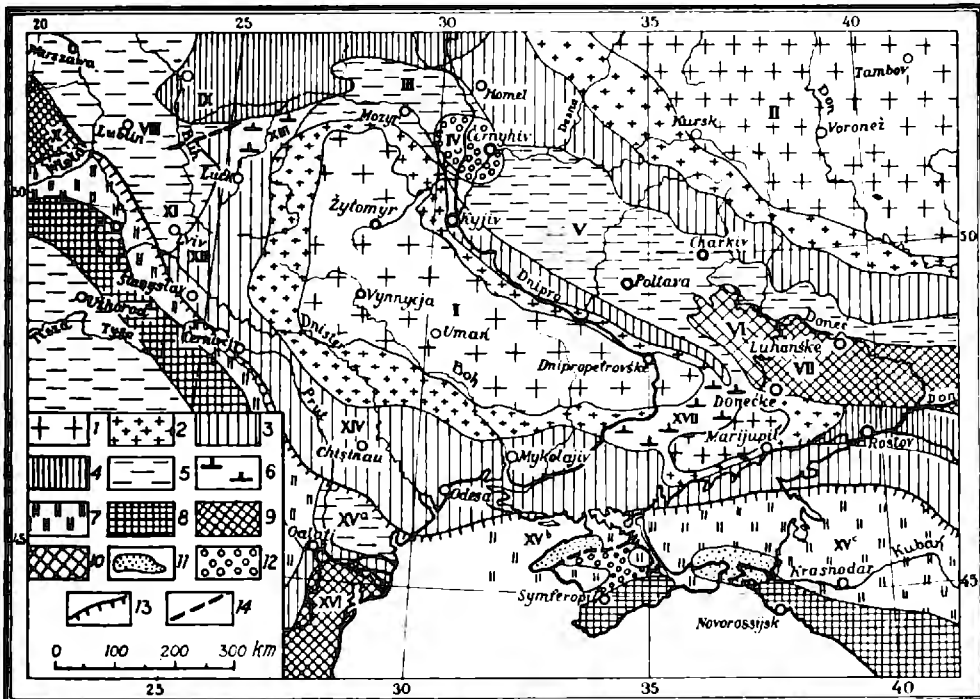


FIGURE 24. TECTONIC SCHEME OF UKRAINE AND ADJOINING TERRITORIES (AFTER N. F. BALUKHOVSKY)

(1) Crystalline massifs; (2) Slopes of crystalline massifs; (3) Slopes, depressions, and troughs; (4) Areas of rather shallow (to some 3,000 feet) depths of the Precambrian foundation; (5) Depressions and troughs; (6) Depressions within the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield; (7) Foredeeps; (8) Megaanticlines of the Carpathians, the Crimea, and the Caucasus; (9) Hercynian orogens; (10) Hercynian suborogens; (11) Central uplifts (Alpine); (12) Transversal arches; (13) Boundary of the East European platform; (14) Volhynian and Tarkhankut faults. I, Ukrainian Crystalline Shield; II, Voronezh Crystalline Massif; III, Prypiat Trough; IV, Chernihiv Arch; V, Dnieper-Donets Trough; VI, Donets Suborogen; VII, folded structure of the Donets Basin; VIII, Lviv-Lublin Depression; IX, Volhynian-Brest Uplift; X, Kielce-Sandomierz Ridge; XI, Lviv Trough; XII, Volhynian-Podilian Platform; XIII, Pinsk Trough; XIV, Bessarabian Platform; XV, Black Sea Depression, including XVa, Moldavian Depression, XVb, Karkinitz Trough, and XVc, Azov-Kuban Depression; XVI, Dobrudzja; XVII, Orikhovo-Huliai Pole Trough.

core of the platform part of Ukraine, and is built of intensively folded Precambrian metamorphic, intrusive, and extrusive rocks. Its main peculiarity lies in the elevated surface of crystalline rocks. The highest absolute elevations of these rocks (650-750 feet) are found in some areas of Zhytomyr, and in the Vinnytsia and Kirovohrad regions. In the Dnieper-Donets Trough (V), located within the platform, Precambrian rocks were encountered by bore-holes at depths of from 3,200 to 9,000 feet. The trough is filled up by Paleozoic, Mesozoic, and

Tertiary rocks. Zones of salt domes are associated with faults in the crystalline foundation. The folded structures of the Donets Basin (VII) stretch in a sub-latitudinal direction from the west and northwest to the south and southeast. The axis of the Donets Ridge is built by the Main Donets Anticline and two synclines, adjoining symmetrically from both sides. There are many minor tectonic elements. The Lviv-Lublin Depression (VIII) is a deep synclinal trough of meridional direction. In its axial part, the Precambrian rocks lie at a depth of 6-8

miles and the Paleozoic rocks at a depth of some 3,000 feet, being overlain by Jurassic, Cretaceous, and Tertiary rocks. The Volhynian-Podilian Platform (XII) presents a submerged slope of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield overlain by Paleozoic, Cretaceous, and Miocene deposits. The Black Sea Depression (XV) is very deep and stretches latitudinally, being bounded on the south by the uplifted and mountainous structures of Taman, Kerch, the Crimea, and Dobrudja, and on the north by the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. The eastern part of this depression grades into the Caucasian Foredeep. In the Ukrainian territory, the Mediterranean Geosynclinal Region includes the northern slope of the Black Sea Depression, the Azov-Kuban Depression (XVc), Kerch and Taman dislocations, megaanticlines of the Carpathians, the Crimea, and the Caucasus (8), Dobrudja (XVI), and some minor elements.

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3. SOILS

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Differences in climatic elements, in topography, and in parental rocks have caused the diversity of soils in Ukraine. From the north-northeast to the south-southwest three belts of soil groups occur:

1. The belt of podzol forest soils of Polisia which contains intrazonal bog soils. The southern boundary of this belt follows along the line Lutsk-Rivne-Kiev-Konotop.

2. The prairie-forest belt of Ukraine

in which deep loessial, leached, and degraded chernozems are found. The light gray loessial prairie-forest soils are encountered in Right-Bank Ukraine. The southern boundary of this belt follows along the line Balta-Olviopil-Yelysavethrad-Kremenchuk-Poltava-Kharkiv.

3. The belt of chernozems which extends from the lower Danube up to the Don and the Kuban, growing wider in the eastward direction. The common prairie chernozems lie in the northern part of the belt, and the southern chernozems in

the southern part. Along the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov and also along the Syvash coast the chestnut soils are encountered together with solonets and solonchak soils.

There is an analogus, although inverse, sequence of soil belts in the Crimea; the chestnut soils, along with solonets and solonchak soils, cover the northern part of the Crimea. Further to the south, the southern chernozems appear. In the forest-steppe belt of the Crimea the usual chernozems of the prairie are developed, and still farther to the south, in the mountains, the mountain soils are found.

CHERNOZEMS

Chernozems occupy two-thirds of Ukraine. The area of the Ukrainian chernozems is second only to that of America. They were formed on the clayey loess rich in free carbonates of calcium and magnesium. The colloid part of the chernozem is saturated with calcium. It also contains magnesium and, to a lesser degree, potassium. Humus comprises 5 to 6 per cent of the western Ukrainian and 9 per cent of the eastern Ukrainian chernozems. These soils ensure very high crop yields.

In origin, Ukrainian chernozems are soils of the semi-arid steppe and vary according to the climatic changes from the northwest to the southeast. Several categories of chernozems can be distinguished in Ukraine, of which the most important are the deep chernozems, the chernozems of the prairie (steppe), and the southern chernozems.

DEEP CHERNOZEMS (see Fig. 25.1) are typical of all forest-steppe regions. Six to 9 per cent humus, they have a clayey mechanical composition. Deep chernozems are the most fertile of all chernozems since they have the greatest thickness (5 to 6.5 feet, the horizon rich in humus, 16 to 24 inches). The colloidal part in the upper layer contains calcium, and the plant nutrient elements are more

active. Deep chernozems predominate in forest-steppe regions, and are also encountered in the Kuban region.

Chernozems of the prairies (see Fig. 25.2) contain about the same amount of humus (6–8 per cent), but their thickness is less than that of the deep chernozems (about three feet, the horizon rich in humus, 16 to 20 inches). Of very high fertility, they are also characterized by a slow process of mobilization of the nutrient elements under conditions of insufficient moisture. These chernozems occupy the northern part of the steppe.

SOUTHERN CHERNOZEMS (see Fig. 25.3) have a lower humus content (4–6 per cent) and the smallest thickness relative to that of other chernozem types. They occupy the southern part of the Ukrainian steppe, and are highly fertile under conditions of sufficient moisture.

There are also the following categories of chernozems which occupy comparatively small areas of Ukrainian territory: **NORTHERN CHERNOZEMS**, characterized by a sandy loamy mechanical composition and a small humus content (4–5 per cent); **CHERNOZEMS ON THE PRODUCTS OF ROCK WEATHERING** (see Fig. 25.4) which are shallow and often contain rock fragments; **CHERNOZEM-SANDY SOILS** found in the steppes and on the sandy river terraces; **CHERNOZEM-MEADOW SOILS**, and **ERODED CHERNOZEMS**.

CHESTNUT SOILS

Chestnut soils (see Fig. 25.5) are similar to chernozems, but are characterized by the presence of cations of sodium in the absorbing colloidal complex. As the salinization of the soil increases, the smaller becomes the proportion of the absorbed cations of calcium and magnesium while the amount of sodium increases; the chestnut soils gradually change into salinized chestnut soils and solonets soils (see Fig. 25.6). These soils occupy the steppe along the Black Sea shores. Their fertility is much lower than that of chernozems, so that certain agri-

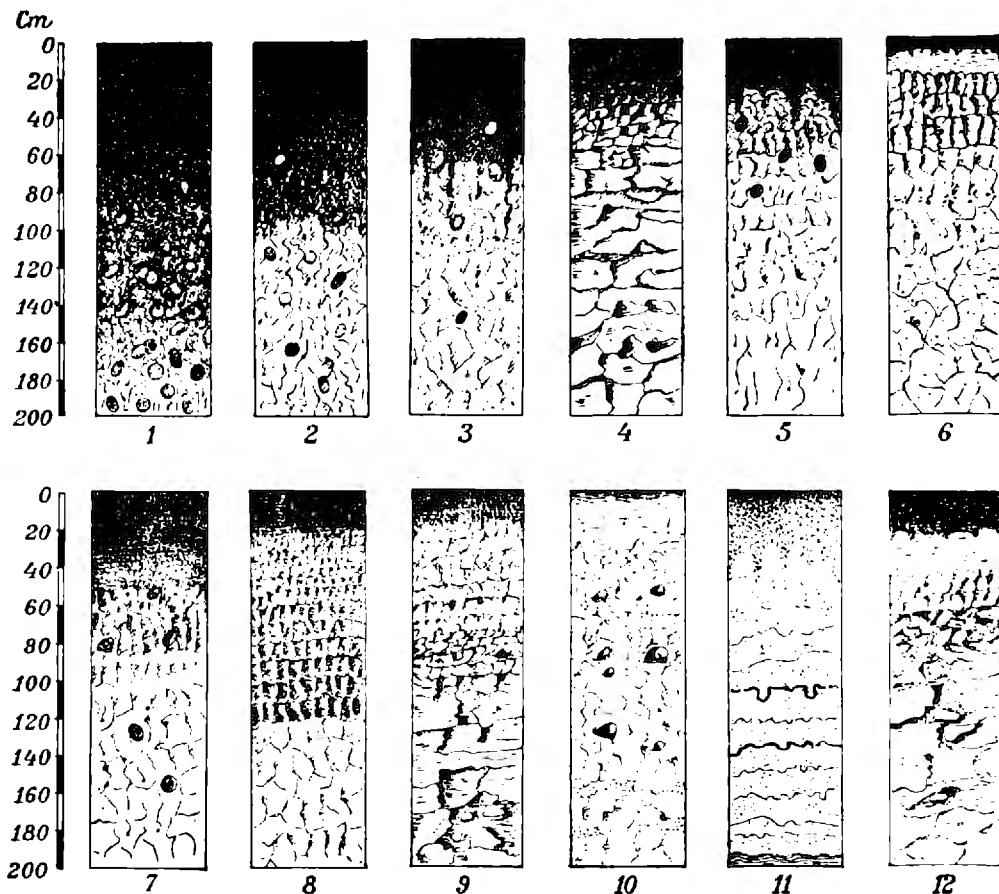


FIGURE 25

(1) *Deep chernozem of the forest-steppe regions*: 0-24 in., a humus layer of dark gray color, contains 8-12 per cent humus; 24-71 in., a transitional layer of darkish gray color with many mole-holes filled by soil from the upper layer, contains precipitated calcium carbonate crystals; 71 in., parental rock, loess rich in calcium carbonate. (2) *Chernozem of the prairie*: 0-16 in., a humus layer of dark gray color, containing 7-9 per cent humus; 16-40 in., a transitional gray layer with white stripes of carbonate crystals; 40 in., loess, a few mole-holes, filled by soil from the upper layer. (3) *Southern chernozem*: 0-12 in., a darkish brown-gray humus layer containing 4-6 per cent humus; 12-28 in., a light gray layer with dark tongues of humus; 28-47 in., pale yellow loess with carbonate nodules; 47 in., parental rock, carbonated loess. (4) *Chernozem on the products of rock weathering*: 0-8 in., a gray humus layer containing 4-5 per cent humus; 8-16 in., a transitional layer colored by humus and containing fragments of rocks; 16-28 in., parental rock broken by joints. (5) *Chestnut solonized soil*: 0-8 in., a humus chestnut gray layer containing 2.5-3 per cent humus; 8-16 in., a transitional layer characterized by dark humus tongues filling joints in the soil; 16-24 in., a compacted claylike layer with a prismatic structure; 24 in., loess, with gypsum and soluble sodium salts, in addition to carbonates. (6) *Solonets (saline) soil*: 0-8 in., a light gray layer slightly colored by humus in the upper part; 8-24 in., a highly compacted claylike layer divided by joints into pieces of prismatic form; 24 in., loess, with a high content of sodium salts. (7) *Degraded chernozem of forest-steppe regions*: 0-12 in., a dark gray humus layer containing 3-3.5 per cent humus; 12-20 in., a transitional layer; 20-35 in., a compacted claylike layer; at a depth of 35 in. a concentration of calcium carbonates begins; 35 in., pale yellow loess with a high content of calcium carbonates. (8) *Gray forest podzolized soil*: 0-8 in., a light gray humus layer containing 1.5-2.5 per cent humus; 8-47 in., a greatly compacted layer rich in colloids and having a

cultural measures are needed to ensure high crop yields.

PODZOLIZED SOILS OF THE FOREST-STEPPE

The extension of deciduous forests in the northern Ukrainian steppes (contemporary forest-steppe regions) proceeded gradually as the dry and cold climate of the first half of the post-glacial period became warmer and more humid. Different deciduous trees spread with varying degrees of rapidity in regions formerly occupied by steppes with well-developed chernozems.

A forest growing on chernozems substantially alters the soil, causes decomposition of organic elements, and creates acid humus. Under such influences the soil becomes leached of calcium, and, in its colloid complex, hydrogen to some extent replaces the calcium. The colloid part of the soil partly undergoes peptization and moves into the deeper layers of the soil where, encountering calcium, it again coagulates, thus forming a dense colloidal level. The degree of this process of degradation or podzolization of the chernozem under a forest provides the basis for the classification of Ukrainian forest-steppe soils.

DEGRADED CHERNOZEM and GRAY FOREST PODZOLIZED SOILS of various degrees of degradation appear among the chernozems in forest-steppe regions, particularly in the northeastern part and in the west, where forests covered vast areas.

DEGRADED CHERNOZEM (see Fig. 25.7), although still preserving chernozem habitus, is leached of calcium carbonate to a depth of about three feet. Chemical analyses of these soils compared with those of the chernozems show some lowering of the proportion of absorbed calcium and magnesium, and also the presence of hydrogen in the absorbing complex of the soil. To obtain an abundant harvest, the amount of potassium, nitrogen, and organic fertilizers applied has to be increased.

GRAY FOREST PODZOLIZED SOILS (see Fig. 25.8) have a humus layer only about 8 inches thick bordering immediately on the illuvio-colloidal layer, which forms over half of the soil's profile. Deep plowing and the application of lime, mineral fertilizers, and manure are the measures required to secure an abundant harvest.

GRAY PODZOL SOILS OF THE FOREST

The podzol soils are found in north and northwestern Ukraine. Here the sandy fluvio-glacial deposits are spread. Under the conditions of the humid continental climate and under coniferous and mixed forests the acid podzol soils were formed on the fluvio-glacial deposits.

The podzol profile (see Figs. 25.10, 25.11) has four genetic layers. At the very top, lying at the soil surface, is a layer of vegetation. Below this is a thin acid layer rich in and slightly colored

characteristic prismatic structure; 47 in., loose loess; at a depth of 47 in. a distinctive line, below which the soil is rich in calcium carbonates. (9) *Brown soil on the products of rock weatherings*: 0-8 in., a brown-gray humus layer; 8-31 in., a brown layer colored by iron hydroxides; 31-40 in., fragments of weathered rocks; 40 in., rock. (10) *Podzol soil on moraine*: 0-12 in., a whitish gray layer, in its upper part slightly colored by humus (contains 1.5-2 per cent); 12-40 in., glacial till composed of loam with admixture of sand and gravel. (11) *Sandy podzol soil*: 0-4 in., a light gray humus layer containing about 1 per cent humus; 4-16 in., yellow sand with gray spots; 16-71 in., white sand with compact brown laminae (ortstein); at a depth of about 6.5 ft. a layer cemented by iron and manganese hydroxides (ortstein). (12) *Mountain moss peat podzolic soil*: 0-12 in., a peaty dark layer; 12-18 in., a whitish podzolic layer, from which salts are leached and claylike particles removed; 18-24 in., a compacted layer, rich in claylike particles; 24-31 in., fragments of rock; 31 in., solid rock broken by joints.

by humus. This horizon abounds in colloids and is a zone of interaction between acids and bases. Below it is a distinctive light-colored zone; this is the strongly leached horizon from which colloids and bases have been carried down. Then comes a compacted brownish layer of a heavy clayey consistency.

Owing to a low percentage of humus and to their acidity the podzol soils are low in fertility, the degree of which depends on the clay content in the soils. Fertility is lowest in the sandy podzol soils, somewhat higher in the clayey-sandy soils, and highest in podzols formed on clays, although it is still much lower than that of the forest-steppe soils formed on loess. To increase fertility an intensive application of lime is necessary, as well as application of green manure and mineral fertilizers, and deep plowing.

PODZOL SANDY SOILS (Fig. 25.11) and **PODZOL CLAYEY SOILS** (Fig. 25.10) are two principal varieties of podzol soils encountered in Ukraine. Their distribution depends on parental rocks. Sandy soils prevail in Polisia, the northern part of the Chernihiv area, the Sian (San) Lowland, the Buh (Bug) basin, and Little Polisia. They usually cover the sandy river terraces in the forest-steppe region. The clayey soils are found over much of Subcarpathia and Podlachia and they also form islands among the sandy soils of the Polisia and Chernihiv area.

INTRAZONAL SOILS

BOG SOILS are formed under poor drainage conditions. The soil is saturated most of the time and plant decay is greatly retarded. A peat layer is often formed at the top. Below this is a horizon of sticky, structureless clay known as the gley horizon. For cultivation, bog soils require preliminary draining and then the application of appropriate mineral fertilizers.

The bog soils of Ukraine may be divided into a few varieties depending

on the thickness of the peat layer and on the amount of mineral particles. There are, for example, **SEDGE PEAT SOILS**, **SEDGE PEAT AND GREEN MOSS PEAT SOILS**, and **WHITE MOSS PEAT SOILS**. The bog soils are found in northern Ukraine, especially in the basin of the Prypiat River (the Pinsk Marshes) and in the basin of the Dnieper above Kiev. The bog soils are also developed in the flood plains of rivers in Subcarpathia.

MEADOW SOILS are formed on the flood plains of streams and other lowlands where the drainage, although poor, is somewhat better than in the bogs. The thick humus-rich layer is developed, overlying a sticky gley horizon. In the flood plains of rivers in Polisia the meadow soils are usually leached; in the flood plains of rivers in the Left-Bank steppe (the Poltava and Chernihiv areas) they are rich in calcium carbonate, sometimes contain sodium, and are salinized; in the flood plains of the southern streams, especially those discharging into the Black Sea, they are represented by chloridesulfatic saline soils (solonets-soils).

To increase their natural fertility, the Polisia meadow soils require systematic applications of green manure, organic and mineral fertilizers, and peat. The gley meadow soils require drainage and fertilizers.

AZONAL SOILS

MOUNTAIN SOILS (Fig. 25.12) are developed on the products of weathering of solid rocks. Therefore, they are shallow and usually contain many rock fragments. Varieties of mountain soils depend on the kind of parental rock, elevation, nature of vegetation, and especially the forest type. Local conditions also have a bearing on the varieties.

The following varieties are often found in the Carpathians: the podzol and podzol-gray forest soils, which are encountered in areas covered by fir-tree forests; the brown soils, which prevail in areas of

beech woods and are similar to podzol soils, but do not have a whitish layer and are less leached. The Carpathian soils always contain rock fragments. The peat-gley podzolized soils and mountain-meadow soils are typical of alpine meadow soils; the meadow soils are developed in the valleys.

The podzol soils are found at high elevations of the western Caucasus Mountains in areas covered by coniferous forests. The brown soils are developed on the slopes of the western Caucasian Mountains and in the forest zone of the Crimean Mountains. Owing to a warmer climate, these brown soils are darker than those of the Carpathian Mountains and contain more calcium carbonates.

The mountain-meadow soils are developed at the highest elevations of the Crimean Mountains.

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4. RELIEF AND LANDFORMS

RELIEF

General Characteristics

Ukraine is morphologically a part of the East European plain, and the flatness of the country is the prevailing feature of its topography. The highest point in the compact ethnic territory is Hoverlia in the Carpathian Mountains (6,800 ft.), while the peaks of the western Caucasus which rise to 11,500 ft. are the highest points in the mixed territory; the greatest depth recorded in the Black Sea (-7,360 ft.) represents the lowest point.

The average altitude of the Ukrainian lands is only 679 ft., which is 276 ft. less than that of Europe in its entirety (955 ft.). The highlands which are found only in the southern borderlands of Ukraine do not extend much horizontally. About 1.5 per cent of Ukrainian territory rises above 1,000 m. (3,280 ft.) and some 3.5 per cent above 500 m. (1,640 ft.). More

than two-thirds of Ukraine (68.5 per cent) has an altitude of 100-300 m. (328-984 ft.).

Zonal Arrangement

The topography of Ukraine is characterized by parallel belts which extend from west to east, with the exception of the northeastern part, where the relief belts run from northwest to southeast. The individual belts are not uniform throughout their extent, but are often interrupted by areas of different topographic character. There are four or five belts to be distinguished (see Fig. 26):

1. The belt of folded mountains: the Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains and the Caucasus; the mountains are separated by the Black Sea and the Moldavian Plain. South of the Carpathians lies the Tysa River Lowland.

2. The belt of submontane and south-

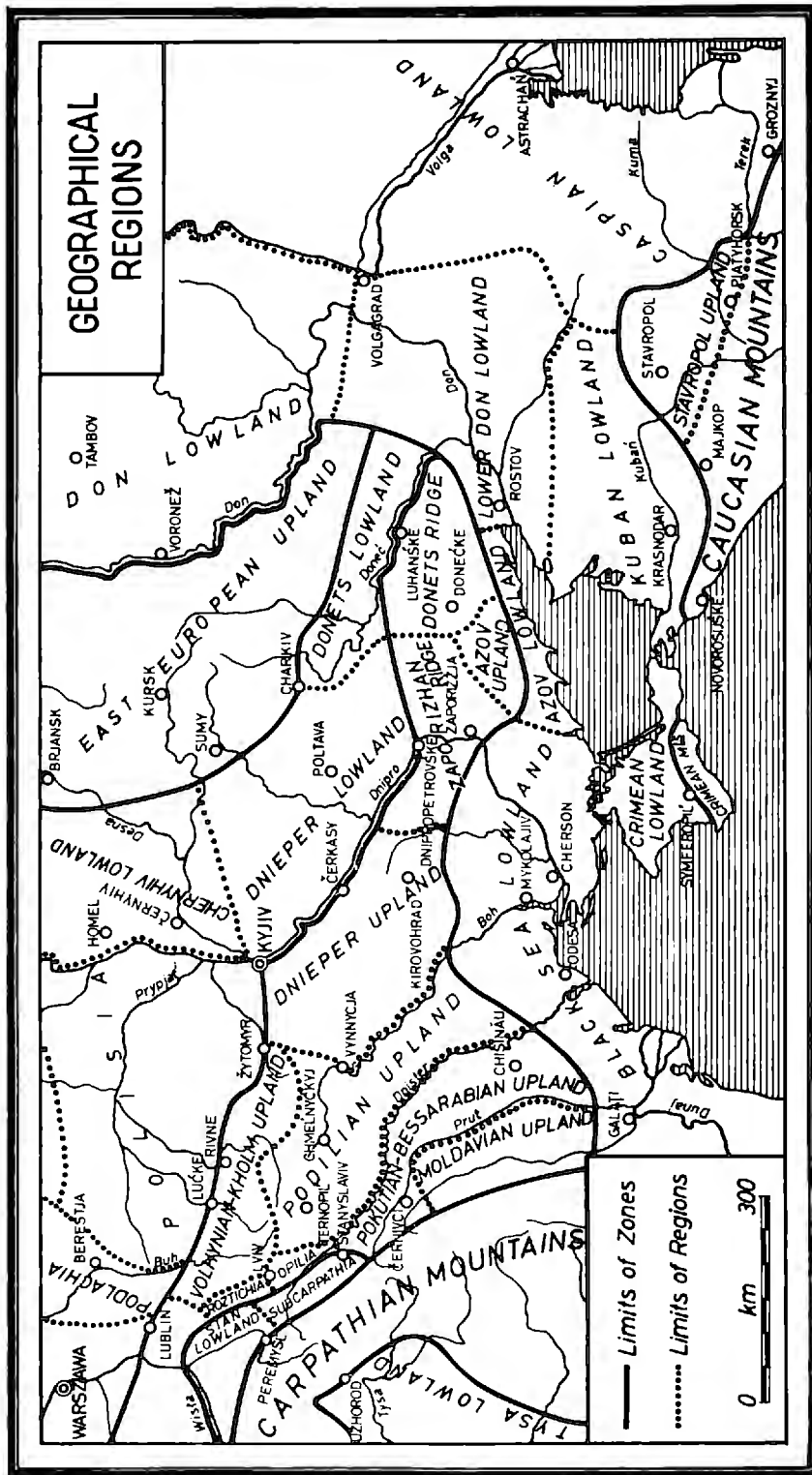


FIGURE 28. GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS (V. Kubijskyj)

ern depressions: the Sian (San) and Dniester Lowlands, Subcarpathia, and the Black Sea Lowland. This belt is not continuous throughout. East of the city of Stanyslaviv it disappears and emerges again near the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. This coastal lowland is again interrupted by the Azov Uplands and the Donets Ridge and could be divided into the Black Sea or Pontic Lowland, the narrow Azov Lowland, and the depression extending from the Sea of Azov to the Caspian Sea and comprising the Lower Don, Kuban, and Caspian Lowlands (Kuma-Manych Depression).

3. The belt of uplands: a compact belt which extends from the Vistula River in the west to the Dnieper River in the east and comprises the Roztichia (Opilia), the Podilian, the Pokutian-Bessarabian, the Volhynian-Kholm, and the Right-Bank or Dnieper Uplands. East of the Dnieper the belt of Ukrainian uplands ends with the Donets Ridge which is

adjacent to the so-called Zaporizhian Ridge; this is a narrow outcrop of crystalline rocks in the Dnieper channel which connects the Dnieper Upland with the Azov or Berdiansk-Mariupil Upland.

4. The belt of the northern lowlands, which includes Podlachia, Polisia, the Chernihiv Lowland, the Left-Bank or Dnieper Lowland, and the Donets Lowland.

5. A completely separate topographic region, formed by the southern spurs of the East European Upland which enters Ukraine from the northeast.

The characteristic feature of this zonal arrangement of the Ukrainian relief is that, with the exception of the western part of the Ukrainian lands, the lowlands inconspicuously and gradually pass into the uplands which then end with an escarpment; the next lowland in turn rises and descends again. This character of topography is illustrated on the topographic profiles in Figures 27-29.

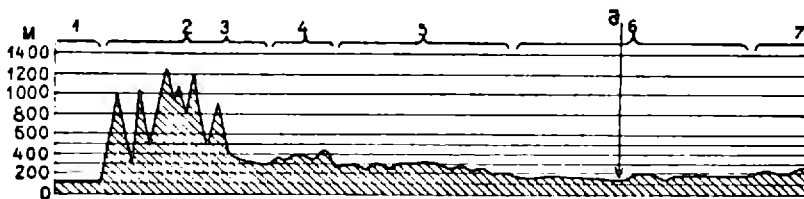


FIGURE 27. PROFILE ACROSS WESTERN UKRAINE ALONG THE LINE MUKACHIV-STRYI-BIBRKA-VOLODYMYR VOLYNSKY-KOBYRN

(1) Tysa Lowland; (2) the Carpathians; (3) Subcarpathia; (4) Podilia; (5) Volhynia; (6) Polisia; (7) Belorussian Upland; (a) Prypiat River.



FIGURE 28. PROFILE ACROSS CENTRAL UKRAINE ALONG THE LINE MYKOLAIV-KREMENCHUK-SUMY-OREL

(1) Black Sea Lowland; (2) Dnieper Upland; (3) Dnieper Lowland; (4) East European Upland; (a) Dnieper River.



FIGURE 29. PROFILE ACROSS THE EASTERN MARGIN OF UKRAINE ALONG THE LINE TUAPSE-KRASNODAR-LUHANSKE-VORONEZH

(1) Caucasus; (2) Kuban Lowland; (3) Tahanrih Bay; (4) Donets Ridge; (5) Lower Don Lowland; (6) Don Upland; (7) Upper Don Lowland; (a) Donets River; (b) Don River.

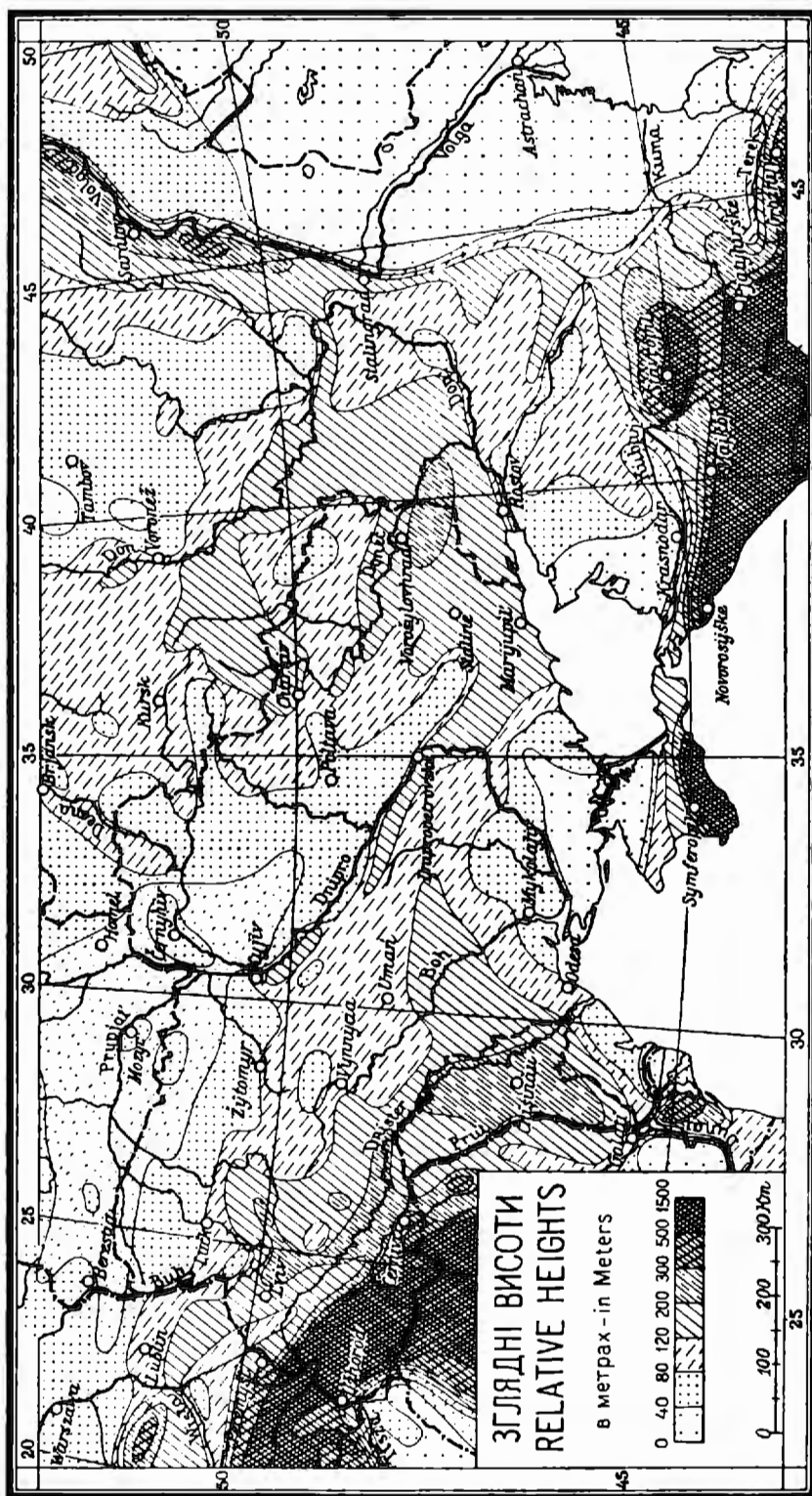


FIGURE 30. RELATIVE ELEVATIONS IN METERS (V. Kubijovyč)

Relative Elevations

The relief of the Ukrainian lands, that is, the difference in elevation between divide summits and valley bottoms varies in different parts of Ukraine (see Fig. 30).

The smoothest relief is found in the belt of the northern lowlands. In Polisia, for example, the differences in elevations generally are less than 40 m. per 1,000 sq. km. (131.2 ft. per 386 sq. mi.), and in some places even less than 25 m. (82 ft.). The average difference in Podlachia is 40 m. (157.9 ft.) and, in the Chernihiv area, 52 m. (170.6 ft.). The relief of the Dnieper Lowland is about the same as that of the neighboring uplands.

The belt of southern lowlands is much more dissected. Only the eastern part of the Black Sea Lowland, the Crimean Lowland, and a small part of the Kuban Lowland have differences in elevation of less than 40 m. per 1,000 sq. km. (131.2 ft. per 386 sq. mi.).

In the mountains the difference in elevation between low and high points is more than 1,000 m. (3,280 ft.); in the Chornohora, the Gorgans, and the Hutsul Alps they reach 1,500 m. (4,921 ft.), and in the Caucasus much more.

The rather monotonous Ukrainian uplands have relative elevations mostly in the 40–80 m. range (131–262 ft.), although many variations are to be found; for example, the western part of Podilia is more dissected than the Dnieper Upland; the Donets Ridge has a higher relief than the Azov Upland; the Pokutian-Bessarabian Upland is more rugged than the Volhynian-Kholm Upland. Great differences in elevations appear when uplands end in escarpments, as the northern slope of Podilia, the steep bank of the Dnieper River, particularly in the areas of the so-called Kievan and Kaniv Mountains, the *Sviati Hory* (Holy Mountains), that is, a section of the steep right bank of the Donets River, the steep banks of the Don River, and the Yergeni Hills. Other areas with a rugged relief are the uplands of Roztichia, Opilia, the ravined

part of Podilia, Berdo in the northwestern part of the Pokutian-Bessarabian Upland, and the hills of Kodry in the southern part of this upland, as well as Subcarpathia and the Stavropol Upland.

LANDFORMS

Forces Determining the Landscape of Ukraine

As any landscape in the world, the modern landforms in Ukraine represent the existing stage in the interaction of internal earth forces and external agents. The influence of geologic structure upon shapes and sizes of landforms is quite profound. Among the land-sculpturing agents running water and glaciers have had the greatest effect in the creation of landforms in Ukraine, the action of waves and wind being of less significance.

Geological structure. In the past the Ukrainian territory underwent many uplifting and subsiding actions with ensuing transgression and regression of shallow seas and the deposition of marine sediment. Therefore a great variety of bedrock is to be found in Ukraine having varying resistance to all agents of weathering and erosion. The same external forces affect differently hard crystalline rocks, soft clays, and loess.

Tectonic processes. In regions of recent tectonic movement the modern mountain ranges were formed—the Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains, and the Caucasus. The rest of the Ukrainian territory may be divided into two categories: the regions of downsinking and the regions of uplift. Some areas, for example the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield and to a certain degree the Donets Ridge, have always been areas of uplift.

Young Quaternary movements (see p. 60) were of specific importance in shaping modern landscapes. The areas of uplift, which include the belt of uplands, have been subjected to intensive erosion, cutting deep valleys and dissecting the land masses. The areas of downsinking,

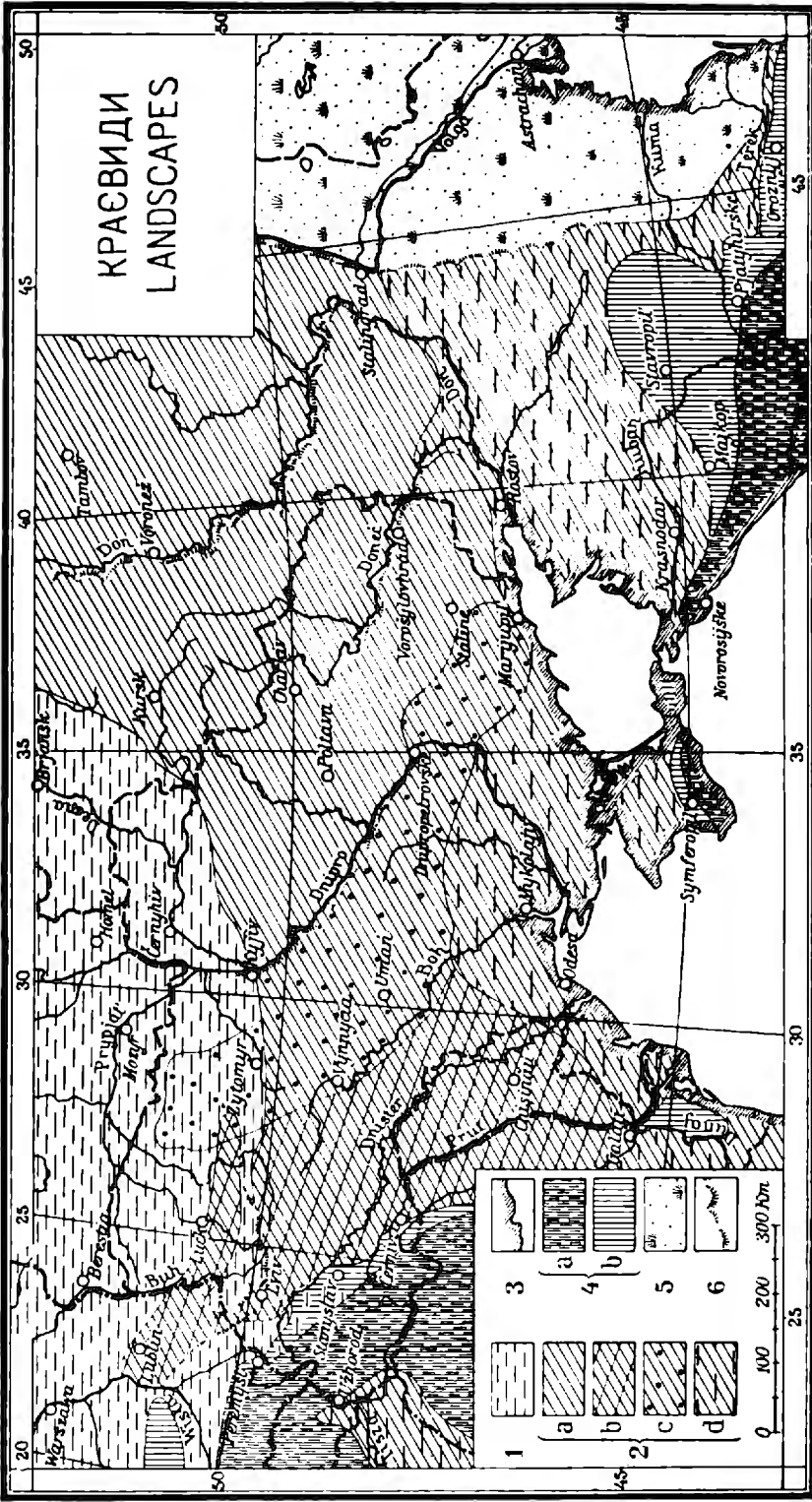


FIGURE 31. LANDSCAPES OF UKRAINE (V. Kubijovyč.)

- (1) Landscapes of glacial topography; (2) Landscapes of erosive topography with gullies and ravines, including (a) landscape of gullies and ravine-like formations, (b) plateau landscape, (c) landscapes of the Crystalline Shield, (d) Lowland landscapes; (3) Coastal landscapes; (4a) Mountain landscape; (4b) Foothills landscape; (5) Landscape of arid steppe; (6) Abrupt changes in relief.

which include the lowlands, have been characterized by the gradual disappearance of the erosive activity of the streams, which flow very slowly and fill up their channels with silt, resulting in the formation of swamps in the river valleys.

Great differences in relief of many regions and the direction of some large Ukrainian rivers are due to tectonic movements, as is the case with the northern edge of Podilia and the high right bank of the Dnieper. The Boh River flows a considerable distance along the northwestern edge of the Crystalline Shield; the Don flows a certain distance along the edge of the Voronezh Horst. On the other hand, Roztichia and the Yergeni Hills present flat young anticlines.

However, only in mountains was tectonics the main factor in creating a contemporary landscape. The action of running water and glaciation were of prime importance in all other areas.

The influence of glaciation. Apart from the belt of the folded mountains, wide plains stretch over all the Ukrainian territory. Thick layers of Quaternary sediment cover complicated and diverse structures. There is a distinct difference between the areas in northern Ukraine, which either underwent glaciation or were located near the edge of the ice sheet, and the rest of the territory. While glacial and fluvio-glacial accumulations are typical of northern Ukraine, a vast plain lying farther south and extending to the seas is covered by thick loess deposits. Running water has been vigorously active here, having created a landscape of normal erosion.

Present agents. With the receding of the last ice sheet the whole of Ukraine has been subjected almost exclusively to the influence of external forces which are now responsible for the land sculpture. The present contours of relief have been formed in the process of small topographic changes which are closely connected with the specific features of the geologic structure.

Landscapes of Ukraine

Several distinctive types of landscapes are found in Ukraine (Fig. 31) and they are as follows: (1) mountain landscapes—mountains of high and medium elevation—the Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains, and the Caucasus; (2) landscapes of glacial topography; (3) landscapes of erosive topography, also called landscapes of normal erosion and loessial landscapes; (4) coastal landscapes, as along the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Asov.

Certain varieties could be distinguished within each type.

Landscapes of Glacial Topography

General characteristics. These landscapes characterize the whole belt of the northern Ukrainian lowland, that is, the area north of the line Lublin-Kholm (Chelm)-Volodymyr Volynsky-Zhytomyr-Kiev-Nizhyn-Putyvl. They occur in places in the Sian and Dniester Lowlands and in Subcarpathia.

On the territory formerly covered by the Pleistocene ice sheet and in adjacent areas three separate types of landscapes of glacial topography were formed: (*a*) a landscape of the ground moraine—in the areas once covered by the ice sheet; (*b*) a landscape of the terminal moraine—in the areas which were adjacent to the ice edge; (*c*) the outwash plains—formed by braided streams issuing from the ice.

The area of landscape of glacial topography does not coincide precisely with the area once covered by the ice sheet. On a certain portion of formerly glaciated area thick layers of loess were deposited (for example, the Dnieper glacier bulge); on the other hand, the outwash plains were formed south of the greatest extent of the ice sheet.

The lands of glacial topography for the most part are heavily forested, the soils are of low fertility, and the region is moderately populated.

The landscape of the ground moraine (Fig. 32) appears in the basins of the upper Dnieper, the Desna, and the



FIGURE 32. LANDSCAPE OF THE GROUND MORAINNE NEAR LOHICHYN (NEAR PINSK) IN POLISIA
The ground moraine appears as an island (with a windmill) amidst swamps.

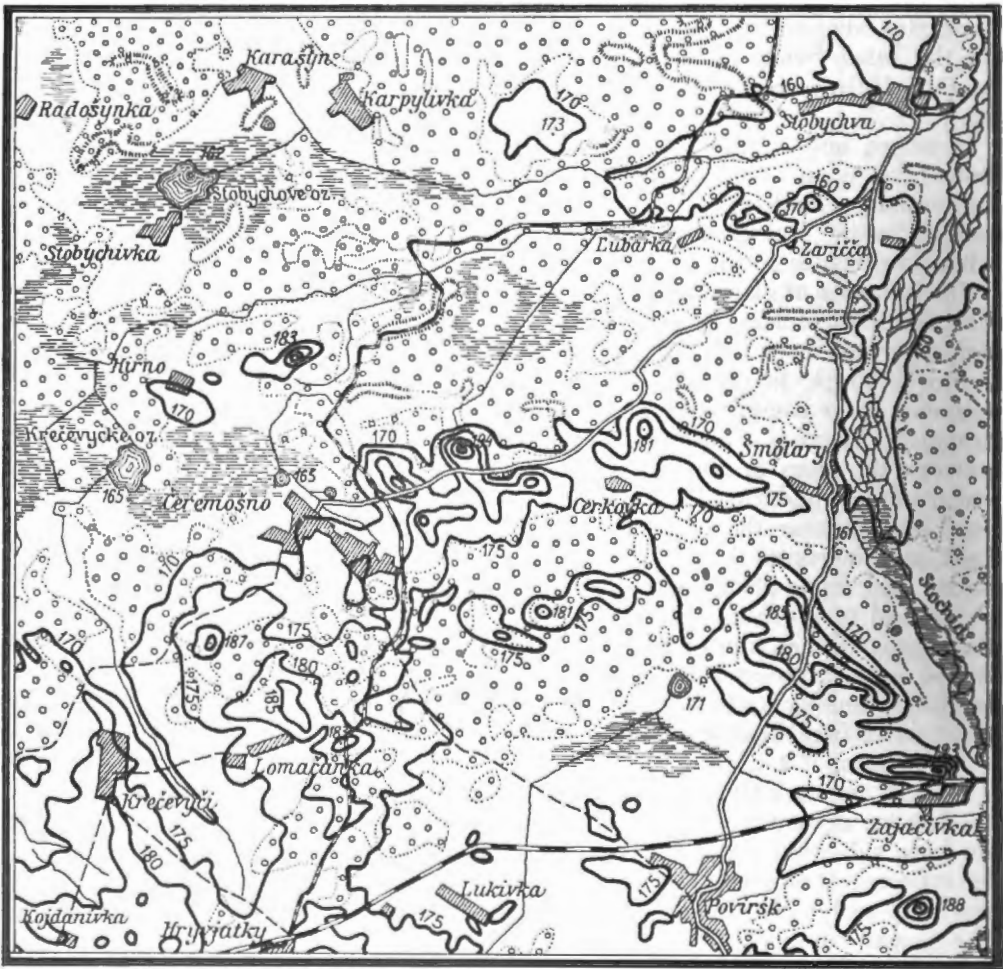


FIGURE 33. GLACIAL LANDSCAPE
Terminal moraines and outwash plains in Volhynian Polisia, northeast of Kovel. Scale 1:1,000,000, contour intervals 5 m.

middle Boh, as well as in marginal areas of Polisia. All this area presents a plain with rare and irregularly distributed hills with flat tops and gentle slopes. The entire area is covered by glacial till, largely composed of clay with an admixture of boulders.

Sand is common in places of higher elevation on which pine trees are typical. Wide and swampy river valleys are a characteristic feature of the landscape described. Terraces covered by sand dunes or swamps stretch along the rivers. The development of extensive swamps is due to the presence of impervious

whose low percentage of humus and acidity do not especially lend themselves to agriculture. Extensive forests, mostly coniferous, are distributed in the area. The population density is low.

The landscape of the terminal moraine (Figs. 33, 34) is found in the Volodava area, near the Svytiaz Lake, south of Liuboml, near Kovel and Chortoryisk, and along the right bank of the Styr River. This landscape is more dissected than that previously described. Rather high hills protrude above swampy flat plains. Hills of varied petrographic composition occur in successive curving rows



FIGURE 34. THE TERMINAL MORAINE ON THE STYR RIVER NEAR RAFAILIVKA VILLAGE
Beyond the Styr River, the hills of the terminal moraine rise about 260 ft. above river level.

moraine clays and to the slow run-off because of the slight slope of the whole area. Small shallow lakes occur in depressions among hills containing remains of moraine.

The area associated with the ground moraine is covered with podzol soils

which usually form watersheds. Broad river valleys and swamps occupy areas between hills. Eskers, i.e. chains of hills, occur in places and indicate the direction of glacier movement.

The outwash plains (Figs. 33, 35) lie in front of the terminal moraine in the



FIGURE 35. THE SANDY OUTWASH PLAIN IN THE VICINITY OF PINSK

Dunes are seen in the foreground and the low peat bogs of the Prypiat river valley in the background.

borderland between Volhynia and Polisia, as well as in the area of the Desna River and its left-bank tributaries; it is also found in the lowlands of Subcarpathia. This vast flat plain is covered by fluvio-glacial and lacustrine deposits on which dunes are developed, characteristically overgrown by coniferous forests.

Landscapes of Erosive Topography

General characteristics. Except for the coastal areas and mountains, which were not subjected to glaciation, the Ukrainian lands are characterized chiefly by an erosive form of topography. Here gully-ing and ravining, landslides and loess karst phenomena are common.

The most favorable conditions for gully-ing and ravining are present in elevated sections covered with loess and other friable strata. Such conditions occur frequently in Ukraine, whose extensive loess deposits are easily washed away by surface and ground waters. The non-uniform distribution of annual pre-

cipitation, lack of forests, and some human activities have made for a greater intensity of erosion.

In contrast to areas of glacial topography, which are characterized by soils of low fertility, the landscapes of erosive topography are distinguished by the development of chernozems. The vegetation is also different. While forests prevail in areas of glacial topography, forest-steppe and steppe cover the areas of erosive topography; they represent some of the finest, most productive agricultural lands in the world, with a dense population.

Thus there is a distinctly marked natural boundary between the two main landscapes of Ukraine.

In spite of the uniform loess cover, certain variations may be recognized in the gullied landscape of erosive topography. These variations depend in the main on the character of the surface strata, the nature of the tectonic movement, and the height of the region.



FIGURE 36. LANDSCAPE OF EROSION TOPOGRAPHY IN POLTAVA REGION
Forest-steppe, Pslo River.

After tectonic movements raised the Cretaceous-Tertiary Western Ukrainian Plateau, a new erosion cycle started which sculptured a peculiar scarp-slope-shelf landscape. Where the crystalline rocks come to the surface, or close to it, a landscape characteristic for the Crystalline Shield is formed. The landscape of gullies and ravine-like formations is typical for the Dnieper Lowland and for



FIGURE 37. TYPICAL GULLIES IN THE LOESS AREA
The valley slope of the Lopan River near Kharkiv.

spurs of the East European Upland. The Black Sea Lowlands present a separate type of lowland landscape. There are regional variations within these landscapes.

The landscape of gullies and ravine-like formations appears in places where erosion is the predominant factor in the formation of the relief. The Donets Ridge, the extension of the East European Upland, and the whole Dnieper Lowland are characterized by this type of landscape.

Ravines and gullies are the most characteristic features of this landscape. The following factors have contributed to their formation: the presence of a thick loess cover, the friable unconsolidated rocks underlying loess, the continental climate, and the virgin steppe vegetation. A distinct feature of the landscape described is the asymmetry of river valleys and of the watershed areas: the right banks of river valleys usually drop steeply to the river (Fig. 38). The right-bank slopes are dissected by ravines and

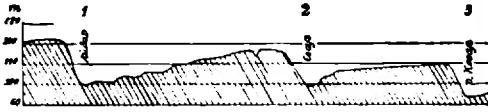


FIGURE 38. PROFILE IN THE AREA OF THE GULLY-RAVINE LANDSCAPES IN THE KHARKIV AREA

(1) Aidar; (2) Yevsuh; (3) Kyvsuh. The asymmetry of the valleys and watersheds is striking. Horizontal scale 1:252,000; vertical scale 1:8,000.

gullies. Wide flood plains with oxbow lakes and meadows are found on left banks. Dunes are often developed on the terraces lying above the flood plains. The highest terraces are covered by a thick layer of loess. Further from the river the left bank rises gently and changes inconspicuously into a flat or slightly undulating watershed, which then again steeply drops to the next stream. This alternation of the landscape elements repeats continuously. The vast areas of watersheds form in places an almost ideal plain. Settlements in the landscape under discussion are located either on the higher terraces covered by loess or in the river valleys. Generally, no settlements are found within dry watersheds.

The ravines are largest in depth and length in areas of greatest differences in elevations, as on spurs of the East European Upland, where ravines are most widely developed. There is not much difference between the landscape of the lowest sections of the Dnieper Lowland and that of the Black Sea Lowland. The landscapes of the Dnieper valley, and of valleys of the Dnieper's left-bank tributaries, as well as the landscape of the



FIGURE 39. THE DONETS RIDGE; OAK FORESTS



FIGURE 40. THE HIGH RIGHT BANK OF THE DONETS RIVER, SVIATI HORY AND SVIATOHORSKE RESORT

Donets Ridge, differ somewhat from one another.

THE DNEIPEER LOWLAND (Fig. 42) is associated with the Dnieper-Donets Trough. This lowland existed before the Pleistocene glacial epoch and the ice sheet, shoving forward a long bulge, moved along the lowland. The rising Crystalline Shield dammed the southward course of the outwash water, which then forced its way through the hard rocks. Because of a reduced gradient, the Dnieper River and its left-bank tributaries began to fill up their valleys with rock waste, after which cut-offs, oxbow lakes, and islands were formed. The flood plains were covered by sand, which in places was transported by wind to the higher loess terraces, where real dunes appeared. In this way the landscape along the Dnieper River acquired some features of the sandy outwash plain of Polisia. In areas situated farther from the river, typical features of the landscape

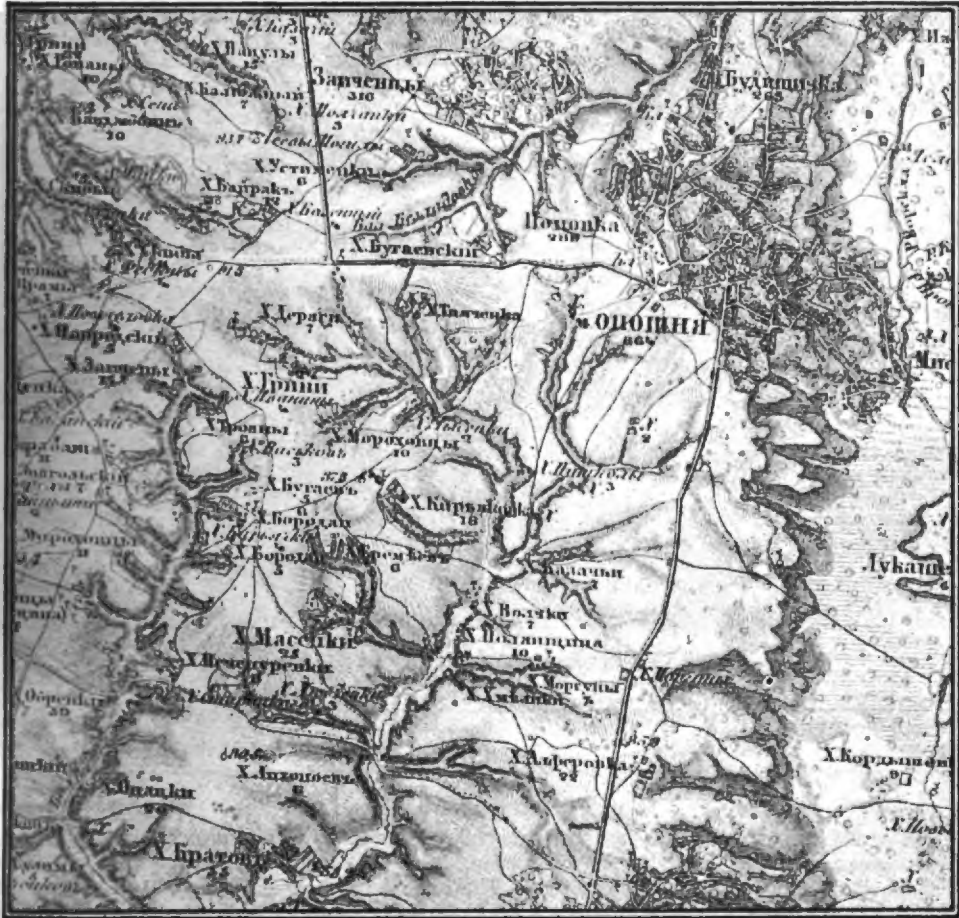


FIGURE 41. THE LANDSCAPE OF GULLIES AND RAVINE-LIKE FORMATIONS IN THE POLTAVA REGION, NEAR OPISHNIA

A section of a Russian military map scaled 1:126,000. Note the wide Vorskla river valley with its wet forests and meadows. Its right bank is high, steep, and dissected by ravines.

of gullies and ravine formations are present, their prominence being proportional to the distance from the river.

THE DONETS RIDGE is characterized by peculiar landforms. Once a mountainous country (see "Geology," p. 57) built by folding and faulting, the area was later eroded and subjected to sea transgressions. Recent post-Tertiary rising initiated a new phase of erosion. The Donets Ridge today presents a slightly undulating upland with gentle slopes and young valleys. The loess covers the area except those places of higher ele-

vation from which it has been eroded. *Sviati Hory* (HOLY MOUNTAINS) are the picturesque cliffs of the high right bank of the Donets River (the relative height ranges up to 230 feet).

The lowland landscapes extend to the south and southeast from the areas of erosive topography. They are developed in the Black Sea and Sea of Azov Lowlands, as well as in the Low Don, the Kuban, and the Caspian Lowlands. It is almost an ideal flat steppe land. The general monotonous landscape is broken only by small lakes and depressions, in

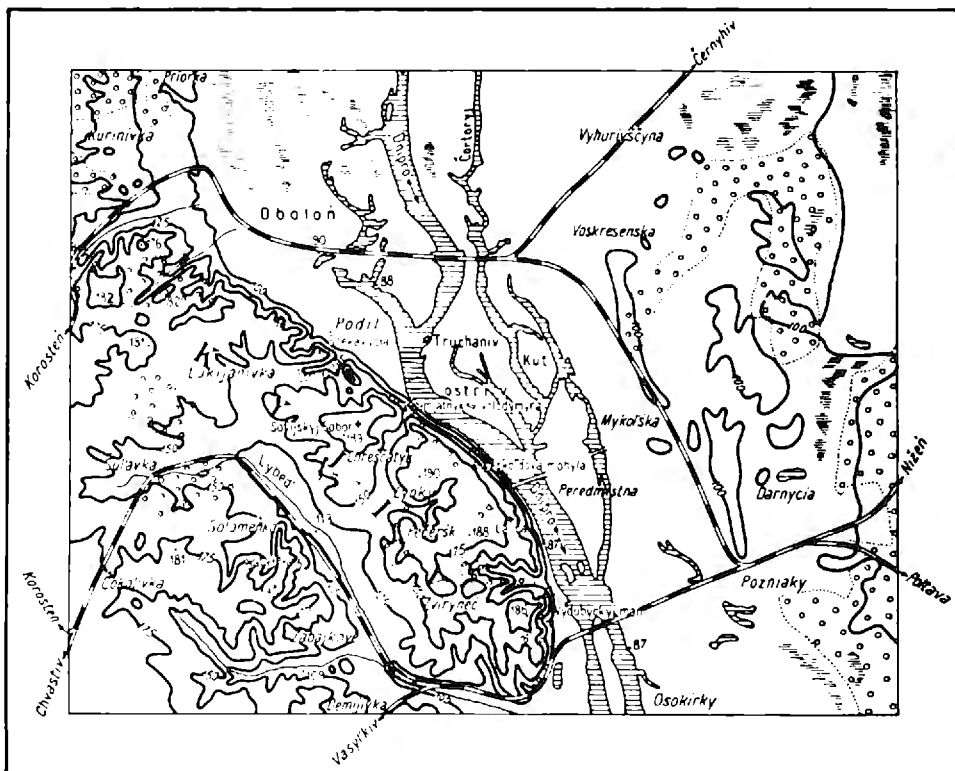


FIGURE 42. KIEV AND VICINITY

Approximate scale 1:150,000; contour interval 25 m. For better presentation of relief, settlements are left out. Kiev lies on the border of three physiographic provinces, the Dnieper Upland, the Dnieper Lowland, and Polisia. The map shows how the smooth and almost flat Dnieper Upland drops sharply toward the Dnieper River, how the bank is cut by ravines. In the east, the low flat Dnieper Lowland, and in the northwest—Polisia. The Dnieper forms oxbow lakes and islands.

which saline soils are developed, in the western part of the area, and by many *poly* in the eastern part. The term *poly* refers to the saucerlike depressions in the steppe. These depressions range in length from a few feet to several miles, and in depth from several inches to 15–20 feet. In spring they are often filled with water; in summer they are covered by succulent grass. The small *poly* are formed as a result of the leaching out of salts from the soil and subsoil and the subsequent settling of the ground; the large *poly* are probably associated with the location of blow-outs developed in the desert zone which

existed at the transition from the Tertiary to the Quaternary period. Shallow ravines occur seldom in the lowland landscape.

THE BLACK SEA LOWLAND is a typical coastal area. During the early Tertiary period it was invaded by the Pontic Sea, and the winds of the Pleistocene epoch covered it with loess. The plain was only slightly dissected by ravines, since the differences in elevation were small. This development of the area was interrupted by a new rise in the sea level (see p. 60). The sea inundated river mouths and formed limans. The rivers have lost their vigor and, instead of downcutting, have

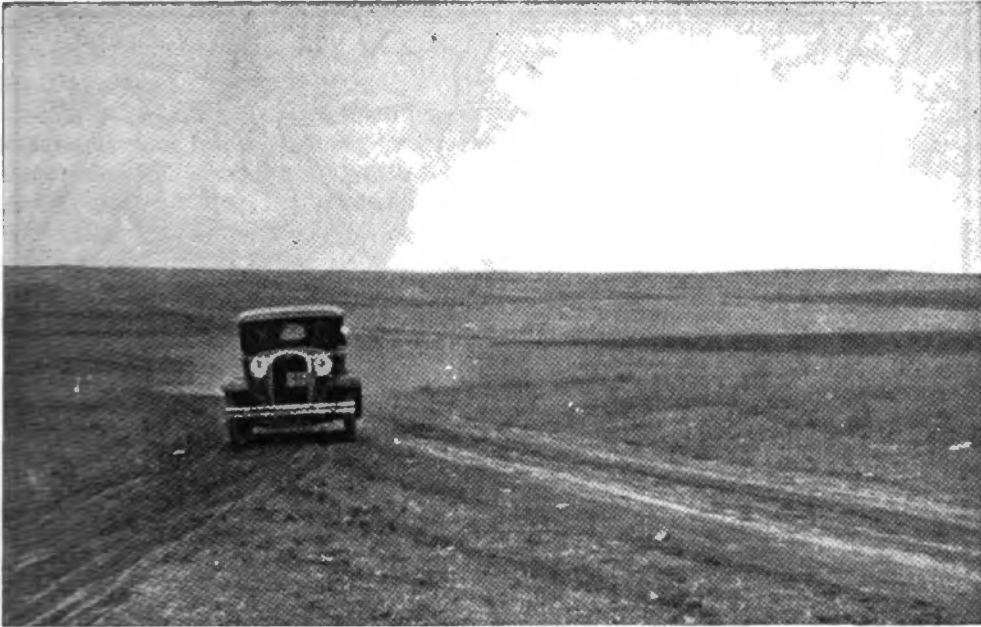


FIGURE 43. A LANDSCAPE WITHIN THE DON LOWLAND

aggraded sand and mud, and then, breaking through them, divided into branches and formed many islands covered by reeds and forests—the so-called *plavni*.

A similar landscape characterizes also the KUBAN LOWLAND up to the southern portion of the DON LOWLAND and to the slopes of the early Tertiary Stavropol Upland, which comprises the northern extension of the foothills of the Caucasus. The Don Lowland borders in the east with the Yergeni Hills, which rise up to 625 feet and form an important natural boundary between the steppes fit for agriculture and the semi-deserts. The Yergeni Hills mark the limit of Ukrainian settlement.

The Black Sea and Kuban Lowlands lie within the steppe and now are fully cultivated. Owing to a relatively small amount of atmospheric precipitation crop yields are smaller here than in the forest-steppe zone; the density of the population also is lower.

The plateau landscape. The Roztichia,

Podilian, Volhynian, and Pokutian-Bessarabian Uplands have the features of a plateau landscape, formed mostly by horizontal Cretaceous and Tertiary strata, overlain by a continuous loess cover. In general, the landscape of this area is characterized by vast plains dotted by hills and dissected by deep valleys.

The following regions of the plateau landscape can be distinguished: Podilia with Tovtry, Opilia, Roztichia, and the Volhynian-Kholm Upland.

PODILIA extends eastward of the Zolota Lypa River as a vast plain, in places somewhat hilly; once partly covered by a steppe, it is now cultivated. The river valleys are wide and swampy, with lakes. The valleys of the streams which flow from the Podilia into the Dniester are incised deeply into the plateau, the gradients of the rivers increase unevenly, rapids and waterfalls appear; the valleys resemble canyons. The deepest and most beautiful is the gorge of the Dniester River, with its steep slopes rising some

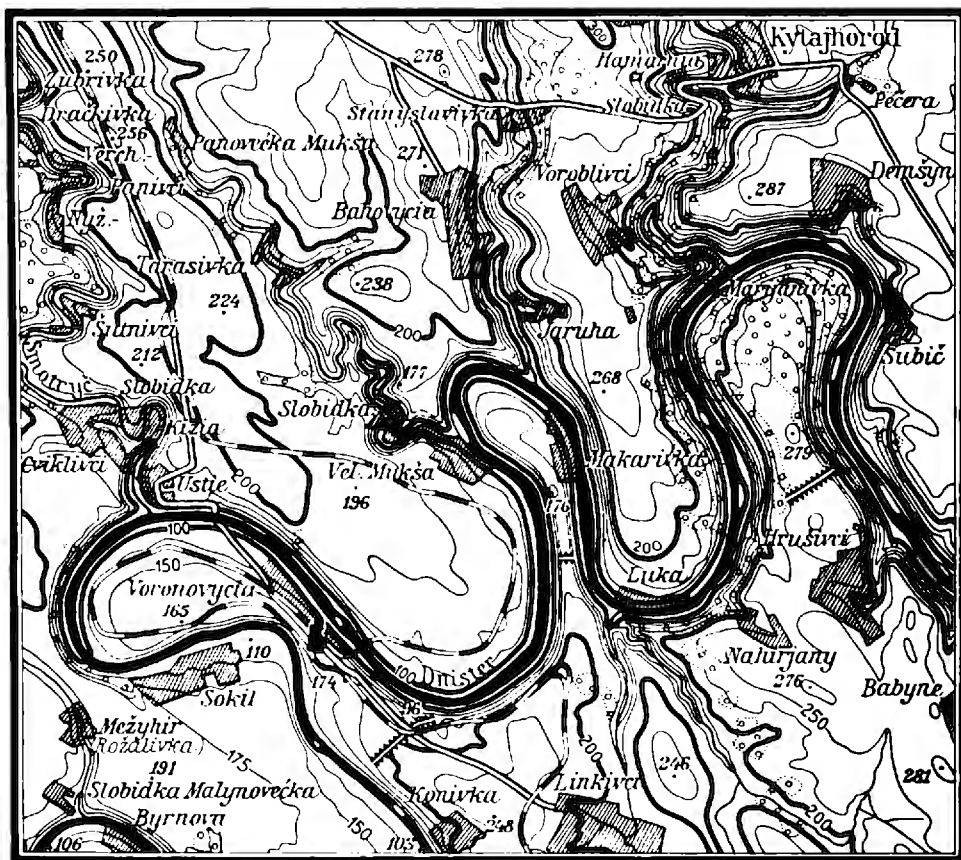


FIGURE 44. THE GORGE OF THE DNIESTER RIVER EAST OF THE MOUTH OF THE SMOTRYCH RIVER. Approximate scale 1:150,000. The contour interval is 100 m. (heavy lines) and 25 m. (light lines). The Dniester and its left-bank tributaries dissect the upland and form meanders.

440–660 feet above the valley bottom (see Figs. 44, 45). The Dniester and its Podilian tributaries form incised meanders. The flat and gently undulating watersheds contrast sharply with the steep slopes of stream valleys. Podilia owes its rejuvenation to the recent Pleistocene movement, which resulted in the renewal of the erosive action of the Dniester River and later of its tributaries, whose erosive action has not yet reached the surface of the watersheds.

Karst topography, manifested by the presence of caves and sinkholes, is found in some localities of Podilia and of the Pokutian-Bessarabian Upland, in places

where limestone and gypsum are either exposed or lie near the surface.

Peculiar elevations, the so-called Tovtry, usually ridge-shaped and composed of limestones, extend across the Podilian Plateau from Brody at its northern border to Serafyntsi on the Prut River in Bessarabia. The Podilian Tovtry belt, which extends for a distance of about 155 miles and is 1.5–2.5 miles wide, in some places is 300 feet higher than the plateau surface. The slopes are much steeper in the western portion of the ridge. The Tovtry originally were barrier reefs which were formed in the Tertiary Sarmatian Sea. Contrary to the

steppe character of the adjacent plateau, the Tovtry are covered by forest.

Podilia drops steeply northward to the Buh Depression and Little Polisia.

A marked feature of the Podilian landscape is its poor forestation and in some places there is a complete lack of forest. Most of the settlements are located in the river valleys, which provide water and good protection against the winds. This is an agricultural and densely populated region.

Westward from the Zolota Lypa River extends the western part of the Podilian Plateau, known as OPILIA. Its landscapes are much more diverse than those in

Podilia. They are more mature; no canyons occur here, the river valleys are wide, leveled, and have broad flood plains. Watersheds are dissected by secondary valleys, forming picturesque hilly country. Smooth and mild landforms are due to soft chalky rock lying near the surface. The slopes of the hills are covered by forests, and the watersheds by grain fields and meadows.

ROZTICHLIA is a continuation of Opilia toward the northwest. It is an anticline composed also of chalk. Rising 330–400 feet above the surface of neighboring Buh and Sian Lowlands, it presents an area of vigorous erosion manifested in



FIGURE 45. THE DNIESTER RIVER VALLEY IN WESTERN PODILIA



FIGURE 46. THE TOVTRY

The so-called Dirivava Skelia near Ostapie. Characteristic herbaceous vegetation with numerous endemic forms.

the formation of a great number of deep gullies. The southern part of Roztichia is covered by loess, the northern part by post-glacial deposits. Mixed forest occupies the hills, while meadows are common in the flood plains.

THE VOLHYNIAN-KHOLM (CHELM) UPLAND presents a specific type of plateau landscape owing to the fact that two physiographic provinces meet in this area: the erosive-ravine and the northern glacial.

The features of erosive topography are conspicuous in the part of Volhynia adjacent to Podilia. Northern Podilia drops steeply to form the so-called Holohory-Kremianets escarpment 500-650 feet in height. It is partly of tectonic origin but is also undergoing vigorous erosion caused by the great differences in the levels of denudation and by the low resistance of the rocks to erosion. The numerous valleys and gullies dissecting the upland have transformed it into

an erosive highland. A dense network of valleys and gullies divide the area into many ridges of hills; also, isolated residual hills are to be found with characteristic flat tops and steep sides. Hilly lands are mostly occupied by forests.

THE BUK RIVER DEPRESSION (BASIN) is squeezed between the escarpments of the described plateau. In the east, near the Kremianets heights, the valley widens and is known as Little Polisia. Here the waters of the melting glacier were restrained and the area manifests the features of a sandy outwash plain. A cover of loess occurs at higher elevations only.

The most highly developed erosive landscape with ravines and gullies is found in the Volhynian-Kholm Upland. It is lower than Podilia (650-1150 feet) and is chiefly composed of chalk. The flat and wide ridges covered by loess and dissected by the small ravines disclose the level of the ancient plateau. Between



FIGURE 47. LVIV AND VICINITY

Approximate scale 1:150,000; the contour interval is 25 m. The dotted line shows the limits of Greater Lviv of 1938. Several physiographic provinces meet near Lviv: Podilia (extends to the southeast), the Buh River Basin (northeast), Roztichia (northwest), and the Sian Lowland. The map shows contrasts in relief of these four provinces. The escarpment of the Podilian Plateau is clearly seen. The valley of the Poltva River cuts between the Podilian Plateau and Roztichia. The center of the city lies in a depression along the river course.

the ridges lie wide swampy valleys resembling the landscape of Polisia.

Landscapes of the Crystalline Shield. A somewhat different type of erosive topography is seen in the area which lies within the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield (see "Geology", p. 54). Covering the Dnieper and Azov Uplands almost in their entirety, this area differs only

slightly from other areas of gullies and ravine-like formations. Plains prevail in both cases, as the old mountains were denuded and on their remnants Tertiary sediments and loess were superimposed. Here, also, the watersheds are dissected, stream valleys are wide and asymmetrical, gullies and ravines are developed. The difference appears in those

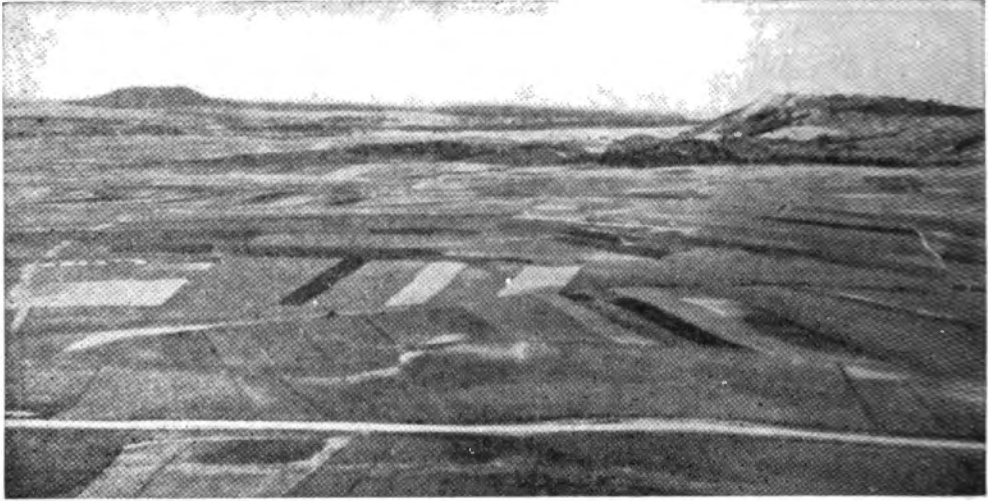


FIGURE 48. THE PODILIAN ESCARPMENT NEAR KREMIANETS, KNOWN AS THE KREMIANETS HILLS. In the foreground, the valley of the Ikva River; in the background, the Podilian escarpment; to the left, the *Bozha hora* (God's Mountain), a monadnock separated from the plateau by erosion.

places where a river cuts into the crystalline rocks, forming a peculiar landscape of the Crystalline Shield. The river valleys are narrower, the longitudinal profiles of streams are irregular, stream channels are rocky, and rapids are present. Crystalline rocks appear on the walls of gorges. Such landscapes are seen on the Dnieper River between the cities of Dnipropetrovske and Zaporizhia, on the Dniester River near Yampil, in the valley of the Boh River, over a long segment of its course, and in the valleys of its larger tributaries. Cliffs of crystalline rocks overhang the river on both sides. A view from the bottom of the valleys of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield gives the impression of a mountain landscape.

The landscape of the Crystalline Shield has been influenced considerably by tectonic factors, such as faults and fissures which split the formerly solid shield. Almost the entire Boh River runs along the tectonic rim of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield, as does the Dnieper River between Kiev and Dnipropetrovske, for a distance of 248 miles. The high right bank of the Dnieper rises 150–500 feet above the Dnieper Lowland,

and erosion has formed here picturesque heights (the Kiev and Kaniv Hills) (Figs. 42, 50).

The Ukrainian Crystalline Shield reaches its highest point in the **DNIEPER** or **RIGHT-BANK UPLAND** (up to 1115 feet); south of Dnipropetrovske it passes to the left bank of the Dnieper, gradually drops, and again rises somewhat in the **AZOV UPLAND**.

The Coastal Landscape

The shoreline landforms result from the work of different forces along the border of sea and land. The first important factor here is the water movement. In addition to wave action, a considerable role is played also by the long-shore currents.

The coastal landscape in Ukraine occupies a relatively small area which for the most part represents the outermost limit of the landscape of erosive topography with the exception of mountainous coastal sections in the Crimea and the Caucasus.

To be distinguished are coasts of low and of strong relief, coastal plains, and liman (estuary) types.



FIGURE 49. A LANDSCAPE WITHIN THE UKRAINIAN CRYSTALLINE SHIELD
The valley of the Teteriv River near Zhytomyr.



FIGURE 50. THE HIGH BANK OF THE DNEPER NEAR KIEV
In the background is the *Pecherska Lavra*.

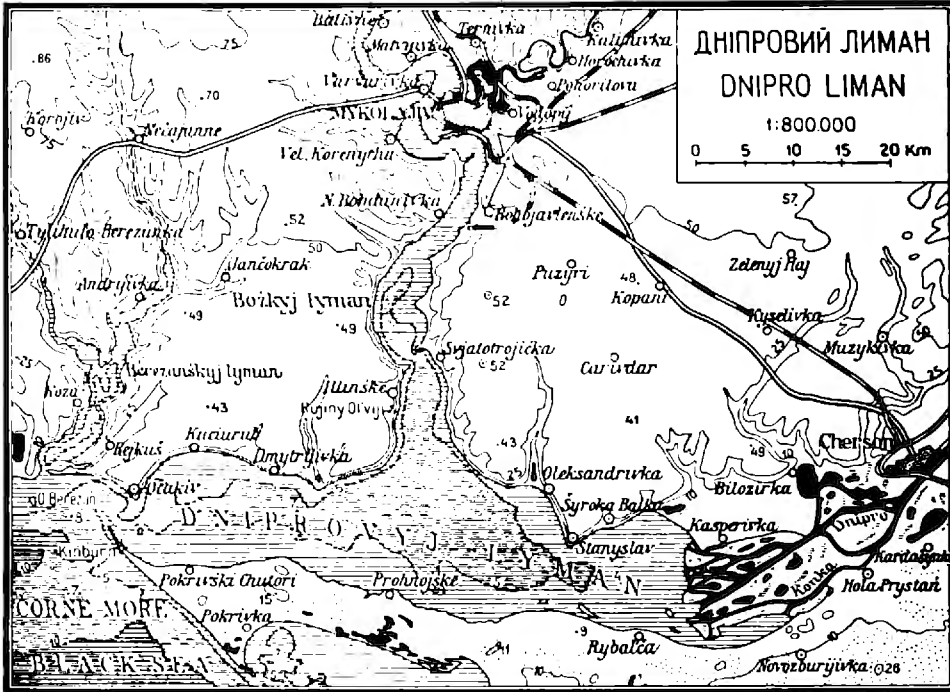


FIGURE 51. THE DNEIPER LIMAN

Contour intervals: 10, 25, and 50 m. The flooded mouths of the Dnieper and Boh rivers are separated from the sea by the Pryhnoisky Peninsula and the Kinburn Spit. In the upper part of the liman a new delta is developing. The Dnieper is divided into nine channels there. The sand deposits on its left bank are the remnants of the old delta. The right bank forms a cliff about 130 ft. high.

THE DANUBE DELTA occupies the westernmost part of the Ukrainian shoreline. It is a flat and swampy alluvial plain with many lakes through which the three principal arms of the Danube flow to the sea: the Kylaia, Sulyna, and Sviatohirskia with many tributaries and oxbow lakes. The delta is separated from the sea by sandbars, which constantly threaten to silt up the river channels. During time of flood the whole area is covered by water. Bars are also formed along the banks of the Danube: they block tributaries which flow off widely and form terminal lakes.

THE LIMAN SHORELINE. The Ukrainian Black Sea coast north of the Danube delta has a different character. It is a cliff shore. The steppe plateau drops off sharply to the sea, and only a narrow, sandy or gravelly strip of beach lies at

the water's edge. The strata of the late Tertiary Pontic limestone is underlain by soft clays; the sea waves undercut the shore which either slides down or breaks off, producing steep cliffs (see Fig. 52).

The northwestern coast of the Black Sea is little indented. Only in places where a stream or a steppe ravine joins the sea are the coastal cliffs interrupted and limans are to be found, separated from the sea by thin off-shore bars (see Fig. 51). The larger rivers, the Dniester, the Boh, and the Dnieper, break through the marine littoral deposits and flow into the sea. The smaller rivers do not generate enough power to break through the marine deposits, so that their limans are sealed off from the sea by bars.

The landscape under discussion displays features indicating its origin as a

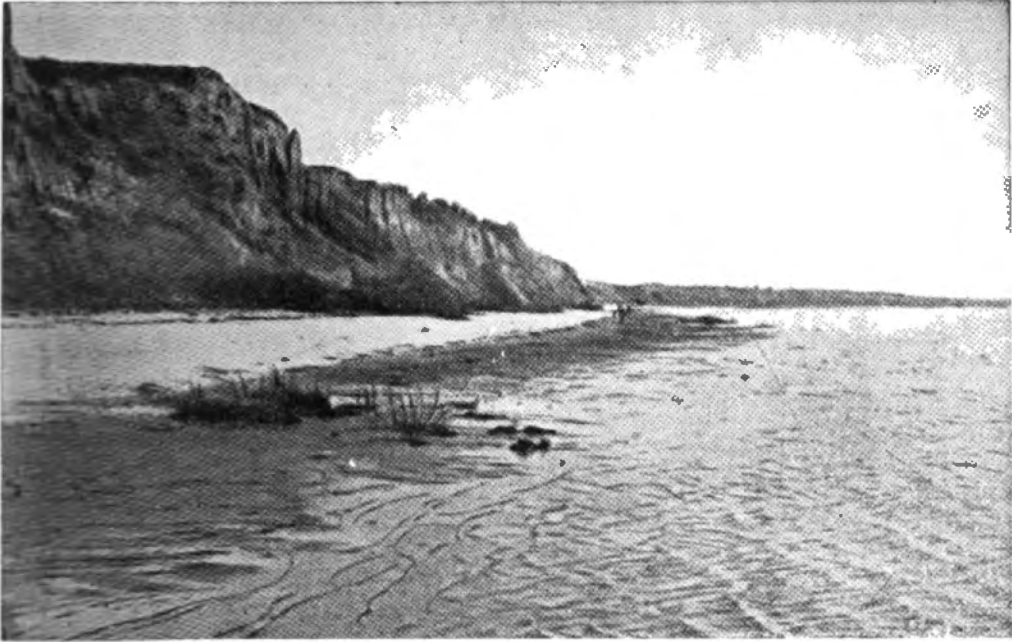


FIGURE 52. THE COAST OF THE SEA OF AZOV NEAR TAHANRIH (TAGANROG)
The Pontic limestone forms cliffs about 130 ft. in height.

shoreline of emergence and subsequent submergence. The Black Sea Lowland emerged from the sea in the Pliocene (see p. 59). Along the coast clastic sediments were deposited derived from products of sea abrasion and material transported by rivers. These deposits, as well as Pontic limestones, form cliffs adjoining sea beaches and limans. The Pleistocene submergence resulted in the formation of limans in the lower reaches of the rivers.

A similar landscape is observed at the steep northern shores of the Sea of Azov. Numerous sand spits stretch in the northwestern direction. In the west, the Arabat Spit, which is 66.4 miles long, closes off shallow Syvash Bay.

Southeast of the Dnieper liman the landscape changes. The coast is flat and low, usually being covered with sand; there occur numerous spits.

THE SOUTH CRIMEAN AND CAUCASIAN COAST. The shores of south Crimea and the Caucasus are abrupt and irregular.

The southwestern shore of the Crimea,

stretching perpendicular to the ridges of the Crimean Mountains, is indented. The sea forces its way into the mountain valleys and forms long deep bays which favor the building of ports. This is a typical ria shoreline (Fig. 63).

The southeastern shore of the Crimea runs parallel to the mountain ridges which fall sharply seaward. The coast is mountainous, marked by narrow beaches. The coastline lacks large bays. Owing to varying rock resistance such landforms as wave-cut cliffs, sea caves, stacks, and arches were created (Fig. 64).

The eastern shore of the Black Sea along the Caucasus is mountainous in character.

Owing to the Mediterranean climate of south Crimea and the southeastern Caucasian coast, these sections possess a distinctive type of vegetation.

The Mountain Landscape

The southern fringes of Ukraine are occupied by mountains of high and medium elevation, the Carpathians, the



FIGURE 53. SYVULLA (6084 FEET), THE HIGHEST SUMMIT IN THE GORGANS, THE CARPATHIANS

Crimean Mountains, and the Caucasus.

The Carpathians. In the course of geologic history, the Carpathians were associated with the great Tethys Geosyncline and underwent a number of orogenic movements. The main phase of folding occurred in the Tertiary period when the Carpathians rose out of the geosyncline. Within the Ukrainian territory, the Carpathian mountainous system is built up mostly of the Flysh; only in the extreme south are ridges formed by effusives (Velykyi Dil and Vyhorliat) and by intrusives (Hutsul Alps and Chyvchyn Mountains).

The Flysh is a typically thick marine clastic sediment consisting of interbedded coarse clastic materials, sandstones and shale. It was deposited in the littoral zone of Cretaceous and Tertiary seas adjacent to the Pre-Carpathians which had been in existence at least since the Paleozoic era. The reworking of uplifted older strata furnished material for the Flysh.

Subjected to great lateral compression the Flysh strata rose out of the sea trough, and as large nappes and overthrust blocks moved towards the foreland and covered the younger strata of Subcarpathia. The belt of effusives in the south Carpathians was formed as a result of the Neogene orogenic movements involving faulting.

Erosion and weathering are chiefly responsible for the forms of the present landscape in the Carpathians. Shaly Flysh and sandstones had been easily eroded and the section had already approached the stage of peneplain. However, a new rise of that surface in the Pliocene and Pleistocene rejuvenated the landscape and resulted in the new cycle of erosion.

The present relief of the Ukrainian Carpathians depends mainly on their structure. A series of belts is distinctly seen. Two elevated Flysh ridges, so-called Beskyds, stretch along the mountainous system. Both of them,



FIGURE 54. MIDDLE CARPATHIAN DEPRESSION; ZHAB'IE DEPRESSION

In the foreground, the Cheremosh River; in the background, Pip Ivan Summit (6639 feet).

the Northern (or Border) Ridge, and the Southern (or Magura-Chornohora) Ridge, are associated with strong rocks. These ridges rise sharply above the Middle Carpathian Depression stretching between them. The latter has developed as a result of the erosion of soft underlying rocks, shales, and sandstones.

The extreme southern belt of the Ukrainian Carpathians is formed by effusives (Velykyi Dil and Vyorliat). A long valley developed on soft shales separates them from the Flysh belt.

However, transverse dislocations also influenced the development of the topography. Thus the lowest section of the northern Carpathians, near the upper reaches of the Upper Wisłok and Sian rivers, coincides with an ancient transverse depression separating Podilia from the Little Polish Upland.

The landscape of the Flysh Carpathians displays features typical of mountains of medium elevation (see Figs. 53, 54, 70). Gentle, broad, little-dissected ridges give place to narrow steep-walled valleys with

rocky bottoms, and to waterfalls and rapids. Main tributaries of the Dniester River in the north, and those of the Tysa River in the south, course through deep valleys cutting the mountain ridges. Their affluents have carved out side valleys in soft shales parallel to the mountain slopes. Thus there has appeared a trellised drainage pattern controlled by folded strata.

Traces of glaciation, hollows, hanging troughs, and moraines are found in mountain sections of higher elevation (see p. 60).

The Flysh Carpathians, or Beskyds, are divided into several groups. The lowest range, the Low (*Nyz'kyi*) Beskyd (elevations up to 3,280 ft.) forms a link between the Western and Eastern Carpathians. In the northern high Flysh Belt of the Eastern Carpathians the following ranges are present: the High (*Vysokyi*) and Middle (*Serednii*) Beskyds (up to 4,600 ft.), the Gorgans (5,900 ft.), and the Hutsul Beskyd (5,250 ft.). Beyond the belt of the

Middle-Carpathian Depression are the massive groups of the Polonynian Beskyd—Rivna, Borzhava, Krasna, Svydivets, and Chornohora (4,920–6,725 ft.).

Extinct volcanoes are typical in the effusive belt embracing the mountainous systems, Vyhorliat and Velykyi Dil (3,600 ft.). Calderas, in places filled with water, are found at their summits. The summits generally are rounded, the slopes are gentle.

The effusive Carpathians fall sharply southward, towards the Tysa Lowland. The lower parts of their slopes are covered by vineyards and extensive orchards.

The range of the Hutsul Alps (elevation up to 6500 ft.), lying at the upper reaches of the Bila Tysa River, is composed of schists and strong Mesozoic limestones. Therefore, in contrast to most of the Ukrainian Carpathians, its relief is sharply dissected and marked by intricate fins, grooves, and pinnacles.

Traces of glaciation are presented by hollows, aretes, moraines, and hanging troughs.

Subcarpathia. On the northern side of the Carpathians lie the Subcarpathian Foothills, or Subcarpathia. Formerly a syncline existed here which divided the Carpathians from the Ukrainian Shield. It was filled up with Miocene deposits, consisting chiefly of soft clays. The latter were overlain by Pleistocene sands and gravels transported from the Carpathians by the Dniester tributaries. Loess occurs in places. The region was subsequently uplifted, underwent a new erosion process, and developed a dissected hilly relief. Extensive alluvial fans and broad river terraces rising gently toward the mountains are characteristic of the region, as are alternating depressions and uplands. The swampy Dniester Lowland (Sambir swamps) comprises the largest depression of the region, the Kalush and Stanyslaviv depressions being smaller.

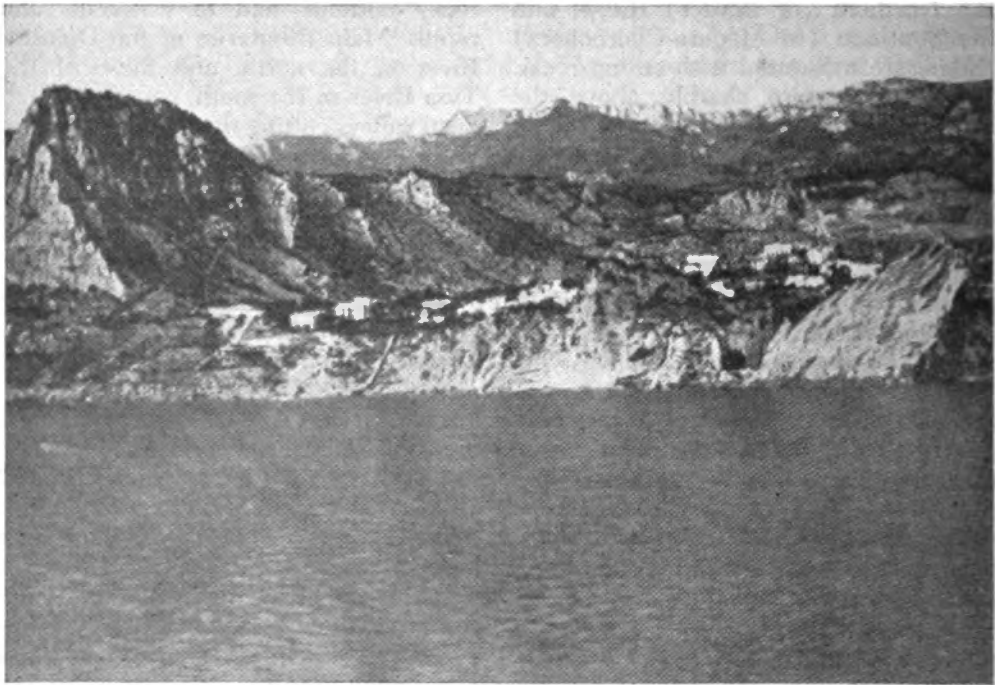


FIGURE 55. THE CRIMEAN MOUNTAINS VIEWED FROM THE SOUTH
The Yaila is seen in the background.

The Crimean Mountains are the remnants of a large folded system. Its southern part was broken off, and it subsided under the level of the sea. Effusives of southern Crimea and earthquakes furnish evidence of recent and contemporaneous tectonic movements.

The Crimean Mountains consist of three parallel ranges in the west and two in the east. The northern range is lower and offers a picturesque landscape of mountains of medium elevation. The southern, or coastal, range is the highest and bears the name Yaila, which is the



FIGURE 56. MOUNTAINOUS LANDSCAPE ON THE SOUTHERN SHORE OF THE CRIMEA
In the foreground, an oriental-style building called Swallow's Nest, in Alushta.

Tatar word for "pasture." The summit of the Yaila has a relatively level surface, and a width varying from 1.8 to 2.5 miles. In places the Yaila drops steeply to the sea forming cliffs up to 1800 feet in height. River valleys are very narrow, their gradients uneven. Karst topography occasionally occurs with such landforms as funnel-like sinkholes, caves, and underground rivers. The well-known Crimean Riviera lies east of Baidary Gate. Here the shore runs parallel to the mountain ridge, a narrow beach widens in places, and many small picturesque bays occur. Shores and mountain slopes are covered with orchards and forests. The warm Mediterranean climate is responsible for the existence of numerous resorts.

On the northern side of the Crimean Mountains lie the foothills, presenting several low ranges (up to 600 feet) dissected by the valleys of rivers flowing from the mountains.

The Caucasus. Only a tiny portion of the Ukrainian territory lies in the Caucasus at its northwestern section. Two ridges of the main Caucasus range—the Chornomorian (Black Sea) Alps and Abkhazian Alps abut on the Ukrainian lands. The lower Chornomorian Alps are composed of Eocene Flysh, as well as of Cretaceous and Jurassic limestones. The landscape is gentle, characteristic of mountains of medium elevation. The Abkhazian Alps present a granite massif, with Cretaceous and Jurassic limestones and sandstones appearing in a fringelike manner. The summit of the main range of the Abkhazian Alps presents landforms typical of high rocky mountains:



FIGURE 57. A HIGH MOUNTAINOUS LANDSCAPE OF THE CAUCASUS

glacial cirques, alpine glaciers, deep gorges, and so forth.

The North-Caucasus Foreland is built of young Tertiary strata which in places are oil-bearing. This region can be divided into the Kuban-Azov Plain, the Stavropol Upland, and the foothill plains along the Kuma and Terek rivers.

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5. CLIMATE

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

The climate of Ukraine is temperate, cool, and continental. Since the principal weather elements in Ukraine—temperature, precipitation, cloudiness, humidity, and winds—differ considerably from those in neighboring countries, some geographers (e.g., De Martonne and S. Rudnytsky) invented a term "Ukrainian climate." The climate of Ukraine as a whole is characterized by considerable variations due to the great range in altitude and the longitudinal width, stretching from the areas under the influence of the Atlantic to the interior of the continent.

Ukraine lies in the temperate belt of the northern hemisphere, at a considerable distance from the Atlantic Ocean and close to the great continent of Asia. As a result, the temperature of the air decreases not only in the direction from south to north, but also from west to east. The intensification of the continental character in the eastward direction is manifested in the increase in annual temperature ranges and in the summer temperatures, in the decrease in the winter temperatures, and in a generally increasing aridity. This tendency of the climate is illustrated in the accompanying table which presents rainfall and

TABLE I

	Latitude N	Longitude E	Mean temperature in °F.			Range	Precipitation in inches
			Annual	January	July		
Lviv	49°50'	24°21'	45.7	24.8	65.7	40.9	26.1
Kiev	50°27'	30°30'	44.4	21.2	66.7	45.5	24.5
Kharkiv	50°00'	36°14'	43.8	18.0	68.7	50.7	20.0

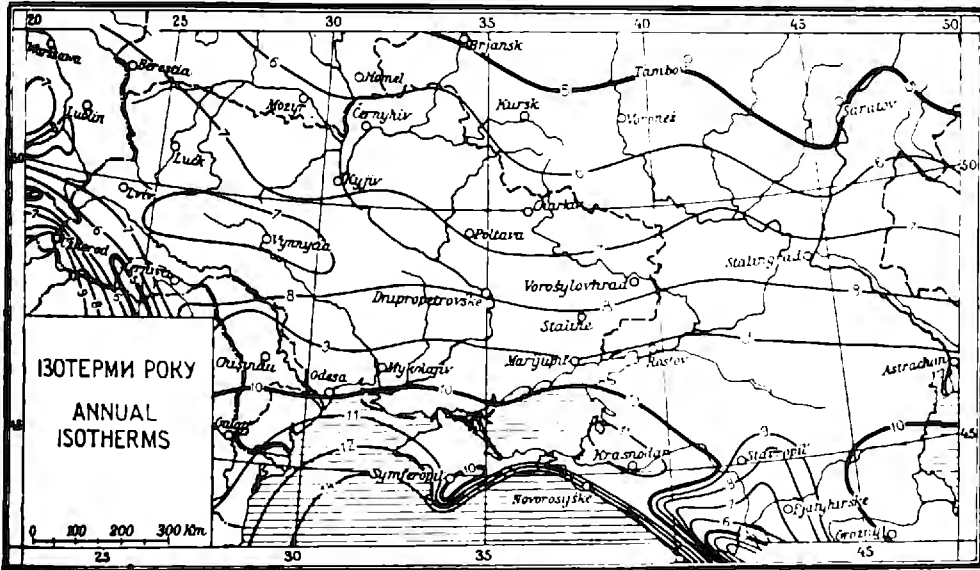


FIGURE 58. DISTRIBUTION OF THE MEAN ANNUAL TEMPERATURE (CENTIGRADE SCALE)

temperature data for three localities which lie at about the same latitude but at different longitudes. The influence of the Black and the Caspian seas is small and is confined to their coastal areas.

A decrease in temperature to the northeast is evident. The warmest region (50°F. and above) is found in the neighborhood of the Black Sea; the coldest (41°F. and below) is found in the northeast and in the mountains.

TEMPERATURE

The mean annual isotherms (Fig. 58) run in a general east-southeast direction.

The January isotherms (Fig. 59) are more irregular in their configuration. Their meridional direction in the west

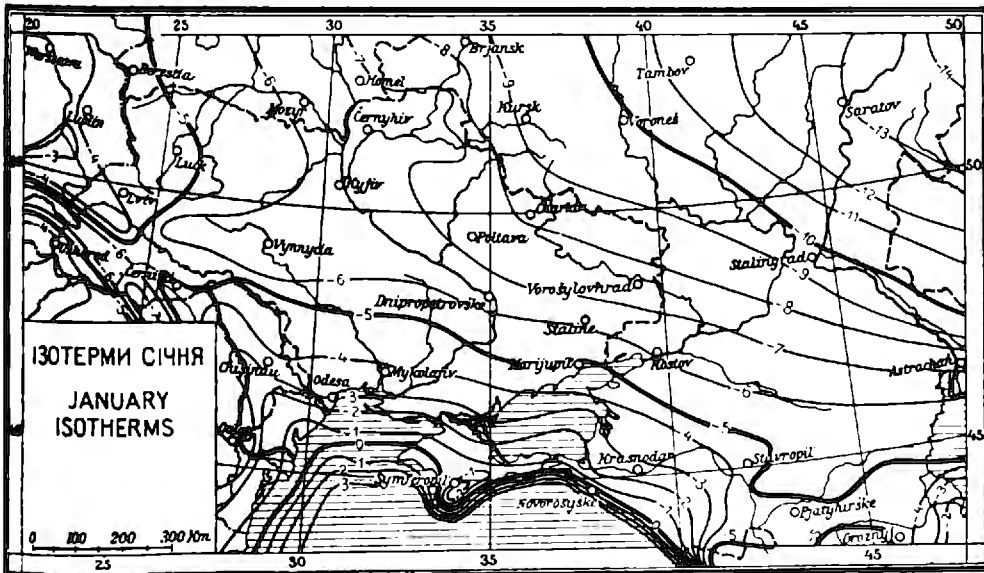


FIGURE 59. MEAN JANUARY TEMPERATURE (CENTIGRADE SCALE)

shows the pronounced warming influence of the Atlantic. The east remains under the cooling influence of Asia. Therefore, the isotherms assume a general southeast direction. The highest January temperatures are found on the southern coast of the Crimean Peninsula (Yalta: 38.7°F.) and on the Caucasian coast of the Black Sea (Tuapse: 39.4°F.). With the exception of these two small regions, the temperatures of the entire Ukrainian area run between the isotherms 32°F. and 14°F.

The isotherms of the warmest month,

The annual march of temperature shows maximum temperature figures in July and minimum figures in January. However, observations at some stations located on the eastern coast of the Black Sea reveal a variation caused by the influence of the sea: maximum temperatures in August and minimum temperatures in February. The dates on which the temperature passes above or below 0°C. (32°F.) are characteristic and depend mainly on the latitude. In the north, in Kharkiv, temperatures below the freezing point occur in the middle

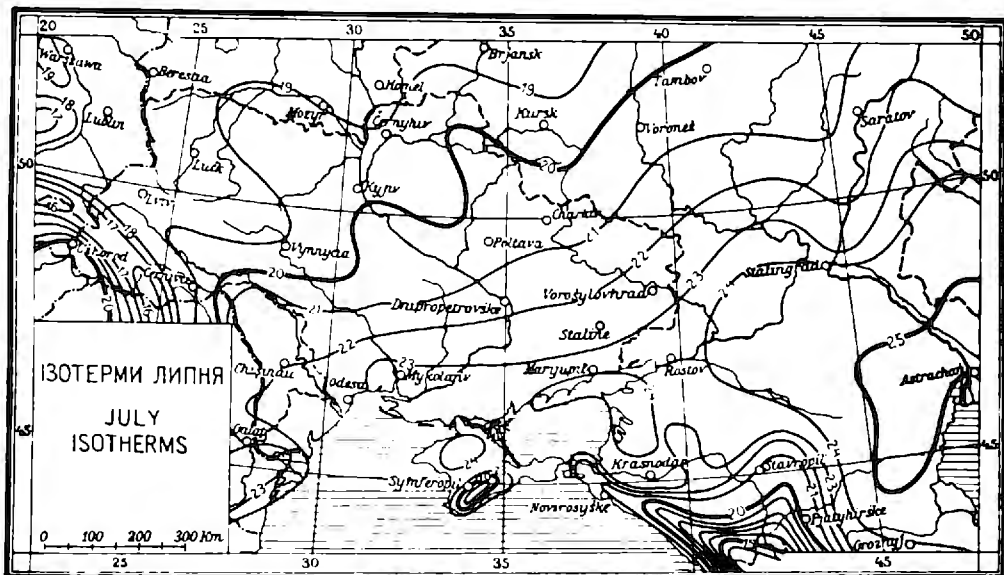


FIGURE 60. MEAN JULY TEMPERATURE (CENTIGRADE SCALE)

July (Fig. 60), assume a northeast direction—opposite to that of the January isotherms. The temperatures increase from 64.4°F. in the northwest to 77°F. in the southeast. The mountains represent small islands of low temperature (below 60.8°F.). The annual temperature ranges, computed roughly from the January and July isotherm maps, show an increase from 41°F. in the west to 58°F. and more in the east. The ranges of extreme temperatures increase from the average 104°F. in the west to 144°F. in the east.

of October and persist till the end of March. In the south, in Odessa, the average winter season lasts from the middle of December until the end of February. Observed monthly and yearly temperatures usually show great deviations from mean temperatures.

ATMOSPHERIC PRESSURE AND WINDS

Ukraine is located north of the subtropical belt of high pressure in the belt of westerlies, with a predominance of

advancing polar fronts and moving centers of high and low pressure. Since no high mountain barrier extends from south to north, there occurs over Ukraine a continuous atmospheric circulation between the Atlantic and Asia. The weather conditions depend on the intensity of each of the three principal action centers of the general atmospheric circulation. These are: the Icelandic low, the Azores high over the Atlantic, and the seasonal pressure center, high in the winter and low in the summer, located over central Asia. Due to the great contrast between the two Atlantic centers during the winter, the movement of air masses is most active in that season. The cyclones move from the Atlantic eastward, mainly along the Mediterranean and the Baltic seas, bringing mild temperatures and heavy precipitation to western Ukraine. But the eastern Ukrainian provinces are outside this favorable influence of the Atlantic. A high Asiatic anticyclone consisting of cold, heavy, dry air spreads over them and hinders the eastward flow of the maritime air masses. Moreover, the western edge of the Asiatic anticyclone joins the secondary centers of high pressure over the Carpathians and the Alps, thus forming a long barrier of high pressure between central Asia, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Azores. It divides Europe, and also Ukraine, into two different weather provinces: the southeastern, under the prevailing influence of the dry, cold air masses flowing from Asia; and the northwestern, under the influence of the relatively warm, moist winds blowing from the Atlantic Ocean. A secondary low connected with the Mediterranean minimum is formed over the Black Sea. Its steep gradient, from the surrounding lands towards the sea, results in strong winds and frequent storms. These are particularly severe on the Caucasian coast at the time when cold and heavy air masses, gathered in the mountain valleys, rush like avalanches down the

slopes towards the sea, destroying buildings and communication lines. When simultaneously a Black Sea cyclone and a cyclone centered over the Baltic Sea develop, the European axis of high pressures weakens or breaks off, and opens the way for the cyclones. They can move then in the meridional direction, causing snowflurries and snowdrifts over the Ukrainian steppes.

During the summer months the pressure distribution differs greatly from that during the winter. The Siberian winter anticyclone is dissipated, and a deep center of low pressure develops over central Asia. There are also great changes over the Atlantic. As the Icelandic cyclone weakens, the tropical anticyclone moves somewhat northward and is intensified over southwestern Europe. The pressure gradient, in general, is eastward. Consequently, northern Ukraine is open to the warm, moist air masses flowing from the Atlantic. Owing to this pressure distribution, Ukraine receives its greatest precipitation in the summer.

In the spring and autumn the pressure distribution is transitional between conditions of summer and winter. Particularly in the autumn, anticyclone conditions prevail, causing long periods of warm, dry weather.

Air Masses

Ukraine is under the influence of six different types of air masses: maritime polar (mP), continental polar (cP), maritime tropical (mT), continental tropical (cT), maritime arctic (mA), and continental arctic (cA).

The Maritime Polar Air Mass

The mP air mass, the most common over the Ukrainian area, is characterized by its high relative humidity and mild temperatures. It advances from the middle latitudes of the North Atlantic.

There is a difference between the winter and summer maritime polar air masses. During the winter months the

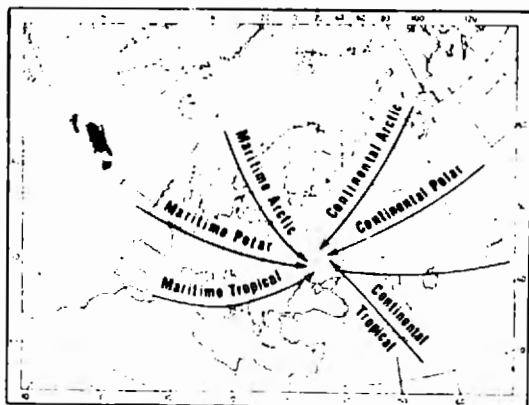


FIGURE 60A. MOVEMENTS OF MAIN AIR MASSES

land is cooler than the sea; therefore, a maritime polar air mass, moving over western Europe, loses much of its heat and moisture content. Nevertheless, its temperatures remain higher than those of the surface below. When an anticyclone prevents the mP air from moving further eastward, it becomes stationary over Ukraine. Because of the gradual cooling from below its vapor content condenses into low stratiform clouds and an mP air mass is transformed into a continental polar air mass. When shallow layers of cold and dry air of Asiatic origin lie over the Ukrainian territory, the mP air mass slides above them, forms stratocumulus clouds and gives some precipitation.

During the summer months the mP air mass advances far eastward, bringing cloudy and rainy weather. Moving over the land surface the air is heated from below, becomes convectively unstable, and produces heavy cumulus clouds and thunderstorms.

The Continental Polar Air Masses

The cP air masses originate over north-eastern Europe and central Asia. In the winter they are characterized by very low temperatures and low moisture content; therefore the skies over their source region are usually clear. Flowing over lands with higher temperatures, the cP air is heated from below, absorbs some moisture, becomes convectively un-

stable, and produces low stratocumuli. Over Ukraine the cP air masses usually form a shallow layer over which the mP air is present. In the winter cP air brings cold, dry weather.

During the summer the cP air masses reach Ukraine less often, usually from northern Europe. Moving southward, the cP air is heated from the warmer surface below and gradually is transformed into a continental tropical air mass; consequently there is no distinct line of separation between the cP and cT air masses. In the summer the cP air mass brings dry and relatively cool weather.

The Maritime Tropical Air Mass

The mT air mass originates on the northern edge of the subtropical anticyclone over the North Atlantic. During the winter this air mass seldom reaches Ukraine. Because of the long journey over western Europe its temperature and moisture content decrease and the air arrives in Ukraine transformed into an mP air mass. Another source of mT air is the Mediterranean. The air mass forms over North Africa and is initially hot and dry (cT). Flowing over the Mediterranean, it acquires moisture and is transformed into mT air mass. Due to lively cyclonic activity, this air mass advances to the Black Sea and causes heavy storms and precipitation on the slopes of the Crimean and Caucasus Mountains.

During the summer months mT air masses of Atlantic origin advance far eastward and bring heavy precipitation and thunderstorms. However, as a result of their long journey over the land surface, the characteristic properties of mT air masses are transformed, and, once over Ukraine, they do not differ much from the initially cooler and dryer mP air masses.

The Continental Tropical Air Mass

The cT air mass originates in the summer over the hot region of central and southwest Asia. It is characterized by

high temperatures and a low relative humidity. Flowing over Ukraine from east or southeast in the advance of an anticyclone, the cT air mass absorbs moisture from the surface and often causes such a rapid evaporation from plants that they wither.

The Arctic Air Masses

These air masses, which originate over Arctic regions, invade Ukraine mostly in the winter. They bring severe cold and dryness, and may cause local temperatures to drop 30 to 40° F. within twenty-four hours. For example in Cher-

low in the southeast. In the mountains the amount of precipitation averages 59 in. in the Carpathians, 78 in. and more in the Caucasus.

The greater amount of precipitation occurs in the summer. In addition to rain, hail sometimes occurs from May to August, usually during thunderstorms. The seasonal distribution of precipitation is very favorable for agriculture. The maximum precipitation comes in June or July, the minimum comes usually in February, less often in January or December. The south coast of the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus coast show

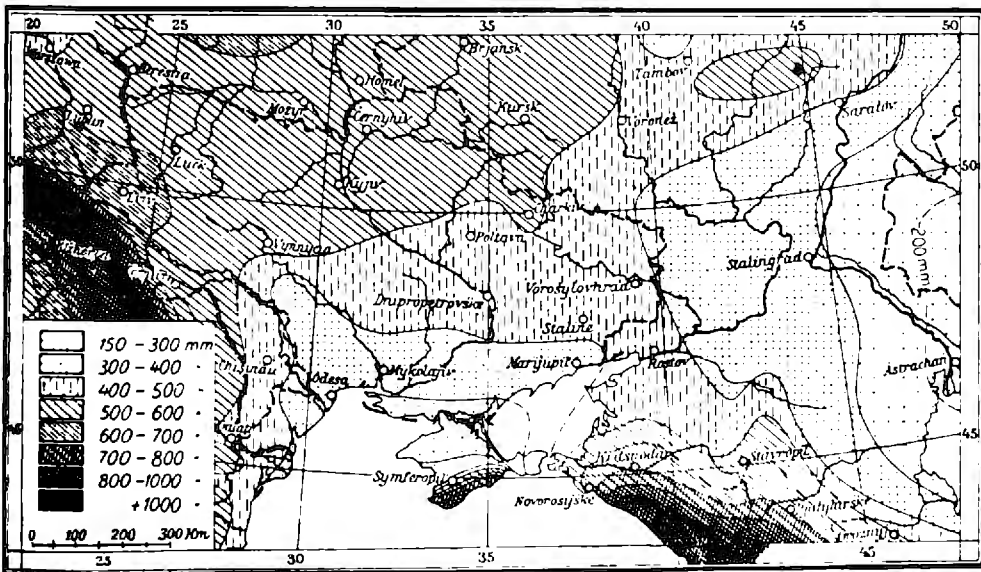


FIGURE 61. MEAN ANNUAL PRECIPITATION (IN MM.)

niv on January 15-16, 1940, the temperature fell from 26.6° F. to -17.3° F. Arctic air masses occur most frequently in the northeast (approximately 18 per cent) and less frequently toward the south and west (approximately 9 per cent).

PRECIPITATION

Average annual precipitation for Ukraine is presented in Fig. 61. In general it decreases to the east, from about 27.5 in. in western Ukraine to 11 in. and be-

low in the southeast. In the mountains the amount of precipitation averages 59 in. in the Carpathians, 78 in. and more in the Caucasus.

The greater amount of precipitation occurs in the summer. In addition to rain, hail sometimes occurs from May to August, usually during thunderstorms. The seasonal distribution of precipitation is very favorable for agriculture. The maximum precipitation comes in June or July, the minimum comes usually in February, less often in January or December. The south coast of the Crimean Peninsula and the Caucasus coast show

Nearly all the moisture received by Ukraine comes from the Atlantic, brought in by maritime polar and tropical air masses. The moisture from the Black Sea is precipitated on the slopes

of the Caucasus and the Crimean Mountains. The dryness of the south-eastern Ukrainian lowlands is caused by the predominance of anticyclone conditions over these regions.

The SNOW COVER is a regular phenomenon of the Ukrainian winter. It forms after the stabilization of the main daily temperature below 32° F. Starting in the northeast in the first ten days of November, it spreads gradually toward the south and west reaching the Black Sea shores between the fifteenth and twentieth of December. The retreat of the snow cover begins in the south between March 5 and March 10 uncovering the northeastern regions about one month later. The beginning of snowfall and the formation of the snow cover in the mountains depend mainly on their latitude, altitude, and exposure. In the Carpathian Mountains snow starts to fall in November and stays until late May or June. In the high parts of the Caucasus (over 8,500 ft.) the snow cover is permanent. On the southern shores of the Crimea the snow cover forms irregularly and is of short duration. The average number of days with snow cover varies from 110 in the northeast to 70–80 in the steppe zone and 20–30 in the south.

The depth of snow varies throughout the winter, reaching its maximum a few weeks before the close of the winter season. In the northeast it is deepest in the middle of March (12–16 inches), in the forest-steppe at the beginning of March (8–10 inches), and in the steppe zone at the end of February (4–8 inches); on the seashores and in northern Crimea the snow is still below 4 inches, at its deepest. The deviation from this average in any given year is very significant. The thickness of the snow cover in the north may vary between 4 and 40 inches and in the south between 2 and 12 inches. Moreover, variations in depth from place to place are considerable, particularly in the steppe zone, where the winds cause bare ground in some places and high drifts elsewhere. This drifting occurs

mainly during snowstorms which are very frequent and violent in the south during the passage of cyclones.

The snow cover plays a very important role in Ukrainian climatic conditions. It influences the temperature variations, supplies moisture to the soil, feeds the rivers, and, what is of great significance for agriculture, shields winter crops from the killing frost and protects soil from freezing deeply. Nevertheless, rapid melting of snow in the spring causes floods which are particularly heavy in the northern lowlands.

OTHER CHARACTERISTIC PHENOMENA OF THE UKRAINIAN CLIMATE

Fogs

The fogs are most frequent in the Crimean Mountains (Karabi Yaila—150 days a year, Ay Petri—145 days a year) and in the Donbas (90–115 days a year). A high frequency fog belt (70–80 days) stretches from the Donbas westward over the central Ukrainian plateaus. Toward the south and north the yearly frequency of foggy days decreases (50 in the southern lowland and about 65 in the north). The least number of foggy days is observed on the southern shores of the Crimea (Yalta, 15 a year) and in Transcarpathia (Uzhhorod, 37 a year). About two-thirds of the winter season is foggy, except in the Carpathians.

There are four basic types of fogs: advection (about 50 per cent), radiation, advective-radiation, and frontal.

The geographical distribution of various fog types in percentages is shown in Table II.

TABLE II

Fog type	Polisia	Forest-steppe	Steppe	Seashores
Advection	48	44	47	52
Radiation	25	24	17	16
Advective-radiation	19	24	27	24
Frontal	8	8	9	8

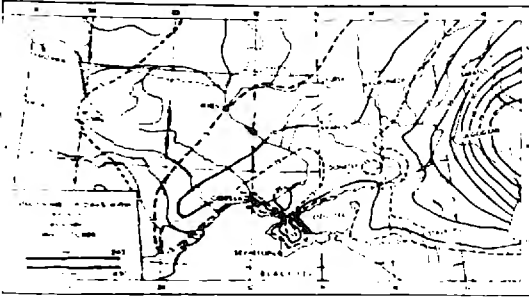


FIGURE 61A. DRY WINDS (*Sukhovii*)

Dry Winds (*Sukhovii*)

The name *sukhovii* (dry wind) designates a very hot and dry wind which deprives the soil and plants of moisture in a short time and kills them. The temperature of the air at the time of the *sukhovii* exceeds 80° F., the relative humidity is very low (below 30 per cent), and the speed of the wind is over 15 ft./sec. The geographical distribution of the number of days per year with *sukhovii* is represented on the map (Fig. 61A). The center of the highest frequency is shown in the north of the Caspian Sea (over 80 days) and another in the Black Sea lowland (over 20 days per year). The frequency of days with *sukhovii* decrease towards the west and the north. The greatest number of days with *sukhovii* occurs in the summer months, June and July, when these winds are extremely perilous to the crops. The *sukhovii* blow from different directions, but they are particularly severe when they come from the east and the south.

CLIMATIC REGIONS

Applying Koeppen's classification of climates based on mean values of temperature and precipitation, Ukraine can be divided into four different climatic regions: (1) cool snow forest climate—Dfb; (2) steppe climate—BS; (3) Mediterranean climate—Cs; and (4) mountain tundra climate—ETH.

The Cool Snow Forest Climate

This climate (Dfb) occurs in the western and northern parts of the

country, north of the line joining the stations Chişinău (Moldavian Republic), Kremenchuk, Poltava, Kharkiv (Ukrainian Republic), Voronezh (Russian Republic). Its characteristic features are: temperature 27° F. or below for at least one month, and temperature 50° F. or above (but below 72° F.) for at least four months. Precipitation occurs every month but is greater in the summer. These climatic conditions are favorable for forest growth and permit the cultivation of many important crops and various kinds of fruits.

The Steppe Climate

This climate (BS) extends from the southern limit of the Dfb to the coasts of the Black and Caspian seas. The annual precipitation is moderate and unevenly distributed throughout the year; periods of dryness and dry winds are frequent and there is strong evaporation; temperature ranges are great. The common vegetation is grass; the region is treeless, forests being found only on the flood plains or on the sandy terraces of rivers. High temperatures and a sufficient amount of summer rainfall, supported by a large-scale irrigation system, make the Ukrainian steppe one of the most important agricultural regions (winter wheat, corn, sugar beet, sunflower, grapes, etc.) in the world.

A wide belt of transitional forest-steppe climate stretches between forest and steppe climatic zones. Toward the southeast the amount of precipitation drops and the grass-steppe develops into a semi-desert.

The Mediterranean Climate

This climate (Cs) is confined to the Crimean southern shore and to a section of the Caucasus coast of the Black Sea. Its characteristic features are hot and dry summers, mild and moist winters, and many hours of insolation. The vegetation is of the Mediterranean type.

The Mountain Climate

ETH, the climate of the Carpathians,

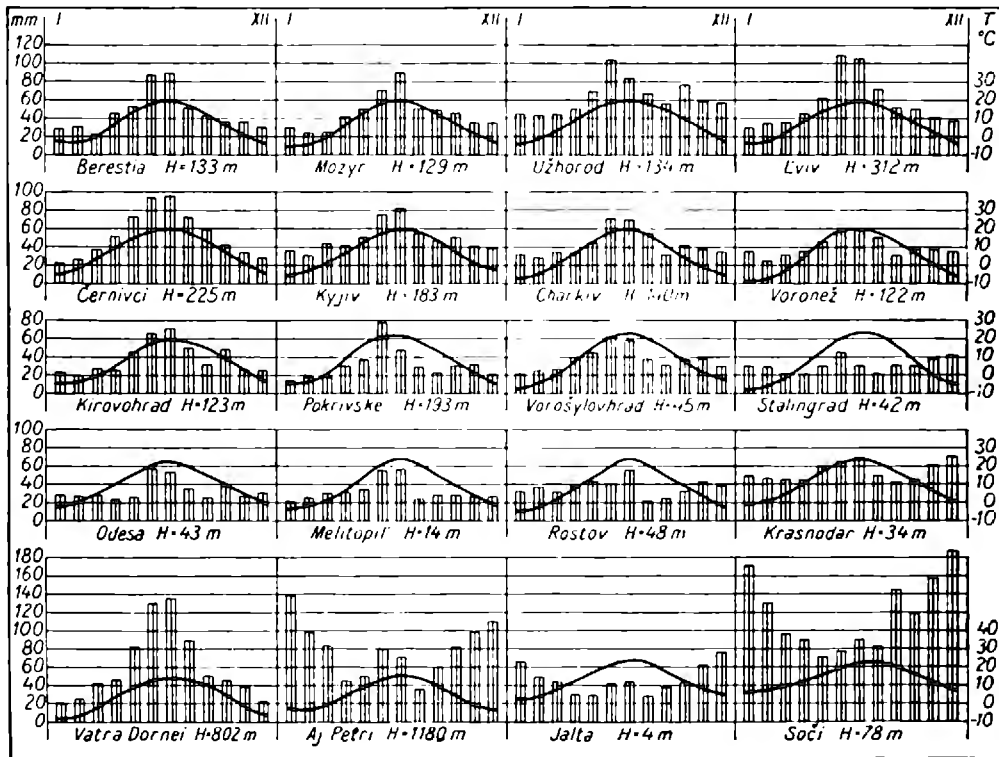


FIGURE 62. ANNUAL MARCH OF PRECIPITATION AND TEMPERATURE

Along with the names of stations are given their altitudes above sea level. The precipitation is indicated by columns and the temperatures by a curved line.

the Caucasus, and the Crimean Mountains, is characterized by great variations depending on the altitude, the exposure, and the latitude. In general, the temperature decreases by about 0.6° to 1°C . for every 100 m. (328 ft.) elevation. Insolation, relative humidity, and precipitation increase in proportion to the elevation. The mountain slopes usually have a Dfb climate. The boundary between the Dfb and ETH depends not only on elevation but also on latitude. In the Carpathians it lies at an altitude of about 5250 ft., in the Caucasus at about 6230 ft.

The diagrams of average monthly temperatures and precipitation (Fig. 62) illustrate the climatic conditions of Ukraine.

I. Tesla

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6. THE BLACK SEA AND THE SEA OF AZOV

POSITION AND AREA

The Black Sea

In ancient times the Black Sea was called *Pontus Euxinus* (Hospitable Sea); its Old Ukrainian name was the "Rus' Sea." The northern and western coasts of the Black Sea are in Europe; its eastern and southern coasts are in Asia. On the southwest it is connected with the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus, the Sea of Marmora, and the Dardanelles, and on the northeast with the Sea of Azov through Kerch Strait. The Black Sea lies between 40°54'N. and 46°38'N. and between 27°29'E. and 41°48'E. Its greatest length, at latitude 42°30', is 702 miles; the greatest breadth, between Ochakiv and Ereğli (on the shore of Asia Minor), is 308 miles, while its narrowest part—between Cape Sarych in southern Crimea and Cape Kerembe in Asia Minor—is 163 miles. Its area is 160,000 sq. mi.

The Sea of Azov

Called in ancient times *Palus Maeotis* and, at one time—by the Ukrainians—the Sea of Surozh, the Sea of Azov is a large shallow inlet of the Black Sea, reached through the shallow Kerch Strait, which ranges between 93 and 25 miles in width. The Sea of Azov lies between 45°16'N. and 47°17'N., and 33°36'E. and 39°21'E. Its area is 14,500 sq. mi.

GEOLOGICAL HISTORY AND RELIEF OF THE SEA BOTTOM*

Geological History

The Black Sea and the Sea of Azov are the remains of the ancient central European Sea of Tethys, which existed from the end of the Paleozoic up to the Tertiary period. As a result of orogenic

movements in the middle of the Tertiary period, this sea retreated or was divided into a series of basins. The Pontus, from which the Black Sea developed in the Upper Miocene, was an inland lake which extended from Moldavia in the west to the Aral Sea in the east. At the end of the Pliocene the waters of the Pontus covered only a portion of the present Black Sea area.

During the glacial ages of the Pleistocene the level of the Black Sea rose, and it was joined with the Caspian Sea by the Manych Depression. When in post-glacial time the Black Sea receded, its level became lower than the level of the ocean and thus the Bosphorus was formed. The salt waters of the Mediterranean entered the Black Sea and filled its basin. This caused the destruction of the fresh-water fauna of the Black Sea and the appearance of the marine fauna. Owing to the rising of the base level, the lower reaches of the rivers were flooded and transformed into limans (estuaries). Earthquakes occurring in the Crimea indicate that tectonic movements on the floor of the sea have not ceased.

The Relief of the Sea Bottom

The Black Sea can be divided into two sections, each characterized by a specific depth distribution. The smaller part in the north is a shallow shelf, where the depth is less than 330 ft. (100 m.). The larger and southern section is a deep-water basin with steep walls. The greatest slopes of around 19° are found near the Bosphorus; those in the southeast corner are around 17° while the slopes near Novorossiisk are around 14°. The bottom of the basin is almost level, slowly falling to its maximum depth of 7,360 ft. The average depth is 4180 ft.

The depth of the Sea of Azov does not exceed 46 ft., averaging from 23 to 36 ft. Its bottom is flat.

*See also "Geology."

Deposits on the Sea Bottom

The deposits on the bottom of the Black Sea change with depth. Along the coast sand and mud occur; in areas where the depth ranges from 160 to 600 ft. calcareous shells of molluscs and echinoderms are accumulating. The slopes of the deep basin are covered with sticky mud, black at the surface and light gray inside of the layer; the color comes from ferrous sulfide deposited in the form of grains or thin needles. The bottom of the basin proper is covered with blue clay.

The bottom of the Sea of Azov is covered with sand and mud.

THE COASTS**The Black Sea**

The coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov are generally not irregular (see *infra*, p. 86). With the exception of the jutting Crimean Peninsula and Karkinik Bay, the coastline does not wind.

There are several tiny islands of which the largest are: Berezan, which lies opposite the Dnieper liman, Zmiiv, opposite the Danube mouth, and Kefken, near the Anatolian shore. The western and northern shores of the Black Sea, with the exception of southern Crimea, are low; the eastern and southern shores are mountainous.

The Ukrainian shore of the Black Sea begins with the marshy and swampy Danube delta. Immediately northward the coast is formed by cliffs of the Black Sea Lowland. Coastal landslides are typical of this section as the waves undercut Upper Tertiary clay overlain by the Pontic limestones. Material from the cliffs is carried down to produce bottom deposits and spits. In places spits cut off shallow bays, forming coastal lakes. Sometimes they close river mouths. As a result of the strong evaporation small rivers do not reach the sea but instead empty into insular salty limans, e.g. Kuialnytsky, Khad-



FIGURE 63. HARBOR OF SEVASTOPOL, SITUATED IN A LONG AND DEEP BAY (PHOTOGRAPHED IN THE 1920's)



FIGURE 64. THE SOUTHERN SHORE OF THE CRIMEA NEAR ICHZUF
Mediterranean vegetation can be seen in the foreground.

zhybeisky, Tylyhulsky, and others. The water of the limans of large rivers, however, such as the Dniester, Boh, and Dnieper, breaks through the sandy bars to the sea.

East of the Dnieper liman the cliffs gradually flatten. The coast becomes flat and low, and is usually covered with sand. Spits are characteristic of this section, e.g., Tender, Dzharlyhak, and others.

The northwestern coast of the Crimea is low, with lagoons. South of Balaklava

it becomes higher. Salt lakes, from which salt is derived, extend along the shore. The southwestern shore of the Crimea, stretching perpendicular to the ridges of the Crimean Mountains, is indented. The sea forces its way into the mountain valleys and forms long, deep bays, which favor the building of ports (Sevastopol).

The southeastern shore of the Crimea runs parallel to the mountain ridges, which fall sharply seaward. The coast is mountainous with a characteristically

narrow beach which widens at the mouths of the mountain rivers. The coastline lacks large bays suitable for harbors. East of Feodosiia the shore flattens again. The shores of the Taman Peninsula are flat with many small bays.

The eastern shore of the Black Sea, along the Caucasus, is mountainous in character; only a few bays are suitable for harbors (the ports of Novorossiisk, Sochi, and others).

The Sea of Azov

The shores of the Sea of Azov are formed largely by the lowland. Along the Crimean shore lies the low Arabat Spit, which is 70 miles long and 0.2-2.7 miles wide and which closes off the shallow Syvash, or the Putrid Sea (*Hnyle More*), which covers an area of 1,000 square miles; its average depth is 3 ft. The northern shores of the Sea of Azov are steep. The coast shoreline forms embayments which end in long sand spits. The eastern shore is low and marshy. The two great streams which empty into the Sea of Azov, the Don and the Kuban, have developed large marshy deltas. The smaller rivers, such as the Molochna and the Yeia, end in limans. There are a few islands, such as Byriuchy on the northwest, Cherepakha opposite Tahanrih (Taganrog), and a group of sandy islands opposite Yeisk.

THE SEA WATER

Salinity

In the open sea the salinity of the surface water of the Black Sea is 17-18 per mille (in the Mediterranean Sea it is 38 per mille on the average); in the northwestern part, because of the inflow of fresh water brought by the great rivers, the salinity is only 13 per mille, and it is still lower at the estuaries of the rivers. The low percentage of salt in the Black Sea is caused by the heavy inflow of fresh water from great rivers.

The salinity increases with depth and reaches 22.5 per mille at depths of some

1,300 ft.; below that depth the salinity is constant. This phenomenon is due to the large inflow of the salt water from the Mediterranean Sea through the Strait of Bosphorus.

The average salinity in the Sea of Azov is 11 per mille.

Density

The density of the sea water is mainly dependent upon salinity and temperature. The density of the surface water ranges from 1.010 to 1.014 and is less at the estuaries of the great rivers than in the open sea. It increases with depth, attaining 1.017 at a depth of 650 ft., and then remains fairly constant down to the bottom.

Gas Constituents

Oxygen is of the greatest importance among gas constituents of sea water since it supports organic life. In surface water oxygen is present in amounts of 4-7 cc. per liter of water. The amount of oxygen rapidly diminishes with increase in depth, almost disappearing at a depth of around 650 ft. (0.5 cc. per liter of water). This rapid decrease is due to the lack of a vertical exchange of water from lower depths.

Another unfavorable circumstance which makes organic life impossible below 650 ft. is the high percentage of hydrogen sulphide (H_2S). At a depth of 590 ft. it amounts to 0.4 cc. per cu.m. of water. The content increases to 6-7 cc. per liter at a depth of 6,500 ft. The reasons for the saturation of the deep waters by hydrogen sulphide are not fully understood. It might be caused by the rapid decomposition of the fresh-water organisms, which perished as a result of the salination of the Black Sea following the formation of the Bosphorus. Another cause may be the decomposition of sulphur compounds under the influence of the action of the bacteria, *Microspira aestuarii*, the only living organism in the deep waters below 650 ft.

Temperature

The annual mean temperature of the surface waters and its annual range depend, among other factors, upon the range of temperature of the neighboring coastal regions, the latitude, and the properties of the water. The average annual temperature of the water in the northern part of the Black Sea is 52°F.; it increases to 59° in the southern and south-eastern directions. The highest mean temperatures are found in August in the open sea; in the northern part the temperatures rise to 68–70°F., in the southern, up to 78°F. The water in the land-locked Sea of Azov reaches 77–82°F.; the temperature of the water in limans rises to 86°F. The temperatures are lowest in February, and sometimes in January the temperature in the northwestern part of the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azov falls to around 32°F.; in the southern part it dips to 44°F., and south of the Crimean mountains it can fall to 50°F. Yet from year to year important deviations from average values occur.

Vertically the annual variations in water temperature are limited to layers lying not deeper than 500 ft. In winter the denser cold water of the upper layers sinks down; in turn, the warmer and lighter water from the deeper layers rises to the surface. As a result of the constant movement of the water of the upper stratum a uniform temperature of about 44°F. obtains in this stratum in winter. With increase in depth the temperature rises (at a depth of 1,640 ft. it is 47.8°F., and at 6,562 ft. it is about 48°F.). In summer the surface waters are the warmest, and as the depth increases the temperature drops to its minimum (about 46°F.) at 328 ft. (100 m.). From there to the bottom the temperature rises, and at the depth of 1,640 ft. it attains the same temperature level as in winter, i.e. 47.8° to 48°F.

Freezing

The coastal waters on the north and west of the Black Sea and those of the

Sea of Azov in winter are covered with ice which varies in thickness from 4 in. to 3 ft. and, practically, presents no obstacle to navigation.

The time of the appearance of the first frost and the time of ice melting vary greatly in different places. Thus the average number of days of continuous ice cover of coastal water is: at the mouth of the Dniester, 97; in Odessa, 56; Ochakiv, 81; Mykolaiv, 92; Kerch, 51; Henychesk, 96; Berdiansk, 92; Tahanrih (Taganrog), 117.

Color and Transparency of Water

The water of the Black Sea is a greenish-blue, becoming greener and yellow-green close to the shore. The greatest transparency occurs near the eastern shores (88.5 ft.), and the smallest (6–10 ft.) in the northwestern part of the sea, especially in the spring. The waters of the Sea of Azov have minimal transparency.

WATER MOVEMENTS

Waves

The waves in calm weather are almost unnoticeable. When a fresh breeze blows they reach a height of 16 ft., and during storms, 30 to 50 ft.

Tide

The tide is almost imperceptible; on the average it amounts only to 3 in. in height.

Sea Currents

The surface currents caused by the cyclonic pattern of the winds approximate two circles (Fig. 65). The width of the western currents near the mouth of the Danube is approximately 62 miles; it is narrowed in the southern direction (having a width of 6 miles in the neighborhood of the Bosphorus). The velocity of the current is 0.3 mph. The breadth of the eastern circle is 31 to 62 miles and its velocity is 0.6 mph.

The double currents in the straits of the Bosphorus and the Kerch are due to

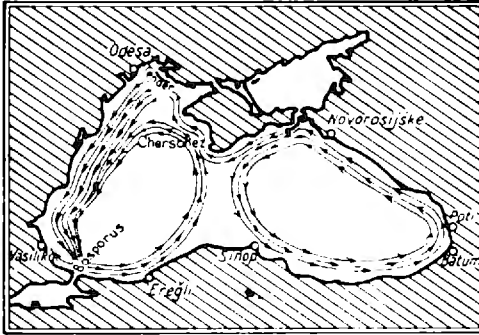


FIGURE 65. THE SURFACE CURRENTS IN THE BLACK SEA

the differences in salinity of the Black Sea, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Sea of Azov. In the Bosphorus a relatively fresh surface water flows from the Black Sea into the Sea of Marmora with a velocity of 4.3 to 7 ft. per second. A relatively saline current flows in the reverse direction between the depths of 164 and 392 ft. with a velocity of 1.3 to 2.2 ft. per second.

Through the Kerch Strait a surface current of water with low salinity flows from the Sea of Azov to the Black Sea at a rate of 1.3 to 2.6 ft. per second. The lower current carries salt water of the Black Sea into the Sea of Azov. The border between the two currents lies at a depth of about 16.4 ft.

The sea level undergoes slight changes (2-3 in.) in the course of the year. It is highest in June, when the rivers bring the greatest amount of water into the sea; it is lowest in October or November, the time of the lowest rate of flow of the rivers. Winds blowing continu-

ously in the same direction also affect the sea level near the shores.

CLIMATE CHARACTERISTICS

A general description of the climate of the Ukrainian coastline on the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov is presented in the section on climate. A few words may be added here concerning winds and fogs.

The strength and direction of winds depend chiefly upon the distribution of barometric pressure. Since the Black Sea is often the locale of cyclones, northerly winds prevail near its western coast, easterly winds at the northern and eastern shores.

Storms develop most frequently in winter, especially in the northwest and on the Sea of Azov.

Fogs occur largely in the winter, when cold air masses from the north overlies relatively warm waters.

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7. INLAND WATERS

UNDERGROUND WATERS

Ukraine can be subdivided into several hydrogeological provinces whose peculiarities are due to differences in geological and climatic conditions.

In Polisia the ground-water table lies near the surface (1.5 to 10 ft.) in sands underlain by moraine and Tertiary clays, and more rarely by Cretaceous deposits and granites. The drinking water is of

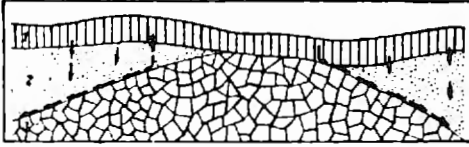


FIGURE 66. DIAGRAM SHOWING HYDROGEOLOGICAL RELATIONS IN THE REGION OF THE UKRAINIAN CRYSTALLINE SHIELD

(1) Loess; (2) Sands; (3) Crystalline rocks. Water percolates down through the two top strata and partly disappears in joints of crystalline rocks, partly flows down along their sloping surface. Thus, large reservoirs of ground water seldom occur in this region.

average quality, often impure. The artesian waters are very deep in this area and are used chiefly to meet the water needs of the cities.

In the Dnieper Lowland the underground waters are associated with the lowest strata of loess or with the Paleogene sands; on the river terraces they lie near the surface at a depth of 6 to 10 ft. The water is often saline and in places completely unfit to drink. The artesian waters occur in the Tertiary deposits and in the Cenomanian sands (Cretaceous); they are hard but of good quality.

The underground waters of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield (see Fig. 66) accumulate in loess or in the sandy clay which covers crystalline rocks. The capacity of the wells depends upon the weather conditions; during long droughts, the springs dry up. Good subterranean

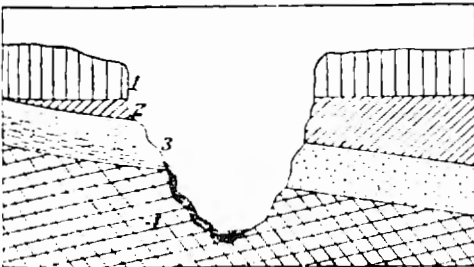


FIGURE 67. SCHEMATIC CROSS-SECTION OF A RAVINE IN PODILIA

Illustrates a typical case of the occurrence of a spring in one of the walls of the ravine. (1) Loess; (2) Impervious rocks; (3) Water-bearing layer; (4) Second horizon of impervious rocks.

water occurs in the hollows of the crystalline rocks and is reached by wells.

The Dniester area and Podilia possess a good supply of water which is secured from several horizons (see Fig. 67). The most important is the water from the Silurian sandstones and limestones and from the Cenomanian sandstones.

The Donets Basin is poor in regard to underground water. Moreover, the mines and industrial plants pollute it and thus reduce its usefulness.

In the steppe region, the top horizon of ground water is often saline and bitter, hardly fit for drinking. However, good water is secured from deeper strata.

The Carpathian Mountains and the Caucasus, which receive the greatest rainfall, are very rich in subterranean water.

MINERAL SPRINGS

Mineral springs are found in all areas, especially in the mountains and in the foothills. Carbon dioxide springs are found in the Carpathians and in the Caucasus. Iron-bearing springs occur in the Carpathian Mountains (Krynitsia and Burkut), in the Kiev area (Lysianka), and in the Kharkiv *oblast* (Berezivka). Sulphuric springs have been the most visited, such as Pidliute in the Carpathian Mountains, Cherche in Podilia, Sklo and Nemyriv in Roztichia. Saline springs are found in Slovianske, in Subcarpathia (Morshyn and Truskavets), and in the Crimea.

Thermal springs are found in the Caucasus and in the Carpathian Mountains. Radioactive springs occur on the Black Sea shores, e.g., the Salt Lake (*Solone Ozero*) of Odessa and in Myrhorod. Bitter springs are found in the Kuban and in the Kryvyi Rih areas.

RIVERS

General Remarks

The Ukrainian rivers are for the most part long arteries, such as the Dniester,

the Boh, and the Dnieper, which flow slowly across the plains southward to the Black Sea. The Kuban flows to the Sea of Azov. Only the western regions of Ukraine are drained by the Buh (Bug) and the Sian (San) through the Vistula into the Baltic Sea; the southeastern areas are drained through the Kuma and the Terek which empty into the Caspian Sea. The divide between the sources and upper parts of the rivers of the Black and the Baltic seas, with but few exceptions, passes through plains, and the rivers of both basins can easily be connected by canals.

The rivers in Ukraine are mostly navigable due to their uniform flow. The only barrier to navigation is presented by the rapids in places where the rivers break their way through the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. The famous Dnieper rapids are now submerged and navigation from the Black Sea to the Baltic proceeds freely. A noteworthy feature of the Dniester, the Boh, and the Dnieper are the limans—the long and narrow bays or estuaries into which these rivers empty. Another characteristic feature is the difference in elevation between the right and the left banks of most of the Ukrainian rivers. The right bank is higher than the left.

Regime of the Rivers

A river regime is controlled chiefly by the climate, especially by the amount, type, and annual distribution of the precipitation and by the evaporation. Stream-flow records at various points of a river show that scarcely one-quarter and even less of the precipitation reaches the rivers while more than three-quarters evaporates. The percentage of rainfall lost by evaporation increases from north to south. Thus, for example, in the Dnieper basin above Kiev almost 75 per cent of the rainfall evaporates; in the valley of the middle Dnieper, 87 per cent; and in the basin of the lower Dnieper more than 90 per cent, so that

less than 10 per cent reaches the river. Loss by evaporation in the other river basins is likewise very great. In the south and southeast of the country, the rate of evaporation is so great that some rivers do not reach the sea, either ending their course in limans having no outlets to the sea (the Velykyi and Malyi Kuialnyk, Tylyhul) or being lost in the sands (the Manych and the Kuma).

The intensity of the evaporation varies with the seasons. The smallest evaporation occurs in winter (in December, 17 per cent of the precipitation in the Dnieper basin evaporates) and in late spring; the greatest evaporation occurs in summer (in May evaporation in the Dnieper basin has been observed to be more than 100 per cent of the amount of the rainfall), and at that time the rivers are fed by the reserves of water stored in the ground during the preceding cold season. The variation over the year of precipitation, evaporation, and volume of water for the upper Dnieper is presented in Figure 68. In addition to

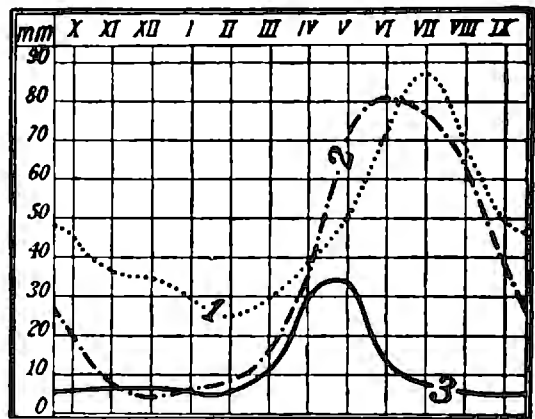


FIGURE 68. ANNUAL MARCH OF PRECIPITATION Evaporation (1) and drainage (2) of the Upper Dnieper above Kiev (3).

changes occurring during the year, the amount of evaporation and the flow vary from year to year.

The rivers in Ukraine have a certain annual rhythm in their regime. Figure 69 shows the regime of the Dnieper. The

high waters occur in spring owing to the melting of snow. The upper course of rivers has its maximum flow in March or April, while the lower course attains its greatest volume in May. During the summer the level gradually decreases, reaching its lowest point during the dry season (August through October). The second minimum occurs in winter (either in December or January or February)

when the snow falls and the rivers are fed mainly by ground waters. Between the autumn and winter lows a small rise in flow takes place at the time when the low temperature results in decrease of evaporation and some 75 per cent of the precipitation reaches the rivers. The rivers with headwaters in the mountains (the Dniester and the Kuban) have a second period of high waters brought about by heavy summer precipitation and the melting snow from the mountains.

The winter regime. In winter all the rivers of Ukraine save those in the south are covered with ice. In the northern regions the rivers remain icebound for three to four months; in the south, only about a fortnight. The rivers in the north are covered with ice in the beginning of December. On the average, the small rivers freeze over after 17 days with temperatures below freezing, while the large rivers freeze after 23 days, and canals after 12 days. The rivers in the south of Ukraine become frozen during the second half of December. The spring thaw of the rivers proceeds from south to north; thus, the Dnieper at Kherson experiences its earliest ice jam on about March 11, at Zaporizhia on about March 24, and at Kiev on March 27. The rivers sometimes become icebound very early, as in 1870 when the Dnieper froze over on November 3. The breaking up of the ice depends upon the severity of the winter; for example, in 1899 the ice broke on the Dnieper at Kiev on January 26, and in 1905 on April 23.

Floods. The breaking up of the ice in the rivers is immediately followed by high waters, caused by the melting of the snows.

Spring floods characterize all rivers throughout Ukraine. The most dangerous are those in the upper course of the Dnieper where the water level may rise ten to twenty feet above the average elevation (1931, 1917, 1908, and 1895). The large Dnieper tributaries, Desna and Prypiat, emptying into the

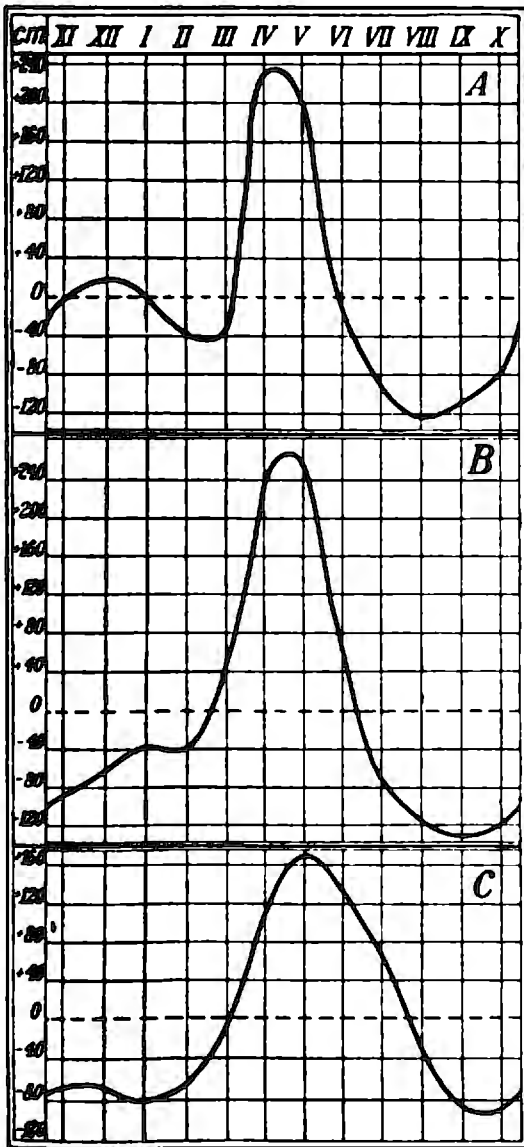


FIGURE 69. ANNUAL VARIATIONS IN THE WATER LEVEL OF THE DNEPER
(A) at Loiv; (B) at Kremenchuk; (C) near Kherson.

Dnieper not far to the north from Kiev, increase the flood hazard since the high waters of these tributaries cannot be accommodated by the Dnieper channel. Then the Prypiat overflows the Polisian Lowland, transforming the area into a lake. Spring floods also swell the rivers of the Baltic Sea basin, the tributaries of the Vistula (the Wisłoka, the Sian (San) and the Buh (Bug)). These rivers first begin thawing upstream and thus the waters impounded by the downstream frozen sections overflow the banks. The mountain rivers are subject to serious floods brought on by heavy rains in summer. For example, in 1941, 1927, 1919, and 1893, the floods of the right-bank Dniester tributaries took a heavy toll in life and property. The greatest floods on the Kuban River occurred on July 8, 1901, July 27, 1899, and July 14, 1863.

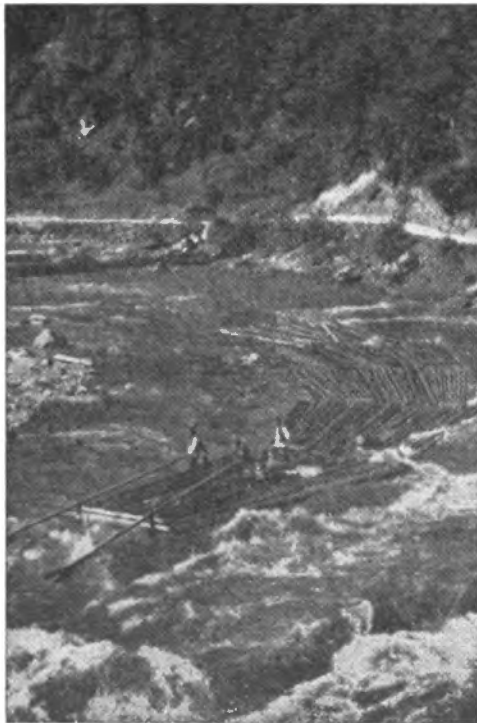


FIGURE 70. MOUNTAIN RIVER
The Cheremosh in the Carpathians.



FIGURE 71. RYBNYTSIA RIVER IN THE CARPATHIANS
Rapids near the town of Kosiv.

A Brief Characterization of the More Important Rivers

With the exception of the Dniester and the Boh, all the larger Ukrainian rivers originate outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic territory.

The Danube touches the Ukrainian territory only in its delta section. Yet some of its principal tributaries flow on Ukrainian territory, as the Tysa (Tisza) which rises in the southern slopes of the Chornohora (Black Mountain) and is fed by the smaller streams of the Ukrainian Transcarpathia, the Tereshva, the Tereblia, the Velyka Rika, the Borzhava, the Liatorytsia, and the Uzh. In the northern slopes of the Chornohora rises another tributary of the Danube, the Prut, with its affluent, the Cheremosh (see Fig. 70). The Danube's tributary, the Seret, flows through Bukovina. All these mountain rivers have picturesque valleys with waterfalls and rapids. Some streams are used for timber flottage.

The Dniester (length, 880 mi. with a basin of 27,800 sq. mi.) is the largest river in Western Ukraine. Its sources are

in the eastern Carpathians near the village of Vovche, at an elevation of 2,493 ft. It begins as a mountain stream. Reaching the Carpathian foothills, the Dniester turns to the southeast and acquires a much flatter gradient as the river valley becomes wider. In the Sian-Dniester Lowland, the Dniester valley is swampy. Below the town of Nyzhnyv, the Dniester enters the Volhynia-Podilian Plateau and cuts a deep ravine. Near the town of Yampil the river forms rapids as it crosses the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. From Tyraspil down to the mouth the Dniester valley is swampy. Near the Black Sea the Dniester floods its valley forming a liman about 25 mi. long and 6 mi. wide which is connected with the sea by two arms.

The Dniester is for the most part an unregulated river and owing to the generally low level of the water navigation is confined to a period of several weeks' duration only in spring and summer. Steamboat traffic in the lower course was introduced in 1840.

Of the right-bank tributaries of the Dniester the Bystrytsia (length, 58 mi.) with the affluent, Tysmenytsia, the Stryi (143 mi.) with the Opir, the Svicha, the Limnytsia (76 mi.), and the Bystrytsia (68 mi.) are rapid mountain rivers. Two others, the Reut and the Byk, flow from the Bessarabian Highlands in swampy valleys. The left-bank tributaries of the Dniester, with the exception of the Stryvihar, which rises in the mountains, flow from the Volhynia-Podilian Plateau. The most important are: the Vereshytsia, the Zubra, the Hnyla Lypa, the Zolota Lypa (78 mi.), the Strypa (105 mi.), the Seret (150 mi.), the Zbruch (118 mi.), the Ushytsia, the Murakhva, the Yahorlyk, and the Kuchurhan. The Podilian rivers flow in deep gorges which hinder transportation. With very few exceptions, these rivers are not suitable for navigation. They are used mainly to furnish power for watermills.

The Boh, also Pivdennyi (Southern) Buh (532 mi. in length, river basin 24,600 sq. mi.) flows from the northern section of Podilia parallel to the Dniester to the southeast. In its middle course the Boh is a very swift river, characterized by an uneven bed and by rapids. Near the sea it broadens into a liman which is connected with that of the Dnieper. Into the Boh liman drains the Inhul (220 mi. in length with a basin of 3,820 sq. mi.). The tributaries of the Boh are small and do not carry much water. The largest on the right side are the Kodyma (93 mi.) and the Chychykleia (49 mi.), and on the left the Sob (78 mi.) and the Syniukha (69 mi. in length, with a basin of 6,560 sq. mi.).



FIGURE 72. PRYPIAT RIVER

The Dnieper, the largest and most beautiful river of Ukraine, rises outside the boundaries of Ukraine in the Smolensk *oblast* of the RSFSR. In Belorussia it receives two large tributaries, the Berezhina and the Sozh, and enters the Ukrainian lands as a large river. Immediately inside the borders of Ukraine the Dnieper is joined by its two major tributaries: the Prypiat, on the right, and the Desna, on the left, with the affluent, the Seim.



FIGURE 73. THE DNEIPEP LOWLAND NEAR KIEV

In the foreground, the high Dnieper bank, where the main part of the city is located. In the background—the Dnieper, Trukhaniv Island, and the Dnieper Lowland.

Near Kiev the Dnieper is a mighty stream. From there it flows to the southeast along the northeastern border of the Ukrainian Crystalline Shield. Near Dnipropetrovske it turns south, featuring the famous rapids formed by the outcrops of granite-gneisses in the Dnieper channel. They are now under water as a result of the construction of the great dam near Zaporizhia. Then the river enters the Black Sea Lowland and flows to the southwest; near the Black Sea it forms a liman. The Dnieper is 1,420 mi. in length and its basin covers 194,000 sq. mi.

Of the tributaries of the Dnieper, the largest is the Prypiat (498 mi. in length with a basin of 44,130 sq. mi.), which draws its water from Polisia and Volhynia and is a navigable stream. The right bank affluents of the Prypiat are: the Turia, the Stokhid, the Styr (300 mi.) with the affluent Ikva, the Horyn (410

mi.) with the Sluch (282 mi.), the Stvyha, the Ubort, the Slovechna, and the Uzh. From the left come the Pyna, the Yaselda, the Tsna, the Lan, the



FIGURE 74. THE DNEIPEP RAPIDS, NENASYTETS (THE INSATIABLE)

Polisian Sluch, and the Ptych. The second largest tributary of the Dnieper is the Desna (700 mi. in length with a basin of 34,300 sq. mi.), with its tributary, the Seim (445 mi.).

The other tributaries of the Dnieper are smaller. Most important of those from the left are the Supii, the Sula (258 mi.) with the Udai, the Pslo (430 mi. in length with a basin of 8,800 sq. mi.), the Vorskla (280 mi. in length with a basin of 5,660 sq. mi.) with the Khorol, the Orel, the Samara, and the Konka; from the right, the Teteriv (240 mi. in length with a basin of 5,900 sq. mi.), the Irpin, the Ros, the Tiasmyn, and the Inhulets (340 mi. with a basin of 5,560 sq. mi.).

Since ancient times the Dnieper has been one of the most important river routes.

The Don flows into the Sea of Azov, and only its lowest reaches lie in Ukrainian ethnic territory. Its largest tributary, the Donets (654 mi. in length with a basin of 38,210 sq. mi.) is almost wholly

inside Ukraine. The Donets flows along the northeastern border of the Ukrainian coal basin. The largest tributaries of the Donets are the Udy, the Oskil (270 mi.), the Haidar, and the Kalytva, all on the left, and the Luhan, on the right.

The Kuban (584 mi. in length with a basin of 23,500 sq. mi.) rises in the glaciers of Mount Elbrus. The river flows in its upper course to the northwest, then turns west and forms on the Taman Peninsula a delta which formerly had outlets to the Black and the Azov seas; at present the arms which joined the Kuban River with the Black Sea are silted over and all the waters flow into the Sea of Azov. The Kuban receives almost all its tributaries from the left. The right bank of the Kuban is a dry steppe devoid of rivers.

Other rivers. Of the smaller rivers which flow into the Sea of Azov, the most important are the Molochna, the Berda, the Kalmius, and the Mius. In the Crimean Peninsula, the Salhyr (144 mi.

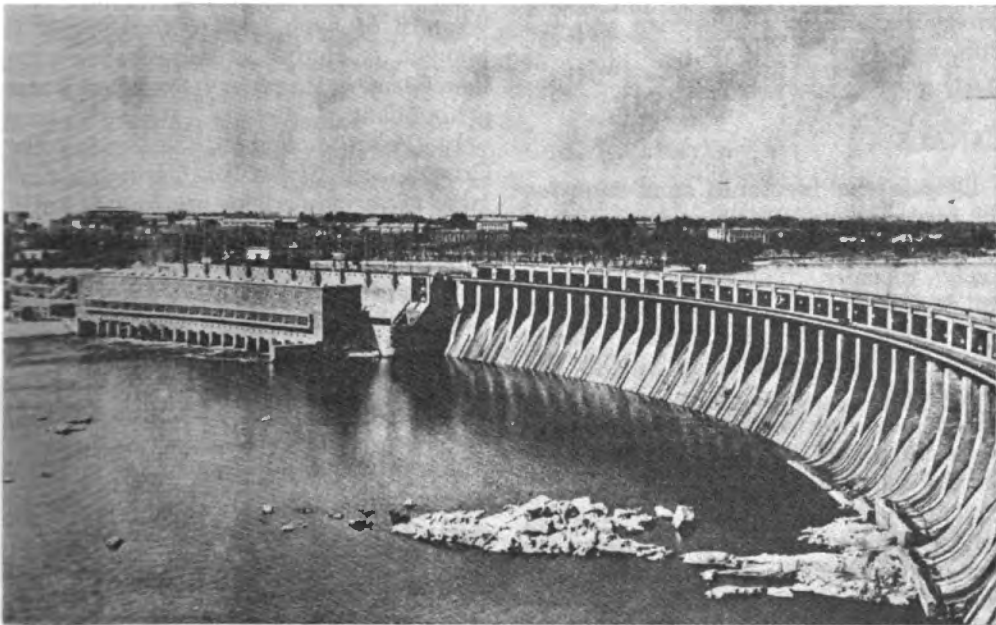


FIGURE 75. DNEIPER HYDROPOWER STATION (DNIPROHES) IN ZAPORIZHIA

In the background the harnessed waters of the river over the flooded rapids—called Lenin's Lake.

in length) is the only river of considerable size.

Two rivers on the borders of the Ukrainian ethnic territory flow into the Caspian Sea: the Terek (375 mi.) with the tributary Malka, and the Kuma (355–375 mi.). In times of drought the Kuma does not reach the sea.

The Baltic Sea basin includes the rivers of the western Ukrainian regions which flow into the Vistula. The largest are the Sian (San) and the Buh (Bug). The Sian (278 mi. in length, with a basin of 6,500 sq. mi.) rises in the High Beskyd (the Carpathian Mountains). From the left it is joined by the Wisłok and from the right by the Vyshnia, the Sklo, the Liubachivka, and the Tanva.

The second major tributary of the Vistula is the large and navigable Buh (505 mi. in length with a basin of 28,400 sq. mi.) with its largest tributary, the Narva.

The Wieprz (in Ukrainian, Vepr), which formerly divided Ukrainian and Polish lands, flows into the Vistula between the mouths of the Sian and the Buh.

CANALS

Despite the favorable conditions for the construction of a network of canals, few canals were built until comparatively recently. The most important canal systems are those which join two sea regions. On the Ukrainian lands there are only two such canals: the Dnieper-Buh Canal (144 mi. in length) which joins the Mukhavets, a tributary of the Buh, and the Pyna, a tributary of the Prypiat; and the canal between the Dnieper-Nieman Canal (213 mi. in length) connecting the Shchara a tributary of the Nieman, and the Yaselda.

LAKES

The Ukrainian territory is not abundant in lakes. They are shallow and of

small size. Most of the lakes are in the northwest, in Podlachia and Polisia, and in the south, near the Black and the Azov seas. The northwestern Ukrainian lakes are of post-glacial origin. The more important are: Lakes Vyhonivske (10 sq. mi.), Svytiaz (10.6 sq. mi.), Pulmo, Tur, Orikhove, Volianske, Bile, Liubizh, Nobel, and Pohost. The lakes of the coastal region were formed for the most part when estuaries became completely separated from the sea by spits. The most important lakes of this type are Sasyk (27 sq. mi.), Donuzval (18 sq. mi.), and Sakske, all in the Crimea. They rarely have an outlet and are saline, salt being deposited on their bottoms.

Lakelike are some of the limans, as for example Kuialnytsky (24 sq. mi), Khadzhybeisky (32.4 sq. mi.) and Molochny, as well as the Bay of Syvash or Putrid Sea (see "Sea of Azov").

The Western Manych River in the North Caucasus is a system of saline lakes and streams which drain into the Don. Of the lakes which compose the Western Manych system, the largest is Manych, or Hudyllo, which reaches more than 60 mi. in length in years when water is abundant.

In Pokutia, Podilia, Volhynia, the Crimea, and *Slobids'ka Ukraina*, small lakes of various origins are found. Small post-glacial lakes occur in the mountains.

In addition, there are many artificial lakes and reservoirs; the largest are: Kremenchuk Reservoir (984 sq. mi.), Kakhivka Reservoir (832 sq. mi.), the so-called Lenin Lake (on the site of the Dnieper Hydro-electric Station—12.3 sq. mi.), and Simferopol Reservoir at the Salhyr River in the Crimea.

SWAMPS

Swamps occupy some 6 million acres of the Ukrainian lands, of which around 4.8 million acres are in the Ukrainian SSR. Swamps are found mostly in the north of the forest zone where they cover from 5 to 30 per cent of the area.



FIGURE 76. THE PINSK MARSHES NEAR THE MOUTHS OF THE STOKHID AND THE PRYPIAT

In Left-Bank Ukraine they occupy from 2 to 5 per cent of the area; in Right-Bank Ukraine, some 2 per cent; and in the steppe, less than 1 per cent. The largest swamps in Ukraine (and in Europe in general) occur in the area of the Prypiat River in Polisia, especially in its western part, where they form large continuous bodies or stretch along the river valleys. Sedge bogs prevail. Central Polisia is less swampy, especially in areas adjacent to the Dnieper River. Swamps of left-bank Polisia occur on the Dnieper-Desna watershed (B. Zamhlai Swamp) and on the flood plains of minor rivers. Swamps occur much less in the left-bank forest steppe. Small swamps are found at the southern boundary of Podilia (in the areas of the upper reaches of the Boh River and of the Styr River), in the Carpathian foothills (Sambir Swamps), and in the low Tysa area (Black Swamp).

The flood plains of the Lower Danube, the Boh, the Dniester, the Dnieper, the Don, and the Kuban are swampy (the so-called *plavni*); best known were the

Konka and the Bazavluk *plavni* which at present are flooded by the Kakhivka Reservoir.

I. Tesla

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8. FLORA

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN PLANT LIFE

The Tertiary Period

The vegetation of Ukraine in the Low Tertiary consisted of tropical and subtropical evergreen woody plants. In the Eocene, there grew in Ukraine palms (*Sabal ucrainica*, *Nipa burtini sive ucrainica*, etc.), cinnamon tree (*Cinnamomum ucrainicum*), yacca-tree (*Podocarpus*), sequoia (*Sequoia*), and banksia (*Banksia*). In the Miocene, when the climate became cooler, the Low Tertiary forms died out; the vegetation assumed a boreal character, somewhat similar to the present flora of the Crimea and the Caucasus, and, in part, to the vegetation of the temperate belts of eastern Asia. Among the trees were chestnut (*Castanea kubinyi*), hornbeam (*Carpinum grandis*), walnut (*Juglans*), beech (*Fagus*), tulip (*Liriodendron*), swamp cypress (*Taxodium*), and many others. Some of these were evergreen; others were deciduous. Of these trees, only the hornbeam and the beech have survived. In the Pliocene, the climate became colder, and the vegetation was similar to the form which it assumes at present, with such genera as willow (*Salix*), poplar (*Populus*), alder (*Alnus*), and elm (*Ulmus*).

Changes in Vegetation during the Glacial Period

During the glacial ages, the forest vegetation was preserved only in limited areas uncovered by the ice sheet. These areas included the Dniester area (the warm Podilia), the right bank of the Donets, and the southern slopes of the Caucasus and the Crimea. During the interglacial ages, the vegetation advanced from these areas and formed extensive deciduous forests in the forest-steppe.

Changes in Vegetation during the Post-glacial Period

After the final disappearance of glaciers from Ukraine, arctic tundra dominated the northern section of the country; the remaining part of the country was steppe with a cold, dry climate. The steppe flora which formed during the retreat of the glaciers consisted of plants which had migrated from the Balkans; these were low mountain forms which did not require heat. Among them was the feather-grass which later became the most typical plant of the Ukrainian steppe. Various xerophytes also migrated from the east, the Caucasus, and the Aral-Caspian floral center. Conditions for the advance of forests, even of conifers, were unfavorable at that time because of the low temperature, the cold winds, and the character of soil.

As the climate grew warmer, the forests spread first within the boundaries of present-day Polisia, where the fluvio-alluvial sands and clayey sands were the most intensely leached. In this area, pine, arctic birch, willow, and certain species of juniper spread extensively. However, it was only in the second half of the post-glacial time, when the climate grew warmer, that oak (*Quercus robur*) and other deciduous trees from the west appeared in Polisia.

With the formation of a climatic optimum and the leaching away of salts from the loess subsoil, the deciduous forests began to advance into the humid steppe of Ukraine, which corresponds to the present forest-steppe. The maximum advance of the deciduous forests occurred approximately 5,000 years ago. Their further advance was checked by man, who, at that time, was already engaged in agriculture (the period of painted ceramics). At that time, the

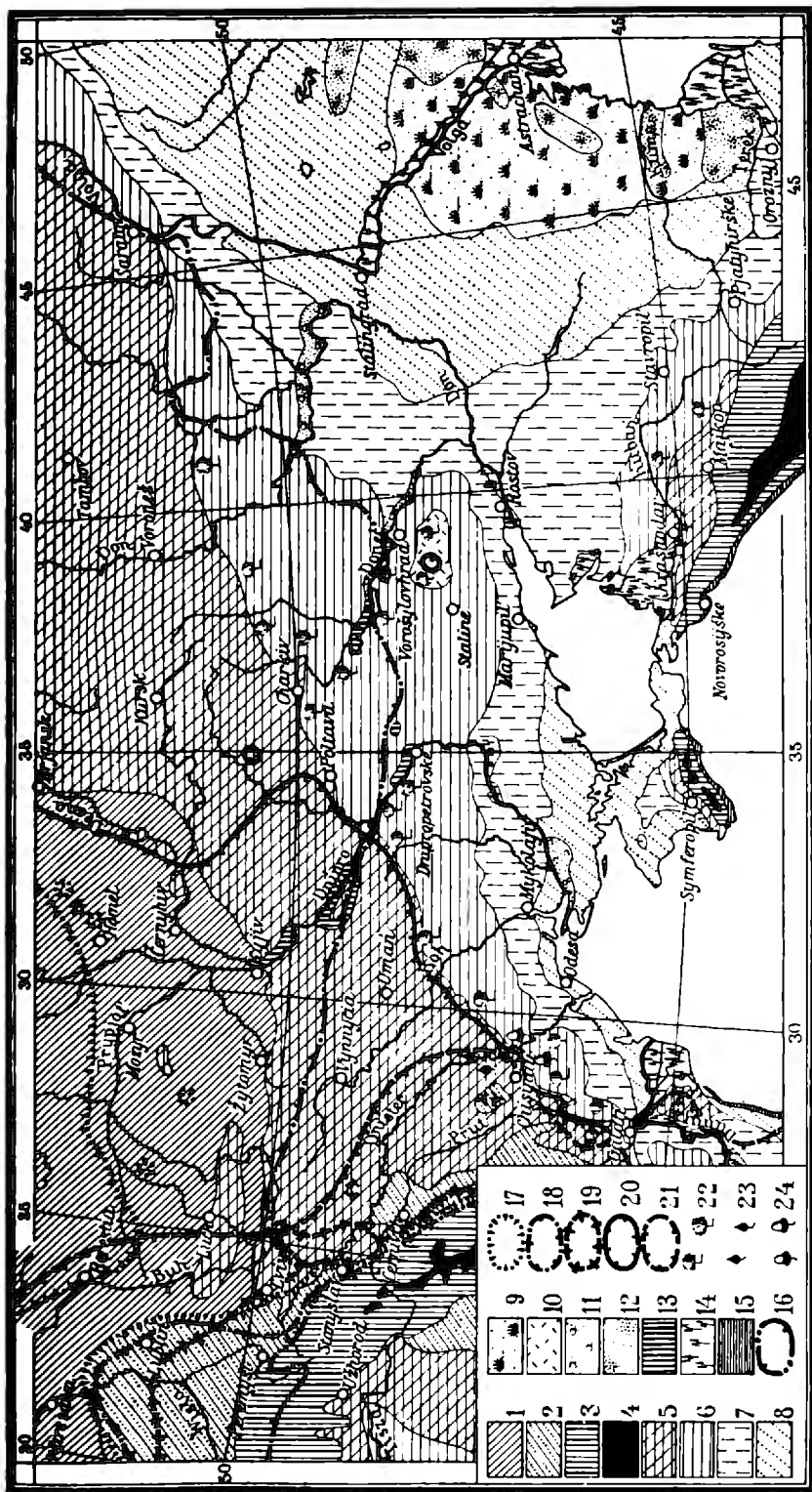


FIGURE 77. VEGETATION OF UKRAINE (G. MAKHOV)

- (1) Northern forest belt; (2) Central European forest belt; (3) Mountain forest belt; (4) High mountain vegetation; (5) forest-steppe; (6) Colored fescue-feather grass steppe; (7) Narrow-leaved fescue-feather grass steppe; (8) Dry grassy steppe; (9) Dry semi-desert steppe; (10) Stony steppe on carboniferous deposits; (11) Sandy steppe; (12) Sands of the eastern semi-deserts; (13) Pine and oak forests of sandy river terraces; (14) Flood plains; (15) Mediterranean vegetation; (16) Southern limit of the pine (*Pinus sibirica*); (17) Compact and enclave range of the spruce (*Picea excelsa*); (18) Eastern boundary of the silver fir (*Abies alba*); (19) Eastern boundary and separate areas of the range of the beech (*Fagus sylvatica*); (20) Eastern boundary and separate areas of the hornbeam (*Carpinus betulus*); (21) Eastern boundary of the range of the winter oak (*Quercus petraea*); (22) Ravines; (23) Silver Linden (*Tilia argentea*); (24) Woolly oak (*Quercus lanuginosa*).

system of leaving land fallow was widely practised, and it was therefore necessary to have great areas of arable land to meet the needs of the people. As a result, the forests never covered the whole belt of the present forest-steppe. There was always more forest on the right bank, especially in areas of dissected relief, which hindered the expansion of agriculture. On the left bank, the forests spread extensively in the Kursk region, in belts along the high right banks of the rivers Sula, Pslo, Vorskla, and Donets, and in the higher regions of the Donets Ridge. The spread of certain genera of trees was prevented by the cooling of the climate in the first millennium A.D. For this reason, such forms as the beech and the hornbeam appeared only in the west.

The plant life of Ukraine took its present form chiefly in the postglacial time, but it was influenced to some degree by the Tertiary and glacial periods. Plants migrated to Ukraine from several directions: from the north (conifers and bog vegetation); from the west (deciduous trees); from the south, the Crimea and the Caucasus (some deciduous trees and some steppe plants); and from the southwest and east (steppe plants, such as vegetation associated with saline soils). In addition, there also appeared in Ukraine a certain number of endemic species, chiefly on the sands and rocks.

Changes in Vegetation in Historical Times

Great changes in the distribution of plants are wrought by human hands. From the prehistoric period on, man has demanded more and more room for agriculture; he, therefore, destroyed the forests, drained the swamps, and plowed up the steppe. Thus, man destroys some plants, fosters others, and is constantly creating new plant associations.

At present, only a few areas remain which have not been penetrated by man. To save these, plant sanctuaries have been established. These preserves

are under protection of the law, and, within them, destruction of remnants of former plant life, animals, or even the peculiarities of dead nature is prohibited.

The finest forest preserves are in the Carpathians—in Chornohora and in the Gorgans. There is also a preserve in the Bilovezha (Białowieża) Forest on the Ukrainian-Polish-Belorussian ethnographic frontier, within present-day Poland.

There are also steppe reserves; several are located in western Podilia (such as the steppe Pantalykha, between the Strypa and the Seret rivers). The best known one is Askaniia Nova in the Kherson area. Natural preserves of the eastern steppe flora include the virgin steppe of the Starobilsk area and the Provalsky steppe of the Donets Ridge, which is used as a pasture for army studs.

PLANT BELTS

Changes in climate, soils, and land-forms cause zonal distribution of plants in Ukraine. Several plant belts extend in an almost latitudinal direction. From north to south, these are the belts of forest, of forest-steppe, and of steppe.

In addition, there are two areas of mountain plants—in the Carpathians and in the Caucasus. Mediterranean flora is found in the southern Crimea and along the Caucasian Black Sea coast.

The Forest Belt

General characteristics. The forest belt of Ukraine extends through the northern and southwestern part of the country and borders in the south on the forest-steppe. The continuous advance of the forests was aided by the rather moist climate (19–31 inches of precipitation per year) and light sandy soils. The southern border of the forest zone with the forest-steppe, along the line Lviv-Kremianets-Zhytomyr-Kiev-Nizhyn-Hlukhiv, is the boundary between the podzolized soils of Polisia and the clayey



FIGURE 78. DRY PINE FOREST IN VOLHYNIAN POLISIA

chemozems of the forest-steppe. Northwest of this line, there is a great island of forest-steppe which reaches north of the line Kholm-Lutsk-Zhytomyr. We can divide this forest belt into two parts: the western, or the belt of central European forests; and the northeastern belt of the forests of Polisia.

The central European forests. These forests occupy the entire area of Subcarpathia, the Roztichia, and the western part of Podilia. There are more species of trees here than in other parts of Ukraine. The leading trees are silver fir (*Abies alba*) and beech (*Fagus sylvatica*). Silver fir forms wide areas of woodland in Subcarpathia and it is even found in the lowlands. Beech grows in great masses in the Roztichia, mostly on moist clayey soils. There are also oak (*Quercus petraea* and *Quercus robur*), linden (*Tilia cordata*), elm (*Ulmus campestris*), birch (*Betula verrucosa*), sycamore maple (*Acer pseudoplatanus*),

Norway maple (*Acer platanoides*), pine (*Pinus sylvestris*), and spruce (*Picea excelsa*). Much rarer are larch (*Larix decidua*) and yew (*Taxus baccata*). The eastern boundary of this area of dispersion reaches the line Lublin-Drohobych-Kolomyia. The last yew forest is in the preserve Kniashdvoiry near Kolomyia. Beech is the most characteristic forest tree in Western Ukraine.

The eastern border of beech distribution coincides approximately with the realm of distribution of many other plants. The luxuriant grasses and a multitude of various plants give to the forests a special charm. On the clay banks of the river, where the soil becomes swamp, wet meadows create the so-called "lazy" spaces. Only spruce, oak, birch, and alder (*Alnus glutinosa*) grow there; they do not grow too close to each other. However, there are also many water-loving plants such as marsh marigold (*Caltha palustris*), sedge (*Carex*), and rush (*Juncus*). Above the water, there are white water lily (*Nymphaea alba*), yellow water lily (*Nuphar luteum*), cattail (*Typha*), reed (*Phragmites*), hazel (*Corylus avellana*), buckthorn (*Rhamnus*), spindle tree (*Evonymus*), and others.

The forests of Polisia. These forests occupy the northern part of the forest belt of Ukraine. The number of tree species here is smaller than that in the belt of the central European forests. The most widespread conifer is the pine; the most common deciduous tree is the oak. There are many northern plants, especially along the border with Belorussia. A characteristic feature of the area is the great number of bogs in the forests. There are hypnum and sphagnum bogs. Among the shrubs associated with bogs we find heather (*Calluna vulgaris*), whortleberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*), and the red bilberry (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*). In western Polisia there are azalea or yellow rhododendron (*Azalea pontica* or *Rhododendron luteum*), bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), one-

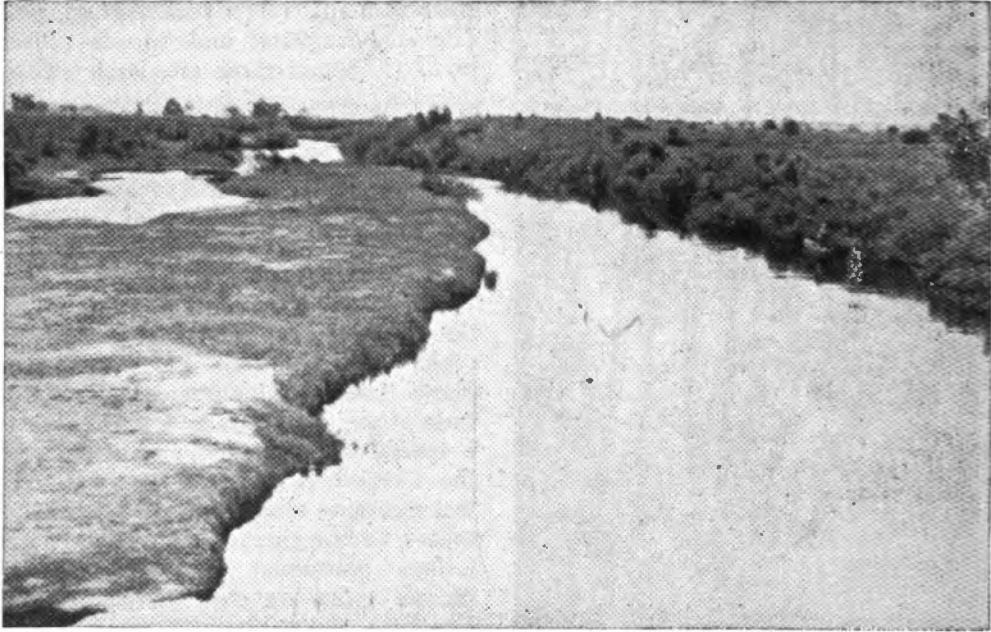


FIGURE 79. ALDER BUSHES IN POLISIA

On the left, associations of peat mosses (*Sphagnum*); in the center, the Bobryk River close to its confluence with the Prypiat.

flowered wintergreen (*Pyrola uniflora*), serrated or one-sided wintergreen (*Pyrola secunda*), and prince's pine (*Chimaphila umbellata*). In the swampy areas under the pine woods, we find on the sphagnum mossy carpet characteristic herbs and shrubs such as narrow-leaved Labrador tea (*Ledum palustre*), sheathed cotton grass (*Eriophorum vaginatum*), and others.

Depending upon the character of the soil, the subsoil, and the amount of moisture, several plant formations exist in Polisia, namely:

(1) *Bory* (*Pineta*). These pine woods grow on sands. The growth is entirely of pine or of pine and birch. There is no undergrowth. Among the shrubs and herbs, we find heather, whortleberry, red bilberry, bearberry, one-flowered wintergreen, serrated wintergreen, and prince's pine; in western Polisia on granite outcrops, we also find azalea (*Azalea pontica*).

(2) *Subory* (*Querceto-pineta*). These

are oak and pine woods in clayey, sandy, slightly podzolized soils. They consist of pines, oaks, and, in moist patches, an admixture of alder. The herbaceous covering is luxuriant; we find here in significant quantities bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*). *Pineta* such as *Quercetopineta* are found on dry, fresh, moist, and wet soils, depending on the depth of under-soil water.

(3) *Suhrudky* (*Carpineto-pineta*)—mixed hornbeam and pine woods on podzolized sandy soils underlain by clay. These forests have four-layer societies: in the upper layer society there is pine; second comes oak; then hornbeam or linden; and, in the undergrowth, hazel. The presence of Norway maple is characteristic. The herbaceous covering is diverse and contains a large amount of bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*).

(4) *Hrudy*. Podzolized clayey soils with some sand contain deciduous species: oak, ash, Norway maple, linden, and hornbeam. Hazel forms the under-

growth. On the podzolized clays of Polisia, the ground in the forests is covered with a thick growth of wild ginger (*Asarum europaeum*); in moist places, this is replaced by the white wood sorrel (hare's cabbage—*Oxalis acetosella*). These forest areas in Polisia form islands in the pine forests and are of economic importance.

(5) Alder groves (*Alnetum*) cover the swampy lowlands of this belt. On the peaty bog-gley soils, we find great quantities of alders (*Alnus glutinosa*), sometimes with an admixture of birch. The tall female fern (*Athyrium filix femina*), spinulose shield (*Aspidium spinulosum*), and an overgrowth of stinging or great nettle (*Urtica dioica*) and bittersweet nightshade (*Solanum dulcamara*), often cover the ground in the alder groves.

(6) Swampy forests are formed by the bogging up of pine and mixed forests, which have been growing under the same conditions as the alder groves. There prevail thinly spread pines, with

an admixture of pilose birch (*Betula pubescens*) and scrubby birch (*Betula humilis*). When the subterranean water comes nearer to the surface than 20 in., or when there are periodic floods, the high level of water is not conducive to the development of high trees. Sedges, reed grass (*Calamagrostis lanceolata*), cotton grass, and narrow-leaved Labrador tea form a thick covering.

(7) Sedge swamps form in places where ground water rich in mineral salts comes near the surface. Besides the sedges, there are groups of reed grass and ferns, similar to those found in swampy woods.

(8) Hypnum-sedge swamps contain green mosses (*Hypnum*) and sedges. Sometimes, among the hypnum-sedge swamps there are places covered by low shrubs of willow with a mixture of birch (*Betula pubescens*). These places are called downstream swamps.

(9) Sedge-sphagnum swamps are found in central and eastern Polisia where the ground water is less mineral-



FIGURE 80. SWAMPY FOREST
A formation typical of the greater part of Polisia.

ized. The chief constituents are the peat mosses (*Sphagnum*). Also on the sphagnum carpet are sedges, cotton grass, Lapp willow (*Salix Lapponum*), gray willow (*Salix cinerea*), and small groups of pines (see Fig. 76).

(10) Swamps of the *Sphagnetum* type are formed exclusively by atmospheric water and they occur under very humid climatic conditions, mostly in western Polisia. They are in abundance in the Carpathian and Subcarpathian Mountains. In such swamps, many types of peat moss grow (especially *Sphagnum fuscum*) and narrow-leaved Labrador tea. Low swamp pines grow in clusters.

(11) In places where trees have been cut down, special meadow vegetation forms. Poor plant life, such as wire bent (*Nardus stricta*) and trifled hair grass (*Deschampsia caespitosa*), which is unsuitable for animals develops in the spaces of the pine forests, especially on dry meadows. In the oak-hornbeam woods on the sandy clayey soils, magnificent meadow grasses grow.

All of these forest and swamp plants

are distributed unevenly on the two banks of the Dnieper. The right bank has coniferous forests, for the most part, with extensive swamps; on the left bank, deciduous forests with various kinds of oak, maple, linden, aspen, and birch predominate. In the coniferous woods, pines predominate with an admixture of birch. The northern part of the Chernihiv area has many spruce forests; in the south, there are many birch woods.

The forests of northern Volhynia and Polisia have some rare plants, including the yellow rhododendron (*Rhododendron luteum*) which also grows in the Caucasus and near Lezhaisk (see Fig. 81), garland-flower (*Daphne cneorum*), and the swamp king (*Chrysanthemum scrotinum*). On the granite outcrops near Zhytomyr grows the mountain fern (*Woodsia livensis*).

The natural plant life of the forest belt has undergone considerable change under the influence of man. Today the forest covers scarcely one-quarter of the area, the swamps about fifteen per cent, the hayfields and pastures some-

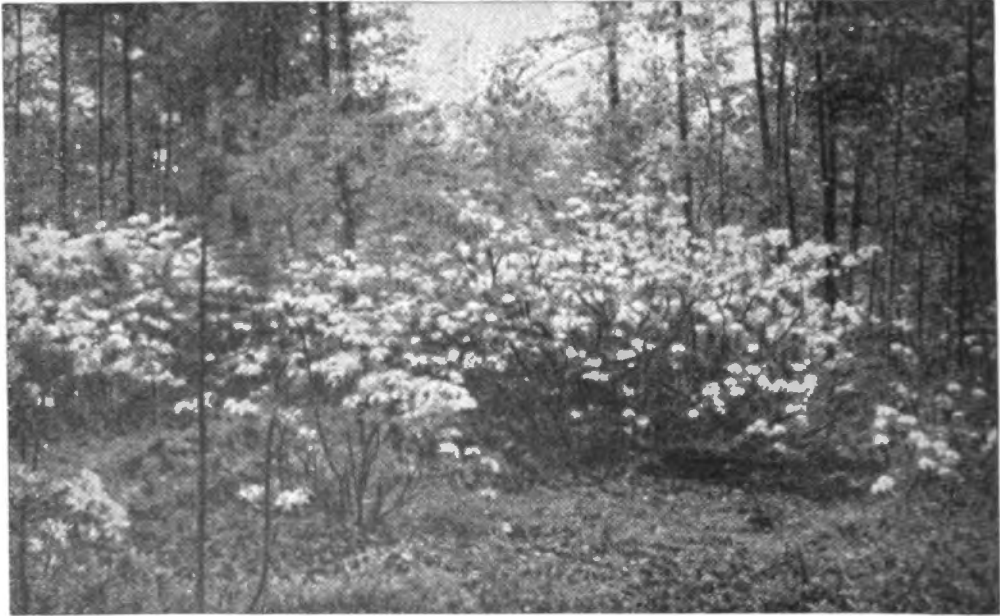


FIGURE 81. BUSHES OF YELLOW RHODODENDRON (*Rhododendron luteum*)
Area of Tomashhorod in Volhynian Polisia.

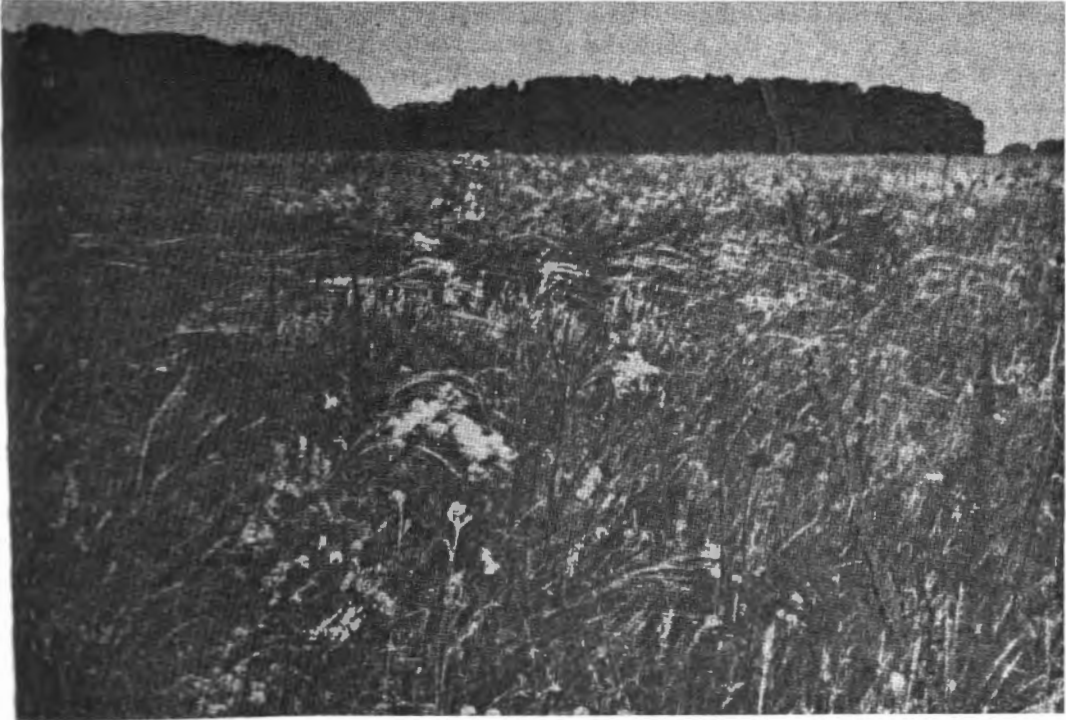


FIGURE 82. FOREST-STEPPE

Colored feather-grass steppe, an aspen forest in the background. Kharkiv area.

what more than twenty per cent, and the remainder (about forty per cent) is cultivated land. The greatest changes in the original flora have occurred where the better and drier soils have favored the spread of agriculture, and the smallest changes have occurred in central Polisia, the most swampy area.

The Forest-Steppe

General characteristics. The forest belt passes in the south and southeast into the steppe belt, which stretches to the Crimean and Caucasian Mountains in the south. The Ukrainian steppes form a part of the Eurasian steppe belt which extends from the Danube to Manchuria. There is no definite line of demarcation between the forest and the steppe belts. Forests occur as peninsulas and islands in the steppe territory. Forest islands, at first large and then diminishing in size and number toward the south, alternate

with steppe formations. This transitional belt between the forest and the steppe is called the forest-steppe. It is a belt of the ancient steppe which in prehistoric times was covered with deciduous forests. The only areas which remained unforested were those which were used for agriculture in the cultural era of painted ceramics. Deep chernozems are typical of the forest-steppe; but part of them, under the influence of the forest, turned into degraded chernozems and gray forest podzolized soils (for the boundaries of the forest-steppe see page 120). A narrow belt of the forest-steppe extends also along the foothills of the Crimean Mountains and the western Caucasus; a large island of forest-steppe is on the loess soil in Volhynia. The original vegetation of the forest-steppe has been poorly preserved, for man has destroyed most of the woods and turned them and the steppe into plowed land.

The forests of the forest-steppe. These forests usually grow on the high right banks of the rivers, and they occupy hilly areas on watersheds. The most widespread tree of the forest-steppe is the oak, with an admixture of ash, hornbeam, elm, linden, Norway maple, and beech. The undergrowth is formed of thickets of hazel (*Corylus avellana*), spindle-tree (*Evonymus verrucosa*), and field or small-leaved maple (*Acer campestre*). Under these, some ferns and many kinds of flowering plants form the ground cover. There are, in the forest-steppe, woods composed exclusively of hornbeams with rather poor ground covering.

In general the western element diminishes in the eastward direction. The beech grows only in western Podilia, and the hornbeam is rare in the forest-steppe of the left bank; only west of the Dnieper does the sycamore maple appear and west of the Boh the rock oak (*Quercus petraea*), tomentose linden (*Tilia tomentosa*), ivy (*Hedera helix*), and others are found. On the sandy terraces of the rivers, especially in areas once under the bulge of the ice sheet, Polisian plant associations, i.e., the hypnum-sedge and sedge-sphagnum swamps and the pine forests, extended far to the south. In the ravines and gullies are the so-called ravine forests, which consist mainly of oak and hornbeam but also of maples, ash, and linden, and, at times, of birch and aspen. The undergrowth of these forests is composed of thickets of field maple, wild guelder rose (snowball) (*Viburnum opulus*), wayfaring tree (*V. lantana*), European dogwood (*Cornus sanguinea*), and hazel. In Podilia, there are beech forests; the edges of these contain the cornel tree (*Cornus mas*), bladder nut (*Staphylea pinnata*), spindle-tree, sumac (*Rhus cotinus*), mahaleb cherry (*Prunus mahaleb*), and, in the east, the following shrubs and plants: tartarian maple (*Acer tataricum*), sun iris (*Iris Gueldenstaediana*), white speedwell

(*Veronica incana*), caragana (*Caragana frutex*), and others which are not found further west. The deep Podilian ravines have a special type of vegetation.

The steppe in the forest-steppe belt. This belt is now almost entirely under cultivation. Patches of virgin steppe are found only in the ravines and on the edges of the forests. The terms "meadow steppe," "mixed herbaceous steppe," or "grassy, colored, broad-leaved steppe" are applied here. This northern variation of the Ukrainian steppe is characterized by the following species: of sedges, predominantly low sedge (*Carex humilis*), and fescue grass (*Festuca sulcata*); of the rhizomatous grasses, there occurs narrow-leaved bent grass (*Agrostis tenuifolia*); of the feather-grasses—*Stipa capillata* and *Joannis stenophylla*. Among the dicotyledonous plants there are many representatives of the so-called colored northern herbs such as yellow lady's bedstraw (*Galium verum*), meadow sage (*Salvia pratensis*), pedicularis (*Pedicularis comosa*), and clover (*Trifolium montanum*). Mosses, predominantly *Thuidium abietinum*, generally form a dense cover on the ground. Further south, the flora of the grassy steppe is much richer.

Thickets of xerophytic steppe shrubs consist of blackthorn or sloe (*Prunus spinosa*), steppe cherry (*Prunus fruticosa*), dog roses (various species of *Rosa*), and Ruthenian broom (*Cytisus ruthenicum*). In the southern part, we find also cut-leaved meadow sweet (*Spiraea crenifolia*) and choke cherry (*Amygdalus nana*).

The name "colored steppe" originated as a result of the variety of colors in the flowers of the forest-steppe. Here a yellow lady's bedstraw (*Galium verum*) or a blue meadow sage (*Salvia pratensis*) stands out against the bright green of the broad-leaved plants. A good supply of water favors evaporation from the broad-leaved plants, which keep their fresh color well into the summer. Further to

the south, the amount of rainfall decreases, the ground water level is lower, and the salt content of the soil increases. The vegetation acquires a somewhat xerophytic character.

The grasses (*Graminaeae*) and the perennial dicotyledons are called the components of the steppe flora. The spaces between these components are filled with various annual or biennial plants called ingredients. In dry seasons the components of the steppe develop less intensively and then the ingredients spread. In the steppe under description, the components form a thick cover and ingredients are few.

The forest-steppe on the broad river-side terrace eastward of the Dnieper presents a separate area of flora. In valley depressions there the *solontsi* (saline soils) stand out. They are covered with the typical salt-loving plants—gallophytes. In the flooded lands on the left side of the Dnieper, low swamps, covered with reed (*Phragmites*),

hypnum-sedge, and sphagnum, are widespread.

The Steppe

General characteristics. The steppe covers almost the entire southern part of Ukraine as far as the sea, and up to the foothills of the Crimean and Caucasus Mountains. Until the eighteenth century, this whole area was occupied by the virgin steppe; now seventy-five per cent of it is under cultivation. The belt of the steppe is divided into the northern—fescue—feather-grass colored steppe or grassy meadow steppe—and the southern—narrow-leaved fescue—feather-grass steppe or grassy steppe. The boundary between these two kinds of steppeland is approximately on the line Tyraspil-Voznesensk-Kryvyi Rih-Zaporizhia; and it goes farther south to the bank of the Azov Sea, skirting the Azov Upland from the west. This boundary coincides, in general, with a contour line of 125 meters (410 feet). In addition, the



FIGURE 83. DRY FEATHER-GRASS STEPPE

In the foreground, the steppe with eastern feather-grass (*Stipa Lessingiana*); in the background, the ravine with an oak forest.

grassy meadow steppe appears in the Kuban region and in the Crimea.

The fescue-feather-grass, colored steppe. This form of steppe is characterized by a great development of thick rough grasses, such as fescue (*Festuca sulcata*), koeleria (*Koeleria gracilis*), and feather-grasses (*Stipa Lessingiana*, *Stipa capillata*, and in low places and on slopes, *Stipa stenophylla*), and by a great development of dicotyledons which are not found in the northern steppe, including the fernleaf peony (*Paeonia tenuifolia*), pheasant's eye (*Adonis wolgensis*), knapweed (*Centaurea trinervia*), and others. There is also a number of broad-leaved grasses with spreading roots—brome grass (*Bromus erectus riparius*), blue grass or June grass (*Poa pratensis*), and couchgrass (*Agropyrum glaucum*). There are many tumbleweeds such as sea cabbage (*Crambe tatarica*) and sea pink (*Statice latifolia*). There are many annual ingredients such as

whitlow grass plant (*Erophila verna*), jagged chickweed (*Holosteum umbellatum*), and others. Mosses such as *Tortula ruralis* come in places between the sod cover. In the copses caragana (*Caragana frutex*) is typical (and in the southeast—*Calophaca wolgarica*).

Durable perennial components constitute the most common plants. They vie with the sod to occupy the entire surface of the soil. These annual plants, which are able rapidly to make the best use of the short spring water time, include whitlow grass (*Erophila verna*) and jagged chickweed (*Holosteum umbellatum*). These small plants have a short vegetation time and require little space and water for their development; therefore, they can develop seeds more quickly and thus perpetuate themselves. Consequently, they are usually successful in their fight with the autochthonous sod which needs more time to cover the empty places formed in winter.



FIGURE 84. FEATHER-GRASS STEPPE OF *Stipa ucrainica*, ASKANILIA NOVA RESERVATION

In the northern steppe, forest vegetation is limited to a few oak groves, which grow exclusively in the ravines (ravine woods), where they are protected from the dry winds and find better hydrological conditions, and to the steppe copses of black thorn, caragana (*Caragana frutex*), choke cherry, spiraea, and others. Most of the ravine oak woods are in the Donets Ridge area. The pine woods have extended deep into the steppe on the sandy river terraces along the Dnieper to the mouth of the Samara, and along the Donets to the mouth of the Borova.

A peculiar vegetation has developed on the steppe of the Donets Ridge where chernozem does not lie on loess but directly on Carboniferous slates and sandstones. Many endemic forms, such as pink (*Dianthus carbonatus*) and various mountain Crimean-Caucasian species are found here. There are many relict and endemic forms on the chalk outcrops of the Donets area and in the eastern part of the Kharkiv province, for example *Erysimum krynkense* and *Hedysarum ucrainicum*.

The narrow-leaved, fescue-feather-grass steppe. This steppe lies to the south of the colored fescue-feather-grass steppe. The soils of this steppe are southern chernozems on loess.

The dry steppes are covered with grasses with an admixture of some herbaceous plants. Among the grasses there predominate the narrow-leaved xerophytes and the grasses which form a dense sod cover, such as fescue (*Festuca sulcata*) and feather-grasses (*Stipa capitata*, *Stipa lessingiana*, and *Stipa ucrainica*). Broad-leaved grasses and dicotyledons are few. On the other hand, there is a great development of annual ingredients, especially the brome grass (*Bromus suarrosus*), low love-grass (*Eragrostis minor*), and the field clover (*Trifolium arvense*).

There are also numerous species of plants which belong to the tumbleweed, e.g., *Phlomis Phlomis pungens*, knapweed

(*Centaurea auxiliaris*), tall gypsophyll (*Gypsophila paniculata*), and sawwort (*Serratula radiata*).

In addition to the ephemeral annuals, such as jagged chickweed (*Holosteum umbellatum*), whitlow grass (*Erophila verna*), medwort alisson (*Alyssum desertorum*), forget-me-not (*Myosotis micrantha*), and androsace (*Androsace elongata*), which finish their vegetative period at the end of May, there are many perennial ephemera which flower at this time, e.g., tulip (*Tulipa Schrenkii* and *Tulipa Biebersteiniana*).

Plants do not all develop and bloom at the same time, and, therefore, the steppe often changes its appearance during the course of the year, depending upon the season, the amount of rainfall, and the temperature. It is only at the end of July that the steppe vegetation withers; but, in autumn, as a result of the rains, the moss finally becomes green and the steppe then goes into its winter rest.

The rich and colored vegetation appears in the steppe in early spring. It includes white cress (*Lepidium crassifolium*), hoary cress (*Lepidium draba*), dogfennel (*Anthemis ruthenica*), and star-of-Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum tenuifolium*). The yellow flowers include cruciferous (*Erysimum repandum*), medwort alisson (*Alyssum desertorum*, *Alyssum hirsutum*), hedge mustard (*Erysimum versicolor*), garlic hedge mustard (*Sisymbrium sinapistrum*), poppy (*Papaver rubrum*), and thistle (*Carduus uncinatus*). The orange flowers are comprised of pheasant's eye (*Adonis flammeus*) and androsace (*Androsace maxima*). The period of colored life does not continue long, and the colorful vegetation is soon replaced by grey tumbleweed and meadow grass (*Poa bulbosa vivipara*). This grass is characterized by an attractive special viviparous peculiarity; among the florets appear the short leafy shoots, which drop off the mother plant and produce the new plant. This characteristic is widespread among steppe plants.

In the belt of the dry steppe, besides the steppe vegetation there are also meadow, swamp, and sometimes even forest plants.

A peculiar meadow vegetation is associated with river flood-plains. Quite a few steppe plants are found on higher levels where the ground water is deep below the surface; however, on meadows of medium level, where the ground water occurs at depths of twenty to thirty inches, typical meadow grasses such as meadow foxtail (*Alopecurus pratensis*), quack grass (*Agropyrum repens*), epigean reed grass (*Calamagrostis epigeios*), and sedge (*Carex schreberi*), predominate. There are also dicotyledons: buttercup (*Ranunculus acer*), bird's-foot trefoil (*Lotus corniculatus*), and various species of clover (*Trifolium*). Finally, in wet meadows at low levels there are various sedges and grasses (*Beckmania cruciformis*, *Poa palustris*).

In the belt of the dry steppe, there are

small forests only in the valleys of the larger rivers. They are composed of oak, elm, poplar, black alder, and willow. On the sandy terraces, we often see growths of oak and birch. We find swamp plants in the flood plains of rivers, on the banks of lakes, and on limans, which are periodically flooded. They are usually covered by tall grasses; among the typical plants are reed (*Phragmites communis*), broad-leaved and narrowed leaved cattail (*Typha latifolia* and *Typha angustifolia*), the great bulrush (*Scirpus lacustris*), and sweet flag (*Acorus calamus*). The flood-plains occupy large areas along the Danube, Dniester, Dnieper, Don, and Kuban. A well-known area of the Dnieper floodplain is Velykyi Luh, a region of ravine woods, terrace groves, and growths of reeds and cattail.

A specific vegetation grows on steppe depressions. This changes in accordance with the weather conditions in any given year. In dry years, the vegetation possesses the characteristics of that of the meadow steppe; in wet years, it has characteristics of the swampy meadow.

A variety of the narrow-leaved fescue-feather-grass steppe is the sandy steppe which occurs on the broad terrace of the lower Dnieper and is marked by a wealth of psammophiles (sand-loving forms). Of the grasses, there are found in quantity Becker's fescue grass (*Festuca Beckeri*) and sabulous John's feather grass (*Stipa Joannis sabulosa*). Of the dicotyledons, there are the inodorous wormwood (*Artemisia inodora*), gerard's spurge (*Euphorbia Gerardiana*), etc.

Along the shore of the Black Sea, there is a narrow belt of steppe with salinized chestnut soils and solonets soils. The vegetation here includes, besides feather-grass and fescues, sea wormwood (*Artemisia maritima*, *Festuca sulcata*, *Stipa capillata*). In this area, the slender or jointed glasswort (*Salicornia herbacea*) often grows so profusely that it chokes all other plants. In such places, only sea pink (*Statice suffruticosa*), sea



FIGURE 85. THE GREAT ANADOL FOREST MASSIF ARTIFICIALLY PLANTED IN THE ARID STEPPE AREA ON THE AZOV UPLAND, OAK WITH AN ADMIXTURE OF ASH

aster (*Aster tripolium*), and sea-blite (*Suaeda*) can find room to live. In low areas, there are moist annual salified plants, such as slender or jointed glasswort (*Salicornia herbacea*), sea-blite *Suaeda*, saltwort (*Salsola kali*), perennial shaggy Frankenia (*Frankenia hirsuta*), sarsan (*Halocnemum strobilaceum*), and others.

Plants of eastern and Crimean-Caucasian origin are often found on the salinized steppe. This vegetation is not very prolific; it is often greenish gray, broken with bare spots, and it reminds one somewhat of the desert steppes.

Some of the plants growing on salinized soils appear only in the belt along the shore; others extend far to the north, even to the Poltava and southern Chernihiv areas; e.g., sea-blite (*Suaeda*) and seaside arrow-grass (*Triglochin maritimum*).

Mountain Vegetation

The Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains, and the Caucasus have a specific mountain flora varying with changes in temperature, precipitation, intensity of insolation, type of soils, and elevation.

The Carpathian Mountains. The foothills of the Carpathians are covered with deciduous and mixed forests typical of the central European forest belt. The deciduous trees are usually oaks. In the mixed forests, besides the oaks there are hornbeam and, more rarely, aspen, birch, maple, and linden. Of the conifers, pine and, more rarely, silver fir prevail.

Above these forests is the second forest belt. In Transcarpathia, beech occurs exclusively in this belt. On the Galician side, mixed forests of beech, silver fir, spruce and, more rarely, sycamore, maple, and ash are found. This belt extends to an altitude of 1,200 meters

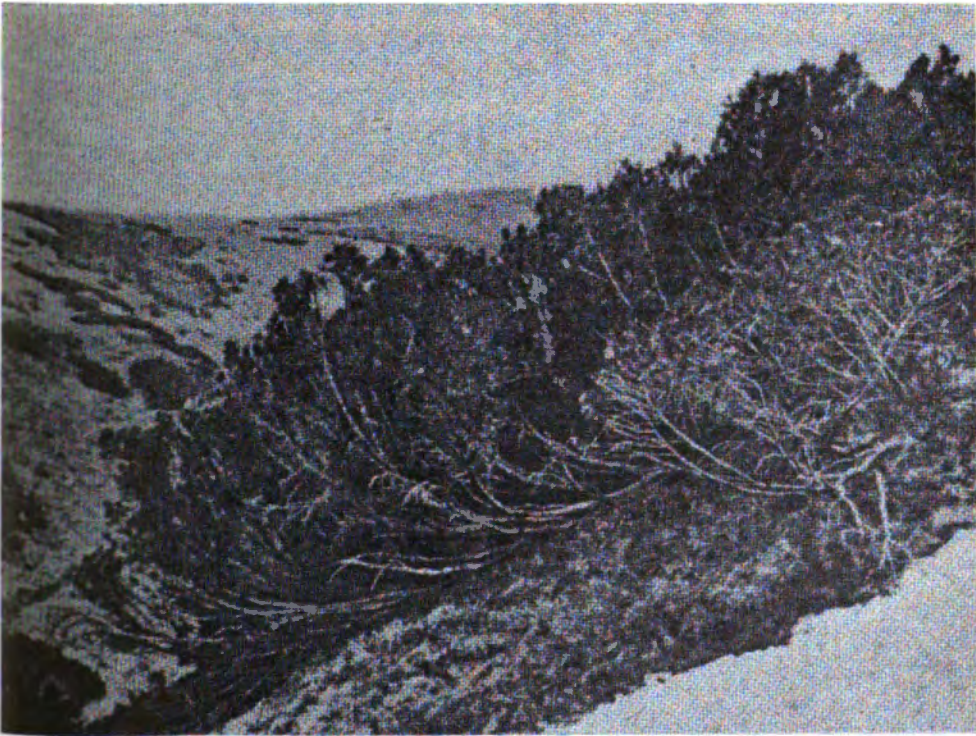


FIGURE 86. MOUNTAIN PINE ON CHORNOHORA

In the background, the Pozhyzhevskia grassland with islands of mountain pine.

(around 4,000 feet). The undergrowth here is formed by growths of European elder (*Sambucus racemosa*), mezeurem (*Daphne mezereum*), wild currant (*Ribes alpinum*), willows, raspberries, etc. The characteristic green plants here are mountain herb robert (*Geranium Robertianum*), yellow dead nettle (*Galeobdolon luteum*), wood sorrel (*Oxalis acetosella*), various ferns (*Pteridium aquilinum*, *Aspidium filix mas*), and rough sedges (*Carex pilosa*).

In Gorgany and on Chornohora, there is a still higher, third, forest belt which is marked by a predominance of spruce, which usually reaches elevations between 1,500 and 1,600 meters (5,000 and 5,300 feet). The undergrowth and copice of these woods is sparse; it contains blueberries (*Vaccinium*), wood sorrel (*Oxalis acetosella*), wild lily-of-the-valley (*Majanthemum bifolium*), blackberries, and others. In the upper part of

this belt, in addition to spruce, there is the cembra pine (*Pinus cembra*) and the dwarf pine (*Pinus montana*, *Pinus mughus*).

At altitudes from 5,000–5,300 feet to 5,600–5,900 feet, where the spruce disappears, there is a subalpine belt with thick shrubs of dwarf pine and mountain alder (*Alnus viridis*), rhododendron (*Rhododendron*), and juniper (*Juniperus nana*). Above 5,600–6,000 feet, in the so-called alpine belt, the *Pinus montana* disappears and grasslands occur. This is the mountain tundra, having the so-called alpine vegetation, which produces flowers and fruit quickly. Among the luxuriant grasses grow such different species of flower-bearing plants as arnica (*Arnica montana*), gentians (*Gentiana lutea*, *Gentiana punctata*), and various orchids (*Orchis*). These areas are used for pastures; and the plants, for the most part, are destroyed by the cattle which



FIGURE 86A. MEDITERRANEAN FLORA ON THE SOUTHERN SHORES OF THE CRIMEA

leave only the hard rush (*Juncus trifidus*) or the untasty mountain sweet coltsfoot (*Petasites*). The ground is usually covered with white mosses (*Sphagnum*) and matted lichens (*Cladonia rangiferina*, *Cetraria islandica*). There is a greater variety of plants in grasslands used as hayfields.

Forest clearings on gravelly soils have a sparse covering of bristly, tough grasses, such as *Nardus stricta* or *Deschampsia caespitosa*.

Man has changed the primary vegetation of the Carpathians. He has extended agriculture, hayfields, and pasturage at the expense of the forest, which now occupies only half of the total area. In general, the primary plant life of the forests, meadows, and high pastures has become poorer.

The Crimean Mountains. These mountains are covered with deciduous forests of oak, beech, hornbeam, Crimean pine (*Pinus laricio*), and seaside pine (*Pinus pityusa*). The summits are covered with pastures having a low thick grass.

The Caucasian Mountains. The foothills adjoining the southern slope are covered with a mixed forest (oak, hornbeam, beech, maple, elm, and linden) up to 6,700 feet. Still higher, thickets of yellow rhododendron and mountain pastures are found. The rocks are covered only with moss and lichen.

Mediterranean Vegetation

The flora of the southern coastal area of the Crimea and of a narrow strip of the Caucasus coast south of Tuapse occupies a unique place. It belongs to the Mediterranean floral region with its

evergreen trees and shrubs. Here we find cypress, magnolia, stone pine, olive, and myrtle trees. It is the only place in Ukraine known for widespread cultivation of plants such as olives, figs, oranges, and lemons, typical of the Mediterranean area.

G. Makhov

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9. FAUNA

HISTORY OF THE FAUNA OF UKRAINE

The fauna of Ukraine developed under the same conditions as did the flora. The

present fauna, with its predominance of species typical for a temperate climate, was formed in the second half of the Quaternary period.

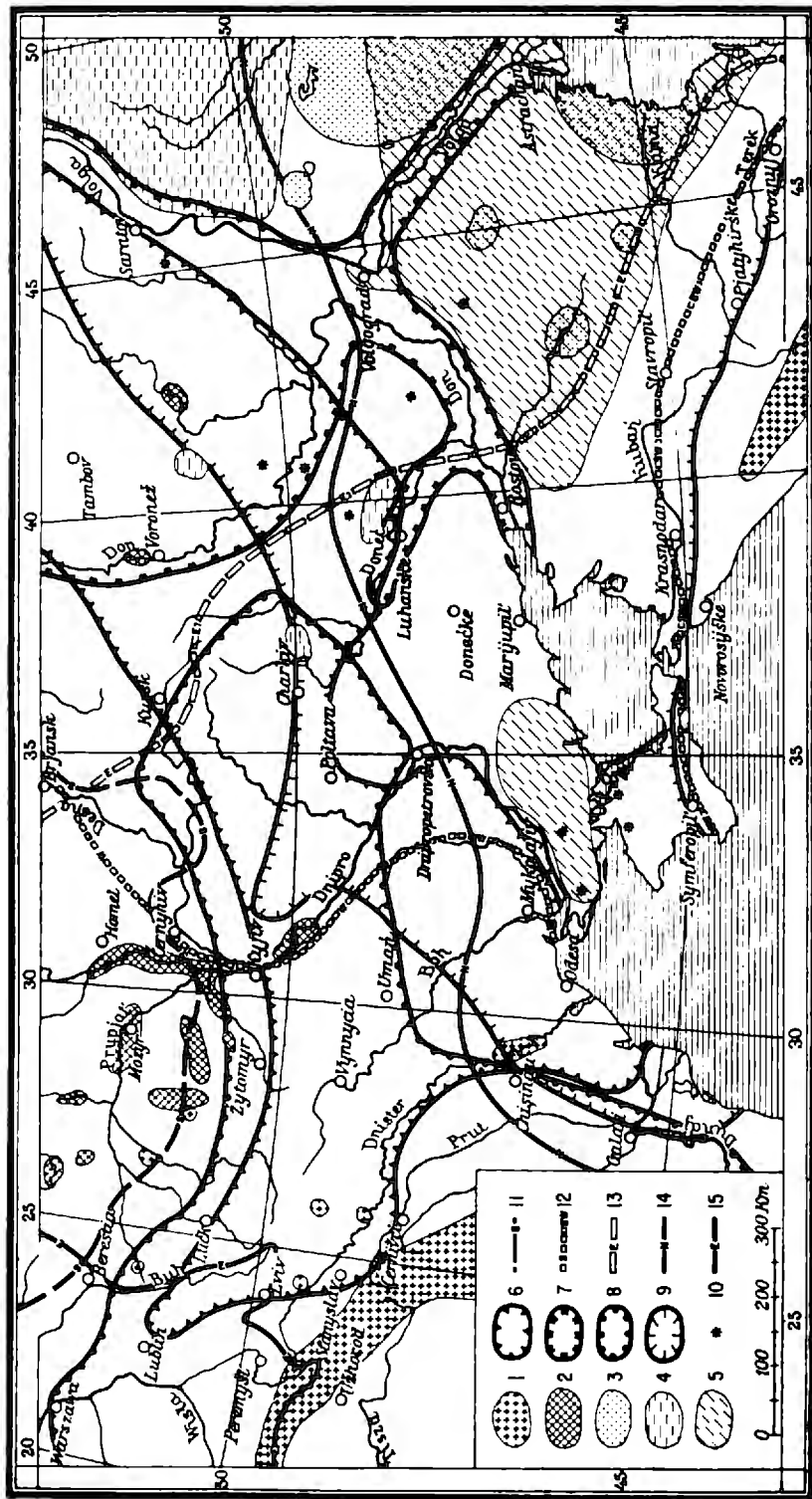


FIGURE 87. DISTRIBUTION OF ANIMALS

- (1) Wild cat (*Felis silvestris*); (2) Beaver (*Castor fiber*); (3) Sheep-like antelope (*Saiga tatarica*); (4) Bobac (*Marmota bobac*); (5) The three-toed sand jerboa (*Scirtopoda*); (6) Spotted suslik (*Citellus suslica*); (7) Desman (*Desmana moschata*); (8) Pine vole (*Pitymys subterraneus*); (9) Steppe viper (*Vipera ursini*); (10) Little bustard (*Otis tetrax*); (11) Southern boundary of the distribution of moose (*Alces alces*); (12) The large jerboa (*Alactaga jacutus*); (13) Tree-frog (*Hyla arborea*); (14) Four-striped snake (*Elaphe quatuorlineata*); (15) East boundary of the distribution of the eel (*Anguilla anguilla*).

In the Neogene epoch, the fauna of Ukraine was still of a subtropical nature. The Neogene mammals consisted predominantly of plant feeders, among them, the horse-like *Hipparion*, rhinoceroses (*Dicerorhinus orientalis* and *D. etruscus*), mastodons (*Anancus*, *Mastodon*), elephants (*Archidiskodon planifrons*, *A. meridionalis*), giant deer (*Eucladocerus pliotarandoides*), archaic camels (*Paracamelus*). Carnivores were represented by the great saber-toothed tigers (*Machairodus*), wolves, and hyenas. Rodents included the beaver-like trogontherium (*Trogontherium cuvieri*), several species of pikas (*Ochotona*), and others. This was the so-called "hipparion fauna," which included ostriches and giraffes and, occasionally, primates.

The cooling of the climate in the Pleistocene brought about a gradual transformation of the fauna of Ukraine from that of a subtropical climate into that of a more temperate one. Areas close to the ice sheets became inhabited by rich fauna, mostly of the open steppe and the forest-steppe; the steppe and forest-steppe gradually expanded and established an environment conducive to the formation of the present fauna. The early Pleistocene fauna of Ukraine included the mammoth (*Mammonteus primigenius*), southern elephant (*Elephas meridionalis*), giant rhinoceros elasmotherium (*Elasmotherium caucasicum*), giant red deer, and other animals whose remains were recorded at the coast of the Sea of Azov. The spalax and other steppe animals were present also. Rivers were inhabited by numerous mollusks, particularly by *Paludina*. The distribution of desmans (*Desmana*), which at that time lived throughout Europe (now they are found only in the basins of the Volga and Don rivers), was associated with the then existing rivers.

Many of the animals of earlier time were unable to survive the severe Pleistocene climate; others could not adjust to the new environment; still others migrated south. Some animals, however,

were able to withstand the new conditions. Thus, at the time of the maximum advancement of ice sheets, a characteristic "mixed" fauna existed on the Ukrainian territory. Such typical representatives of the mixed fauna as the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros antiquitatis*) existed simultaneously with such arctic forms as the musk ox (*Ovibos moschatus*), arctic fox (*Vulpes lagopus*), and lemming (*Lemmus*); with such steppe forms as the sheep-like antelope (*Saiga tatarica*), suslik (*Citellus*), and marmot (*Marmota bobac*); and with such forest forms as the beaver (*Castor*). The term "mammoth fauna" is applied to this fauna because the mammoth was the animal most typical of the Pleistocene.

Post-Pliocene time was marked by the appearance of the fauna of the modern type. Many representatives of the earlier period gradually became extinct (mammoth, rhinoceros) while the realm of distribution of some animals (for example, the musk ox) became limited to the most northern outskirts of Ukrainian territory. During the relatively short, arid period which occurred after the ice sheet had retreated to the north, the steppe animals penetrated far to the north and thus expanded the realm of their distribution.

Since the late Paleolithic age the natural development of the fauna of Ukraine has been influenced considerably by man. Hunting contributed greatly to the extinction of the mammoth and the rhinoceros. Still larger changes occurred during Neolithic time when, in addition to hunting and fishing, man undertook cattle- and plant-breeding. Due to the cultivation of the steppes, the annihilation of forests, and the draining of swamps, the realms of distribution of many animal species were considerably decreased. Some species were forced out of Ukraine, others were annihilated. Thus the tarpan (*Equus caballus*), the aurochs (*Bos taurus primigenius*), and the sheep-like antelope (*Saiga tatarica*),

FIGURE 88. BISON (*Bison bonasus*)

which formerly populated the territory, disappeared from Ukraine. The bison (*Bison bonasus*) remains only on the reservation, as does the beaver (*Castor fiber*), whose fur was highly valued in western Europe in the Middle Ages. Both the great bustard (*Otis tarda*), the largest European bird, and the little bustard (*Otis tetrax*) are rarely seen today. Also rare are some varieties of wild ducks (Sheldrake—*Tadorna ferruginea*) and swans. Some valuable fishes (sturgeons and eels) have disappeared from the Buh (Bug) river. The cultivation of the steppes, however, led to an increase in the population of some animals—for example, susliks—including animal pests such as mice and hamsters. Also, man succeeded in increasing the fauna artificially by acclimatizing in Ukraine such new species as the nutria, the racoon dog, the silkworm, and others.

THE PRESENT FAUNA OF UKRAINE

General Characteristics

Zoogeographically, the fauna of Ukraine belongs to the Palaearctic region of the Holarctic. Almost all Ukrainian territory is a part of the European-Siberian subregion; only the southern coasts of the Crimea and the Caucasus belong to the Mediterranean subregion. The southeastern outskirts of the Don Lowland and the Caspian Lowland, inhabited by semi-arid species, belong to the central asiatic subregion. Because Ukraine is

at the frontiers of several fauna-distributed realms and because there are no effective natural barriers at its boundaries, its fauna is intermediate between that of Europe and central Asia, that of the forest and steppe belts, and that of the Mediterranean areas. Through Ukrainian territory passes the extreme western limit of the distribution of a number of eastern animals—grey suslik (*Citellus pygmaeus*), sand-eels (*Meriones meridianus*, *Alactagulus pygmaeus*, *Scirtopoda tellum*). Ukraine also is crossed by the eastern and northern limits of many animals of west Europe and the Mediterranean subregion—Bechstein's bat (*Myotis bechsteini*), the wild cat (*Felis silvestris*), eel (*Anguilla anguilla*), common sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio*). The Dnieper River constitutes an important natural boundary for the distribution of animals in the latitudinal direction. Ukraine also is the extreme southern limit of many northern species—the moose (in Europe elk) (*Alces alces*), lynx (*Lynx lynx*), blue hare (*Lepus timidus*), the great grouse (*Tetrao urogallus*), black grouse (*Lyrurus tetrix*), hazel grouse (*Tetrastes bonasia*), and others—and the northern limit of several southern species—bats (sharp-eared bat [*Myotis oxygnatus*] and long-winged bat [*Miniopterus schreibersi*]) and numerous insects.

In total, some 20,000 different species of animals are recorded on the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, including 650 vertebrates (98 species

FIGURE 89. ELK (*Alces alces*)

of mammals, 412 of birds, 21 of reptiles, 19 of amphibians, and over 200 of fishes), around 1,000 protozoans, 700 worms, 500 crustaceans, 350 mollusks, 400 arachnids, 15,000 insects, and 1,400 others.

There is a definite relation between the distribution of the animals and the natural regions of the country. The faunas of the following regions are distinguished: the forest zone—Polisia, the forest-steppe, the steppe; the mountainous belts—the Carpathians, the Crimea, and the Caucasus; the seas—the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov.

Polisia

The fauna of Polisia is typically forestine; in general it has many forms in common with those of the zone of central European forests. On the territory of the Ukrainian SSR it is represented by 65 species and subspecies of mammals, 279 species of birds, 12 species of amphibians, 8 species of reptiles, and numerous invertebrates.

Lynx, European moose-elks, and brown bears (*Ursus arctos*) were abundant in the past in Polisia, but at present they are found only in the thickest forest. The following animals are quite numerous: wolves (*Canis lupus*), wild boars (*Sus scrofa*), foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*), roe deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), and others. A number of valuable fur-bearing animals are still there such as beavers (*Castor fiber*)—although only on reservations—otters (*Lutra lutra*), ermines (*Mustela erminea*), and minks (*Lutrea lutreola*). The white hare is found in the east of Polisia where its southern distribution limit is located.

Among the birds, the following are found: the tawny owl (*Strix aluco*), the black kite (*Milvus migrans*), the hawk, the black woodpecker (*Dryocopus martius*), and others. Occasionally such large birds as the black grouse, capercaillie, and hazel-grouse occur. Along the river shores and in swamps are found wild ducks, various snipes, bald coots

(*Fulica atra*), and storks (*Ciconia ciconia*). The bee-eater (*Merops apiaster*) and rock thrush (*Monticola saxatilis*) are associated with the outcrops of crystalline rocks.

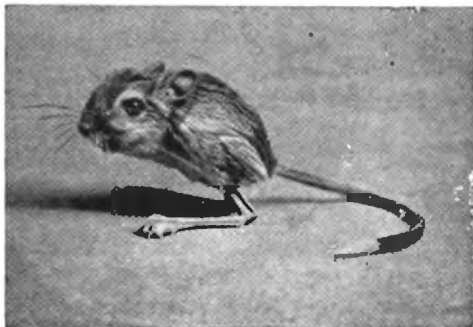
Among the reptiles the forest grass-snake, asp, slow-worm (*Anguis fragilis*), and lizard (*Lacerta vivipara*) are widely distributed; the tortoise (*Emys orbicularis*) is found here and there. Of amphibians tritons, frogs (*Rana terrestris*), and tree-frogs (*Hyla arborea*) are most common.

The numerous rivers and swampy lakes of Polisia are abundant in fishes, most commonly the crucian (*Carassius carassius*), tench (*Tinca tinca*), and pike (*Esox lucius*).

In recent decades nurseries were organized in Polisia to breed the silver-black foxes and racoon dogs. The muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*) is being acclimatized.

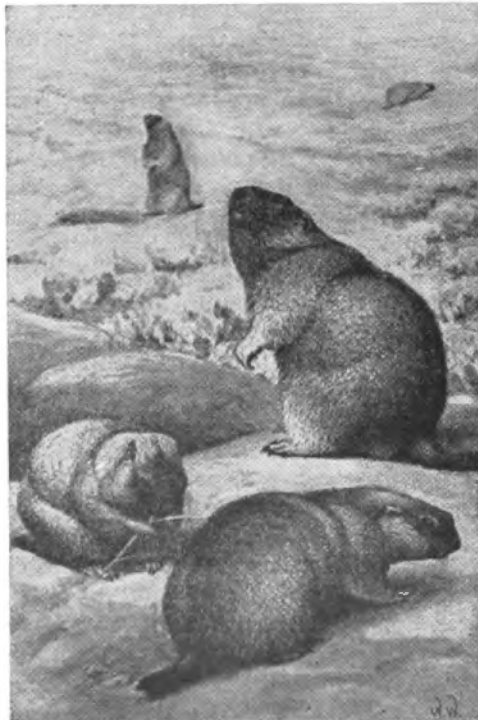
Forest-Steppe

The fauna of the forest-steppe is a mixture of the forest and the steppe forms: no animals exist which are especially adapted to the forest-steppe. The forests of this zone are inhabited by squirrels (*Sciurus vulgaris*), the forest marten (*Martes martes*), the forest dormouse (*Dryomys nitedula*), the dormouse (*Muscardinus avellanarius*), among others. The roe deer and occasionally the red deer are found in the forest on the right bank of the Dnieper River. The tracts of steppe and areas where the forest has been annihilated have served as roads for the northward advance of the spotted suslik (*Citellus suslicus*), which moves continuously to the west. The common greater mole rat (*Spalax microphthalmus*) and the grey hamster (*Cricetulus migratorius*) also move westwards over the forest-steppe. The green lizard (*Lacerta viridis*) uses the steppe areas to penetrate far to the west and north (west of the Dnieper River only). In addition, wolves, badgers (*Meles meles*), foxes, ermines, and

FIGURE 90. JERBOA (*Alactaga jaculus* Pall)

weasels (*Mustela vulgaris*) are abundant.

The forest-steppe on the left bank of the Dnieper has its peculiarities. The grey suslik and jerboa (*Alactaga jaculus*) occur here. Quite recently the bobac (*Marmota bobac*) was found here. In the basin of the Donets River the endemic desman (*Desmana moschata*), also found in the basins of the Volga and Ural rivers, is being preserved.

FIGURE 91. BOBAC MARMOT (*Marmota bobac*)

Birds inhabiting the oak forest include the kite (*Milvus milvus*), stock dove (*Columba oenas*), wood pigeon (*Columba palumbus*), turtle dove (*Streptopelia turtur*), green woodpecker (*Picus viridis*), thrush nightingale (*Luscinia luscinia*). For the forest-steppe, the imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*), common quail (*Coturnix coturnix*), and partridge (*Perdix perdix*) are typical. The Dnieper River is a route of bird migration, and the forests, ponds, and fields within the forest-steppe present the "transitory" stations for migratory birds. Therefore in this zone such birds as wild geese, cranes, and several species of ducks occur. The Aesculapian snake (*Elaphe longissima*) is noteworthy among the reptiles found here.

The Lowland of the Tysa (Tisza) River in the Carpathian Ukraine presents a peculiar area of forest-steppe. Here, in addition to common species of the forest-steppe, the acclimatized European pheasant, Canarian mountain finch, and partridge also appear.

Steppe

The fauna of this zone is not rich in the number of species, but each species is represented by numerous animals. Although the steppe of today is scarce in large mammals, as late as early in this

FIGURE 92. SAIGA ANTELOPE (*Saiga tatarica*)

millennium bisons and aurochs were living there. Wild horses and saiga antelopes inhabited the steppe until early in the nineteenth century. These animals disappeared as the steppe was tilled; only a few forms adjusted to life in the cultivated steppe—in particular, small rodents who lived in holes. As in the forest-steppe, some differences may be observed in the steppe between the western, central, and eastern areas. East of the Dnieper River such mammals are found as the large jerboa (*Alactaga jaculus*), grey suslik (*Citellus pygmaeus*), short-tailed steppe vole (*Lagurus lagurus*), mole rat (*Ellobius talpinus*), and the three-toed sand jerboa (*Scirtopoda tellum*). The western portion of the steppe is characterized by the spotted suslik (*Citellus suslica*), blind greater mole rat (*Spalax microphthalmus*), lesser mole rat (*Spalax leucodon*), and the steppe polecat (*Mustela eversmani*). Only in the southern portion of the steppe is the marbled polecat (*Vormela peregusna*) found (this animal gradually migrated to the Asiatic steppe in the east). On the reservations at the shores of the Donets River, bobac (*Marmota bobac*), formerly common in areas further to the west, may still be found. In the easternmost steppe areas live the corsac fox (*Vulpes corsac*) and east-hedgehog (*Hemiechinus auritus*); the western limit of their distribution passes through Ukraine.

The following birds among others are characteristic for the steppe: the great bustard (*Otis tarda*) which is scarce now, the calandra lark (*Melanocorypha*

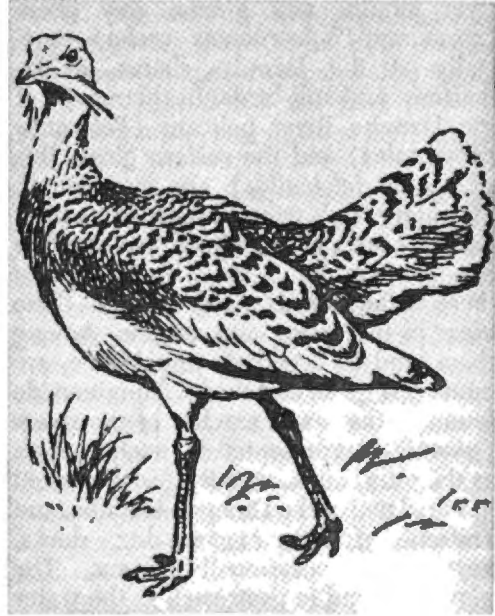


FIGURE 94. GREAT BUSTARD (*Otis tarda*)

calandra), demoiselle crane (*Anthropoides virgo*), Nordmann's pratincole (*Glareola nordmani*). The steppe eagle (*Aquila rapax*) and little bustard (*Otis tetrax*) are scarce also.

The most common reptiles represented are the European whip-snake (*Coluber jugularis*), steppe viper (*Vipera ursini*), four-striped snake (*Elaphe quatuorlineata*), Grecian tortoise, and green lizard (*Lacerta viridis*); less frequently seen are the steppe lizard (*Eremias arguta*) and the phrynocephalus (*Phrynocephalus*).

Among insects, peculiar scarabaeidae scarabs are found as well as many varieties of grasshoppers and locusts including the Italian and Asiatic locusts.

The closeness of the sea imposes peculiarities on the fauna of the steppe areas adjacent to it. Some varieties of wild duck, caspian tern (*Hydroprogne caspia*), sea gull (*Larus gene*, *L. ichthyaëtus*), sea plover (*Charadrius alexandrinus*), avocet (*Recurvirostra avosetta*), spotted tern (*Sterna sandvicensis*), and red-breasted merganser (*Mergus serrator*), are found in these areas. In the



FIGURE 93. MOLE RAT (*Ellobius talpinus*)

river mouths nest swans, grey geese (cormorant-*Phalacrocorax carbo*)—especially at the Danube shores, ducks, martens, and stilt-birds. In the mouth of the Danube River pelicans (*Pelecanus onocrotalus*) and the eastern glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*) are also found. Migratory birds winter in many localities on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov, and have their stations there. Many birds pass through these areas in the spring and autumn. Among them, and of economic importance, are numerous geese and ducks. The riverside fauna of the lower reaches of the rivers (*plavni*) is represented by such animals as the otter, mink, ondatra (acclimatized in the *plavni* of the Dnieper, Danube, and Dniester rivers), racoon dog, ducks, geese, and occasionally swans. The *plavni* abound in pests such as the water rat. Gadflies and mosquitoes are common among insects.

The Carpathian Mountains

The vertical zoning so characteristic of the vegetation of the Carpathians is reflected only slightly in the distribution of animals. Some forms typical for high mountains and not found on plains occur in the subalpine zone of the Carpathians: the alpine snow vole (*Microtus nivalis*), alpine shrew (*Sorex alpinus*), certain insects and worms. In the mountainous forest zone occur some forms typical for taiga, such as capercaillie, hazel-grouse, black grouse, lynx, and others. The bulk of the fauna, however, consists of species inhabiting the middle European forests; they occur in the Carpathians in areas of both high and low elevation. The brown bear and the wild cat (*Felis silvestris*) have already become rather rare here. The red deer, roe deer, wolf, fox, forest marten, ermine, and Carpathian squirrel (*Sciurus carpathicus*) are more common. Among birds the eagle-burkut, hawks, owls, the woodcock (*Scolopax rusticola*), and, occasionally, black storks (*Ciconia nigra*), rock pipits

(*Motacilla cinerea*), and others are found. Many birds appear only in summer. The fauna of amphibians and reptiles is rich, especially on the southern slopes of the mountains; the newt Carpathian (*Triturus montadonni*), spotty salamander (*Salamandra maculosa*), and smooth snake (*Coronella austriaca*) are among those found here. The mink and otter penetrate high into the mountains along the streams. The distribution of the brown trout (*Salmo trutta m. fario*) is limited to the upper reaches of the Carpathian rivers, as is that of grayling (*Thymallus thymallus*) and Balkanian barbel (*Barbus meridionalis petenyi*). The endemic huchen (*Hucho hucho*) is found only in the Cheremosh and Tysa (Tisza) rivers. The Carpathians also abound in many mountainous species of insects, mollusks, and other invertebrates.

The Carpathians are of particular importance zoogeographically because they constitute the northern or eastern limits of distribution of some species. Some southern species occasionally penetrate deep into the mountains.

The Crimean Mountains

The fauna of the Crimean Mountains, especially that of the southern coast of the Crimea, has quite a few Mediterranean forms, and includes Balkanian and Minor Asian forms as well as many endemics, but it is marked by the absence of many common forest species. The mountainous forest fauna is the richest in the northern part of the Yaila Mountains, particularly in the forest of the Crimean Reservation. It includes the Crimean red deer (*Cervus elaphus*, an endemic subspecies), Crimean chamois, forest marten (*Mustela nivalis nikolskii*), fox (*Vulpes vulpes krimea montana*), rock marten (*Martes foina*), and others. Jays (*Garrulus glandarius iphigenia*), tomtits, the mountainous yellow hammer (*Emberiza cia*), the blackbird, and stonechats are included among its birds. Among its characteristic amphibians are



FIGURE 95. EASTERN GROUND HARE (*Alactaga saliens* Gmel)

the smooth snakes (*Coronella austriaca*). Only a few species of fishes are found. Mouflons, squirrels (*Sciurus vulgaris exalbidus*), and others are acclimatized in the Crimean Reservation.

The southern coastal area is inhabited by numerous Mediterranean forms. Of reptiles, the endemic Crimean gecko (*Gymnodactylus danilewskii*) is found and several Mediterranean species of lizards—for example, the rock lizard (*Lacerta saxicola*). Mediterranean forms of birds are also present. Among the characteristic invertebrates are the cicada (*Cicada plebeia*), praying mantis (*Mantis religiosa*), scolopendra (*Scolopendra cingulata*), Crimean scorpion (*Euscorpheus tauricus*), Crimean black-beetle (*Stylopyga orientalis*), and endemic *Aphlebia adusta*. Many Mediterranean species of mollusks are common. Of diptera, mosquitoes are numerous.

The Caucasian Mountains

The development of the fauna of the Caucasian Mountains was associated with that of central Asia and that of western and southeastern Europe (the latter by way of Asia Minor). This fauna is marked by the presence of several endemics, such as the Caucasian ibex (*Capra severzovi*), burrowing vole (*Prometheomys schaposhnicovi*), Caucasian black grouse (*Lyrurus Mlokosieviczi*), and red viper (*Vipera kazna-*

kovi). Of western European animals, the following have their limit in the Caucasus: chamois rupicapra (*Rupicapra rupicapra*), wild cat, red deer (*Cervus elaphus maral*), and Grecian tortoise. Of the Asian animals, the tiger, the jackal, the leopard, and the pheasant have their limit here. Many animals common in the west European mountains, however, are not found in the Caucasian Mountains.

The forests are inhabited by bear (a variety smaller than the brown bear), lynx, wild cat, fox, red deer, marten, and chamois. The bison recently was found in the forest-covered mountains in the Kuban River basin. The larch-spruce forests are inhabited by the black woodpecker, common crossbill (*Loxia curvirostra*), by the birds of northern forests, and also by the woolly brown owl (*Aegolius funereus*), and others. The jackal and leopard-panther come from the southern Caucasus. In the Alpine zone the Caucasian ibex and chamois are common, the latter closely related to the chamoises of the mountains of Europe and Asia Minor. Here occur also the Caucasian black grouse (*Lyrurus Mlokosieviczi* and *Tetraogallus caucasicus*), the endemic burrowing vole, the snow vole, alpine dows and crows, stoney pigeons, and the lammergeyer (*Gypaëtus barbatus*) which is almost extinct now in Europe.

The Mediterranean fauna of the Black Sea coast is poor, and is represented mainly by the pheasant, many different mollusks, myriapods, and scorpions (Mediterranean and Mingrelian).

Ichthyofauna of the Ukrainian Rivers

Most of the fishes in the rivers of Ukraine belong to the family of *Cyprinidae*. The main European watershed that divides the basin of the Baltic Sea from that of the Black Sea presents simultaneously the important limit of the distribution of some species of fish. In the rivers of Ukraine belonging to the Baltic Sea basin occur the eel (*Anguilla*

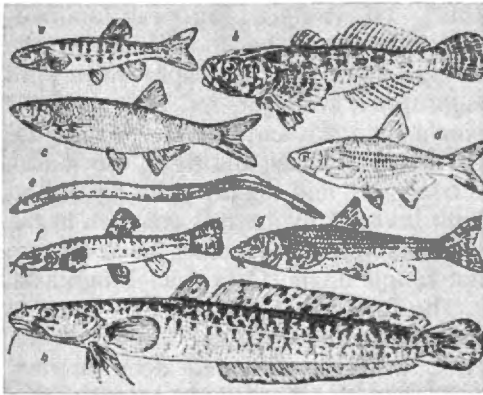


FIGURE 96. FISH OF THE RIVERS OF UKRAINE (a) *Phoxinus phoxinus*; (b) Muddler (*Cottus gobio*); (c) Bleak (*Alburnus alburnus*); (d) Bleaker (*Alburnoides bipunctatus*); (e) Ukrainian lamprey (*Lampetra mariae*); (f) Ground gudgeon (*Nemachilus barbatulus*); (g) Dace gudgeon (*Gobio gobio*); (h) Burbot (*Lota lota*).

anguilla) and sturgeon (*Acipenser sturio*)—the latter is at present almost entirely extinct. Inhabiting the rivers belonging to the Black Sea basin are the goby (*Gobiidae*), the vyrozub (*Rutilus frizii*), the sterlet (*Acipenser ruthenus*) and other sturgeons, as well as the Ukrainian lamprey (*Lampetra mariae*). In addition, numerous species of *Cyprinidae* and other species, not inhabiting the rivers of western Europe, are present in the Black Sea rivers. The endemic huchen (*Hucho hucho*), Hungarian lamprey (*Lampetra danfordi*), stripped ruff (*Acerina schraetser*), and zingel (*Aspro zingel*) are preserved in the Tysa (Tisza) and Cheremosh rivers, the mountainous tributaries of the Danube. The brown trout also is found in mountainous rivers; of other trout, only the grayling (*Thymallus thymallus*) is found in the Carpathian Mountains.

The following ichthyo-ecological regions may be distinguished in Ukraine. (1) The region of salmon, with mountainous fast-flowing rivers having clear cold water. Salmon live here, but only a few other species are present—*Phoxinus phoxinus*, *Cottus*, and ground gudgeon

(*Nemachilus barbatulus*). (2) The region of *Barbus*, mostly in the foothills, with rivers that do not flow very rapidly and contain more organic substance. More fish species are found in these rivers than in region 1. Besides the *Barbus*, there occur also the vimba (*Vimba vimba*), asp (*Aspius aspius*), bleak (*Alburnus alburnus*), dace gudgeon (*Gobio gobio*), ruff (*Acerina cernua*), burbot (*Lota lota*), and others. (3) The region of bream (*Leuciscus leuciscus*), with the Ukrainian rivers that flow over the plains. The current of these rivers is slow; organic substance is abundant in their waters; and their fish are numerous in kind as well as in number. (4) The coastal region, where warm slightly saline water mixes with fresh water from the mouths of rivers. This is a transitional region and the area in which some littoral marine species spawn. (5) The liman region, with brackish water and silty bottom. Numerous marine species come here from the sea: liman ruff (*Percarina demidoffi*), sea pike-perch (*Lucioperca marina*), herrings, sturgeons, and so forth.

The breeding of carp (*Cyprinus carpio*) in ponds is common in Ukraine, especially in Podilia. Northern lake species such as white fish (*Vendacoregonus albula*) are bred in reservoirs (Kakhivka, Kremenchuk, and others).

Marine Fauna

Although the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov morphologically belong to the Mediterranean Sea, they do not contain the complete Mediterranean fauna: of 6,000 species recorded in the Mediterranean, only 600 are found in these seas. This is attributed to lower temperatures, lower salinity, and the presence of hydrogen sulphide in the water of the Black Sea. Another peculiarity of the fauna of the Black Sea and of the Sea of Azov is the presence in those seas of many forms common to the fauna of the Caspian Sea. This can be explained by

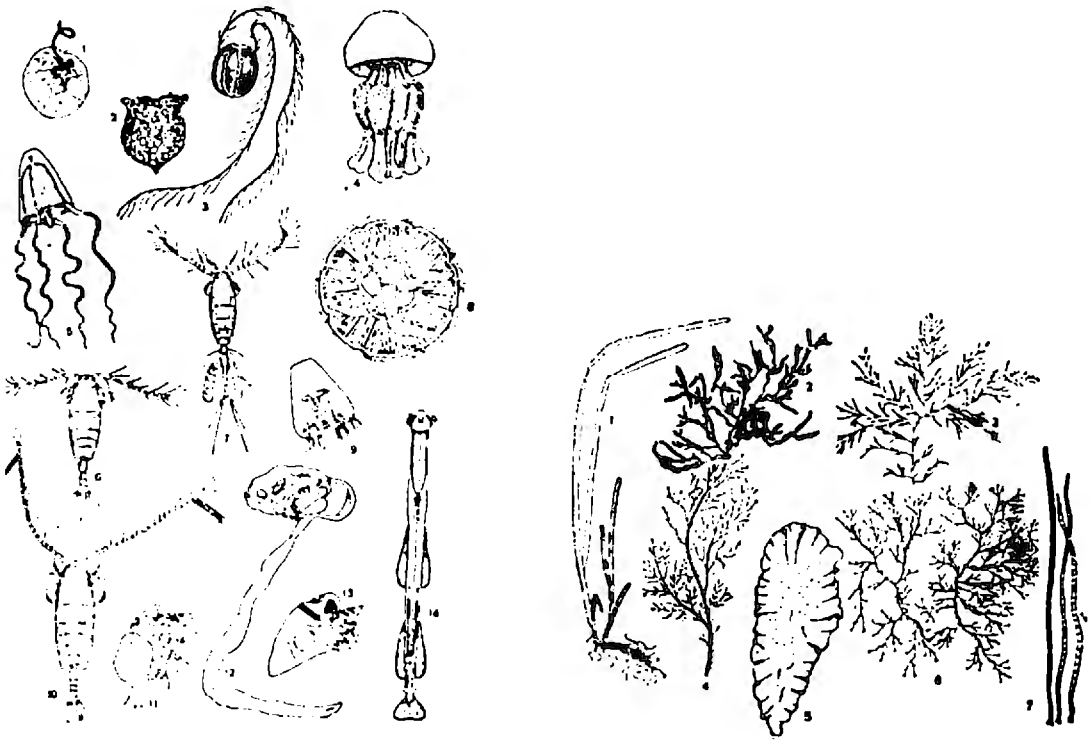


FIGURE 97. PLANKTON AND PHYTOENTOS OF THE BLACK SEA

Left: (1) *Noctiluca*; (2) *Tintinnops*; (3) *Pleurobrachia*; (4) *Pilema pulmo*; (5) *Farsia*; (6) *Acarpia*; (7) *Oithona*; (8) *Aurelia*; (9) *Rhatcca*; (10) *Calanus*; (11) *Podon*; (12) *Oikopleura*; (13) *Evadne*; (14) *Sagitta*. Right: (1) *Zostera*; (2) *Phyllophora rubens*; (3) *Cystoseira barbata*; (4) *Polysiphonia*; (5) *Uloa*; (6) *Cerantium*; (7) *Chaetomorpha chlorotica*.

the common geological history of all these seas.

The presence of hydrogen sulphide in the water of the Black Sea at depths below 650 feet confines all the life processes to the rather thin surface water layer. More than 180 fish species live in this layer, while some 240 fish species are recorded in the Black Sea. Of economic importance are the gobies (*Gobiidae*), mackerel, anchovy, and grey mullet. On eastern coasts of the Black Sea dolphins are common (*Delphinus delphis ponticus*), as are porpoises (*Phocoena phocoena*) and tursoips (*Tursiops tursio*). The seal (*Monachus monachus*) comes occasionally from the Mediterranean. Various minute sea animals are numerous in the surface water layer. The lancelet (*Branchiostoma*

lanceolatum) is recorded in the littoral sands of some areas.

Benthonic fauna is much scarcer in the Black Sea than in the Mediterranean. Abundant fauna of fishes and minute animals is found among the *Zostera* weeds (*Zostera sp.*) growing in the silty and sandy deposits in quiet bays. However, the fauna is scarce in the belt of red seaweed (*Phyllophora rubens*). Organic life becomes impoverished with depth and disappears completely when the level of hydrogen sulphide in the water is reached.

The shallow Sea of Azov is one of the most productive seas of the world with regard to the amount of fish it contains (80 kg. per ha.). This is attributed to the fact that its shallow water, rather warm in summertime, presents a good

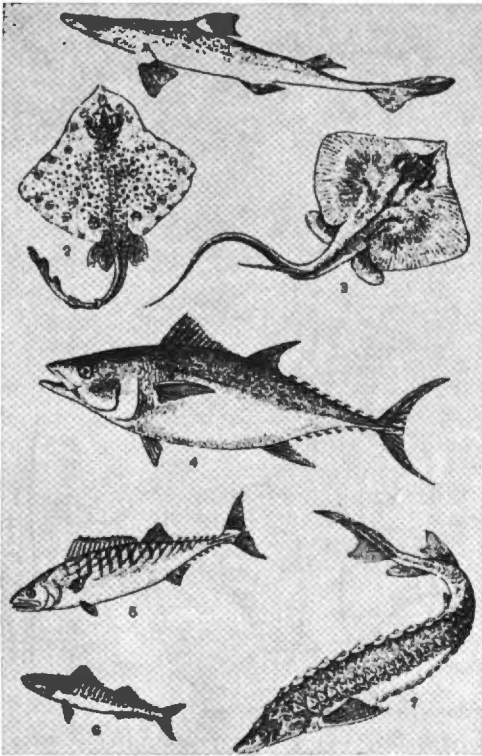


FIGURE 98. FISH OF THE BLACK SEA

(1) Dogfish (*Squalus acanthias*); (2) Sea skate (*Raja clavata*); (3) Sea cat (*Trygon pastinaca*); (4) Tunny (*Thynnus thynnus*); (5) Belted bonito (*Sarda sarda*); (6) Mackerel (*Scomber scombrus*); (7) Sturgeon (*Acipenser Güldensädtti*).

environment for the extensive development of the minute plants and animals on which fish feed. Since the Sea of Azov is considerably desalinized (except for its western bay, Sivash), it is inhabited both by salt-water and by fresh-water fishes. In addition, numerous fish migrate from the Black Sea to the Sea of Azov in summer for feeding purposes, to return to the Black Sea again in winter. Caught in the Sea of Azov are the sardine (*Clupeonella delicatula*), anchovy (*Engraulis encrasicolus*), sea-pike, perch, bream, herrings, sturgeons, Azov roach (*Rutilus rutilus haeckeli*), grey mullet, mackerel, and others. Of transitional fish which leave the sea for

the rivers to spawn, the most important are the sturgeon, sterlet, herring, and shad.

Reservations

In order to prevent the formerly rich fauna and flora of Ukraine from becoming completely extinct, several reservations in which the wild life is fully protected were founded in Ukraine. In addition, the so-called *zakaznyky* were organized in which the wild life is partially protected. There are eight reservations in Ukraine today, including six (total area 90,000 ha.) in the territory

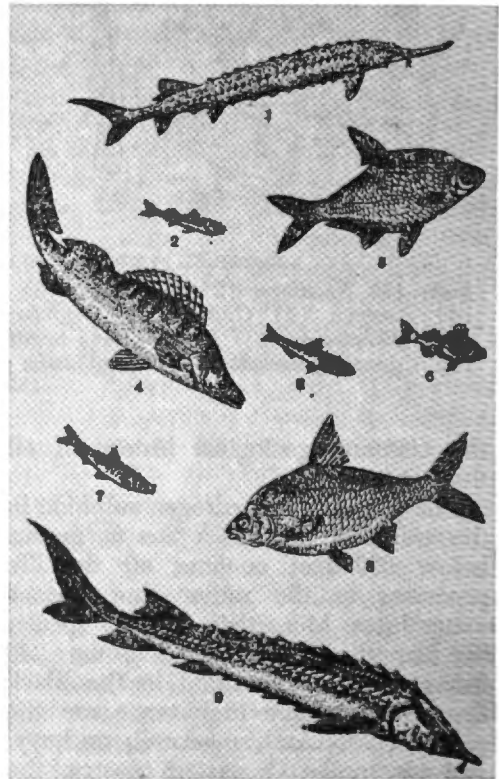


FIGURE 99. FISH OF THE SEA OF AZOV

(1) Sturgeon (*Acipenser stellatus*); (2) Black Sea silverside (*Atherina mochon pontica*); (3) Bream (*Abramis brama*); (4) Perch-pike (*Lucioperca*); (5) Anchovy (*Engraulis encrasicolus*); (6) Liman ruff (*Percarina demidoffi maeotica*); (7) Sardine (*Clupeonella delicatula*); (8) Roach (*Rutilus rutilus haeckeli*); (9) Sturgeon (*Acipenser*).



FIGURE 100. MARALS (*Cervus elaphus sibiricus*)
IN THE ZOO OF ASKANIYA NOVA

of the Ukrainian SSR. Most of them are in the steppe zone. The most important is Askaniya Nova (36,500 ha.), in the virgin steppe, where the zoological park of the Institute for Acclimatization and Hybridization of Animals is located. The smaller steppe reservations are: the Khomutovsky Steppe (1,020 ha.), Striletsky Steppe (525 ha.), and Kamiani Mohyly (360 ha.). The Mykhailiv Virginland (200 ha.) and Kaniv reservations are located in the forest-steep zone. In the region of the arid coastal steppe are the Azov-Sivash (1,200 ha.) and the Black Sea (7,000 ha.) reservations, their main function the protection of birds during migrations, winterings, and nestings. There are two reservations in the mountains: the Crimean Reservation (30,000 ha.) was established to protect the big forest and its rich fauna—the Crimean red deer, chamois, ac-

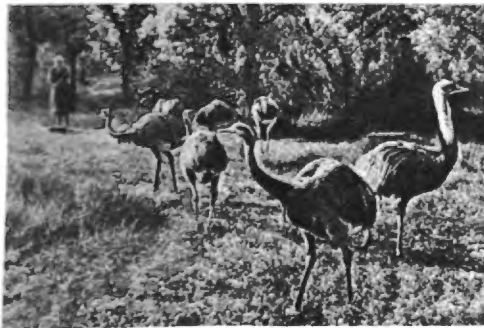


FIGURE 101. RHEA-NDU IN AN OPEN PEN IN
ASKANIYA NOVA

climatized mouflon, and squirrel (*Sciurus vulgaris exalbidus*); the special task of the Caucasian Reservation, located in the Kuban River basin, is to propagate the Caucasian bison. A large Carpathian Reservation is planned. The Bilovezha (Białowieża) Forest, located at the present Ukrainian-Belorussian-Polish boundary, has the special purpose of protecting the European bison.

Several other animals are also under special protection—for example, the beaver, the moose-elk, the desman, the bobac, the bustard, and others. Some of these animals also are being preserved in special reservations.

E. Zarsky

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10. UKRAINE AS A GEOGRAPHICAL ENTITY AND ITS SUB-REGIONS

UKRAINE AS A GEOGRAPHICAL WHOLE

Ukraine is one of the seven, or perhaps eight, major geographic regions into which eastern Europe could be divided: the north or White Sea region; Belorussia; the Baltic region; the Urals; the Moscow region which can be further subdivided into the central Moscow area and the Volga area; the Caspian region; and Ukraine.

Each region differs in its geographical location, in its geology and relief, in climate, in vegetation and, also, in the history of colonization, in demographic and cultural relations, and in economy.

Ukraine differs from other eastern European countries chiefly as a result of her southern geographical location on the furthest reaches of the Mediterranean Sea; by virtue of this location, Ukraine forms a bridge between eastern Europe, the Mediterranean countries, and the Balkans. In addition, Ukraine lies in the immediate neighborhood of the steppes and deserts of Asia, and, beyond the Caucasus and Black Sea, Asia Minor is her neighbor. (See pp. 13-15).

The main morphological characteristic of Ukraine, as contrasted with other eastern European countries, is the fact that it is the only country in this group that touches the young, folded mountain ranges. The tectonic base of the Ukrainian lands consists of the Archeozoic granite-gneiss massif (see "Geology"). This massif and other young folded formations were the sources of frequent earth movements, movements which still persist and which continue to mold the various terrains. As a result, the relief belts run from the northwest to the southeast. For the same reason, the landscape of Ukraine is more varied than that

of any other part of eastern Europe. Another condition that has played an important role in the development of the Ukrainian landscape is the fact that the ice-sheet covered only a minor part of the Ukrainian territory, and the major portion of the land owes its surface features not to glaciation but to a thick loess cover and to erosive processes. No other country on the European continent has a comparable area of that rich chernozem which is standard in Ukraine.

Climatic conditions are also unique in Ukraine as compared with the other east European countries. With exception of a few borderline areas, all of Ukraine lies in the zone of Pontic climate, which certain geographers (E. de Martonne), who view it as one of the more dominant characteristic types of climate, have called "the Ukrainian climate." Because of the particular climate and soil in Ukraine, a characteristic type of vegetation has developed; Ukraine, as no other European country, is the land of steppes and forest-steppe regions which are exceptionally suitable for agriculture.

These particular features of Ukraine have also affected the inhabitants who in their physical and anthropological structure, as well as in their economic and cultural life, exhibit many characteristic features which distinguish them from their neighbors.

Therefore, Ukraine, considered in relation to other east European countries, constitutes a distinct natural geographic and cultural entity with a number of features peculiar only to Ukraine. Being a country of eastern Europe and sharing some of the general characteristics prevalent in that area, Ukraine nevertheless has many features characteristic of central and Mediterranean Europe and some that are typical of western Asia.

Ukraine has no marked natural boundaries, and, therefore, the natural features of the Black Sea area, of the west, and of Asia gradually merge on the Ukrainian territory. Vegetation, climate, and the landscape change gradually. The only natural boundaries are formed by the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov in the south, to a certain extent by the Carpathians and the Caucasus, and also, at the farthest point of the Ukrainian ethnic territory in the southeast, by the Yergeni Hills.

In general, the expanses of the Ukrainian borderlands form a transition between Ukraine and the neighboring countries, e.g., Polisia between Ukraine and Belorussia; Podlachia between Poland and Ukraine; *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* (*Slobozhanshchyna*) between Ukraine and Russia (Muscovy); and the Subcaucasian region between Ukraine and the Transcaucasian countries.

Rivers constitute a unifying element among the Ukrainian lands. The major Ukrainian river, the Dnieper, which flows through Ukraine from the north to the south, unifies central Ukraine and connects it with the sea. The Dniester also plays an important but lesser role. The Sian (San) and Buh (Bug) rivers, which are tributaries of the Vistula and do not flow into the Black Sea, form (with the Dniester and the Dnieper to a certain degree) a hydrographical unit. As a means of communication, rivers have played a very important role in the settlement of the country. Here lies the importance of the Dnieper which served as the main means of communication in the Kievan Realm. However, because communication between the Dnieper and the Dniester rivers, on the one hand, and the Vistula and the Niemen rivers, on the other, could be conveniently established, attacks from neighboring western states were carried out with considerable ease.

In general, the flat country, the ease of communication, and the hydrographic network unite the Ukrainian areas into

one major geographic entity. However, Ukrainian territory is subdivided into numerous minor geographic regions.

DIVISION OF UKRAINE INTO INDIVIDUAL REGIONS

The Problem of Division

Like all other countries, Ukraine is divided into a series of regions with characteristic traits which distinguish them from one another. The division into regions could be effected on the basis of various characteristics, such as natural and economic traits. The administrative division of the country, both past and present, also should be taken into consideration. Let us analyze the natural, economic, and administrative division of Ukraine. A natural division is the most durable one inasmuch as the changes here, if any, occur only as a result of the advancement of scientific knowledge or of geographic, geological, or other factors.

The economic division is also based on natural elements, for these are the basis of the economy, but it depends, as well, on the organization of the productive forces and the number of inhabitants and the distribution of population.

The administrative and political division should be based primarily on the economic and natural factors. In reality, it is a compromise of the various tendencies; former administrative divisions, present political and national tendencies, economic changes, the development of transportation, the drawing forces of concentration of the population, and so forth. The administrative divisions are frequently found to be antiquated and do not correspond to the status of the population and economy. Thus, the division of the Ukrainian lands in the Russian empire prior to 1917 generally corresponded to the trends of the eighteenth century, inasmuch as it dated back to that time, but in the older populated areas it dated back to the

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and even the Princely era. Only in Soviet times has this division undergone several fundamental changes.

On the other hand, the state boundaries, which divided Ukraine, at the same time cut through the geographically and economically uniform regions. Up to 1914, they cut through Podilia and Volhynia, and from 1921-39 also through Polisia and the Carpathians. Today, the boundaries of Soviet Ukraine cut across natural and economic regions (e.g., the Donbas), and as we know (see pp. 27-30) they do not coincide in the north and the east with the ethnic boundaries of Ukraine.

The divisions, from the natural, economic, and administrative viewpoints,

very often overlap and, moreover, the administrative divisions undergo frequent changes. Thus, we frequently ascribe names to the regions which were created on the basis of various criteria, with the result that the same name was applied to different territories at various times. This has resulted in great confusion in today's nomenclature.

As an example, let us take Volhynia. From the natural viewpoint, when we speak of Volhynia we think of a plateau covered with loess and suitable for agriculture (see p. 84). As an economic and historical entity, the Volhynian Upland constitutes a harmonious unit with so-called Volhynian Polisia, situated to the north, sandy and unsuitable for wheat farming but rich in forests. The

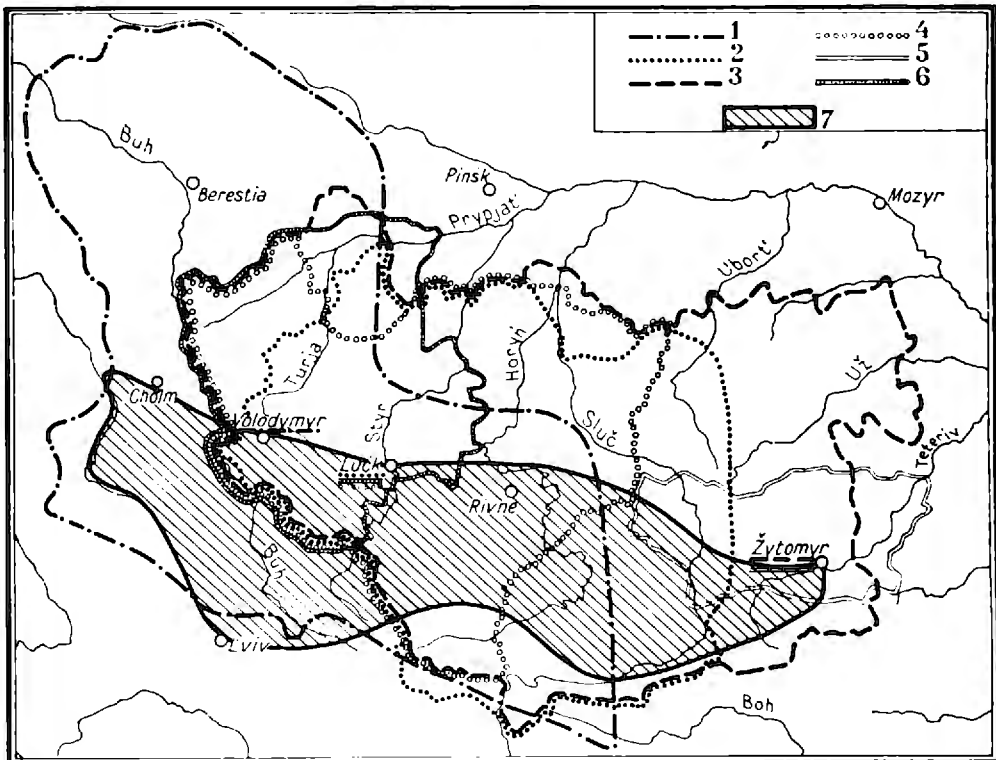


FIGURE 102. VOLHYNIA

- (1) Volhynian principality in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. (2) Volhynian *voievodstvo* in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. (3) Volhynian *guberniya* (1914). (4) Volhynian *voievodstvo* in 1921-39. (5) Volhynian *okruha*, 1926. (6) Volhynian (Lutsk) *oblast* in 1948. (7) Volhynian-Kholm Upland. The capitals of the territorial divisions are underlined in the same way as their frontiers.

boundaries of Volhynia, as an administrative territorial unit, underwent some great changes in the past; they were different in the Princely period, in medieval times, and still different under Lithuanian-Polish domination; the same name of Volhynia was applied to different areas, such as the Volhynian *guberniya* (a province in the Russian empire), the Volhynian *voievodstvo* (within the Polish state) and the Volhynian *oblast* in the Ukrainian SSR. At present, the name of the Volhynian *oblast* covers only a small part of Volhynia with the *oblast* capital at Lutsk (see Fig. 102).

In some places, some of the political and administrative boundaries have been preserved through centuries, although in various periods they performed different functions. Thus, the present state boundary between the Ukrainian SSR and Soviet Belorussia in the northwest (which at the same time is the boundary between the Ukrainian *oblast* of Lutsk and the Belorussian *oblast* of Brest) is the boundary which existed between the old *guberniyas* of Volhynia and Grodno in the Russian empire, and was the boundary, with a few small variations, between the *voievodstvos* of Volhynia and Polisia under Poland from 1920–39. In the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the boundaries between Poland (the Kholm land of the Ruthenian *voievodstvo*) and Lithuania (the Brest *voievodstvo*) ran along the same line, and, in the Princely period, it was the southern boundary of the Brest *volost'* (princely domain).

Similarly, the eighteenth century boundaries of the Polish state (on the Ukrainian territory) in the south (with Turkey) and in the east (the line of the Dnieper River) remained as the boundaries of the imperial Russian *guberniyas* and, partially, as the boundaries of present-day *oblasts*.

The problem of regionalization (*raionizatsiia*) was given considerable attention in the Ukrainian SSR, particularly

between 1922 and 1934, in connection with a study of bases for a new administrative division. A special institute of regionalization existed in Kharkiv within the Soviet Ukrainian government. The problems of economic regionalization of the Ukrainian SSR were dealt with in the 1940's by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

Natural Regionalization

Very often the natural or geographical regions are differentiated on the basis of absolute elevation, inasmuch as this characteristic—being often a result of tectonic structures—influences the formation of the fluvial network, the climate, flora, the density of the population, and the economy. The division of Ukraine into geographic regions is provided in Figure 26. But only in the mountains and partially in the upland belts of Ukraine can one clearly notice the differences of altitude; it is more difficult to take the relief of northern and southern Ukraine as a criterion of division. Here, we must take those characteristics as a basis for regionalization which are typical of each region, as, for instance, the swamps of Polisia, and the steppe climate and flora of southern Ukraine. Boundaries between individual regions constitute the transition belts, in which the characteristics of one region are slowly and gradually substituted by those of the other.

There were serious attempts at natural regionalization of Ukraine in the 1920's. The most successful were the divisions made by P. Tutkovsky, A. Fomin, A. Yanata, C. Voblyi, S. Rudnytsky, and others. The works of the latter two embrace all of the Ukrainian lands and are most detailed. A general classification of types of Ukrainian landscapes is to be found on Figure 31; there are also references to the divisions of Ukraine based on the tectonic, climatologic, and flora characteristics. Among the more recent attempts at a geomorphological region-

alization of Ukraine, those of M. Dmytriiv (1934), V. Bondarchuk (1941, 1959), P. Tsys (1961), and others should be mentioned; they are concerned only with the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

Taking into consideration all the principal factors, Ukraine could be divided into four major natural units: the northern, the middle, the southern, and the mountainous. The northern belt, commonly known as Polisia, is a territory of post-glacial landscapes, forests and swamps; in general, it is poorly populated. The middle belt is a territory of erosive loess landscapes, black soil (chernozem), and a sufficient quantity of precipitation, and of forest-steppe, an area with excellent conditions for agriculture; it is densely populated. Southern steppe Ukraine is distinguished from the middle belt, above all, by less precipitation, a different steppe flora, and by different conditions for agriculture; it has been settled more recently and has less density of population, with the exception of the industrial areas. The mountains are distinctive in their characteristics. Likewise, the submontane depressions and foothills constitute separate small units (see also Figures 26 and 31).

The boundaries between the above-mentioned belts are noted, inasmuch as mountains are concerned; a clearly marked boundary also exists between the northern and central belts, but between the latter and the steppe there is only a wide transition area, in which all characteristics typical of the adjacent belts are blended. This last boundary can be traced approximately along the line of Orhiiiv - Ananiiv - Pershomaïske - Kirovohrad—the mouth of the Dniester tributary, the Orel—Krasnohrad - Zmiiv - Chuhuiv-Valuiky-Buturlynivka (see also Fig. 77, on which the southern boundary of the forest-steppe is depicted).

Each of these belts is subdivided into lesser regions, mainly in connection with the increasingly continental climate from west to east, which is accompanied by a

change of soils, flora and fauna, and type of agriculture.

In the northern belt, it is comparatively easy to distinguish between the dry and higher Podlachia, and the low and marshy Polisia proper (it is sometimes divided into the western and central areas) and the dry area of Chernihiv (which is sometimes known as eastern Polisia).

In the middle belt of Ukraine (forest-steppe), it is easy to single out the following areas: the western forest-steppe, encompassing a series of smaller geographic regions (the Volhynian-Kholm Upland along with Roztichia and the Buh basin, the Sian and the Dniester Lowlands, the Subcarpathian area, the Pokutian-Bessarabian and Podilian Uplands), the Dnieper or the Right-Bank Upland, the Dnieper Lowland, and the East European Upland or northeastern frontier Ukraine (*Slobids'ka Ukraïna*) (see also pp. 69, 77 ff. and Fig. 26).

It is more difficult to divide southern steppe Ukraine. The natural changes go from north to south, and from west to east, along with the changes in the climate, the flora, and the soil. It is easy to single out only such regions as the Donets Ridge, the Crimean Lowland, and the Don and the Subcaucasian Lowlands.

As previously mentioned, the Carpathians, the Crimean Mountains, and the Caucasus, as well as their foothills, constitute very distinct regions.

Administrative Territorial Division prior to 1917

The beginnings of such a division of Ukrainian lands can be traced to the divisions of the medieval Kievan Realm: the principalities of Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Turov and Pinsk, Volhynia and Galicia. These, in turn, were subdivided into *volosts* (princely domains) which for the most part were small principalities (see "History: The Princely Era," particularly the map facing p. 592).

We can speak more definitely about

the territorial division of the Ukrainian lands at the time of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It was divided into *voievodstvos* (provinces) which, in turn, were divided into counties or lands. There were nine such *voievodstvos* in the Ukrainian lands: Ruthenia, Podlachia, Belz, Volhynia, Podilia, Bratslav, Kiev, Chernihiv (the last established in 1630)—all within the Polish state—and the *voievodstvo* of Berestia (Brest-Litovsk), in the Lithuanian state (see map, p. 622).

The Ukrainian Kozak State, under the rule of the Hetmans, initially embraced central Ukraine (the former *voievodstvos* of Kiev, Chernihiv, and Bratslav). After 1666, when Right-Bank Ukraine was assigned to Poland, the Hetman State encompassed only Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper River. The Zaporozhian Sich constituted a separate body politic, and on the northeastern frontier *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* was part of the Muscovite state. In the Hetman State and in *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*, the *polks* (regiments) constituted the major administrative territorial units (there was a total of 10 regiments in the former, and 5 in the latter), which in turn were subdivided into *sotnias* (hundreds). The Zaporozhian Sich was divided into 8 so-called *palankas* (see map, facing p. 642 and p. 653).

After the liquidation of the Ukrainian Hetman State (1764) and of the Zaporozhian Sich (1775) and after the annexation of southern steppe Ukraine to the Russian empire, Ukraine was divided for a short while into provinces; finally, at the end of the eighteenth century, in all Ukrainian lands under Russia the permanent system of *guberniyas* (provinces) under governors was introduced. The *guberniyas* were divided into counties and the latter (beginning in 1861) into *volosts* (rural districts). The number and the names of *guberniyas* were firmly established at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Thus, on the left-bank of the Dnieper

River were the *guberniyas* of Chernihiv and Poltava, while *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* was assigned partly to the Kharkiv *guberniya* (south) and partly to the Kursk and Voronezh *guberniyas* (north). All three *guberniyas* in Left-Bank Ukraine were given the name of *Malorossïia* (Little Russia). On the right-bank were the *guberniyas* of Kiev, Podilia, and Volhynia which were called the "South-western *Krai* (land)"; southern Ukraine was given the name of *Novorossïia* (New Russia) with the *guberniyas* of Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Tavria. A separate unit constituted the territory of the Black Sea Kozaks, who were transferred in 1792 to the Kuban land; in 1860, they were renamed the Kuban Kozak Host, with headquarters in Katerynodar. In the nineteenth century, the area north of the Caucasus was divided into the Kuban and Terek *oblasts* and into the Stavropol and Black Sea *guberniyas*. In the north and west Ukrainian ethnographic territory included parts of the following *guberniyas*: in the northwest, parts of the Horodno (Grodno) and Minsk *guberniyas* and in the west, parts of the Lublin and Siedlce *guberniyas* which in 1913 constituted the Kholm (Chełm) *guberniya*; in the southwest, Ukrainian ethnographic territory included part of the *guberniya* of Bessarabia. From time to time, several *guberniyas* were combined to form general *guberniyas* headed by general governors with wide civil and military powers. The following general *guberniyas* existed in Ukraine at different times: *Novorossïia* (New Russia), *Malorossïia* (Little Russia), Kharkiv, and Kiev (until 1917) (see p. 24 and Fig. 6).

The part of the western Ukrainian lands, incorporated into Austria in 1772 during the first partition of Poland, received the old name of Galicia, but this name was eventually changed to the "Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria," which now included Cracow and the adjacent Polish territories. Subsequently, ethnically Ukrainian Galicia was called eastern Galicia in contrast to western

(Polish) Galicia. Bukovina, formerly part of Moldavia, was annexed to Austria in 1775. In 1861, Bukovina, as in the case of Galicia, was recognized as a Crown land of Austria. Both Galicia and Bukovina were initially divided into administrative circuits, later into counties, and these were in turn subdivided into local communities. The Ukrainian lands under Hungary were divided into *komitats* (small provinces), which were subdivided into counties, and the counties into communities.

In connection with the political partition of the Ukrainian lands during the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, the western Ukrainian territories were called Austrian and Hungarian Ruthenia (*Rus'*) or Ukraine, while Ukraine within the Russian empire was commonly called Dnieper Ukraine—*Naddnyprianshchyna* (country on the Dnieper). Later, Galicia was called *Naddnistrianshchyna* (country on the Dniester).

Administrative Territorial Division after 1917

In the Ukrainian State of 1917–20, the old administrative division into *guberniyas* and counties remained in force. The law of the Ukrainian Central *Rada* (Council) of March 2, 1918, concerning a new administrative division into *zemlias* was not put into effect. In the Western Ukrainian National Republic, the administrative division into counties remained in force.

The changes following World War I brought new political (international) boundaries, new internal administrative divisions, and new nomenclatures. The name of Western Ukraine was now introduced; in a narrow sense it meant the Ukrainian lands under Poland and, in the broader sense, included the Ukrainian lands under Czechoslovakia and Rumania as well. The name of Western Ukraine is being used to this day in the USSR. The Poles introduced the illogical

name of "Małopolska Wschodnia" (Eastern Little Poland) for Galicia. In connection with the division of Volhynia and Polisia between Poland and the USSR, such names as western Volhynia (Polish) and eastern Volhynia (Soviet Ukrainian), and western Polisia and eastern Polisia came into use. For the designation of those western Ukrainian lands which prior to 1914 were part of the Russian empire and after World War I went under Poland—Volhynia, Polisia, Kholm land with Podlachia—a new unofficial name, that is, the Northwestern Lands or the Northwestern Ukrainian Lands, went into effect. In Transcarpathia the new name of Subcarpathian Ruthenia (*Pidkarpats'ka Rus'*) appeared, which, however, did not cover the whole of Transcarpathia; the western part of Transcarpathia was called *Priashivshchyna* (from the city of Priashiv [Prešov]) or *Priashiv Rus'*. Since 1938, the new name—Carpatho-Ukraine—has been used by the Ukrainian population of that area.

The Ukrainian SSR was at first limited to the territories of the old nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* of the Russian empire (without western Volhynia and, up to 1954, without the Crimea), but the northern—ethnically Ukrainian—part of the Chernihiv province was excluded. Instead a small part of that area of the former Don Cossack *oblast* which was inhabited by Ukrainians was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR (see p. 25). The term *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* or *Slobozhanshchyna* has now a twofold meaning: a broader one, which refers to the former historical meaning, and a narrower one, which applies only to the southern parts of the Kursk and Voronezh *oblasts*. In the east, there appeared for a brief period of time the new name of northern Caucasus, embracing the former provinces (*guberniyas* or *oblasts*) of the Don Cossacks, Kuban, Terek, Stavropol, and the Black Sea, and this term is loosely used today, although

the region that it describes does not constitute any territorial unit. The names of the Terek and the Black Sea territorial units as well as that of the Don Cossack *oblast* have been discontinued. The present Krasnodar *krai* corresponds almost exactly to the former Kuban *guberniya*, augmented by the old Black Sea administrative area.

As far as the administrative territorial division of the Ukrainian lands under Soviet domination is concerned, in the first years of the Bolshevik rule the old administrative territorial division was maintained. The Soviet government created a new Donets *guberniya* (with its center in Bakhmut). The northern part of the Tavria *guberniya* was included in the Katerynoslav and Odessa *guberniyas* (formerly Kherson *guberniya*). The southern part was organized as the Crimean Autonomous SSR. In 1924-5, a new administrative territorial division was put into effect in the Ukrainian SSR. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was divided into *okruhas* (53), *raions*, and *sil'radas*. Within the framework of the Ukrainian SSR, a new subdivision was created in 1924—the Moldavian Autonomous SSR. Subsequently, the number of *okruhas* decreased; at the same time the Tahanrih (Taganrog) and Shakhty *okruhas* were detached from the Ukrainian SSR and incorporated into the Russian SFSR. On January 1, 1929, the Ukrainian SSR had a total of 41 *okruhas* and 579 *raions*. Similar divisions into *okruhas* and *raions* were introduced in other Ukrainian lands which were part of the Russian SFSR and the Belorussian SSR. (This process of reorganization was terminated only in 1928.)

In 1931-2, a new system of administrative territorial division was introduced in the whole USSR and it is still in effect today. This is the system of *oblasts* (provinces—larger than former *okruhas*), *raions*, and village councils. The Ukrainian SSR at first had only 7 *oblasts* and

358 *raions*; in 1938, there were 13 *oblasts* (see Fig. 7) and in 1939 there were 16 *oblasts*, with 526 *raions* and 59 special urban *raions*. Later on the number of *oblasts* increased as a result of the incorporation of the western Ukrainian lands into the Ukrainian SSR; the Moldavian ASSR was finally detached from the Ukrainian SSR and made a union republic—the Moldavian SSR in 1940, at which time its boundaries were changed. In 1954, the Crimea was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR.

The western Ukrainian lands, which were part of Poland between the two World Wars, were divided into *voievodstvos* (provinces), counties, and *volosts* (rural districts); those under Rumania—into counties and communities; Transcarpathia, within the Czechoslovak state framework, embraced Subcarpathian Ruthenia (*Rus'*) as well as the eastern part of Slovakia, and was divided into counties and communities (see pp. 25-7 and Figs. 7 and 8). As of January 1, 1962, the Ukrainian SSR is divided into 25 *oblasts*, 2 cities under direct republican jurisdiction (Kiev and Sevastopol), 84 cities under *oblast* jurisdiction, 264 towns under *raion* jurisdiction, 604 village *raions*, 74 urban *raions*, 833 settlements of the urban type, and 8,595 *sil'radas* (village councils).

Economic Regions

Much effort was devoted to the economic regionalization of Ukraine by C. Voblyi, A. Fomin, S. Ostapenko, J. Zilbermann, and others, their works concerning only the Ukrainian SSR.

In 1922-35, there prevailed the official scheme of the Central Statistical Administration which divided the Ukrainian SSR into three natural-historical regions: Polisia, the forest-steppe with a subdivision into right-bank and left-bank territories, and the steppe, embracing the Dnieper industrial area and the mining area of the Donbas.

Among the many schemes of complex

economic division (e.g., A. Katzmann and E. Davidov in the first edition of *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, L. Koretsky in the second edition of *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, N. Baransky in his textbook on the economic geography of the USSR, A. Dibrova in his book, *Geography of the Ukrainian SSR*, second edition, and the like), the best known is that prepared by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR under the direction of C. Voblyi. According to this scheme, Soviet Ukraine is divided into five economic regions: the central, the southeastern (the Donets Basin and the Dnieper Valley industrial region), the northeastern, the southwestern (western steppe), and the western.

In 1957, the entire USSR was divided into economic regions which had the task of regulating all industries and construction. In Ukraine alone, there were 11 such economic regions in 1957, but in 1960 three new regions were added, so that in 1962 there were 14 economic regions in Ukraine. They were named after the following cities of Ukraine: Cherkasy, Crimea, Dnipropetrovske, Donetske, Kharkiv, Kherson, Kiev, Luhanske, Lviv, Poltava, Odessa, Stanyslaviv (recently changed to Ivano-Frankivsk), Vinnytsia, and Zaporizhia. In nine cases, the economic regions correspond to the *oblasts* (this is also the case in those Ukrainian lands which are part of the Russian SFSR), in other cases they combine 2 to 4 *oblasts*.

In 1961, the Ukrainian SSR was listed in the Soviet statistical manuals as having three major economic areas: the Donets-Dnieper (eastern Ukraine), the southern (the western part of the steppe), and the northwestern (the rest of Ukraine).

Other Divisions and the Problem of Regionalism

It is rather difficult to divide Ukraine from the viewpoint of ethnography. A

rather insignificant differentiation of land forms in the natural geography of Ukraine and the intensive population shifts, on the one hand, and the frequent shifting of the political boundaries, on the other, did not contribute toward the establishment of durable regional differences among the Ukrainian population. Thus, specific ethnic territories have remained only in the Carpathians (the Lemkians, Boikians, and Hutsuls), and, to a lesser extent, in Polisia (see details in "Ethnography").

A markedly distinct regional separateness is felt only by those groups of the population which for centuries lived in isolation from the mass of the Ukrainian people in such areas as Transcarpathia, Galicia, Bukovina, Kuban, Kholm, Podlachia, and southern *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*, Polisia, and the eastern Subcaucasus. The sense of regionalism is only weakly developed in the mass of the Ukrainian population, and the differences between the populations of the various parts of central and eastern Ukraine is insignificant. Hence the paradox, that a comparatively small group of Galicians, and even, in smaller measure, Ukrainians from Kuban, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, or the Kholm area is in such contrast to the bulk of the undifferentiated mass of central Ukrainians who constitute % of the entire population of Ukraine.

Historico-geographical Regions

Taking into consideration the historical past of Ukraine, the regional differences of the population, its present distribution and economic conditions, Ukraine could be divided into 14 historico-geographic regions (see Fig. 103 and its legend).

The size of individual regions varies from 50 to 160 thousand square kilometers and the population from 3 to 7 million. Transcarpathia and the Crimea are exceptions, which, though rather small, can be singled out as separate regions because of their historical and

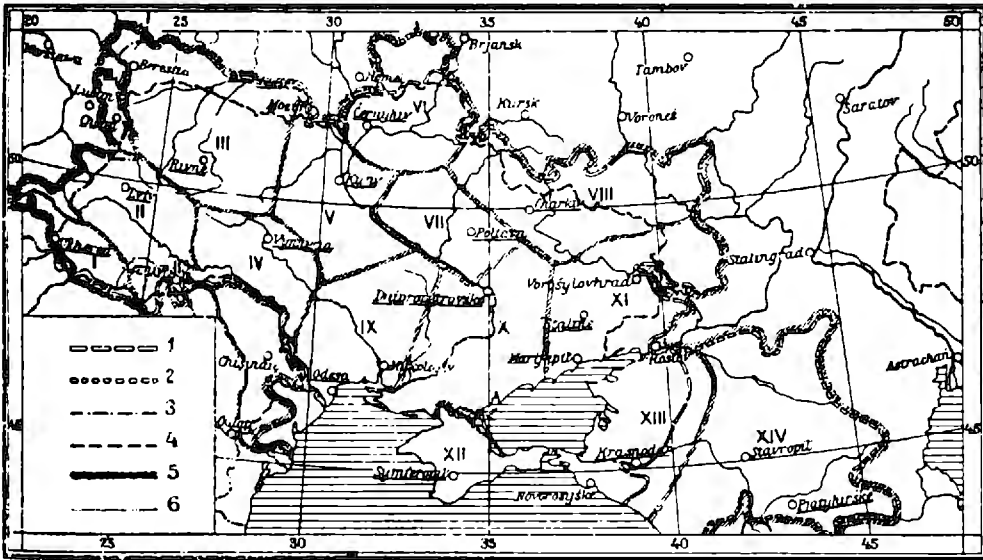


FIGURE 103. HISTORICO-GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

(1) Limits of the Ukrainian compact ethnic territory. (2) Boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic territories together with ethnically mixed territories. (3) Boundaries of states. (4) Boundaries of republics in the USSR. (5) Boundaries of historico-geographic regions. (6) Boundaries of territorial subregions (centers of the regions are underlined): I, Carpatho-Ukraine; II, Galicia; II.1 Bukovina; III, Volhynia; III.1 Kholm (Chelm) area and Podlachia; IV, Podilia; V, Kiev region; VI, Chernihiv region; VII, Poltava region; VIII, Kharkiv region; IX, Odessa region; X, Dnieper region (Zaporizhia); XI, Donets region; XII, Crimea; XIII, Kuban region; XIV, Eastern Subcaucasus region.

geographical individuality. For these reasons the Kholm area with Podlachia (separated from Volhynia) and Bukovina (from Galicia) are regarded as separate sub-regions. Polisia is divided between the Volhynian, Kiev, and Chernihiv regions, because its various parts were always gravitating toward more densely populated and economically better developed centers.

In designating the center of each region, both the central location and the potential possibilities of development were taken into consideration.

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III. Population

This part deals with the physical anthropology of Ukraine, with the relations between groups of the population, and with the geography of their settle-

ments. Some population problems border on demography and human geography. The geography of settlements is closely connected with ethnography.

1. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY OF UKRAINE

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDIES OF UKRAINE

The earliest attempts to describe the racial composition of Ukraine are to be found in the works of Herodotus, Hippocrates, and Aristotle; during the Middle Ages such descriptions were made by Byzantine and Arabian travelers and historians; in modern times the subject has been treated by representatives of nearly all European nations, chiefly by ethnographers. Scientific studies have been available only since the late nineteenth century, however.

The first anthropological studies of the Ukrainian people were made by the Ukrainian Paul Chubynsky, the Russian Anatol Bogdanov, the Pole Isidore Kopernicki, and the Frenchmen Ernest Amy and Joseph Deniker. In recent times the most important anthropological work concerned with Ukraine has been done by the Russians Dimitry Anuchin, Alexander Ivanovsky, and Victor Bunak; the Poles Julian Talko-Hryniewicz and Jan Czekanowski; and the Germans Hans Günther and Egon Eickstedt. Their studies however, were not primarily concerned with the Ukrainians. The renowned Ukrainian scholar Theodore Vovk (1847-1918) was the only scholar to make systematic anthropological studies in all Ukrainian lands.

After World War I research in anthropological studies in Ukraine was stepped up. In Kiev a special anthropological research institute, the Theodore Vovk *Kabinet*, was created under the auspices of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences; it published a review, *Antropolohiia*. The institute functioned under the chairmanship of A. Nosov. The Kiev school gathered materials on anthropology in various parts of Ukraine including the Crimea and the Kuban region.

In the 1920's the Ukrainian Psychoneurological Institute in Kharkiv issued *Materialy po antropologii Ukrainy* (Materials on the Anthropology of Ukraine), a review under the editorship of L. Nikolaiev. The Kharkiv school was engaged in particular in research on physical and social similarities between members of various groups of the population.

In the 1930's suppressive measures of the Soviet government made anthropological research in Soviet Ukraine extremely difficult. It was renewed only in 1955 at the ethnographical section of the Institute of Arts, Folklore, and Ethnology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. On the initiative of the ethnographical section, the Ukrainian anthropological expedition conducted systematic studies in 1956-9 on the population of Ukraine as well as a series of

paleoanthropological investigations. Beginning with 1960, the Institute has been publishing *Materialy z Antropolohii Ukraïny* (Materials on the Anthropology of Ukraine).

In Western Ukraine, in Lviv, anthropological research was conducted by I. Rakovsky in the years 1920–30. The Lviv school was concerned primarily with attempting to reconstruct a synthetic picture of racial relations, both past and present, in Ukraine, and also with the racial differences between the Ukrainians and their neighbors (chiefly the Poles and the Russians).

ANTHROPOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF UKRAINE IN THE PAST

Heredity and Environment

By race we mean a group of people who share, in some combination, certain physical hereditary characteristics. The development of hereditary factors is influenced in very complex ways by environment. The hereditary characteristics of the tribes who inhabited Ukraine for more or less protracted periods in the past provide the genetic foundation of the Ukrainian people of the present. However, the Ukrainians also were affected genetically by neighboring peoples who still border on Ukraine and who have interbred with them.

The Oldest Races in Ukraine

The oldest representative of the population of western Europe is the Heidelberg man (*Homo Heidelbergensis*) who lived in the lower Paleolithic (approximately 400,000 years ago) and who is represented at the present time only by the massive lower jaw with a retreating chin. His traces (thick stone tools of the shell type) also appear in Ukraine (Luka Vrublivetska on the Dniester River in Podilia).

In the middle Paleolithic (Mousterian) age (approximately 100,000–40,000 years ago), Neanderthal man (*Homo neanderthalensis*, *primigenius*) lived in western

Europe, Ukraine, Asia, and Africa. He was short, dolichocephalous, with a flat, retreating forehead, strongly protruding superciliary ridges, and had thick lower jaws without a protruding chin. The remains of two burials (the skeleton of a child without skull and the leg bones of an adult), excavated in the Kiik-Koba cave (Crimea), bear the characteristics of this race. The burial mound in a cave near Starosilia (Crimea), containing the remains of a transitional type from the Neanderthal to the Cro-Magnon race, belongs to the end of the Mousterian era.

During the middle Paleolithic the Mediterranean race of short, long-faced, long-headed, narrow-nosed, and prob-



FIGURE 104. TYPES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN RACE

ably dark-haired people (Fig. 104) appeared in Ukraine. Additional characteristics of the Mediterranean race are dark pigmentation, wavy hair, and dark eyes. The forehead is medium and wide, the nose fleshy but straight, the torso long, the arms short, and the feet long. In Ukraine they are probably a lateral branch of the North African racial complex which mixed in Europe with the Aurignacian race, occupied the entire southern part of the continent, and penetrated far to the north.

The process of the formulation of man's physical appearance, which depended on the changes of the natural environment and the way of life, was completed during the upper Paleolithic (40,000–8,000 years ago). Primitive Neanderthal man was replaced by Cro-

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Magnon or Aurignacian man—tall, long-headed, possessed of a flat forehead without superciliary ridges, a slightly protruding chin, and an erect posture and gait. In Ukraine, whole burial mounds of Cro-Magnon man have been excavated in the vicinity of Voronezh (Kostenky), and individual parts of skeletons in the Chernihiv area (Pushkari), the Novhorod Siversky area (Chulativ, Novhorod Siversky), and in the vicinity of Peremyshl (Valiava).

During the later Paleolithic, Ukraine was crossed by a wave of Mongoloids who reached as far as western Europe and occupied its central area. They were short, with short, wide faces; round-headed (brachycephalic), probably dark-haired, they belonged to the Lapponoid



FIGURE 105. TYPES OF THE LAPPONOID RACE

or Eastern race. The Lapponoids also are characterized by some yellowness of the skin, bristly hard hair, dark eyes, a flat snubby nose, and narrow eye slots; the torso is long, and the digits short (Fig. 105).

The burial mounds in the area of Dnipropetrovske (Vasylivka, Voloske) from the Eolithic (lower Paleolithic) belong to persons of the southern Mediterranean origin with negroid features: short but strong physique, flat nose, and slightly protruding, prognathic jaws. Perhaps these are the traces of the migration of North African tribes in a northerly direction, or it could be the west European racial type. These foreign tribes either were destroyed by the local population or migrated to western Europe,



FIGURE 106. TYPES OF THE NORDIC RACE

since the local population in Ukraine during the Mesolithic (8,000–5,000 B.C.) shows a purely Cro-Magnon type without African racial features (burial mounds in the Crimean caves, Fatma-Koba and Murzak-Koba).

During the Neolithic (5,000–2,500 B.C.) and the Eneolithic (2,500–1,800 B.C.) in Ukraine, the anthropological type of tall, long-headed descendants of the Cro-Magnon race appears. This is the so-called Nordic race—a tall, long-headed, long-faced, blond people, with light pigmentation, fine, slightly wavy hair, and blue eyes. They have a high forehead with a faint arch over the eyebrow; the bridge of the nose is high and narrow, and the ridge is straight and narrow; the ears are thin and large, the bones thin and long; the torso short and the extremities and digits long (Fig. 106).

Toward the end of the Neolithic Age and at the beginning of the Bronze Age in Ukraine, a new race of round-heads (brachycephalics) came to the lands of Ukraine from the southeast—from Asia Minor, Armenia, and Persia. They were



FIGURE 107. TYPES OF THE ARMENOID RACE

representatives of the Armenoid race—not tall, round-headed, long-faced, dark-haired people (Fig. 107). The Armenoids are characterized also by dark pigmentation; wavy, and frequently curly, hair; dark, often black, eyes; a high forehead without an arch over the eyebrows; a triangular face; a nose large and hooked. The torso is long, the chest prominent, and the shoulders wide.



FIGURE 108. TYPE OF THE SUB-NORDIC RACE

From a mingling of these races, new racial types appeared: the Nordics and Lapponoids produced the so-called Eastern European or sub-Nordic fair type (Fig. 108), with a longish head, a short, wide face, and a snub nose. The crossing

of the Nordics with the Armenoids produced the so-called Adriatic or Dinaric type—a tall, round-headed, long-faced, dark-haired people (Fig. 109)—who quickly occupied the Balkans and reached the Alpine lands. There, in combination with the sub-Nordics, they



FIGURE 109. TYPES OF THE DINARIC RACE

produced the Alpines—a short, round-faced, round-headed, dark-haired people. The Alpines spread eastward, penetrated the lands of Western Ukraine, and increased the number of round-headed, dark-haired types among Ukrainians.

Racial Composition of the Bronze Age

During the Bronze Age (1,800–800 B.C.), the racial composition of the Ukrainian lands was enriched by the arrival of the central European representatives of the Nordic race with the so-called corded ceramics, eastern Mediterranean settlers with the catacomb type burials, and east European cattle-breeders with shell-type burials. There was also gradual infiltration by the Thracian tribes from Transcarpathia. However, it was the Armenoid race which had the decisive influence, particularly among the agrarian population of the Trypilian culture (see “Archaeology”).

The Protohistoric Period

A series of tribes of Iranian origin (Sakians)—the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alans—made their appearance in the Black Sea basin during the protohistoric period. These tribes inhabited the Black Sea steppe from the seventh century B.C. until the Princely (medieval) period of Ukrainian history. A critical appraisal based on their description by Hippocrates, although not discounting among these tribes Turko-Finnic admixtures, indicates that they belonged, in the main, to the Nordic and Mediterranean races. This is supported by descriptions by other ancient students—Aristotle (the Scythians), Pomponius Mela (the Sarmatians), Ammianus Marcellinus and Jordanes (the Alans); by carvings on

TABLE I

	Racial group			
	Nordic	Mediterranean	Armenoid	Lapponoid
Poltava Scythians of the fourth and third centuries B.C.	37.2%	42.6%	17.7%	2.5%
Alans of the ninth century	32.9%	46.6%	13.7%	6.8%

vases; and finally by skeletal remains. A racial analysis of these tribes, to the extent it is possible on the basis of scant skeletal material, is given in Table I.

However, the older population of Ukraine of the Trypilian culture did not disappear entirely. It may be presumed that the Scythians pushed part of this population to the north, and subjugated another part, turning it into a substratum group. The names applied by Herodotus to some nomads of this ethnic group are evidence: for example, it is obvious that the name "Scythian plowmen" was applied to the short-headed Trypilians. Material from the Iron Age found in Bessarabia (O. Donici) supports this conclusion by the high percentage of the Armenoid race: Nordic, 37.8%; Mediterranean, 12.4%; Armenoid, 27.2%; Laponoid, 22.2%.

THE PRESENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF UKRAINE

Historical Composition of the Ukrainians

Descriptions of medieval Ukrainian merchants and knights by Byzantines (Julius Matern, Zacharias Rhetor) and by Arabs (Abu Mansur, Ibn Fadlan, and others), and descriptions of the external appearance of many princes in the Chronicles make it possible to assume that the merchants and knights of old *Rus'*-Ukraine possessed many Nordic traits. But their settlements were occupied by short-headed Trypilians, with whom they interbred, thereby bringing about an increase in the Armenoid traits in the population in later times (the Dinaric type). Scholars have arrived at these conclusions by studying the fairly scant data from excavations of the twelfth to fifteenth and the seventeenth centuries. The analysis of the remains of Zaporozhian Kozaks who fell during the siege of Lviv in 1648 is of particular interest; it yields the following results: Nordic, 34.2%; Mediterranean, 21.0%; Armenoid, 17.4%; Laponoid, 27.4%.

Thus the Ukrainian people, in their prehistoric and early historic formation, consisted of three main strata: people of the Trypilian culture, chiefly Armenoid in type; the Iranian (Sakian) people, chiefly Nordic and Mediterranean in type; and the Slavs, Nordic-Armenoid in type.

We can therefore assume that as a result of complex sociobiological processes, the racial composition of the Ukrainian people as a whole shifted over the centuries from primarily Nordic-Dinaric to primarily Dinaric-Nordic, and acquired, during the later period, a certain Laponoid tinge.

The Views of Vovk

At present the studies of Theodore Vovk indicate that the Ukrainian lands are divided into three belts according to the physical anthropological characteristics of the population:

(1) The northern belt: southern Kursk, Chernihiv, northern Kiev, northern Volhynia, and the Kholm area.

(2) The center belt: southern Voronezh, Kharkiv, Poltava, Kiev, northern Podilia, southern Volhynia, and eastern Galicia (excluding the Hutsulian and Boikian areas).

(3) The southern belt: Bačka (Yugoslavia), Transcarpathia, the southern Boikian and Hutsulian areas, southern Podilia, Kherson, Zaporizhia, Tavria, and Kuban.

Most Ukrainians of the northern belt are of medium height, with fairly light hair and eyes, semi-round heads, with high foreheads, medium faces, and fairly wide noses, often snubbed.

The Ukrainians of the center belt for the most part are above medium height; their hair and eyes are darker, their heads round; they have high foreheads, medium-broad faces, narrow and usually straight noses.

Most Ukrainians of the southern belt are tall, and their hair and eyes are still darker; they are true brunettes. Their heads are round with high foreheads,

their faces medium-broad and elongated, their noses narrow, mostly straight in profile but often curving, sometimes aquiline.

On this basis Vovk comes to the following conclusions: "The Ukrainians are a fairly uniform tribe, dark-haired, dark-eyed, above medium height or tall; round-headed with a fairly high forehead, narrow-faced with a straight and fairly narrow nose, with relatively short arms and long legs. Comparing the physical characteristics of the Ukrainians with those of other Slav peoples, we see that the Ukrainians show the closest affinity to the southern and western Slavs (with the exception of the Poles); they should be included in the so-called Adriatic or Dinaric race."

Modern Views

On the basis of more detailed studies of all the anthropological material collected by Theodore Vovk and his associates, Ivan Rakovsky came to the conclusion that the Ukrainian people are of a more mixed racial composition than Vovk had supposed. The basis is undoubtedly the Adriatic type (average, 44.5 per cent), but a second type, the Alpine, is strongly represented (average, 22 per cent). A close affinity between these two types because of numerous transitional mixed forms permits us to unite the two types into a single common Alpine-Adriatic (or, according to A. C. Haddon, a "Dinaride") type, for an average of 66 per cent of the entire population. The average percentage of other types is insignificant; the percentage of representatives of the Nordic and Lapponoid types diminishes visibly from north to south, and the percentage of the Mediterranean race diminishes in the opposite direction; this would be the natural consequence stemming from the origin of these racial types.

The latest studies, chiefly mass anthropometrical studies of men drafted into the army in prewar Poland and some measurements in the Ukrainian Soviet

Republic, show a fairly large percentage of the Nordic type in Volhynia, of the Alpine type in the Sian (San) and Podlachia region, of the Lapponoid type in a belt between the sources of the rivers Sian (San) and Buh (Bug) in Western Ukraine, and of the Mediterranean type in Bessarabia and on the lower Boh.

On the basis of physical anthropological material studied by modern statistical methods to determine the dominant types, Rostyslav Yendyk finds four racial belts in Ukraine, as shown in Table II.

TABLE II

Racial types	Territories with a predominance of the racial types here given
Adriatic; East European, dark and light	Areas of Kharkiv, southwestern Poltava, southwestern and northeastern Galicia; south and north Boikian areas, Lemkian area, and the Kholm (Chełm) area.
Adriatic with an admixture of Armenoid Nordic with an admixture of Adriatic	Hutsulian area; north Podilia, Bačka, west Boikian, Kher-son, and Odessa areas. Northern Kiev, Volhynia, Kuban
Adriatic, Mediterranean, dark Eastern European	Areas of Chernihiv, southern Voronezh, northeastern Poltava, central and southern Kiev, Katerynoslav, southern Podilia, central Galicia; and the central part of the Boikian area.

Future studies may analyze more precisely the relationships of the racial elements making up the component parts of the Ukrainian people, but we can now be certain that the Ukrainian people show a strong Dinaric composition with considerable regional differentiations: Nordic, Mediterranean, and Eastern.

Among neighboring peoples more or less different racial types predominate. Of the Slavs the closest racially to the Ukrainians are the Serbo-Croatians; but they contain a higher percentage of Nordics and Mediterraneans and a lower percentage of the Dinaric type than the Ukrainians do. Among other neighboring peoples the following racial types are

predominant: Bulgarians—light Eastern European and Mediterranean; Poles, Czechs, and Slovaks—Nordic and dark Eastern European; Belorussians—Eastern European types; Russians—along with Eastern European types, elements of a sub-Nordic type, and paleo-Asians. Of the non-Slav peoples, the Ukrainians' closest neighbors, the Magyars, have a special mixture of types: Nordic, dark Eastern European, and Mediterranean. The Rumanians are Dinaricized Mediterraneans. The Ukrainian people, considered in terms of their over-all racial components, differ noticeably from their neighbors.

On the basis of the research work of the Ukrainian anthropological expedition in 1956, V. Diachenko distinguished four anthropological types on the territories of Ukraine: (1) a central Ukrainian type on the territories of the Left-Bank Ukraine, *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*, the central Kiev area, Podilia, and Volhynia; (2) a Carpathian type, in the Carpathian Mountains; (3) a Polisia type, on the territories of Podlachia and western Polisia (that is, west of the Dnieper River); (4) a Dnieper type, on both sides of the Dnieper River, below Kremenchuk, up to its delta. These four types, indicated by geographical names, correspond to our racial belts, in general, and they do not differ in anthropological features, but only in nomenclature which we have taken from Deniker-Czekanowski, while V. Diachenko adheres to the territorial names. The statements of V. Diachenko regarding "the close natural ties among the Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian peoples, their common origin from the sole root of the *Rus'* people

who were formed through the mixture of various east European tribes," constitute a far-fetched generalization contradictory to the modern historical and craniological material and recent anthropological findings, although corresponding to the requirements of Soviet policy. Regardless of its conclusions, the work of V. Diachenko is valuable, as it establishes the present racial composition of the population of Ukraine on territories which are now subject to strong ethnic fluctuations and thus likely to lose their former anthropological and ethnological formations.

R. Yendyk

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2. THE SOURCES AND LITERATURE ON THE POPULATION OF UKRAINE

In Ukraine the census was taken separately by each of the controlling states,

so that the demographic sources too must be considered separately.

SOURCES

Sources in the Russian Empire

For many years the All-Russian population census of January 28, 1897, was the single source for the basic statistical material for over four-fifths of the population of Ukraine.

All earlier statistics were incomplete. Among these mention should be made of the Rumiantsev Survey (*Rumiantsevskaja opis'*) of 1765 which examined the Ukrainian Hetman State of the second half of the eighteenth century. There were also surveys of the provinces (*Opis' Namestnichestvo*) (1783-93), parts of which were published late in the nineteenth and early in the twentieth centuries. These surveys included the description of the Chernihiv *guberniya* (province) made by Opanas Shafonsky in 1786. There are also the descriptions of Tavria by Charles Herman, dated 1807, the Kiev *guberniya* by Dmytro Zhuravsky, dated 1852, and others. Many of the statistics were collected during the preparation of the peasant reform in 1861.

The basic population statistics were found in the so-called revisional censuses, of which ten were made for the purpose of taxation (the last in 1850 and in 1856). These, however, did not include the entire population.

After 1850 the Central Statistical Committee in St. Petersburg published periodical data on the population of the Russian empire. Then, in the seventies and eighties, the *zemstvo* (county and provincial self-government) institutions, which had been concerned with the economy only, began to publish population statistics. At this time some cities in Ukraine also took local censuses. Much valuable demographic information was published by Paul Chubynsky and his associates in the important work—*Trudy etnograficheskoi-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai*—Works of the Ethnographic-Statistical Expedition in West Russian Lands (7 volumes in 5 parts, 1872-8). Alexander Rittich

also collected a great deal of statistical data for his ethnographic map of Russia.

The census of 1897, despite its defects, is the only source for determining the composition of the population of Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Its chief defects are the faulty classification of occupations and the fact that the conclusions only refer to large areas such as *guberniyas* and counties. The language of the population, with respect to Ukrainians, was also misrepresented, especially in border areas, and, generally, the number of Ukrainians was reduced. The results of this census were published by the Central Statistical Committee and some were even published in the twenties by the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Lacking a new census, the only source for population statistics for a long time after 1897 was the reports published by the Central Statistical Committee on the basis of the data from the census of 1897, but with modifications based on changes in the population. The Central Statistical Committee also published annual data on expansion and emigration, especially to Asia. These statistics were gathered by the Resettlement Administration. Because emigration was an important factor, in 1900 the Ukrainian *zemstvos* created a special resettlement organization which published these statistics.

Materials from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

The first demographic sources for the Ukrainian lands in Austria-Hungary were incomplete statistics gathered for army purposes. The Viennese statistician, Charles Czœrnig von Czernhausen, accurately mapped the ethnic patterns in Galicia, Transcarpathia, and Bukovina as they were in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The censuses in Austria-Hungary were conducted almost every ten years and with greater accuracy and detail than in

Russia. Surveys were taken in 1857, 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910. The Austrian censuses of 1880, 1890, and 1900 divided the population by religion and language for every community; the 1910 census results only covered the administrative counties and judicial districts. The statistical data were published by the Central Statistical Commission in Vienna and also by provincial statistical institutions for Galicia in Lviv and for Bukovina in Chernivtsi.

In the Austrian censuses the national composition of the population was misrepresented, partly because no separate count was taken of persons using the Yiddish language and the Jews were included with other peoples—in Galicia chiefly with the Poles—and partly because the Polish administration in Galicia often slanted the statistics in favor of the Poles. However, corrections can easily be made on the basis of religious statistics.

The results of the censuses in Transcarpathia were published by the Hungarian Statistical Bureau in Budapest. Here too the languages were presented incorrectly because of the Magyarizing tendencies of the government; also the Jews were usually counted as Hungarians or Germans.

The figures on population shifts were accurately published by the central statistical institutions in Vienna and Budapest, but the provincial institutions in Lviv and Chernivtsi published more detailed figures.

Sources from the USSR

In 1916 and again after the Revolution in 1917, agricultural censuses, including some demographic material, were conducted throughout the Russian empire. In 1917 censuses of the population in Kiev and Odessa were also taken. Late in 1920 the Soviet government took a general census of the population, which was partially published by the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR. The census, however, did not include all Ukraine and in view of the military operations at the time, its

value is doubtful. Three years later on March 15, 1923, a general census of the urban population of Ukraine was taken and the results were analyzed and recorded in the publications of the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv and of the USSR in Moscow.

The census of 1926, with all its faults, was the basis for reports on the population of Ukraine until the first general census taken by the Soviet government on December 17, 1926. The 1926 census was well prepared and methodically conducted, and supplies almost all the important information on the population of Ukraine. In fact, it still provides the only accurate population statistics for Ukraine. One characteristic feature was the absence of any question concerning religious affiliation. Ethnic affiliations were revealed by questions concerning the language and nationality of the population. However, an error in instructions and the method of conducting the census resulted in an underestimation of the number of Ukrainians (by nationality and language) in the borderlands of the Ukrainian SSR and beyond the frontiers.

The results of the census were rapidly published in several dozen volumes by the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR in Moscow and the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR. The statistical data were published for small administrative units, *raions*, and—in the Ukrainian SSR—even for *sil'radas* which consisted of several villages. Data concerning the native languages were published only for the larger administrative units. The census of 1926 was unquestionably more thorough than that of 1897.

The natural movement of the population was described in the publications of the Central Statistical Administration in Moscow and in greater detail in Kharkiv during the period 1923–9.

Beginning with 1930, the Soviet Union reorganized its statistical methods. The Central Statistical Administration of the

Ukrainian SSR was abolished. In Moscow the functions of the former Central Statistical Administration were assumed by the Central Administration of Economic Accounting which had its branch in the Ukrainian SSR. (Since 1948, the Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR, with its provincial branches, has been re-established and subordinated to the Central Statistical Administration within the Council of Ministers of the USSR.) Demographic studies were relegated to a secondary position, and further analysis of the census of 1926 was discontinued.

The Soviet Union, in 1930, became the only country in Europe to cease publishing information on the natural movement of population, regarding such data as a state secret; since 1957 some incomplete statistics have been published, however.

After the census of 1926, the Soviet Union conducted three general censuses — on January 6, 1937, January 17, 1939, and January 15, 1959. The first of these was pronounced harmful and was annulled, perhaps because it reflected a great population decrease, especially in Ukraine. The results of the census of 1939, with the exception of the most general data, were not published; what was published was incorrect, especially regarding nationality relationships.

In 1956 the Soviet Union finally released some scanty information on its population: the number of people in the individual *oblasts* (provinces), with subdivisions into urban and rural populations, population figures for the larger cities, and the most general data on population growth. This information was published in the statistical annals of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR (the latter only for 1956, 1959, and 1960). The same data were published in the statistical annals of certain *oblasts* of the Ukrainian SSR, but only for the smaller administrative units.

The Soviet census of January 15, 1959, the first that embraces all Ukrainian lands (with the exception of small borderland areas), lacks substantial data

on the population of Ukraine. Up to this time, only scanty and fragmentary statistics have been published: numerical data on the populations of the individual *oblasts* and larger cities; information on the ethnic composition of the population, and on the classification of the populations of the *oblasts* and the city of Kiev according to sex and age; data on the social and occupational composition of the population of the Ukrainian SSR and on the state of education there. As yet no data have been published on the family status of the population. Finally, its findings on the total number of Ukrainians are generally unreliable (see page 214).

Sources for Western Ukraine

The sources for Western Ukraine in the period between the two World Wars originate in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania.

Poland took population censuses in 1921 and 1931. The results of the first were published in great detail, showing the national and religious structure for individual communities; the results of the second were published only by counties. The census of 1921 recorded nationality; in 1931 the native language of the population was also tabulated. All statistical analysis was concentrated in the Main Statistical Bureau in Warsaw; a regional statistical section in Lviv was abolished. However, censuses misrepresented the national composition of the population for political reasons, and so have almost no scientific value. The religious composition of the population is presented far more accurately and, to a certain extent, helps determine the actual national composition of the population.

The data on population movements were published correctly and analyzed critically. The data on migratory processes were less accurate.

Detailed censuses were taken in Czechoslovakia in 1921 and 1930. However, in Slovakia, the number of Ukrainians was reduced to favor the Slovaks.

In Rumania a census was taken in 1930, and its principal results published by counties and communes. The composition of the population was recorded by language and ethnic origin. The number of Ukrainians was greatly reduced to favor Rumanians and (in Bessarabia) Russians.

General Characteristics of Demographic Materials

While population censuses are the major sources of our demographic information, it must be remembered that these were taken at different times, according to different principles, and published by different administrative units. Moreover, they were not always conducted honestly and did not present correctly the national or linguistic composition of the population.

On the other hand the census taken in Ukraine in 1959 supplies only fragmentary information and therefore we must often refer to the older censuses although they are frequently out of date (especially the 1926 census).

DEMOGRAPHIC STUDIES

Organization of Studies

The collection, analysis, and publication of demographic materials on Ukraine have been conducted primarily by governmental statistical institutions. Special mention should be made of the work of the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR in Kharkiv. During its short existence (until 1929), this organization issued a series of valuable publications such as the *Ukraïna; Statystychnyi Shchorichnyk* (Ukraine; A Statistical Yearbook), volumes for 1925-9; a quarterly, *Visnyk Statystyky Ukraïny* (Journal of Statistics of Ukraine); a monthly, *Statystychnyi Biuletyn'* (Statistical Bulletin); and later, the *Statystychna Khronika TsSU* (Statistical Chronicle of the Central Statistical Administration); two hundred volumes of the *Statystyka Ukraïny* (Statistics of Uk-

raine), as well as a popular series of publications.

Only those publications are listed which provided detailed population statistics on the Ukrainian SSR. The publications of the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR were superior to those of the All-Union Central Statistical Administration. In addition to statistics, it also published scholarly studies on all aspects of demography. The abolition of this institution by the Bolshevik regime removed the source for Ukrainian population statistics.

Demographic research was also conducted by the Institute of Demography of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences under the direction of Academician Michael Ptukha (1919-1938), although on a much narrower basis than the work undertaken by the Central Statistical Administration of the Ukrainian SSR. In Western Ukraine and outside Ukraine these functions were partially performed by the Statistical Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, the Ukrainian Bureau of Economics in Warsaw, and in Czechoslovakia by the chair of demography at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and at the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy at Podebrad. Of the older publications special mention should be made of those issued by the Ukrainian *zemstvo* institutions (Russian empire) and by the provincial statistical institutions in Galicia and Bukovina (until 1914).

The Condition of Demographic Studies

Studies of the Ukrainian population began with the delineation of Ukrainian ethnic territory (see p. 215ff.), an analysis of the distribution of the Ukrainian people, and an assessment of their demographic qualities. These subjects were discussed and mapped in Paul Šafařík's great work on the Slavs. A. Rittich drew the first really accurate map of Ukrainian territory. P. Chubynsky's work also contained a wealth of demographic informa-

tion. For a long time these two works were the principal sources for the study of ethnic patterns in Ukraine. Gregory Velychko's was the first ethnographic map of Ukraine to appear in Ukrainian (1896).

For many years the census of 1897 was the only source for information on the Ukrainian population. It was widely used by the first Ukrainian statisticians and demographers. Here we must mention the works of the Ukrainian statistician Alexander Rusov, historian Michael Korduba and the geographer Stephen Rudnytsky, which also for a long time were principal sources of information on the Ukrainian population.

After World War I, demography in the Ukrainian SSR developed rapidly. Important contributions to the 1926 census were made by the Russian, V. Shibayev, who wrote on the entire Soviet Union and summarized the censuses of 1897, 1920, and 1926, by A. Khomenko on the nationality relationships of the Ukrainian SSR, by A. Hirshfeld on the migrations in Soviet Ukraine, by Michael Avdiienko on the literacy of the population of Ukraine and by the collective work of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw on the Ukrainian population of the USSR. The fluctuation of the population was studied in the numerous works of M. Ptukha. Since the beginning of the 1930's, demographical research in the Ukrainian SSR has been almost entirely discontinued.

The results of the Soviet census of 1926 have been analyzed in the works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw: statistical tables on the Ukrainian population in the USSR and the collection *Ukrains'ka Liudnist' SSSR* (Ukrainian Population of the USSR) including the works of T. Olesiuk, V. Sadovsky, and others.

In his *Heohrafiia Ukraïny* (Geography of Ukraine), Atlas of Ukraine, and Ukrainian Statistical Annual (in the Ukrainian and English languages), V. Kubijovyč surveyed the entire Ukrainian territory and gave the most important

demographic characteristics of the population of Ukraine on the basis of the recent statistics. Together with N. Kulytsky, he also prepared the latest ethnographic maps of Ukraine. A survey by S. Volodymyriv of the number of Ukrainians in the world is general in nature. *Ukraïna v chyslakh* (Ukraine in Numbers) by M. Stsiborsky is a popular work which has appeared in several languages.

A number of articles by V. Kubijovyč, G. Myronenko, and D. Solovii have been devoted to an analysis of the results of the Soviet census of 1959 and of the changes in the composition of the population of the Ukrainian lands during the Soviet regime (all of these articles have been published abroad).

Many studies have been devoted to regional problems, especially in the west, and on the composition of national groups in border territory. The nationality relations in Galicia before World War I were studied by Volodymyr Okhrymovych together with Myron Korduba, Stephen Rudnytsky and the Poles Joseph Buzek and Stanisław Pawłowski. There is considerable literature on the Kholm (Chełm) area and on Podlachia; here the study by M. Korduba and Vladimir Frantsev's ethnographic maps are of special value. After World War I, Valentine Sadovsky and Volodymyr Kubijovyč made a critical analysis of Polish statistics. The latter has published a work on the national composition (intergroup relations) of Galicia according to 1939 data (map and statistical tables). Polish studies were concentrated in the Institute for the Study of National Problems (Instytut Spraw Narodowościowych) in Warsaw, which published the works of A. Krysiński, M. Feliński, and others.

There is much literature on the composition of national groups in Transcarpathia. Of the older works mention should be made of those by Stephen Tomashivsky, Volodymyr Hnatiuk and, after World War I, of those by Czech scholars S. Boháč and J. Husek. For the

national composition (intergroup relations) of Bessarabia the best source is the study by Leo Berg.

The Ukrainian-Belorussian border has been studied chiefly by linguists and ethnographers, especially by Evfimii Karsky. However, the literature on the eastern boundaries is still deficient.

V. Kubijovyč

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3. THE SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION

GENERAL REMARKS

There are numerous population problems but in this section and those following, we will first concern ourselves with the biosocial one. We will consider the population according to classification by sex and age, geographical distribution (urban and rural), and the relationships between Ukrainians and other ethnic groups in Ukraine. However, we will deal only in general terms with the social and occupational composition of the population, its education, and its family status. We shall pay special attention to the movement of the population.

Demographic Change

Throughout the centuries the population of Ukraine has changed due to natural increase (autogenous growth) and the process of migration. The latter influence was stronger, since Ukraine was a country of colonization; even its ethnic territory underwent great change. It acquired its general boundaries only during the second half of the eighteenth century (see p. 15). Since that time migration has influenced the size of the population by the emigration of the Ukrainian population to the peripheries of Ukraine and later beyond its bound-

daries, from the western lands to America, and from the eastern territories to Asia. Also there was a great flow of population from the villages to the cities, (the process of urbanization), although this was much weaker than in western Europe.

This process of population change was interrupted by World War I, the Revolution, and the famine of 1922. Between six and seven million people were lost as a result of the war, the consequent reduction in the number of births, and the removal of the population under the influence of the political changes in the frontiers. The normal development of the population in Western Ukraine lasted until World War II, although on a somewhat different scale than before World War I. However the population growth was normal in the Ukrainian SSR only from 1924 to 1930—prior to the subjection of the Ukrainian population to years of repression. Since then the balance between the various population groups has undergone greater revolutionary change in

people, at the end of the eighteenth century this had increased to about 9 million, by the middle of the nineteenth century there were 20 million, and at the turn of the twentieth century, 36 million. On the recently colonized lands the growth of the population was even more rapid; the population of southern Ukraine during only one century, from the end of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth, increased seven-fold, from 840,000 to 6 million. Before World War I the population of all the Ukrainian lands had increased to 46 million only to decline by the end of the war to 44 million; however by 1932, it had reached 54.5 million. As a result of the famine, repressions, and deportations, it fell in 1934 probably to some 48-50 million, only to rise again on the eve of World War II to possibly 52-54 million. As a result of World War II the population of Ukraine probably declined to approximately 44 million; it again rose to 52.4 million by 1959.

Within the present boundaries of Soviet

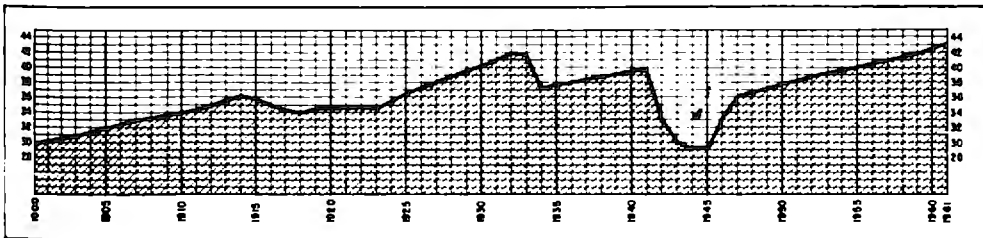


FIGURE 110. POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR (IN ITS PRESENT BOUNDARIES) FROM 1900 TO 1961 (IN MILLIONS)

Ukraine than perhaps anywhere else in the world. World War II only intensified these processes and extended them to Western Ukraine. We shall give special attention to these processes.

Ukraine there were 28.8 million people in 1897, 37.9 million in 1926, and 41.9 million on January 15, 1959. The population of Soviet Ukraine is estimated at 43.5 million as of January 1, 1962. The

Size of the Population

At the beginning of 1959 there were about 55 million people living on Ukrainian soil; in the Ukrainian SSR, 41.9 million. The growth of the population of Ukraine can be seen from the following: at the end of the seventeenth century there were probably about 3 million

TABLE I

	Rural	Urban	Total
1897	24.2	4.6	28.8
1913	28.4	6.8	35.2
December 17, 1926	30.4	7.5	37.9
January 1, 1933	32.6	9.2	41.8
January 17, 1939	26.9	13.6	40.5
January 15, 1959	22.8	19.1	41.9

approximate size of the rural and urban populations in Soviet Ukraine is shown in Table I (in millions).

The total number of Ukrainians in existence changed greatly, but this can be estimated only approximately. In the 1860's they numbered about 15 million; at the end of the nineteenth century, 27-28 million; on the eve of World War I, 40-41 million; in 1932, 44-45 million; and in 1959, from 45.5 to 47.5 million.

AGE AND SEX OF THE POPULATION

We will give the composition of the population of Ukraine by age and sex for 1897, 1926, and 1959.

Age and Sex: 1897

For decades before World War I the age structure of the Ukrainian population underwent no great changes. Its condition under Russian rule in 1897 can be seen in Figure 111. The age pyramid

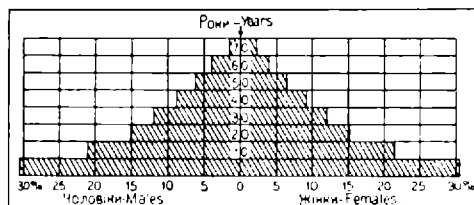


FIGURE 111. AGE COMPOSITION OF THE UKRAINIANS IN RUSSIA, IN 1897.

of 1897 shows the greatest proportion of population in the youngest age groups, that is, the size of the adult age groups is relatively small. Such an age pyramid is typical of a people with a high birth rate and a high mortality rate. This 1897 age pyramid was for the Ukrainians, as for the other eastern European peoples, different from that of the peoples of western Europe—Germany, for example, with its moderate number of births and deaths and, still more, France with its small number of births. We can see the comparison in Table II (in percentages of the total population).

TABLE II

Country	Age groups		
	0-19	20-59	60+
Ukrainians in Russia	52.3	41.9	5.9
Russians	47.3	45.3	7.3
Poles in Russia	48.3	45.0	6.7
Germany	44.2	48.0	7.8
France	34.7	52.8	12.5

Because of the high percentage of the younger age groups, Ukraine at the end of the nineteenth century, compared with the nations of western Europe, had a smaller proportion of working age groups.

In Ukraine as in all the countries of Europe at that time, there was complete harmony in the ratio of the two sexes: in

TABLE III

	Age groups (in percentages)								
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+
<i>Ukrainian SSR (1926)</i>									
A. Total population:									
Males	15.3	11.0	12.3	11.8	18.1	12.0	8.5	5.3	5.7
Females	14.1	10.3	11.5	12.4	18.5	12.3	8.3	6.1	6.5
Together	14.6	10.7	11.9	12.1	18.3	12.1	8.3	5.8	6.2
B. Rural population	15.4	11.3	12.4	12.2	17.0	11.6	8.1	5.7	6.3
Urban population	11.4	7.7	9.9	11.6	23.6	14.3	9.5	6.2	5.8
C. Ukrainians	15.1	11.1	12.2	12.2	17.5	11.8	8.2	5.6	6.3
Russians	12.9	8.4	10.5	11.6	22.1	13.9	9.2	5.9	5.6
Jews	11.1	8.1	10.1	12.5	21.0	13.1	9.2	7.3	7.6
<i>Western Ukraine (1931)</i>									
D. Galicia	12.1	11.9	8.4	9.1	20.3	13.1	10.0	7.6	7.5
Volhynia and Polisia	14.4	14.1	8.9	8.8	19.1	12.9	9.1	6.3	6.4

1897 there were 100.8 females for every 100 males.

Between Galicia and the central and eastern lands, the proportions which we have given did not vary appreciably.

Age and Sex: 1926

The years of war and revolution greatly affected the structure of age and sex. In the age pyramid (see Table III and Figs. 112, 113) there was a reduction in the group from 5 to 9 years of age, and a change in the sex ratio of men and women over 25 (Table IV).

The structure of the rural and urban population of Ukraine in regard to age

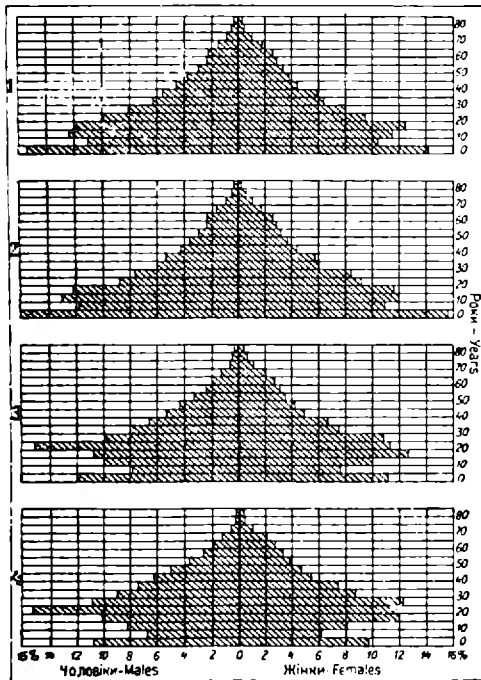


FIGURE 112. AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1926 (1) Total population. (2) Rural. (3) Urban. (4) Population of cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.

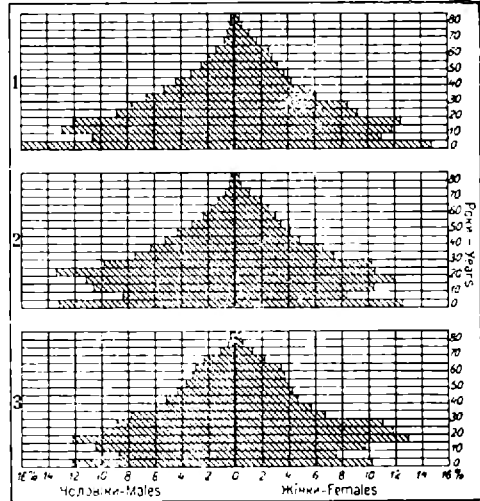


FIGURE 113. AGE COMPOSITION OF UKRAINIANS (1), RUSSIANS (2), AND JEWS (3) IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR (1926)

and sex was also different (Fig. 112). As a result of the great migration of rural persons of working age to the cities on the one hand, and the smaller number of births in the cities than in the villages on the other hand, the urban population showed a small number of children and a great preponderance of adults. Naturally, the opposite situation prevailed in the villages for the same reasons.

The age structure of the various nationalities differed somewhat. The Ukrainians, as the predominant rural group, showed the normal age structure for Ukraine; however, the age structure of the Russians and the Jews was similar to that of the urban population since those people tended to live mainly in the cities.

Western Ukraine, especially Galicia, had in comparison with the eastern and central lands a larger population of older people and a smaller proportion

TABLE IV
FEMALES PER 100 MALES (UKRAINIAN SSR, 1926)

Age groups	0-9	10-19	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	Total
	98.9	104.7	108.6	108.4	104.2	119.8	120.3	105.9

TABLE V

Age groups	Total Pop. 1939	1959				Total population of USSR 1959
		Men	Women	Total Pop.	Women per 100 Men	
0-9	20.2	21.6	16.6	18.8	96.0	22.2
10-15	14.6	9.4	7.3	8.2	97.4	8.2
16-19	7.4	8.2	6.6	7.3	101.9	7.0
20-24	8.6	10.7	9.0	9.8	104.1	9.7
25-29	10.3	8.7	7.4	8.0	107.9	8.7
30-34	8.8	9.1	9.2	9.1	127.9	9.1
35-39	7.3	5.4	6.8	6.2	158.6	5.6
40-44	5.5	4.4	5.8	5.2		5.0
45-49	4.4	5.6	7.3	6.6	163.8	5.9
50-59	6.7	8.6	11.7	10.3	168.5	9.2
60-69	4.1	5.2	7.3	6.4	177.0	5.6
70 and above	2.1	3.1	5.0	4.1	204.5	3.8
TOTAL	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	125.4	100.00

of children. This was due to the low birth rate.

Age and Sex: 1959

The population censuses of 1939 and 1959 provide a general picture of changes which occurred in the population structure of the Ukrainian SSR in the years 1930-50 (see Table V and Fig. 114). For comparison we are reproducing the structure of the entire population of the USSR for 1959.

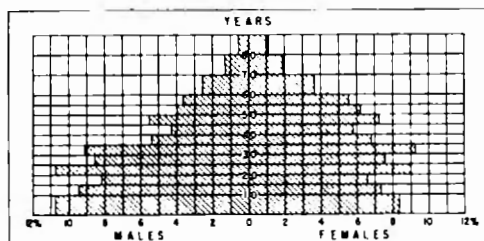


FIGURE 114. AGE COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1959

The first changes in the age structure of the population were the losses caused by the Bolshevik persecutions in the early 1930's, particularly those caused by the famine of 1932-3. Those years are characterized not only by the general decrease of the population, but also by the sudden decrease of the birth rate and the rise of the mortality of children.

As a result, the ages of 0-9 years in 1939 and 25-29 years in 1959, are under the average in showing popular increase.

In its turn, World War II brought about a decrease of the birth rate and an increase of the mortality of the entire population, especially that of men in the adult age bracket. The population structure of 1959 reflected these changes most vividly. It was characterized by the following traits: (1) the uneven age structure of the entire population, particularly the decrease of those born during World War II and World War I and also during the famine; (2) the great reduction of the male population of 35 years and over, that is, those men who took part in the world wars. As a result, women, especially those over 30 years old, greatly outnumber men in the population of Ukraine. In 1959 there were 100 men for 148.2 women in that age bracket. This great shortage of men of middle age, the most active and most productive period of life, created special difficulties, one of which is that the shortage of men decreases the rate of marriages, which in turn decreases the birth rate.

The population structure of the Ukrainian republic is analogous to the population structure of the entire USSR, except that in Ukraine the youngest age group is numerically the smallest (be-

cause of the low birth rate) and the ages 25-29 were weakened by the famine in Ukraine. This latter fact is not the case in other parts of the USSR where there was practically no famine. We do not know what the difference is between the structure of the Ukrainian and the non-Ukrainian population according to age groups.

FAMILY STATUS IN THE POPULATION

The division of the population by family status is closely related to the structure by age and sex. The family status of the population of the Ukrainian SSR 15 years of age and over according to the census of 1926 (in percentages) is shown in Table VI. Table VII shows the

TABLE VI

Status	Males	Females
Unmarried	30.6	25.2
Married	65.0	58.8
Widowed	4.0	15.0
Divorced	0.4	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

TABLE VII

Age	Males	Females
15-19	0.3	9.8
20-24	45.5	67.6
25-29	84.2	85.6
30-39	94.8	83.2
40-49	95.6	73.5
50-59	77.4	60.3
60+	71.8	36.3

division of the married by age and sex as percentages of the total number of males and females in a given age group. It can be seen from these statistics that 65 per cent of the males and 59 per cent of the females above 15 years of age were married. This is the same percentage as that for the entire USSR (65.5 and 61.1) but it is higher than that in any other European country or in the United States (for example, Poland, 59.1 and 53.9; Germany 60.3 and 55.4; England, 58.6 and 52.8;

the United States, 60.0 and 61.1; the statistics are for 1930-1). This is the result of early marriage and very little divorce. While in Ukraine in the 20-24 age group 45.5 per cent of the men were married and 67.6 per cent of the women, percentages differed in other countries: Poland, 16.8 and 38.5; Germany, 6.8 and 20.4; England 13.6 and 25.4; and the United States, 28.1 and 51.6. Only those in the USSR (47.4 and 68.6) were similar. As a result of World War I, there was a higher percentage of widows (15 per cent) than widowers (4 per cent). The greatest disproportion between unmarried males and females came in the 30-49 age group because this group suffered the greatest losses in the war. Scarcely 5 per cent of the men in this age group were unmarried (3.2 per cent bachelors, 1.3 per cent widowers, and 0.5 per cent divorced), but 19.5 per cent of the women were (3.8 per cent unmarried, 1.2 per cent divorced, and 14.5 per cent widows).

Conditions were similar in other Ukrainian territories outside the Ukrainian SSR. The catastrophe of the thirties and World War II destroyed many families; a great number of women became widows, and many others could not marry because of the lack of men. There are no applicable statistics to support these conclusions because the data on family status for the Soviet census of 1959 were not published with the exception of the general statistics which follow: in 1959, approximately 90 per cent of the population of the Ukrainian SSR lived with their families, 5 per cent lived temporarily apart from them (departure for studies, on lengthy assignments, in the army, etc.), and 5 per cent lived alone. In the Ukrainian SSR, an average family consisted of 3.5 members (in the cities-3.4, in the villages-3.7; in the entire Soviet Union-3.9). With the inclusion of those family members living apart the figure rises to 3.7 (in the cities-3.7, in the villages-3.8; in the entire Soviet Union-4.0).

SOCIAL AND PROFESSIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

In 1926

In respect of its social and professional composition, the population of Ukraine as a whole, and the Ukrainian ethnic population in particular, was rather poorly distributed up to the end of the 1920's. Three-fourths of the population

a similar population structure in Western Ukraine: according to the population census of 1931, 74.6 per cent of the population in Galicia drew their living from agriculture, 10.9 per cent from industry, and 3.2 per cent from commerce. The changes in the distribution by occupation of the active population of the Ukrainian SSR (including three of the largest national minorities) in the light of the Soviet census of December 17,

TABLE VIII

Occupation	Total population		Ukrainian population in 1897
	1897	1926	
Agriculture	74.5	76.8	87.5
Industry, transport, communication	10.4	11.8	5.8
Commerce	5.3	2.2	0.8
Others	9.8	9.2	5.9

were employed in agriculture, while only 6 to 8 per cent were employed in industry or as artisans. Table VIII shows this structure in the population of the Ukrainian SSR (within the boundaries of 1938), according to the population censuses of 1897 and 1926,* in percentages of the total population. There was

*The data of both population censuses cannot be compared closely because of the incomplete information in the 1897 census as well as the different criteria for defining the occupations of the population.

1926, are indicated in Table IX (in percentages of the total population). As attested by these figures, Ukraine, until the time of collectivization and industrialization, was agrarian in character with a weakly developed industry and little commerce. It was a country of small private enterprises (86.3 per cent of the active population), owned almost exclusively by the peasants and a small number of artisans. The number of hired workers was small and they were primarily industrial; on state farms the

TABLE IX

Occupational groups	Total population		Ukrainians		Russians		Jews	
Workers	5.9		3.9		21.0		15.2	
including agriculture	0.8		0.8		0.9		0.2	
others	5.1		3.1		20.1		15.0	
Office workers and professionals	4.3		2.7		12.8		22.2	
Owners of private enterprises*	86.3		91.3		54.8		45.7	
including agriculture	83.4		89.9		50.7		9.8	
others	2.9		1.4		4.1		35.9	
Other occupations	3.5		2.1		11.4		16.9	
TOTAL	100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0	

*Along with the other working members of the family.

TABLE X

Occupation	Total population	Ukrainians	Poles	Jews
Agriculture	74.6	88.1	69.9	12.1
Industry	10.9	5.8	11.0	21.9
Commerce, transport, and communication	4.7	1.7	5.8	47.9
Others	9.8	4.4	13.3	18.1
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

number of hired workers amounted to a bare 14 per cent of all workers. Occupational and social differentiation among Ukrainians was small. Only 9 per cent were employed in non-agricultural tasks; the remainder (91 per cent) were farmers and artisans, owners of small individual enterprises. The homogeneity of the professional and social structure of the Ukrainian population is even more evident when the structure of other nationalities living in Ukraine is considered. Thus, barely half of the Russians were farmers, a large percentage of them being employed in industry and in the Soviet administration. Only 1/10 of the Jews were employed in agriculture; many were owners of private artisanships and commercial enterprises (30 per cent); and a substantial number (22 per cent) were employed in the state and party apparatus and in the professions.

The differences in the professional structures of the various ethnic groups in Western Ukraine are demonstrated by

the figures (Table X) for Galicia, based on the Polish population census of 1931 and given in percentages of economically active and passive population.

In 1926 the Soviet census showed that 58.8 per cent of the population of the Ukrainian SSR were employed. Of these, 35.3 per cent were auxiliary working members of families primarily employed in agriculture. Women constituted 48 per cent of the working population, and 36 per cent of these were employed as auxiliary help in agriculture.

At Present

The socio-professional structure of the population of Ukraine underwent a complete and radical change as a result of Soviet policies in the 1930's. On the one hand, as a result of industrialization, the percentage of the population engaged in industry, including Ukrainians, increased, a change which automatically decreased the percentage of persons employed in agriculture; on the other hand, the places

TABLE XI

Type of employment	In thousands	In %
(1) Persons employed* including:	20,858	49.8 (47.5)
(a) workers and office workers (state, co-operative, and social organizations and enterprises)	10,887	26.0 (30.2)
(b) collective farmers	9,104	21.7 (15.5)
(2) Families of collective farmers, workers, and office workers occupied on individual household plots	2,576	6.2 (4.7)
(3) Dependents	15,725	37.6 (40.9)
(4) Pensioners	2,322	5.5 (6.0)
(5) Others (including 338,000 scholarship holders)	388	0.9 (0.9)
TOTAL	41,860	100.0 (100.0)

*Except Group No. 2.

of former owners of small agricultural and, to some extent, artisan enterprises were taken by the collective farmers and workers. These changes are clearly visible in the data of the Soviet population census of January 15, 1959. Table XI shows the distribution of the population of the Ukrainian SSR according to the employment scale and expressed in thousands and in percentages (numbers in parentheses relate to the Soviet Union as a whole).

Thus, in 1959, the active population, including persons occupied on their own private plots of land, constituted 56.0 per cent of the total population, a situation little different from that of 1926 at which time the percentage of active population was 58.8 per cent. The number of economically active persons, exclusive of auxiliary working members of the family, had increased, however, from 23.4 to 49.8 per cent because the majority of women who in 1926 were only housewives now became steadily employed. In 1926, among the workers (excluding the auxiliary working members of the family), women constituted 19.0 per cent, but by 1959 their number had increased to 40.0 per cent. Moreover, the percentage of steadily employed women increased from 9 to 44 per cent.

The division of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, ac-

ording to types of occupation in 1959 and expressed in 1,000 and percentages, is found in Table XII (numbers in parentheses relate to the total population of the Soviet Union*). In comparison with the Soviet Union as a whole, Ukraine reveals a smaller percentage of the population employed in industry and a larger one employed in agriculture.

As far as the division of employment between men and women is concerned, men predominate in industry, transport, and communication (65 per cent), while women predominate in agriculture (57 per cent), commerce (60 per cent), and in non-industrial types of employment (64 per cent), especially in health protection (84 per cent) and education (64 per cent).

LITERACY AND EDUCATION OF THE POPULATION

Literacy

Because of the low level of schooling and education in the former Russian empire (see vol. II, "Education and Schools,") and the absence of compulsory general education, the majority of the population of Ukraine under the Russian empire, was illiterate. According to the population census of 1897, a bare

*These figures cannot be compared closely with those of 1926, inasmuch as the former did not include the population of Western Ukraine.

TABLE XII

Types of occupation	In thousands	In %
(1) Industry, construction, transport, communication	6,519	31.3 (36.9)
(2) Agriculture, including collective farmers, workers, and office workers (in state farms and in other agricultural enterprises)	9,892 8,957 900	47.4 (38.8) 42.9 (32.0) 4.3 (6.7)
independent farmers	35	0.2 (0.1)
(3) Commerce	949	4.6 (5.2)
(4) Non-industrial, including public health, physical education, social security education, science, arts	2,515 679 1,053	12.1 (14.6) 3.3 5.0
housing and communal management	332	1.6
administration, party and other community organizations	451	2.2
(5) Others	983	4.6 (3.8)
TOTAL	20,858	100.0 (100.0)

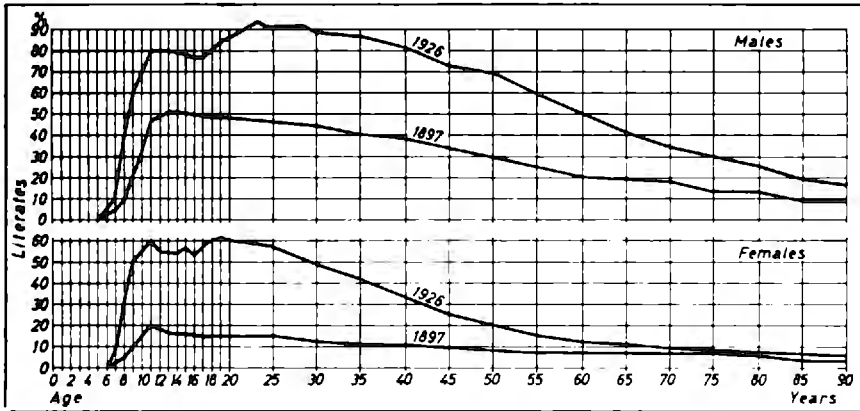


FIGURE 114A. LITERACY OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1897 AND 1926

13.6 per cent of Ukrainians were literate; of these, 23.3 per cent were men and only 3.9 per cent women. The literacy rate of the entire population of the Russian empire was 29.3 per cent for males, and 13 per cent for females. The literacy rate among Ukrainians nine years of age and over was—for 1897—23.6 per cent (38.6 per cent male and 12.4 per cent female). One of the principal reasons for the low level of literacy among the Ukrainian population as compared with the majority of other peoples of Russia was the fact that the Russian language was the language of instruction in all schools.

Later, with the establishment of a network of schools, with the introduction

in 1917 of the Ukrainian language as a language of instruction in the schools of Ukraine, and finally with the introduction of compulsory attendance laws in 1925 (and other measures), literacy increased rapidly and, according to the population census of 1926, in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic it included 44.9 per cent of the entire population (58.1 per cent male, 32.4 per cent female, and 59.8 per cent for those 10 years of age and over [78.4 per cent male and 43 per cent female]). The rate of literacy of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, according to the population censuses of 1897 and 1926, is shown in Table XIII. The literacy of the main ethnic groups in the Ukrainian SSR

TABLE XIII

Age	Male		Female	
	1897	1926	1897	1926
5-8	5.7	12.8	3.1	9.9
9-14	43.4	76.0	16.3	54.7
15-19	47.9	79.2	16.9	54.8
20-24	47.1	88.2	15.8	56.8
25-29	44.4	87.2	12.6	47.3
30-39	39.0	83.5	10.4	37.3
40-49	31.7	72.6	8.0	22.4
50-59	23.6	55.4	7.0	14.7
60 and over	17.3	35.3	6.2	9.6
TOTAL	34.2	68.6	11.2	37.7
Urban population	59.9	83.6	35.3	66.8
Rural population	30.2	66.2	7.7	33.2

178 POPULATION

in 1926, 5 years of age and over, is shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

	Male	Female
TOTAL POPULATION	68.6	37.7
Ukrainians	66.5	32.5
Russians	76.5	51.2
Jews	84.1	74.2
Poles	60.0	45.7

The urban population always had better facilities for schooling than the population in the rural areas, resulting in the higher rate of literacy in cities. Inasmuch as the Ukrainians were at that time predominantly a rural people, their percentage of illiterates was higher than that of the Russians or the Jews, since in most cases the latter were residents of cities and towns.

In Galicia and Bukovina, owing to the early introduction (end of the nineteenth century) of compulsory education, illiteracy was much lower than in the central and eastern provinces of Ukraine. In

1931, the literacy rate of the population 10 years of age and over in Galicia was 70 per cent (75 per cent male and 66 per cent female).

In the light of the Soviet census of 1959, illiteracy has been erased allegedly, for 98.5 per cent of the entire population of the Soviet Union between the ages of 9 and 49 was said to be literate. There are no specific figures for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, but they may be presumed to be close to the figures relating to the USSR as a whole. It may be added that the percentage of literates in the population (9 years of age and over) of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was 85.3 per cent, according to the population census of 1939.

Education of the Population in 1959

The census of January 15, 1959, provides certain data on the level of education of the population in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (Table XV). A comparative statement of the levels of education in the Ukrainian Soviet So-

TABLE XV

	Total population		Urban (in percentages)	Rural (in percentages)
	in 1,000	in %		
Population at age 9 and over	34,763	100.00	100.00	100.00
Education				
Higher	715	2.2	3.8	0.6
Unfinished higher education	323	0.9	1.5	0.4
Specialized secondary education	1,545	4.5	6.8	2.5
General secondary education	2,181	6.3	10.3	2.8
Unfinished secondary education	1,110	3.2	4.3	2.3
7-year school	6,814	19.7	22.1	17.5
Unfinished 7-year school	2,418	7.0	7.1	6.8
Elementary (grades 1-4)	7,743	22.4	20.2	24.1
TOTAL	22,849	65.8	76.0	57.0

TABLE XVI

	Number of persons in thousands					
	Total		Male		Female	
	1939	1959	1939	1959	1929	1959
Education						
Higher (completed)	272	715	185	368	87	347
Unfinished higher and secondary education	3,625	11,973	2,012	5,723	1,613	6,242

cialist Republic in 1939 and 1959 is given in Table XVI although the data of 1959 cannot be closely compared with the data of 1939, inasmuch as they seem to be inaccurate and also because Western Ukraine was not part of the Ukrainian SSR in 1939. These figures indicate the rapid increase of education, especially at

the secondary and higher levels and the equalization in education between the two sexes. None the less, in 1959, 34.2 per cent of the population of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic 9 years of age and over did not have even elementary education.

V. Kubijovyč

4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

DENSITY OF THE POPULATION

General Characteristics

In 1959, the average number of persons per square kilometer in Soviet Ukraine (Ukrainian SSR) was 70 (as of January 1, 1962, 72.5), and in ethnic Ukraine it was 65. The density in all Ukrainian lands, including the mixed territories, is, on the average, 58 persons per square kilometer. This is a higher than average density for Europe (which has 55 persons per square kilometer) and higher than the neighboring countries to the north and east. The density of the European part of Russia (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)

is 27 and of Belorussia (Belorussian SSR) it is 39. However, the Ukrainian population is less dense than that of Czechoslovakia (107), Hungary (107), Poland (95), the Moldavian SSR (86), and Rumania (76).

The density of the population of Ukraine is the result of natural geographical conditions, historical events, and industrialization. It is also related to natural population movements and migrational processes and to changes in economic conditions. The factors involved have changed so sharply that the picture of population distribution in 1860 was strikingly different from that of the present.

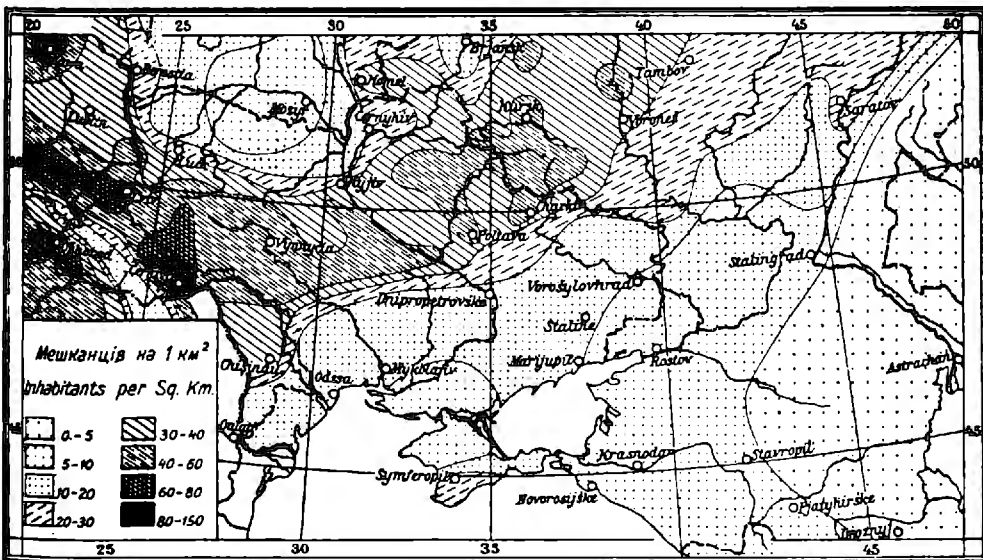


FIGURE 115. DENSITY OF POPULATION IN 1860

The Density of Population in 1860

Figure 115 shows the distribution of the population of Ukraine at a time when there was no modern industry on a large scale and when the Ukrainian population had not begun to emigrate (largely due to the limitations of the institution of serfdom). The map clearly shows three elongated belts of habitation. The central belt was the most densely populated; this was the forest-steppe, which had the best conditions for agriculture (black soil and sufficient moisture) and had been settled for a long time. The density of population in this belt was about 50 persons per square kilometer; it was greatest in Galicia (80) which even at that time was an overpopulated agrarian region. However, the population of northern Ukraine was only half as dense, chiefly because of poorer soils and the marshes; Polisia was exceptionally sparsely populated. But it was the south, the steppe Ukraine, that had the smallest population (5-10 persons per square kilometer). It was still sparsely colonized in 1860 as was the Subcaucasus into which the Ukrainian farmer had not yet penetrated.

The Density of Population in 1932 (Fig. 116)

The early 1930's are the most recent years for which we have detailed data on the distribution of the population of Ukraine. For those years the population figures of the *raions* (rural districts) and all the cities were published, whereas the population figures of only the *oblasts* (provinces) and larger cities were published for 1959. On the other hand, the picture which we present here is that of normal demographic relations from the time before the famine, through the resulting depopulation of the Ukrainian village, and up to the strong growth of cities.

As a result of natural growth and migration, great changes occurred in the distribution of the population in 1932 as

compared with 1860. At this time as in the past, in Ukraine, excluding the Subcaucasus, there were three belts of population: the northern, the central, and the southern. As in 1860, the central belt was the most densely populated; its average was 79 persons per square kilometer. This was one of the most densely settled agricultural areas in Europe. In 1932 Galicia and Bukovina, as in previous years, were the most densely settled (97 persons per square kilometer); Subcarpathia and Pokutia were especially densely settled (129).

Towards the east, the density diminished; the Right Bank had a density of 92, and the Left Bank a density of 80. The northern part of *Slobozhanshchyna*, at present outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR, had only 50 persons per square kilometer because it was colonized later and the climate was drier. The sections with poorer soils, like the sandy Dnieper terraces of the Left Bank, the areas of the upper Boh, Little Polisia, and the Buh river basin, had even fewer inhabitants.

The northern boundary of the extension of the loess and chernozem, together with the forest-steppe, forms a sharp line between the densely settled central belt and the moderately settled northern belt. The average density of the northern belt was 52. It was higher in dry Podlachia and in the Cherniviv area, but in Polisia itself it was barely 32. In general, the density of the population in the northern belt was determined by the quality of the soil and the greater or lesser marshiness of the terrain.

The difference in the density of the population in central and southern Ukraine was not as sharp in 1932 as it was in 1860, because colonizing brought about a certain leveling of the population. The average density of the population of southern Ukraine was 55 persons per square kilometer. It decreased in proportion to the decrease in atmos-

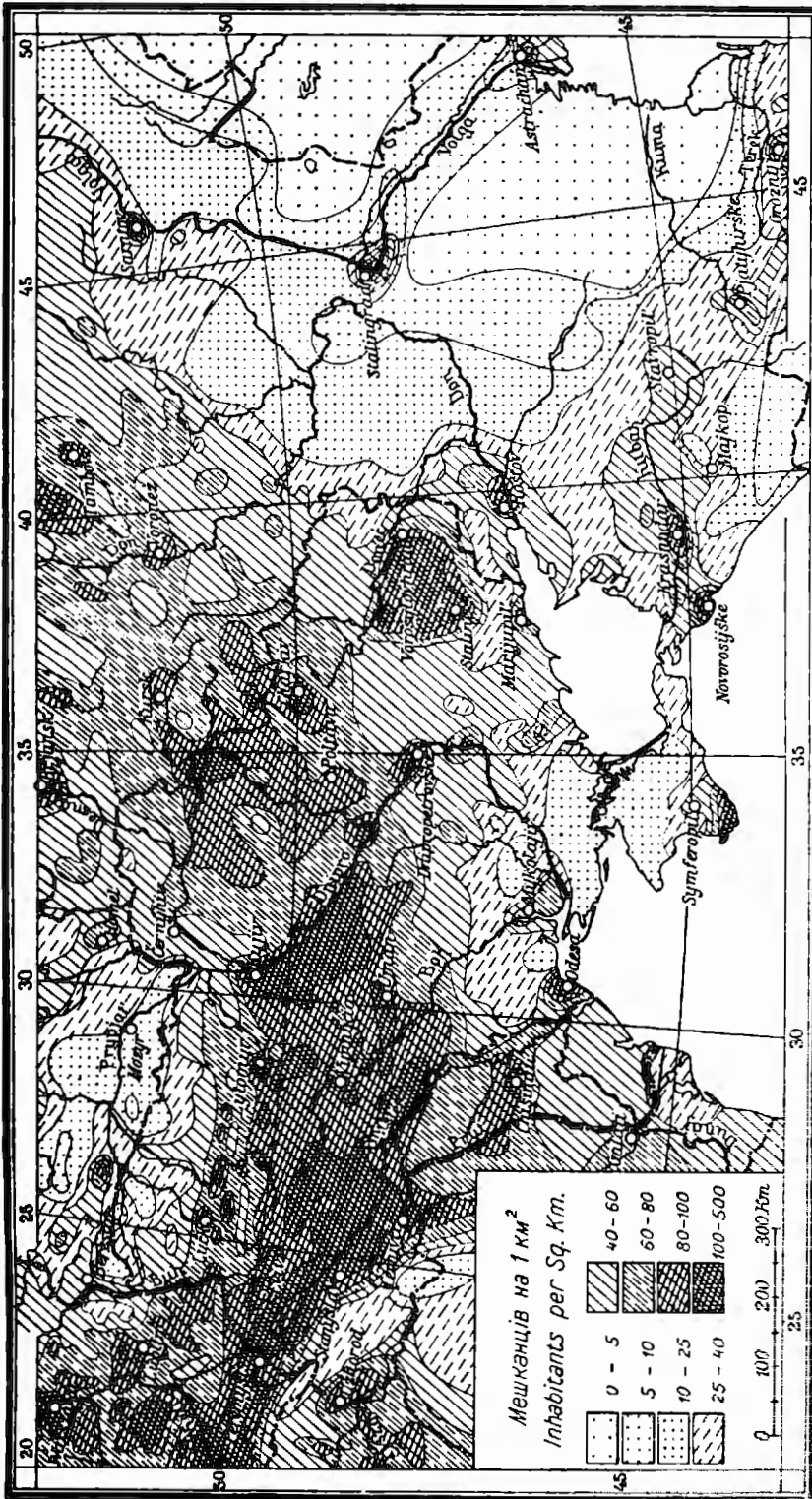


FIGURE 116. DENSITY OF POPULATION IN 1932

pheric precipitation, and as a result was more sparse in the Kherson, Crimean, and Don River steppes. But the density of the population of steppe Ukraine was also influenced by industrialization which had spread to certain areas of southern Ukraine during this period. The whole Donbas appears as an island of great density with 131 persons per square kilometer; less dense are the Dnieper industrial region and the areas near the larger cities.

In the Subcaucasus the population is densely concentrated in a long, narrow belt extending along the foothills of the Caucasus, that is, the belt of the moist chernozem steppe; but the mountains and the dry steppe are sparsely populated. In the southeastern borderlands of Ukraine the population is reduced to 10 persons per square kilometer.

The Caucasus is the least populated of all the mountains; the Carpathians, with their mild climate, have a larger population.

To sum up, we see that the density of the population of Ukraine was influenced in 1932, first of all, by natural conditions and, secondly, by the time of settlement; the influence of industrialization was felt in the Donbas, in the Dnieper industrial

area, and in the environs of the larger cities like Kiev, Kharkiv, and Lviv and in the Drohobych-Boryslav petroleum basin.

The Density of Population in 1959

As was mentioned in the preceding section, the figures for 1959 are known only for the *oblasts* (provinces). The density of population in 1959 was the same as in 1932, that is, 58 persons per square kilometer in all Ukrainian lands and 70 persons per square kilometer in the Ukrainian SSR, but there were changes in the distribution of the population. The density of the population generally decreased in all parts of Ukraine with the exception of the industrial regions of the Donbas and the Dnieper River and the metropolitan areas of great cities and Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine). Today the most densely populated area of the Ukrainian SSR is the Donetsk (1924-61 Stalino) *oblast* (161), and the most sparsely populated area is the steppe and farming *oblast* of Kherson (30). As far as the density of the rural population is concerned, it is highest in the western part of the middle belt of Ukraine (the Chernivtsi *oblast* has 70 persons per square kilometer, Vinnytsia

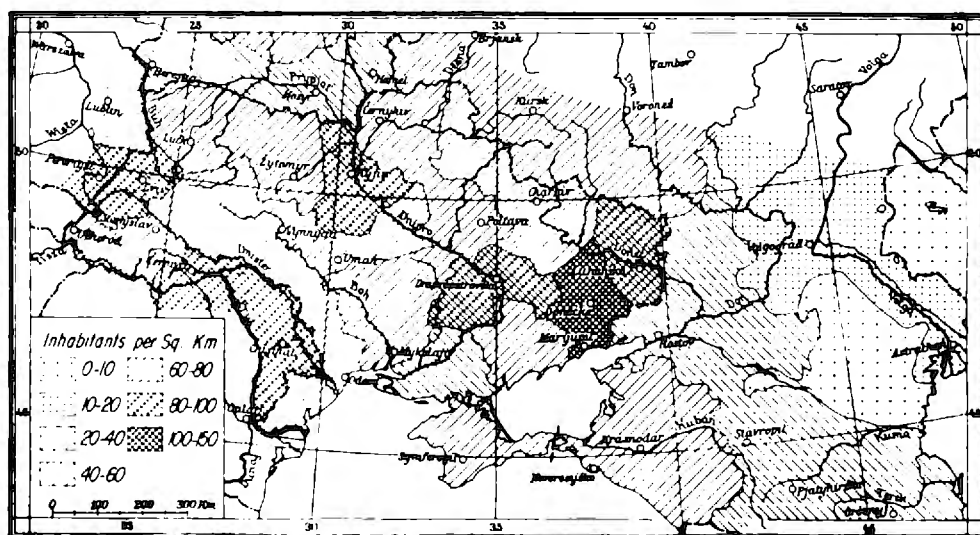


FIGURE 117. DENSITY OF POPULATION IN 1959

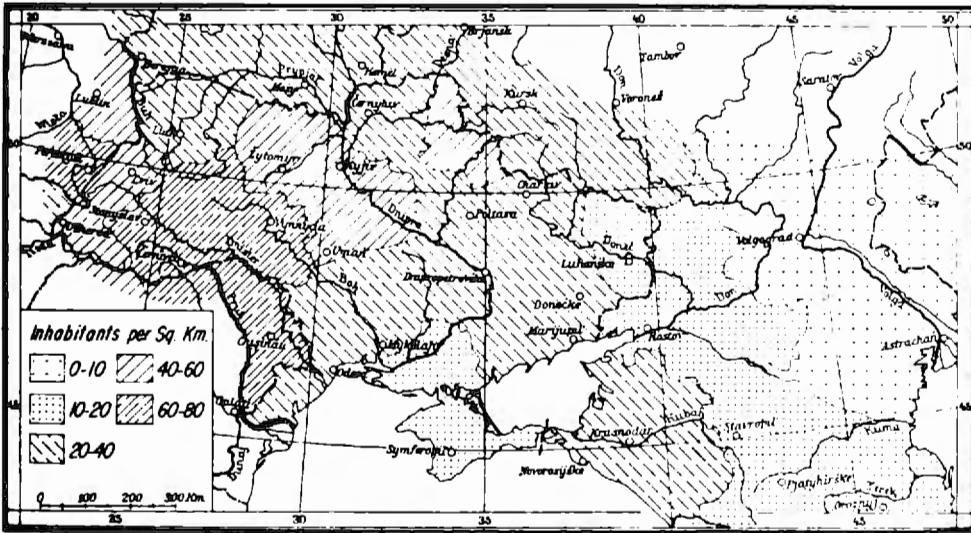


FIGURE 118. DENSITY OF RURAL POPULATION IN 1959

has 67, and Ternopil 65); and it is lowest in the belt of the dry steppe (the Crimean *oblast*, 18 and the Kherson *oblast*, 18). (See Figure 118.)

The Problem of Overpopulation

In the period prior to collectivization the Ukrainian lands were densely populated and, in fact, overpopulated, when we take into account the limited amount of industrialization and urbanization and, in spite of this, the moderate exploitation of the land. Only the Subcaucasus and, to a lesser degree, steppe Ukraine could accommodate the agricultural population. Other parts of Ukraine suffered from severe agricultural overpopulation, especially the central densely settled belt. For example, in Galicia there were 101 farmers for 100 hectares of agricultural land. On the Right Bank there were 96—more than in Poland (77), or France (43)—and even more than in such densely inhabited countries as Germany (51) and Holland (70). (This is from data for 1930–2).

The peasant struggled against this overpopulation and the impoverishment which accompanied it by emigrating from his own area, and, sometimes,

though to a lesser degree, by moving to the cities in his own national territory.

After 1932 and the great outflow of people from the villages of Ukraine to the cities, the problem of agrarian overpopulation became a thing of the past.

THE URBAN POPULATION

Urbanization

In 1959, 46.4 per cent of the entire population of Soviet Ukraine lived in cities and settlements of an urban type, while the figure for the same category in all Ukrainian lands was 41 per cent, a percentage smaller than in the majority of other European countries. At the same time, 48 per cent of the population of the entire USSR lived in cities. In the neighboring countries the following proportions lived in cities: 52 per cent in the Russian SFSR; 31 per cent in the Belorussian SSR; 22 per cent in the Moldavian SSR; 48 per cent in Poland; 32 per cent in Rumania; 40 per cent in Hungary; 50 per cent in Czechoslovakia. In 1959, 19.9 per cent of the population of the Ukrainian SSR lived in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, and only 17.8 per cent in all Ukrainian lands (in the

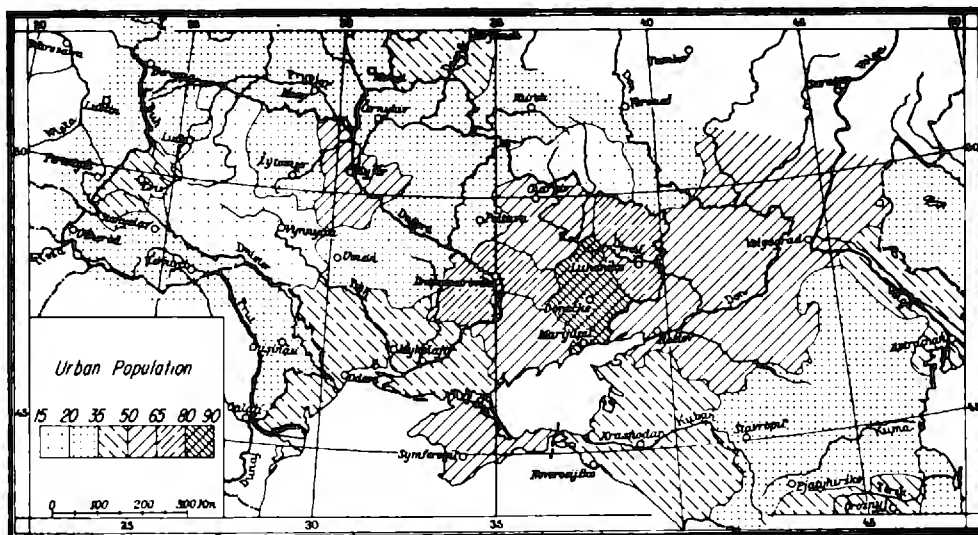


FIGURE 119. URBAN POPULATION IN 1959 (IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL POPULATION)

whole of the USSR, 23.2; the Russian SFSR, 27.4; the Belorussian SSR, 9.7; the Moldavian SSR, 7.5; Hungary, 23; Poland, 20; Czechoslovakia, 14; and Rumania, 13).

The urbanization of Ukraine is very recent. Up to the end of the nineteenth century, except for a few of the largest urban places, most towns were small trading and administrative centers for their immediate neighborhood. The great development of the Ukrainian cities occurred only in the second half of the nineteenth century and then only where industry developed (in the southeast) and where commerce flourished (the seaports).

As far back as 1926, only 7.5 million, or 19.8 per cent of the entire population of Soviet Ukraine (within present boundaries) lived in cities (and in cities with over 100,000 inhabitants, only 2.2 million, or 5.8 per cent). In 1939, this number increased to 13.6 million, or 33.5 per cent, and, according to the population census of 1959, 19.1 million or 45.8 per cent lived in cities, and on the basis of a population estimate of January, 1961, it was 20.8 million, or 48.3 per cent.

The Distribution of the Urban Population

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, prior to the beginning of industrialization, the cities of Ukraine were primarily centers for trade, artisanship, and public administration and were generally located where the population was quite dense. The cities that became the most important were those which, because of a favorable geographical situation, had become commercial centers for a larger area. Thus, during the nineteenth century the coastal regions of Ukraine had the largest urban population, for the ports there were important trading centers not only for Ukraine but for all of eastern Europe. It is obvious why up to World War I Odessa was the largest city in Ukraine.

A new phase in the development of the cities of Ukraine began during the second half of the nineteenth century. This was related to the beginning of industrialization. At that time, and even more in the twentieth century (especially during the thirties), people emigrated in great numbers to the Donbas and also to the Dnieper industrial region and around Kharkiv; the number of

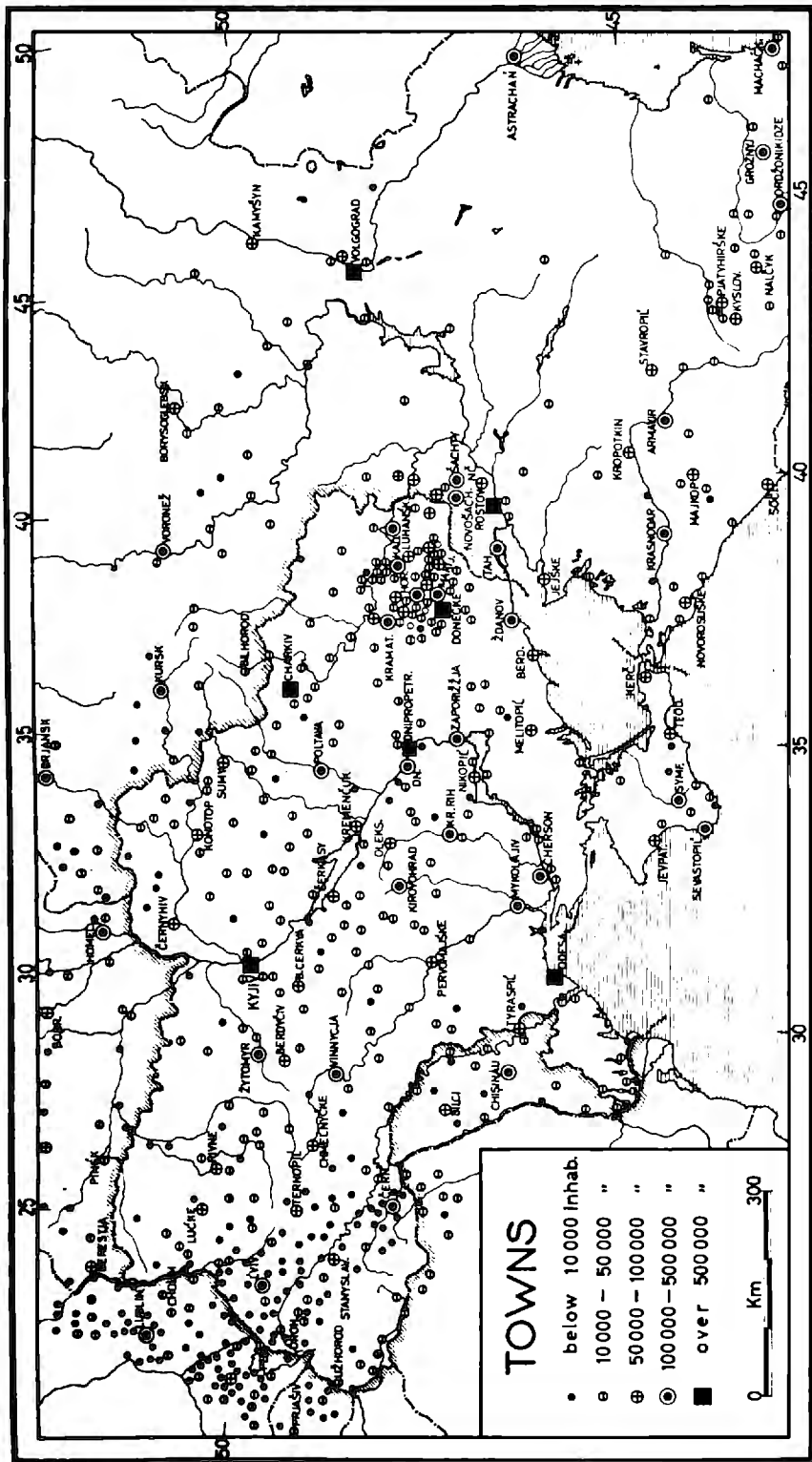


FIGURE 120. CITIES AND TOWNS OF UKRAINE IN 1959

The map does not show the settlements of urban type. The distribution of cities and towns is shown on Ukrainian ethnic territory and the neighboring lands. Berd.—Berdjansk; B. Cerkva—Bila Cerkva; Bobr.—Bobrujsk; Černiv.—Černivci; Dn.—Dniprodzeržynske; Droh.—Drohobyc; Jevpat.—Jevpatorija; Kad.—Kadjivka; Kramat.—Kramatorske; Kr. Rih—Kryvyj Rih; Kyslov.—Kyslovodske; Machačk.—Machačka; Makij.—Makijivka; Novošč.—Novoščachynsk; N.C.—Novočekrasky; Per.—Peremyšl; Oleks.—Oleksandrija; Symf.—Symferopol; Tab.—Tabanrih; Teod.—Teodosija.

people moving to the regions of Kiev, Kryvyi Rih, and to the Subcaucasus was less impressive.

Thus it is clear that the larger portion of the urban population now lives in the Donbas (Stalino [now Donetsk] and Luhanske *oblasts*) and the coastal regions (especially the Crimea with 65 per cent), while the smaller percentage lives in western and northern Ukraine which have had less industry. The details can be seen on the map which represents the situation as of 1959.

Changes in urbanization will be discussed in greater detail when we deal with the changes occurring in the general condition of the population.

TABLE I

Size of cities and settlements of an urban type	Number of cities	Population in millions
Up to 5,000	413	1.2
5- 10,000	380	2.7
10- 20,000	169	2.3
20- 50,000	92	2.9
50-100,000	25	1.9
100-500,000	19	4.3
Over 500,000	5	4.1
TOTAL	1103	19.4
Including cities	335	15.2

The Size of the Cities

The location and size of the cities of Ukraine can be seen in Figure 120 and in Table I. The table shows the size of cities of Soviet Ukraine according to the 1959 population census.

Following are the largest cities of Ukraine (in thousands, as of January 15, 1959; the asterisk indicates cities situated outside the present boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR): Kiev, 1,104; Kharkiv, 934; Donetsk, 699; Odessa, 667; Dnipropetrovske, 660; Zaporizhia, 435; Lviv, 411; Kryvyi Rih, 388; Makiiivka, 358; Krasnodar, 313*; Horlivka, 293; Zhdanov, 284; Luhanske, 275; Mykolaiv, 226; Tahanrih, 202*; Dniprodzerzhynske, 194; Symferopol, 186; Kadiiivka, 180; Kherson, 158; Sevastopol, 148; Chernivtsi, 146; Poltava, 143; Stavropol, 141*; Kirovohrad, 128; Vinnytsia, 122; Kramatorske, 115; Armarvir, 111*; and Zhytomyr, 106.

V. Kubijovyč

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See also p. 168.

5. MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

Of the various processes which influence the general movement of population in Ukraine we will discuss, in order, the natural changes of the population (that is, the vital statistics—births, deaths, and marriages), the migrational processes (emigration, immigration, and internal migration) and, finally, the actual changes in the condition of the population.

THE NATURAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION

In discussing the natural movement of the population in Ukraine the following

periods are distinguished: (1) before 1914; (2) between World War I and the Revolution to 1923; (3) the time of normal movement of the population, which, in Soviet Ukraine, lasted only from 1924 to 1930 and in Western Ukraine from 1921 to 1938; (4) the period between compulsory collectivization and World War II; (5) the post-World War II period.

As we have stated before (see p. 165) it is only for Western Ukraine that we have the vital statistics up to 1938; for the central and eastern territories (i.e. Soviet Ukraine) we have them only up to 1929, and so it is for this period only

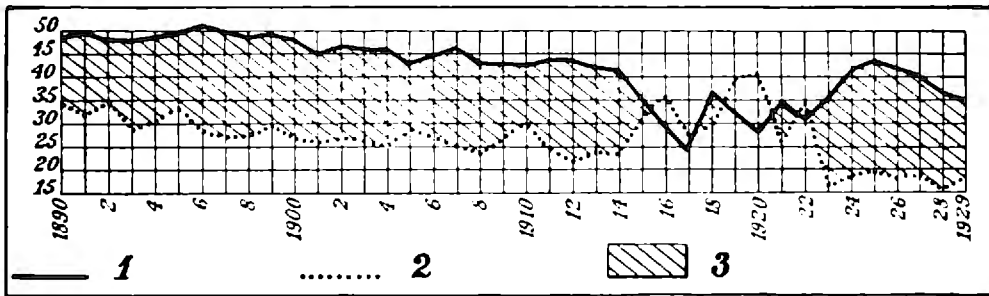


FIGURE 121. NATURAL MOVEMENT OF POPULATION IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR FROM 1890-1929 (PER 100 PERSONS) (1) BIRTHS; (2) DEATHS; (3) NATURAL INCREASE

that we can measure the natural population increase with some precision. The data on the natural movement of population have been published only since 1957 and are of a very general nature. In 1957 the data for 1940 and 1950-6 were also published.

The Period before 1914

Before World War I the natural population increase in Ukrainian central and eastern lands under Russian rule (that is, in the Russian empire) was higher than in all the other nations of

monarchy). There, too, the births and deaths gradually diminished and the natural increase remained unchanged. Table I gives the vital statistics, for each 1,000 persons, per annum, for the central and eastern lands (a) and for Galicia (b).

It should be pointed out that the natural increase in the central and eastern Ukrainian territories was higher than that in the Russian empire where there was a higher birth rate but a higher mortality rate as well. For comparison, the vital statistics of Ukrainian territories

TABLE I

Years	Births		Deaths		Natural increase	
	a	b	a	b	a	b
1891-1900	49.1	45.6	29.9	31.4	19.2	14.2
1901-10	44.6	43.2	26.4	28.2	18.2	15.0
1911-13	42.9	40.3	22.9	25.9	20.0	14.4

Europe; this was due to the great number of births and despite the relatively high mortality rate.

In Ukraine, as elsewhere in Europe, the birth rate, along with the mortality rate, dropped gradually and thus the natural increase remained unchanged at 1.8-2.0 per cent per year. The changes which this population development underwent from year to year can be seen from the diagram (Fig. 121).

A far smaller natural increase was evident in the overpopulated and poor west Ukrainian regions of Galicia and Bukovina (in the Austro-Hungarian

which were later to form the Ukrainian SSR, and of the Russian empire for the years 1908-13 are given in Table II.

TABLE II

Country	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
Ukraine	42.9	24.9	18.0
Russian empire	45.5	28.9	16.6

The Period of World War I

The war brought a decline in the birth rate which fell to 23 per thousand persons, and an increase in the mortality

rate which went as high as 40 per thousand persons; the result was a decline in population. In the western territories the decline lasted until 1920 and in the central and eastern territories until 1922. In that year there was a great decrease in the population owing to the high mortality rate resulting from the famine which raged in the steppe belt.

The Ukrainian SSR, 1924-9

The years of 1924 to 1929 were a "demographic optimum" for Ukraine. As a result of the great reduction in mortality compared to the pre-war period (even though there was a slight reduction in the birth rate at the same time) the natural increase reached a peak even higher than that before the war.

minority groups living in the Ukrainian SSR. Out of 100 newborn children the following number were born among the various groups (percentages in parentheses show the proportions of those nationalities to the total population of Ukraine): Ukrainians, 83.6 (80.8); Russians, 7.4 (8.4); Jews, 3.1 (5.6); Poles, 1.6 (1.6); Germans, 1.6 (1.8).

The mortality rate in Ukraine, as in the other countries of eastern Europe, was somewhat higher than in western Europe. In 1928-9 in Ukraine there was an average of 17.5 deaths for every 1,000 persons while in Rumania there was an average of 21.2; in Russia, 20.0; in Bulgaria, 17.9; in Poland and in France, 16.8; in England, 12.1; in Germany and the United States, 11.8; and in Holland, 9.9.

TABLE III

Years	Marriages	Births	Deaths	Natural increase	Deaths of infants
1924-5	11.0	42.6	18.6	24.0	147
1926-7	11.7	41.2	18.0	23.2	147
1928-9	10.4	36.6	17.1	19.5	144

TABLE IV

Age of mothers	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	15-49
Percentage	3.8	25.4	25.8	21.8	15.7	7.8	1.0	13.3

Table III shows the vital statistics for each 1,000 persons in the Ukrainian SSR annually (infants refer to those under 1 year of age per 1,000 live births).

As before the war, along with the Russian empire, the natural increase in population in Ukraine was the highest in Europe. The high birth rate in Ukraine can be seen most clearly from the figures giving the fertility rates of the women, that is, the number of births in proportion to the women 15-49 years of age. In Table IV the figures are for each 100 women of child-bearing age. This is higher than in any other European country except Bulgaria which has 13.8 births for each 100 women of the same age.

The percentage of births among the Ukrainians was higher than that of the

Moreover, mention should be made of the high mortality among children under one year of age; for every 1,000 infants in Ukraine 148 died before reaching one year of age, while the mortality of children of the same age in Poland was 148; in Rumania, 197; in France, 92; in England, 72; in Germany, 96; and in the United States, 69.

In general, the mortality of the young age groups was high as can be seen from Table V which gives deaths by age. The mortality rate per 1,000 persons according to age and sex is indicated for the years 1928-7.

In Ukraine 7 per cent of the boys and 6 per cent of the girls under four years of age died, while in Poland these figures were 4.5 per cent and 3.8 per cent; in

TABLE V

Age	Males	Females
0-4	70.4	59.6
5-9	8.3	7.8
10-14	3.5	3.4
15-19	4.5	4.5
20-24	6.6	6.0
25-34	6.1	6.1
35-44	7.8	7.3
45-54	13.2	9.6
55-64	24.3	17.9
65-74	49.8	42.3
75+	131.5	116.2

Germany and England, only 2.2 per cent and 1.8 per cent and in the United States, 1.9 per cent and 1.5 per cent; clearly, the infant and child mortality rate in Ukraine was one of the highest in Europe. However, it has diminished, since in 1895-9 in Ukraine 12 per cent of the

1927 there were 967 married to Ukrainian women, 19 to Russian women, 6 to Poles, 2 to Jewish women, and 4 were married to other nationalities.

Let us turn now from the general aspects of the natural increase of population to the difference between the natural increase in country and city. In the cities, especially the larger ones, there were fewer births and deaths and, as a result, less natural increase. Table VII indicates these differences for each 1,000 persons as of 1927 in rural and in urban areas.

Geographical Distribution of the Natural Increase

The birth rate, the mortality rate, and the natural increase in population did not apply equally to all sections of

TABLE VI

Age	to 19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	50+
Men	14.2	51.4	19.8	8.9	3.2	3.5
Women	36.4	44.1	11.0	5.7	1.9	0.9

boys and 10 per cent of the girls under four years of age died in an average year.

Ukraine owes the great number of births, among other reasons, to the early age, as well as to the great number, of marriages: for every 100 persons there was an average of 11.2 marriages annually during the period 1924-9, while in Poland it was 8.9; in Germany, 9.2; in Italy, 6.9; in England, 7.8; in the United States, 10.3.

The ages of newly wed persons (shown in percentages of the total number) in 1927 are given in Table VI. Only among the Bulgarians does marriage take place earlier. In central and western Europe it occurs much later. For example, in Ukraine 36 per cent of the girls under 20 were married; in Bulgaria, 37 per cent; in Poland, 20 per cent; in England, 9 per cent; in the USA, 13 per cent; and in Germany, only 8 per cent.

Mixed marriages offer an interesting sidelight. For every 1,000 Ukrainians in

TABLE VII

	Rural	Urban	Total	City of Kiev
Births	42.6	29.6	40.2	21.0
Deaths	18.7	13.4	17.7	11.6
Increase	23.9	16.2	22.5	9.4
Marriages	10.9	12.6	11.2	13.8
Divorces	1.6	3.2	1.9	3.7

Ukraine, as can be seen from the map (Fig. 122) and from Table VIII (data for 1925-9, since it is for that period that we have necessary statistics in detail).

The greatest increase was in those Ukrainian lands which were not overpopulated and which could accommodate the growing population—southern Ukraine, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. The average number of births and the average natural increase occurred in the entire northern belt, in Transcarpathia, in the middle belt of the Left Bank and, to a lesser degree, of the Right Bank. The smallest number of births and the

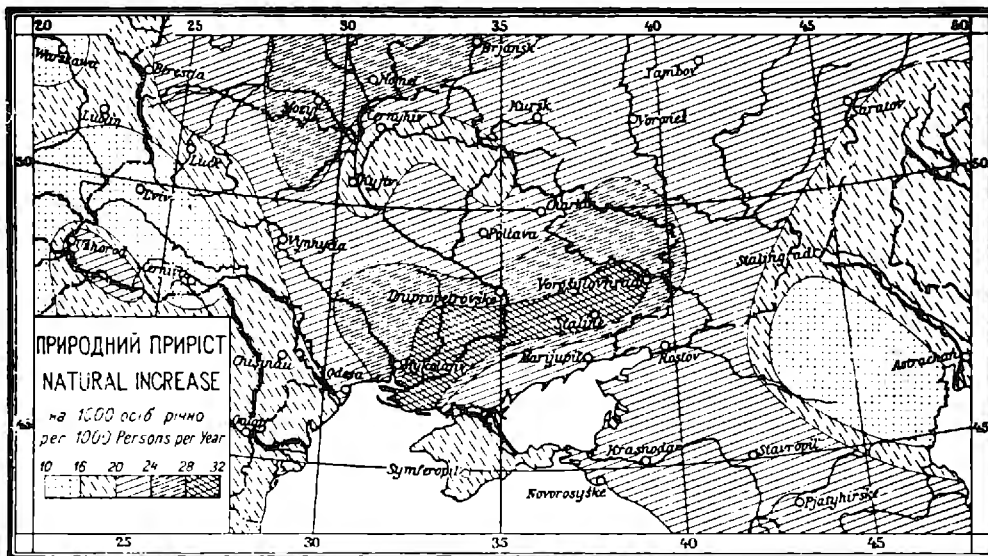


FIGURE 122. NATURAL INCREASE IN THE POPULATION IN THE YEARS 1924-7

TABLE VIII
NATURAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION IN THE YEARS 1925-9
PER 1,000 PERSONS

Area	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
Eastern Polisia	40.3	19.1	21.2
Right Bank of the Dnieper	37.9	18.5	19.4
Left Bank of the Dnieper	38.4	17.9	20.5
Steppe	42.1	16.7	25.4
North Caucasus	45.6	18.2	27.4
Crimea	42.1	15.1	27.0
Galicia	32.2	19.8	12.4
Volhynia and Polisia	38.8	17.3	21.5
Bukovina	31.2	19.7	11.5
Transcarpathia	40.6	21.1	19.4

least natural increase took place in overcrowded Galicia and Bukovina.

The intense economic crisis and the halting of emigration were the reasons for the constant decline in the birth rate in Western Ukraine. In spite of the declining mortality rate, the birth rate (Fig. 123) fell more rapidly and in 1936 the natural increase (per thousand) in Galicia amounted to only 9.3 and in Bukovina to only 6.4; the increases were higher in Volhynia and Polisia, 15.2, as well as in Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine), 14.3.

In general, before collectivization and the famine, the Ukrainian people could

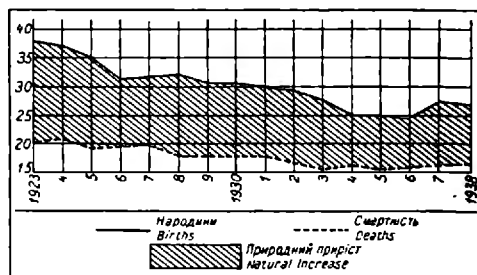


FIGURE 123. NATURAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION IN GALICIA, 1923-38

(1) Births; (2) deaths; (3) natural increase.

boast of the highest natural population increase in Europe; this was an important element in their development. Only

in Galicia, with its high mortality rate and moderate number of births, was the situation less favorable. In the years of the "demographic optimum," the population of all the Ukrainian territories increased by 900,000-1,000,000 annually and of these the Ukrainians accounted for 650-750,000.

Natural Movement of Population in Soviet Ukraine after 1930

There are no detailed demographic data published for that time. In general, as a result of the Bolshevik terror of the thirties, the size of the population diminished and the mortality rate rose. In 1931, the natural increase of the population probably diminished substantially. In 1932 there was an increase in the mortality rate, and in 1933, the year of the famine, the mortality rate was many times greater than the birth rate. Only in 1935 did a rise in births probably appear again. In the years following the increase was greater but the birth rate was probably lower than in 1924-9. The Soviet government, concerned over the decrease in the population, attempted to facilitate the natural increase by forbidding abortions and making divorce difficult. At the same time it succeeded in reducing the mortality rate by means of public hygiene.

Only as late as 1956 did the Soviet government publish data on the natural movement of the population (for 1,000 inhabitants, as compared with a similar number for the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and the entire USSR) (see Table IX). The data cited above attest most vividly to definite changes which occurred in the natural changes of the population of Ukraine in comparison with the 1920's: a lower

mortality rate as well as a much lower birth rate. In comparison with Russia, Ukraine, in 1940, showed a somewhat greater increase because of a far lower mortality rate despite a smaller percentage of births. The lower birth rate was caused mainly by the breaking up of many Ukrainian families, by the shortage of men in the adult age group (through the extermination policy of the Soviet regime in Moscow and through the repressions and deportations of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian men), and by the famine, the male victims being greater in number than women. These policies were non-existent on purely Russian territory. The lower mortality rate in Ukraine in comparison with Russia was caused by the mass dying out in Ukraine of weaker elements during the preceding years of famine. Ukraine's natural increase of population was almost the same as that of the entire USSR.

World War II brought a new period of increased mortality as a result of direct military operations, the death of people in the Soviet and German labor camps, severe food shortages (famine

TABLE IX

	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
Ukrainian SSR	27.3	14.3	13.0
USSR	31.3	18.1	13.2
Russian SFSR	33.0	20.6	12.4

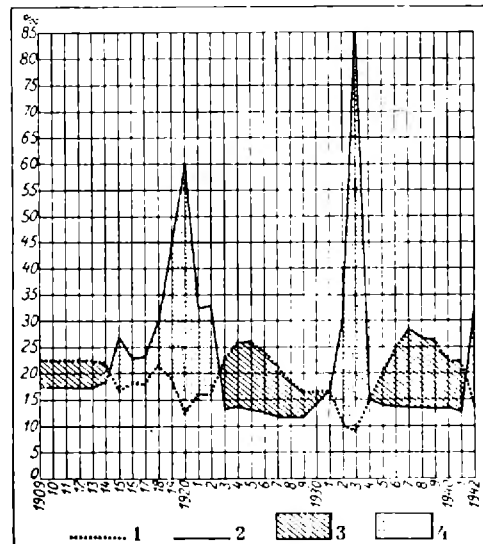


FIGURE 124. NATURAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION IN THE CITY OF KIEV
(1) Births; (2) deaths; (3) natural increase; (4) natural decrease.

in the cities in the winter of 1941-2), the spreading of infectious diseases, and the reduction in public health facilities. On the other hand, the separation of families was another cause of reduced number of births, but to what degree we do not know.

All phases of the changes in the natural development for the years 1909-42 can be observed in the case of the city of Kiev, which we have figures for by chance. We should bear in mind, however, that the conditions in a great city differ sharply from those in the country as a whole (the famine years of 1932-3 had less effect on the urban population) (Fig. 124).

After World War II there was a continued decrease in deaths, but also in births, and therefore the natural increase of population remained at almost the same level as that of 1940. However, in the entire USSR, particularly in the Russian SFSR, the decrease in the mortality rate was much greater than the decrease in the birth rate. Thus, after 1949, Ukraine shows a continually smaller increase as compared with the

entire Soviet Union and the majority of Soviet republics. Details can be seen in Table X (see also Fig. 125).

Compared with the situation in 1930, there was in Ukraine, as in other countries of eastern Europe, a complete—almost revolutionary—change in population relations. The mortality rate of the population, particularly among infants, decreased as a result of increasing hygiene and health protection to one of the lowest in Europe (in 1960, the lowest). Even greater was the decline in the number of births in Ukraine and, at the present time, the difference in the coefficients of births and of the natural increase between Ukraine and other countries of western and central Europe is smaller than in 1920's. Among the neighboring countries situated beyond the borders of the USSR, Poland and Slovakia have a greater natural increase of population; among the Soviet republics, the Russian SFSR, the Belorussian SSR, and especially the Moldavian SSR as well as all of the Asian republics show a greater natural increase of population. This lower natural increase is the result

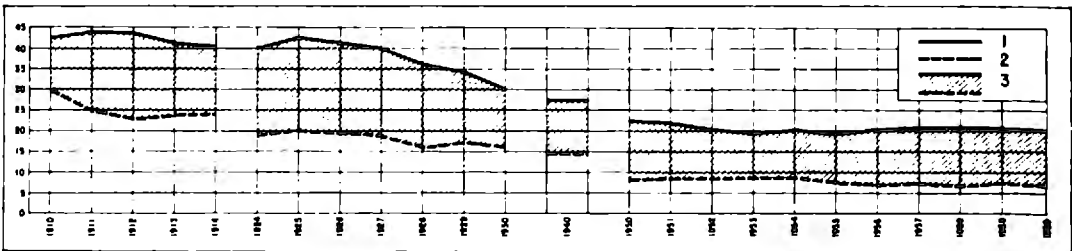


FIGURE 125. NATURAL MOVEMENT OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR FROM 1910 TO 1960 (PER 1,000 PERSONS)

(1) Births; (2) deaths; (3) natural increase.

TABLE X
BIRTHS, DEATHS, AND NATURAL INCREASE PER 1,000 PERSONS

Years	Births		Deaths		Natural Increase	
	Ukrainian SSR	USSR	Ukrainian SSR	USSR	Ukrainian SSR	USSR
1950	22.8	26.7	8.5	9.7	14.3	17.0
1951-5	21.5	26.2	8.3	9.1	13.2	17.1
1956-60	20.8	25.2	7.2	7.5	13.6	17.7
1959	20.9	25.0	7.5	7.6	13.4	17.4
1960	20.6	24.9	6.9	7.1	13.7	17.8

of the greater disproportion in the number of men and women in Ukraine than in other Soviet republics (excepting the Baltic republics) and by the breaking up of Ukrainian families through imprisonment and forced resettlements of many Ukrainian men, a policy pursued continually by the Kremlin regime since 1930. Table XI gives a comparison be-

TABLE XI

Countries	Births	Deaths	Natural increase
Khazak SSR (1955)	36.9	9.0	27.9
Moldavian SSR (1958)	31.0	7.0	24.0
USSR	24.9	7.1	17.8
Russian SFSR	23.2	7.4	15.8
Poland	22.4	7.5	14.9
USA	23.6	9.5	14.1
Ukrainian SSR	20.6	6.9	13.7
Holland	20.8	7.6	13.2
Rumania	19.0	8.7	10.3
Italy	18.5	9.7	8.8
Czechoslovakia	15.9	9.2	6.7
(including Slovakia)	22.1	7.9	14.2
France	17.9	11.4	6.5
Federal Republic of Germany	17.7	11.4	6.3
Great Britain	17.5	11.5	6.0
Hungary	14.7	10.2	4.5

tween the natural increase of population of the Ukrainian SSR and that of other, particularly neighboring, countries (1960, per 1,000 inhabitants).

It is not possible to present the natural movement of the population of Ukraine in a more detailed manner, as there are only general and fragmentary statistical data available; there are more data on the entire USSR. As a matter of fact, the mortality tables are available only for the entire USSR. It is completely different, for the entire USSR as well as for Ukraine, from the table given for the years 1926-7 (see Table V, p. 189). The decrease in mortality is particularly great among the younger age groups. This can be seen from the data for the entire USSR according to which the mortality rate of children in the age group 0-4 years decreased from 78.9 in 1926 to 11.9 in 1958-9 (per 1,000 children), from 7.3 to 1.1 for the age group 5-9, from 3.1 to

0.8 for 10-14, from 13.7 to 1.3 for 15-19 (per 1,000 persons in each age group). Consequently, the life expectancy of the entire population of the USSR rose from 44 years in 1926-7 to 69 in 1958 (for males from 42 years to 64, for females from 47 to 72; data for the Ukrainian SSR for 1925-6: 45, 44, 47).

The marriage coefficient remained unchanged from that of the 1920's: it was 11.6 (per 1,000 inhabitants) in the Ukrainian SSR in 1959 (11.2 in 1924-9), and it was higher than in other countries of Europe except for the entire USSR (12.7). The number of divorces in the Ukrainian SSR in 1959 was 1.2 per 1,000 inhabitants (in 1926, 1.9).

MIGRATIONS OF POPULATION IN THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN LANDS PRIOR TO 1930

General Considerations

The natural increase of the population in the Ukrainian territories appeared to be greater than it actually was, for a part of the population continuously emigrated from their country and settled outside its boundaries.

The causes of the emigration of the Ukrainians, chiefly before 1914, were the obsolete agrarian system, the overpopulation of the country, and insufficient industrialization. Emigration from the Ukrainian lands went in two directions. The people from the Ukrainian lands which had belonged to the Russian empire before 1914 and later to the USSR, went almost exclusively to Asia, and those from Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia went almost exclusively to America and occasionally to the countries of western Europe.

Migration to the East

The group which went to America was made up mainly of small-town Jewish tradesmen and artisans of the Right Bank and Polisia, and of Ukrainians from Kholm, Volhynia, and Podlachia, with a few from Podilia; otherwise the trend of

the Ukrainian emigration from the central and eastern Ukrainian lands was exclusively to the east.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the surplus Ukrainian population went chiefly to southern Ukraine and when there was no more free land there in the second half of the century they went to the Subcaucasus. They moved into the Volga area to a lesser degree.

The Ukrainian emigration movement increased noticeably in 1860 and 1870, partly in conjunction with the increase of the peasants' new liberty of movement (the abolition of serfdom in 1861), and partly because, as a result of the unfair division of the land between the great landowners and the village population, the peasants' need for land increased and agrarian overpopulation was felt more keenly.

When at the end of the nineteenth century the Caucasus became well-populated, Ukrainian colonization turned to the east—to Asia. This change in the trend of the population is best seen in the example of the Poltava *guberniya* from which great numbers emigrated. Up to 1876 for every 100 emigrants, 89 went to the Caucasus and less than one to the Urals; in 1876-93, 65 and 15 went to the same places, and in the last years of the nineteenth century (1894-1900) barely 13 per cent went to the Caucasus and the remainder went to Asia.

A connecting link between the compact Ukrainian territory in Europe and the territories of Ukrainian settlements in Asia was formed by the Ukrainian enclaves in the Volga area and in the Urals. These people settled among the Russian population which had been there since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Not only did the direction of the emigration change but its intensity increased. On the one hand the agrarian overpopulation of Ukraine became greater and, on the other hand, the building of the Siberian railroad at the end of the nineteenth century facilitated

emigration from Ukraine to Asia. At the same time the tsarist government wanted to encourage colonization of the almost uninhabited Asian territories and gave the colonists free plots of land. The size of the emigration (in thousands) from central and eastern Ukraine (9 southwestern *guberniyas* of the Russian empire) and from the whole of Russia to Asia is shown in Figure 126 and Table XII. In the twenty years prior to World War I two million people left Ukraine.

TABLE XII

Years	(a) from Russia	(b) from Ukraine	a/b
1891-1900	1,041	366	36%
1901-10	2,409	1,196	49%
1911-14	696	420	60%
1924-8	598	142	24%
TOTAL	4,744	2,124	45%

During the period 1906-10, an average of 202,000 left annually, and in 1909 the number rose to 290,000 or 68 per cent of the natural increase. During World War I emigration almost came to a complete halt, but it began again after the war although to a far lesser degree because the Ukrainian peasant did not experience the old hunger for land. (It had been satisfied by the division of the old great landed estates.) The Ukrainian emigration from the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas* had constituted almost half of the total emigration from the European part of the Russian empire and in the last years prior to 1914 it rose to 60 per cent.

A certain number of the emigrants to Asia returned to Ukraine later; during

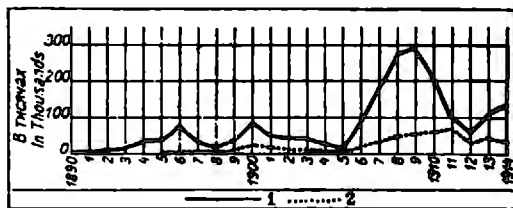


FIGURE 126. EMIGRATION FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE TO ASIA, 1890-1914

(1) Emigration across the Urals; (2) return to Ukraine.

the period 1890–1914 about 480,000 returned. In general we can assume that up to 1930 about 2½ million Ukrainians had settled in Asia. If we take into account the high natural increase of the emigrants, we can fix the number of Ukrainian settlers in Asia (as of 1926) at 3 million. The 1926 census gave the number of Ukrainians in Asia as 2,100,000 but this number is unquestionably too small.

The Ukrainian emigrants in Asia were concentrated chiefly in two regions: in the Far East—in the so-called *Zelenyi Klyn* "Green Wedge" (or Green Ukraine) on the Amur, and in Central Asia, on the borders of Siberia and Kazakhstan.

The emigration to Asia came chiefly from Left-Bank Ukraine, especially from Poltava *guberniya*. For every 100 emigrants from the nine Ukrainian *guberniyas*, 23 came from Poltava, 17 from Chernihiv, 12 from Kiev, 11 each from Katerynoslav and Kharkiv, and only 5 from Podilia and 4 from Volhynia.

The amount of Ukrainian immigration to Asia was significant only before 1914. Another wave occurred in 1930 in connection with the collectivization and the mass terror policies of the Bolsheviks. At that time hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were deported to Asia (chiefly to the far north), and also to the north of European Russia while hundreds of thousands of others left voluntarily. Some of these people settled in areas where the Ukrainians had formerly concentrated, chiefly in Kazakhstan, and others moved to the new industrial areas, especially to the Kuznets basin. World War II and the forced settlement of the so-called new (virgin) lands in Asia by Ukrainians strengthened these migration patterns. As a result, the number of Ukrainians in Asia greatly increased.

Immigration to Central and Eastern Ukraine

At the same time that almost 3 million persons emigrated from Ukraine be-

tween 1890 and 1930 (this includes Ukrainians as well as non-Ukrainians and immigrants to Asia as well as to other areas) up to 2 million persons immigrated to Ukraine. These were almost exclusively Russians who settled in the cities and industrial regions. The 1926 census of the population of the USSR showed 1,801,000 persons born in Soviet Ukraine but living outside its boundaries at the time the census was taken, that is, emigrants from Ukraine, but the same census showed 941,000 persons born outside the Ukrainian SSR but living on its territory in 1926. Seventy per cent of these 941,000 were in the cities, especially in the Donbas area. This immigration of aliens taking place simultaneously with the emigration of the Ukrainian peasants was unfavorable for the Ukrainian character of the population, since the Ukrainians were losing steadily in their own territories, cities, and industrial regions, especially in the Donbas. For conditions after 1930, see pp. 201, 207.

Internal Migration

There were internal migrations as well as immigration and emigration in Ukraine. The population from the overpopulated central Ukraine moved to southern Ukraine, the Crimea, the Subcaucasus, and to the large industrial centers, especially to the Donbas, where up to 1930, Russians settled in greater numbers.

The Balance of Migrations Based on the 1926 Census

As a result of all these migrations, there was a real change in population distribution (see Fig. 127—position in 1926). Except for the large cities, Kiev and Kharkiv, the overpopulated central part of Ukraine lost population; the northern, less thickly settled belt lost fewer people. On the other hand, the population increased in the sparsely settled southern Ukraine, the Crimea, the Donbas, and the Subcaucasus.

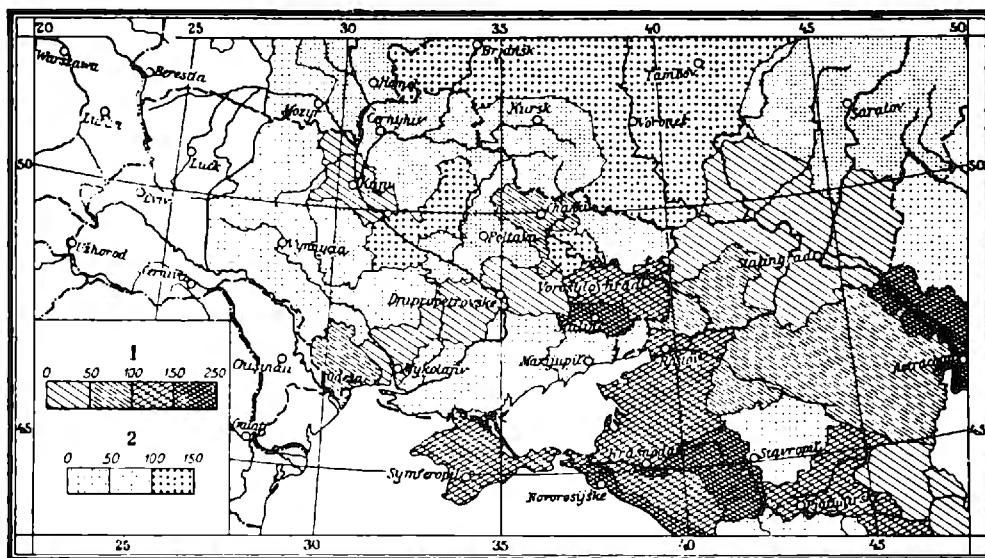


FIGURE 127. BALANCE OF MIGRATIONS

(1) Excess of immigrants over emigrants (per 1,000 persons); (2) excess of emigrants over immigrants (per 1,000 persons).

This population movement had considerable effect upon the national (ethnic) composition of Ukraine, and upon the numerical relationships of the different ethnic groups especially in the southern and southeastern areas. In southern Ukraine and in the Crimea the greater influx of the Ukrainian population strengthened its position opposite the Russians. But the Russian element gained in the Donbas and also in the Subcaucasus, although to a lesser degree. Thus of 460,000 persons who, on the basis of the census of 1926, lived in the Donbas area but were born outside of it, only 32 per cent came from other Ukrainian territories while 56 per cent came from Russia.

The data presented here are for the period preceding collectivization. For the population changes after 1930, see pages 200-7.

MIGRATIONS IN WESTERN UKRAINE BEFORE 1938

The Migrations prior to 1914

In the Western Ukrainian lands under

Austro-Hungarian rule, that is, Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia, migration was far greater than in the central and eastern Ukrainian territories. Due to overpopulation there was a great deal of emigration, almost exclusively to America.

Emigration from the Western Ukrainian territories began in the 1870's and was especially heavy prior to World War I. It came first from the Transcarpathian, and later from the Galician, parts of the Lemkian land, and during the last years from all of Transcarpathia, all of eastern Galicia, and Bukovina. During the decade 1890-1900, 26 per cent of the total natural increase emigrated from eastern Galicia; some 34 per cent of it emigrated in the decade 1900-10. During the period 1890-1913 between 700,000 and 800,000 persons emigrated from these Western Ukrainian territories and at times they constituted a quarter or even half of the total natural increase.

More Ukrainians than Poles emigrated abroad from Galicia. Due to overpopulation on the farms and a work shortage in the cities, which were largely dominated

by Polish and Jewish elements, the Ukrainian peasant often had to seek his fortune overseas. At the same time Polish colonists settled in the cities and on Ukrainian lands parcelled out by the great Polish landowners. Previously, as in the central and eastern lands, the Ukrainian peasant had been reluctant to move to the city. All these migrations gradually facilitated the growth of the Polish element in Galicia at the expense of the Ukrainians. From 1900 to 1910, the increase in the Polish population in Galicia was 12 per cent greater than its natural increase, while the Ukrainians had lost 45 per cent of their natural increase.

The number of Ukrainian emigrants to the United States, Canada, Brazil, and Argentina, between 1890 and 1917 is estimated at 500,000; of these, about 350,000 went to the United States while about 100,000 went to Canada and only some 50,000 to South America.

Another important economic development was the seasonal migration of agricultural laborers to Germany (in 1907-12, this group averaged 75,000 persons annually) and in smaller numbers to Bohemia, Rumania, and Denmark. These people returned to their native country permanently, and were able to raise their standard of living there with the money which they had earned on these seasonal jobs.

Emigration after 1918

After World War I, the pattern of emigration changed. Due to restrictions on emigration it was lighter than before the war, and because of new political boundaries, it spread to Volhynia and Polisia which previously had had only light emigration. Due to new legal restrictions on immigration to the United States, immigration to Canada now took first place and there was now also considerable emigration to Argentina, which before World War I had been insignificant.

Excluding re-emigrants 170,000 Ukrai-

nians emigrated from Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia during 1919-35; of these 11,000 went to the United States, 67,000 to Canada, 42,000 to Argentina, 7,000 to Brazil, 36,000 to France, and 7,000 to other countries.

Post-war emigration was greatest in 1927-9. It declined because of the depression in the United States and almost came to a halt in 1931-4. A few years before World War II it picked up again but on a much smaller scale. People now emigrated to Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, as well as to Canada and Argentina.

As before World War I, emigration was chiefly from Galicia and Transcarpathia, to a lesser degree from Bukovina, and was least heavy from Volhynia and Polisia.

While Ukrainians were emigrating, foreigners came to Western Ukraine in greater numbers than before the war. Some 300,000 Poles settled on the Western Ukrainian territory which was incorporated into the Polish state and 30,000 Czechs settled in Transcarpathia; an undetermined number of Rumanians settled in Bukovina and Bessarabia.

CHANGES IN THE STATE OF THE POPULATION (1890-1930)

Phases of the Population Changes

Knowing the natural increase of the population and the migrational processes, we can understand the actual changes in the state of the population of Ukraine. We can illustrate these changes most accurately by comparing the results of (a) the censuses of 1897 and 1926 (for Western Ukraine the censuses of 1900 and 1930-1) and (b) the Soviet censuses of 1926 and 1959. In estimating the actual increase or decrease of the population we can distinguish various phases in the real fluctuation of the population (see pp. 186-7 and Fig. 128).

Before World War I there was actually an increase in the population, in spite of emigration, due to the high birth rate.

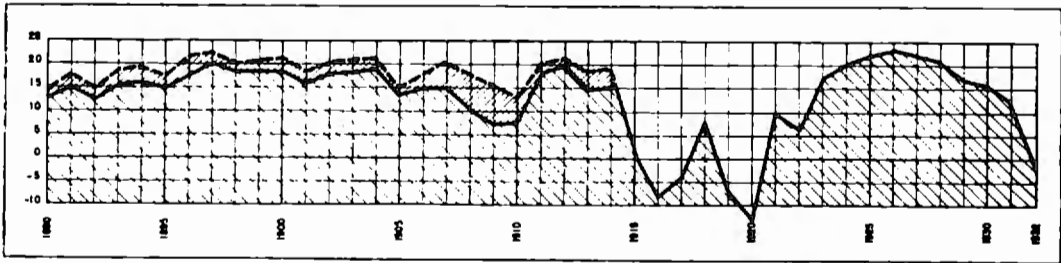


FIGURE 128. NATURAL (BROKEN LINE) AND ACTUAL (SOLID LINE) GROWTH OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN ITS PRE-WAR (1938) BOUNDARIES, 1890-1932 (PER 1,000 PERSONS)

During the period 1897-1913, the population of all the Ukrainian lands increased from 35,800,000 to 45,900,000, that is, by some 28.2 per cent; the population of the territory of the future Ukrainian SSR alone increased in the same period from 28,800,000 to 35,200,000, that is, by 22.2 per cent.

The increase in population was greatest in the south (Crimea and the Subcaucasus) because these areas could still support an agrarian population; the increase was smallest in overpopulated Galicia and Bukovina. But the greatest increase took place in the cities and industrial centers, especially in the Katerynoslav area and the Donbas.

During World War I and the War for National Liberation, the population declined due to losses on the battlefield, the evacuation of people from the front, and the lower birth rate. During the years 1914-20 the average annual loss (the numbers are not always accurate) in the Ukrainian SSR was 1.7 per cent, in Galicia 2.1 per cent, in the northwestern lands up to 7.9 per cent (the result of evacuation); only the population of Transcarpathia increased: by 0.7 per cent. The population decrease in the villages was greater than in the cities. But owing to the decline in commerce and industry in the post-Revolutionary period, the urban population also decreased, especially in Odessa which in 1897 had 404,000 people, in 1912 620,000, but in 1923 only 324,000.

After World War I the population increased more than before the war, owing to the accelerated natural increase and

lighter emigration. The average annual increase for 1923-31 was 2.2 per cent for the Ukrainian SSR; for 1921-31, 1.4 per cent for Galicia, 2.0 per cent for Transcarpathia, and for the northwestern lands, up to 3.4 per cent, partly due to the return of the evacuated population.

Changes Between 1897 and 1926

Changes between 1897 and 1926 (i.e., between two censuses), are shown on the map (Fig. 129). During that period the total population of all Ukrainian lands increased by 38.2 per cent, the rural population increased by 33.8 per cent and the urban population by 61 per cent; in the same period the population of the Ukrainian SSR (in present-day boundaries) alone increased by 31.6 per cent in general, the rural population by 25.6 per cent and the urban population by 63 per cent. The central region, overpopulated in the rural areas and hardly industrialized, showed the least increase (26.4 per cent); the increase was somewhat greater in the northern region (28.5 per cent) and greatest in the south (53 per cent), especially in the Crimea (65 per cent), the Donbas (126 per cent), and the Subcaucasus (55 per cent). Because of rural overpopulation and because it had been a battlefield for World War I, Western Ukraine showed the smallest growth (18 per cent). Population changes in this period generally were influenced by the extent of rural overpopulation and industrialization and by the war operations.

Urbanization. The growth of the urban population differed from the growth in

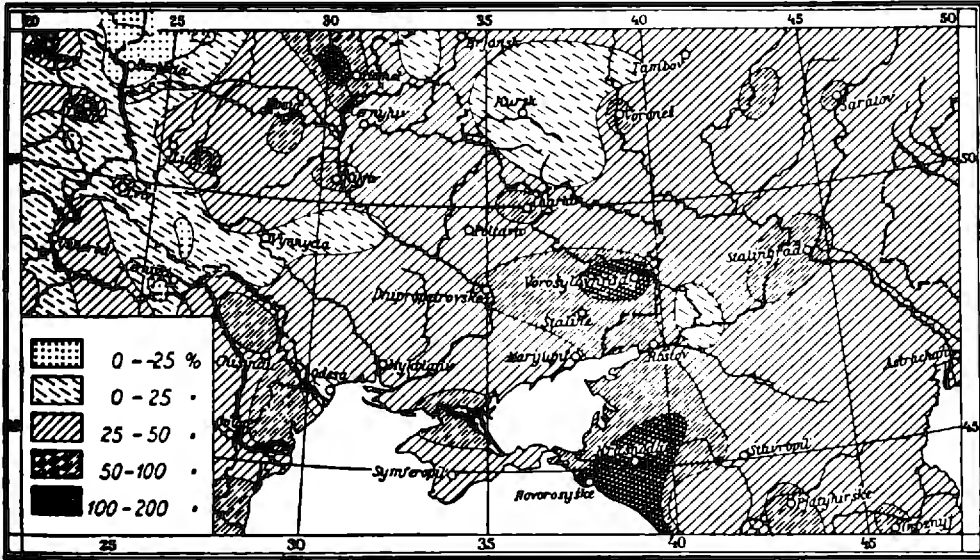


FIGURE 129. CHANGES IN THE POPULATION, 1897-1926 (INCREASE AND DECREASE IN PERCENTAGES OF THE POPULATION OF 1897)

rural areas. The rural population in western and central Europe has shown almost no increase during the last 60 to 70 years in spite of its great natural increase because so many rural people moved to the cities to work in industry. In these countries, therefore, the peasants actually improved their standard of living by getting larger crops and profits from the same amount of land.

Eastern European industrial develop-

ment was slower and there was therefore little increase in the urban population. The rural population tended to stay at home even during the years of increased emigration. In Ukraine (Ukrainian SSR in its present-day boundaries) in 1897 only 16.5 per cent of the population was urban and in 1926, 19.3 per cent. At the same time the percentage of the population in the great cities grew from 3.2 to 5.8. The development of urbanization

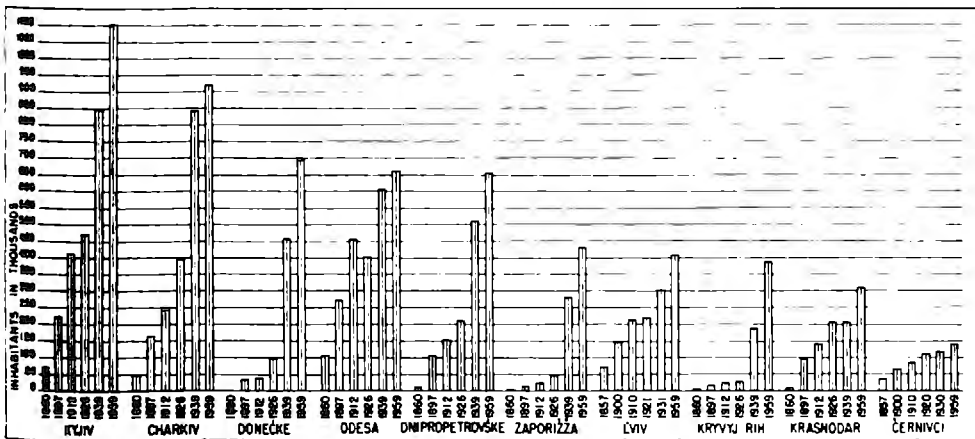


FIGURE 130. POPULATION OF THE LARGE CITIES OF UKRAINE IN 1860 (1857), 1897 (1900), 1912 (1910), 1926 (1920-1), 1939 (1930-1), AND 1959

was irregular. Only southeastern Ukraine where industry developed more rapidly showed a substantial growth in urban population. The purely agricultural regions of Ukraine at this time showed no visible increase in urbanization, and in the western steppe area, there was even a slight decline in urbanization due to the decline of the trading centers. The growth of certain of the larger cities can be seen from the diagram (Fig. 130).

CHANGES IN THE POPULATION AFTER 1930

The Events of 1930-2

The political and economic basis of collectivization and industrialization is discussed in the sections on "History" and "National Economy." As was stated previously, the Ukrainian village was "dekulakized" in 1930-1. Some of the kulaks (in Ukrainian, *kurkuli*—well-to-do peasants), especially the males, were killed; others were banished; and others were resettled with their families, primarily in Asia, in Kazakhstan and in the Kuznets basin. Although not prisoners, they were not allowed to return to their native regions. Some peasants escaped from their native villages to the industrial regions, which were in need of laborers and where it was easier to survive the period of persecution.

The repressions of 1930 soon encompassed the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the cities, under the name of the struggle against "nationalism" and "sabotage." These repressions occurred continuously but were most severe in 1929-32, 1933-5 (especially in connection with the murder of Kirov), and in 1937-8 (the "Yezhovshchyna").

During these years up to one million (?) Ukrainian peasants and city dwellers were executed; far more—perhaps 2 or 3 million—were deported from Ukraine or fled voluntarily to escape the terror.

The famine of 1932-3 which was artificially created by the Soviet government to put a definite end to the Ukrainian

peasants' opposition to collectivization also claimed victims in the millions. To create the famine the Soviets ordered the expropriation of all food stuffs in the hands of the rural population in the fall of 1932. In 1932 there was also a slight drought in Ukraine, but only in the southern sections, so that the grain harvest was somewhat lower than the average (14.7 million metric tons instead of the average harvest of 17.7 million tons) but still 1.6 million tons higher than in 1928 when there was no famine in Ukraine. The total harvest in 1932 was needed for feeding the population (per annum consumption per person, rural—250 kg., urban—150 kg.) and the domestic cattle.

The famine began in the spring of 1932, eased somewhat during the summer, intensified in the autumn of 1932, and became exceptionally severe in the spring of 1933. It affected primarily the Ukrainian SSR, and to a lesser degree the northern Caucasus, the Kursk and Voronezh areas, the lower Volga, the Crimea and Kazakhstan—territories partially inhabited by Ukrainians. There was no famine in the exclusively Russian territories which were fed with Ukrainian grain, and there was none in Belorussia. The population of the industrial centers and cities of Ukraine suffered hardship during this famine but not death by starvation; however, many of the rural population died in their villages or during their search for food. Great masses escaped death by fleeing to Asia, the eastern part of the Subcaucasus or to the industrial regions of Ukraine, particularly to the Donbas. Whole villages were abandoned during the famine. The first victims were those with lower physical resistance. Therefore old people and children suffered most. The period of the famine also showed a significant decline in the birth rate. According to various calculations, the number of famine victims in the Ukrainian SSR was 2-5 million people; 90 per cent of these were Ukrainians.

TABLE XIII

Year	Population in thousands		
	Total	Urban	Rural
January 1, 1927	29,040	4,930	24,110
January 1, 1929	30,250	5,350	24,900
January 1, 1931	31,400	6,490	24,910
January 1, 1933	31,900	7,160	24,740
January 1, 1939	30,960	11,196	19,764

The Period 1934-9

By 1934 there was no longer any famine but its effects still lingered in the decreased birth rate and the increase in incidence of various diseases. But by 1935, the birth rate again exceeded the mortality rate, although not as much as before 1930, and part of the population returned to the abandoned villages. However, there was a great deal of migration at this time especially to the industrial areas in the Donbas.

The Balance of the Changes of 1927-38

In summarizing the changes described, we arrive at the following conclusions: (1) the population of the Ukrainian SSR and of all the Ukrainian territories in the USSR developed normally only prior to 1930; (2) later, as a result of the repressions, probably some one million Ukrainians perished and perhaps 3 million as a result of the famine; (3) the birth rate decreased and the mortality rate exceeded births; (4) 2 to 3 million Ukrainians left the country, voluntarily or under compulsion, and settled chiefly in Asia; (5) at the same time a certain number of Russians migrated to cities and villages in Ukraine (as part of the administrative apparatus, and even as workers on the state farms); (6) part of the rural population migrated to the industrial centers.

The changes which occurred in the population between the censuses (1928 and 1939) can be accurately described only for the period 1927-32. For the years 1933-8 only official and incomplete data on population are published. For the data on the Ukrainian SSR see Table XIII and Table XIV.

It can be seen on the basis of Table XIV that 1931-2 showed a definite turning point in the growth of the population. According to the not too reliable Soviet sources, the population of the Ukrainian SSR had already decreased by 127,000 in 1932. Regrettably, there are no statistics on the demographic catastrophe (famine)

TABLE XIV

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCREASE IN THE POPULATION PER 1,000 PERSONS

Year	Population		
	Total	Urban	Rural
1927-28	20.4	41.0	16.1
1929-30	18.7	96.8	0.1
1931-2	7.9	48.8	-3.4
1933-8	-5.0	73.0	-38.4

of 1933-4. But even according to official Soviet statistics the population of the Ukrainian SSR decreased by 940,000 in the years 1933-8, that is, by 3 per cent. (The urban population increased by 56 per cent, while the rural population decreased by 19 per cent.) In reality the decrease was even greater because the Soviet population census of 1939 overestimated the population of Ukraine.

An attempt at a general survey of other changes in the composition of the population of the Ukrainian SSR for 1933-8 (in millions) would be estimated as follows:

Total population on	
January 1, 1933	31.9
Natural increase,	
1935-8	+(1.5-2.0)(?)
Famine	-(2-3)(?)
Death due to the	
repressions	-1(?)

Emigration (including exile)	—(2-3 (?))
Immigration (chiefly Russian)	+(1-2)(?)
Total as of January 1, 1939	27.5-31.0

On the basis of these estimates we can fix the population of the Ukrainian SSR at 27.5-31 million or, more probably, 28.5-30 million at the beginning of 1939. The census shows 31.0 million: this number seems to be, as we have said, exaggerated.

According to the 1939 census, the Subcaucasus showed a somewhat smaller decline in the rural population and a somewhat smaller increase in the urban population than the Ukrainian SSR,

for the years 1927-38 is considered, it can be shown that there was a considerable increase in the population in all of southeastern Ukraine, in the Donbas and the Dnieper industrial region, for these were the most industrialized areas. Slight increases also occurred in the Subcaucasus and in the Kiev area, while all other Ukrainian territories suffered losses.

The urban population increased chiefly in the areas which were heavily industrialized, such as the Donbas, Dnieper, and Kharkiv regions.

The Years 1939-41

Transcarpathia showed the first population changes due to the war and new political frontiers. Hungarians moved

TABLE XV

	Population in thousands						Changes in % for 1927-38		
	Total		Urban		Rural		Population		
	1926	1939	1926	1939	1926	1939	Total	Urban	Rural
Northern Caucasus (without the autonomous Republics)	7,456	8,016	1,466	2,422	5,990	5,594	+7.5	+65.2	- 6.6
The Crimea	714	1,127	330	586	384	541	+57.8	+77.6	+40.9

while the population of the Crimea increased considerably. In the Subcaucasus and in the Crimea the population in 1939 was probably less than shown in the official census and the population increase for 1927-38 was therefore smaller. (See Table XV.)

It should be added that even in the light of official statistics for all the republics of the USSR the Ukrainian SSR showed the smallest gain in population, with the exception of Kazakhstan. In the years between the censuses of 1926 and 1939 it increased by only 6.9 per cent, while the population of the entire USSR increased by 15.9 per cent and that of the Russian SFSR by 16.9 per cent.

If the geographical distribution of the changes in the state of the population

into Carpatho-Ukraine with the occupation of this area by Hungary, and all Czechs (some 30,000) along with some Ukrainians withdrew from the territory. In 1940 because of the Hungarian occupation over 10,000 young Ukrainians moved into the Ukrainian SSR.

Greater changes occurred at the onset of the German-Polish war. A small number of Ukrainians, drafted into the Polish army, died at the front. Others were scattered throughout the world along with the remnants of the Polish army.

Other significant changes were caused by the Soviet army's occupation of Western Ukraine. The most important of these were: (1) as a result of the German-Soviet treaty on population exchange about 10,000 Ukrainians from

the western border areas, which were under German rule (see "History"), were resettled on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, and all of the ethnic Germans from Galicia and Volhynia (the so-called *Volksdeutsche*) were resettled in Germany (about 100,000 persons); (2) more than 10,000 Ukrainians fled to the west before the advance of the Bolsheviks; (3) several thousand Ukrainians were the victims of Soviet repressions in Western Ukraine; (4) the Bolsheviks deported almost all of the Polish colonists who settled in the villages of Western Ukraine during the Polish occupation (1919-39), as well as some former Polish government employees (together about 300,000).

Because of the Bolshevik occupation of Bukovina and Bessarabia (1940), the ethnic Germans from these lands were resettled in Germany, and a number of Ukrainians went along with them.

The Years 1941-5

The Soviet-German War caused tremendous changes in the composition of the population of Ukraine. The losses, which were larger than those of any other European country, resulted from battles in the area, repressions by the occupying forces, and resettlement of the population.

The Ukrainians who fell on the battle fields and those of the civilian population who perished during military operations were the direct victims of war. Other victims included Ukrainians drafted into the Soviet army and captured by the Germans, who starved to death in German prison camps.

Another part of the population which perished during the war were the victims of persecution by both occupying powers. This included the greater part of the Jewish population which was destroyed by the Germans. The Ukrainians suffered losses on their own lands and in the labor camps to which they were sent by both the Germans and the Bolsheviks. During the winter of 1941-2

famine took the lives of hundreds of thousands of persons in cities of Ukraine.

The war caused mass dislocations of the population; some of these were temporary and some permanent. The Soviet army, in its retreat, evacuated chiefly townspeople, skilled workers, and members of the intelligentsia. The Germans drafted far more of the Ukrainians for forced labor. As a result the population of Ukraine was greatly reduced, particularly in the cities.

In 1943 the Germans conducted a census on those Ukrainian territories which they had occupied. Although it was not completely accurate, it enables us to determine the population losses of Ukraine in the first years of the war. The census was most accurate for Galicia which was then included in the so-called *Generalgouvernement*. Table XVI gives the statistics of the German

TABLE XVI

Years	Population (in thousands)		
	Total	Urban	Rural
1931	5,327	1,196	4,131
1939	5,900	1,320	4,580
1943	4,622	896	3,726
Change in % in 1939-43	-22	-32	-18

census for Galicia, the census of 1931, and estimated figures for 1939.

In the first three years of the war Galicia lost 22 per cent of its population. This included those drafted by the Germans for forced labor and the army, those evacuated, and so forth. The losses were far greater in the cities than in the villages because of the annihilation of the Jews. If the figures for the Jewish population are deducted, the losses of the Christian population are reduced to 13 per cent. If we also take into account the removal of Polish colonists, then this figure is reduced even further to 10 per cent, and the majority of the Ukrainians were only temporarily in Germany. Let us, for example, examine the population losses of certain cities in

Galicia. The population of Lviv dropped to 284,000 (in 1931, it was 316,000), that of Stanyslaviv to 36,000 (60,000 formerly), and that of Kolomyia to 19,000 (formerly 33,000). In each instance the changes resulted from the elimination or removal of Jews and the arrival of a new population.

The northwestern territories (western Volhynia and western Polisia) suffered smaller losses. Here the population was reduced only 12 per cent during 1939–43 and if the statistics for Jews are deducted this drops to scarcely 3 per cent. This was partly due to the high natural increase which continued during the war. The population of the northwestern cities, which were inhabited chiefly by Jews, dropped sharply. Thus the population of the six largest cities was reduced by half, particularly in Pynsk (1943–12,000; 1931–32,000) and Volodymyr Volynsky (from 24,600 to 8,600).

The central region suffered greater losses, for the population was more systematically evacuated and many were taken to Germany as laborers. The population in the territory of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* fell from 24,100,000 in 1939 to 16,900,000—a drop of 30 per cent. The population of the larger cities dropped by 53 per cent. Here the larger cities also had particularly heavy losses because many inhabitants were evacuated with the Bolsheviks or were destroyed by the Germans. Thus the population of Kiev dropped from 846,000 to 305,000; of Dnipropetrovske from 501,000 to 280,000; of Zaporizhia from 286,000 to 120,000; of Mykolaïv from 167,000 to 84,000; of Poltava from 130,000 to 75,000. Without the figures for the Jews the losses of the total Christian population were 24 per cent and of the Ukrainians 15–20 per cent. However, if we consider that the statistics in 1939 were probably exaggerated, then the decline in the population during the first years of the war was still smaller.

If we accept that similar losses were sustained by the population of Ukraine's

easternmost provinces, which in 1943 were not part of the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, we may assume that in 1943 the population of the Ukrainian SSR in the current boundaries was about 30 million, that is, 10.5 million less than in 1939. Of these, 4 million were killed (including 2 million Jews), while the rest were evacuated from Ukraine or deported for forced labor and the like.

The withdrawal of the Germans from Ukraine caused new changes: (1) the evacuation of almost the entire German ethnic group from the Ukrainian SSR and the Crimea; (2) the evacuation of part of the Ukrainian population to Germany to serve as laborers; (3) about 100,000 Ukrainians, chiefly from the educated and professional classes fled before the Bolshevik advance to the West, to become the basis of the largest Ukrainian political refugee movement in history. All this caused further decline of the population of Ukraine which in 1945 had reached its all-time low.

Changes in the Status of the Population after World War II

After the re-occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet armies, and especially at the end of the war, many of the evacuated and the deported returned to their country. The majority of the Ukrainians taken to Germany were repatriated; Soviet soldiers also returned to the USSR from German prison camps. However, not all of the repatriated and the returning prisoners of war returned to Ukraine; the Soviet government settled some of them outside Ukraine. Also many of the Ukrainians were compelled to stay in the industrial regions of Asia to which they had been evacuated by the Soviets.

The establishment of new frontiers between Poland and the Ukrainian and Belorussian Soviet Republics caused further changes. In accordance with the Polish-Soviet treaty of 1945 on population exchange, almost all of the Polish nationality group left Western Ukraine and returned to Poland. According to

official Polish statistics, during 1945–6 a total of 788,000 Poles returned to Poland from the Ukrainian SSR. On the other hand, the Ukrainian population of those western border areas which had been annexed by Poland, some 700,000 persons, were taken to the USSR (over 500,000 chiefly to Galicia and Volhynia, some to the Crimea and the Donbas) and to a lesser extent, to the western provinces of the Polish state. Only a small number of Ukrainians remained in the area; part of this number perished in battles with the Poles (the battles of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army—UPA) and from persecution by the Poles.

Minor changes involved the repatriation of 30,000 Czech settlers from western Volhynia and the Hungarians who had entered Transcarpathia in 1939 and later withdrew from that region. Also the entire Tatar nationality group was deported from the Crimea to Asia.

It is difficult to ascertain what the population of the Ukrainian SSR was immediately after World War II as a result of the migration due to military operations. According to official estimates in 1940, 41.0 million persons lived within the current boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR. On January 4, 1956, this number had become 40.6 million, and on January 15, 1959—41.9 million. Taking into consideration the birth rate of the population for 1947–55 (for which figures are available as they are for 1950–5), it can be assumed that the population of Ukraine, at the beginning of 1947, was approximately 36 million. On the basis of this calculation the losses of the population of Ukraine in 1940–6 were at least 4.5 million, and possibly as high as 6 million, because the official estimate for 1940 was exaggerated. These losses included the following: (1) absolute losses sustained at the front and through extermination (mainly the Jews); (2) a decrease of the birth rate and increase of the mortality rate for 1941–6; (3) repatriation of ethnic Germans and a majority of Poles, as well as of Czechs,

some Hungarians (from Carpatho-Ukraine), and even Tatars; (4) the return of only a part of the former prisoners of war, evacuees, and deportees; (5) arrests and deportations conducted by the Soviet government after its re-occupation of Ukraine. However, at this time a number of Ukrainians were resettled in what were now the boundaries of Ukraine from the Western territories incorporated into Poland; also a substantial number of Russians and other nationals, were brought to Ukraine from other parts of the USSR.

The natural increase is the only known factor in the changes of the population of the Ukrainian SSR in the 1950's (see above); there are no statistical data on the population exchanges between the Ukrainian SSR and other Soviet republics. Mention must be made of the systematic recruitment, especially in 1956, of the able-bodied people from the villages and towns of Ukraine for Asia—the so-called “virgin lands” of Kazakhstan and Siberia, and the simultaneous influx of Russians into the administrative and industrial machinery of Ukraine. On the other hand, an insignificant number of persons who were exiled from Ukraine, mainly old men and women, were allowed to return. As far as internal migration is concerned, urbanization is still in full swing.

Changes, 1927–58

The changes for 1927–58, that is for the thirty-two years between the population censuses of 1926 and 1959, are presented here in the three schematic charts, which depict the changes of the entire population, the rural population as well as that of larger cities (see Figures 131–133).

Table XVII shows the changes that the population of the Ukrainian SSR underwent, 1927–59.

Geographically these changes vary from an increase of 157 per cent in the Donetske (1924–61 Stalino) *oblast*, to a loss of 58 per cent of the population in

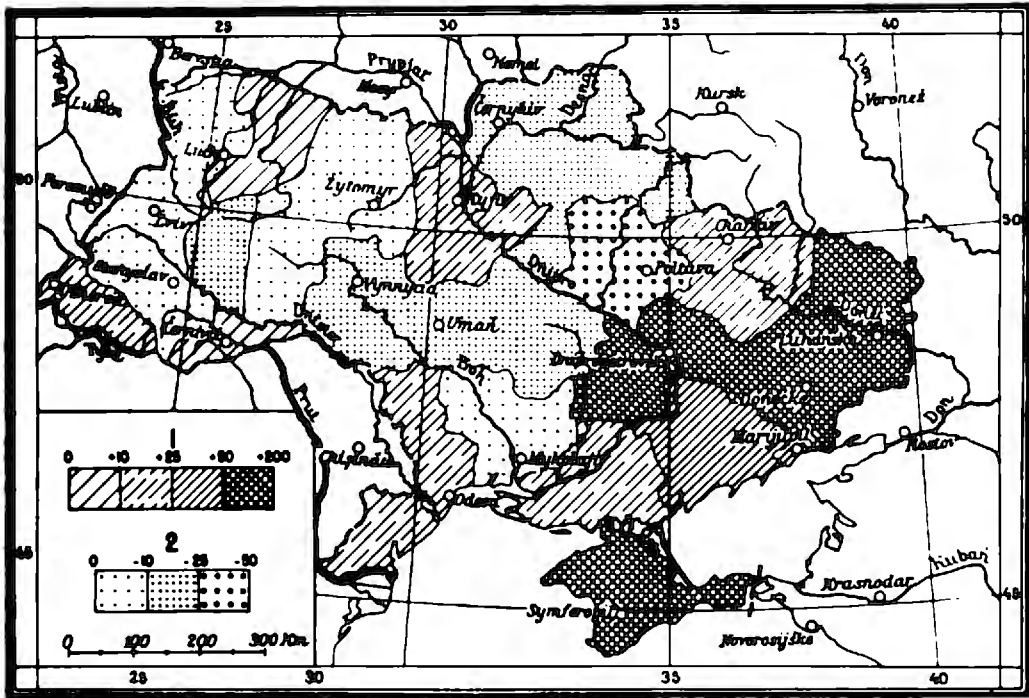


FIGURE 131. CHANGES IN THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 1927-58
 (1) Average yearly increase per thousand persons; (2) average yearly decrease per thousand persons.

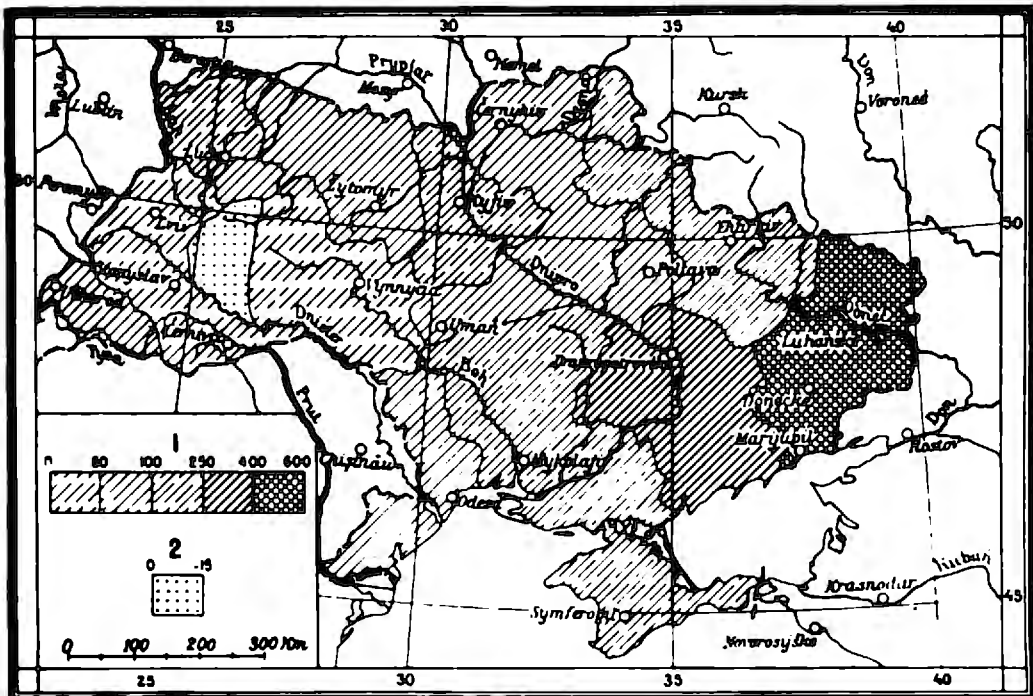


FIGURE 132. CHANGES IN THE URBAN POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 1927-58

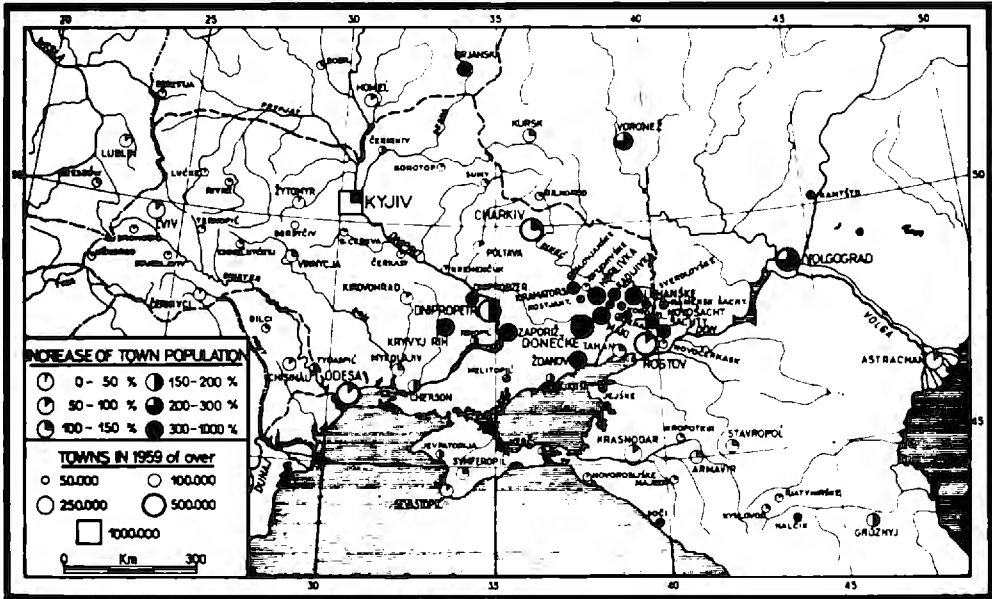


FIGURE 133. INCREASE OF POPULATION OF THE CITIES WITH OVER 50,000 POPULATION IN THE PERIOD FROM 1926 TO 1959 (IN PERCENTAGES OF THE CENSUS DATA OF DECEMBER 17, 1926)

the Poltava *oblast*. There is a sharp difference between the industrial southeastern Ukraine (the Donbas, increase of 127 per cent) and the Dnieper River industrial region (increase of 44 per cent) and the predominantly agricultural central Ukraine and the forest and steppe areas of northern Ukraine, whose population decreased by 1/5, with the exception of the Kiev and Kharkiv *oblasts*. These two provinces gained population owing to the rapid development of the two largest cities of Ukraine—Kiev and Kharkiv. The Crimea and Transcarpathia had a heavy increase of population (68 per cent and 31 per cent respectively). There also were some insignificant changes in the southwestern steppe areas of Ukraine and in Western Ukraine.

An above average increase of the urban population is recorded in southeastern Ukraine (the Luhanske *oblast's* increase is 596 per cent), while the towns of Western Ukraine show the least growth, since here urbanization started only after World War II.

The rural population in all the *oblasts* of Ukraine is now smaller than in 1926 with the exception of three—Transcarpathia (23 per cent increase), the Crimea (11 per cent increase), and the *oblast* of Chernivtsi (1 per cent increase). The greatest losses in the rural population are in Left-Bank Ukraine (38 per cent decrease) and in the southeastern industrial area of Ukraine (40 per cent decrease).

V. Kubijovyč

TABLE XVII

	Total population		Urban		Rural	
	Million	in %	Million	in %	Million	in %
Dec. 17, 1926	37.9	100	7.4	19.5	30.5	80.5
Jan. 1, 1959	41.9	100	19.1	45.5	22.8	54.5
1927-58 in comparison with the status of December 17, 1926, in percentage						
Ukrainian SSR	Increase:	10.6%	Increase:	158.1%	Decrease:	25.2%
Russian SFSR		26.6%		276.0%		14.2%

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6. ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

SOURCES

The sources for the study of the ethnic composition of Ukraine are the censuses referred to earlier of the population of the states in which Ukraine was included. These censuses indicated the nationality of the population on the basis of various criteria, with varying degrees of accuracy.

Unfortunately the Soviet population census of 1959 (the most recent) does not allow us to look closely into the ethnic composition of the population in Ukraine. The 1959 census provides figures only for the *oblasts* of the Ukrainian SSR (the population census of 1926 provided an analysis by nationality of the *raions*, the cities, the towns, and even the *sil'radas*); insofar as the rest of the Soviet Union is concerned, the 1959 census provides figures only for the constituent republics. Consequently, there are no materials which would enlighten us as to the composition by nationality of those parts of Ukrainian ethnic territory which are not part of the Ukrainian SSR, nor can we find any data on the distribution of Ukrainians throughout the Soviet Union. In addition, the number of Ukrainians given in the 1959 census as living outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR is completely unreliable (see below). We can present an analysis

of the ethnic composition of Ukraine only on the basis of the more thorough and reliable Soviet population census of 1926, although the data are somewhat outdated. Our ethnic charts relate to these data, as does the majority of our statistical comparisons. Changes which occurred subsequently have been taken into consideration to the extent of the availability of later statistical data.

For the Ukrainian lands which in 1926 were part of the Soviet Union, we present the ethnic structure according to the findings of the 1926 population census. Only a few corrections have been made in the official statistics: thus, on the basis of research by philologists, we included in the number of Ukrainians 120,000 persons in the Mozyr area (central Polisia) who had been counted as Belorussians by the census takers, and 190,000 in the Don area (the western part of the former *oblast* of the Don Cossack Host) who had been counted as Russians. In certain instances it has been impossible to rectify errors although we know the official statistics to be incorrect. The official nationality statistics for the Crimea for 1926, for example, are incorrect, but there is no criterion on the basis of which more exact figures can be given. The same is true of the eastern Subcaucasus and of the territory of the

northern Chernihiv area. The number of Ukrainians scattered outside the ethnic territory but within the boundaries of the USSR was, in fact, far greater than appears to be the case on the basis of the census of 1926.

Ethnic composition in the Ukrainian territories which were part of Poland in the 1920's and 1930's was reported unreliably in the 1921 and 1931 censuses, but corrections can be introduced easily on the basis of religious statistics. All Greek Catholics and Orthodox (with the exception of some Russians and Czechs) should be counted as Ukrainians, all Roman Catholics as Poles, and all persons of Jewish faith as Jews. The re-evaluated statistical data are taken from the Polish population census of 1931. In addition, the number of Ukrainians in Galicia was raised from 3,300,000 to 3,500,000 on the basis of the study of V. Kubijovyč (see Bibliography). For the Ukrainian territories in Rumania we will identify the Ukrainians as follows: in Bukovina, on the basis of the Austrian census of 1910 which is the most accurate; in the Marmarosh region, on the basis of the Hungarian census of 1910; and in Bessarabia, on the basis of the work of geographer L. Berg done in the last years before World War I (see Bibliography). In Czechoslovakia the ethnic composition of Carpatho-Ukraine will be determined on the basis of the census of 1930; in the Priashiv area on the basis of the Hungarian census of 1910.

Additional difficulties in determining both the number of Ukrainians and an individual's nationality arise in general from the fact that certain groups of people, especially on the borders, do not indicate any clear national membership and often are intermediate between two ethnic groups. Thus on the Ukrainian-Polish border, in Galicia, Volhynia, and on the Right Bank, there is the large group of the so-called *Latynnyky* who are Roman Catholic but whose colloquial language is Ukrainian. Their lan-

guage and folk culture bind them to the Ukrainians, but their religious adherence ties them to the Poles. They regard themselves, for the most part, as Poles. The number of these *Latynnyky* in Western Ukraine was approximately one million.

In the Kholm (Chełm) area and in Podlachia there are up to 200,000 Polonized Ukrainians who, after 1905, went over to the Roman Catholic Church from Orthodoxy (to which they had been converted by force from the Uniate or Ruthenian, that is Ukrainian, Catholic Church, by the tsarist regime in the 1870's), and in this way underwent strong Polonization. On the other hand on the territory of Galicia and, to a lesser degree, in the Kholm area, there were some tens of thousands of Ukrainians (Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox) who, under the influence of the Polish environment, used the Polish language but considered themselves to be Ukrainians. On the Ukrainian-Slovak boundary there are more than 120,000 Greek Catholics, for the most part formerly Ukrainian, but now, at least linguistically, Slovak. Similar conditions prevail in northeastern Hungary where a part of the Hungarian population, being mostly of Ukrainian origin, is Greek Catholic.

On the Ukrainian-Belorussian border, as a result of the low level of national consciousness and the gradual passage of Ukrainian dialects into those of the Belorussian language, it is difficult to determine whether a considerable part of the population is of Ukrainian or of Belorussian nationality. The ethnic composition of the Subcaucasus, where membership in a national group was determined not only by linguistic criteria but also by membership in the predominant Cossack social group, is very complex. On the basis of this it was possible, to some extent, to consider the inhabitants of the *oblasts* of the Don Cossack area and of the Kuban as a separate socio-ethnic group.

It should be emphasized again that

TABLE I
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANDS IN 1932
Political and Administrative Divisions for 1927-1931

Territories in thousands of square kilometers	Total population in thousands	National composition											
		Ukrainians		Russians		Jews		Poles and <i>Lalitynyky</i>		Germans		Others	
		in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%
I. Ukrainian Lands in the USSR (Census of December 17, 1926)													
A. Compact Ukrainian Ethnic Territory													
1. Ukrainian SSR													
23.1	1,212	863	71.1	28	2.3	106	8.8	127	10.5	76	0.3	12	1.0
30.2	1,746	1,530*	87.6	162*	9.3	41	2.4	2	0.1	6	0.3	5	0.3
100.8	8,998	7,742	86.1	240	2.6	682	7.0	283	3.1	14	0.1	47	0.5
53.4	3,969	3,756	94.6	83	2.1	108	2.7	6	0.1	3	0.1	14	0.4
39.7	3,098	2,449	79.1	523	16.9	90	2.9	7	0.2	7	0.2	23	0.7
119.1	55,08	3,674	66.0	798	14.3	390	7.1	34	0.6	200	3.7	400*	8.3
46.2	2,391	1,984	82.9	214	8.9	113	4.8	9	0.4	45	1.9	27	1.1
30.6	2,036	1,222	60.0	639	31.4	41	2.0	9	0.4	37	1.9	88*	4.3
443.1	29,018	23,219	80.0	2,677	9.2	1,577	5.4	470	1.6	394	1.4	675*	2.4
2. Belorussian SSR													
6.4	164	143*	87.2	3	1.8	7	4.3	8	4.9	3	1.8	—	—
3. Russian SFSR													
43.9	2,200	1,412	64.2	779	35.4	2	0.1	—	—	—	—	7	0.3
23.8	778	597**	76.8	180	20.0	3	0.4	1	0.1	11	1.4	0	0.7
46.0	2,115	1,348	63.8	599	28.4	3	0.1	5	0.2	15	0.7	145**	0.8
114.3	5,093	3,357	66.0	1,538	30.3	8	0.1	6	0.1	20	0.5	158	3.0
A. COMPACT UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY													
563.8	34,275	26,719	76.7	4,218	12.9	1,592	4.7	490	1.4	423	1.3	833	3.0
B. Mixed Territories													
14.2	880	124†	14.1†	711†	80.9†	28	3.2	1	0.1	—	—	10	1.7
26.0	714	771**	10.8†	3017**	42.2†	50	7.0	5	0.7	44	6.1	237**	33.2
163.4	3,500	1,170	33.4	2,065	57.3	7	0.2	7	0.2	55	1.6	250**	7.3
203.6	5,094†	1,371†	27.0	3,017†	59.2†	85	1.7	13	0.2	99	1.9	509	10.0
767.4	39,369	28,090	71.3	7,235	18.4	1,677	4.3	503	1.3	522	1.3	1,342	3.4
B. ALL MIXED TERRITORIES IN USSR													
55.7	5,435	3,500	64.4	—	—	532	9.8	1,359**	25.0	38	0.7	6	0.1
II. Ukrainian Lands in Poland (Census of December 9, 1931)													
1. Galicia													
2. Northwestern lands													
10.2	675	205	31.6	1	0.2	64	9.5	391**	56.5	14	2.2	—	—
35.8	2,085	1,448	69.4	32	1.0	208	10.0	325	15.6	34	1.6	38	1.8
27.8	924	708	76.6	13	1.4	99	10.8	102	11.0	1	0.1	1	0.1
2.7	79	56	70.9	1	1.3	5	6.3	17	21.5	—	—	—	—
76.5	3,703	2,417	64.1	47	1.3	376	10.0	835	22.2	49	1.3	39	1.1
132.2	9,198	5,917	64.5	47	0.5	908	9.9	2,194	23.8	87	0.9	45	0.4
† SUBTOTAL													

III. Ethnic Groups in Rumania (Census of December 31, 1930)

Belorussia	11.0	760	461	61.6	61	8.5	08	9.1	1	0.1	16	2.0	1411 ¹⁰	4.8
Hukovina	5.3	462	302	66.4	3	0.0	55	11.0	27	5.8	21	4.5	511 ¹⁰	11.8
Marmarosh area	0.7	20	17	65.4	—	—	0	23.1	—	—	—	—	3	11.5
TOTAL	17.0	1,238	780	63.1	67	5.4	120	10.4	28	2.2	30	2.0	168	10.0

IV. Ukrainian Lands in Czechoslovakia (Census of December 1, 1930)

Carpatho-Ukraine (Subcarpathian Ruthenia)	11.4	616	438	71.7	—	—	85	13.8	—	—	10	1.6	83 ¹⁰	13.5
Slovakia	3.5	118	87	73.8	—	—	9	7.6	—	—	1	0.8	21 ¹¹	17.8
TOTAL	14.9	734	525	71.5	—	—	94	12.8	—	—	11	1.4	104	14.3

COMPACT UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY AS OF

JANUARY 1, 1933	728.5	49,000	36,700	74.9	4,740	9.7	2,920	6.0	2,760 ¹²	5.0	610	1.2	1,280 ¹²	2.0
ALL UKRAINIAN LANDS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1933	932.1	54,600	38,205	70.1	8,050	14.7	3,020	5.5	2,765 ¹²	5.0	720	1.3	1,840 ¹²	3.4

¹⁰Former *okruhas* of Volhynia and Korosten.

¹¹Former *okruhas* of Hlukhiv, Konotop, Chernihiv.

¹²According to official statistics, about 80,000 Ukrainians were listed in the Hlukhiv *okruha* as Russian.

¹³Former *okruhas* of Kremenchuk, Lubni, Nizhen, Poltava, Pryluky, Romeni.

¹⁴Former *okruhas* of Izium, Kupianske, Sumy, Kharkiv.

¹⁵Of these, 245,000 were Rumanians, 91,000 were Bulgarians, and 72,000 were Greeks.

¹⁶Of these, 34,000 were Greeks and 8,000 were Rumanians.

¹⁷On the basis of linguistic criteria; official statistics list 136,000 as Bulgarians, and 76,000 were Belorussians.

¹⁸Partly on the basis of linguistic criteria; the official statistics list 407,000 as Belorussians and 8,000 as Ukrainians.

¹⁹Of these, 30,000 were Caucasian mountaineers, 28,000 were Armenians, and 22,000 were Greeks.

²⁰This is according to official statistics but they are incorrect.

²¹The data of the official statistics are incorrect; probably there were 180,000 Ukrainians and 200,000 Russians.

²²179,000 Tatars, 16,000 Greeks.

²³27,000 Caucasian mountaineers and 77,000 Armenians.

²⁴Of these, 480,000 were the *Ladyvnyky*.

²⁵Forty to fifty per cent of these were the *Ladyvnyky*.

²⁶Of these, 138,000 were Rumanians.

²⁷Of these, 52,000 were Rumanians.

²⁸Of these, 40,000 were Hungarians and 28,000 were Czechs and Slovaks.

²⁹Of these, 18,000 were Slovaks.

³⁰Of these, half were the *Ladyvnyky*.

³¹Of these, 495,000 were Rumanians, 143,000 Greeks, 105,000 Bulgarians, 104,000 Belorussians, 100,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 44,000 Armenians, 43,000 Hungarians, 40,000 Tatars and 38,000 Caucasian mountaineers.

³²Of these, 502,000 were Rumanians, 260,000 Tatars and Turks, 170,000 Greeks, 160,000 Belorussians, 146,000 Armenians, 119,000 Bulgarians, 103,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 70,000 Caucasian mountaineers, and 44,000 Hungarians.

In this chart the statistics are given on the basis of official data amended by certain corrections. Actually, the number of Ukrainians should be increased by some 400,000 at the expense of the Russians (in the northern part of the Chernihiv area, in the Crimea, and in the Hlukhiv district). On the other hand, the number of Belorussians must also be increased.

TABLE II
ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANDS IN 1932
Political and Administrative Divisions of 1960; data for January 1, 1933

Area	Total population		Ukrainians		Russians		Jews		Poles and <i>Latvynnyky</i>		Germans		Others	
	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%	in thousands	%
I. Ukrainian SSR in 1938														
1. Ukrainian SSR boundaries ^a	31,640	80.3	2,900	9.3	1,720	5.4	500	1.6	430	1.4	620	2.0		
2. Western Ukraine (1938 belonged to Poland)	7,150	66.1	40	0.6	705	9.9	1,570	21.9	65	0.9	40	0.6		
3. Bukovina and Bessarabia (1938 to Rumania ^b)	1,470	770	52.4	90	6.1	140	9.5	30	2.0	80	5.5	360 ^c	24.5	
4. Carpatho-Ukraine (1938 to Czechoslovakia ^d)	760	465	61.2	—	105	13.8	—	—	10	1.3	180 ^e	23.7		
5. Crimea	800	90?	10.8?	335?	42.2?	55	7.0	5	0.7	50	6.1	265 ^f	33.2	
TOTAL	41,820	31,525	75.4	3,365	8.1	2,725	6.5	2,105	5.0	635	1.5	1,465 ^g	3.5	
II. Ukrainian Compact Territory outside the Ukrainian SSR														
1. Ukrainian territories in Russia (RSFSR ^h)	5,610	3,700	66.0	1,695	30.2	10	0.2	5	0.1	30	0.5	170 ⁱ	3.0	
2. Ukrainian territories in Belorussia (BSSR)	940	740	78.9	5	0.5	100	10.6	80	8.5	5	0.5	10	1.0	
3. Ukrainian territories in Poland	1,360	650	47.8	—	—	135	9.9	560	41.2	15	1.1	—	—	
4. Ukrainian territories in Czechoslovakia	120	90	75.0	—	—	10	8.3	—	—	—	—	20	16.7	
5. Ukrainian territories in Rumania	110	80	72.8	—	—	15	13.6	5	4.5	—	—	10	9.1	
TOTAL	8,140	5,260	64.6?	1,700	20.9?	270	3.3	650	8.0	50	0.6	210	2.6	

III. *Ukrainian mixed territories in Russian SFSR*^a

4,800	1,430	20.8 ^b	2,975 ^c	62.0 ^d	35	0.7	10	0.2	55	1.1	205 ^e	6.2
UKRAINIAN COMPACT (ETHNIC)												
40,960	36,785	73.7	5,065	10.7	2,995	6.0	2,755 ^h	5.5	685	1.4	1,675 ⁱ	3.3
ALL UKRAINIAN LANDS IN EUROPE ¹¹												
54,760	38,215	69.8	8,040	14.7	3,030	5.5	2,765 ^h	5.1	740	1.3	1,970 ¹⁴	3.6

¹¹Political and administrative divisions are similar to those in Table I, p. 24; there the territory and population are given.

¹²Excluding the area now incorporated into the Moldavian SSR which is included in the preceding chart.

¹³This includes small areas of non-Ukrainian territory, and as a result the figures differ from those in the preceding table.

¹⁴Including 257,000 Rumanians and 97,000 Bulgarians.

¹⁵Including 130,000 Hungarians and 34,000 Czechs and Slovaks.

¹⁶Including 200,000 Tatars.

¹⁷For more accurate division see p. 211 (the data given there are for December 17, 1926).

¹⁸A more accurate division of Table I.

¹⁹Of these, 33,000 are Caucasian mountaineers, 31,000 are Armenians, and 24,000 are Greeks.

²⁰Of these, 86,000 are Armenians, and 51,000 are Caucasian mountaineers.

²¹See the final note on Table I.

²²Half of this number are the *Lalynnyky*.

²³Among these there are 442,000 Rumanians, 240,000 Tatars and Turks, 216,000 Bulgarians and Serbs, 161,000 Greeks, 134,000 Hungarians, 108,000 Belorussians, 105,000 Czechs and Slovaks, 64,000 Armenians, and 38,000 Caucasian mountaineers.

²⁴This number includes 448,000 Rumanians, 260,000 Tatars and Turks, 217,000 Bulgarians and Serbs, 170,000 Greeks, 160,000 Belorussians, 146,000 Armenians, 135,000 Hungarians, 107,000 Czechs and Slovaks, and 70,000 Caucasian mountaineers.

membership in a national group is not always identical with membership in a language group. In tsarist Russia, and later in Ukraine under the Soviets, the process of linguistic Russification went quite far in certain instances. This was demonstrated to a certain degree by the census of 1926 which records 31,200,000 persons of Ukrainian nationality in the USSR, only 27,600,000 of whom gave Ukrainian as their native tongue (although the linguistic statistics were not always correct).

According to the Soviet population census of 1959, of the 37.3 million Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, only 32.7 million (87.7 per cent) considered the Ukrainian language as their mother tongue (in the Ukrainian SSR—93.6 per cent, in the Russian SFSR only 45.4 per cent); the rest considered Russian as their native language.

National feeling to some extent is affected also by citizenship. Some citizens of the Ukrainian SSR call themselves Ukrainians, although they are Ukrainians neither by language nor by origin. On the other hand, permanent residence in the Russian SFSR or in the other republics of the USSR facilitates the gradual denationalization of some Ukrainians. There is no instruction in the Ukrainian language in the schools; there is no Ukrainian press and books are not printed in the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian areas of the entire USSR.

This indicates some of the difficulties involved in this study of the ethnic composition of Ukraine and as a consequence how schematic our presentation must be—even with regard to the picture at the beginning of the 1930's. We also should add that the figures given for this period belong to 1926 for the Ukrainian lands in the Soviet Union, and to 1930-1 for Western Ukraine. Many of these figures were re-evaluated as of January 1, 1933.

*See Table I for the ethnic composition of the population.

THE NATIONAL GROUPS ON UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY*

General Characteristics

The ethnic composition of Ukraine is the result of many complex factors such as its border position, the colonizing processes, natural increase, the migrations, the lack of independent statehood and the correlated process of denationalization in favor of the dominant nations. These factors have produced the general features of the ethnic composition of the Ukrainian territories: for example, the mixing of various ethnic groups on some of the borderlands, the unclear national affiliation of numerous groups on the borders, the considerable percentage of national minorities, the great difference between the national composition of the urban population and that of the rural population, and the development of Ukrainian settlements east of the Ukrainian ethnic territory.

We can see specific ethnic compositions on the various Ukrainian borders, especially on the west and east. In the west the Ukrainian element was long in retreat: the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary had been pushed to the east and, more important, the whole western border had been permeated by a Polish or Polonized element which, for centuries, continued to push east, seeking a place for its surplus population. The Ukrainians suffered great losses, especially in the Kholm (Chelm) area, in Podlachia, and in fertile Podilia. The advance of the Poles into Ukrainian territory can be best seen from the fact that about 100,000 Ukrainians lived to the west of the Ukrainian-Polish ethnic boundary in the 1930's, while east of it, even without the mixed Podlachia and Kholm areas, lived more than a million Poles and almost a million *Latynnyky*.

The eastern boundaries are quite different. Under the impact of the Ukrainian wave of colonization many Ukrainian enclaves extending to the Pacific Ocean have arisen to the east of the

compact ethnic territory. It is true that in the beginning of the 1930's, as a result of Russian domination, some five million Russians lived on the Ukrainian compact territory, but at the same time some four million Ukrainians lived to the east of this territory. Some areas were colonized simultaneously by Ukrainians and Russians; this explains the mixed character of the Subcaucasus and the Crimea.

As a result of the mingling of the waves of colonization there arose on the borders three ethnically mixed regions—the eastern Subcaucasus, the Crimea, and the northern Chernihiv area—where the Ukrainian population was in the minority. These mixed areas constituted about 22 per cent of the area of the Ukrainian ethnic territory and were inhabited by 10 per cent of its total population and 4 per cent of its Ukrainian population.

Thus, the population of the Ukrainian ethnic territory, taken as a whole, and in its broader (including the mixed territories) and narrower limits, contains a high percentage of people of non-Ukrainian background. In the narrower limits there were 26.1 per cent of these and in the broader limits 30.8 per cent. The national minorities are not compactly settled, however, but scattered. On the territory of the Ukrainian SSR (within present-day boundaries) they numbered 24.6 per cent in 1932. No other of the great ethnic territories (national homelands) of Europe has such a large percentage of national minorities.

The national minority groups in Ukraine primarily belong to two peoples who for centuries dominated Ukrainian lands—the Russians and the Poles. They also include the Jews who, beginning in the fifteenth century, settled on those Ukrainian territories which at that time made up part of the Polish-Lithuanian state. Other national minorities for the most part live in the border zones of the Ukrainian ethnic territory (Rumanians, Hungarians); others came to Ukraine at the end of the eighteenth century as settlers—particularly in the southern, thinly populated areas of Ukraine (Germans, Bulgarians, Greeks), or came to the larger cities and industrial centers as did the Belorussians, for example, in the last few decades.

The ethnic composition of the Ukrainian lands as of January 1, 1933, can be best seen from charts (detailed statistical tables are on pp. 210–13).

An additional characteristic of the Ukrainian ethnic territory is the difference in the composition of the urban as compared to the rural population. The cities of the ethnic territory of subjugated people take on the appearance of the ruling nation as a result of the influx, especially of officials, of nationals of that nation; and also through denationalization. If we take into account the fact that the flow of Ukrainians from the villages to the cities generally was small, as well as the fact that the Ukrainian cities were heavily populated by Jews, the weak Ukrainian character of the cities becomes clear. The cities in the

TABLE III

Nationality	Ukrainian compact national territory		All Ukrainian lands		Ukrainian SSR in present boundaries	
	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %
Ukrainians	36,700	74.9	38,205	70.1	31,525	75.4
Russians	4,740	9.7	8,050	14.7	3,365	8.1
Jews	2,920	6.0	3,020	5.5	2,725	6.5
Poles and <i>Latynnyky</i>	2,750	5.6	2,765	5.0	2,105	5.0
Germans	610	1.2	720	1.3	635	1.5
Others	1,280	2.6	1,840	3.4	1,465	3.5
TOTAL	49,000	100.0	54,600	100.0	41,820	100.0

TABLE IV*

	Ukrainians	Russians	Jews	Poles and Latynnyky	Others
Villages	77.1 (82.2)	12.1 (5.2)	1.8 (2.9)	4.6 (4.8)	4.4 (4.9)
Cities	38.8 (41.3)	28.1 (22.2)	21.6 (24.4)	6.9 (6.5)	4.6 (5.6)

*Data in parentheses are for the Ukrainian SSR in present-day boundaries.

Ukrainian ethnic territory varied in their ethnic composition: in the west they were Ukrainian-Polish-Jewish; on the Right Bank, Ukrainian-Jewish-Russian, and on the Left Bank, Ukrainian-Russian; in Bukovina and Bessarabia they were Ukrainian-Jewish-Rumanian; and in Transcarpathia Ukrainian-Jewish-Hungarian-Czech (the latter only in the 1920's and 1930's).

Table IV gives the ethnic composition of villages and cities in Ukrainian ethnic territories, along with the mixed regions, for every 100 persons.

For every 1,000 of their respective national group there lived in the cities 98 Ukrainians (in the Ukrainian SSR, 94), 371 (469) Russians, 727 (775) Jews, and 260 (214) Poles. These figures show that the Jews chiefly lived in the cities, that the Russians did so to a significant degree, that every fourth Pole lived in a city, but that only one out of ten Ukrainians did. The percentage of Ukrainians was usually higher in the cities located in regions where the number of Ukrainians generally was greater: thus there were more Ukrainians in the cities of Left-Bank Ukraine, where they formed 67.6 per cent of the population; least in the steppe belt (32.9 per cent in the cities, 73.8 per cent in the villages), and in Galicia (25.8 per cent in the cities and 75.1 per cent in the villages). Table V

shows the ethnic composition of the population of the larger cities of Ukraine in percentages as of 1926.

Distribution of Ukrainians at the Beginning of the 1930's

The Ukrainians were unevenly distributed over their ethnic territory. (See Fig. 134). The highest concentration of Ukrainians, where national minorities totaled less than 10 per cent of the total population, was in the long-settled, central lands. This area had the shape of an irregular parallelogram extending westward to the line Mohyliv-Berdychiv-Kiev and eastward to the line Miropillia (near Sumy)-Kharkiv-Hryshyne; on the north it reached the ethnic border with the Belorussians and on the south it touched the steppes along the line Baltapervomaiske-Zaporizhia-Hryshyne. Another purely Ukrainian peninsula, that of Polisia, extended westward to the Buh (Bug), while still another extended from Kharkiv to the Don in the east. Left-Bank Ukraine was the most purely Ukrainian area: throughout most of it, Ukrainians formed 99 per cent of the total population.

The lands where non-Ukrainians constituted a high percentage of the population were borderlands and numerous mixed areas. In Galicia, in the Kholm area, in Podlachia, in Bukovina, Bes-

TABLE V

City	Ukrainians	Jews	Russians	Poles	Others
Kiev	42.1	27.2	24.1	2.7	3.9
Kharkiv	38.3	19.5	37.0	1.3	3.9
Odessa	17.4	36.5	38.7	0.3	7.1
Dnipropetrovske	35.9	26.7	31.5	1.8	4.1
Lviv	16.2	31.9	—	50.8	1.1
Donetske	26.1	10.7	56.2	1.3	5.7
Krasnodar	29.9	1.1	51.3	0.6	17.1
Chernivtsi	17.8	33.5	—	17.3	31.4

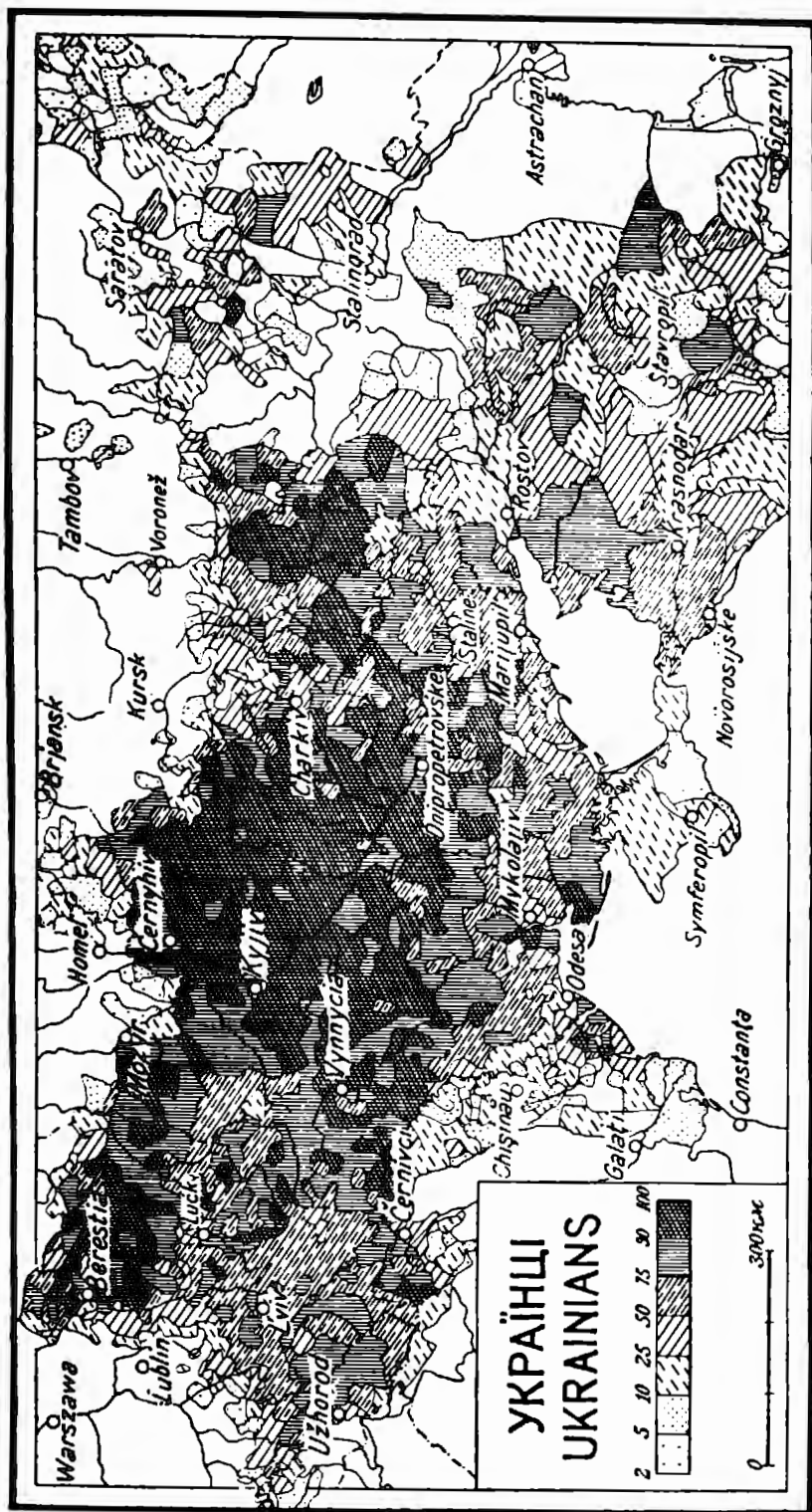


FIGURE 134. DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL POPULATION

sarabia, in *Slobozhanshchyna*, and in the Donets and Kuban areas, non-Ukrainians formed between a quarter and a third or even more of the total population. Another area less populated by Ukrainians was the Don ethnic peninsula. Settled by Don Cossacks and by Russians, it was the old southern path of the Russian empire to the sea, and extended almost to the Sea of Azov (Rostov) separating the Ukrainian compact territory from the Ukrainian (Kuban) Subcaucasus (see p. 17).

The high percentage of national minorities (34 per cent) in the steppe belt (with a mixed population described in detail below) resulted from the rapid colonization that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. There was an especially high percentage of national minorities in the territory of the Donbas because of the great influx of Russians into the mining and industrial centers there.

Changes in the Ethnic Composition, 1900–30

By comparing the studies of the population censuses we can, despite the in-

accuracies, observe the direction in which ethnic composition in the Ukrainian territory has been proceeding during the first three decades of the twentieth century (see Fig. 135).

Between 1897 and 1926 in the Ukrainian lands, in the Russian empire, and in the USSR, the Ukrainian element generally increased at the expense of the Russians and Jews—especially in the steppe belt and in the eastern Subcaucasus, into which the Ukrainians overflowed from their central lands. However, the Russian element increased in the Donbas as a result of immigration. The Ukrainians suffered some losses in the Kursk and Voronezh areas also, and quite heavy losses in their settlements along the Volga. On the territory of the Ukrainian SSR within the 1938 borders, the percentage of Ukrainians increased from 76.7 to 80.8 per cent—in the villages from 83.0 to 86.1 per cent, and in the cities from 32.5 to 46.2 per cent. At the same time the percentage of Russians declined from 10.0 to 8.4 per cent—in the villages from 6.7 to 6.0 per cent, while the number of Jews decreased

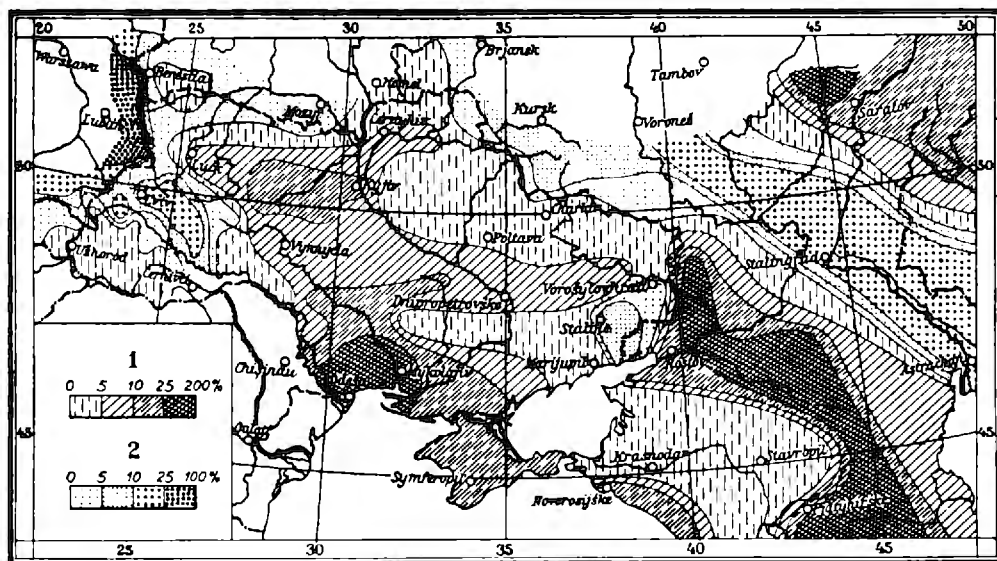


FIGURE 135. CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF UKRAINIANS FROM 1897 (1900) TO 1926 (1931)
(1) Increase in the percentage of Ukrainians; (2) decrease in the percentage of Ukrainians.

TABLE VI

ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR ACCORDING TO THE SOVIET CENSUS OF JANUARY 15, 1959
(in parentheses—data in percentages for year 1926¹)

Area	Territory in thousands of square kilometers		Total population		Ukrainians		Russians		Jews		Poles		Others	
	In thousands	In square kilometers	In thousands	In per cent	In thousands	In per cent	In thousands	In per cent	In thousands	In per cent	In thousands	In per cent	In thousands	In per cent
Western Volhynia and Poland ²	40.3	1,817	1,709	94.0 (89.4)	75	4.2 (1.4)	5	0.3 (9.7)	7	0.4 (15.6)	21	1.1 (3.9)		
Gallicia	49.5	4,288	3,898	90.6 (65.1)	247	5.8 (0.1)	35	0.8 (9.8)	93	2.2 (24.1)	25	0.6 (0.9)		
Chernivsi oblast	8.0	774	518	66.9 (60.3)	51	6.6 (1.4)	42	5.4 (12.3)	0	0.8 (3.4)	157 ³	20.3 (22.6)		
Transcarpathia	12.8	920	686	74.6 (60.4)	29	3.2 (—)	12	1.3 (14.0)	1	0.1 (—)	192 ⁴	20.8 (25.6)		
Right bank of the Dnieper ⁵	120.9	9,654	8,430	87.3 (84.3)	643	6.7 (2.5)	291	3.0 (7.7)	209	2.2 (4.0)	81	0.8 (1.5)		
Left bank of the Dnieper ⁶	60.5	3,191	2,998	94.0 (94.2)	143	4.5 (2.3)	26	0.8 (2.9)	3	0.1 (0.1)	21	0.6 (0.5)		
Slobodianshchyna ⁷	55.8	4,028	3,060	75.9 (81.0)	833	20.7 (15.3)	88	2.2 (2.0)	0	0.2 (0.2)	41	1.0 (0.9)		
Western steppe ⁸	100.4	5,112	3,710	72.7 (67.4)	813	15.9 (12.3)	163	3.2 (7.8)	15	0.3 (0.6)	402 ⁹	7.9 (11.9)		
Dnieper industrial region ¹⁰	50.0	4,169	3,099	74.3 (76.2)	846	20.3 (12.6)	94	2.3 (4.3)	6	0.1 (0.3)	124 ¹¹	3.0 (6.0)		
Donbas ¹²	53.2	6,714	3,783	56.3 (65.0)	2,552	38.0 (25.8)	58	0.9 (1.7)	14	0.2 (0.3)	307 ¹³	4.6 (7.2)		
Crimea	25.0	1,202	268	22.3 (10.8)	859	71.4 (42.2)	20	2.2 (7.0)	3	0.3 (0.6)	46	3.8 (39.4)		
UKRAINIAN SSR	601.0	41,869	32,158	76.8 (75.4)	7,091	16.9 (8.1)	840	2.0 (6.5)	363	0.9 (5.0)	1,417	3.4 (5.1)		

¹The boundaries of individual areas are different from those in Tables I, II, and X and therefore the statistics can not be closely compared.

²The oblasts of Volhynia and Rivne.

³Including 152 (19.6 per cent) Rumanians.

⁴Including 141 (15.9 per cent) Hungarians.

⁵The oblasts of Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Kijmelnytske, and Cherkasy.

⁶The oblasts of Poltava and Chernihiv.

⁷The oblasts of Sumy and Kharkiv.

⁸The oblasts of Kirovohrad, Mykolajiv, Odessa, and Kherson.

⁹Including nearly 160 (3.1 per cent) Rumanians, nearly 160 (3.1 per cent) Bulgarians, and 39 (0.6 per cent) Belorussians.

¹⁰The oblasts of Dnipropetrovske and Zaporizhia.

¹¹Including 45 (1.1 per cent) Belorussians and 40 (1.0 per cent) Bulgarians.

¹²The oblasts of Donetsk and Luhanske.

¹³Including nearly 95 (1.4 per cent) Greeks and 91 (1.3 per cent) Belorussians.

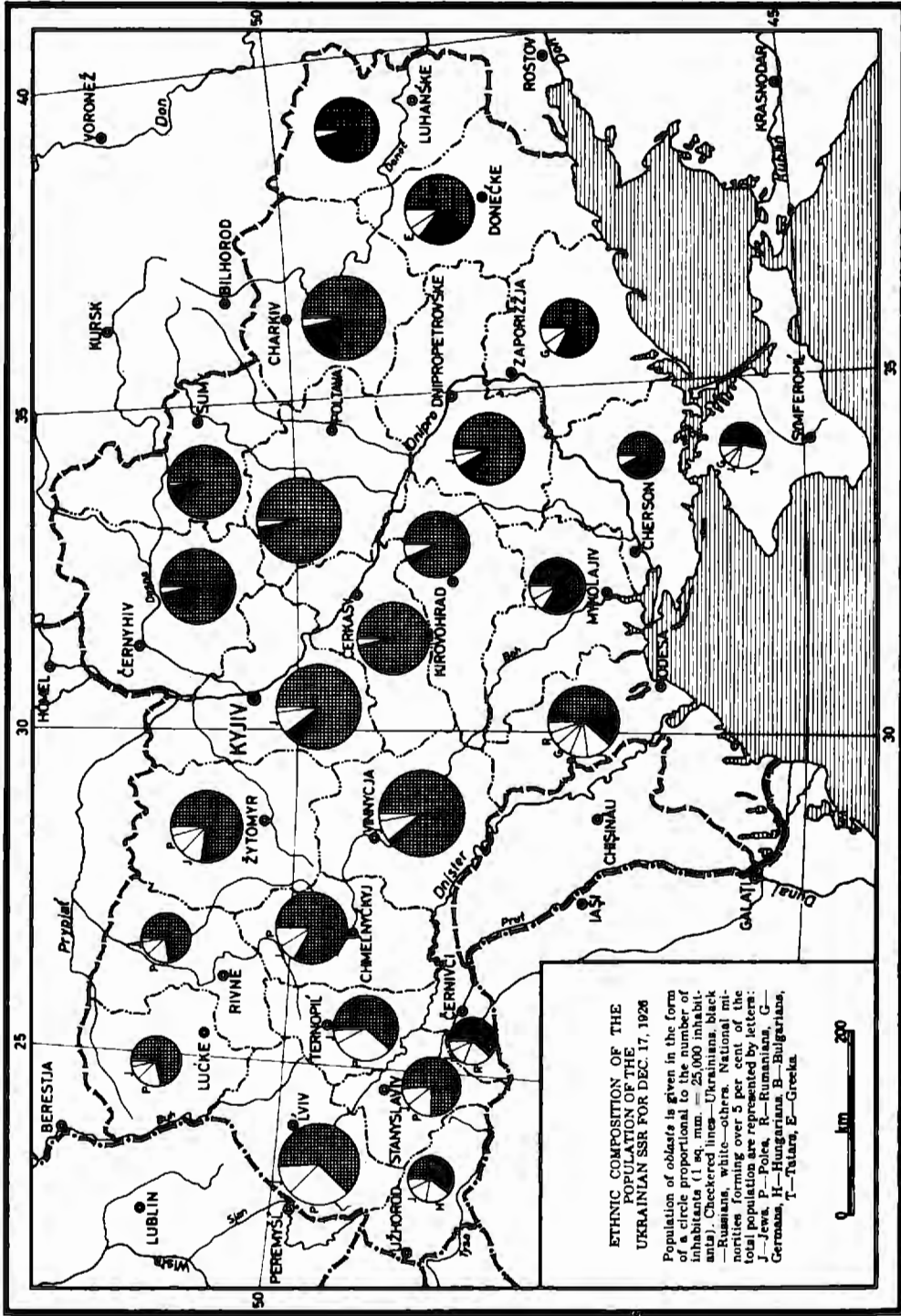


FIGURE 135A

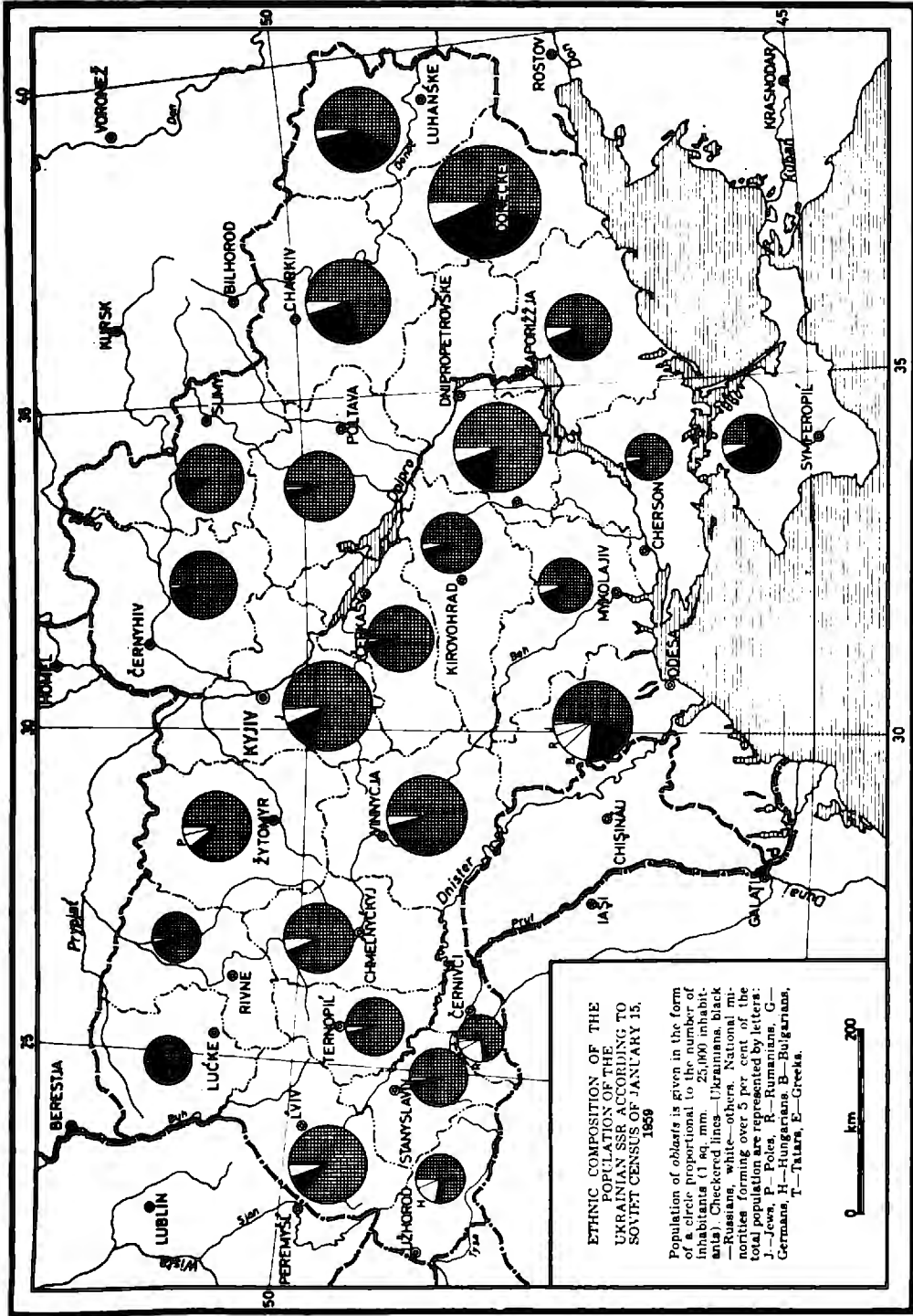


FIGURE 135B

from 8.4 to 5.6—in the villages from 5.2 to 2.6 per cent, and in the cities from 27.4 to 25.7 per cent.

In Western Ukraine a change in ethnic composition favorable to the Ukrainians occurred only in Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine). There, in the period 1900–30, the Ukrainian element increased from 59.4 to 62.1 per cent at the expense of the Hungarians and Jews and despite an influx of Czechs occurring at the same time (data refers to Transcarpathia in its political, not ethnic, boundaries). As a result of the immigration of Poles from the Polish ethnic territory (Poland proper), and because of a larger emigration of Ukrainians than of Poles and a certain amount of denationalization, the Ukrainians decreased in proportion to the Poles in Galicia and in the northwestern territories. In Galicia during the period 1910–38 the percentage of Jews decreased from 12.3 to 9.8 per cent, while the percentage of Ukrainians remained almost unchanged (63.6 and 64.4 per cent), but the percentage of Poles during the same period increased from 23.1 to 25.0 per cent. In the northwestern lands during the decade 1921–31, the percentage of Poles rose from 18.3 to 21.2 per cent at the expense of the Jews (11.9 and 10 per cent) and the Ukrainians (66.7 and 65.0 per cent).

The Change in Ethnic Composition after 1930

The ethnic character of the Ukrainian territories described here refers to the beginning of the thirties and differs markedly from present conditions in view of the changes discussed above which affected the entire population of Ukraine (pp. 200ff.). The changes must be treated separately for the period prior to World War II, the period of the war itself, and the postwar period; the ethnic structure in the light of the Soviet population census of 1959 is given separately.

The period prior to 1939. In Western Ukrainian territories there were no important changes, with the exception of

an increase in the percentage of Poles due to an influx of new Polish settlers into Galicia and Volhynia.

In the territories under Soviet rule, however, the size of the entire population, and especially that of the Ukrainians, suffered a general decline as the result of repressions, famine, and resettlement. These changes affected the small national minorities, but scarcely touched the urban and politically privileged Russians. The Jewish population suffered only a relatively small decline. At the same time a certain number of Russians settled in Ukraine. A further change was the increased migration of Ukrainians to the cities and to the industrial regions, principally to the Donbas. Under pressure from the Soviet regime the use of the Russian language spread to some degree among the Ukrainian population, especially among those Ukrainians living within the borderlands that make up part of the Russian SFSR. Concurrent with the decrease of the percentage of Ukrainians in Ukraine, the number of Ukrainians in Asia increased.

It is almost impossible to provide more details of the changes in the ethnic structure for the years 1927–39—that is, in the period between the population censuses of 1926 and the beginning of 1939. The census of 1939 gave the total number of Ukrainians in the entire USSR as 28.1 million, or 3.2 million less than that given in the census of 1926: thus the percentage of Ukrainians in the entire USSR dropped from 20.7 to 16.6 per cent in that period. These figures were given as a total for the entire USSR and they are completely incredible. Even if we take into account the death of almost four million Ukrainians as a result of famine and the repressions, and if we assume the normal increase of the population during the periods 1927–30 and 1935–8, there should have been 32 to 33 million Ukrainians in the USSR in 1939.

Changes during and following World War II. As an aftermath of the Polish-German war, the German population left

Western Ukraine, the Soviets deported the Polish colonists to Asia, a number of Ukrainians from Western Ukraine went to central Europe, and, in Carpatho-Ukraine, after the departure of the Czechs in 1939, the Hungarians moved in.

After the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the entire population of Ukraine suffered losses. Again the evacuation of the cities by the Bolsheviks affected mostly the Russians and the Jews; the Jewish population that remained was subsequently destroyed by the Germans.

After World War II an exchange of the Ukrainian and Polish populations on both sides of the new border between the Ukrainian SSR and Poland took place. The Bolsheviks deported the entire Tatar population from the Crimea, while the majority of the German settlers either retreated from Ukraine with the German armies or were deported by the Bolsheviks (many of them had been deported prior to World War II). Czech settlers (from Volhynia), for the most part, returned to Czechoslovakia. Some of the Ukrainians who returned from forced labor in Germany and from prisoner-of-war camps were resettled by the Bolsheviks beyond the borders of Ukraine. Similarly only some of the Ukrainians who had been evacuated during the war to the eastern regions of the USSR were permitted to return to U-

kraine. After the return of the Bolsheviks to Ukraine in 1944, there were large deportations of Ukrainians, especially from Western Ukraine, to numerous concentration camps in the north or to "voluntary resettlement" in Asia. Some of these deportees were released and repatriated after the death of Stalin. But deportations of Ukrainian youth to industrial centers or to the virgin lands of Asia are still going on. At the same time a systematic influx of Russians as administrative personnel is taking place, especially into the cities and into Western Ukraine.

Thus, as a result of World War II and events connected with it, most of the national minorities have almost completely disappeared from Ukraine: the Germans, Tatars, Czechs, the majority of the Jews, and a great number of Poles (not including the *Latynnyky*). On the other hand there has been an influx of Russians. In place of the three strong national minorities in Ukraine in the past—Russians, Jews, and Poles—there is today only one strong national minority, the Russians. Thus the ethnic composition in Ukraine has become less complex for the first time in many centuries.

Ethnic Composition of the Population of the Ukrainian SSR on the basis of the Population Census of 1959, and Changes during the Years 1927–58

All the above-mentioned changes in

TABLE VII

	January 15, 1959		December 17, 1926	
	in 1000	in %	in 1000	in %
Ukrainians	32,158	76.8	28,550	75.4
Russians	7,091	16.9	3,055	8.1
Jews	840	2.0	2,440	6.5
Poles	363	0.9	1,900	5.0
Rumanians and Moldavians*	343	0.9	405	1.1
Belorussians	291	0.7	85	0.2
Bulgarians	219	0.5	205	0.5
Hungarians	149	0.36	125	0.3
Greeks	104	0.25	125	0.3
Others	311	0.7	980	2.6
TOTAL	41,869	100.0	37,860	100.0

*In Soviet statistics Rumanians and Moldavians are listed as two different nationalities.

the population structure of Ukraine are attested to by the Soviet population census of January 15, 1959. This census is generally believed to be exact so far as the Ukrainian SSR is concerned. Table VII compares the censuses of 1926 and 1959.

In the light of Soviet official statistics Ukrainians are the principal national group in Soviet Ukraine—76.8 per cent of the total population being Ukrainian, the remaining 23.2 per cent encompassing the national minorities. The Russians constitute the largest group among the national minorities—16.9 per cent—while the other national minorities make up the remaining 6.3 per cent.

Three important facts emerge from a comparison of the ethnic composition of the population of Ukraine of 1926 with that of 1959.

(1) The number of Ukrainians increased by 12.6 per cent, but their percentage in the entire population of the Ukrainian Republic remained almost unchanged (75.4 per cent in 1926 and 76.8 per cent in 1959).

(2) The number of Russians increased by 132 per cent and their percentage with relation to the rest of the population rose from 8.1 to 16.9 per cent.

(3) The number of other nationalities decreased by 58.0 per cent and their percentage relative to the total population decreased from 16.5 to 6.3 per cent.

The strong shift in the numerical proportions between Ukrainians and Rus-

sians to the advantage of the latter is overwhelmingly evident: in 1926 there were 106 Russians for each 1,000 Ukrainians; in 1959 there were 220 Russians for each 1,000 Ukrainians. If the increase of Ukrainians and Russians within the Ukrainian SSR had been the same, the number of Ukrainians as of January 15, 1959, should have been not 32,160,000 but 35,450,000, and the number of Russians should have been not 7,090,000 but 3,790,000. If, on the other hand, the increase of the ethnically Ukrainian population within the Ukrainian SSR had been the same as the increase of the Russian and Ukrainian population in the whole of the USSR (within the boundaries of 1939), the number of Ukrainians should amount to at least 36.4 million. These figures attest once more to the generally known demographic catastrophe which the Ukrainians sustained under the occupation of the Russian Bolsheviks: the loss of at least 5 million Ukrainians as a result of famine and physical destruction (absolute losses) and by deportation to Asia, and the simultaneous influx of over 3,000,000 Russians into Ukraine.

Even stronger was the Russification of Ukraine. Table VIII shows the distribution of the population of the Ukrainian SSR according to nationality and language (in thousands, showing only the most important nationalities). As we can see, some 2,086,000 Ukrainians (that is, 6.5 per cent) adopted the Russian

TABLE VIII

	Total population	Native tongue		
		Language of nationality	Other language	
			Ukrainian	Russian
Total Population	41,869	38,136	490	3,213
Including:				
Ukrainians	32,158	30,072	—	2,075
Russians	7,091	6,959	131	—
Jews	840	142	23	672
Poles	363	68	249	45
Moldavians and Rumanians	343	286	29	25
Belorussians	291	107	27	157

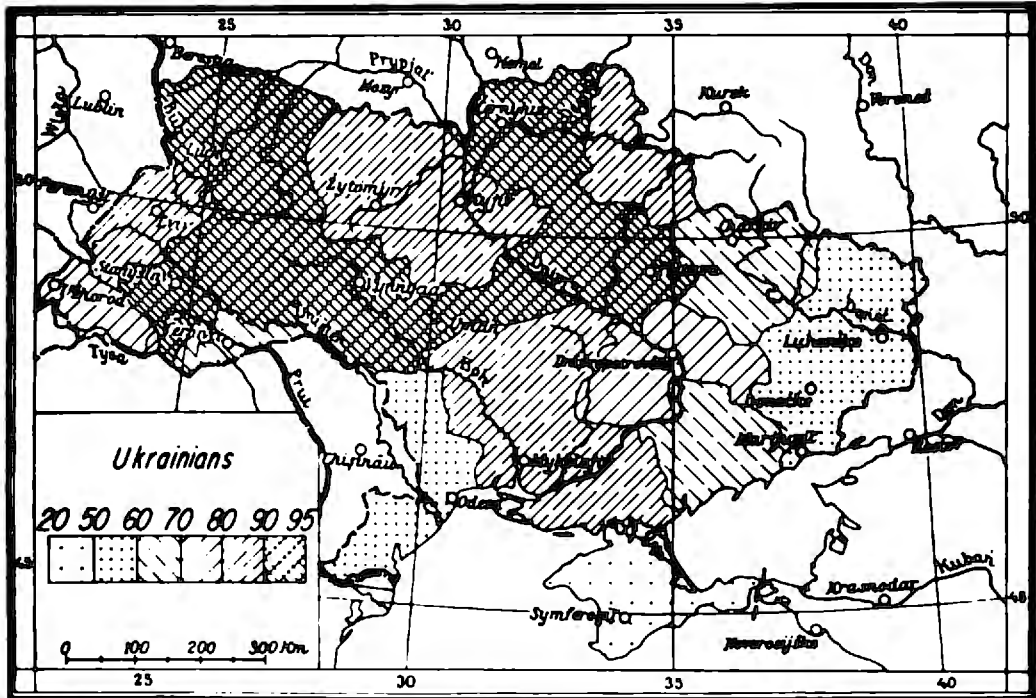


FIGURE 136. DISTRIBUTION OF UKRAINIANS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1959 (IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL POPULATION)

language, and some 1,138,000 persons of other nationalities did the same. On the other hand, some 490,000 non-Ukrainians (mainly Poles) consider the Ukrainian language to be their mother tongue. Thus the number of Ukrainian-speaking inhabitants of Ukraine is 30,562,000, or 73.0 per cent of the entire population, while the number of Russian-speaking inhabitants is 10,172,000, or 24.3 per cent; the remaining 1,135,000 inhabi-

tants, or 2.7 per cent of the population, use other languages.

As at the beginning of the 1930's the ethnic composition of the urban population of Ukraine differs from that of the rural population, but these differences are no longer as great as they were then (compare Tables IV and IX). The figures for the Ukrainian SSR are given in Table IX.

One of the consequences of the pro-

TABLE IX

	Urban population		Rural population	
	Thousands	% of summary	Thousands	% of summary
Ukrainians	11,782	61.5	20,376	89.7
Russians	5,726	29.9	1,365	6.0
Jews	810	4.2	30	0.1
Poles	163	0.9	200	0.9
Moldavians and Rumanians	69	0.4	274	1.2
Belorussians	213	1.1	78	0.3
Bulgarians	58	0.3	161	0.7
Others	326	1.7	238	1.1
TOTAL	19,147	100.0	22,722	100.0

gressive urbanization of Ukraine has been that Ukrainians now constitute a majority in the cities; the villages still are almost entirely Ukrainian. Today every third Ukrainian lives in a city (36.7 per cent of all Ukrainians); the majority of the Russians live in cities (81 per cent); and most of the Jews live in cities (96 per cent). In Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, Ukrainians constitute 60.1 per cent of the entire population, Russians 23.0 per cent, and Jews 13.9 per cent; all other nationalities are included in the remaining 3.0 per cent.

It can be seen from Table VI that the geographic distribution of the various nationalities in the Ukrainian SSR is more uniform now than heretofore. In nine out of 25 *oblasts* (provinces) Ukrainians constitute 90 to 95 per cent of the entire population, and in four of them 84 to 90 per cent. In all these *oblasts* the remainder of the population

is composed of Russians (2.5 to 11.1 per cent of the population) and Jews (0.2 to 1.4 per cent). These *oblasts* are located in northern and central (forest-steppe) Ukraine. Ukrainians form a large percentage of the population in the southwestern part of the steppe (with the exception of the Odessa *oblast*). As in 1926, the largest admixture of non-Ukrainians is in the Donbas (1959—43.7 per cent), the Dnieper River industrial area (25.7 per cent), and those border *oblasts* which include parts of the neighboring ethnic territories (Transcarpathia—25.4 per cent, Chernivtsi *oblast*—33.1 per cent), or in large non-Ukrainian population islands (Odessa *oblast*—44.5 per cent). The only *oblast* in which the Ukrainians are currently in a minority is the Crimean *oblast* where 22.3 per cent of the population is Ukrainian, 71.4 per cent Russian, and 6.3 per cent other. (It is probable, however, that the number of

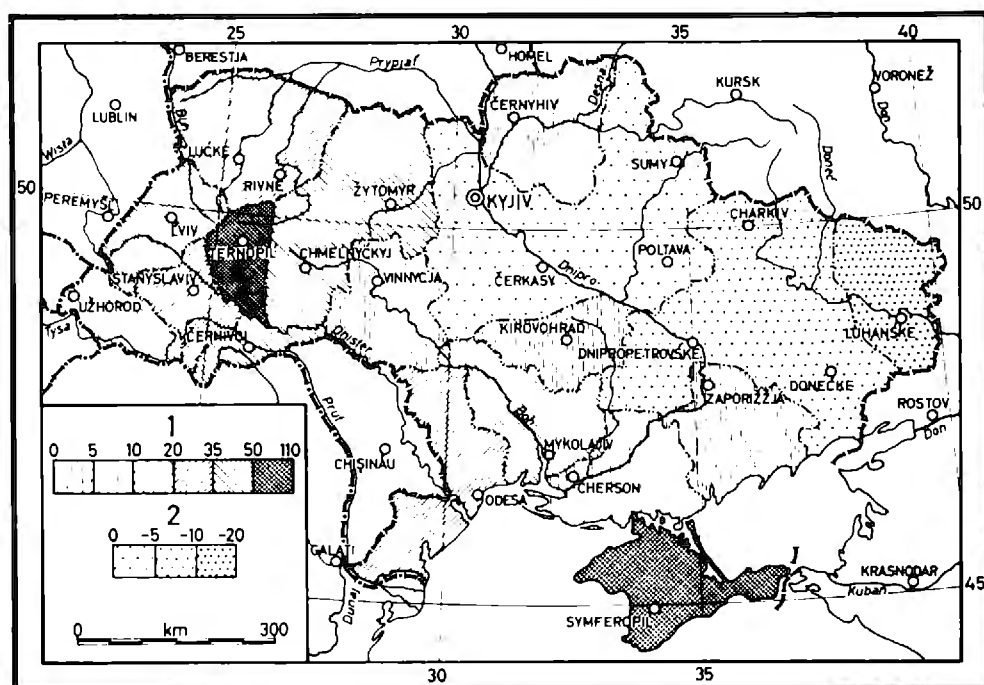


FIGURE 137. CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF UKRAINIANS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR FROM 1927 TO 1959

(1) Increase in the percentage of Ukrainians; (2) decrease in the percentage of Ukrainians.

Russians there given in the Soviet statistics has been exaggerated.)

The present-day ethnic composition of those Ukrainian ethnic territories which do not make up part of the Ukrainian SSR but are included either in the Russian SFSR or the Belorussian SSR is scarcely known to us. We know only that, in the light of the 1959 Soviet population census, the number of Ukrainians not only in the Ukrainian borderlands but in the whole of the Russian SFSR decreased from 6,871,000 in 1926 to 3,359,000 in 1959—that is, by 51 per cent. The percentage of Ukrainians in comparison with the total population of the Russian SFSR also decreased from 7.3 to 2.9 per cent. In other words, some 60 per cent of the Ukrainians living in the Russian SFSR had simply disappeared. The same population census reports that only 45.4 per cent of the Ukrainians in the Russian SFSR use the Ukrainian language in their daily life. From fragmentary data, we know that, according to the population census of 1959, the Ukrainians in the Stavropol *krai*, which is in a mixed Ukrainian-Russian foothill area of the eastern Subcaucasus, constituted barely 2.2 per cent of the entire population—that is, their number fell from 600,000 (35 per cent of the population) in 1926 to 42,000.

Although Russification is continuously progressing under the Soviet Russian regime, it is difficult to believe that it could have progressed so rapidly. Russification affects, first of all, the everyday use of language; it does not necessarily bring about a change in nationality (that is, from Ukrainian to Russian). The Soviet censuses included in their reports of the number of Ukrainians (persons of Ukrainian nationality) in the Russian SFSR also those Ukrainians who are Russified and are using the Russian language instead of Ukrainian. There is more detailed information on the Ukrainian minority group in the USSR outside the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR in a later section.

THE NATIONAL MINORITIES IN UKRAINE

General Characteristics

At the end of 1932 on the Ukrainian compact territory there lived about 12 million individuals belonging to the national minorities (25 per cent of the total population); if we include the mixed territories this figure comes to 16 million. Within the 1932 borders of Soviet Ukraine there were over 9 million non-Ukrainians; they constituted one-fourth of the population. Similar figures prevail today in the same territory. (See Tables I and II for details.)

The national minorities settled in Ukraine at different times. Those who settled in earlier times (from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries), for example, the Germans and Armenians, became assimilated either by the Ukrainian population or by the Poles, then rulers of Ukraine. The majority of the national minorities did not come to Ukraine until the second half of the eighteenth century, the period of the resettlement of southern Ukraine and the Kuban. The minorities which are currently the largest began to come in increased numbers in the second half of the nineteenth and during the twentieth century: the Russians came in connection with the urbanization and industrialization of the Donbas, while the Poles came as rural settlers, workers in the oil basin, or as officials. A considerable percentage of the Russians and Poles were Ukrainian in origin but had been renationalized as a result of the foreign domination of Ukraine. We have already reported the changes in the structure of national minorities that occurred in the 1940's.

The Russians

The Russians were, and still are, the strongest and most important national minority in Ukraine. In 1932 some 8.1 million Russians lived in all the Ukrainian territories—about 4.8 million of them in the Ukrainian ethnic territory. Within

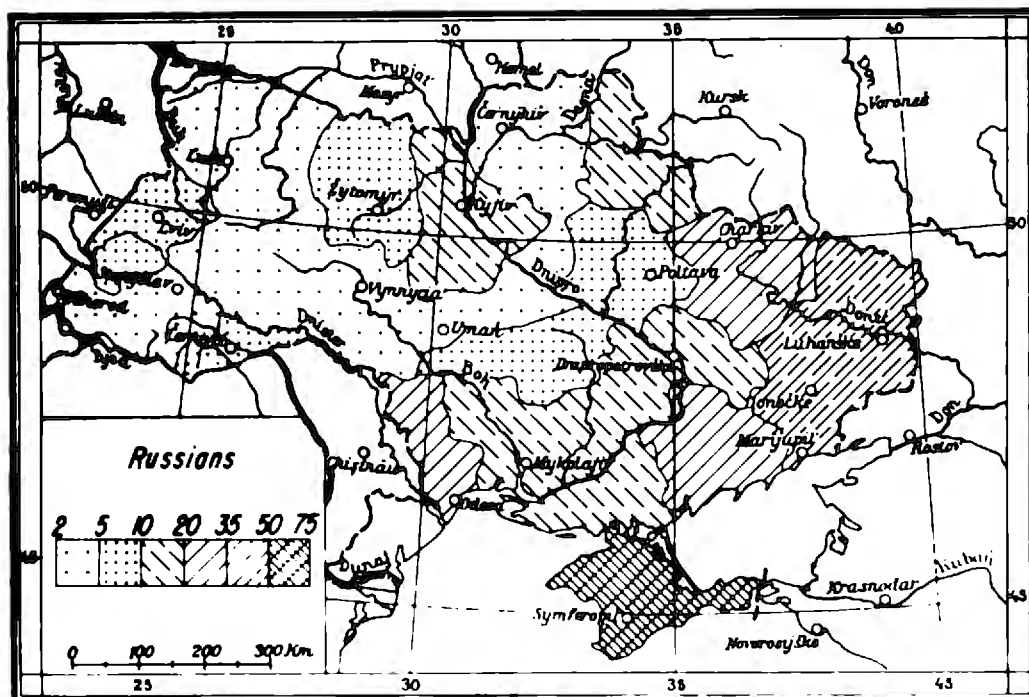


FIGURE 138. DISTRIBUTION OF RUSSIANS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN 1959 (IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL POPULATION)

the present-day boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR they number 3.4 million. In 1959 in the Ukrainian SSR alone, they numbered 7 million, and 10.2 million of the total population of Ukraine used the Russian language.

Until 1945 there were no Russians in Western Ukraine, and in the Ukrainian territorial core they constituted only 2 to 5 per cent of the total population. Now there are Russians in all the Ukrainian territories (see Fig. 138 and Table VI). The largest percentage of Russians can be found in the northeastern frontier area (*Slobids'ka Ukraïna*), in the southern steppe of Ukraine—especially in the Donbas, in the industrial area of Dnipropetrovske, in the Crimea, in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, and in all Ukrainian cities.

The earliest area of Russian settlement was *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*, where they began to settle at the end of the sixteenth century. According to the

population census of 1926 they constituted 35 per cent of the total population in the northern part of *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* which belongs to the Russian SFSR (the southern sections of the old *guberniyas* of Kursk and Voronezh, now the southern parts of the *oblasts* of Belgorod, Kursk, and Voronezh); in the southern part of *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*, which belongs to the Ukrainian SSR, they constituted 15 per cent of the total population (while today they constitute 21 per cent). Kharkiv has the heaviest concentration of Russians; in 1926 they constituted 37 per cent of the total population of the city.

Russians settled in the south of Ukraine at a later date. They are concentrated there primarily in the cities; the largest group is in Odessa where, in 1926, Russians constituted 39 per cent of the total population. Russian rural concentrations are primarily in southern Bessarabia (mostly members of the

Orthodox sect of the "Old Believers"), and in the areas of Melitopol and Luhanske. In steppe Ukraine, apart from the two industrial areas, Russians constituted about 17 per cent of the population in 1926, and constitute approximately the same percentage there today. Russians constitute a much higher percentage of the population in the Donets Basin, however; they formed one-third of the entire population in 1926, and 38 per cent of it in 1959. Russians began coming to this area at the end of the nineteenth century.

There has been a substantial influx of Russians recently into the Dnieper industrial region, where they now constitute some 20 per cent of the population as compared to only 13 per cent in 1926. (These figures are inexact, however, as the territorial units of 1926 are somewhat different from the administrative divisions of today.) According to official statistics Russians made up 42.2 per cent of the population in the Crimea in 1926 and 71.4 per cent in 1959; both figures probably are exaggerated (see below). The presence of the Russians in the Chernihiv area has been discussed already (p. 20).

The highest percentage of Russians was in the Subcaucasus. According to the 1926 census, they constituted 28.4 per cent of the population (50 per cent in the cities and 24 per cent in the villages) in the Western Ukrainian section; in the eastern mixed section they constituted 57 per cent; (actually, the percentage of Russians probably was lower).

The importance of the Russian element in Ukraine is much greater than the statistics indicate. The Russians are concentrated in the centers of modern life—in the great cities and the industrial regions; they figure importantly in the non-agricultural occupations and the administrative apparatus. As the number of persons using the Russian language in everyday life is larger than that of the members of the Russian nationality, we

must beware of assuming use of the Ukrainian language as the sole criterion for membership in the Ukrainian nation. Not only do linguistically Russified Ukrainians consider themselves to be Ukrainian, but often so do some aliens, who feel themselves connected by common interests and a way of life with the Ukrainian people and the future of Ukraine.

The Cossacks

On the southeastern border of Ukraine, in addition to Ukrainians and Russians, live the Cossacks. In the Don area (former *oblast* of the Don Cossack Host) are the Don Cossacks (44.5 per cent of the total population) who use the Russian language. In the western foothills of the Caucasus (the Kuban *krai*) are the Kuban Cossacks (42.0 per cent of the total population), who are mainly descendants of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Kozaks with a small admixture of the Russian Cossacks. In the eastern foothills of the Caucasus are the Terek Cossacks, small in number, who are of Russian origin. In the 1897 and 1926 population censuses the Cossacks were counted either as Ukrainians or Russians. The distinct historical past and privileged status they enjoyed under the tsars created in the Cossacks a feeling of separateness which was clearly demonstrated in the years 1917–20 when the Cossacks set up their own separate state organisms in the Kuban and the Don. But the Bolshevik regime dissolved these state organisms and refused to recognize the Cossacks as a separate people; as a consequence their feeling of separateness has almost disappeared.

The Jews

Before 1941, the Jews formed the second largest national minority in Ukraine. In 1932 they numbered 3,020,000, or 5.5 per cent of the total population (including 2,700,000, or 6.5 per cent on the territory of the present Ukrainian SSR). Seventy-three per cent of the

Jews were concentrated in the cities. They formed 21.6 per cent of the population in the cities of Ukraine, only 1.8 per cent in the villages. The Jews had settled in the past chiefly in the vast territories of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; they came to the Ukrainian lands in larger numbers at the end of the fifteenth century. They were, up to 1941, mostly concentrated in that part of Europe that was once included in "historical" Poland (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) or was a neighbor to it. The Jews came from Galicia to Transcarpathia and Bukovina only at the end of the eighteenth century. Their geographical distribution in Ukraine was influenced by the so-called "Pale of Settlement" established by the Russian imperial regime (that is, the line of the Dnieper, the Jews not being permitted to settle east of it). For this reason, they formed 2 to 3 per cent of the population on the Left Bank (10 to 25 per cent in the cities and 0.1 to 0.4 per cent in the villages); in the eastern provinces, in the Ukrainian northeastern frontier (*Slobids'ka Ukraïna*), in the Don, and in the Subcaucasus, they constituted even less than 1 per cent. West of the Dnieper more than 5 per cent of the population was Jewish and in the cities from 20 to 50 per cent. The highest percentage of Jews was in Western Ukraine—in Galicia and in the northwestern territories they numbered 10 per cent, in Bukovina 12 per cent, and in Transcarpathia 12.8 per cent.

With the flow of the village element to the cities and the still greater dispersal of the Jews (their departure from the western lands for America, and their emigration from the Ukrainian SSR into other republics of the USSR), the percentage of Jews diminished so that in the Ukrainian SSR it decreased from 8 per cent in 1897 to 5.4 per cent in 1926. The withdrawal of the Jews from the villages to the cities continued and they concentrated in the larger places.

Thus in 1897, in the Ukrainian territory which later on was organized into the Ukrainian SSR (within the boundaries of 1938), 43.5 per cent of Jews lived in cities (excluding the so-called settlements of an urban type); in 1926, 60 per cent did so (along with settlements of an urban type, 77.4 per cent). In 1897, 13.5 per cent of the Jews lived in the great cities; by 1926 the percentage had risen to 29.2 per cent.

In 1959 there were some 840,000 Jews in the Ukrainian SSR. Of those Jews who remained in Ukraine and were not evacuated into the interior of the USSR during World War II, a larger percentage survived on those lands that were under Rumanian occupation. Therefore Jews now constitute the highest percentage in the *oblasts* of Chernivtsi (5.4 per cent) and Odessa (6.0 per cent). In Kiev there are about 139,000 Jews, or 16.6 per cent of all the Jews in the Ukrainian SSR, giving the capital of Ukraine one of the largest concentrations of Jews in Europe.

The Poles and the Latynnyky

Before World War II, the Poles and the *Latynnyky* (Ukrainian-speaking Roman Catholics) were the third largest national minority in Ukraine. They had settled on the Ukrainian territories when these lands were part of historical Poland. When Polish rule was replaced by Russian rule the percentage of Poles in Ukraine declined, although it increased to some extent in Galicia. The area of Polish settlement increased in Western Ukraine between the two world wars as a result of Polish occupation of the territory. At the end of 1932 there were in all Ukrainian territories 2,800,000 Poles and Polonized Ukrainians (in the Ukrainian SSR, present-day boundaries, 2,100,000). Half of them were old Polish settlers, about 300,000 were colonists who came after World War I, and the remainder were Polonized Ukrainians.

The Poles and the *Latynnyky* lived

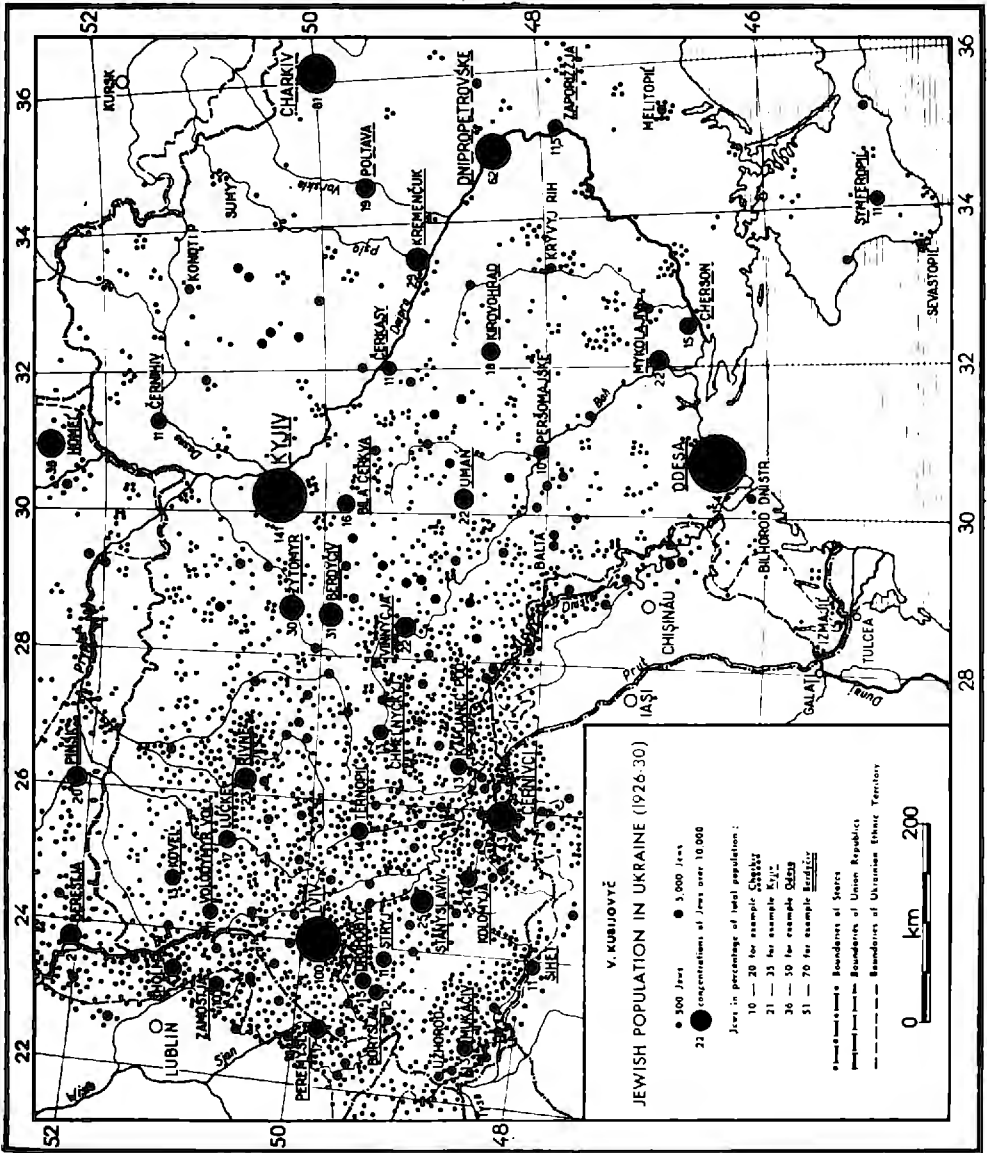


FIGURE 139. DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION IN UKRAINE (1926-30)

Accumulations of Jews over 10,000 are represented by a circle proportional to the number of Jews (1 sq. mm. = 5,000 Jews); the numbers denote the number of Jews in 1926 (in Western Ukraine, in 1930-1); the manner of underlining the cities shows the percentage of Jews in relation to the total population.

only on those Ukrainian lands that had once been included in historical Poland. Most of them were in the central belt, which extends from the Sian (San) to the Zbruch, where for centuries the good soil had attracted Polish colonists; the Poles and the *Latynnyky* formed 25 to 30 per cent of the population in that belt. Beyond the Zbruch their percentage declined to from 5 to 10 per cent, and in the eastern part of Right-Bank Ukraine it fell to 1 per cent. The largest percentage of Poles was to be found in the Kholm (Chełm) area and in southern Podlachia where, together with the Polonized Ukrainians, they constituted a majority (56.5 per cent) of the population.

The Poles along with the *Latynnyky* constituted an especially large percentage of the population of the cities of Western Ukraine: in Galicia it was 39.5 per cent in the cities (in the villages 21.1 per cent), while in the northwestern lands the percentage was 29 per cent (20 per cent in the villages).

As a result of the establishment of the new frontiers between the Ukrainian SSR and Poland and the accompanying exchange of populations, the number of Poles on Ukrainian territory is now very small. A somewhat greater number of *Latynnyky* remained in Ukraine; they have been subjected to rapid Ukrainization.

According to the population census of 1959 there were only 363,000 Poles in the Ukrainian SSR. Of that number only 68,000 (19 per cent) used the Polish language; the rest used Ukrainian (69 per cent) or Russian (12 per cent) in the cities. In Western Ukraine only some 100,000 Poles (1.4 per cent of the total population) remained. The largest concentrations of Poles are in the *oblast* of Zhytomyr (103,000, or 6.4 per cent of the total population) and in Khmelnytsky *oblast* (69,000, or 4.3 per cent of the total population), because the Polish population from these areas was not repatriated to Poland.

Other National Minority Groups

These do not constitute a large percentage of the population. In 1932, in the whole of Ukraine, they numbered 2,600,000, or 5 per cent of the population (2,100,000 of them, or 5 per cent of the population, lived in the Ukrainian SSR within the present boundaries). In 1959 their number in the Ukrainian SSR was 1,417,000, or 3.4 per cent of the population.

Germans constituted the largest percentage in 1932—720,000 in all Ukrainian lands (1.4 per cent), including 640,000 (1.5 per cent) in the Ukrainian SSR. The Germans were agricultural colonists whom the Austrian government or the Russian tsarist government encouraged to settle in Ukraine. They lived in large compact village settlements. Half of them lived in steppe Ukraine (the largest percentage—15.2 per cent—in the Odessa area) and one-fifth in Volhynia. Today the number of the Germans in Ukraine, according to the 1959 population census, is only 23,000.

Rumanians (Moldavians) in the Ukrainian lands, as of January 1, 1933, totaled 500,000 persons, or 0.8 per cent of the population. On the territory of the present-day Ukrainian SSR in 1926 there were 405,000 Rumanians; the population census of 1959 reported 343,000 (0.9 per cent of the total population). The Rumanians live mostly in the Ukrainian-Rumanian frontier zone—in Bukovina, in northern and southern Bessarabia, and on the left bank of the Dniester River. Small groups of Rumanians also are strewn throughout the whole of steppe Ukraine. In the light of the 1959 population census 80 per cent of the Rumanians lived in villages. Most of them resided in the *oblast* of Chernivtsi (152,000 or 19.6 per cent), in Odessa (125,000 or 6.2 per cent), or in Transcarpathia (18,000 or 2 per cent).

Bulgarians settled in Ukraine between the end of the eighteenth century and 1860. For the most part they are farmers, gardeners, and viniculturists. They were

concentrated chiefly in southern Bessarabia, part of which belongs to the Ukrainian SSR (the western section of the Odessa *oblast*) and part to the Moldavian SSR. Other Bulgarian concentrations are in the Melitopil area (the Zaporizhia *oblast*), in the Crimea, and in the Kuban area. In 1926 there was a total of 205,000 Bulgarians in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1959 their number was 219,000, or 0.5 per cent of the population. Of this number, 73 per cent lived in villages, the remainder in cities. Seventy per cent (or 154,000) lived in the Odessa *oblast*, and 17 per cent (or 32,000) in the *oblast* of Zaporizhia.

Greeks inhabited the Crimea in ancient times; from there at the end of the eighteenth century they moved to southeastern Ukraine near the city of Mariupol (Donetske [Stalino] *oblast*). Small concentrations of Greeks are near Odessa and, outside the Ukrainian SSR, in the Kuban area. In 1926 there were 160,000 Greeks on Ukrainian lands, 125,000 of them in the Ukrainian SSR. According to the census of 1959, they numbered only 104,000 (0.25 per cent of the population) in the Ukrainian SSR; of that number, 94,000 were in the Donetske (Stalino) *oblast*. According to the 1959 population census, 89 per cent of the Greeks use Russian as their everyday language.

Belorussians numbered 85,000 in the Ukrainian SSR according to the population census of 1926; the 1959 census reports 291,000 (0.7 per cent of the population). The Belorussians came to Ukraine's industrial centers along with the Russians. Most of them still live in the cities (73 per cent); a third are concentrated in the Donbas. According to the census of 1959, 54 per cent of the Belorussians in Ukraine use Russian as their everyday language; only 9 per cent use Ukrainian.

Of the 205,000 Tatars living in Ukraine (1926), 175,000 lived in the Crimea; after their mass expulsion from the Crimea by the Kremlin their number fell

considerably. The population census of 1959 reports that 62,000 of them live today in the Ukrainian SSR (90 per cent in the cities).

The second Turkic ethnic group, known as the Gagauzy, numbered 24,000 in 1959; they constitute an island in southern Bessarabia.

Hungarians live in Transcarpathia and constitute a majority of the population in its southern border strip. In 1959 they numbered 149,000 (0.36 per cent of the total population of the Ukrainian SSR; 15.9 per cent of the total population of Transcarpathia).

Czechs numbered 100,000 in 1932; they lived in Volhynia and Transcarpathia. Few of them remain in Ukraine today.

Armenians settled in the Ukrainian lands primarily from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries in several waves and once played a great role in the economic life of Ukraine. They have been thoroughly denationalized. In 1932 there were some 146,000 Armenians in all Ukrainian lands, mainly in the Kuban, the Crimea, and near Rostov. In 1959 some 28,000 Armenians still lived in the Ukrainian SSR, half of them in the Crimea. Almost all of them live in cities.

ETHNIC COMPOSITION IN VARIOUS PARTS OF UKRAINE

General Remarks

The extent of the domination of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian territories is affected not only by their percentage in the total population but also by their density. The greater the percentage of Ukrainians and the higher the density of the population, the greater their superiority over other nationalities is—that is, there are more Ukrainians than non-Ukrainians per square kilometer (so-called relative numerical superiority). Conversely, the smaller the margin of numerical superiority the easier it is to change the proportional relation between different ethnic groups and the easier it is, with but slight changes, to lose

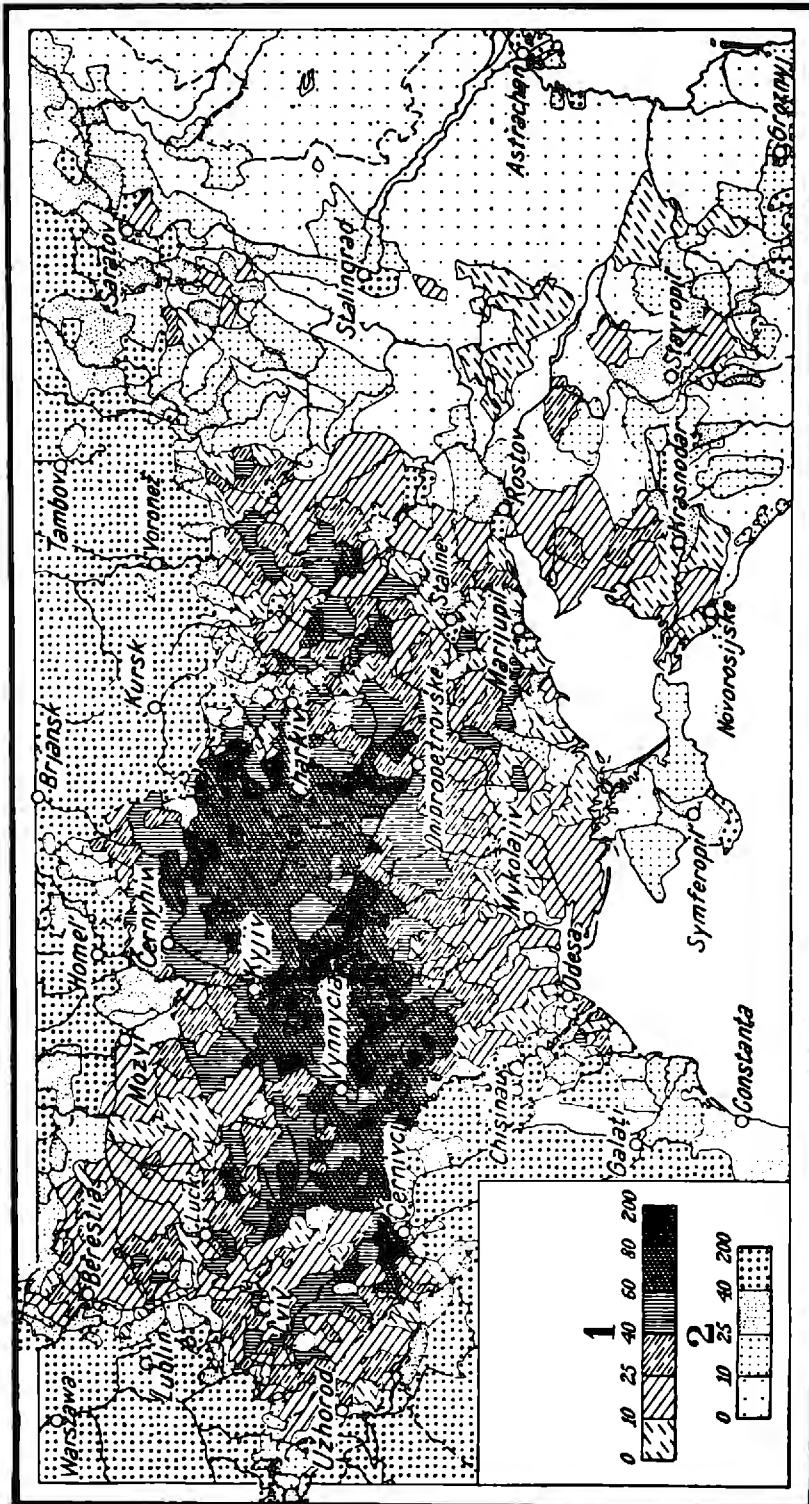


FIGURE 140. RELATIVE INCREASE AND DECREASE OF UKRAINIANS
 (1) Increases per 1 square km; (2) decreases per 1 square km.

majority status and become a national minority group. (See Fig. 140.)

We will now summarize briefly the ethnic composition in the different territories of Ukraine, first taking into consideration the degree of intensity of the Ukrainian ethnic character of the population. We shall devote most of our attention to the border regions. For details see the maps and tables on pages 210-13.

These figures pertain, for the most part, to the beginning of the 1930's; the present status is mentioned only generally.

The Right and Left Banks of the Dnieper

This is the part of Ukraine most strongly dominated by the Ukrainian element; the percentage of Ukrainians is high as is their density.

In 1932, on the Right Bank (the central part of the Ukrainian SSR between the Zbruch and the Dnieper) the Ukrainians made up 86.1 per cent of the total population (93.2 per cent of the rural population and 48.9 per cent of the urban). The principal ethnic mi-

nority on the Right Bank was the Jews (7.6 per cent of the total population, 2.6 per cent of the rural and 33.6 per cent of the urban). The Poles and *Latynnyky* constituted the second largest minority—3.1 per cent of the rural population and 3.3 per cent of the urban population, but this percentage diminished toward the east and the south. The majority in this group were *Latynnyky*. The Russians constituted scarcely 2.6 per cent of the population (12.2 per cent in cities and 0.7 per cent in the villages); 55 per cent of the Russians on the Right Bank were concentrated in the city of Kiev. As a result, on the Right Bank the great density of Ukrainians (77 per square kilometer) and their great numerical superiority of 66 per square kilometer meant that there were 66 more Ukrainians than non-Ukrainians per square kilometer.

At present the Ukrainians constitute a total of 87.3 per cent in Right-Bank Ukraine, including the adjacent part of Polisia. The number of Jews has decreased to 3.0 per cent, that of Poles to

TABLE X
UKRAINIANS IN INDIVIDUAL AREAS FOR JANUARY 1, 1933

Area	Ukrainians in percentages of the population			Ukrainians per square kilometer	Relative numerical superiority per square kilometer
	Total	Urban	Village		
Right-bank Polisia	71.3	43.0	76.5	38	23
Chernihiv	87.6	61.0	91.5	51	44
Right bank of the Dnieper	86.1	48.9	93.2	77	66
Left bank of the Dnieper	94.6	67.6	97.8	70	66
<i>Slobozhanshchyna</i>	79.1	56.4	85.5	62	46
Steppe	66.0	32.9	73.8	31	15
Dnieper industrial region	82.9	49.3	91.1	43	35
Donbas	60.0	40.4	74.8	40	18
Kursk and Voronezh	64.2	63.2	64.3	32	14
Donets area	76.8	33.9	81.8	25	18
Western Subcaucasus	63.8	34.8	68.4	29	13
Galicia	64.4	25.8	75.2	63	30
Western Volhynia and Polisia	71.5	18.8	79.6	34	21
Kholm and Podlachia	31.6	4.3	34.4	22	-25
Transcarpathia	71.4	37.6	77.2	36	24
Bukovina	65.4	22.6	81.6	57	26
Bessarabia	61.5	26.5	66.0	40	15
Northern Chernihiv	14.1?	2.0?	16.2?	9?	-42?
Crimea	10.8?	8.6?	12.7?	4?	-24?
Eastern Subcaucasus	33.4	19.0	34.4	9	-7
UKRAINIAN COMPACT TERR.	74.7	41.5	82.2	50	34
ALL UKRAINIAN LANDS	70.7	38.9	77.0	40	23

2.1 per cent; on the other hand, the percentage of Russians has increased to 6.8 per cent. Kiev has the largest concentration of national minorities, with 40 per cent of all the Russians and 53 per cent of all the Jews of Right-Bank Ukraine. The density of Ukrainians per square kilometer is 66, and the numerical superiority of Ukrainians over other nationalities is 57 per square kilometer.

Left-Bank Ukraine (excluding *Slobozhanshchyna*) is the section where Ukrainians predominate. They make up 94.6 per cent of the population (98 per cent in the villages and 68 per cent in the cities). In 1932 their density was 70 per square kilometer and their numerical superiority was 66 per square kilometer. Of the national minorities there was a small percentage of Jews (2.7 per cent) and of Russians (2.1 per cent). The present structure is almost the same: the Ukrainians constitute 94.0 per cent of the total population, Russians 4.5 per cent; the density of Ukrainians is 50 per square kilometer and their relative numerical superiority is 47.

Slobozhanshchyna (or *Slobids'ka Ukraina*) is divided into the southwestern part which is in the Ukrainian SSR (the Kharkiv region in the broad sense of the word) and the northeastern, the

ethnically Ukrainian parts of the former *guberniyas* of Kursk and Voronezh (now the *oblasts* of Kursk, Belgorod, and Voronezh), which are in the Russian SFSR. The Kharkiv region has had a much larger percentage of Russians. They had come into this area at the same time as the Ukrainians in the first half of the seventeenth century. In addition to their concentration in the city of Kharkiv, they formed compact enclaves among the rural population. The Jews lived in Kharkiv only. On the whole the Ukrainians formed 79.1 per cent of the population (85.5 per cent in the villages and 56.4 per cent in the cities); they numbered 62 per square kilometer and their relative numerical superiority was 46. The Russians formed 16.9 per cent of the population (13.7 per cent in the villages and 27.2 per cent in the cities). The Jews constituted 2.9 per cent of the population and, excluding Kharkiv, scarcely 0.6 per cent.

According to the population census of 1959 the percentage of Ukrainians in this region has decreased to 75.9 per cent, while that of the Russians has increased to 20.7 per cent (see Table VI).

The northern and eastern parts of *Slobozhanshchyna* (the Kursk and Voronezh areas) were not as densely inhabited

TABLE XI
UKRAINIANS IN INDIVIDUAL AREAS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR FOR THE YEARS 1926 AND 1959*

Area	Ukrainians in percentages of total population		Ukrainians per square kilometer		Relative numerical superiority per square kilometer	
	1926	1959	1926	1959	1926	1959
Western Volhynia and Polisia	69.4	94.0	31	42	17	40
Galicia	65.1	90.6	61	79	28	70
Chernivtsi <i>oblast</i>	60.3	66.9	55	65	19	33
Transcarpathia	60.4	74.6	33	54	11	35
Right bank of the Dnieper	84.3	87.3	68	66	56	57
Left bank of the Dnieper	94.7	94.0	65	50	62	47
<i>Slobozhanshchyna</i>	81.0	75.9	60	55	46	38
Western steppe	67.4	72.7	30	34	16	21
Dnieper industrial region	76.4	74.3	38	53	26	35
Donbas	65.0	56.3	36	71	17	16
Crimea	10.8?	22.3?	3?	10?	-22?	-26?
Ukrainian SSR	75.4	76.8	48	53	32	37

*The boundaries of individual areas are different from those in Table X and therefore the statistics can not be closely compared.

by Ukrainians; there was a large percentage of Russians especially in the Kursk *guberniya* and, in general, the population density was less. The Ukrainians formed 64.2 per cent of the total population, 64.3 per cent in the villages and 63.2 per cent in the cities, with 32 persons per square kilometer; their numerical superiority was 14 per square kilometer. The Russians constituted 35.4 per cent of the total population. The present structure is not known.

Northern Ukraine

Northern Ukraine has been inhabited by the Ukrainian element to a lesser degree than the right and left banks of the Dnieper, both because of the lower population density there and because of the greater percentage of national minorities found there.

The problem of the Ukrainian-Belorussian ethnic boundary is still an open question for all northern Ukraine (see p. 20). It is not easy to determine particularly in western Polisia and in Podlachia. This is due to the existence of transitional dialects between the languages of the two Slavic peoples, the low degree of national consciousness, and a series of characteristics which are typical of all the inhabitants of Polisia on both sides of the linguistic boundary. The special nature of the area brought this about. In addition, the Ukrainian-Belorussian border has not been studied thoroughly and thus we can offer only a schematic analysis of the ethnic relations there.

We cannot underestimate the process of Belorussianization in that part of Polisia which is ethnically Ukrainian and which makes up part of the Belorussian SSR; officially it is considered Belorussian. (On the basis of the 1959 population census the number of Ukrainians in the whole of the Belorussian SSR was given as only 133,000, although in reality there are at least 900,000 of them.) Also the Russification of the northern part of the Chernihiv area, situated on the

Ukrainian-Belorussian-Russian border, is progressing at a rapid pace.

Northern Podlachia, located north of the Buh (Bug) river forming a part of Bilska county, is a border territory shared by Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Poles. The Ukrainian population numbered 71 per cent, the Polish 22 per cent, and the Jewish 6 per cent. However, the national consciousness of the Ukrainian population has been very low and, with the exception of a few attempts during the two world wars, there was no Ukrainian cultural or political activity. (Northern Podlachia now belongs to Poland.) After World War II part of the Ukrainian population was resettled.

In Western Volhynia and in Polisia, which were part of Poland until 1939, the Ukrainians formed 71.5 per cent of the total population (villages 79.6 per cent, cities 18.8 per cent) with 34 Ukrainians per square kilometer, and their relative numerical superiority was 21. This small superiority was the result of the low density of the population. The ethnic minorities were the Poles (14.2 per cent), the Jews (10.3 per cent), a small number of Germans (1.0 per cent), and Czechs (0.9 per cent) who came to Volhynia in the last decades of the nineteenth century, along with some of the Poles. Mention should be made of the small percentage of Ukrainians in the cities which were heavily populated by the Jews.

As a result of the war such national minorities as the Poles, Germans, and Czechs disappeared. Western Volhynia and the adjacent part of Polisia have the smallest number of ethnic national minorities (94.0 per cent Ukrainian and 4.2 per cent Russian) of all the Ukrainian lands.

In eastern Volhynia and in Right-Bank Polisia (i.e., westwards from Dnieper) the relations were similar: the percentage of Ukrainian population was 71.1 (villages 76.5, cities 43.0), density 38, and relative superiority 23. The ethnic minorities were Poles (10.5 per cent), Jews (8.8

per cent), Germans (6.3 per cent), Russians (2.3 per cent), Czechs (0.5 per cent). Today the situation is similar to that in western Volhynia, although somehow the percentage of ethnic minorities is higher. (In the Zhytomyr *oblast* the Ukrainians constitute 84.5 per cent of the population, the Poles 6.4 per cent, the Russians 5.4 per cent, the Jews 2.6, and others 1.1 per cent.)

In Left-Bank Polisia, or more accurately in the Chernihiv area, the percentage of Ukrainians in 1932 was higher because there were no national minorities such as the Poles, Germans, and Czechs. On the other hand, the percentage of Russians increased (9.3 per cent). However, they were concentrated chiefly in the former Hlukhiv district where, according to the census of 1926, they formed 23.6 per cent of the population. In reality, neither the census of 1897 nor any other sources show such a high percentage of Russians; they formed perhaps 10 per cent of the population in the Hlukhiv district and perhaps about 5 per cent of the population in the whole Chernihiv area. As a result of the smaller percentage of ethnic minorities there than in Volhynia and in Polisia proper, and also because of the greater density of population, the percentage of Ukrainians (1926) was higher—87.6 per cent (91.5 per cent in the villages and 61 per cent in the cities) although actually it was 96 per cent; the population density of the Ukrainians was 51 or 53 per cent and their numerical superiority was 44 or 46 per square kilometer. The present ethnic structure is similar.

Southern Ukraine

Southern Ukraine was weakly controlled by the Ukrainians, for the density of the population was low and from the beginning (in the second half of the eighteenth century) it was settled by outsiders as well as by Ukrainians. This was caused by the failure of the Ukrainian element to settle the great expanses

of the steppes. Of the non-Ukrainians, in addition to the Russians, other Slavs and Orthodox peoples settled here—Bulgarians, Serbs, Moldavians, Greeks and also, as model farmers, the Germans. The percentage of Ukrainians in 1926 was (without the Donbas but with the Dnieper industrial region) only 71.2 per cent (79.2 per cent in the villages, 37.9 per cent in the cities); the density was 34 per square kilometer and the numerical superiority was 20. The national minorities were distributed as follows: the Russians numbered scarcely 12.7 per cent; the Jews, 6.4; the Germans, 3.1; the Moldavians, 3.1; the Bulgarians, 1.2; and the Greeks, 0.9. The evolution of the ethnic structure was, in general, up to the beginning of the 1930's, favorable to Ukrainians. Many of them moved in from central Ukraine gradually and non-Ukrainian settlements came under their influence.

The Ukrainians are less dominant in the south and east of southern Ukraine. They are least dominant in the Donbas where, as already mentioned, there has been a great influx of Russian laborers. The Donbas lies on the border of a non-Ukrainian ethnographic region (the Don *oblast*) and is penetrated by a Russian linguistic peninsula in the Luhanske area. In 1926, in the Donbas, the Ukrainians made up 60 per cent of the total population (74.8 per cent in the villages, 40.4 per cent in the cities); the density was 40 per square kilometer and their numerical superiority was only 18 per square kilometer. Besides the Russians (31.4 per cent), there were small groups of Germans (1.9 per cent) and Greeks (1.7 per cent).

We have already referred to the increase of Russians in both industrial regions of Ukraine, especially their influx into the Dnieper industrial area (p. 228).

Beyond the eastern borders of the Ukrainian SSR is the western section of the old region of the Don Cossack Host (Donets area), which was settled by Ukrainians; today it is a part of the

Rostov *oblast*. This was an agricultural territory settled mostly by Ukrainians who did not have much national consciousness; the largest percentage of non-Ukrainians was in the central part, which is actually the eastern part of the Donbas industrial region but which lies beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR. The percentage of Ukrainians there (1926) was 76.8 (81.8 per cent in the villages, 33.9 per cent in the cities); the density was 25 per square kilometer, and the Ukrainians' numerical superiority was 18 per square kilometer. The Russians and Don Cossacks formed a minority of 20.6 per cent.

The Subcaucasus

The Subcaucasus has a Ukrainian majority (see p. 11) only in the western part. The ethnic composition of the population in the Subcaucasus is complicated by the mixed origin of the inhabitants and the recent nature of the colonization. As we know (p. 21, see "History"), Ukrainian Kozaks settled in the western Caucasus-Kuban area at the end of the eighteenth century; Russian Cossacks settled in the eastern Kuban and Terek areas also. In both these Kozak (Cossack) areas—the Kuban and Terek—an influx of peasants occurred; in the western parts it was almost exclusively Ukrainian, but in the eastern part, both Russian and Ukrainian peasants came. The former *guberniya* of Stavropol was populated mainly by Russians, but in the second half of the nineteenth century almost all the peasants who came to settle in that area were Ukrainians. Various ethnic groups settled in the cities while the Caucasian mountaineers remained in the mountains; the Adygei-Circassians formed an enclave among the Ukrainians in the Kuban. When we take into account the small population and the persistence of active colonizing processes it becomes clear that the Subcaucasus in the 1930's did not have a stabilized ethnic composition.

The western Subcaucasus, which is

mainly Ukrainian, includes the western part of the Kuban and the western part of the former Black Sea *guberniya* (or the present administrative Krasnodar *krai*) and the neighboring southwestern part of the former region of the Don Cossack Host (part of the present Rostov *oblast*). The Ukrainians, according to the census of 1926, comprised 63.8 per cent of the population (68.4 per cent in villages, 34.8 per cent in cities) but actually their percentage was greater. The density of the Ukrainians was 29 per square kilometer and their numerical superiority was 13. Russians and Russian-speaking Cossacks constituted 28.4 per cent, and there were small groups of Caucasian mountaineers (1.4 per cent), Armenians (1.4 per cent), and Greeks (1.0 per cent).

The far larger eastern Subcaucasus includes the eastern part of the Kuban land, the eastern part of the former Black Sea *guberniya*, the southeastern part of the former region of the Don Cossack Host, the former Stavropol *guberniya*, part of the former Terek *oblast* and small southwestern sections of the former *guberniya* of Astrakhan (now the eastern part of the Krasnodar *krai*, almost all the *krai* of Stavropol, parts of the Rostov *oblast*, small parts of the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics—Kabardino-Balkarian, northern Ossetian, and Kalmyk).

According to the census of 1926 the Ukrainians formed 33.4 per cent of the population (34.4 per cent in the villages, 19.0 per cent in the cities), their density was 9 per square kilometer, and their relative numerical shortage was 7 per square kilometer. According to this census the percentage of Russians and Cossacks was fixed at approximately 57.3 per cent, others at 9.3 per cent. The percentage of Ukrainians was, in fact, somewhat higher.

We must add that the Kuban land in its historical boundaries, according to the population censuses of 1897 and 1926, was 47.0 per cent Ukrainian, 41.0 per cent

Russian, 5.0 per cent Caucasian mountaineers, and 7.0 per cent others. Some researchers on the population of the area (T. Shcherbyna, A. Rusov, I. Ivasiuk), however, estimate the percentage of Ukrainians in the Kuban area to be 60 to 62 per cent, and that of the Russians to be 28 to 30 per cent.

The ethnic structure changed considerably, to the loss of the Ukrainians, as a result of the Soviet government's policy of deliberate Russification, under which all their linguistic and cultural rights were denied the Ukrainians in the Kuban land.

The Crimea

According to the census of 1926, out of a total population of 714,000 in the Crimea, the Ukrainians constituted merely 10.8 per cent (12.7 per cent in the villages, 8.6 per cent in the cities), the Tatars 25.1 per cent, the Russians 42.2 per cent, and others 21.9 per cent (Jews—7 per cent, Germans—6.1 per cent, Greeks—2.2 per cent). The former rulers of the territory, the Tatars, formed 35.5 per cent of the total population in 1897 but their percentage declined gradually principally because of the immigration of Ukrainians and Russians. In 1926 the Tatars had only a relative majority (42.4 per cent) even in the Tatar southernmost part of the peninsula. The division of the Slavic population into Ukrainians and Russians, according to the official statistics of 1926, is incorrect. These show only 77,000 Ukrainians living in the Crimea but the census of 1897 listed as many as 65,000 (11.9 per cent of the total population). The statistics for 1926 in the Crimea show 80,000 people who were born in the Ukrainian SSR, that is, Ukrainian immigrants. Taking into account the natural increase of the old settled Ukrainians in the Crimea, plus later arrivals, it is feasible to raise the figure for 1926 to some 180,000 to 200,000, or to 25 per cent, and thereby automatically reduce the percentage of Russians to

some 27 per cent. The Ukrainians probably formed some 35 per cent of the population in the villages, and the Russians formed, at the most, 10 per cent. The Russians, in fact, lived almost exclusively in the cities and the Ukrainians constituted a majority in the northern Crimea steppe.

World War II and its aftermath brought great changes in the ethnic structure of the Crimea: the evacuation of the Germans and some of the Greeks (even before the war); the extermination of Jews by the Germans; and, above all, the forced deportation of all Tatars by the Soviet government in 1946, and a subsequent strong influx of Ukrainians and Russians. In the light of the population census of 1959, out of the total population of 1,201,000 in the Crimea, the Ukrainians constituted only 268,000 (22.3 per cent), the Russians 858,000 (71.4 per cent), and others 75,000 (6.3 per cent). For the reasons given before, we believe that the number of Ukrainians is higher than that given in the census, although it is difficult to project how much higher.

The Kholm Area and Podlachia

These areas border on Poland in the northwest (see p. 19). We have already dealt with northern Podlachia (Bilsk county) which is north of the Buh (p. 237). No other part of the Western Ukrainian lands has undergone such great changes in its ethnic composition in so short a time. The Polish cultural influences, especially upon the Uniate church, were always present, but they became particularly intense during the nineteenth century when these lands became part of the Kingdom of Poland (1815). To check the Polish influences, the tsarist regime forcibly abolished the Uniate church in 1875 and converted the people of Kholm and Podlachia to Orthodoxy. But a great part of the Uniate population remained loyal to Catholicism and when the tsarist ukase of April 17, 1905, permitted a free change of faith

but continued the ban on the Uniate church, the population turned to Roman Catholicism, and succumbed to Polish ecclesiastical and cultural influences. The 450,000 Orthodox in 1905 had decreased to 280,000 in 1908. World War I dealt another blow to the Ukrainians of this area; the majority of the Ukrainian Orthodox population was evacuated far into the interior of the Russian empire before the advance of the German and Austrian armies, and after the war only part of the population returned to their homes; the Ukrainian loss at the time was about 120,000. As a result, the percentage of Ukrainians declined and the percentage of Poles increased (also by means of colonization) and there arose a group of Polonized Ukrainians, whom the Orthodox Ukrainians called *perekyttsi* (turncoats) or *kalakuty*; these people usually retained their Ukrainian language and folk culture but they regarded themselves as Poles. Most of them (about 150,000) were in Podlachia; there were fewer (about 50,000) in the Kholm area proper. Before World War II the Ukrainians were a majority only in a narrow belt along the Buh, especially in the counties of Hrubeshiv and Volodava (Włodawa). In 1931, in the Kholm area and in Podlachia, excluding the western counties, the Ukrainians formed 32 per cent of the population; the Polonized Ukrainians, about 26 per cent; the Poles, 30 per cent; the Jews, 9.5 per cent; and the Germans, 2.2 per cent. After World War II the Ukrainian population was almost wholly removed from this region.

Galicia

This area, once purely Ukrainian, was influenced by centuries-long Polish rule and relinquished its upper classes who, with a few exceptions, submitted to Polonization. Polish settlers spread throughout the entire territory, especially in the central and most fertile belt. The

*The figures are somewhat higher than the official statistics.

largest Polish enclaves are near Lviv, Sambir, Mostyska, and in western Podolia, especially in the counties of Ternopil, Skalat, and Terebovlia.

An intermediate group are the *Latynnyky*; they were partly Ukrainian villagers attracted to Roman Catholicism and partly old Polish colonists who were Ukrainianized as a result of their Ukrainian environment. From the second half of the nineteenth century on, under the influence of the Ukrainian national revival, a high degree of national consciousness developed in Galicia and a sizable educated class was formed. The cities became partly Ukrainized, but at the same time the percentage of Ukrainians was reduced to the advantage of the Poles as a result of the great emigration of Ukrainian villagers to America, the influx of Poles to the cities, particularly to Lviv and to the oil basin, and the Polish colonization of villages. Polish occupation between 1920 and 1939 increased this percentage further; as a result, in Galicia a shift in the balance of forces occurred. Table XII indicates the

TABLE XII

Year	Ukrainian Catholic	Roman Catholic	Jewish
1869	64.9	21.8	12.4
1900	62.8	23.5	12.8
1910	61.7	25.0	12.4
1938	62.1	27.2	10.0

distribution of peoples in percentages of the total population, although the territory is somewhat different and the figures also differ from Table I.

In 1939 in Galicia, including the Lemkian area, out of a total population of 5,820,000 there were approximately 3,740,000 Ukrainians (64.4 per cent),* 950,000 Poles (16.2 per cent), 510,000 *Latynnyky* (8.8 per cent), 570,000 Jews (9.8 per cent). The percentage of Ukrainians in the rural population was 75 per cent, and in the cities it was 26 per cent; the density per square kilometer was 63 and the numerical superiority was 30 per square kilometer.

The Ukrainians enjoyed a definite majority in the Carpathians and in Subcarpathia, in the northern areas, and in the western part of the Lviv region. The Poles and *Latynnyky* had a higher percentage in the central zone, especially in Podilia. On the other hand, according to the statistics prior to World War I the Ukrainians had a superiority of 90 per cent of all the communities in Galicia. Today the ethnic structure in Galicia is totally different from what it was before the last war: the Ukrainians constitute 90.6 per cent of the total population, their density is 79 persons per square kilometer, and their relative numerical superiority over others is 70. Of the former ethnic minorities, the Poles (mostly *Latynnyky*) constitute only 2.2 per cent, Jews 0.8 per cent; on the other hand, the number of Russians has increased to 5.8 per cent, although there were none before the war. Lviv has the largest concentration of Russians.

Bukovina

Bukovina is divided ethnically into a Ukrainian and a Rumanian part (p. 17). In Ukrainian Bukovina the Ukrainians formed only two-thirds of the population in 1910 (65.4 per cent; in the villages, 81.6 per cent; in the cities, 22.6 per cent) but the ethnic minorities were divided and were to be found chiefly in the cities so that, except for the urban areas, there were no foreign enclaves in Bukovina. Of the national minorities, the largest were the Jews (11.9 per cent), the Rumanians (11.2 per cent, although the number is not certain), others, chiefly the Poles (5.8 per cent) and the Germans (4.5 per cent). There were 57 Ukrainians per square kilometer and their numerical superiority per square kilometer was 26. The evolution of the ethnic structure showed no changes. During the Rumanian occupation (1919–40), the percentage of Poles, Jews, and Germans declined somewhat and that of the Rumanians increased as the result of a new flow to the cities.

The present ethnic structure changed radically as a result of the evacuation of all Germans and the destruction of the majority of the Jews during the war.

Bessarabia

The Ukrainians were a majority only in the northern Khotyn area and in the southern Bilhorod Dnistrovsky (Akkerman) area. In the largest central section there were some Ukrainian enclaves and they extended into Moldavia and to the delta of the Danube within the boundaries of Rumania (p. 17).

The Khotyn area had a Ukrainian population of 74.2 per cent (in the villages 76.3 per cent, in the cities 26.5 per cent) with 74 Ukrainians per square kilometer and a numerical superiority of 45; the area was relatively strongly dominated by the Ukrainian element. The ethnic minorities were the Rumanians (12.3 per cent) and the Jews (9.9 per cent).

As is known (pp. 17–18), the present political boundary between the Ukrainian SSR and Rumania on the territory of Bukovina and the Moldavian SSR does not fully correspond to the ethnic line. In 1932, in the *oblast* of Chernivtsi which includes not only Ukrainian Bukovina but the Khotyn area, there was a population of approximately 780,000–470,000 Ukrainians (60.3 per cent), 20 per cent of Rumanians (Moldavians), 12.3 per cent of Jews, 3.4 per cent of Poles, 2.8 per cent of Germans, and 1 per cent of Russians. On the basis of the 1959 population census the nationality structure in the *oblast* of Chernivtsi was as follows: Ukrainians—66.9 per cent; Rumanians (Moldavians)—19.6 per cent; Russians—6.6 per cent; Jews—5.4 per cent; Poles—0.8 per cent; and others—0.7 per cent.

The Bilhorod Dnistrovsky (Akkerman) area is quite different. Like southern Ukraine, it was colonized late and by very diverse elements who migrated mainly from the Balkans. The Ukrainians comprised the basic population; according to Berg they comprised 49.4 per cent

(50 per cent in the villages and 46.7 per cent in the cities). The other ethnic groups formed a true mosaic: 23.4 per cent Rumanians, 14.9 per cent Russians (mostly members of the Orthodox Sect of "Old Believers"), 4 per cent Jews, 3.9 per cent Germans, and the remainder, Bulgarians, Tatars, and even French. The numerical domination by the Ukrainians was slight; their density was 24 persons per square kilometer and their relative superiority was 0. The most diverse section was that southernmost part of Bessarabia (Izmail) which belonged to the Ukrainian SSR (the western part of the Odessa *oblast*) and the ethnic structure before the World War II was approximately as follows: of 580,000 people, 36.6 per cent were Ukrainians, 19.2 per cent were Rumanians, 17 per cent were Bulgarians, 12.7 per cent were Russians, 9.2 per cent were Germans, 3.0 per cent were Jews, and 1.8 per cent were the Turkic ethnic group, the *Gagauzy*.

Transcarpathia

Transcarpathia lies on the borders of three peoples—Slovaks, Hungarians, and Rumanians. Although it is separated by the Carpathians from the territorial core of Ukraine it is a Ukrainian territory with Ukrainians (1930's) comprising 71.5 per cent of the population. Of the ethnic minorities which appear in other parts of Ukraine, we find Jews (12.8 per cent), Germans (1.4 per cent), and Rumanians (1.8 per cent). Only in Transcarpathia do we find Hungarians (5.6 per cent), Slovaks, and Czechs (together 6.4 per cent); the latter arrived fairly recently when Transcarpathia was part of Czechoslovakia. The national minorities were concentrated in the cities; the Germans and Rumanians formed some ethnic enclaves. The density of the Ukrainians was 36 per square kilometer and their numerical superiority was 24 per square kilometer.

As we know (p. 18), the western part of Transcarpathia (the Priashiv

[Prešov] region) is not included in the Ukrainian SSR, but has remained in Slovakia, where the Ukrainians were undergoing a certain degree of Slovakization; a small part of the Marmarosh area belongs to Rumania. At the same time Transcarpathia also includes some areas already inhabited by Hungarians (chiefly the city of Berehovo). Transcarpathia, in its former political frontiers, had, in 1930, a total population of 740,000: Ukrainians, 61.2 per cent; Hungarians, 17.2 per cent; Jews, 13.8 per cent; Czechs and Slovaks, 4.4 per cent; Rumanians, 1.9 per cent; and Germans, 1.3 per cent.

The evolution of the ethnic structure in Transcarpathia was unfavorable during the long period of Hungarian rule (till 1918); the Ukrainian upper classes were Magyarized. The change in political conditions after World War I altered this situation and Transcarpathia was the only part of Western Ukraine where the percentage of Ukrainians increased. In its administrative boundaries Ukrainians formed 59.4 per cent of the population in 1900, 56.2 per cent in 1910, 62.3 per cent in 1921, and 63 per cent in 1930. After World War II the Germans and Czechs disappeared from the scene; today the Ukrainians in the administrative limits of Transcarpathia constitute 74.6 per cent of the population; the Hungarians, 15.9 per cent; the Russians, 3.2 per cent; the Rumanians, 2.0 per cent; the Jews, 1.3 per cent; and others 3.0 per cent.

UKRAINIANS BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNIC TERRITORY

Prior to 1880—that is, before the time of the intensive Ukrainian emigration to America and Asia—only a small number of Ukrainians lived outside the boundaries of their ethnic territory. Most of them lived in Ukrainian enclaves just beyond these boundaries. Farther from

the Ukrainian ethnic territory, Ukrainian ethnic enclaves existed only in the region of Bačka (in the present province of Voivodina in Yugoslavia), and in the Volga and Ural areas in Russia. In all, more than one million Ukrainians lived outside the Ukrainian ethnic territory in 1880—4.6 per cent of all Ukrainians.

After 1880, as a result of the emigration of Ukrainians to America and Asia, the number of Ukrainians outside the ethnic territory increased rapidly; at the beginning of World War I it had reached 4,300,000, or 10.7 per cent of all Ukrainians. Despite the fact that immediately after World War I Ukrainian emigration decreased, the number of Ukrainians in the diaspora steadily increased, due mainly to the natural increase of the population: in 1933 the Ukrainians in the diaspora numbered approximately six million people, or 13.8 per cent of all Ukrainians. After that year, especially as a result of the Bolshevik population policy, there was a constant outflow of Ukrainians from their native land to other parts of the USSR—mainly to Asia. Moreover, in 1944–5, in addition to a mass movement of political refugees from Ukraine to western Europe, there was a compulsory resettlement of a substantial number of Ukrainians from the westernmost areas of Ukraine (now incorporated into Poland) into the interior, as well as into the new western province of Poland. As a result of these processes, some 11–12 million Ukrainians, or 23 per cent of the total number of the Ukrainian people in 1959, live outside Ukrainian ethnic territory. Some of them, of course, have been assimilated into their new environment.

Ukrainians West of their Ethnic Territory

With the exception of southern Bessarabia and Dobrudja, in which Ukrainians settled only at the end of the eighteenth century, Ukrainian ethnic enclaves in the frontier zones adjacent to the territory inhabited by the Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Rumanians are, for the

most part, the remnants of the old western expansion of the Ukrainian ethnic territory. In these Ukrainian enclaves in the 1930's over 80,000 Ukrainians lived among the Poles (70,000 in the western Galician borderland and 12,000 in the Kholm and Podlachia areas); 33,000 Ukrainians lived in the Transcarpathian frontier areas among the Slovaks and Hungarians. A much greater number of Ukrainians lived among the Rumanians (the figures given are approximate): 20,000 in the Rumanian part of Bukovina, up to 300,000 in Rumanian areas of Bessarabia, 60,000 in Moldavia, and 70,000 in Dobrudja (the last two groups have been strongly Rumanianized).

The delineation of new political boundaries between the Ukrainian SSR and Poland in 1946 and the forcible deportation of Ukrainians from the Ukrainian-inhabited border zone westward of the new boundary resulted in the disappearance of Ukrainian enclaves from Polish territory. On the other hand, some 150,000 to 200,000 Ukrainians are dispersed in Poland now, especially in its western parts; only a very small number of them live in the former westernmost Ukrainian ethnic territory which has been incorporated into the southeastern provinces of Poland.

Other Ukrainian enclaves on the western border did not suffer substantial changes when compared with the situation of the 1930's. The number of Ukrainians in the middle part of Bessarabia (predominantly populated by Rumanians) is given by the Soviet population census of 1959 as follows: in the Moldavian SSR lived 421,000 Ukrainians, 14.6 per cent of the total population. (It should be added, however, that the Moldavian SSR includes also the belts situated outside the borders of Bessarabia on the left bank of the Dniester River—that is, parts of the former *guberniyas* of Podilia and Kherson.)

Near the city of Lugoj in the province of Banat (adjacent to Bačka) in Ru-

mania live some 10,000 Ukrainians who came from western Transcarpathia in the eighteenth century.

The Ukrainian settlements in Yugoslavia fall into three groups: the first in Bačka, the second in the southwestern part of Slovenia in the so-called Sirmija, and the third in Bosnia near the city of Prnjavor. The Ukrainians in Bačka and in Slovenia were Lemkians from western Transcarpathia who had been settled by the Austrian government at the end of the eighteenth century in an almost desolate country ruined by Turkish raids. Their language is a special dialect with a Slovak coloring, but their national identity is Ukrainian. The Ukrainians in Bosnia came from Galicia at the end of the nineteenth century. There are approximately 18,000 in Bačka, 10,000 in Slovenia, and 10,000 in Bosnia.

The fall of the Ukrainian National Republic (1920) created tens of thousands of Ukrainian political refugees who left their country and settled in various countries of Europe, for the most part in Czechoslovakia (chiefly in Prague), in Poland proper (chiefly in Warsaw), in Germany (chiefly in Berlin), and in France. In France, in addition to the Ukrainian political refugees, many more Ukrainians came from Galicia, Volhynia, and Transcarpathia after World War I to work in the mines and factories and in agriculture. The number of Ukrainians in France shortly before World War II was 40,000.

A larger number of political refugees left Ukraine as an aftermath of World War II. Those who did not cross the Atlantic settled in countries where there had been few Ukrainians previously,

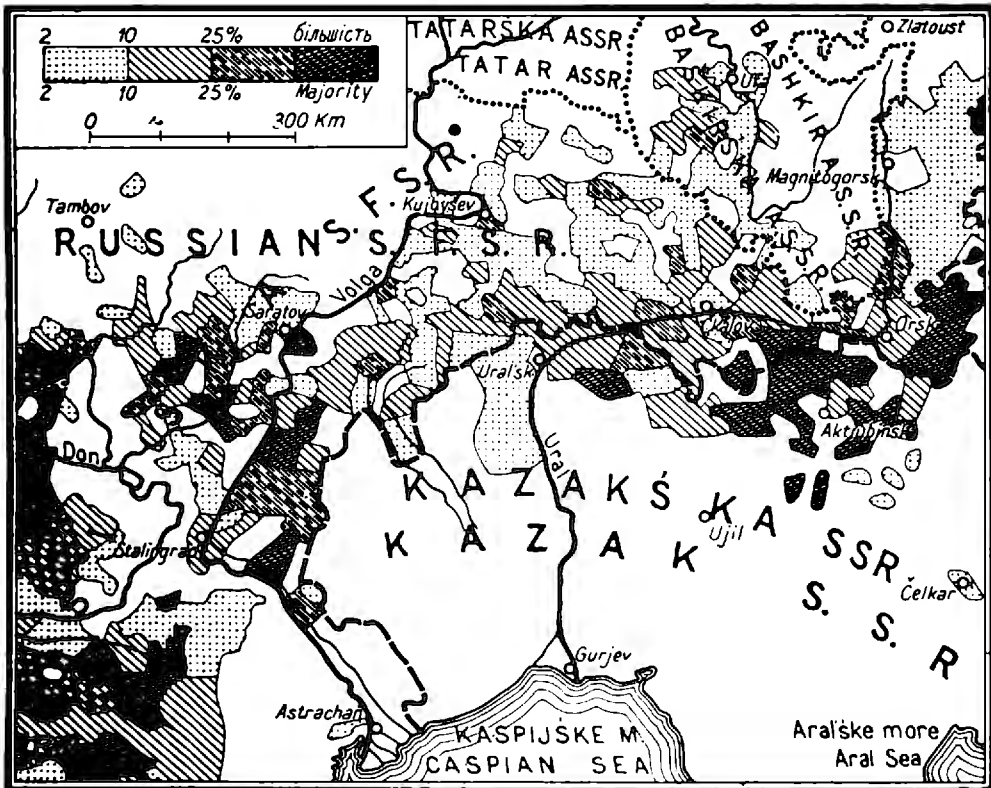


FIGURE 141. UKRAINIANS IN THE VOLGA AND THE URAL AREAS IN 1926 (IN PERCENTAGES OF THE TOTAL POPULATION)

particularly England and Belgium. Today there are 20,000 Ukrainians in Germany, 3,000 in Austria, nearly 25,000 in England, about 50,000 in France, and about 3,000 in Belgium.

Ukrainians East of their Ethnic Territory

According to the census of 1926, in addition to the large enclaves of Ukrainians in the Russian SFSR, 440,000 Ukrainians lived scattered throughout the European part of the Russian SFSR. Of these, 170,000 were in the Kursk *guberniya*, 69,000 in the Voronezh *guberniya*, 79,000 in the Don region, 16,000 in Moscow, and 11,000 in Leningrad.

Ukrainian colonization toward the east created many settlements west of the Urals, scattering large ethnic enclaves in the Volga area and in the Urals. According to the census of 1926, there were 440,000 Ukrainians in the lower Volga territory (15,000 of these were in the Kalmyk *oblast*, 14,000 in the Astrakhan *guberniya*, 141,000 in the Stalingrad (now Volgograd) *guberniya*, 202,000 in the Saratov *guberniya*, and 69,000 in the Autonomous Republic of the Volga Germans); there were 206,000 in the central Volga area (80,000 in the former Samara [now Kuibyshev] *guberniya*, 112,000 in the Orenburg [Chkalov] *guberniya*); also there were 77,000 in the Bashkir Autonomous Republic and 48,000 in the Ural area—a total of 771,000 Ukrainians.

As mentioned previously (see p. 227), the present population composition in these areas is unknown to us. The extension of the Ukrainian diaspora in the European area of the Ukrainian SSR is attested to by the figures of the Soviet population census of 1959: thus in the Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia there were 63,000 Ukrainians (1.1 per cent of the population) who had been sent there, together with Russians (they numbered 1,027,000 or 17.1 per cent of the population), after the Soviet occupation of these countries.

Ukrainians in Asia

A far greater number of Ukrainians settled in the regions east of the Urals, in Asia. The census of 1926 set their number at 2,138,000. Of this number 861,000 lived in Kazakhstan where they comprised 13.3 per cent of the total population; 828,000 lived in Siberia (9.5 per cent); 315,000 in the Far East (16.8 per cent); 64,000 in the Kirghiz SSR (6.5 per cent); 32,000 in the other Central Asian Soviet republics (0.5 per cent); 2,000 in the Buriat ASSR (0.4 per cent). In Transcaucasia there were 35,000 Ukrainians.

Since 1897 the number of Ukrainians in Asia has increased greatly. In that year there were 328,500 Ukrainians in Asia, or 1.6 per cent of all the Ukrainians living in the Russian empire: in 1926 there were 2,138,800, or 6.8 per cent; at the same time the percentage of Ukrainians in the Asiatic part of the USSR had increased from 3.2 to 6.4 per cent. This growth resulted from intensive emigration by the Ukrainians at the beginning of the twentieth century. Actually the number of Ukrainians in Asia was greater than the figure given, which should be increased to some 3,000,000 (see p. 195) for 1926.

The Ukrainian population gravitated toward the broad expanses of Asia because the Ukrainian peasants found there natural conditions similar to those at home; they avoided the desert and forest regions, and settled in the steppe area. We do not find large numbers of Ukrainians either in northern or in eastern Siberia, or in the central Asian republics, but there are concentrations in two areas—in the Far East (in the so-called "Green Wedge" on the Amur) and on the borders of Kazakhstan and Siberia, in a long, narrow belt extending from Orsk in the west to Novosibirsk and Barnaul in the east (in the black-soil belt of the steppe and forest-steppe, which is the natural continuation of the Ukrainian black-soil belt). For a more

detailed distribution of the Ukrainians on the basis of the Soviet census of 1926, see Fig. 142.

It should be emphasized that the number of Ukrainians and the areas which they settled in 1926 were probably far larger than the numbers given in the Soviet census and were increasing. After 1930 and during World War II, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were resettled in Asia, only some of whom returned to the Ukrainian SSR. Some of them live in the areas where formerly there were concentrations of Ukrainians, others have been dispersed throughout Soviet Asia, especially in the new industrial areas and in the "virgin lands." The increase in the number of Ukrainians is evident from the Soviet population censuses: the percentage of Ukrainians increased in three Central Asian Soviet republics (those of Uzbekistan, Tadzhik, and Turkmenistan) from 33,000 in 1926 to 136,000 in 1959; in Transcaucasia (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia) from 35,000 to 84,000. The author estimates that the present number of Ukrainians in Asia is 7 to 8 million persons—that is, almost three times the total reported in the Soviet census.

The published data of the Soviet population census does not give the number of Ukrainians in that part of Soviet Asia which makes up part of the Russian Federation (RSFSR), but we know their number in the Kazakh and Kirghiz Soviet republics. According to the population census of 1926, 861,000 Ukrainians lived in Kazakhstan and, as reflected by the 1959 population census, their number fell to 762,000; at the same time the number of Russians has reportedly increased from 1,280,000 to 3,974,000. On the other hand, we know that the number of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan (as well as in the whole of Soviet Asia) greatly increased between 1927–58 as a result of both forcible and voluntary resettlement; people sought refuge there at the time of collectivization, and many Ukrainians were evacuated to this area

during the last war. (Now many of them are sent one way or another to settle the "virgin lands.") We may assume that the majority of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan were registered as Russians. We may assume also that, in Kazakhstan, of the total 9,300,000 population, the Kazakhs constitute one third (29.6 per cent according to the population census), Ukrainians constitute approximately 30 per cent (the census lists them as 8.2 per cent), and the Russians 30 per cent (the census lists them as 42.7 per cent); the remaining 7 per cent consists of other nationalities. Thus the number of Ukrainians in Kazakhstan can be estimated at 2,500,000 to 3,000,000. There is a similar ethnic composition in the Kirghiz SSR, although the number of Ukrainians there is much lower than it is in Kazakhstan. Even so, it is undoubtedly much higher than the official number of 137,000 and, in all probability, it is not much less than that of the Russians—probably about 300,000.

After World War II the small Ukrainian communities in China, especially in Manchuria (approximately 10,000, concentrated around Harbin and Shanghai) disappeared, following the takeover of this country by the Communists.

Ukrainians in America

The Ukrainian peasants in the tsarist empire for the most part emigrated to Asia. The peasants from Western Ukraine—from Transcarpathia and Galicia—began to emigrate to the Americas in the 1880's; and there are now more than 1.8 million Ukrainians in North and South America.

Prior to World War I the Ukrainian immigrants lived in the United States and Canada and in Brazil; later, Argentina became an area of Ukrainian settlement; several thousand Ukrainians also settled in Paraguay and Uruguay.

In each of these countries the Ukrainians live under differing physical and cultural conditions and have different occupations. In the United States, for

TABLE XIII

Countries	Number of Ukrainians in 1,000's
United States of America	1,100
Canada	500
Brazil	100
Argentina	100
Other American countries	20

the most part, the Ukrainians live in the cities and are workmen in the factories and mines; in Canada they settled primarily on the soil, in the western prairie provinces, in natural conditions similar to those of the Asian colonists, but they are now gravitating more to the industrial areas; in Brazil the Ukrainian immigrants are chiefly farmers in the subtropical forests and savannas; in Argentina they work in factories and on farms mainly in Buenos Aires province (a smaller group settled in the northern part of the country, in the province of Misiones, and lives under conditions similar to those in Brazil).

As a result of World War II the number of overseas Ukrainians was increased by the new Ukrainian political exodus; about 90,000 went to the United States and Canada, and others went to Australia, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile.

At present Ukrainians and persons of Ukrainian origin (a major part of them do not use the Ukrainian language) are distributed in the various countries of

the Americas as in Table XIII. In addition approximately 20,000 Ukrainians live in Australia and New Zealand (estimate).

NUMBER OF UKRAINIANS IN THE WORLD

The total number of Ukrainians in millions in the world for different years, subdivided into those who live in the Ukrainian ethnic territory and those in the diaspora, can be seen from Table XIV. (The data for the year 1880 are estimates by the author.)

Regarding the distribution of Ukrainians among the various states in 1914,

TABLE XIV

	1880	1914	1933	1959
Ukrainian ethnographic territory	24.8	35.9	38.2	38-39
In diaspora				
Total	1.2	4.3	6.3	11-12
Europe	1.0	1.5	2.1	2.4
Asia	0.1	2.0	3.0	7-8
America and Australia	0.1	0.75	1.2	1.8
TOTAL	26.0	40.2	44.5	49-51

TABLE XV

State	In millions		% of all Ukrainians in the world	
	1933	1959	1933	1959
USSR	35.2	48.4?	79.1	94.9
in this number in the Ukrainian SSR	25.5	32.2	57.3	63.1
Poland	6.0	0.2	13.5	0.4
Rumania	1.2	0.2	2.7	0.4
Czechoslovakia	0.6	0.1	1.3	0.2
USA	0.75	1.1	1.7	2.1
Canada	0.35	0.5	0.8	1.0
Others	0.4	0.5	0.9	1.0
TOTAL	44.5	51.0	100.0	100.0

35,100,000 of them lived in the Russian empire; 4,200,000 in Austria-Hungary; and 900,000 in other countries. The number of Ukrainians and persons of Ukrainian descent as well as their distribution in various states of the world at the beginning of 1933 and 1959 respectively is shown in Table XV.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AMONG THE UKRAINIANS

Religious affiliation in Ukraine is closely related to nationality identification. The Ukrainians, in general, are Orthodox or Ukrainian Greek Catholics (Byzantine rite). Of the national minorities in Ukraine, the Russians, Belorussians, Greeks, and Bulgarians are Orthodox, while the Poles and Polonized Ukrainians are Roman Catholic; the Slovaks are both Roman Catholics and Catholics of the Byzantine rite; the Rumanians are Orthodox and Byzantine rite Catholics; the Germans are primarily Protestants with a minority of Roman Catholics; the Hungarians are Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Byzantine rite Catholics; the Turkic ethnic groups—Tatars, Kirghiz, *Gagauzy*,

and Caucasian mountaineers—are Moslems; the Jews are of the Judaic faith; and the Kalmyks are Buddhists.

The religious affiliation of the Ukrainians is closely related to their past. Prior to World War I the Ukrainians in Galicia and Transcarpathia were Ukrainian Greek Catholics (Byzantine rite), while in all other territories they were Orthodox; the immigrants to America were mostly Ukrainian Greek Catholics, for they came chiefly from Galicia and Transcarpathia. After World War I certain changes occurred: in Transcarpathia, especially in its eastern part, and among the Galician Lemkians, Orthodoxy began to spread; in Volhynia and Polisia, the Ukrainian Greek Catholics (Byzantine rite) made a slight gain; in America, Orthodoxy increased and Protestantism began to take hold. In Transcarpathia in the 1930's, of every 100 Ukrainians, 76 belonged to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and 24 were Orthodox; in the Galician Lemkian area, of every 100 Ukrainians, 87 were Ukrainian Greek Catholics and 13 were Orthodox; in Volhynia and in Polisia 97.7 per cent of the Ukrainians belonged to the Orthodox Church, 0.6 per cent to the Ukrainian

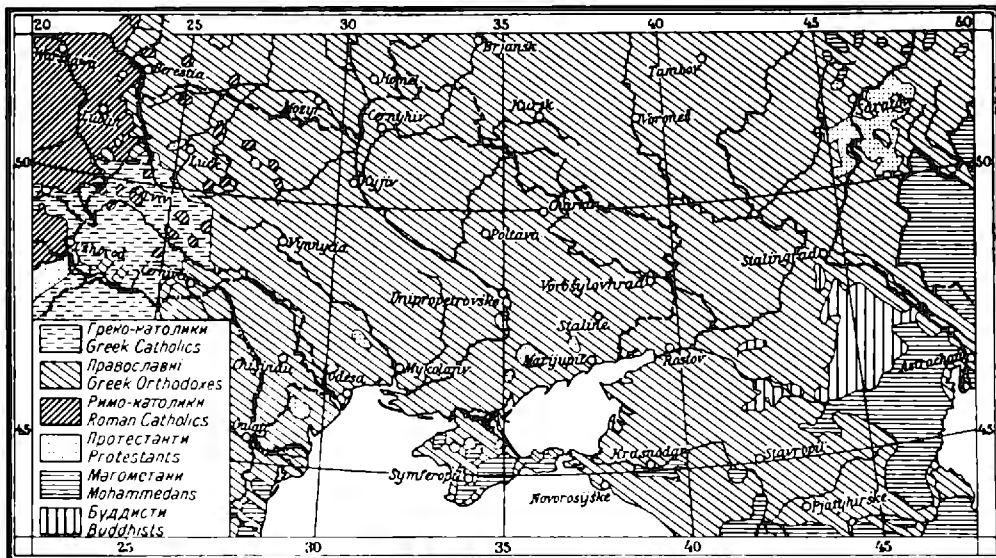


FIGURE 143. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF DENOMINATIONS

Greek Catholic Church (Byzantine rite), and 1.7 per cent to various Protestant denominations. A small number of Ukrainians—the *Latynnyky* and *kalakuty*—belong to the Roman Catholic Church. The worldwide religious division of the Ukrainians in 1932 was approximately as given in Table XVI.

TABLE XVI

Religion	In millions	In %
Orthodox	40.0	88.5
Ukrainian Catholics (Byzantine rite)	4.7	10.4
Others	0.5	1.1
TOTAL	45.2	100.0

It is almost impossible to provide any comprehensive picture of the religious situation in Ukraine because of the lack of Soviet statistical data on the subject, and also because of the systematic persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Soviet government and its hostile attitude toward religious creeds in general.

V. Kubijovyč

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7. SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

GENERAL REMARKS

We have discussed the distribution of population, both urban and rural (pp. 179-86). We will now describe briefly

the concentration of the population—its settlements, its situation, and its forms; special attention is given to the economic characteristics and physiognomy of cities.

According to data of 1926 and 1960, there were the following basic settlement units in the Ukrainian SSR (the figures for the populated rural points are approximate):

	1926	1960
Cities	167	339
Settlements of an urban type and towns	394	823
Rural settlements	80,000	50,000

Settlements of an urban type (up to the 1920's also the towns) comprise either small settlements (usually up to 2,000 inhabitants) in which the majority of the population does not receive its livelihood from agricultural products (predominantly in the industrial and mining areas), or settlements whose population while deriving its livelihood for the most part from agriculture, still depends upon other occupations for considerable income. With the process of urbanization, the number of cities and settlements of an urban type is increasing continually, while at the same time the number of rural settlements (villages) is decreasing as a result of the collectivization of agriculture and a tendency of the Soviet regime to amalgamate the population into larger villages (see below). Accordingly, the number of rural administrative territorial units below the *raion* (district) level is steadily decreasing. For instance, in 1956 there was a total of 11,686 village councils in the Ukrainian SSR; in 1960 this number had fallen to 8,610. Usually, one village council (in Ukrainian—*silrada*) embraces 3 or 4 settlements of the village type without isolated farmsteads. As far as the size of villages is concerned, in 1959 out of 42,229 rural settlements in Soviet Ukraine, 11,868 had less than 100 inhabitants, 16,433 had 100–500 inhabitants, 12,072 had 500–2,000 inhabitants, and 1,856 had over 2,000 inhabitants. Approximately half of the rural population lives in villages with 1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants; smaller villages are found in

the forest belt of Ukraine and in the mountains; in the Kuban territory, in steppe Ukraine, and on the Left-Bank large villages—sometimes with populations of 10,000 or more inhabitants—predominate.

In addition to the permanently inhabited localities in Ukraine, there are also temporary settlements; these are not a continuation of the steppe nomadic way of life, but are seasonal primitive dwellings used for several weeks, if the place of work is far from the village, in agricultural operations such as harvesting, and more rarely in other types of work. Of far greater importance are the temporary settlements connected with lumbering (in Polisia and in the Carpathians). The pastoral life on the Carpathian mountain pastures is especially interesting. (See also pp. 291–2 and Figs. 195–197.)

THE LOCATION OF THE SETTLEMENTS

The Ukrainian lands are chiefly a plain on which it is not difficult to find a location suitable for settlement. However, water is not found everywhere. So in

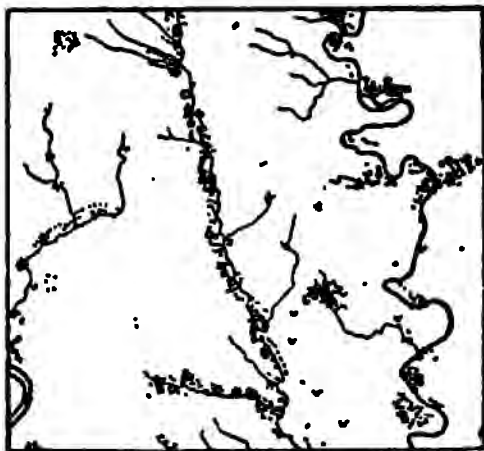


FIGURE 144. SETTLEMENTS IN THE RAVINES ON THE LOWER SERET RIVER (AND TUPA RIVER, A TRIBUTARY)

Almost all the settlements are concentrated in the ravines and areas between the ravines are almost unsettled (outline map).

the widespread loess areas of Ukraine the settlements are always near water, often in slight valleys (for protection against the winds), while the areas between the rivers usually have no settlements (Fig. 144). As a result the settlements are relatively far apart but have a large and concentrated population. On the other hand, such a position is inconvenient because of its great distance from the place of work—the fields. Thus, in modern times (before World War I), isolated *khutirs* (farmsteads) have grown up between the rivers, chiefly because of improved techniques for drilling wells and also as a result of the progressive tendency to integrate the peasant landholdings, that is, to unite the formerly scattered plots of land.

The people in the mountains of Ukraine, in Polisia, and to a certain extent in Podilia have had many difficulties in establishing settlements. In the Carpathians, they have occupied all of the lower, level areas. As a result, the Carpathian settlements are at the bottom of the valleys, chiefly on the lower terraces, where they are safe from floods (Fig. 152). More rarely, they are scattered on the low ridges and slopes, especially if these are exposed to the sun. These are mostly small settlements or *khutirs*.

The location of the settlements in northern Ukraine, especially in Polisia, is entirely different. In this area, they lie far from the rivers, on higher dry places, especially on the tops of hills, and on the dunes.

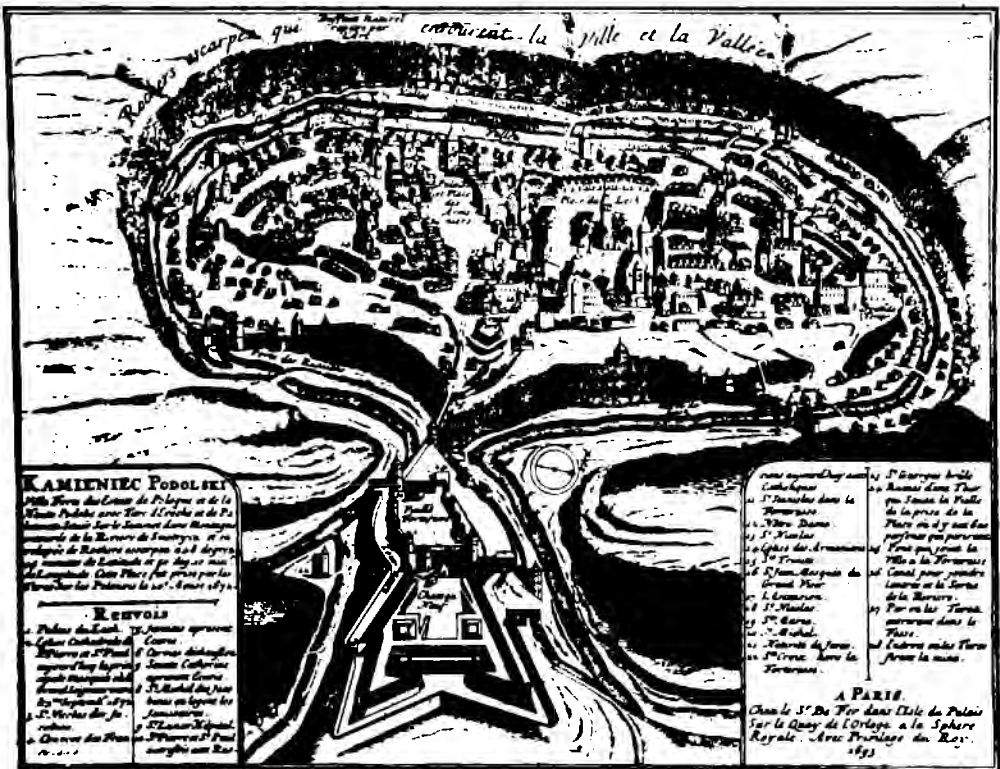


FIGURE 145. DEFENSIVE POSITION OF THE CITY OF KAMIANETS PODILSKY (ENGRAVING, 1693) The old city, with winding streets, lies on the elevated rocky meander of the River Smotrych. It is separated by a ravine from the castle (foreground) which, in the old days, guarded the access to the city. The new sections appeared mostly during the nineteenth century and they were built correctly ("The New Plan").

Location of the Cities

In the establishment of cities, special attention was paid to communication and, in the past, to an area better suited for defense purposes, even if it were more inconvenient from the standpoint of communication. Examples of settlement for defense purposes are the cities on island mountains or at river mouths: Kiev (Fig. 42), Lviv (Fig. 47), Halych, Kremianets Podilsky. We often find cities on river islands, in the curves of rivers (Lutsk, Kamianets Podilsky [Fig. 145]), and on islands or peninsulas between swamps and lakes (Nobel). In modern times, these defensive features, once beneficial, have hampered development and so the old defenses of the city have been widened to include the open level places beyond the old city limits.

More important at present is the value of the location from the point of view of

communications. Small cities are found where roads cross. In the mountains, a basin is a favorite site, that is, a place where several river valleys merge (for example, Skole, Turka, Svaliava, Rakhiv—all small towns in the Carpathians); another favorable site is a place where a route through the mountains crosses a route running along the foothills (for example, Staryi Sambir, Nadvirna, Kutyl).

When the roads are very favorable, the site develops into a large city. This often happens where an overland route crosses a river (Kiev) or on the coast. A favorable location for roads is found on the border of different geographical regions for there is a natural exchange of products of two economically different regions. Many old and large cities were located on the border of the forest and forest-steppe (Kholm, Lutsk, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Nizhen, Konotop).

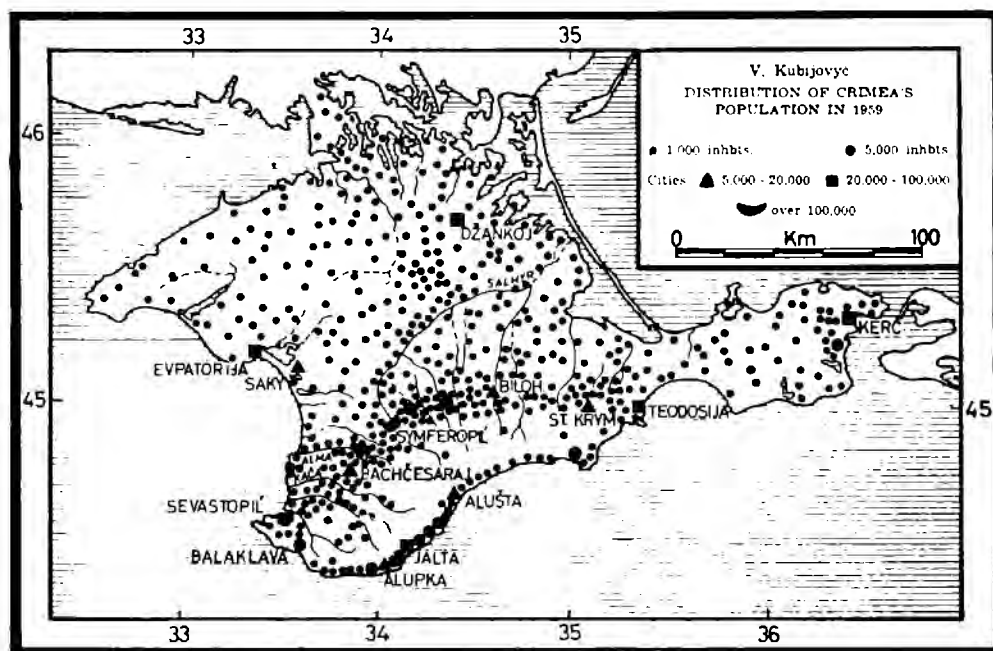


FIGURE 146. THE MAP ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF CRIMEA

The population of Crimea is distributed unevenly, depending on the physiography. It is most dense along the borderline of the mountains and of the northern steppes of Crimea (fertile soil and sufficient humidity), and along the southern coastline (Crimean Riviera); substantially less dense in the dry steppes (mostly along the River Salhyr—the only major river in Crimea); the mountains are not populated. Recently, a new settlement appeared on the Kerch Peninsula (iron ore industry).

Others were in the foothills of mountains, where routes along the foothills cross others coming from mountain passes (on the northern side of the Carpathians—Peremyshl, Sambir, Stryi, Stanyslaviv, Kolomyia, and Chernivtsi, and on the southern—Uzhhorod, Mukachiv, and Vynohradiv). Similar cities are situated along the northern foothills of the Caucasian and Crimean Mountains (see Fig. 146). Ports also belong to this type of city. In recent times, a series of cities sprang up and were situated at the junctions of railroad networks (Bakhmach, Konotop, Zhmerynka, and others).

Sometimes the junctions of roads have been far from waterways but still have brought together important routes—Lviv, for example. On the other hand, cities, chosen as administrative centers, later attracted roads from all directions and have become important centers of communication.

FORMS OF RURAL SETTLEMENTS

Forms of settlements are everywhere influenced by physiographical and social factors. Among the physiographical factors in Ukraine have been the relief,

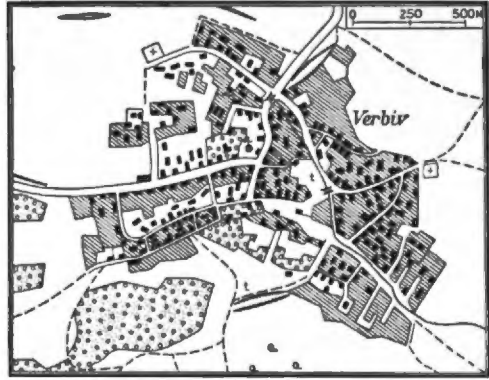


FIGURE 147. IRREGULAR CLUSTERED VILLAGE OF VERBIV, NEAR THE TOWN OF BEREZHANY (WESTERN PODILIA)

especially in the mountains, and the water supply. The social factor, stemming from the nature of the people or tribe, determines their habit of building settlements in one form and not in another.

The policies of the government and economic changes have had great influence on the forms of settlements, especially in recent times. Therefore, in Ukraine, the ancient and traditional forms of settlements must be depicted, as well as the changes which the Soviet government introduced after the collectivization of agriculture.



FIGURE 148. IRREGULAR CLUSTERED VILLAGE OF NOVOSILKY, NEAR ZDOLBUNIV (WESTERN VOLHYNIA)

The forms of the village settlements, prior to the collectivization of agriculture, in Ukraine were: the irregular clustered village, the ribbon village, the chain village, the regular village, the hamlet, and the *khutir* (isolated farmstead).

The **IRREGULAR CLUSTERED VILLAGE** is the most widespread (Figs. 147, 148). Concentrated and large, its chaotic plan shows many crooked streets running in different directions which often end in the entrance to a courtyard. This settlement has an irregular form, usually approximating a circle or an ellipse. Sometimes the village has a central square, or a principal street, from which side streets, alleys, and paths extend (a radial type). The clustered village is the most characteristic form of Ukrainian village; it is especially found in the middle forest-steppe zone, and also partially in the steppe zone.

The **ONE-STREET SETTLEMENT**—the ribbon or street village—(Figs. 149, 150) is a settlement of a regular form where the

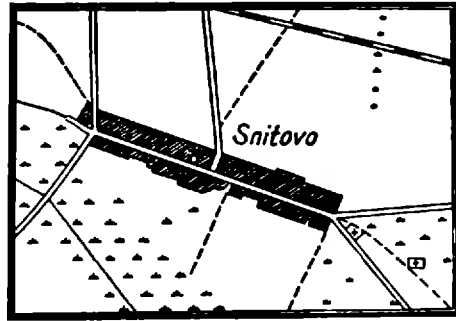


FIGURE 149. ONE-STREET VILLAGE, SNITOVO, NEAR THE TOWN OF DOROHYCHYN IN WESTERN POLISIA (SCALE 1:75,000)

houses are placed side by side along one straight road. The fields extend in long belts beside the houses, usually at right angles to the road. The length of the settlement sometimes reaches several kilometers. This form of settlement is characteristic of Belorussia and of Russia, but it occurs in Ukraine only in western Polisia (an area of Belorussian influence).

The **CHAIN VILLAGE** (Figs. 151, 152) is similar to the one-street village in form



FIGURE 150. ONE-STREET VILLAGE OF TRYPUTNIA IN WESTERN POLISIA
Belorussian influences can be seen in the architecture.

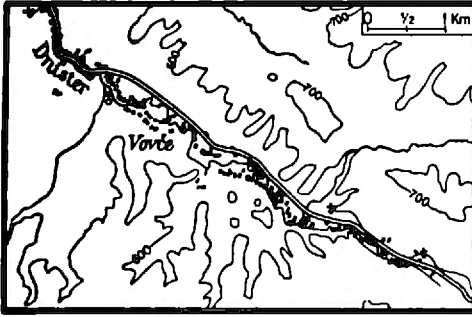


FIGURE 151. CHAIN SETTLEMENT, VILLAGE VOVCHE, NEAR THE TOWN OF TURKA (CARPATHIANS)

but is less regular in shape. Along a road, houses are separated by varying distances in a long chain. This form of settlement, German in origin, began to

appear in Ukraine only after the cutting down of the forests, mostly in the mountain valleys. Chain settlements are known in the Carpathians with the exception of the Hutsul area, in Subcarpathian areas, in the Sian River area, and in Roztichia and western Podilia.

REGULAR FORMS OF VILLAGE SETTLEMENTS (in the shape of a square or rectangle) (Figs. 153, 154) are found alongside mass settlements and farmsteads in southern Ukraine and at the northern foothills of the Caucasus. These areas were populated for the most part in the nineteenth century, when there was already legislation regulating building practices. These villages (GRID VILLAGES) have large and direct streets, bisected



FIGURE 152. CHAIN SETTLEMENT, VILLAGE OF NEVYSKE ON THE UH RIVER IN TRANSCARPATIA

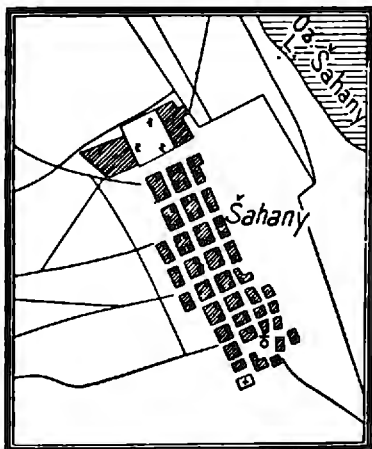


FIGURE 153. TYPE OF VILLAGE IN REGULAR FORM—VILLAGE OF PRYMORSKE (SHAKHANY) IN SOUTHERN BESSARABIA (SCALE 1:75,000)

by direct side streets so that the entire settlement has the shape of a square or a rectangle.

The *khutirs* are separate scattered one-family settlements, known from ancient times in the mountains, more rarely in Polisia, where their development was facilitated by the lack of com-

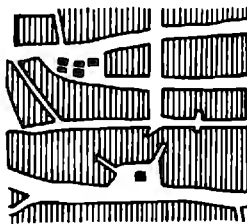


FIGURE 154. SCHEMATIC PLAN OF A REGULAR SETTLEMENT IN STEPPE UKRAINE

compact areas and difficulties of communication. On the other hand, in the mountains these isolated settlements occur only in the Hutsul area as a result of the pastoral life of the population. The *khutirs* spread also in eastern Ukraine, especially in the Poltava area and in the Kuban land. In modern times the *khutir*-type settlements have temporarily spread as a result of the intensive efforts to unify the scattered peasant land plots into compact land holdings especially in Volhynia (Fig. 155).

HAMLETS are small groups of up to twenty houses in the form of a short one-

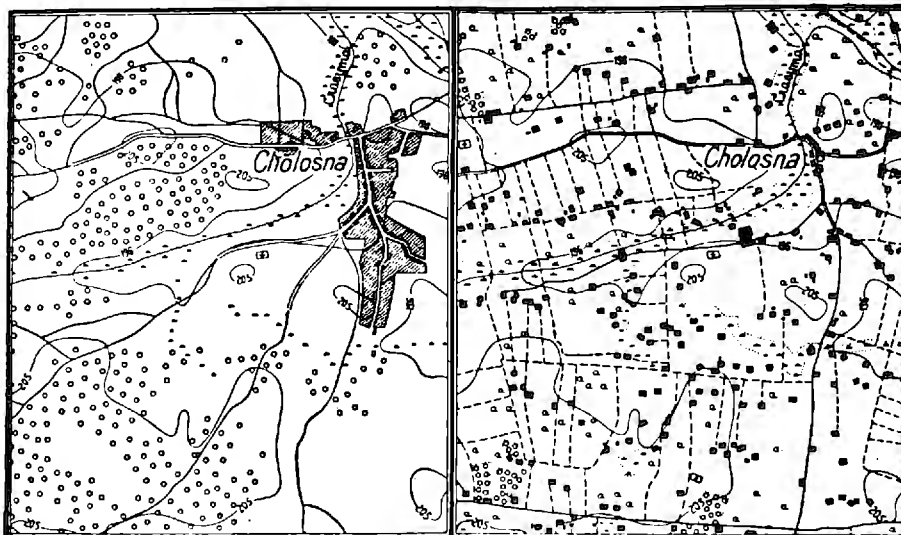


FIGURE 155. INFLUENCE OF INTEGRATION OF PEASANTS' SCATTERED LAND PLOTS ON THE FORM OF A VILLAGE

The village of Kholosna, Korosten *raion*, Kiev *oblast*, before and after land integration (Scale 1:75,000).

street settlement or else completely irregular in plan. We find them in part of Podlachia (as a result of Polish [Mazur] colonization) and at times in the Subcaucasus.

Irregular clustered settlements and, to a lesser degree, the *khutirs* were native to the Ukrainian people. Both forms are seldom found among the Belorussians and Russians, to whom one-street settlements are proper.

How closely the form of settlement is connected with the ethnic descent of village dwellers is shown by examples from the new colonization in northern Asia, where we often find one village in a double form—the mass settlement with a Ukrainian population and that with one street inhabited by Russians or Belorussians.

Changes in Soviet Times

The traditional forms of village settlements described above underwent certain changes as a result of the collectivization of agriculture and by the transformation

of the old type villages, with an economy of individual farmers, into collective villages. Fifty-eight per cent of the collective farms (in 1958, there were 13,346 in the Ukrainian SSR) are formed around single villages; in the remaining cases one farm includes 2–8 villages. The tendency of the Soviet government is directed toward the unification of rural settlements and collective farms as well as *sil'radas*.

To date, collectivization has not caused any fundamental changes in the form of villages (villages which were destroyed during the war were rebuilt by peasants according to the former pattern); more substantial changes have occurred in village building (see "Folk Architecture," pp. 303ff. and Figs. 156 and 157). Changes in the types of villages are as follows: (1) the merger of the majority of scattered farmsteads into unified village settlements (this action was begun by the Soviet government back in the 1930's, mainly to maintain closer control over peasants); (2) the

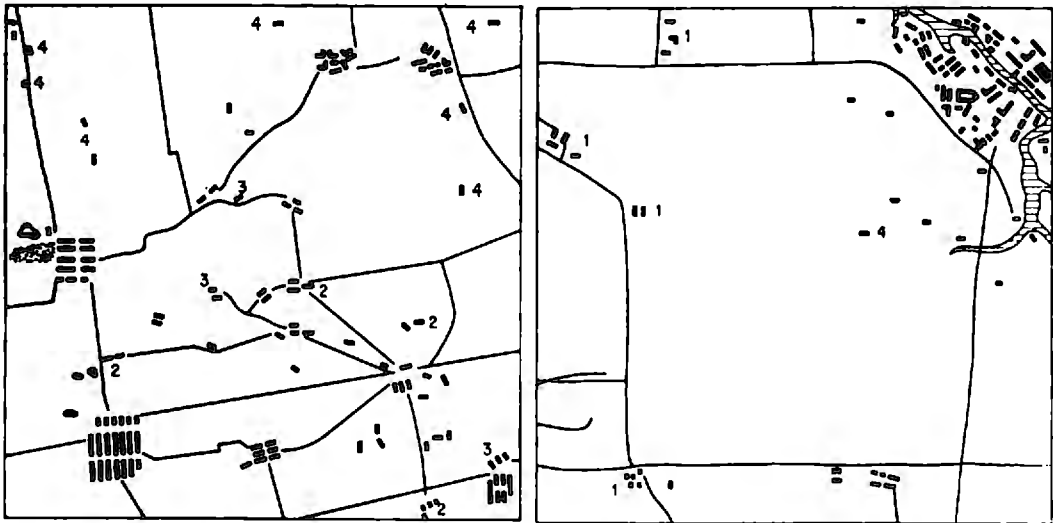


FIGURE 156. SCHEMATIC PLANS OF COLLECTIVIZED VILLAGES

(1) *Radhosp* (*Sovkhoz*); (2) Various forms of collective farms; (3) Machine-tractor stations; (4) Field camps. The first chart (left) represents a village in the Kherson steppe; the southeastern part of the chart pictures a larger village, while other settlements, formed through the amalgamation of former hamlets, are much smaller in size; pictured separately are the dispersed steadings of collective farms and camps inhabited only during the summer. The second chart (right) pictures a large village (a former Kozak outpost) in the Kuban lowland; also, several hamlets, *radhosp* buildings, and summer camps.



FIGURE 157. COLLECTIVE FARM VILLAGE—BUDIONIVSKE, BEREZIVKA raion, ODESSA oblast

One of the oldest collective farms in Ukraine; in the foreground, communal buildings; in the background, homes of collective farmers.

building outside the compact village of some MTS stations, state farms, and other specialized collective farm units; (3) in southern Ukraine and on the northern slope of the Subcaucasus where villages are large and collective farm fields are far apart, the so-called "field camps" (temporary settlements in which some 60 to 100 agricultural laborers, members of a collective farm, live during the field work period) were built. These settlements, enumerated above, are built systematically, according to plans drawn in advance and, therefore, differ from the old villages.

*See also pp. 183-8.

CITIES*

Development of Cities in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Before the 1860's and even the 1880's, that is, until the beginning of the new urbanization (see p. 199), the cities in Ukraine performed the same functions without change for several centuries. Trade (especially at fairs), small manufacturing, and home industry (which provided articles for sale) were the principal activities of the city; the fact that the city was also an administrative center was subordinate, for the administrative machinery was not well developed at the

time. Small cities and towns had some of the characteristics of a village. The Ukrainian population in them was mostly occupied in agriculture, and the Jewish population was concerned with trade and handicrafts.

All of the more important cities were at the junction of waterways and overland routes. Some of them developed into large trading centers, such as Odessa, then the largest city in Ukraine, Lviv, Kharkiv, Kiev, Berdychiv, and also Kremenchuk, Balta, and Yelisavet.

In 1860, barely 5 cities of Ukraine had more than 50,000 inhabitants: Odessa (114), Kiev (71), Lviv (70), Berdychiv (54), Kharkiv (50).

The building of railroads and the de-

velopment of heavy industry in the 1880's changed the character of the cities. Industrial and mining cities arose, but cities which found themselves away from the new routes suffered a decline (for example, Berdychiv, Balta) and smaller cities suffered even more.

Before World War I, the majority of the cities had a mixed economic character, but in some specialization was evident. The cities of the Donbas and Katerynoslav were industrial; industry also prevailed in Kharkiv and Odessa. Commerce was of primary importance in cities of middle size, such as Berdychiv (where 24 per cent of the population lived by trade), in Balta (22 per cent), and in Brody in Galicia (41 per cent).



FIGURE 158. GENERAL VIEW OF THE VILLAGE OF KSAVERIVKA, HREBINKY raion, KIEV oblast

Normal street system; the homes of the collective farmers are situated along the main road (one or two family homes); in the background, garden plots with small farm buildings for private use of the collective farmers. The village of Ksaverivka was built in 1959-60 and it represents one of a few special exhibits of a future "socialist" village.

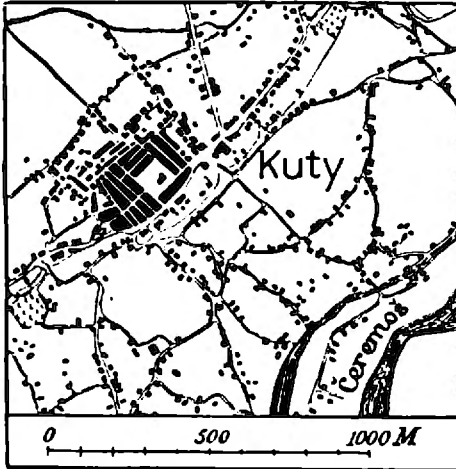


FIGURE 159. THE TOWN OF KUTY, KOSIV raion, IN GALICIA (IN 1930's)

Only the central part of the town was built compactly. Up to World War II it was inhabited almost entirely by the Jews. The buildings on the outskirts of the town are scattered; the population there lives mostly from agriculture. (Scale 1:75,000)

"Garrison cities" were Vinnytsia (32 per cent military), Proskuriv (45 per cent),



FIGURE 160. THE TOWN OF VYZHNYTSIA IN BUKOVINA

The central section of the town forms a market-place. Vyzhnytsia is situated near the town of Kuty and in 1930's it had a similar economic and ethnic outlook.

Peremyshl (17 per cent), and Yaroslav (18 per cent). (The figures are taken from the population census of 1897 and—in Galicia—from 1910.)

Further industrialization, together with the economic policy of the Soviet regime and the new political order, stimulated the growth of some occupations in cities (industry and government employment), the downfall of others (trade, handicrafts, domestic service, etc.) and



FIGURE 161. A GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOWN OF BILHOROD DNISTROVSKY (FORMERLY AKKERMAN) A town of medium size, typical of southern Ukraine, with a mixed economy (commerce, moderate industrialization, administration, agriculture). In the background, the Dniester estuary; above and to the left, remnants of a fortress, built by settlers from Genua in the fifteenth century; to the right, industrial factories.

brought about a more evident economic specialization of the cities.

According to the 1926 census, the city population of the Ukrainian SSR was as follows: 17 per cent of the population lived by agriculture, 25.9 per cent by industry and handicrafts, 7.4 per cent by trade, and 6.6 per cent by transportation; 10 per cent were employed by the government and 33.1 per cent in other occupations.

The greatest specialization was shown in the industrial cities. Thus, in the cities of the Donbas, 60 to 80 per cent of the population was engaged in industry; in Western Ukraine, Boryslav (46 per cent) was the only industrial city. Cities which are communication centers are those with railroad junctions, such as Konotop (32 per cent of the population involved in transportation), Zhmerynka (21 per cent), Bakhmach (34 per cent), and Kovel (25 per cent). In such cities as Tulchyn, Ovruch, and Kolomyia, handicrafts occupied 20 to 40 per cent of the population.

All of the larger cities, except those of the Donbas region, were mixed cities—industrial, commercial, or administrative. Among these were Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa and Lviv.

The development of economic life in the 1930's, and even more so after World

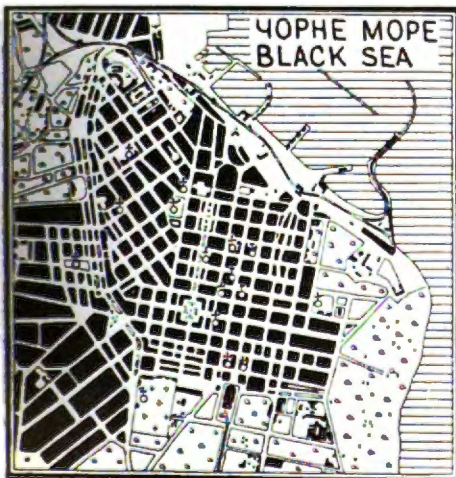


FIGURE 162. ODESSA, A NEW PLANNED CITY (SCALE 1:75,000)



FIGURE 163. THE PLAN OF LVIV AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The center of the city is surrounded by walls and beyond them are the newer sections of the city.

War II, favored the growth of industrial cities at the expense of cities of other categories. The older towns are disappearing, inasmuch as small industry (handicrafts) and commerce have lost their previous significance. They are either industrialized and have grown into larger centers or have lost their urban character and become villages. Today, all the larger and middle-sized cities of Ukraine have a definite industrial character.



FIGURE 164. THE CENTRAL SECTION OF LVIV An aerial view of the central section of Lviv with the city hall at extreme right.

case of Lviv (Figs. 163, 164), the city forms a checkerboard of streets with a broad marketplace in the center. In both cases, the streets are narrow; the place of the old walls which surrounded the old town, the present center of the city, is clearly shown on the plan. In Lviv, this area has been used for broad streets and boulevards. The new dwelling and industrial quarters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been built regularly and uniformly. Beyond these are often sections for villas. A number of suburban settlements form a link between the city and the rural environs.

An example of a complicated territorial development is the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Kiev consisted of three separate sections, divided by areas which were not built up: (1) the Upper Hill or the Old City, the seat of the Kievan princes, which was already populated in the eighth and ninth centuries; (2) the commercial section (also dating

back to the ninth century) or Podil (Podol), situated on the low plateau of the Dnieper River; (3) the section on the Pechersky Hill around the Cave (Pechersky) Monastery, and the fortress, built at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century, these three sections of Kiev were fused into one city, and the center of activity was transferred into the valley between the two elevated parts of the city through which runs Khreshchatyk (see Figs. 165, 166), the principal artery of Kiev.

Some of the mining and industrial cities were built in the nineteenth century without any advance planning or program (especially the cities of the Donbas, Kryvyi Rih, and Boryslav in Galicia); they consisted for the most part of primitive residential houses, constructed at random around factories and mining shafts (see Fig. 167) without distinct centers. In recent years, however, the industrial cities were completely rebuilt, according to a modern



FIGURE 166. THE CENTRAL SECTION OF KIEV AND THE KHRESHCHIATYK BOULEVARD
 Destroyed in 1941, it was rebuilt after the war. The buildings on the left (eastern) side are occupied by the government and those on the right are residential.



FIGURE 167. SOBACHIVKA, AN OLD MINING SETTLEMENT, NEAR KRYVYI RIH. It is situated in the valley of the Saksahan River, near the iron ore mines.



FIGURE 168. A RECENT WORKERS' SETTLEMENT IN THE KRYVYI RIH AREA

system, with special residential sections (see Fig. 168). In some of them, especially in the Donbas, only now are more distinct centers developing, although many of them look rather like gigantic nests with unclear contours.

The largest concentration of industrial cities and, generally speaking, the largest concentration of inhabitants in Ukraine is in the Donbas in which (within the limits of the part which belongs to Soviet Ukraine) 5 million people live today. The population of the Donbas is concentrated in a few large cities which often join each other and to which suburban settlements gravitate as well as other settlements situated farther from these urban areas (satellite cities). The largest such concentration is Donetske-Makiivka (1.4 million inhabitants); among the smaller ones are Horlivka-Yenakieve (684,000), Kadiivka-Alchevske (600,000), two concentrations of a linear form: Kostiantynivka-Kramatorske-Slovianske (420,000) and Lysychanske-Verkhnie-Rubizhne (240,000), and the isolated city of Luhanske (275,000) and others (see Fig. 170).

The old Tatar cities of the Crimea



FIGURE 169. DONBAS SCENERY

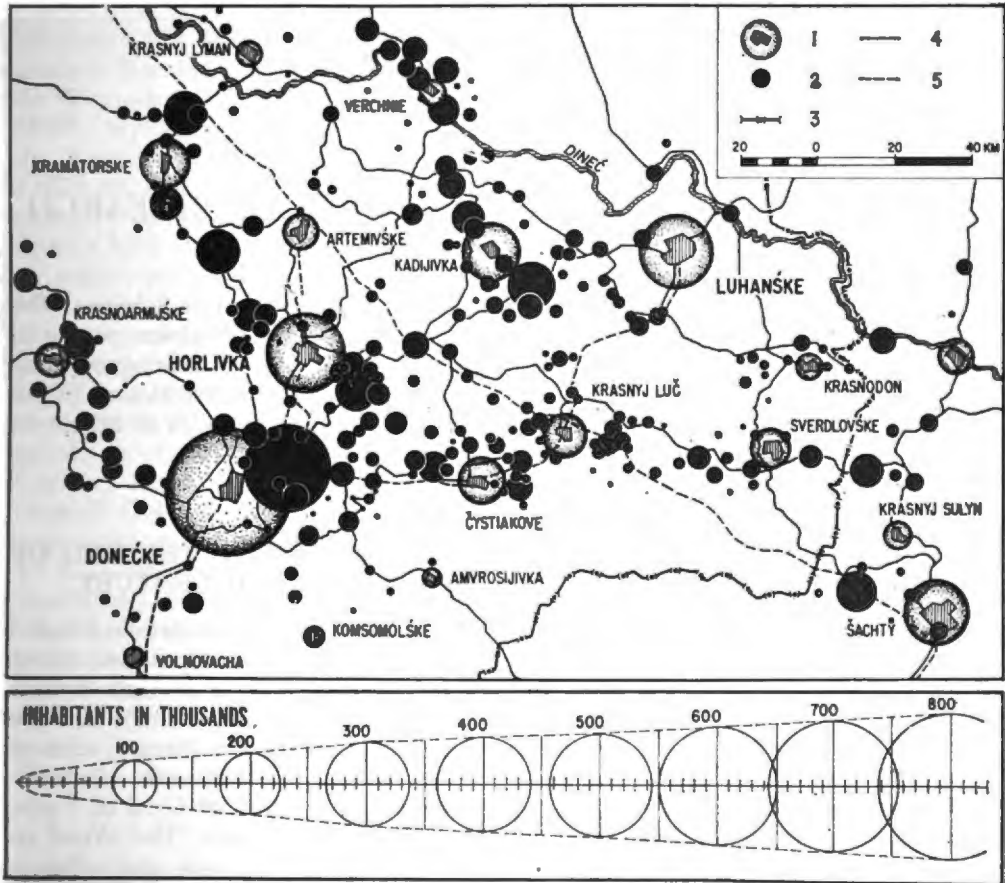


FIGURE 170. CITIES AND TOWNS OF DONBAS

- (1) Main urban conglomerates. (2) Satellites of urban conglomerates. (3) Borders of the Ukrainian SSR. (4) Railroad lines. (5) Roads.

have a different form, that of eastern cities with chaotically arranged narrow streets and buildings of the Oriental type (see Fig. 171).

V. Kubijovyč*

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*The article on forms of village settlement was prepared in co-operation with N. Kulytsky.



FIGURE 171. BAKHCHYSARAI, FORMER CAPITAL OF THE CRIMEAN KHANATE

In the foreground, the mosque and an old palace.

IV. Ethnography

1. THE HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

Ethnography deals with peoples in all their strata and in all stages of their historical development. Not all branches have been equally well developed in Ukrainian ethnography. In the nineteenth century the national renaissance was based primarily upon the peasantry, and therefore ethnography was chiefly concerned with the study of peasant customs and spiritual life. Although since that time Ukrainian ethnographic studies have broadened very considerably, the ethnographic features of other groups of the population have received far less attention than have those of the peasantry.

For these reasons this article will deal chiefly with the peasant way of life and thought. It must be remembered that in recent times this way of life has greatly changed. This change has been caused not only by the technological development of means of production and communication, as well as by education, but also by the intrusion of alien elements into the life of Ukrainian people, either by wars fought on Ukrainian territory or by political pressure, as in the collectivization of agriculture. It must therefore be borne in mind that this ethnographic description in its full and clear form belongs to the past and that it is very difficult now to determine which elements will be preserved and which have completely vanished.

The question of the ethnography of the national minorities on Ukrainian soil has not been thoroughly investigated and it will be considered only in passing.

Some questions on which ethnography borders upon other disciplines are to be

found in the appropriate sections: the ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian people in the section on history; ethnogeography and anthropology in the section on population (which also includes an article on village types).

SOURCES PRIOR TO THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The first ethnographic data are found in the works of Greco-Byzantine (sixth to tenth centuries) and Arab writers (ninth and tenth centuries), in the Chronicles, and in the literary texts of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries (such as the writings of Cyril of Turiv, *The Life of Volodymyr*, *The Word on the Punishments of God*, and others). The song of Stephen the Voivode was preserved from the middle of the sixteenth century in the Czech Grammar of Jan Blahoslav of 1571. S. Sarnicki, speaking of the war with the Wallachians (1506) mentions the Ukrainian *dumas*. Ukrainian lamentations are found in the poem *Roxolania* by S. Klonowicz and in 1551 in I. Menecius. From the seventeenth century on, the recorded material increases. M. Vozniak published from a seventeenth century collection the oldest record of a *duma* (the duel of a Kozak and a Tatar). A Polish pamphlet by J. Dzwonowski (1625) gives a popular song about the "Kozak Plakhta" (see I. Franko in the *Zapysky NTSh*, Vol. XLVIII). Ukrainian songs are found in manuscripts and printed songbooks of the eighteenth century.

Foreign travelers in Ukraine have re-

corded much ethnographic data on Ukrainian life. Here mention should be made of Boemus of the sixteenth century, de Beauplan (*Description d'Ukraine*, 1660), Mykhalon Lytvyn (1550), Blaise de Vigenère (1573), Paul of Aleppo (1654-6), K. J. Hildebrandt (1656-7, on women's costume, dances), Ulrich Werdum (1670-2, on clothing, character, language, care of children), the Swede Weihe (of the time of Mazepa, on life, character, and economy), the Dane Jul Just (agriculture, character, cleanliness, buildings), the Englishman Joseph Marshall (1769-70, on morality, and cleanliness), the Englishman Edward Daniel Clarke (race, cleanliness, houses), Samuel Gottlieb Gmelin (1770-84, on hair arrangement, clothing, and crafts), J. A. Güldenstädt (1771-4, on trade, handicrafts, fishing, food, manufacture), later B. Hacquet (*Neueste physikalisch-politische Reisen*, 1788-9, Vols. I-III, Nürnberg), S. Bredecki (*Reise in die Karpathen*, Vienna, 1807, 2nd ed. 1820) and J. Rohrer (*Bemerkungen auf einer Reise*, Vienna, 1804).

THE BEGINNINGS OF UKRAINIAN ETHNOGRAPHY

The last decades of the eighteenth century saw the first works and printed material on ethnography called forth by interest in the Ukrainian past. Theodore Tumansky planned a "program for the collection of historico-geographical, statistical and economic, and ethnographic information on Ukraine." Gregory Kalynovsky published in St. Petersburg a substantial work on wedding customs in 1776. Much ethnographic material was published in the journals of that period, especially in the works of the *Trudy Vol'nago Ekonomicheskago Obshchestva* (Works of the Free Economic Society).

The study of Ukraine and its ethnography greatly interested foreigners at that time, especially Russians, Poles, and Germans who had connections with

Ukraine, for example, the Poles Thaddeus Czacki and I. Lubicz Czerwiński (1769-1834), author of the first ethnographic monograph, *Okolica Zadniestrska między Stryjem a Łomnicą* (The Region of the Dniester between the Stryi and the Limnytsia).

Western European Romanticism, represented in Germany by Herder, Grimm, Brentano, Arnim, and others, exerted a profound influence in strengthening ethnographic interest in Ukraine. These influences came indirectly through Russian and Polish literature and directly through live contacts with such Czech, Slovak, and South Slavic writers and scholars as F. Čelakovský, P. Šafařík, Vuk Karadžić, and J. V. Kopitar.

The true pioneer of Ukrainian ethnography was undoubtedly the Polish ethnographer and archaeologist Adam Czarnocki, known under the pseudonym of Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski (1784-1825), who published his theses in the work *O Słowiańszczyźnie przedchrześcijańskiej* (On Pre-Christian Slavdom). His point of departure was the "poetic life of the peasants" and the idea of "brotherly love for the people." Chodakowski in 1814-20 carried on intensive ethnographic and archaeological investigations in Ukraine and collected during his many journeys more than 2000 folk songs and much other ethnographic material.

A similar enthusiast was Ukrainian-born Prince Nicholas Tsertelev who devoted a great deal of attention to Ukrainian folklore and in 1819 published in St. Petersburg a collection, *Opyt sobranii starinnykh malorosstiskikh pesen* (An Attempt at Collecting Ancient Little Russian Songs) which contained eight *dumas* and two songs. In his words, "Ukrainian folk poetry shows the high poetic genius of the Ukrainian people and especially their pure morals, which Ukrainians have retained as the sole inheritance from their ancestors and which the greed of neighboring peoples has not taken from them."

THE ROMANTIC-ETHNOGRAPHIC POPULISM OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The political, social, and philosophical currents at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries based their doctrines on the life of the people. According to prevalent political and social conceptions the peasants were identified with the nation. The nobility was excluded from the sphere of the people and was considered an element which had been alienated from the people, and which therefore was spiritually and materially non-creative and non-productive. Only the people, only the peasantry, created and preserved the national spiritual and material values. Therefore, the study of the people—ethnography—became the leading discipline of the period, to which all others were to be subordinated.

The people—"that giant of the independent spirit" in the view of the populist romantics—was formed in prehistoric times, in remote antiquity, and has since remained unchanged. As an unchanging element transcending time and history, the people pass through history. According to this concept it is not history which creates the people, but the people who create history.

The history of a people is the history of the manifestations of its spirit, a spiritual history of the people. The spirit of the people appears in its language, poetry, and myths (religion). The language (i.e., the language of the common people, the language of the village, the peasant language) is considered the hallmark, the basis, of folk individuality. Thus the peasant conception of the people, on the one hand, and the linguistic-literary, philological conception of the people, on the other hand, logically merge. In literature, the primacy of folklore is acknowledged. The oral folk literature is recognized as the source and model for written literature. The ethnographic conception of literature seeks to

eradicate the distinction between the individual creation of the writer and the ethnographic records from the lips of the people. Thus into the content of the ethnographic collections of the 1830's and 1840's were introduced records of folklore along with some imitations of the folk *dumas*, tales, and songs. The task of ethnography according to this conception was to study the people, its prehistory, its spiritual creativeness, language, literature, and way of life so as to recreate the basic principles of its spiritual originality. This was the period during which ethnography was dominated by the so-called mythological school.

The enthusiasm for Ukrainian folk poetry, inspired by romantic populism, produced in the 1830's a long series of important collections of folk songs. The first in this series was by the most outstanding representative of the period, Michael Maksymovych (1804-73), who published in 1827 his first great systematic collection, *Malorossiiskie pesni* (Little Russian Songs).



FIGURE 172.
M. MAKSYMOVYCH



FIGURE 173.
I. SREZNEVSKY

Along with Maksymovych and partly under his influence was the talented Kharkiv philologist, Izmaïl Sreznevsky (1812-80), who published in Kharkiv in 1833-8 six books of the collection *Zaporozhskaia Starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity). Illustrating the ideological complex "people-history-poetry" so typical of romanticism, he published historical mate-

rials and songs and added to authentic folk songs the works of a group of Khar'kiv romanticists of the 1830's (Fig. 173).

Platon Lukashkevych in his collection (1836) was the first to publish songs from the entire Ukrainian ethnic territory.

The field also owed much to the Slavist Joseph Bodiansky (1808-76) for his publication of works and collections of Ukrainian folklore.

Ethnographic studies in western Ukrainian lands (under Austria-Hungary) began somewhat later under the influence of the voluminous Ukrainian ethnographic material published in the 1830's in the Ukrainian lands within the Russian empire. Markian Shashkevych, Jacob Holovatsky, and Joseph Lozynsky began the extensive collecting of folk songs, proverbs, tales, legends, fairy tales, and fables. In this period, too, Polish authors did much for Ukrainian ethnography: Luke Gołębiowski (1773-1849), Waclaw of Olesko (Zaleski, 1800-49), K. W. Wójcicki (1807-79), Żegota Pauli (1814-95), and J. Rulikowski (1825-1900).

THE PERIOD OF CRITICAL STUDIES

The large quantity of material already collected required critical study. In this field of study the well-known historian, Nicholas Kostomarov (1817-85), and the many-sided scholar Panteleimon Kulish (1819-97) acquired special distinction in the 1840's and 1850's. Kostomarov was the first to publish a series of scholarly works on various fields of ethnography, trying on the basis of folklore and other ethnographic materials to construct a synthesis of the Ukrainian national character and also to reconstruct the initial Slavic mythology.

Kulish won an outstanding place in the history of ethnography for his two-volume work, *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi* (Notes on South Rus', 1856-7), in which he made the first attempt to give a general historical and ethnographic characterization of

the Ukrainian people on the basis of his own as well as other materials and applied a new method in ethnographic research; he gave not only the words of the texts but also biographies, characterizations, and descriptions of the singers (*kobzari*) and narrators. Especially important was his article of 1870, "Pohliad na usnu slovesnist' ukrains'ku" (An Interpretation of Oral Ukrainian Literature), in which with extraordinary clarity he expressed the views of romantic populism on ethnography.

The beginning of the 1860's was marked by a series of ethnographic collections, works and monographs on various aspects of folk life and folklore by Ambrose Metlynsky, Nicholas Hattuk, Nicholas Markevych, Nicholas Zakrevsky, Kalenyk Sheikovsky, and others.

The most outstanding ethnographic publication of this period was the collection of proverbs by M. Nomys (Symonov, 1823-1900), *Ukrains'ki prykazky, pryslivia i take inshe* (Ukrainian Adages and Proverbs, 1864), acclaimed at the time as the finest work in its field in all Slavic ethnography.

With the establishment in Kiev in 1872 of the Southwestern Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, a new period opened in the history of Ukrainian ethnography.

POSITIVIST "REALISTIC" POPULISM

The positivist, anti-romantic ethnography of the second half of the nineteenth century which replaced romantic populism was based on positivism, realism, and the theory of evolution. It revolted against the identification of ethnography and literature, against the imitation of folklore and the transfer to written literature of folk genres, songs, and tales. A clear differentiation of folk and non-folk elements was to be the basis for the methods of ethnographic study. The people and their ethnographic characteristics were no longer considered the product of creation in a

mythological, prehistorical period, but the product of the medieval period. Folklore in this scheme arose not from myth but from history, as a reflection of historical facts, of historical reality. The representatives of the so-called "historical school" attempted to prove the historical reality, the realistic historical content, of epic works, carols, *bylinas*, *dumas*, and ballads. The researchers (A. Veselovsky, V. Miller, V. Mansikka) engaged in the broadest possible research to show that the entire oral folk literature, the whole system of ethnographic-folkloristic imagery, was nothing but the reworking of medieval literary works. Primacy was assigned not to oral literature, as the romantics affirmed, but to written works. Instead of speaking of the people and of the peasantry, instead of emphasizing ethnographism, mythology, originality, and the non-historical element, positivist populism spoke of the non-popular, alien, and non-peasant roots of ethnography and folklore. Songs and *dumas* were now believed to have been created by individuals, representatives of the intellectual circles of the society.

Migrationism, comparativism, and historicism dominated the methodological positions. The epic was treated as the product of borrowing: the *bylinas* of the Volodymyr cycle were considered borrowed works of eastern origin (V. Stasov). "They are all migratory and international," said Volodymyr Hnatiuk regarding the tales, and the same was said of the songs. According to Hnatiuk "the bulk [of folklore] was of non-folk origin." According to Volodymyr Peretts, Ukrainian folk songs were the fruit of the assimilation and reworking of Renaissance, Reformation, and Baroque poetry.

This period was distinguished by a shift from individual publications to a codification of ethnographic materials, to an all-round investigation of the Ukrainian people in ethnographic studies, and to publication of the various so-called corpuses. The Kievan Section



FIGURE 174.
P. CHUBYNSKY

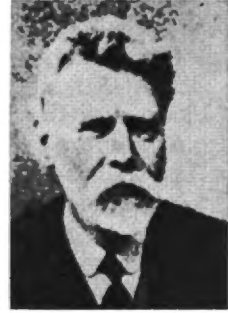


FIGURE 175.
T. VOVK

of the Geographical Society in 1869–70 systematically carried on exploration of the Ukrainian territory, and in 1872 commenced, with the closest cooperation of Paul Chubynsky (1839–89), the publication of the *Trudy etnograficheskostatisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai* (Works of the Ethnographic Statistical Expedition in the West Russian Lands, 1872–8), a study in seven volumes and ten books which constituted the first major attempt to codify ethnographic material. The collected work of Chubynsky embraced all aspects of Ukrainian folk life and for the first time provided, in addition to the songs (Vol. V) and tales (Vol. III), a systematic collection of folk beliefs (Vol. I), of the folk calendar (Vol. II), and the first detailed survey of Ukrainian customs and rites (Vol. IV), a survey of common law prepared by Alexander Kistiakovsky and excerpts from old documents on folk beliefs by Volodymyr Antonovych (Vol. VI), as well as the first systematic, and for a long time the only, survey of Ukrainian dialects, by Constantine Mykhalchuk, along with material on the national minorities in Ukraine (Vol. III).

The work of Chubynsky, which gathered together a large group of distinguished specialists, encouraged the scientific research of such Ukrainian scholars as Volodymyr Antonovych, Michael Drahomanov, Theodore Vovk, Ivan Rudchenko, Alexander Potebnia,

Alexander Rusov, Paul Zhytetsky, Nicholas Lysenko, and many others. Ukrainian scholarship was indebted to them not only for valuable, critically edited materials but also for the application of modern western European methods of research. The most prominent of this group of scholars was undoubtedly Michael Drahomanov (1841-95), who rejected the previous romantic enthusiasm for the folk view of life and subjected the ethnographic material to thorough analysis. Drahomanov was the most prominent representative of the theory of borrowings and migrations of folk themes and motifs, and from this point of view he examined Ukrainian tales, legends, beliefs, anecdotes, and folk poetry; however, especially in the last period of his life, he became more reserved toward the school of borrowings (the literary-international or historical-comparative school of Theodore Benfey) and rejected neither the mythological-tribal school, which was chiefly represented in Ukraine by Alexander Potebnia, nor the so-called anthropological school of parallel spontaneous generation (Andrew Lang and A. Geddes). Applying the comparative method, Drahomanov began to edit several corpora of Ukrainian ethnographical material. Along with Antonovych he worked on and published a two-volume collection of Ukrainian historical songs, which has remained the most important work in this field, as well as two extensively annotated collections of the political songs of the Ukrainian people.

Also included in this group of scholars were: the collector of tales and songs, Ivan Rudchenko; Nicholas Ziber, the author of several works on Ukrainian common law; and, somewhat later, Theodore Vovk; and, in the field of folk music, Nicholas Lysenko. From the latter's pen there appeared the first detailed *Kharakteristika muzykal'nykh osobennostei malorusskikh dum i pesen* (Characterization of the Musical Peculiarities of the Little Russian *Dumas* and Songs) and a

basic work on Ukrainian *bandurist* Ostop Veresai.

To this group belonged the philologist Alexander Potebnia (1835-91), who in the 1860's published a number of valuable studies on Ukrainian folk poetry and on related customs and beliefs. He followed the then popular mythological system. His works, linking the study of folklore and language, threw new light on the origin and meaning of the individual symbols and motifs of folk poetry and folk rites.

After the closing in 1876 of the Southwestern Section of the Russian Geographical Society and the prohibition of the Ukrainian language and literature, ethnographic work was not discontinued. On the contrary, it flourished because of the impossibility of developing the national literature. Advantage was taken of the permission to print scholarly texts and materials in the publications of the archives, statistical committees, and philological and historical journals, especially in the monthly *Kievskaiia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882-1906) and the *Sborniki Khar'kovskogo Istoriko-Filologicheskogo Obshchestva* (Collections of the Historical - Philological Society in Kharkiv, 1877-



FIGURE 176.
N. SUMTSOV

1922). A number of valuable collections appeared also as separate editions, especially in the 1890's.

Special acknowledgment should also be given to Nicholas Sumtsov (1854-1922) and to Borys Hrinchenko (1863-1910) for organizing and publishing ethnographic studies. Sumtsov made it his task to investigate scientifically or at least to touch upon all fields of Ukrainian ethnography. From his pen came a series of works and studies (on Ukrainian wedding customs, spring songs and amuse-

ments, dance songs, Christmas and New Year's rites, apocryphal tales, *bylinas*, *dumas*, nomenclature, the history of Ukrainian housing, wishes, curses, and charms), in which he attempted scientifically to collect and explain the data and to depict the state and problems of the field. He began his scientific work as an adherent of the mythological school, but moved cautiously toward the comparative view, taking into account the philological tools of analysis, with which he was best acquainted. The result of these detailed studies was his two-volume work *Kulturnye perezhivaniia* (Cultural Survivals, Kiev, 1889-90), which was an important aid to young ethnographers, since it dealt with many interesting scholarly questions and themes. Of importance also were his works on the history of Ukrainian ethnography which were successfully continued and supplemented by similar works of Alexander Pypin and O. Ohonovsky. Borys Hrinchenko is better known as a writer but he also holds an important place in ethnography chiefly as a bibliographer and collector of folklore material and folk terminology.

Among other specialists on Ukrainian folk life were Ivan Manzhuza (1851-93) and M. Dykariv (1854-1900).

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Ethnographic studies in the early 1900's placed an even greater emphasis on the international and the borrowed, the non-folk and non-indigenous character of the whole ethnographic inheritance. The basic thesis continued to be: "the people do not create but reproduce." The conception of folklore became more and more subordinated to the universalistic conception of "primitive culture" in one or another of its interpretations—magism, totemism, primitive monotheism, etc.

At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the center of ethnographic research was transferred to Lviv,

thanks to the great organizing, collecting, and publishing activities of four outstanding scholars: Michael Hrushevsky (1866-1934), Theodore Vovk (1847-1918), Ivan Franko (1856-1916), and Volodymyr Hnatiuk (1871-1926), who set up within the Shevchenko Scientific Society a special Ethnographic Commission (1898) and undertook systematic ethnographic work. They attracted the active ethnographers throughout Ukraine, gave to the work an appropriate scientific basis and scope, and stimulated not only scholarly but popular interest.

The growth of the discipline was facilitated by special scientific expeditions and research carried out with the aid of special instructions and detailed questionnaires which embraced all parts of Ukraine. This made possible, in less than two decades, the collection of extraordinarily rich ethnographic material, which was published after appropriate preparation by specialists in the two organs of the Ethnographic Commission, the *Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Collection, 40 vols. beginning with 1895) and *Materiialy do ukrains'koi etnologii* (Materials on Ukrainian Ethnology, from 1899, 22 vols.), and also in other publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSh). The principal initiator of this work was the head of the society, Professor Michael Hrushevsky. An active role in the work of the Ethnographic Commission was played by an outstanding anthropologist, archaeologist, and ethnologist, Theodore Vovk, whose work "Etnograficheskie osobennosti ukrainskogo naroda" (The Ethnographic Peculiarities of the Ukrainian People) was published in the second volume of the collection *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem* (The Ukrainian People in their Past and Present, 1916). Vovk's work, based on vast material and extensively illustrated, remains the principal source of knowledge concerning the way of life of the Ukrainian people and their material culture.

Ivan Franko, for many years the di-

rector of the Ethnographic Commission, left several monumental works in the field of ethnography and folklore, and his many-volumed collection of proverbs *Halys'ko-Rus'ki narodni pryppovidky* (Galician-Ruthenian Folk Proverbs, in *Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, Vols. X, XVI-XXIV, XXVIII), surpasses similar works in foreign languages and has no equal in other Slavic languages.

A very important role in the development of the work of the Ethnographic Commission was played by Volodymyr Hnatiuk, Secretary of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, who after the death of Franko became the head of the Ethnographic Commission and from 1900 was editor of its publications. He dedicated his entire life to ethnography and to the Commission and recruited for it numerous collaborators and collectors. With great endurance and zeal he worked on the systematic collection and publication of ethnographic material from all Ukrainian territories, including Carpatho-Ukraine, to which he devoted a six-volume collection *Etnohrafichni materialy z Uhors'koï Rusy* (Ethnographic Materials from Hungarian Rus')



FIGURE 177.
V. HNATIUK

as a result of his journeys over many years (in *Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, Vols. III, IV, IX, XXV, XXIX, XXX). Twenty-two volumes of the *Etnohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ethnographic Collection) were filled by him with carefully and scientifically edited collections on individual topics and fields of ethnography.

Around the Ethnographic Commission gathered almost all the prominent older and younger ethnographers, who worked in various fields—art, architecture, folk techniques, folk medicine, folk agriculture, handicrafts, and so on. F. Kolessa investigated folk music and folklore and Z. Kuzela (1882–1952) studied customs,



FIGURE 178.
F. KOLESSA



FIGURE 179.
Z. KUZELA

beliefs, and folklore. An important part in the ethnographic work of the Shevchenko Scientific Society was played by: I. Svietsitsky (a work on the Christmas rites, collections of laments, and studies in the field of art), Yu. Zhatkovych and H. Strypsky (Transcarpathia), L. Biletska (embroidered shirts), M. Vozniak (on the collection of Ilkevych), I. Hurhula (Easter eggs), C. Hrushevskia (the *dumas*), V. Domanysky, M. Zubrytsky, M. Korduba, Yu. Kmit (funeral rites), A. Mohylchenko (architecture), A. Onyshchuk (valuable collections of folk beliefs, folk calendar), M. Rusov (folk handicrafts), K. Studynsky (*lira* players), S. Tomashivsky (Transcarpathia, the song of Stephen the Voivode), and V. Shchurat. Among the foreign collaborators were F. Korsh, R. F. Kaindl, Yu. Polivka, L. Niederle, and A. Brueckner.

The scholars grouped around the Ethnographic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society actually formed a separate school. They tended towards a synthesis between the old and the new orientations; adhering in general to the comparative method, they carefully emphasized, whenever possible, the nationally independent developments. A monumental achievement of this school was the *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature) of Michael Hrushevsky, in which he applied to Ukrainian folklore the sociological method of Durkheim.

The scholarly work of the Ethnographic Commission found active support in central Ukraine, where from 1907 on there existed an ethnographic section in the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev. Mention also should be made of the publications of regional centers founded in various parts of Ukraine: in Zhytomyr *Trudy Obshchestva issledovatelei Volyni* (Works of the Society of Investigators of Volhynia); in Odessa (publications of the Odessa Scientific Society); in Sambir (*Litopys Boikivshchyny* [Chronicle of Boikian Land in 9 vols.]), Kharkiv (*Kraieznavstvo*—Regional Studies) and Uzhhorod (collections of the *Prosvita* society).

With the growth of the press many ethnographic materials, studies, and reviews were published in periodicals and in non-periodical collections, some of which have been mentioned: *Kievskata Starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882–1906); *Zoria* (The Star, 1892–7); *Zhytie i Slovo* (Life and Word, 1894–7); *Zapysky UNTK* (Memoirs of the UNTK, from 1907); *Sbornik Khar'kovskogo Istoriko-Filologicheskogo Obshchestva* (Collection of the Kharkiv Historical-Philological Society); *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie* (Ethnographic Review, Moscow); *Zhivaia Starina* (The Living Past); *Russkii Filologicheskii Vestnik* (Russian Philological Journal, Warsaw); *Filologicheskie Zapiski* (Philological Notes, Voronezh); *Izvestiia otdeleniia russkogo yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* (Bulletin of the Russian Language and Literature Section of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg); *Kievskie Universitetskie Izvestiia* (Kiev University Bulletins, Kiev); *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej* (Collection of Data on National Anthropology, Cracow); *Lud* (The People, Lviv); *Wista* (Vistula, Warsaw); and *Ziemia* (The Land).

A number of important works on Ukrainian ethnography of this period came from the pens of foreigners, chiefly

from the neighboring countries. There were numerous Russian scholars who treated Ukrainian themes or touched upon them. A. Pypin, A. Veselovsky, P. Vladimirov, E. Anichkov, and D. Zelenin were closely connected with Ukrainian ethnographic studies.

Of the Polish ethnographers, in addition to those already mentioned, particular credit should be given to Iz. Kopernicki (1825–91), editor of the *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej* (from 1877), who published much Ukrainian ethnographic material; J. Talko-Hryniewicz, a native of Ukraine and author of an extensive work on Ukrainian folk medicine (1893); and above all O. Kolberg, who published several very valuable collections. German works include the travel accounts of Johann Georg Kohl (1841), Baron F. Haxthausen (1847), and Johann Heinrich Blasius (1844), which contain many interesting ethnographic observations, and the book of Friedrich Bodenstedt, *Die poetische Ukraine* (1845), with translations of Ukrainian songs and an enthusiastic romantic introduction about Ukraine. Special credit is due to Raymond Frederick Kaindl, professor at the University of Chernivtsi, the author of monographs on the Hutsuls and the Ukrainians of Bukovina, published in Austrian professional journals, in which he also regularly reviewed the most recent Ukrainian publications. In addition, there were many works of German scholars and also of French and English mostly of a popular character.

ETHNOGRAPHY IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR

With the founding in 1918 of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, ethnographic work during the 1920's was concentrated in four institutions: the Ethnographic Commission, the Vovk Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology, the Cabinet of Primitive Culture, and

the Cabinet of Musical Folklore. The Ethnographic Commission was headed by Academician A. Loboda with V. Petrov as director and V. Bilyi as secretary; in the Commission there were sections on the study of national minorities (E. Rykhlik), on musical ethnography (C. Kvitka), and on the monographic study of the village. The Commission engaged in collecting (with nearly 10,000 correspondents) the ethnographic material. It published a series of questionnaires for collectors. From 1925 on, under the editorship of A. Loboda and V. Petrov, it issued the journal *Etnografichnyi Visnyk* (Ethnographic Journal, 10 vols.). Its contributors included O. Pchilka, A. Hrushevsky, N. Biliashovsky, V. Shcherbakivsky, D. Revutsky, C. Kvitka, O. Kurylo, V. Dankivska, F. Savchenko, A. Nosov. Ethnographic collections from various localities were published as well as a monumental edition, *Bibliohrafiia literatury z ukrains'koho folkloru* (A Bibliography of the Literature on Ukrainian Folklore), prepared by A. Andrievsky under the supervision and editorship of V. Petrov. At the Vovk Museum under the direction of A. Onyshchuk material culture was studied on the basis of the data from the village of Starosillia near Kiev. The results of these studies and other works were printed in the collections *Antropolohiia* (Anthropology) and in monographs. An Ethnographic Society was established at the Museum which published a periodical organ, *Zapysky* (Notes). At the Section on Primitive Culture under the presidency of Academician Michael Hrushevsky the remains of primitive culture in Ukraine were investigated. Beginning in 1926 a scientific yearbook, *Peroisne Hromadianstvo* (Primitive Society), was published. The Commission of Historical Song at the Historical Section under the direction of Catherine Hrushevaska published two volumes of the latter, *Ukrains'ki narodni dumy, Korpus* (Ukrainian Folk Dumas—A Com-

plete Collection, 1927, 1931). Of the valuable editions of this period mention should be made of the collections of Ukrainian folk songs published by C. Kvitka. The Commission on Ukrainian Common Law under the direction of A. Malynovsky and C. Kvitka had its own publication.

During this period, in opposition to the evolutionary historicism of the nineteenth century, the study of folklore was permeated by new tendencies—anti-geneticism, anti-evolutionism, and anti-historicism; folklore was studied not as the product of the evolutionary process but as a “phenomenological manifestation,” and the morphological structure of folklore and of ethnological phenomena was investigated.

In ethnographic studies, migrationism yielded ground to the principle of autochthony. In the next stage, the first attempts were made to replace the anti-evolutionary anti-historicism and formalistic anti-geneticism of the 1910's and 1920's with an anti-evolutionary historicism, applying to the study of folklore and ethnographic phenomena the principle of the historical epoch, with clear delimitation of the different historical phases and stages. No phenomenon of folklore or ethnography was studied in isolation, but in its connection with the epoch, its structure, and *Weltanschauung*.

At the beginning of the 1930's work in ethnography at the Academy of Sciences was suspended and the ethnographic institutions were closed. Later, in 1936, the Institute of Folklore was established; it issued a journal, *Ukrains'kyi Folklor* (Ukrainian Folklore, in 1939-41 under the title *Narodna Tvorchist'*), which was entirely subordinated to political tasks and lacked scientific authority. The policy of “organizing” folklore was applied; expeditions went out with special political tasks, for example, to find folklore about Stalin, or about Shchors, etc. Literary attempts of school

pupils found their way into collections along with folk songs and legends. Sometimes the data were simply falsified.

In 1939, after Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine, a branch of the Institute of Ukrainian Folklore of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR was founded in Lviv, and the Ukrainian State Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts set up in place of the former Ethnographic Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Western Ukrainian ethnographers were included in the research work, conducted under specific Soviet conditions. In 1944 the Institute for the Study of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography was established from the Institute of Folklore (1936-41) and its later manifestation, the Institute of Popular Creativeness and Arts.

Ethnographic studies were revived somewhat after World War II. In addition to publications of a propagandistic character, such as *Fol'klor Vitchyznianoï Vīny* (Folklore of the Patriotic War, Lviv, 1945) and *Ukraїns'ka narodna poeziia pro Velyku Vitchyznianu Viinu* (Ukrainian Folk Poetry about the Great Patriotic War, 1953), there appeared also several valuable works in the 1940's and still more in the 1950's. The Institute of the Study of Art, Folklore, and Ethnography published in 1947-54 three volumes of *Naukovi zapysky* (Research Studies); volume IV, *Ukraїns'ka etnografia* (Ukrainian Ethnography), was published in 1958. Since 1957 the Institute has been publishing a quarterly, *Narodna tvorchiť ta etnografia* (Folk Creativeness and Ethnography). The Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts of Lviv published three volumes of *Materiialy z etnografii ta khudozhn'oho promyslu*, 1954-7, and also a reference book on the Museum's acquisitions. Research on ethnography has also been conducted by the Ukrainian State Museum of Ethnography and Applied Arts of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. It has been publishing *Materiialy z Etnografii ta Mystetstvov-*

navstva (Materials on Ethnography and the Study of the Arts); six volumes have been published up to 1961. Ethnographic studies are also conducted at various universities in Ukraine.

Numerous expeditions have been organized for the purpose of conducting ethnographic research. For example, the Department of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR organized several expeditions to the Donets Basin, the Kryvyi Rih region, and Transcarpathia; the staff of the Lviv Ukrainian State Museum of Ethnography and Arts and Crafts took part in expeditions to villages of the Lviv province in 1949 and to Polisia in 1953. It should be noted that special attention is given to the studies of Western Ukraine.

Ethnographic studies in Ukraine deal primarily with subjects of Soviet reality as well as the following: folk calendar and calendar rites; settlements, farmsteads, and dwellings; folk art (wall decorations, metal handiwork of the Hutsul region, other decorative art); folk music and folk dances; *kobza* music and *kobza* players; new ways of life of peasants and workers (marriage and weddings, public festivals); workers' houses and gardens; and the history of ethnography.

Among works which deal with material folk culture, the extensive study by V. P. Samoilovych, *Narodna tvorchiť v arkhitekturi sil'skoho zhytla* (Folk Creativeness in the Architecture of Village Habitation, 1961), deserves to be mentioned. In the series *Ukraїns'ke narodne mystetstvo* (Ukrainian Folk Art), two albums, *Tkanyny i vyshyvky* (Tapestries and Embroideries, 1960) and *Vbrannia* (Clothing, 1961), are valuable contributions.

Folklore is studied more intensively than any other field of ethnography. Anthologies covering certain genres of folklore are largely popularizations, such as *Ukraїns'ki narodni dumy ta istorychni pisni* (Ukrainian Folk Dumas and Historical Songs), Kiev, 1955; *Ukraїns'ki narodni pisni* (Ukrainian Folk Songs),

2 vols., Kiev, 1955; *Ukrains'ki narodni prysliv'ia ta prykazky* (Ukrainian Proverbs and Popular Sayings), Kiev, 1955; *Ukrains'ki narodni kazky, lehendy, anekdoty* (Ukrainian Folk Fairy Tales, Legends, and Anecdotes), Kiev, 1957; *Ukrains'ka narodna satyra i humor* (Ukrainian Folk Satire and Humor), Lviv, 1959. A two-volume synthesizing work, *Ukrains'ka narodna poetychna tvorchist'* (Ukrainian Folk Poetic Creative Work), was published in 1958.

Unfortunately, all material which is not in agreement with official Soviet ideology has been systematically excluded from these published collections—for example, the Christmas carols of the Christian cycle, historical songs, proverbs, and popular sayings expressing anti-Soviet attitudes.

Ukrainian ethnography is also a field of research at the Institute of Ethnography of the All-Union Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In 1958 there appeared a bulky volume of the *Vostochnoslavianskii etnograficheskii sbornik* (East Slavic Ethnographic Collection) devoted to the material culture of the Russians, Ukrainians, and Belorussians.

UKRAINIAN ETHNOGRAPHY ABROAD

The periods of the first and second emigrations were not conducive to serious work in ethnography, but studies were not discontinued and were chiefly concentrated in Prague, Berlin, and in Carpatho-Ukraine. Among the émigré scholars are to be mentioned V. Shcherbakivsky, who long before World War I had acquired a reputation as an archaeologist and ethnologist (works on folk art, ritual, and the ethnogenesis of the Ukrainian people), V. Sichynsky (folk architecture and folk art), Z. Kuzela (ethnographic groups and spiritual folklore), and later, V. Petrov (spiritual folklore and oral literature), and others. P. Kovaliv (folklore and beliefs), P. Odarchenko (folklore and oral litera-

ture), Ja. Rudnyč'kyj (Ukrainian Canadian folklore and dialectological material), S. Kylymnyk (Ukrainian calendar in folk customs), O. Voropai (folk customs, proverbs, sayings), I. Levkovich (oral literature), and others are preoccupied with Ukrainian ethnographic studies.

V. Petrov, Z. Kuzela, and P. Odarchenko

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2. TRIBAL DIVISION AND ETHNOGRAPHIC GROUPS

TRIBAL COMPOSITION IN THE NINTH CENTURY

The leading role in the formation of Ukraine as an ethnic and political unity fell to the small but favorably located tribe of the Polianians, who lived on the middle Dnieper around the old center of Kiev. The Primary Chronicle mentions the following other tribes: the Derevlians, the Siverianians, the Ulychians or Uhlychians, the Tivertsians, the Dulebians, and also the White Croats, whose ethnic affiliation is still the subject of study. (For further details see "History.") With the development of Ukraine as a political unit, new names, corresponding to new territorial divisions, emerged in addition to the old tribal names. In particular, in place of the Dulebians there appear the Volhynians and Buzhanians. The names, with

the exception of the Volhynians, have not been preserved in geographical usage, but they have left traces in the toponymic names, while the old tribal names have given way to the modern political and national names.

TERRITORIAL NAMES

The tribal names having long lost the basis for their existence and no longer being mentioned in the contemporary literature, there now appeared purely geographical, territorial names having nothing in common with the ethnographic divisions. The *Poltavtsi*, *Chernihivtsi*, and *Slobozhany* in the east of Ukraine were exclusively territorial groups whose names had no ethnographic basis.

It would hardly be exaggerating to say that the central and, in part, the south-

eastern areas of Ukraine were settled by a population which was basically comprised of one ethnographic complex, although having some variations in physical appearance, dialect, and material culture. Local peculiarities are more evident on the peripheries of the Subcaucasus and the south Bessarabian regions but even there they are not so distinct and characteristic as to create ethnographic entities. For this reason, this major section of the Ukrainian territory does not require any special ethnographic analysis here.

UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUPS

The northern and western lands of Ukraine have preserved a considerable degree of diversity, many primitive, archaic features, and definite traces of

old tribal characteristics. The inaccessibility of the area of northern Ukraine, from Polisia to the northern part of the former Kiev and Chernihiv *guberniyas* (provinces), and the mountainous terrain of the Carpathian region have protected them from alien incursions.

These areas have preserved the original Ukrainian folk culture in their traditional customs and rites, in their architecture and clothing. In spite of their distance from each other and the fact that they are separated by other ethnic groups, the two above-mentioned ethnographic areas have in common many customs, rites, and features of material culture which suggest a common origin or neighborhood in the old pre-Christian period and have developed to a great extent because of the nature of this wooded area ("wood" culture).

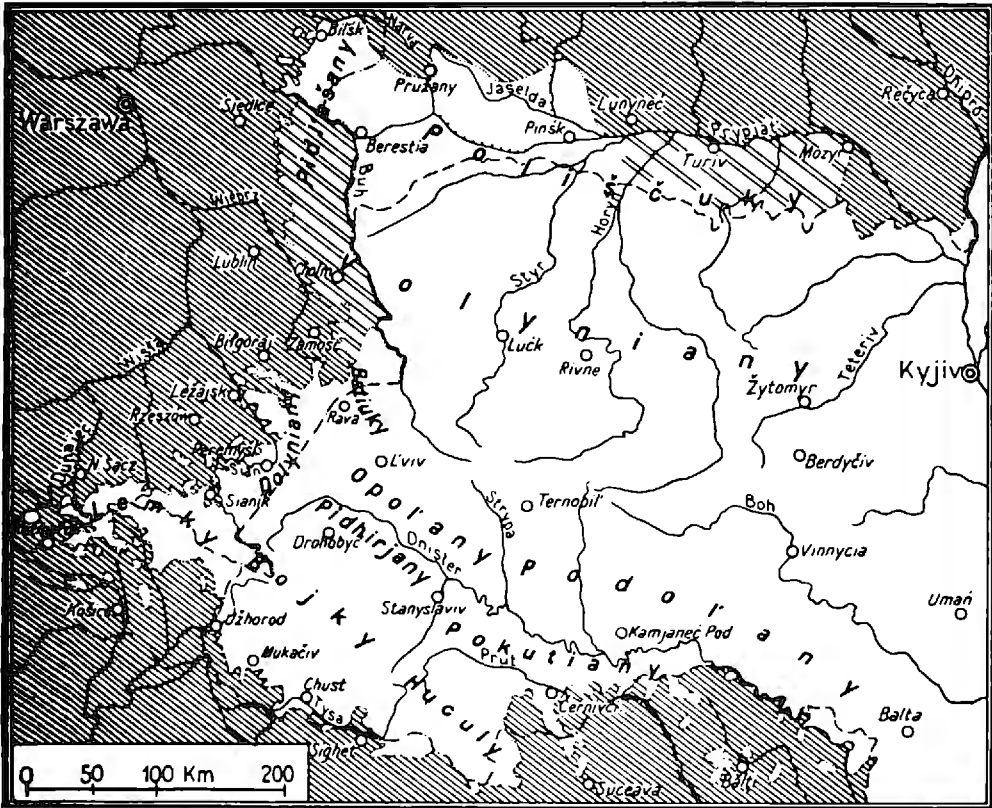


FIGURE 180. MAP OF THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN ETHNIC GROUP

On the other hand, Ukrainian tribes in the Carpathians and the ethnic groups which developed from them absorbed, through the intermediary of the Southern Slavs, the Slovaks, Czechs, and Poles, certain western and southern European influences. Situated on both sides of the Carpathian chain ridge, they were in close contact with a number of tribes and peoples of the Danube basin. Many ancient rites and customs, objects of material culture, as well as spiritual conceptions, motifs, and themes have resulted from this association, appearing most clearly among the western Lemkians and the southern Hutsuls.

Western Ukrainian (Carpathian) and Neighboring Ethnic Groups

The population on both sides of the Carpathians is divided into three approximately equal groups: the Lemkians, the Boikians, and the Hutsuls, who have inhabited the same regions since they first settled there.

The Lemkians. The westernmost Ukrainian ethnic group is that of the Lemkians, who are also known in Transcarpathia as the *Lemaky*. Until 1946, they inhabited both sides of the main Carpathian range from the Poprad in the west to the sources of the Sian (San) and the Uzh in the east, extending in a wedge into Slovak and Polish ethnic territory. In the course of many centuries they have lost parts of their territory to the Slovaks and the Poles, retaining only small enclaves (such as Osturnia) outside the compact area of their main territory. They have shown more resistance to the Poles than to the Slovaks; a group which at the



FIGURE 181. LEMKIAN WOMAN'S COSTUME

present time uses the Slovak language, but is of the Greek Catholic faith, shows clearly that it is of Ukrainian origin.

In 1946-8 the Poles transferred a great number of the Lemkians to the USSR and resettled others in those Polish provinces which were German before World War II. During the last few years many Lemkians have returned from what is now western and northern Poland. In Slovakia all the Lemkians have remained in their old territory. Until recently the Lemkians preserved their native costume (with the characteristic woolen mantles—*chuhy*), which was homemade, except for some foreign items (e.g., the men's caps were bought in Czech Olomouc). Their repertoire of songs, as has been shown by the collections and studies of F. Kolessa, is rich and original and is related to Slovak songs, as it was, formerly, to Czech songs, from which have come some ballad motifs and love songs.

Near the Lemkians, to the north of the city of Krosno, live the *Zamishantsi*. They call themselves *Rusyny* (Ruthenians).

The Boikians. To the east of the Lemkians lies the territory of the Boikians, called *Boikiushchyna* (the Boikian region), which extends to the Solotvynian Bystrytsia and the Tereshva in the east. The Boikians themselves, especially those in Transcarpathia, do not like this



FIGURE 182. A GIRL FROM THE BOIKIAN AREA

name which they regard as derisive, and prefer to call themselves *Verkho-vyntsi* (Mountaineers). The inhabitants of the southern Boikian territory in Transcarpathia are known as the *Dolyniany* (Valley People) and are considered to be the pioneers of Ukrainian colonization in those regions. Although

both areas of the Boikian region belong to the same general ethnic group, certain differences can be noted in the southern region especially in dialect and in house-building, the main type of house being a two-room structure, consisting only of an entrance hall and the house proper.

The Boikian group also includes the *Tukhołtsi* who live in the neighborhood of Skole and Smorzhe and who speak the dialect of the Boikians but differ from them in type and in disposition. Whereas the Boikians breed cattle, the *Tukhołtsi* show a great ability for trade, and before World War I were known in Galicia and beyond as sellers of grapes and other fruit.

The Boikians have preserved their ancient customs and rites and much of their material culture, architecture, and costume. In their burial rites they have preserved certain features which have disappeared in other sections of Ukrainian territory (the wake and special types of graves). The Boikian region still preserves the old type of wooden house under the same roof as the farm buildings, the old agricultural implements (e.g. *kadovby*, clay receptacles for grain), typical old churches, characteristic forms of costume and ornament (shirts, head coverings, beads, long cloaks, etc.), and some survivals of old customs ("the great family," "maiden fairs") and terminology.

The Hutsuls. In the area to the east of the Boikians, extending down to the Rumanian ethnic territory in the east and southeast, live the Hutsuls. Their ethnic area has receded somewhat before the advance of the Rumanian population, which has long tended to move to the north and northwest. The pioneers of the Rumanian colonization, known as the Wallachians, have left certain traces in Hutsul life and local nomenclature, but have not remained on Ukrainian territory. However, the Hutsul group's relations with the Rumanians have resulted in the spread of cultural features of the Balkan type, which are apparent in cer-



FIGURE 183. YOUNG WOMAN AND YOUNG MAN FROM THE HUTSUL AREA

tain rites, in costumes, and in folk art. The Hutsul region, although mountainous, is better suited to agriculture than the Boikian region. Nevertheless, the principal occupations of the population are the breeding of cattle (*marzhyna*) and sheep, and work in the forests, cutting, hauling, and floating timber.

The Hutsuls are also skillful builders,



FIGURE 184. HUTSUL WOMAN ON HORSEBACK

and almost all the old wooden Hutsul churches, which resemble the old Byzantine types, are the work of Hutsul craftsmen.

The Hutsul region is widely known for its highly developed domestic handicrafts, especially wood-carving, brass-work, rug-weaving, and pottery-making. The Hutsuls' originality and artistic taste are particularly evident in their ornamentation and choice of colors (see "Popular Art").

The Hutsul costume is of the same southern, Balkan type as that of the Boikians, the Lemkians, and the rest of the Carpathian population, but its colors and adornment are more striking than those of the Boikians or Lemkians. It differs from theirs in details and, until recently at least, has been made from the Hutsuls' own materials.

The Hutsul region has its own special type of architecture (the enclosure—*grazhda*, high-roofed houses, characteristic porches), which is also widespread in the transitional Boikian-Hutsul belt (see Fig. 226). The people live in scattered settlements. But, to a large extent, Transcarpathia has lost the Hutsul mountain type of architecture, except in the region of upper Tysa.

In the Hutsul region the old rituals are still well preserved. There is a great wealth of beliefs, in particular in the realm of demonology, as well as of rites and customs connected with the folk calendar.

The Pokutians. Pokutia lies to the northeast of the Hutsul area and extends, in both Galicia and Bukovina, to the Dniester in the north. The population of this section has many characteristics similar to those of the Hutsuls. The transitional type between the Hutsuls and the Boikians, on the one hand, and the population further to the north, on the other, is represented by the *Pidhiriany*—"people of the foothills."

Northwestern Ukrainian Ethnic Groups

These groups inhabit the region on

both sides of the Sian (San) from the Lemkian region and the territory of the *Pidhiriany* in the south (Sianik [Sanok]-Peremyszl [Przemysl]) to the southern Kholm (Chełm) region in the north including enclaves in ethnically Polish territory. In the south the population of this area is related to the Lemkian group, and in the northeast (to the east of Yavoriv and Rava Ruska) to the Opolian (Dniester) group, but in the center of the region the people's characteristics as a group entitle them to be considered as a separate unit known as the *Dolyniany*—"valley people." The *Dolyniany* speak their own Sian dialect (see "Language") and differ from their neighbors in dress. They also have certain characteristic details in their customs and rites (the singing of spring songs called *ryndziivky*). The old type of town-dwellers with their ancient costumes and customs have survived in this region. In general, this interesting border territory has been little studied. Among the most important ethnic sub-groups should be mentioned the *Batiuky* who inhabit the area extending up to Nesteriv (Zhovkva) and Rava Ruska, and the border group to the east of Yavoriv, the *Veresiuky* (so named after the Vereshytsia River).

The Opolians. The Opolians inhabit western Podilia up to the river Strypa and, in some places, as far as the Seret in the east. They speak, with slight variations, the same dialect, that of the Dniester group.

The Podilians. "Galician" Podilia begins at the Strypa, and extends to the Zbruch. Eastern Podilia, lying between the Dniester and the Boh, stretches as far as the area south of Balta. The Podilian ethnic region shows many features characteristic of Western Ukraine especially in its customs and rites (e.g., ceremonies for the dead) and folklore (e.g., folk tales and the songs of the *opryshky* [robbers]), which are unknown in eastern Ukraine. The northern section of the Podilian ethnic group is related to the southern Volhynian belt.

Volhynia. Volhynia today is not an ethnically homogeneous area, but is characterized by two closely related types: the southern, which begins in northwestern Galicia and extends up to Lutsk and Rivne, and the northern,



FIGURE 185. WOMAN'S COSTUME FROM VOLHYNIA

which extends to Polisia. As in the case of Podilia, the political frontier has not destroyed the ethnographic unity here and has not produced noticeable differences in the ethnic type and dialect. Volhynia has preserved not only many old *koliadky* (winter festival carols) and *shchedrivky* (New Year songs), but also a number of Church carols and religious songs. Lyre-playing has been especially widespread and popular in this region.

Northern Ukrainian Ethnic Groups

The entire northern part of Ukraine from the Buh to the Seim, south of the Yaselda and the Prypiat, on both sides of the Desna and on the left bank of the Dnieper is occupied by the northern Ukrainian ethnic groups, who settled on the old territories of the Derevlians and Siverianians. They have preserved the old Ukrainian folk culture; but in the westernmost area, the Kholm [Chełm] region and Podlachia, they have not been able to resist Polish pressure. The inhabitants of the Kholm region do not form a separate ethnic type; the eastern part of the area was settled by Volhynians, and the southern part, by the *Dolyniany*.

The Podlachians definitely belong to the northern Ukrainian type with its cultural and ethnic characteristics and they speak basically the same dialect

(northern dialects) (see "Language").

Polisia and its population. To the east of Podlachia stretches the quite broad belt of Polisian territory, where much has been preserved from ancient times: the old wood culture, the old costume which shows traces of the traditions of the medieval period, and widespread rituals, which are basically analogous to those of the Boikians and the Hutsuls in the Carpathians. Polisia has a great wealth of oral tradition, which is closely related in content and type to Ukrainian folklore in general,



FIGURE 186. WOMAN'S COSTUME FROM PODLACHIA

as for example the terminology relating to the Danube, the Kozaks, and Ukraine. Polisia has preserved a great number of *koliadky* (carols) with ancient themes, many ritual songs which are today regarded as "survivals" (e.g., *volochubni* songs and *rohuľky* Easter songs), and the themes of many tales which the Belorussians, who live further to the north, have taken from them. See p. 20 for the Ukrainian-Belorussian ethnic boundary.)

Ethnically Polisia is not entirely homogeneous, and its eastern part in particular shows variations. Polisia as a whole is usually divided into four belts: Polisia proper, the Pinsk region, the Volhynian, and Chernihiv Polisia. The people are usually called Polishchuks or Pinchuks, but many local names are also used.

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3. MATERIAL FOLK CULTURE

REMAINS OF PREHISTORIC MATERIAL CULTURE

The success of archeology during the last sixty years has allowed us to introduce some clarity into the still little-studied historical ethnography of Ukraine. From Neolithic times Ukraine has had climatic and geographic conditions which do not differ essentially from the present. In the Neolithic period there took shape that type of material culture which became, in certain of its features, the basis for the development of the material folk culture of later periods (settlements, agriculture, cattle-raising, and handicrafts).

Animal Husbandry

The steppe and forest-steppe belts of Ukraine, which belong zonally to similar areas of Eurasia, offered pasturage for horned cattle, both large and small. Because there has been too little study of the final stages of the Mesolithic and the early Neolithic periods we cannot be sure when cattle were first domesticated. At any rate, the process of domestication was already completed during the Trypilian period (see "Archaeology"). Cattle-raising in connection with agri-

culture was the basic economic pattern of this period. The herds were composed chiefly of large horned cattle. As to the method of keeping cattle, the area of Kolomyishchyna, near Khalepia, indicates that they were kept in village herds; the settlements were circular in formation and cattle were driven into the open area in the center of the settlement (*maidan*). This arrangement is found in other steppe regions of Afro-Eurasia. The cattle raised during this period were straight-horned and short-horned bulls (*bos primigenius*). At the end of the Trypilian period (2nd millennium B.C.), the position of cattle-raising in the general economic system (the composition of the herds and the method of caring for them) underwent essential changes. While during the Trypilian period, cattle-raising existed in the shadow of agricultural emphasis, in the next period it became independently important and of primary economic significance. A specialized dairy economy was developed in the composition of herds; the horse replaced the ox and cow, and the large-horned cattle were replaced by smaller types (sheep); roving flocks replaced the enclosure system. These changes in the composi-

tion of the herds took place simultaneously in the south, in the steppe zone of the Black Sea (Usatove), and in the north, in the forest zone (Raiky, Horodské). The horse, which was not known in "classical" Trypilia, became the characteristic feature of the two succeeding periods, the Eneolithic-Bronze (pre-Scythian) period and the Early Iron Age (Scythian). The next ancient epoch (fifth to fourth centuries B.C. to fourth and fifth centuries A.D.) again saw the combination of animal husbandry with agriculture, with the predominance of agriculture in the general economic system as in Trypilian times. The herds were chiefly composed of small-horned cattle, sheep, and goats, as well as swine. Along with the spread of agriculture and the use of the plow, the use of draft animals also developed. The period of tribal migrations (fourth to fifth centuries A.D.), which ruined the culture of the preceding ancient period, led to a decline in animal husbandry. In the next centuries the Slavs acquired their cattle by purchase from the steppe nomads. From written sources of this Slavic period we know that the horse was not used as a draft animal (Leo the Deacon). This absence of the horse and of draft, horned cattle in general in the Slavic period (sixth to ninth centuries A.D.) can be explained by the methods of the agriculture of the time, which did not require draft animals. The remark of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh made at the Dolob assembly (1103) about the *smerd*-peasant who "plowed with a horse," confirms the role of the horse in the small village economy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The excavations of sites of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries (Raiky) show the composition of the flocks, which did not differ from that of the present day (large-horned cattle, horses, sheep, swine).

Agriculture

Agriculture appeared in Ukraine in the Neolithic period, although it is diffi-

cult today to say whether it was carried on by garden cultivation or by burning forest and steppe clearings (*vypaly* and *pohary*). In neither case were there draft animals. The horn and bone implements which are usually referred to in literature as mattocks (*motyky*) were used in the Neolithic period, and were adapted only for primitive tilling of the earth. The chernozem areas and the regions of the Trypilian population coincided. During the Bronze Age, the importance of agriculture as compared with cattle-raising diminished. From historical hints, it would appear that agriculture with the plow really belongs to the Scythian period when its economic significance grew in connection with the export of wheat and barley to the Mediterranean world. In the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the production of grain

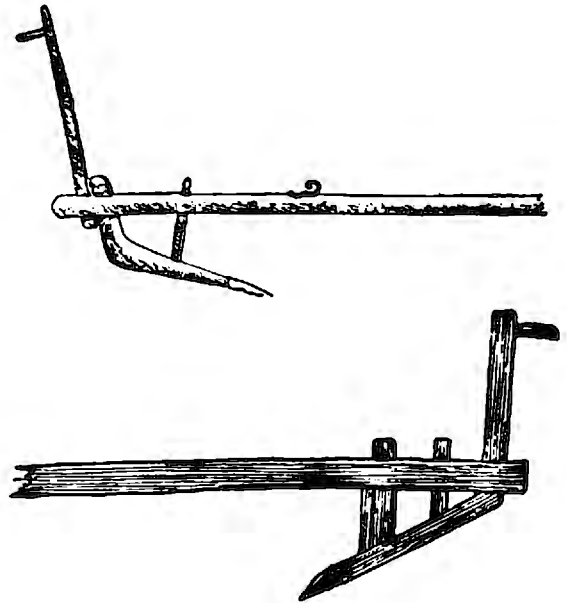


FIGURE 187. ANCIENT PLOWSHARE (HOOK PLOW) FROM THE KIEV AREA (TOP) AND VOLHYNIA (BOTTOM)

became very important; this caused some increase in the land devoted to it and thus the reduction of the forests and pastures. The growing of grain, which was highly developed in the ancient period, declined considerably in the Slavic period (sixth to ninth centuries

A.D.). The devastation which took place during the great tribal migrations caused: the depopulation of the country, an increase in the forest area, and a general decline in the level of material culture (the Romen sites), and thus the decline of agriculture. Grain lost its commercial importance and the system of agriculture changed.

The predominant crop was millet, which was sown on small clearings on the edges of forests. This low technical level of forest agriculture did not require the draft power of cattle or tools for plowing. It demanded, instead, the application of a considerable amount of physical strength by the population; hence the appearance of the "great family," which existed in Polisia until the beginning of the twentieth century. Raising grain without the use of the plow or draft animals ended between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Excavations in Raiky near Berdychiv have yielded many iron plowshares of different types. Wooden plows with a plowshare of metal, as well as the scythes, were in use. Yet it seems clear that during the Middle Ages in the forest belt, agriculture by plowing was closely connected with the clearing of new land. The similarity of the old plow to that of the Romans shows the connection with the plowing agriculture of the ancient period.

Metal Handicrafts

Objects of metal appeared in the Eneolithic period (*badaky*—copper battle-axes). The Hallstatt Period brought the beginning of a local iron industry. Metal-working (jewelry, sickles, chains, and knives) reached a considerable development in the ancient period. The Hutsul bronze buckles, with their similarity to the metal products of the culture of the "burial fields" of the first century A.D., and the identification of the modern ceramic ware in Volhynia and Western Ukraine with the archaeological pottery of the Cherniakhiv type, from the third

century A.D., indicates a connection between the ethnographic culture of the Ukrainian people and the ancient era. The excavations at the sites of the Kievan (Princely) period of Ukrainian history (eleventh to thirteenth centuries) indicate the advanced, intense, and broad development of the iron-mining and ironwork industry. Marsh ores were the source of the iron. The diversity of these articles (plowshares, scythes, fish hooks, locks) shows a high level of technique. From the extraordinary diversity of the iron tools intended for the working of wood (the site of Kniazha Hora near Kaniv on the Ros River), we can draw conclusions as to the state of development of the wood-working industry.

Settlements

During the Trypilian period, the settlements were, for the most part, open. They were located on hillsides and in valleys. The valley settlements, like those of the present, stretched along the little rivers in a single street, but they differed from the present-day villages in that in the latter a meadow, a garden, and a courtyard separate the houses from the river. In Trypilian times the houses were placed directly on the banks of the stream. The best excavated Trypilian settlement, in the area of Kolomyishchyna I, showed that the houses extended not only along the stream, but were on the slopes and in a circle, while the center, which had no structures, was used as a yard for the cattle. The settlement in Kolomyishchyna I consisted of 30 to 40 dwellings with no separate yards. Near the large dwellings there were small buildings for agricultural use. From an estimation of the size of the population in Kolomyishchyna (300 to 500 persons), and the fact that the settlements were about 2 miles apart, we can judge that the density of the population of Left-Bank Ukraine at that time was considerable.

The dwellings in Kolomyishchyna

were built of thick logs, placed upright and covered outside and inside with clay. In the south in the unforested areas (Volodymyrivka in the Uman area) the houses were built not of logs but of twigs covered with clay. The houses usually had two or more sections. The stoves were built of clay on raised bases with raised sleeping shelves beside them; the floor was of clay. During the following Eneolithic and Bronze periods, settlements shifted to the high steep slopes of the streams. This location, with its defensive advantages, also existed in Scythian times, when the settlements reached a very large size. The Bilsko settlement on the Vorskla was 14 miles in circumference, with a developed series of walls and fortification works. Near these fortifications stretched the open settlements of the agricultural population. Open settlements with houses built of twigs and clay were characteristic of the middle Dnieper area from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. to the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. On the lower Dnieper there were fortified towns surrounded by stone walls and towers (the Biziuk site, Kozatska Mykolaiivka). In the Middle Ages (sixth to thirteenth centuries), the typical settlements had earthen ramparts built on wooden structures with clay-packed frameworks. The dwellings, erected on the circumference of a circle, were part of the system of fortification. The houses were two storeys with the lower used for storage. The earthen walls of some sites were covered with stone slabs (Plisnesko near Brody, and perhaps Raiky). The dwellings of the peasants were located on the level ground, outside the walls of the settlement, and were of earth. The settlements grew not by increasing the area of the site but by increasing the number of settlements located on neighboring hills (Kiev, Horodske). Later, by filling the ditches which separated the different settlement hills, a broad area was created for a city, and thus its foundation was laid in the modern sense of the word.

Settlements of the archaic type, such as Raiky and Horodske, had no separate yards or streets; the settlement itself formed the courtyard. Later settlements (e.g., Vyshhorod) were divided into separate "ends" (*kintsi*), forming streets and the type of plan peculiar to later cities.

V. Petrov

AGRICULTURE AND ITS SUPPLEMENTARY BRANCHES

Ethnography concerns itself with the economy from the point of view of the mode of life. It gives principal consideration to the occupations of individuals and of human groups in the economic field. It is concerned with the influence of the economy on the customs and spiritual character of the people, and vice versa. Since factory work is in no sense specifically Ukrainian, this section is devoted to the description of the village economy and handicrafts in their principal features as they were at the end of the nineteenth century.

Of all the branches of economic activity in the life of the Ukrainian people, the most important was, and to a large degree still is, agriculture. The Ukrainian people have an old and highly developed agriculture and on this basis have attained their other cultural achievements.

The Collection of Raw Materials

The collection of raw materials in Ukraine was and still is concentrated chiefly in agriculture and, in part, in cattle-raising. Diet in Ukraine is still supplemented by wild berries, plants, and fruits that have been gathered. The most commonly collected berries are strawberries, blueberries, red-whortle berries, cranberries, raspberries, and blackberries. In addition, the juniper berry, the bird cherry, the snow-ball, the ashberry, blackthorn, and mushrooms are gathered. The sap of birches and pines is collected and drunk.

Hunting

Hunting has been preserved chiefly in the Carpathians and in Polisia, where it still retains such primitive forms as

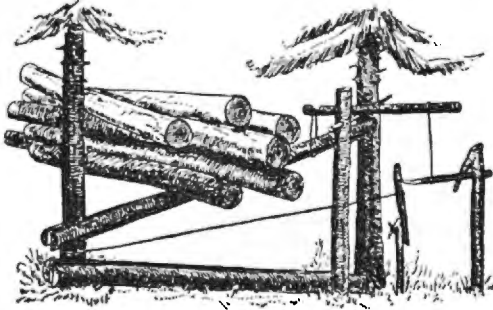


FIGURE 188. SNARE ON A ROPE IN THE CARPATHIANS

stalking on foot (*pidkhodzhennia*) and on horseback (*pidizhdzhennia*), disguising (*maskuvannia*), baiting (*poliuvannia z zamankoiu*), and luring (*vablennia*). Among the hunting gear are primitive staffs, long sticks or rods with

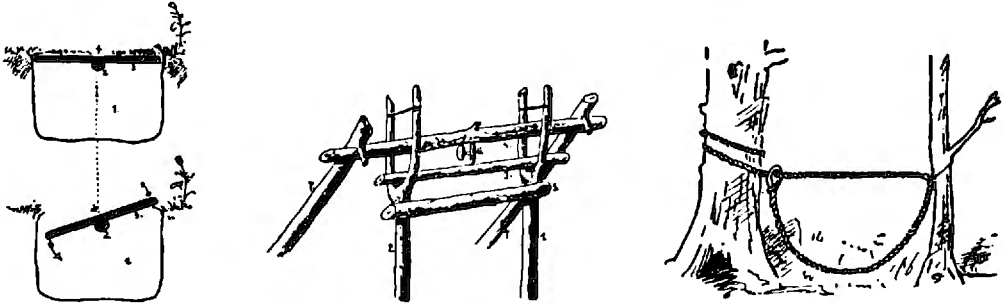


FIGURE 189. HUNTING DEVICES FROM THE HUTSUL AREA
Trap pit (left), a snare, traps (log fall) for martens.

small balls (in hunting the bustard), and in the Hutsul area, guns (*krisy* and *pushky*) sometimes of home manufacture. There are all kinds of traps which are set in forest areas for wild animals. Here also belong pits made for bears, snares, barbed hooks for foxes, falls for martens, steps, and nets (Fig. 189). There are many ways of hunting birds. Quail and partridge are caught in nets, ducks, on hanging nooses fastened to a stout rope stretched across a river.



FIGURE 190. FISHERMAN'S HUT ON THE PRYPIAT RIVER IN POLISIA

Fishing

Some old and primitive methods are still employed in fishing. Fish are caught with ordinary baskets and in little nets on long handles (Fig. 191). Interesting fishing gear are *vudky*, *zhvodiry* (hooks on long *ostivny*-sticks), *peremity* (long cords with hanging hooks), *karmaky* (made of several *peremity* joined together), and three-pronged spears (*sandoly*) with which large fish, sheat-fish,

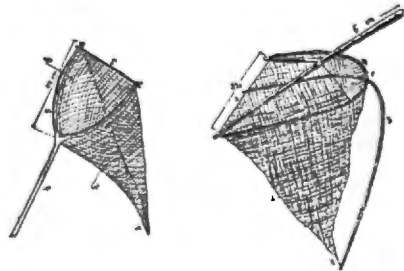


FIGURE 191. FISH NETS

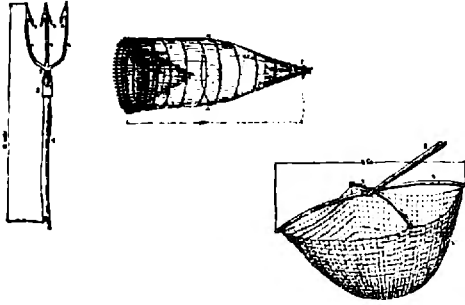


FIGURE 192. FISHING GEAR
Spear (left), trammel net, scoop-like fishing net.

carp, and middle-sized fish are caught in the Hutsul area (Fig. 192). The rivers are blocked by dams and brush. At the mouths of streams in stony, wooden, or willow barriers, they place trammel nets (Fig. 192) or so-called *koty* or *kittsi* (Fig. 193). In the Sea of Azov, grey mullet are speared in runways. Among the nets (*nevody*, *bredni*, *volokushi*, *matuny*) are many old, primitive types of southern origin (Fig. 194). The weirs

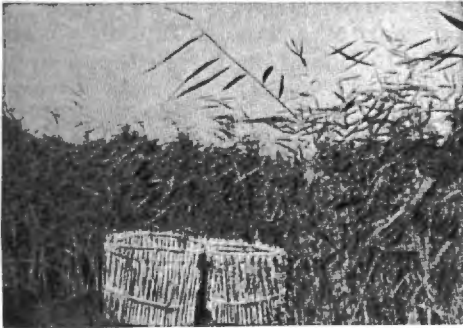


FIGURE 193. FISHERS' WEIR



FIGURE 194. SWEEP-NET

common in the Western Ukrainian lands (Fig. 193) have come from the West. Fishing is of special importance on the Sea of Azov, the mouth of the Danube, the Black Sea estuaries, the lakes, and along the Dnieper, the Desna, and the Don.

Animal Husbandry

Except in the cases of the Carpathian Hutsuls and the Boikians, animal husbandry is now less important in the folk economy than agriculture. In the past it was very important, especially in the steppe areas of southern Ukraine, where as late as the 1860's cattle-raising surpassed agriculture. Most numerous are cows and oxen which are used for draft purposes, for milk, and for manure. They are also important in the folk customs and rituals, e.g., the cattle "talk" on Christmas Eve; oxen, instead of horses, drawing the hearses. Short-tailed sheep are raised in the Carpathians, in Podukia, and in Podilia; in Bessarabia and in the Dnieper region a long-tailed breed is found. Goats are raised in the Carpathians and in Polisia. Horses were seldom used except in the Hutsul area; it was only in the middle of the nineteenth century that they began to replace oxen as draft animals. In the Hutsul and Boikian Carpathian areas there are remains of the old nomadic animal husbandry (the *polonyns'ke zhyttia*—mountain pasture life). At the beginning of May the animals are driven from one or several villages to the mountains for spring pasturage under the care of



FIGURE 195. A SHEPHERD'S HUT IN CHORNOHORA (CARPATHIANS)



FIGURE 196. IN THE MOUNTAIN PASTURES

selected head shepherds (*vatahy*). The *vatahy* preserve many old customs and folk rites: the march to the mountain pasture (*polonyns'kyi khid*); the festive opening of the camp (*stoishche* and *staia*); the first lighting of the living fire (*vatra*); the ritual driving of the flock over the fire brands (*hariacha holoveshka*). On the eve in the late summer (August 26 or September 21) comes the parting (*rozluchinnia*); the *vatra* is put out and men and animals descend to the valleys with cheeses made during the summer, and return the cattle to their

owners. Outside the Carpathian area cattle-raising has been conducted on a large scale only in the steppe belt in the areas of Katerynoslav, Kherson, and the Kuban. The Eastern type shepherd (*chaban*) with a purse on his belt, a long crooked staff (*gyrlyga*), and the shepherd's cart (*chabans'ki harby*) with food and gear, or a wooden hut on wheels, could be found in these steppe areas until World War I.

In customs and in their words for calling (*klykannia*) and driving (*vidhaniannia*) domestic animals, the Ukrain-



FIGURE 197. MILKING SHEEP IN THE MOUNTAINS

ians have a relationship with other European countries in the West and the south. Poultry has in the past been raised on a large scale; today hens, geese, and ducks are raised particularly in Volhynia and in the Chernihiv province. Pigeon-raising is widespread, but is most intense in Western Ukraine; they are kept in special coops (*holubnyky*) made of straw.

Bee-Keeping



FIGURE 198. PRIMITIVE BEEHIVE ON A TREE

Old tree hollows and logs suspended on trees for bees (*borti*) can still be found in the woods of northern Ukraine (Fig. 198); there are also old portable hives (*kolodky*) which, in winter, are kept in store-rooms. Recently modern types of hives have been adopted (e.g., the so-called Ukrainian hive).

Agriculture

In the old system of securing fields by clearing the forests, two methods were employed: the undercutting system which is still practised in northern Ukraine and the Carpathians, and the fallow system, which, in the first half of the nineteenth century, was still dominant in the Ukrainian steppes and which is still retained in the Subcaucasus. These were replaced by the three-field system, which of late has been in turn replaced by a diversified agriculture.

The principal crops are wheat (in many varieties), rye, millet, barley (mainly in the north), oats, and more recently, potatoes, corn, buckwheat, and beans. Lentils, peas, poppyseed, turnips, hemp, and flax (in the north) are also cultivated. There are many garden vegetables: garlic, onions, beets, cabbage, and cucumbers, as well as melons, watermelons, pumpkins, and radishes. Recently

the cultivation of hops, tobacco, and grapes has greatly increased. Fruit culture long popular in Ukraine, unlike Russia and Belorussia, has received great attention. Every house has its orchard, in which the favorite trees are apples, pears, sour cherries, Spanish cherries, plums, and walnuts; in addition, the orchard has played a considerable role in rituals.

The first agricultural implement in use in Ukraine was, as has been mentioned, a form of mattock. This developed into the hook plow (*ralo*) (Fig. 187), which was preserved here and there until the end of the nineteenth century (in Podilia in a form close to the Bulgarian *oralo*), and changed recently into a special harrow plow (*boronne ralo*). The Lithuanian plow (*lytovs'ka sokha*), still known in the northern Ukraine, developed from this sometime after the thirteenth century. The agricultural implement peculiar to Ukraine is the ox-plow (Fig. 199)

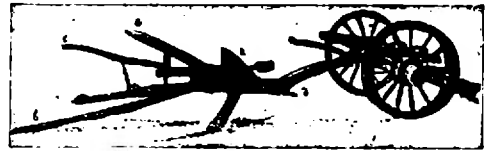


FIGURE 199. OX-PLOW

which is mentioned in the Primary Chronicle in 981. It resembles the old Roman wheeled plow (*currus*). It is square with a characteristic runner (*poloz*) and shank to which the share is attached. This plow as well as the yoke (Fig. 200) has retained in the whole of Ukraine a uniform terminology. Only the northern Volhynian yoke differs from the general Ukrainian type by its length and reminds us of the South Slavic yoke.

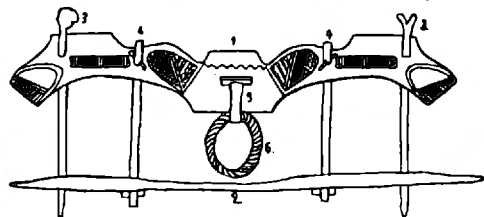


FIGURE 200. YOKE

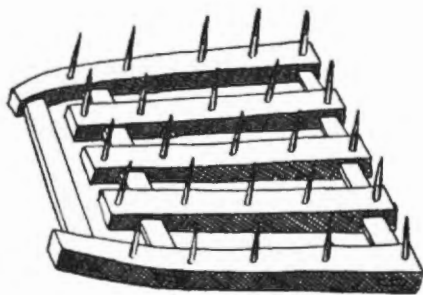


FIGURE 201. HARROW FROM THE KIEV AREA

Harrowing was done with a square harrow (Fig. 201) with crossbars for the teeth.

The first agricultural work is plowing and sowing. Naturally many old folk rites are connected with it: the beginning of plowing (*zaoriuvannia*); the first furrow (*persha skyba*); the sowing (*zasiv*). In the middle of June come the preparations for mowing the hay (*kosovytisia* or *sinokosy*). There are three



FIGURE 202. HARVESTERS OF THE PAST (KIEV AREA)

types: (1) the northern forest and meadow form (in Volhynia, in the Chernihiv area, and on both sides of the Desna); (2) the steppe form; and (3) the mountain form. In the north, hay is mowed quickly and is carried into stacks (*stohy*) and into sheds (*povitky*); in the west into sheds with movable roofs (*oborohy*) (Fig. 203). In the steppes, mowing is done under the direction of an *otaman*, and workers sometimes have to stay away from home for weeks.

Mowing is done with scythes over two



FIGURE 203. HAY SHED WITH MOVABLE ROOF

yards long (*lytovky*). In the Hutsul area of the Carpathians, the hay is placed on poles and dried. In swampy places, especially in Polisia and in the Danube flood lands, in accordance with an old practice, hay is cut in winter when the water is frozen. Also in winter, reeds (*shuvar*) and sedges (*troshcha*) are collected from the ponds and small lakes.

Harvesting in Ukraine has traditionally been woman's work, and so its ritual beginning (*zazhyn*) has been performed by women. The grain, and particularly wheat and rye, was usually cut with sickles of much more rounded shape than those of Ukraine's neighbors; barley, oats, millet, buckwheat, and other grains were cut with scythes which had fastened to them a kind of rake (*hrabky*). In the south of Ukraine the peasants often went harvesting for several weeks. The sheaves were placed in shocks (*kopy*) (60 sheaves) and in half-shocks (*polukipyky*) (30 sheaves).



FIGURE 204. RESTING IN THE HARVEST FIELD (POLTAVA AREA)

The grain was usually threshed on a threshing floor (*tik* or *harman*) or in a granary (*klunia* or *stodola*) with flails (*tsipy*) (Fig. 205) which are made of three parts: the flail handle (over 1½ yd.), the whip (about 1 yd.), and the binding. Ukrainian flails are unique; they resemble the Mecklenburg and Roman types, and differ in the shape of the fixed beater from those of the Belorussians and Russians. The grain was also threshed: (1) by beaters; (2) by horses, with a cart or a roller, by special sleds in Bessarabia, and by scutchers in the Kuban. Under present conditions these processes have been mostly mechanized.

Storage and Preparation of Food

Storage of food for the winter was an important problem. In good times grain was kept in wooden chests, large bins, or granaries. In the mountains in Galicia, in Polisia, and in Volhynia, hollowed stumps were used until recently. In the north there were preserved the field or table granaries, with a raised floor. In

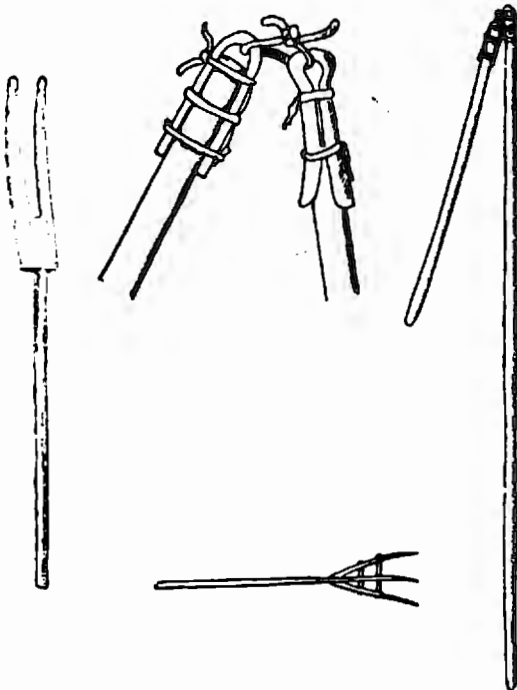


FIGURE 205. HAY-FORK FROM POLISIA (LEFT) AND ODESSA AREAS, AND FLAILS FROM PODILIA AND KIEV AREA (RIGHT)

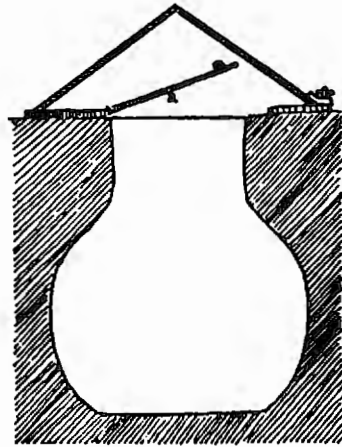


FIGURE 206. PIT FOR STORING PRODUCE (CHERNIHIV AREA)

the south and in Pokutia there were special woven baskets of various types. In the Poltava and Chernihiv regions not only grain but also sauerkraut was kept in funnel-shaped pits, plastered with clay and lined with bark and straw (Fig. 206); potatoes and beets were buried. In the western territories and in the mountains, grain, straw, and hay were placed under four-poster *oborohy* with movable roofs, known also to the eastern Germans, Lithuanians, and Estonians. Fish and vegetables were dried by primitive methods in the wind and the sun or over a fire.

Preparation of food. Not much meat except pork and its products is eaten in Ukraine. Horse meat is generally not eaten. On festivals and on special occasions meat is eaten baked, fried, or boiled; in the south it is broiled on a spit (mutton). Jerked meat is used only on the southwestern borders; smoked meat is used more widely. Veal is rarely eaten. Fowl is usually boiled in soup or *borshch*, or fried in a pan and sometimes even on hot ashes. Raw and frozen fish are not eaten. Vegetables are usually eaten boiled, baked, or pickled (cabbage, cucumbers, beets, mushrooms); peas are dried; onions, garlic, carrots, radishes, and turnips are eaten raw; the seeds of melons and sunflowers are cracked and usually fried. The favorite

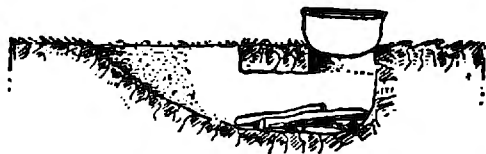


FIGURE 207. FIELD HEARTH (KABYTSIA)

vegetable dish is *kasha*—a gruel, made of buckwheat, millet, or barley. In the case of folk rites, wheat is used.

Fire plays a great role in the household economy and folk rites. Examples of the latter are: the driving of cattle through smoke (*pidkuriuvannia khudoby*); the burning of the Christmas sheaf (*didukh*); Easter and festival fires, on occasion of births, weddings, etc. Once lighted, the fire is usually preserved. In forest areas, wood is burned; in the steppes and in south Ukraine, straw and sweetrush are used; and in the east, dried manure (*kiziak*). Cooking is not done in the open except by shepherds in the Carpathians, and on the steppe in pits (*kabytsi*) (Fig. 207).

The most important article in the diet of Ukraine is bread. To obtain good flour, the grain is sifted and then taken to a mill. Mills, mentioned as early as the thirteenth century, are usually run



FIGURE 208. WINDMILL (POLTAVA AREA)



FIGURE 209. WINDMILL (KHARKIV AREA)



FIGURE 210. WATER-MILL

by water. In the south and the east there are windmills, and handmills are found in the Hutsul area. The names of the parts of a mill are the same everywhere, with only insignificant variations. The new type of mill is the windmill (*vitriak*) which is usually the same throughout Ukraine. The older ones are on a mov-

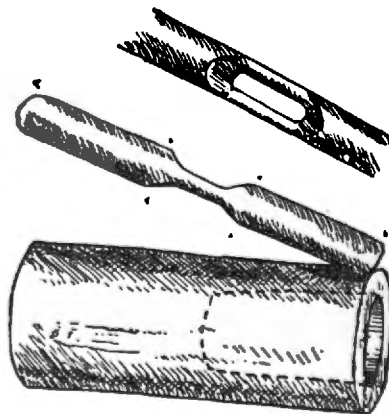


FIGURE 211. HAND MORTAR AND PESTLES (VILLAGE OF HOLOVETSKO, CARPATHIANS)

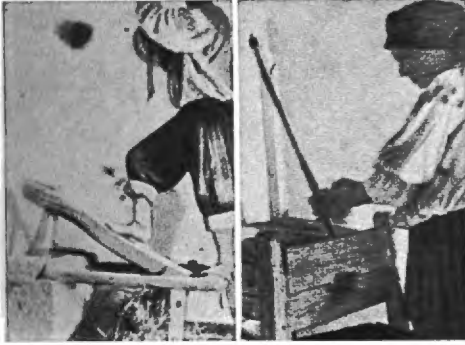


FIGURE 212. FOOT MORTAR (LEFT); GRINDSTONE [HAND-MILL], *zhorna* (RIGHT)

able wheel and the whole structure can turn to the wind; but the newer ones use the Dutch system where only the roof, usually with four arms, moves. For domestic use, in addition to grindstones (*zhorna*), hand and foot mortars are used (Figs. 211, 212) for "shelling" millet, buckwheat, and barley into polished grain.



FIGURE 213. WEDDING LOAVES

Traditionally, the bridesmaids grind the flour for the wedding loaf (*korovai*) (Fig. 213) on the hand-operated millstone called *zhorna* (Fig. 212). The bread is made of sour dough and baked on sheets or straw disks in a semi-spherical shape (*bokhontsi*) in a stove. Primitive types of unsoured dough are also known, and these are baked on the coals or on hot ashes.

Dark rye bread is eaten most frequently, but each area has its specialty. In the south and east, white bread made of wheat is consumed; in the mountains, oat bread is also used; in Pokutia, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, hominy is popular.

The Ukrainian farmer's diet is in normal times quite varied. There are usually various kinds of *borshch* and soup (sometimes made with buckwheat flour). Cabbage is stuffed with meat and buckwheat gruel (*holubtsi*). Dough is filled with potatoes, cheese, cabbage, millet, or meat (*varenyky* or, in Western Ukraine, *pyrohy*). Each variation in the dish has its special name. Sources of fat are salted lard, cheese, and oil. The oil is usually pressed from sunflower seeds, flax, false flax (*Camelina sativa*), or hemp. Butter, which is rarely used as a source of oil, is beaten and not melted. Of mineral products, salt is much used; in the past it was brought from Rumania or mined in Galicia and the Crimea. There are usually four meals a day: breakfast, dinner (before noon), an afternoon snack (*pidvechirok*) before 4 P.M., and supper. Besides water, the people drink *syrivets*, an unfermented bread *kvass*, a pickle, and, more rarely, a birch *kvass*, and, still more rarely a home-made beer (*brazhka*) and mead (*mid*). There are also all kinds of cordials (*nalyvka*) and brandies (*zapikanka*).

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION

Depending upon the weight, loads are carried: in the hands with pails, baskets, or pots; on the shoulders (on a yoke with pails); or on the back. Nothing is carried

on the head. Children are carried in the arms, or sometimes in a cloth, in front. Loads too heavy for humans are carried by draft animals, chiefly horses. In the mountains the horses are usually provided with saddle bags (*sakvy* or *bysahy*) for carrying milk and other commodities.



FIGURE 214. OX-CART (KOVEL AREA)

The principal means of transportation has been the ox- or horse-cart with four wheels. Carts in Left-Bank Ukraine are usually smaller than the *khury* and *fur-manky* used on the Right Bank; the latter are longer and deeper. Hayracks for carrying hay and grain are called *harby* or *literniaky* (Fig. 214). The *chumak* carts (*mazhi*) (Fig. 215) have gone out

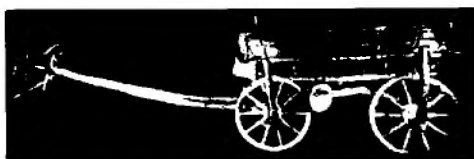


FIGURE 215. CHUMAK CART (ZOLOTONOSHA AREA)

of use. Despite the various forms of Ukrainian carts, their structure is identical as are the names of the parts. The harness is different on the two sides of the Dnieper. On the Left Bank all the horse carts have shafts and a shaft bow, and only ox-carts have a singletree. On the Right Bank these carts have a singletree without a shaft bow, and breeching instead of hames. In harnessing oxen, except in the north, only a yoke with a

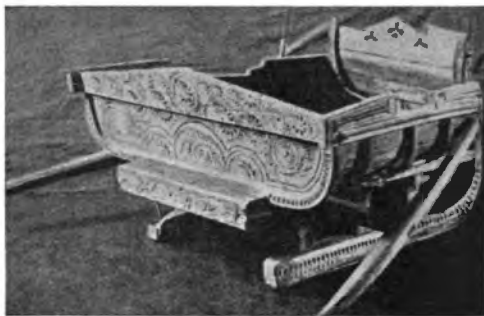


FIGURE 216. SLEIGH (ZOLOTONOSHA AREA)

neckpiece is used. In winter, sleighs are used; these formerly enjoyed wider use (cf., the ritual use of sleighs in funerals). The sleighs (*gryndzholy*) are of all sizes, and sometimes are decorated with carvings and paintings.

For communication by water there are floats (*splavy*) and rafts (*daraby*) (Fig. 70). There are also various kinds of boats from the single log dugout (*dushohubka*) to the large multi-log *baidaky*. Ferryboats for river crossings are usually wooden platforms supported by two oaken logs or *baidaky*. They are hauled from bank to bank by means of a block and tackle. The ferries on large rivers are powered by 6-7 pairs of oars and steered with a rudder.

HANDICRAFTS

General Remarks

Building, carpentry, joinery, wheel-making, cartwrighting, and spoon-making, were in former times closely connected with the folk economy, and were still found in the nineteenth century in the less accessible parts of the Carpathians and in Polisia.

The origins of professional handicrafts date from the Kievan (Princely) period of Ukrainian history, and in some cases still earlier. In many cases it is not an easy matter to distinguish between handicrafts and folk art, especially in pottery, embroidery, and wood-carving. Consequently these branches are treated in the section on popular arts and handicraft.

The principal handicrafts, carpentry, cooperage, and weaving, were of local origin. This is indicated in part by historical references, and in part by the terminology of the various implements. Subtle features of some of the handicrafts came from neighboring peoples and left their hallmarks in terminology.

In general the folk technique of Ukraine shows much that is original despite its being open for centuries to the most diverse influences from the south, the east, and the west. "Because of direct connection with the old techniques of Kievan Ukraine (Princely period), there is in some ways a relationship to the similar techniques of the Western and Southern Slavs. Influenced in its development chiefly by Western culture, it stood apart from the influences of the Finnic and central Asiatic techniques to which the Russians were subjected" (Theodore Vovk).

Lumbering

One of the oldest crafts, if it can be termed such, is cutting wood in the forest and preparing it for storage. Because the greater part of Ukraine is today without trees, it has lost the importance it had in former times. It is noteworthy today chiefly in the Carpathians, in Volhynia, and in Polisia. Wood is cut in winter with an axe and saw or with only a saw. The trunk is stripped of the branches and is left until the occasion arises to move it away. In the Carpathians, special wooden flumes are made to carry the logs to the river; there they are joined together to form rafts (*daraby*) and are floated to their destination. In Polisia and on the Dnieper, the trees are carried to the rivers, where they are also joined into rafts (*ploty*). In the valleys, the logs are often cut into short cylindrical pieces (*kl'otsy*) or are sawed into boards and beams. The log rafts, provided with a rudder, are held together by withes (*vuzhivky*) made of the flexible branches or roots of coniferous trees, or by strong wooden cross-pieces.

Carpentry

Carpentry began in prehistoric times. Its terminology is identical throughout Ukraine. It has certain similarities to the carpentry of the Southern and Western Slavs and is noticeably different from that of the Russians. The differentiation of the tools is in general small, and only the forest areas distinguish different types of axes.

The objects made of wood vary. In addition to small domestic utensils such as spoons, beaters, plates, cups, and shovels, mention should be made of the products of the coopers known from prehistoric times.



FIGURE 217. VILLAGE COOPER



FIGURE 218. YU. SHKRYBLYAK ON A LATHE

Cooperage

Cooperage is a very widespread and popular craft in Ukraine; it is characterized by the originality of its technique and by its local terminology of Slavic origin. The hoops were formerly made of wood, but now they are usually of metal, and are bought ready-made. Cooperage is most widespread in the forest areas of the Chernihiv region, Volhynia, and Galicia.

There is a wide variety of barrels produced and in certain respects they are typical of Ukraine. The names are of local Ukrainian origin (*barylo*, *baliia*, *dizha*, *dizhka*, *zhlutko*) and have little in common with the Russian products. Some names are of western European origin, e.g., the word for bucket (*konovka* or *konov*, *tseber*); but they came into the Ukrainian terminology of cooperage long ago. This is only one more indication of the close relationship of the material culture of Ukraine with that of western and southern Europe.

Carriage-making

The same is true of carriage-making, in which the German influence on the terminology is noticeable. This is especially so of the iron parts. The nomenclature of the wooden parts is local and indicates the tradition of an independent and ancient craft.

Weaving

Weaving has existed in Ukraine since prehistoric times. It is found throughout the entire country and was practised almost to the end of the nineteenth century with the original, archaic spinning wheels (*priadka*) and local looms (*verstaty* or *krosny*). In the Poltava and Chernihiv areas particularly, the old machinery is designated with the old Slavic terminology, which is very similar to that of the Western Slavs and to the Serbians. The Kiev region, Podilia, and Western Ukraine use some names of German origin which, with the perfected loom, came through Poland from Ger-



FIGURE 219. SPINNING IN THE HUTSUL REGION

many (See *kylym* manufacture in the section, "Folk Art and Handicraft.")

The chief materials used in weaving are hemp and flax. The hemp stems are placed in heaps (*kupy*) to dry and are then ground in the field. Next they are taken to the houses, soaked in the rivers, springs, and pools and covered with silt, so as to be thoroughly wet. After some time they are taken out and dried. Then they are rubbed on a scutcher (*terlytsia*), swungled (*tipaty*), and braked (*miaty*) with the feet to eliminate the refuse (*kostryka*) and to secure the fibers (*priadyvo*). They are bound into bunches (*mychky*), placed on a distaff (*priadka*), combed, and then spun into thread. The old distaffs, which were made with a base (*dyshe*) in which a comb (*hreiben'*) was inserted, have gone out of use except in some places in the Carpathian Hutsul area. They have been replaced by the western European spinning wheel (*samopriadky*).

The Ukrainian peasants formerly made linen almost exclusively for their own

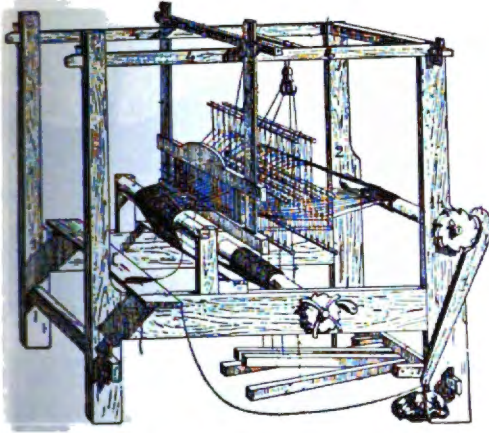


FIGURE 220. A LOOM

use and sold only a small portion at fairs or for export. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the production of linen fell off sharply, and recently it has further declined.

Furriery, Tanning, and Harness-making

In the past these crafts were widely enough distributed in Ukraine to fill the basic needs of the population. Recently all of these crafts have declined.

The preparation of skins was quite primitive. The skins were scraped and soaked in *kvas* (a sour fermented drink), kneaded, treated with lime, tanned, dried, and then sent for manufacture.

In making leather from cowhide for boots and soles, the skin was first treated in a mixture of lime and ashes, then both sides were scraped clean, and the skin then was put into a bread *kvas*, and sprinkled with ground oaken bark. The finished skins were dried and the leather was dyed with an iron solution and smeared with pitch. Treatment for soles included pressing, polishing, and cutting.

The skin used for harnesses (*lymar-shchyna*) was also soaked in *kvas* and the hair removed. It was then placed in a salt solution and kneaded on a special appliance called *mnialo* or *mnialka*.

A somewhat original type of fur work was the cutting of skins for the making

of sheepskin coats. Six skins were necessary to make a good sheepskin coat, and for a large one with long sleeves, seven were needed. From one, the largest, was made the upper part of the coat. The skin was cut in the form of a trapezoid, folded in the middle, and on the bend a round hole was cut out for the neck; the longer part of the skin which came down on the chest was cut in half. To this lower part the coat-tails, sides, sleeves, and collar, each cut from the rest of the skins, were sewn.

Pottery-making

The working of mineral raw material was concentrated chiefly in pottery-making. From ordinary clay, clods (*valky*) and unbaked bricks (*lympachi*) were made for the building of mud houses. For the potter's use, a finer clay was selected. It was cleaned, beaten with an oar (*veslo*), and formed into a ball (*kulia*). This was placed on the wheel,

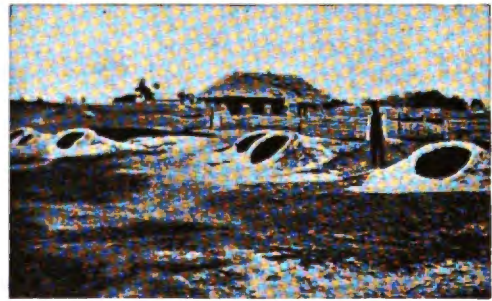


FIGURE 221. POTTERY KILNS (KHARKIV AREA)

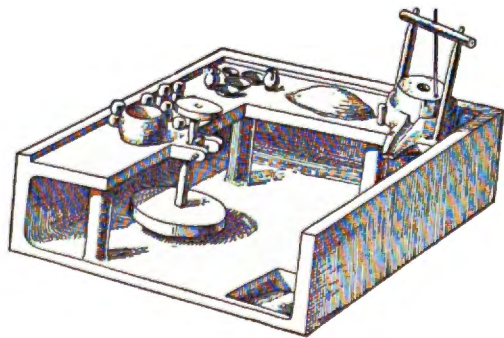


FIGURE 222. A POTTER'S WORK-BENCH WITH WHEEL



A



B



C



D



E



F



G



H

FIGURE 223. TYPES OF OLD UKRAINIAN COTTAGES

A. in the Lemkian region; B. in northern Volhynia; C. in the Berdychiv area (village of Ohiiivka); D. in the Poltava area (near Hadiach); E. in the Poltava area (near Myrhorod); F. Hutsul house; G. construction of a mud house in southern Bessarabia; H. in the Boikian area, Slavsko (Stryi district).

and from it were fashioned various articles of pottery which were then dried on shelves. Then they were covered with glaze or whiting, painted, and finally fired in the kiln.

Working of Metals

The working of metals was not practised in Ukraine to any great extent although smithery, bronzing (in the Hutsul region), and gilding (in eastern Ukraine) had been known for a long time.

Smithery is one of the oldest crafts in Ukraine, although it never did more than serve the needs of the local population. At the beginning of the twentieth century, part of its practice was in the hands of non-Ukrainians (Germans, Jews, and Gypsies). The basic terminology is Slavic, pointing to a local origin. Terms for the more subtle phases of technique came from the West through German intermediaries.

FOLK ARCHITECTURE

The chief type of dwelling in the Ukrainian village, in the towns, and even on the outskirts of the cities, the *khata* or cottage, shows a surprising uniformity over the entire Ukrainian territory, with the exception of the most remote border areas. This is true, in spite of the fact that building materials are not everywhere the same because of different natural conditions in the various regions. It is characteristic that the Ukrainian peasants in more recently colonized lands (Siberia and the Far East) have carried with them the traditional type of cottage.

Building Materials

In the steppe, clay mixed with cut straw and chaff husks is usually used. From this mixture are fashioned cylindrical-shaped clods (*valky*) or large bricks. North of the clay belt, in the forest-steppe regions as far as the center

of the Kharkiv, Poltava, and Kiev areas, houses of unbaked bricks, covered with a layer of clay (*turluchni khaty*), are often constructed. In the corners of the proposed cottage, wooden posts are driven into the earth and are united horizontally at the top with wooden logs; on these are placed crossbeams (*svoloky*) and joists (*slyzhi*) which support the rafters. Between the posts, poles are inserted, interlaced with straw bands, or bundles of reed are fastened to laths. Most frequently, however, willows or brushwood are used for this. In all three cases this framework of the wall is further covered with a thick coat of clay, mixed with manure (*kiziak*), and finally whitewashed.



FIGURE 224. OLD-STYLE PEASANT HOUSE IN NOVA PETRIVKA (BUKOVINA)

Wooden cottages predominate in forest areas. They are also built with posts, the spaces between the posts are filled with wood, or horizontal logs. At the corners of the house, stone or oak pillars are planted; recently these have also been made of brick. On this foundation are placed the walls of the house made of logs; the chinks between the logs are stuffed with moss. The doors are attached to posts which are fastened to the wall. Windows are cut in the logs. Except in the northern part of the Chernihiv area, in northern Polisia, and in the Carpathians, the houses are, for the most part, either lathed or rough plastered and top plastered. This coating has no utilitarian significance but is rather applied for traditional aesthetic reasons.

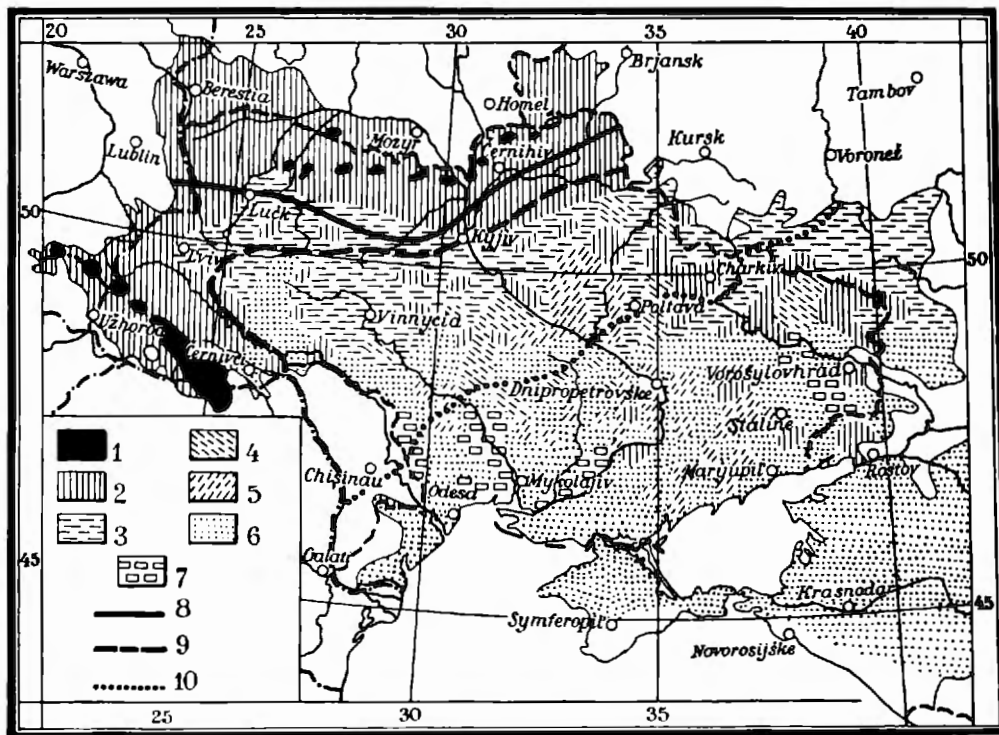


FIGURE 225. OLD-STYLE UKRAINIAN PEASANT COTTAGES, ACCORDING TO TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION (T. VOVK)

(1) wooden unplastered cottages of logs; (2) wooden plastered cottages of logs; (3) houses with wooden corner posts amid wooden walls; (4) *Turluchni* (clay) cottages of willows (osiers) or brushwood; (5) *Turluchni* cottages of reeds; (6) clay-and-straw houses; (7) brick houses; (8) northern boundary of the use of wooden posts; (9) boundary between forest and forest-steppe belts; (10) boundary between forest-steppe and steppe belts.



FIGURE 226. TYPICAL PLAN OF A HUTSHUL HOMESTEAD; VILLAGE OF YAVORIV (SECOND HALF OF NINETEENTH CENTURY)

(1) entrance hall, (2) living-room, (3) sheep-fold, (4) pantry, (5) pigsty, (6) woodshed.



FIGURE 227. FARMER'S HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF STEBLIVKA, THE TRANSCARPATHIAN AREA (LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)



FIGURE 230. FARMER'S HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF BOHDANY, NORTHERN KIEVAN AREA (LAST DECADE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY)



FIGURE 228. FARMER'S HOUSE IN DOROSHIVKA, MYKOLAIV PROVINCE, IN THE 1950'S



FIGURE 229. FARMER'S HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF ZAVADIIVKA, ODESSA AREA (BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY)

According to statistical data of 1924, in Ukraine 50 per cent of the cottages studied were built of wood (horizontal logs or upright posts), 33 per cent of clay, and 6 per cent of stone.

House

The Ukrainian cottage is usually hip-roofed as in the Balkans and in Slovakia;

recently, possibly under German influence, the gable roof has become more common, making possible a more convenient and higher loft with a window. The roof in the steppe and forest-steppe is of straw or reeds placed systematically in sheaves.

Right-Bank cottages (with the exception of Transcarpathia or Ukraine) differ from those in Left-Bank Ukraine in that they have a roof pole. The straw is placed on the support rib in wattled bunches rather than in even sheaves. The small shingle (*gont*) is transitional in Belorussia, but it is widespread in the Carpathians.

In the Poltava area and in the steppe regions, the cottages often have an outside porch (*ganok*). This is always found among the Hutsuls and usually among the Boikians (in Carpathians) in the form of a small gallery along the front



FIGURE 231. FARMER'S HOUSE IN THE VILLAGE OF BUDYLKA, SUMY AREA (BEGINNING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY)

wall. The cottage is also surrounded by a *pryz'ba* (*prys'pa*), a ridge of pressed clay along the outer walls of the structure.

The doors in the old Ukrainian cottage are single, on iron hinges, and are secured with wooden locks. The threshold, especially in Western Ukraine, is quite high, so that water cannot get into the vestibule, nor animals enter the cottage. The form of the door is right-angled, but on occasion the older type is encountered, a hexagonal door with the upper corners cut. The door jambs and window frames at times have carvings of a geometric character.

The windows of the most primitive type were small openings high in the walls covered by movable boards. Originally they were made of thin wood, then of ox bladder, and finally of glass. With time the sliding and hinged windows were broadened to two, four, and six panes. The cottage usually has three windows, two on the front, and one on the narrow side. In addition, there is a small window above the stove or below the plank bed. Most recently the windows have wooden shutters, often painted and at times covered with designs.

The floor is most frequently of earth, covered with clay; the richer peasants may have wooden floors.

An interesting feature of the old Ukrainian cottage is the beam (*svolok*) on which family dates are frequently written or carved.

The plan of the cottage is markedly similar throughout the whole of Ukraine. The archaic one-room type, which corresponds to the wood-hewn *istba* of the Chronicles, no longer exists as a dwelling. Traces of it can be seen in the northern Ukrainian vegetable store-rooms (*stebky*). The two-room cottages have also gone out of general use and are preserved only in southern Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine). The dominant type of cottage has three rooms: the entrance into the hall; the living

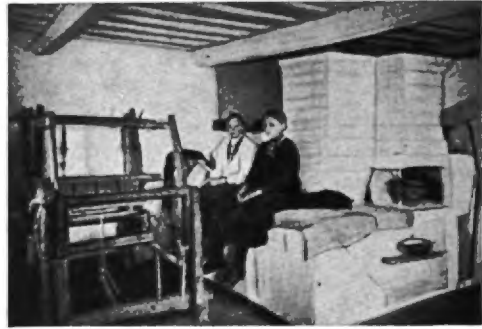


FIGURE 232. INTERIOR OF OLD PEASANT COTTAGE, VILLAGE OF OHIŪVKA, BERDYCHIV AREA

quarters (*svitlytsia*) on one side; and on the other side a storeroom (*komora*), which is often converted into a second room. The *komora*, unlike the *svitlytsia*, is not always whitewashed on the outside. More complicated types have arisen from the three-roomed cottage by means of partitions. In general, the basic type of the old Ukrainian cottage can be traced to prehistoric times and is perceptibly different from the Russian type.



FIGURE 233. INTERIOR OF AN OLD PEASANT COTTAGE, VILLAGE OF OHIŪVKA, BERDYCHIV AREA

In the living section of the cottage we find again a characteristic identity throughout all Ukraine, even in the arrangement of the furniture. On one side of the entrance from the hall is the stove. Either in the opposite corner or beside the stove is a hanging cupboard shelf for dishes. Between the stove and the shorter wall, there is a wooden shelf (*pil*) or plank bed for sleeping. And in the corner under the icons, there is a

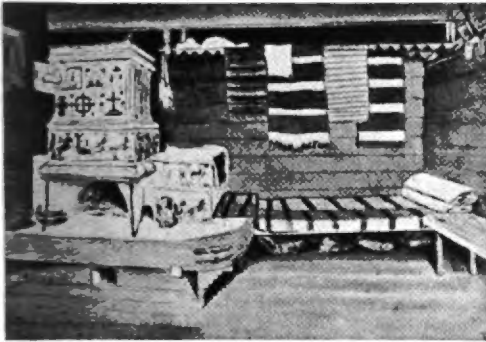


FIGURE 234. INTERIOR OF A HUTSUL COTTAGE

table with benches along the walls, and a bench in front of the table. In the corner between the door and the stove are placed pokers. In the corner of honor, on the walls, hang the icons which are often decorated with such things as embroidered towels and dried flowers. With the icons there is often placed a vigil light, a dove made of dough, or, at times, an egg. To the items of traditional furniture belong a chest in



FIGURE 235. INTERIOR OF A HUTSUL COTTAGE

which clothing is kept and a container for the property of the girls and women. Above the plank bed are pegs for hanging clothes and also a child's hanging cradle. Recently, the use of chairs and trestle beds has become widespread. The beds, chest, cupboards, and tables among the Hutsub are often covered with original carving of a geometrical character; the chests throughout Ukraine are painted with flowers.

The stove is made of clay, sometimes of stone (so that it can be made hotter), and in the Hutsub land it is also made of tiles; it is 2-2½ yds. in length, up to 2 yds. in breadth, and less than 2 yds. high. In front of the opening to the stove is a forepart (*prychipok*) made of clay or brick; this is separated from the firebox by an arched opening, the jaws of which are open when the stove is burning, and in which grain is dried. The smoke vent leads from the stove to the flue, which is usually in the hall. A few smoky (*kurni*) or black (*chorni*) cottages can still be found in the Carpathians, in the Boikian area, and in the northwestern part of Ukraine, but they are disappearing.

The flue is composed of four pieces of wood, about 20 inches square at the bottom, converging toward the top; these are bound together by osiers or reeds and are covered with clay. The smoke vent leading from the stove enters the flue through a hole (*kahla*) about four feet from the ground. The flue emits the smoke below the roof line or through a chimney above the roof.

The cottages are now mostly lighted by kerosene lamps; in southern Ukraine, oil lamps (*kahantsi*) are sometimes used. In the north, light is sometimes still provided by wood splinters (*luchyna* or *skalka*) which are placed in a holder (*svitnyk* or *svitych*).

Homestead

The plan of the buildings is not quite identical everywhere. The cottages among the Hutsub are joined under one roof with the farm buildings, and form a kind of fortress surrounded by a high wall (Fig. 226). Among the Boikians and more rarely among the Lemkians there is a common roof for the house and buildings, which usually extend in a row. In this are to be seen German and Slovak influences. In other regions the cottage sometimes extends outside the enclosed yard. In general in Ukraine, the yard is fenced, unlike the typical Russian arrangement, which lacks fences. The



FIGURE 236. BARN IN THE KALUSH AREA



FIGURE 237. HEN-HOUSE IN KHMELNYTSKY PROVINCE



FIGURE 238. GATE AND WICKET, VILLAGE OF NOVOSILKA, KIEV PROVINCE, IN THE 1940'S

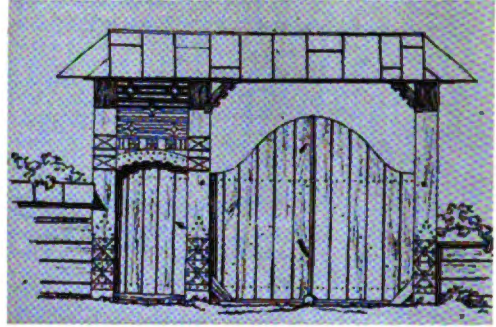


FIGURE 239. GATE AND WICKET, NEAR RAKHIV, TRANSCARPATIA, IN THE 1940'S

fences are usually wattled or wooden in the forest regions; but in the treeless steppes there is merely a ditch and a bank planted with thorns. In the fence there are gates made with wooden bars or with boards.

The principal farm buildings are: a storehouse (*komora*) made of logs and with a floor, but without a stove and windows, except for a small opening near the roof; a barn (*klunia* or *stodola*) built on piles or cut wood, used to keep the chaff, and in northern Ukraine for threshing and preserving the sheaves prior to threshing (Fig. 236). For cattle there are stables; for pigs, sties (always of logs); and also there are henhouses, and dovecotes (on high poles). In bad weather, work is done in a shed-type building with a roof and with or without walls. In the yard there is often a pit covered with planks, boards, or some type of roof. This *pohrebytsia* or *lok* is entered by a ladder. There is often a well with a counterpoised lifting lever.

Origin of the Ukrainian House

The origin of the Ukrainian cottage is in dispute. Some believe it derived from a type of earth house, and consider the log cottage as the later stage of development. They contend that the plastering of wooden houses really indicates that the original type was made of clay and then whitewashed. In this case the Ukrainian house was originally close to the Iranian (T. Vovk). Others are of the

opinion that the original type was the Polisian *istopka* and the Hutsul log hut. This is in accord with the fact that the Chronicles mention huts made of logs and not of clay (Zelenin).

Z. Kuzela

CLOTHING AND FOOTWEAR

Early Period

A complete picture of the costume of the Ukrainian nobles and of the common people is available to us from the time of the early Princely (Kievan) period, that is from the ninth and tenth centuries A.D.

The common people utilized local materials—leather and plant or animal fibers. Their costume consisted of a shirt, pants, skirt, coat, sheepskin coat, cap, footcloths, stockings, and boots.

The clothing of the princely household was made largely of imported material, which came chiefly from Byzantium. In the picture of the princely family in the Collection of Sviatoslav (*Izbornyk Sviatoslava*) of 1073, we see the man wearing a long caftan girded with a golden belt and with narrow sleeves. Over this is



FIGURE 240. PRINCELY FAMILY FROM THE *Izbornyk Sviatoslava* (1073)

thrown a long, sleeveless overcoat fastened by a clasp on the right shoulder. A fur cap is worn as well as boots. The wives of the princes wore the same kind of caftan but of a slightly different cut, reaching to the ground, and with wide, obliquely cut sleeves. Their heads were wrapped in white kerchiefs, and over this they wore caps.

The art of jewelry-making was well advanced at the time with Byzantine work used as the pattern. Costly necklaces made of medallions have been found, and also diadems of gold-enamel plaques. There were various kinds of earrings, although they were not fastened to the ears but to the hair or head covering. Bracelets were made of glass or precious metals. Gold and silver buttons, clasps, and chains were extensively used.

Middle Period

There are many detailed descriptions of the costumes in the middle period of Ukrainian history, particularly from the sixteenth century on. The nobility had its



FIGURE 241. PRINCESS SOPHIA OSTROZKA (1534-70), PORTRAIT OF THE MIDDLE SIXTEENTH CENTURY



FIGURE 242. RAÏSSA MOHYLIANKA (D. 1619) PORTRAIT OF THE FIRST HALF OF SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

own type of costume which the burgers imitated; this was the *zhupan*, a long caftan in cloth or silk worn over shirt and trousers. Over this was worn an outer coat with wide sleeves (*ferezüia*) or a coat without sleeves (*delüia*), fastened by a clasp on the right shoulder.



FIGURE 243. COSTUMES FROM THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

A. Korniyak, head of the Brotherhood of Lviv at the end of the sixteenth century; B. Paliukha; C. Michael Mykylashevsky (d.1706); D. Magdalena Mazepyna.

The costume of the Kozak officers was somewhat different, as was necessitated by military requirements. The Kozak *zhupan* was short and was held in with a long silk belt. The Kozak cap had a cloth base, red or green. The Kozak officers wore a *kyreia*, which was similar to the *deliia* except for the addition of a wide collar. The rank and file Kozaks wore a more modest costume; it was characterized by wide trousers, which were

long preserved among the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie.

The rich Kozak women wore corsets and skirts as well as wrap-around skirts (*plakhty, zapasky*). The head was bound with a headcloth which was later replaced by particular caps or *korablyky*, that is, caps with brocade, velvet, and fur. It is interesting to note that the women's costume in Muscovy did not show Western influence for a long time, while the Ukrainian nobles and Kozak women adopted various items from the West (skirts).

Modern Period

The common people preserved in their folk costume the original features of the Princely period. However, in the territory of the Hetman State, where independent Ukrainian life was preserved for the longest time, the common people adopted articles from the Kozak costume. The improvement of techniques in weaving and in the making of ornaments also produced some changes, but they were adopted so gradually that they did not create a sharp break. The Ukrainian folk costume was still well preserved at the end of the nineteenth century when its study commenced. Elements of the Kozak costume were preserved the longest in the Kuban area. With the development of industry and railroads, and as the young people began to leave the villages, the folk costume began to decline. At first the changes were almost imperceptible. Factory material came into use for the folk costumes, and efforts were made to adapt it to the popular taste. World War I led to an abrupt change when the people, in adopting the city dress, began to forget the forms of the folk costume. Later, in the 1930's, in Western Ukraine there was a noticeable return to the folk costume. However, young people did not return to the old costume of their native regions, but to that of the Dnieper region as representative of the costume developed under Kozak influence.

The description of the folk costume, given below, is based on studies made at the turn of the century, when it was still widely worn. These studies have been supplemented by more recent research conducted in the areas which retained the old forms.

Head Covering

The material for the head covering of men is felt made of wool, fur, and straw, and, in recent times, of manufactured broadcloth.

In Polisia, a very old form of head-dress, a cone-shaped felt cap has been retained. It has also been worn in Belorussia and in southern Russia.

The fur cap (*kuchma*) is made of black or gray sheepskin and has the form of a cone or cylinder of various heights. The height of the cap was a sign of elegance. The cylindrical caps had a colored broadcloth base.

The median between the felt and fur caps are the round cloth caps with fur earpieces (*malakhai*, *kabardynka*), which are also found in the Caucasus. The high, pointed cap with a brim of fur (*shlyk*) is also found in the Caucasus, but is more widespread in Belorussia and southern Russia than in Ukraine.

Hats are made of felt or straw. The felt hat in Ukraine has a low crown and a brim which is often turned up. Ukrainian felt hats do not have the conical or cylindrical variations which they have in Poland, Russia, and Belorussia. Instead, there is a great variety in the straw hats which are woven from stems of unripened wheat or rye. The hats are decorated with a black or colored band. There are some regions in which they are adorned with feathers and flowers.

It can be said that in Ukraine, Belorussia, and Russia there have been preserved the old forms of the Slavic head covering, while in Poland influences from the West have been more evident. The fur cap (*kuchma*) and the straw hat (*bryl'*) are most widespread in Ukraine and are well suited to a country

with a continental climate. The various forms of cloth caps are less developed in Ukraine although they are widespread in Poland, Belorussia, and southern Russia. The felt hat rarely has a substitute.

Throughout Ukraine, girls have their heads uncovered, and hence coiffures and head ornaments are very elaborate. This is not the case in Poland, where the girls in some areas cover their heads, nor in Russia where, though the girl's head is uncovered, the adornments are quite modest. In Ukraine, the ornamentation of the girl's head is based upon the old band (*opaska*) which was mainly intended to keep the hair in place. The *opaska* was a linen strip arranged in folds and bound at the back. It is still worn along the Buh (Bug), in Belorussia, and in southern Russia.

The newer form is a band of colored or embroidered ribbon. This is the everyday adornment. Those for holidays are more elaborate. The festive headpiece is either a band of bast or cardboard trimmed with cloth or copper plaques or else a garland of artificial flowers. All these adornments for girls reach their climax in the wedding wreaths, which are supplemented with such symbolic articles as rue, periwinkle, and cloves of garlic.

The coiffure of a married woman is determined by the custom that she always have her head covered; yet, there are many differences in this folk-rite custom. In some localities there has been preserved the very old tradition of letting the hair loose at the back (Yavoriv region). In the part of Ukraine which extends as a wedge from the Prypiat River to the Beskyds, in the Carpathian Mountains, the hair of the bride at the time of her marriage is cut to the level of the ear. The most widespread form of hairdressing is to leave the hair unbraided and twisted around a ring on top of the head. The foundation ring (*kybalka*, *kychka*) is derived from the band which is worn by the girls. It is a circle of linden bark or sometimes a

roll of embroidered cloth. It is very widespread, for we find it in Slovakia, Belorussia, and Russia. In Russia it has a definite circle on top, which is like horns, and was originally to protect the woman against an evil spirit. Only slight traces of this horned circle have been left in Ukraine (Polisia, the Boikian region).

Above the ring the women fastened a head cloth or a cap (*ochipok*). The head cloth was the oldest form of head covering. Originally it was a towel, often over five yards long, and varying in width. It was wrapped around the head in a variety of styles. In the Boikian area it was quite broad; in the Lemkian region it protruded to the sides like wings; in Pokutia it was brightly colored; and in Yavoriv it was embroidered. Although other material was sometimes used, the best head cloths were made from linen, cotton, or raw silk.

The cap is a newer form of covering. The simplest is a linen cap with the bottom made of net or lace. In back it has a slit and is tied when put on. The linen caps are covered by the head cloth. The caps of woolen or silken material are not worn with a head cloth. Caps decorated with embroidery have not been widely used in Ukraine as they have among the Western Slavs; rather they are tied with embroidered ribbons.

In recent times both of these older types have been replaced by the manufacture of colored kerchiefs of cotton, wool, or silk. These are worn in the local styles formerly reserved for the white linen head cloth.

In general it can be said that the head covering of the Ukrainian girl or woman is freer than that of the Russian, and gives more possibility for showing the hair, ears, and back of the head. At the same time it is less ornamental than the Polish or Slovak and maintains the old simplicity of line and form.

Shirt

The material used for shirts is predominantly linen, more rarely, hemp or

mixed cloth. The cut originally was the same for men and women. It was made of two pieces of cloth, joined with a shoulder piece (*vustavky, polyky*), which was unknown in all northern and central Europe. On the side there were inserted right-angled sleeves along with little triangles (*lastka*) under the armpit. The newer style of men's shirts is without shoulder pieces, and without wrinkles. The front opening is in the middle and never on the side or at the shoulder, as in Russia. The collar on a Ukrainian shirt is low or turned down (with few exceptions), while in Russia a high collar is used. The decoration on men's shirts consists of embroidery, intended not as independent ornamentation, but rather as decoration of the finishing stitches. The Ukrainians differ much from their neighbors in their method of wearing the shirt. While the Russians and Belorussians wear it outside of the trousers, the Ukrainians do so only in the western section. Central Ukraine borrowed from the east the custom of wearing it inside, as an adaption to life in the saddle.

The woman's shirt has kept its cut in the older forms. This is the sleeved and gathered or Slavic cut. It is made by sewing the sleeves, made of single pieces, to the waist, and also gathering them at the neck. Such a shirt has an opening in the front similar to that in the man's shirt. There is another type of shirt which has the slit on the side between the sleeve and the waist. This type has been preserved not only in the Carpathians, but exists also in Slovakia, Moravia, and the Polish Beskids.

The women's shirt is made either *dodil'no*, that is, of one piece of fine cloth, or of two types of cloth sewn together to make one piece. Above the waist is a piece of fine linen, and below, the linen is more coarse. The one-piece shirt is used for holidays. Neither Russia nor Belorussia knows this form.

The ornamentation of the women's shirt originated in decorative finishing hemstitching, and developed into a rich



FIGURE 244. SHIRT FROM GALICIAN PODILIA



FIGURE 246. SHIRT FROM BUKOVINA



FIGURE 245. GIRL FROM POLISIA IN HOLIDAY COSTUME



FIGURE 247. WOMAN'S EMBROIDERED BLOUSE
(VILLAGE OF BUSHTYN, TRANSCARPATIA)

and complicated system. The principal place for embroidery is the sleeve, but the collar, bosom, and lower part may also be embroidered. Besides embroidery, woven decorations are also used, as well as skillful nettings and pleatings.

The Ukrainian shirt differs from those of neighboring peoples not only in its cut, but in the wealth of its decorations and the ways in which it is worn. Its

ornamentation is exceptionally complicated. Since the Ukrainian climate allows it for half of the year, the shirt has long been worn as an outer garment. At least the sleeves are not hidden. A special feature of the women's shirt is the lower, decorated strip which is always visible below the apron or the dress.

Clothing of the Lower Part of the Body

The BELT is one of the most important articles for completion of the costume. It is a woven or plaited type which is worn over the shirt or the outer costume. Men's belts are not only woven, but may be made of leather; in the Carpathians they are of considerable width. These leather belts have various names (*cheres*, *popruha*) and are decorated with metallic ornaments.

Without a belt a person is not considered completely dressed; one may not go to prayers or to a meal without it. As a result great care is taken in putting it on, particularly in the case of the long holiday belt. To the belt is attached everything needed for any purpose: the bag, the tobacco pouch, the purse, the flint, the knife, etc. In earlier times, the belt took the place of pockets, which were not found in the costume until fairly recently.

The TROUSERS are made of coarse, white or bleached linen in summer, and of woolen cloth in winter. From their cut they can be divided into two kinds, narrow trousers in those regions where the shirt is worn outside (in Western Ukraine) and wide trousers (*sharavary*) where the shirt is worn inside (central Ukraine). Narrow trousers are worn by the western and northern neighbors of Ukraine. With small changes, they are also worn in Rumania and Hungary.

The linen trousers are supported by an *ochkur*, a rope, which is passed through the upper hem. This upper hem cannot be used for woolen trousers, and so they are fastened by a leather strap which is passed through loops. Trousers are decorated very infrequently. The

Hutsuls decorate woolen trousers with an embroidered hem. The Lemkians use a colored edging and brass buttons, which are also to be found among the neighboring Slovaks and the Polish mountaineers.

The oldest type of clothing for a woman to wear below the waist was a rectangular woolen cloth which she wrapped around her waist. This type is found throughout Ukraine and provides a straight and elongated silhouette. There are two principal varieties: two woolen rectangles which are girded to the waist in front and back (*zapaska*); or one large cloth, made of three pieces or woven as one piece (*derha* or *obhortka*). The most elaborate form of this part of the costume is the *plakhta*. This encircles the figure like the *obhortka*, but the upper ends hang on the sides like wings. The woven *plakhta* often has very delicate colors.

Belorussians use this part of clothing in its oldest form: a woolen cloth formed of four aprons girded at the waist. Russians use a checked cloth made of three pieces sewn together, the *poneva* which is akin to the *plakhta*. The *poneva* is decorated with embroidery in checks, and is thus, like the wedding shirt, also a test of the taste and patience of the bride.

Over the *obhortka* or *plakhta* is worn an apron. This is a rectangle of linen or wool. The linen aprons are decorated with embroidery, similar to that on the shirt. The woolen ones are woven in patterns, and are often pleated. The newer form of the apron is a piece of colored silk or brocaded cloth.

The skirt (*spidnytsia*) appeared in Ukraine quite long ago. Originally the skirt was of linen, made of three or four widths. It was decorated with embroidery, or by the pattern of the weave. In addition, it was pleated in small folds so that the woman's figure would preserve the lengthened silhouette proper to the Ukrainian costume. The woolen skirt worn in winter is adorned with decora-

tions similar to the linen one. Recently the skirt has been made of manufactured flowered cloth.

The chief attraction of the Ukrainian skirt is its rich decoration, a feature also found among the Belorussians. The spreading, downward line, so definite in the Russian *sarafan* and in the Slovak skirt, has found only slight acceptance in Ukraine.

To complete the woman's linen, we must mention the *zaviazky* or wrappings; with these the feet were wrapped up to the ankle. In the mountains the women wear special underwear of white wool, the so-called *pokolinnysi*.

Footwear

Men and women use almost the same types of footwear. They wrap the feet in *onuchi*, that is, triangular pieces of linen or wool. Here and there, the *onuchi* developed into wool stockings (*kapchuri*) or long wrappings which encircle the leg up to the knee.

The oldest form of footwear is the *lychaky*, made from the bast of osier, linden, or maple. This has a crossward wattled sole with loops. Through these loops passed a cord which fastens the *lychak* to the foot and passed around the leg up to the knee. This is a very perishable form of footwear and usually lasts only a week. The *lychaky* were very widely used in the northern belt of Ukraine and also in Belorussia and southern Russia. The *postoly* have the same form, but they are made of thick leather. Through holes on their edge likewise pass cords (*voloky*) which run around the leg above the ankle. For better wear, the *lychaky* are supplied with *kolodky*, that is, a sole made of thin pieces of wood.

Men's boots (*choboty*) are of two forms; the older one is the Ruthenian, without a heel, but with a cleat. The other is the Polish boot, with a heel and high bootlegs. Women's boots have retained the older heelless form with low bootlegs and sharp toes. For holi-

days, boots with red or yellow colored leather are used.

Cherevyky (shoes) are a modern type of women's footwear. They have been accepted in a high laced form which resemble the Polish boots.

The Ukrainians prefer leather for footwear. The extensive use of felt and fur, which is found in Russia because of its long winters, did not develop. Likewise, the use of wooden shoes, which came to Poland from the West has not been taken over in Ukraine.

Outer Clothing

Its first form was a sleeveless coat made from a folded piece of leather or



FIGURE 248. WOMEN'S COSTUMES, KALUSH AREA

wool. Of this type the *kyptar* of fur, formerly widespread in central Ukraine, has been preserved only in the mountains. A sleeveless woolen coat (*leibyky*) is used chiefly in the plains. It is worn also by the Poles. Among Ukrainians it is usually decorated with edgings, buttons, and appliqué work.

The most primitive outer garment was a sacklike coat. It has been preserved among the Hutsuls as the *huhlia* of white wool, used only as a wedding garment. In Transcarpathia it is a fur pelerine (*huba*) with the fur side out.

The sleeveless coat referred to above developed further when sleeves were added. Such straight-cut long coats (*chuhania*, or *kobeniak*), had a wide collar to protect the wearer against the weather. This simple cut of the outer garment has many variations among the Russians, where climatic conditions require greater protection.

The coat with a straight back, made only of linen and made only in Podilia, became more complicated when side gores were added to it. The *svyta* or



FIGURE 249. GIRLS FROM TRANSCARPATIA

serdak is the same kind of outer garment but is made of wool, gray or brown for men and white for women. In the *serdak* the gores started at the sleeve; in the *svyta* from the waist down. The more complicated cut of the *svyta* produces deep folds in the back at the waist. Often the entire back flap is gathered or pleated. All forms of outer garments are decorated with wool embroidery, buttons, cords, or edgings.



FIGURE 250. BELT-BAG AND SANDALS (*postoly*)

The appearance of a lighter cloth made in factories has also led to changes in the outer garments (*chemerky*, *yupky*). These are coats with a narrow waist and extending only to the knees.

This type is also common in Poland, where it was worn by the nobles and their servants.

From the cut of the *svyta* was derived the woman's sleeveless jacket (*korsetka*) found in the Dnieper area. Its form was made possible by factory woolen cloth or velvet.

A transitional form between the *svyta* and the *kozuhk* is the fur-lined *nahortky* (*sukmany*, *baibaraky*). The exterior woolen



FIGURE 251. WOMAN'S COSTUME FROM PODUKUTIA



FIGURE 252. GIRL FROM BUKOVINA; GIRL FROM THE KIEV AREA; GIRL FROM KOSMACH, HUTSUL AREA

cloth is made in factories. Thus they are of modern development. Coats of this type are also common in Poland.

The *kozuhk* or sheepskin coat developed when sleeves and a skirt were added to the sleeveless fur coat. In the mountains the skirts are shorter than in the plains. As in the woolen coats there are two cuts. One is long and straight, without waist or gores, and girded by a belt. It is not worn as much in Ukraine as in Russia, where it is found in various forms. The other, the simple sheepskin coat (*kozuhk prostyi*) has skirts. It is generally used in Ukraine and richly

adorned with appliqués of wool and saffian (morocco leather).

Jewels and Ornaments

Jewels and ornaments are related to the remote past, even to prehistoric patterns.

The men's jewelry is modest and confined to rings, buttons, straps, and canes. The working of brass is well developed among the Hutsuls in the Carpathians, who make large copper crosses for the neck. The Hutsuls have also preserved a silver ring with points

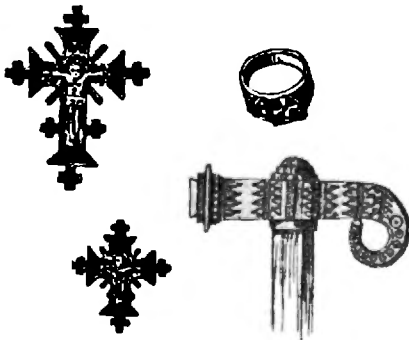


FIGURE 253. HUTSUL JEWELRY: CROSSES, RING, CANE-HEAD

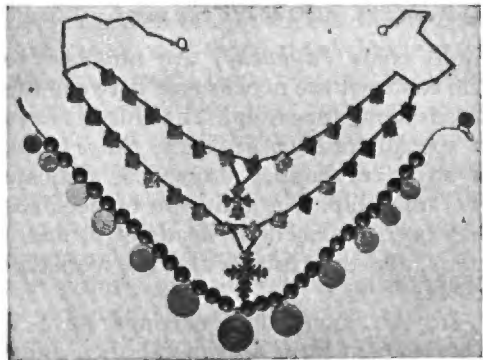


FIGURE 254. HUTSUL NECKLACE OF BEADS, *dukachi* (DUCATS), AND CROSSES

(*pupchikovyi*) encountered among the peoples of the Caucasus. Married men carry canes. The canes of the Carpathian mountaineers have copper heads (*so-kyrka*) and rich incrustations. In earlier times the Hutsuls carved decorations in their weapons, pistols, and powder horns.

The production of women's jewelry is highly skilled and widely developed. The principal piece of jewelry is the necklace, which often has as many as ten strands of red or amber coral beads.



FIGURE 255. SHIRT FROM THE POLTAVA AREA

Gold coins (*dukachi*) are attached to the center of the necklace or between the beads along the strand. The Hutsuls have a special form of necklace, the *zgarda*, a string of copper crosses of delicate workmanship. The old type of necklace has been replaced by beads of ordinary glass, and the Hutsuls also use Venetian coral.

In the mountains, earrings have a very ancient form. In general, they differ from Russian ones in details of manu-

facture and in the preference for coral ornamentation. Bracelets are not used in Ukraine, except in the Hutsul area.

L. Burachynska

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4. THE SPIRITUAL CULTURE OF THE PEOPLE

FOLK RITES AND CUSTOMS

Ukrainian folk rites and customs are mainly those connected with the folk calendar and those related to family life. Other cycles are less important.

A general survey will be given of the folk rites and customs without all the details to be found in the rich ethnographical literature to which reference is made in the bibliography. An explanation of the origin of some rites can be found in the articles which deal with pre-Christian religion and philosophy, and with the genesis of folk rites and customs (pp. 350ff.). Most of these rites were preserved throughout the en-

tire Ukraine until recent times, although more fully in the conservative parts of the country, especially in the Hutsul region, in Pokutia, Volhynia, and Polisia. They are therefore described in the present tense, although many individual customs already belong to the past. On the borders of Ukraine, customs extend beyond the ethnic boundaries, and from this the influence of Ukrainian culture can be seen. Folk customs are most fully preserved in the villages and small towns, although even in the urban centers the traditional sequence of holidays is observed and family events are celebrated in accordance with the old customs. Certain church rites are closely

connected with popular customs. Various kinds of dedicatory ceremonies, the blessing of the fields, and commemoration rites have elements which reflect the close relationship between the church and the life of the Ukrainian people.

FOLK CUSTOMS AND RITES CONNECTED WITH THE FOLK CALENDAR

The folk rites (the so-called folk calendar) are connected with the seasons and the agricultural work that goes with them or with family rites. The winter cycle is grouped around Christmas and the New Year, the spring cycle, centered on Easter and Whitsuntide, is called "the Green Festival" (*Zeleni Sviata*), while the summer cycle is called *Ivan Kupalo*; in the autumn there are the holidays of commemoration.

The Winter Cycle

The Feast of the Presentation. The winter calendar cycle begins approximately one month before Christmas with the Feast of the Presentation of the Mother of God—*Vvedennia* (November 21, O.S., December 4, N.S.). This event which closes the autumn season of agricultural work also has many elements related to Christmas and New Year's.

The Feast of Presentation is connected with sorcery and protective rites which will take effect in the new year. In the evening, in certain regions, water is "blessed" in a place where three waters meet and this water is employed against illness, against witchcraft, and for love potions. After midnight the women sit on the threshold and spin hemp that they have sown themselves so that spinning may be successful. Cows are strewn with seeds, their udders buttered and enveloped in smoke, so that they may give much milk and that none may take it away. The cows are also given a thick sour soup—*kyselytsia*—so that their cream may be thick. On the same day the dead are remembered:

then God "gives righteous souls leave to see their bodies."

Before the Presentation holiday, all farm work must be completed; after that day, it is not proper to till the earth, dig clay, rub hemp, and also, until nine Thursdays later, it is not thought advisable to use a washing paddle when washing laundry in a stream, as doing so may harm the fields and raise a storm.

The season of divination. With *ST. CATHERINE'S DAY* (November 24, O.S., December 7, N.S.) the season of divination begins. On the eve of that day the lads fast, so that God may send each of them a good wife. On St. Catherine's Day the girls tell fortunes and "summon fate to supper." In the morning of this day, every maiden cuts a cherry twig in the orchard and places it in the house in a bottle of water, so that it may sprout before *Malanka* (New Year's Eve) and bring her good luck. In the evening the girls meet at a common meal; they prepare a pot of *borshch* and one of *kasha* (groats); before midnight they wrap the pot of *borshch* and the *kasha* in towels and take turns climbing onto the gate to "invite fate to supper." (In some places this custom is performed at Christmas time.)

THE DAY OF THE APOSTLE ANDREW (November 30, O.S., December 13, N.S.) is regarded throughout Ukraine as a special holiday for young men and maidens. The girls tell fortunes with little cakes (*balabushky*) with seeds, and by pouring hot melted wax into cold water, to see the shape it will take; they listen to hear which direction the dogs are barking from, they listen at the windows to overhear a word, they ask passers-by their names; they "summon" their beloved in a dream. Meanwhile the young men tease the girls, form new "streets," tie strings across the streets, play pranks on householders whom they do not like, and generally have a good time. The culmination of the day is the game of biting the cake which is called *kalyta*. The girls bake a large cake,

spread it with honey, and hang it from the ceiling by a string, high enough so that a person must jump to reach it and take a bite out of it. The young men "ride up" to the cake on a poker; a merry fellow stands by the cake with a brush and tries to make the "guest" laugh. If the "guest" laughs, he receives a blow on the teeth from the brush and retires, to the amusement of the other "guests." If he does not laugh, he has the right to take a bite out of the cake and the remainder of it is divided among those present.

ST. BARBARA'S DAY (December 4, O.S., December 17, N.S.) indicates that winter is approaching.



FIGURE 256. ST. NICHOLAS, A CHURCH ICON OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, FROM THE VILLAGE OF DALEVA

ST. NICHOLAS' DAY (December 6, O.S., December 19, N.S.) is celebrated with much merriment. The people entertain guests, ride sleighs around the village, examine the snow to see whether it is "slippery," and give children gifts from St. Nicholas. There are many legends about him; he is not only the guardian of orphans and of the poor but also of all animals.

The Christmas period. The most numerous customs and rites are concentrated in the Christmas-New Year's period which begins with Christmas Eve (*Sviat-Vechir*), January 6 (N.S.) and ends with Epiphany (January 19, N.S.).

CHRISTMAS EVE (*Sviat-Vechir*) is the most important family celebration. It is definitely an agricultural festival and is related to the cult of the family and the commemoration of ancestors.

The ceremony of the "Holy Supper" on Christmas Eve starts in the morning with the lighting of a new fire; and from this fire the housewife lights a fire in the front and back ovens, using 12 pieces of firewood which she has dried for 12 days of the preceding month, and prepares for the evening meal the 12 ritual meatless and milkless dishes containing the most important products of field, garden, and orchard. The order of the dishes and even the dishes themselves are not uniform everywhere, for each region adheres to its own tradition. In the Hutsul region, the dishes are served in the following order: beans, fish, boiled dumplings (*pyrohy*), stuffed cabbage, plums, the traditional *kutia* (cooked whole wheat grains, honey, and poppy seeds) called *dz'obavka*, potatoes mashed with garlic, stewed fruit, peas with oil and garlic, barley gruel (*kasha*) with oil or honey (*lohaza*), plums with beans, *pyrohy* (little pies) stuffed with poppy seeds, soup containing sauerkraut juice with groats (*rosivnytsia*), millet porridge and boiled corn (*kokot*).

Except for the preparation of the "Holy Supper" all work is halted during the day, and the head of the household sees that everything is in order and that the entire family is at home. On this day quarreling is forbidden, but it is proper to use "spells" and other means to protect oneself against enemies.

Toward evening, the head of the house goes to the threshing floor to get a bundle of hay and a sheaf of rye, barley, or buckwheat; with a prayer he brings them into the house, spreads the hay,

and places the sheaf of grain, the "grand-sire" (*did*), in the position of honor (under the icons). Hay or straw (*di-dukh*) is strewn under and on top of the table, which the housewife then covers with a tablecloth. Garlic is placed at the four corners of the table while iron objects, an axe and a plowshare (or the plow itself), and a yoke, a horse collar, or some harness are placed under the table. The sheaf of grain is bound with a straw band or with an iron chain. A pot of *kutia* is placed high up on the shelf in the corner of honor; the pot is topped with a loaf of bread (*knysn*) and a lighted candle.

The evening meal is accompanied by a special ceremony. In some localities the head of the house first takes from his wife a dish containing different foods, then with the "first" bread and a lighted candle affixed to the plate walks three times around the house following the sun, and after a special long prayer and a welcoming speech places the dish on the table. When the *kutia* is served the head of the house first takes a spoonful, opens the window or goes out into the yard, sometimes with an axe in his hand, and invites the "frost to eat *kutia*." He throws the first spoonful to the ceiling, so that the bees may swarm well.

The head of the house takes some food from every dish and, placing it with some flour in a trough, carries it out to the cattle and gives it to them to eat, touching their heads with bread three times. In some cases the head of the house, alone or with his family, walks about the entire yard carrying new bread, honey, and poppy seed, and then holds them in the smoke of a fire. The stables are strewed with wild poppy seed and, finally, a notch is cut in the stable's threshold, so that the wild beast may not cross it. At the evening meal fortunes are told. After the meal three spoonfuls of each dish are placed on a separate plate for the souls of dead relatives (*dukhy*) and spoons are left for them.

After the meal food is taken to the priest, to close relatives, to godfathers and godmothers (*kumy*), to the mid-wife, and others.

CHRISTMAS (December 25-27, O.S., January 7-9, N.S.) is celebrated with caroling, that is, the singing of special ritual songs, the so-called *koliadky* (see "Oral Literature of the People"). While in eastern Ukraine the singing of these songs is the privilege of the children and the young people who go about with a "star" which they have made or with one of their members dressed as a "goat," in the Hutsul region they are sung by special groups (*tabory*), which include older men as well.

The singers set out from the home of the local priest. Dancers in pairs head the group, carrying axes (*bardky*) on their shoulders from which bells are hung. They make small hopping movements which they accompany by special dance songs (*pliasaky*). After bowing three times to the house before which they will sing, they stop dancing and the leader of the group, the "birch" (*bereza*), begins the song with the whole group (*vataha*) singing the refrain *Oi dai Bozhe* (Oh, God, Grant It), all the while ringing bells and stamping their feet. The head of the house then invites the singers into the house and his wife winds a strand of flax around the cross carried by the "birch." The singers are then seated at the table and offered various treats, after which they all sing or dance in order to "cheer up the household." After these preliminary ceremonies the singers honor each member of the household in turn with a carol and end by expressing good wishes to all. When this is done, they receive the customary gift (*koliada*) and go out into the yard performing a ceremonial dance, which is followed by another traditional dance. Then the dancers form a circle around the head of the house, his wife, and their own fiddler who plays the round (*kruliak*) while they dance.

THE NEW YEAR PERIOD. A week after

Christmas Eve (December 31, O.S., January 13, N.S.) comes *Malanka* or "Generous Eve" (*Shchedryi-Vechir*). In the Hutsul region and in eastern Ukraine *Malanka* is celebrated as a continuation of the *koliada*; in Podilia *Shchedryi-Vechir* is celebrated before the feast of *Yordan* (Epiphany). On *Malanka*, *shchedrivky* are sung or the *koliadky* are repeated, and there is entertainment, merrymaking, and fortune-telling. On *Shchedryi-Vechir*, small pies filled with meat or cottage cheese (*pyrohy*) are baked, and there are buckwheat pancakes and sausages; in the Hutsul region *pyrohy* (dumplings) must be boiled, and in the south bagels (*bublyky*) are prepared. The evening meal again begins with *kutia*, but there are fewer dishes. First the father "hides" from the children behind the breads, as a charm to bring a good harvest. In general New Year's Eve is devoted to fortune-telling and divination, similar in kind to that of St. Catherine's and St. Andrew's days, but on this occasion it is more often concerned with agriculture and its needs. In some areas the peasants dip bread in water and, with appropriate songs, simulate the motions of such agricultural tasks as plowing, and they sprinkle the cattle with holy water.

During the evening meal and afterwards, *shchedrivky* are sung. They are usually sung by children, but in the villages young men also sing, going from house to house. *Malanka* is a cheerful festival for young people, who parade, dressed up as Vasyly and *Malanka* as grandfather and grandmother, as a gypsy couple, or as a Jew and a policeman. The group also includes a "bear" or a "goat." The Ukrainian *Malanka* is a true carnival and shows a "mixture of various elements: native, Romance-Balkan, early Christian and later elements introduced by jesters (*skomorokhy*) and students" (Hrushevsky).

Various beliefs are connected with New Year's Eve. Heaven may be seen by

the pious and the righteous. At midnight all living creatures talk, especially the cattle. According to the Hutsul belief this is a special night for the stove (*pich*). "For a whole year 'she' performs her duty, but on St. Basil's Day (New Year's) 'she' goes dancing, 'she' gets married." The stove is therefore painted carefully and no one sits or lies down on it that night. Oats are placed on the stove for a "wedding cake," so that "she" may have something to feed the horse, for she is going to town to have a gay time.

NEW YEAR'S DAY is a continuation of *Malanka* with its well-wishing, dressing-up, and divination. As at Christmas, attention is paid to the "newcomer" for "as goes New Year's Day, so goes the whole year." From early morning, little boys visit each house "sowing grain," "out of a glove," for the householder and his house, singing special songs and wishing him well with: "For happiness, for health, and for the new summer, O God, send a harvest of rye, of wheat, and of crops of all sorts." Usually the "sowers" are invited to sit down "so that everything good may sit: hens, geese, ducks, bees—and match-makers." In some places one of the "sowers" is disguised as a goat, with "ears" made out of ears of grain. In other localities they bring into the house a decorated horse, ox, or cow, or even more frequently a ram or a ewe. Girls bring a rooster, a gander, or a drake.

In the morning the straw that has been left from Christmas is burned and in some localities the people jump through the flames and drive cattle through them. With the smoke from this burning straw the trees of the orchard are enveloped; the tree trunks are bound with straw or hemp so that they may bear well. Unfruitful trees are "threatened" with the axe as if to tell them that they will be cut down; in some places they are actually hacked at lightly.

THE EPIPHANY PERIOD. "The Hungry

Kutia" or the "Second Holy Evening" on the eve of Epiphany (*Vodokhryshchi* or *Yordan*), January 18, N.S., repeats, in general, the ritual of Christmas Eve and the *Malanka*. After the evening meal the children "drive away the *kutia*" and later they carry the *didukh* from the house to the pasture or into the orchard and burn it.

On the day of *Vodokhryshchi* all the older rites of blessing with holy water are performed. The solemn blessing of the waters takes place on the river, in preparation for which young men of the community have erected a cross of ice blocks cut from the river, and have dyed it with beet *kvass*. Following the ceremony, all return home with some of the holy water; the head of the household dips a small bunch of dried basil into the water and sprinkles the entire house, the courtyard, and the cattle. Then everyone drinks some of the holy water and they dine. After dinner the girls wash their faces in the bowl in which the water was blessed. Later the young people amuse themselves on the ice.

On the second day of *Vodokhryshchi*, the DAY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST—*Ivan Khrystyteľ* (January 7, O.S., January 20, N.S.)—at dawn the head of the household takes the bread and salt that have been on the table all through the holidays and feeds them to the cattle with the hay, to "last them until the new bread."

Yordan ends the Christmas–New Year's winter cycle, in which the customs and rites contain several basic elements which have been preserved from remote antiquity, interwoven with later Greco-Roman, Old Slavic, and Christian elements. All the customs and rituals are connected with cattle-breeding and with agriculture and, as well, contain many elements derived from ancestor worship. This is also evident in the *koliadky* and *shchedrivky*. The casting of spells stems from pre-Christian times and is closely connected with the old winter marriage season between St. Catherine's and St. Andrew's days and Christmas.

The carnival period (*Miasnytsi*). After *Vodokhryshchi*, a new marriage period begins which lasts until the fast (Lent) and is filled with gay amusements, dances, and entertainment, which show traces of Western influence (the carnival). This period ends with the *kolodka* party, arranged by the women on the Monday before the "great fast" (Lent), at which *varenyky* (boiled stuffed dumplings) must be served. The *kolodka* (lock)—a bit of wood or a stick—is hung upon those young men and girls who are still unmarried. They have to pay ransom to free themselves from the *kolodka* and with the ransom and other voluntary contributions a gay party is given for all, which may last several days.

The Spring Cycle

The spring cycle of customs and rites, which in antiquity began at the time of the present fast (Lent) and was once as long as the Christmas–New Year's cycle, has, under the influence of the Church, become concentrated around Easter week. Only vestiges of the old customs remain, in children's games and songs, fragmentary spring song (*vesnianky*) motifs, and festivals of commemoration.

The spring cycle begins with the "meeting of winter and summer," which coincides with the feast of the PURIFICATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. It is called *Stritennia* in Ukrainian ("meeting," meaning the meeting of Jesus with Simeon and Hannah—February 2, O.S., February 15, N.S.). However, the spring period really begins with the appearance of the first birds, which return to Ukraine in the beginning of March around the feast day of the RECOVERY OF THE HEAD OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (February 23, O.S., March 8, N.S.).

Up until the Feast of the Annunciation this period is devoted to the greeting of the birds, which are welcomed with spring songs addressed to them—*vesnianky* (such as songs about the golden-eyed ducks, the tomtits, and the larks).

On the DAY OF THE 40 MARTYRS

(March 9, O.S., March 22, N.S.) the figures of birds are cut out of dough and baked in honor of the larks which have returned from warmer climates. Before sunrise, the girls climb to the top of a hill where they "invoke the spring."

The **Annunciation** (March 25, O.S., April 7, N.S.) begins the true spring period. On this day the master drives the cattle out "for the spring," and the girls perform the first spring dance around the churchyard—"the crooked dance" (*kryvyi tanets*). This dance is now usually performed during Easter week. From this day spring work begins on the farm and the spring songs are sung (see "Oral Literature of the People"). Close to the Day of the Annunciation, usually at the end of March on the name day of Alexis, which is called "WARM ALEXIS" (March 17, O.S., March 30, N.S.), the bee-keepers set out the hives in the orchards and place among them ikons of the miracle-workers Zosimus and Sabatius, who are regarded as protectors of the bees.

In this pre-Easter period, the spring "cleaning" is done; everything is taken out of the house; the houses are plastered and whitewashed; all household things are washed and wiped; all refuse is taken and burned outside the village. This work is accompanied by prescribed ceremonies which end with a ritual in which a plow is carried around the village and a black rooster is burned. In the remote past, women harnessed themselves to a plow and they drew it around the village three times.

Easter week. The last Sunday before Easter (Palm Sunday) is called "WILLOW" SUNDAY (*verbna*). On this day willow boughs are blessed in the church. With these the people tap one another, repeating the wish: "Be as tall as the willow, as healthy as the water, and as rich as the earth." With these willow switches they drive the cattle to pasture for the first time, and then the father or oldest brother thrusts the twig into the earth "for luck."

The week before Easter, the "great" (*velykyi*) week (Holy Week), is called the white (*bilyi*) or pure (*chystyi*) week. During it, an effort is made to finish all field work before Thursday, for from Thursday on work is forbidden. On the evening of "Pure" ("Great," "Passion") Thursday, the "passion" (*strasti*) service is performed, after which the people return home with lighted candles, trying to reach home with them without letting them go out. The Maundy Thursday candle is kept until the same day of the next year; with it the peasants char the form of a cross on the crossbeam; they place it in the hand of the dying, place it before the ikons during a great thunderstorm, and use it to light the ritual fire at night. Maundy Thursday, called "the Easter of the dead" in eastern Ukraine, is connected with the cult of the dead, who are believed to meet in the church on that night for the Divine Mass.

On "Passion" Friday—Good Friday—no work is done, and, in particular, no wood is chopped; there is no sewing and no spinning. Until Easter Sunday the ringing of bells is replaced by the beating of wooden clappers (*kalatala*) or the striking of a mallet on a board. In some localities, the Holy Shroud (*plashchanytisia*) is carried solemnly three times around the church.

Easter is the principal spring festival and a series of rites have become centered around it which, in the distant past, were connected with the Annunciation, with St. George, and even with rites in the winter cycle, especially those of New Year's Day. Easter has preserved traces of pre-Christian rites, which in general show a striking similarity to those of Christmas and New Year's. These rites are closely related to agriculture, to the memory of the dead, and to the marriage season; during them, praise is given, ritual songs are sung, and there is much well-wishing.

Easter is a feast of joy and gladness which unites the entire community in

common celebration. For three days the community celebrates to the sound of bells and to the singing of spring songs—*vesnianky* and *hahilky*. The tone of the holiday is set by the young people, who now begin their “street gathering”—*vulytsia* (outdoor social meetings), which are continued until Simeon’s Day in the fall.

On Easter Sunday “the sun plays” and therefore early in the morning, before sunrise, the window shutters are opened so that it can look into the house. The girls wait for it with a prayer in the orchard; anyone who sees it rise piously takes off his cap, bows to the east, and says a prescribed prayer. On this day, “the doors of Paradise are opened and the sinful souls are freed from hell.”

Easter begins with the Easter matins and high mass during which the *pasky* (traditional Easter cakes) and *pysanky* and *krashanky* (Easter eggs, colored and decorated) are blessed in the church. Butter, leaf lard and cheese, roast suckling pigs, sausage, smoked meat, little

napkins with poppy seeds, millet, salt, pepper, and horseradish wrapped in them are also blessed. After the matins all the people in the congregation exchange Easter greetings, give each other *krashanky*, and then hurry home with their loads of “holy food” in order to bless their houses and their families with them. In eastern Ukraine they go to their homes, place the things that have been blessed on the table, and the oldest member of the family opens the napkins in which they are wrapped, slices pieces from each, and distributes them to each member of the family along with a piece of unleavened bread which has also been blessed. In Western Ukraine, especially in the Hutsul region, the people first walk around the house three times, then go to the stable, exchange Easter greetings with the cattle, touch them with the things that have been blessed (*svia-chevo*), scatter pieces of Easter bread and salt in the manger, and send holiday greetings to the bees. Only then do they enter the house, ceremoniously open the



FIGURE 257. EASTER IN PODILIA—THE BLESSING OF THE *pasky* IN THE VILLAGE OF TYSHKIYTSI

bundle (*dorinnyk*) over the heads of the children, and sit down to the table to break their fast. The Easter bread and the blessed food remain on the table for three days, and for the dead a piece of the Easter bread and three colored eggs are wrapped up and placed on the stove or the chimney piece.

As at Christmas and New Year's, groups of young people, in some places children, visit homes on Easter to extend salutations and greetings. In the Hutsul region this is done on Easter Monday, called *volochinnyi poneditok*, when the young men exchange *krashanky* with the girls. They also look around them at the various entertainments and dances to choose wives. In eastern Ukraine this custom of paying visits is now confined to close relatives and neighbors, who are presented with a holiday loaf (*kalach*) and a *krashanka*. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century the custom of greeting the heads of households with holiday lay songs similar to the *koliadky* was still widespread.

Another such survival is the performance of the traditional spring round dance (*vodiat' topoliu*) when on Easter or on Whitsuntide the girls choose one of their number to be a "poplar" and visit the houses with her, singing appropriate spring songs.

In Western Ukraine on Easter the girls perform special spring plays with songs in the church grounds. These are



FIGURE 258. *Hahilky* in HUTSUL LAND (PAINTING BY IVAN TRUSH)



FIGURE 259. *Haivka*, "CHORNUSHKO-DUSHKO"

the *haivky* or *hahilky*, which have retained a number of motifs that are still older than those of the ordinary spring songs (*vesnianky*). They have a greater amount of ritual in them and contain elements of the round dance, of mimicry, and of choral composition.

The *krashanky* and *pysanky*—Easter eggs—are an old pre-Christian element which have an important role in the Easter rites. They are given as gifts, they are exchanged as a sign of sympathy, and their shells are put in water for the *rakhmany* (peaceful souls); finally they are placed on the graves of the dead or buried in graves and the next day are taken out and given to the poor. Related to the exchange of *krashanky* is the rite of sprinkling with water, which is still carried on in Western Ukraine on the second day of Easter ("Sprinkling Monday").

During the Easter season in Ukraine the cult of the dead is observed. The dead are remembered on Maundy Thursday and also during the whole week after Easter (called the "Week of the Nymphs"—*Navs'kyi Tyzhden'*) up to the following Sunday (called *Khomyna*—Thomas' or *Providna*—seeing-off Sunday), especially on the last day of Easter or on the first Sunday or Monday following Easter.

For the commemoration of the dead (*provody*) the people gather in the cemetery by the church bringing with them a dish (*mysochka*) containing a snack (*zakuska*) and vodka or wine.

When the service is over, they sit down by the graves of their relatives and partake of a *tryzna* (a feast in commemoration of the dead). They have the dishes left from Easter and the colored eggs, and afterwards they leave at the graves the remaining food and salt and pour out a glass of vodka, saying, "Eat, drink, and enjoy this and remember us sinners."

St. George's Day is the third spring festival. It has lost much of its original importance in the Easter cycle as a festival supported by the church. Originally St. George personified the spring in full flower, and the motif of the soldier on horseback who has slain a dragon was associated with the image of spring prior to the introduction of Christianity in Ukraine, during the period when close relations were maintained between the peoples on the Black Sea and the Danubian areas. On St. George's Day "spring comes down to earth," while prior to it the people have only looked for it and invoked it. St. George, called *Yurii* or *Yurai*, often *Rae* (Paradise) is like the Son of God and the gatekeeper who opens heaven and permits "rain and dew to fall" on the earth. On his day the dew is believed to have healing power; the people wash their eyes with it and drive the cattle out before sunrise when "Yurii's dew" is still on the ground.

St. George aids the plants; he "walks through the fields and the grain grows." Religious processions in the fields, called *tsaryny*, take place on this day. Water is blessed, and a meal is eaten in the fields where some of the food blessed at Easter is buried.

St. George is regarded as the patron of cattle and of other animals. On his day the cattle are driven out to pasture; the shepherds do not eat breakfast at home but fry eggs in the open while "Yurii's dew" is on the ground. In the Hutsul region on this day shepherds start the "journey to high pastures" on the plateaus, the *polonyns'kyi khid* (see p. 341).

The later spring festivals are also con-

cerned with the growth of plants. These are the days of CONSTANTINE and HELENA and JOHN HOLOVATYI, who is believed to influence the growth of cucumbers and cabbage.

However, no special spring rites connected with the cult of groves, trees, and flowers have been preserved in Ukraine, although there are traces of reverence shown toward groves in the Chronicles and in the writings of Cyril of Turiv. Nor is the custom known there, which is widespread in the West and among the Western Slavs, of a procession on the first of May and the bringing in of a sapling in leaf, or branches. Using leaves in decoration, bearing trees in procession, plucking herbs, the adoration of field flowers, and weaving wreaths, are all rites of the summer season, which usually begins at the end of May or early in June. The special "festival of field flowers" is celebrated on June 25, the Day of St. Onuphrius the Great. On that day the girls collect bouquets of cornflowers and poppies and place them around the ikons.

The Summer Cycle

The summer cycle, which, as old literary sources attested, once had a great wealth and variety of ritual, has become meagre in comparison with the spring cycle and has lost its former regularity. Individual elements have become separated from some rites and have been attached to others.

In general, the entire summer cycle shows a great mixture of native pre-Christian rites and Greco-Roman and especially Balkan-Romance elements, with a Christian ritual superimposed on it.

The Greek and Roman rites which reached Ukraine directly during the period when there were close contacts with the Danube-Balkan area and, to an even greater extent, those rites which came through Balkan intermediaries, have had an especially strong influence on the summer ritual. The Greco-Roman

festival of the rose—*dies rosae*, *rosalia*, *rosatio*—which was celebrated on May 23 and was connected with the memorial day for ancestors, *parentalia*, is reflected in the nature of the festival of *Zeleni Sviata* ("Green Festival" or Whitsuntide) and the *rusals'kyi tyzhden'* or week of the *rusalky* (water-nymphs), mention of which was made from the eleventh century on in the Ukrainian Chronicles, sermons, and lives.

Whitsuntide (*Zeleni Sviata* or "Green Festival"), the first in the series of summer holidays, is marked by the decoration of houses, rooms, windows, and ikons with green branches and leaves, the *klechannia* (usually sprigs and leaves of maple, linden, or oak). This is done on the day before the holiday or at dawn on the day of the festival. The floors are covered with sedges or fragrant reed grass. On the day of the festival a sapling, usually a birch, is carried out of the house in a ceremonial march into the woods or to the water's edge where the people amuse themselves and regale themselves with food. The girls sing songs and play various games (*haivky*), weave wreaths, wrap up the birch, and leave it for the night in the woods, for on the following day they will ritually "unwrap" it.

On the first day of Whitsuntide the girls hold a *skladka*—a joint dinner in an open place—in an orchard or a field, to which they invite the young men, entertain themselves, and then plait wreaths for themselves out of green twigs (*klechal'ni*), which they will only unplait on the first day of the fast preceding St. Peter's Day when they will throw them into the water. In the evening in eastern Ukraine, especially in the Poltava region, a traditional spring round dance is performed through the village (*vodiat' topoliu*)—a procedure later repeated at the *Kupalo* (festival in June).

The Whitsuntide holidays (called *zelenyi* or *klechal'nyi tyzhden'*) are related to old commemorative rites. In Volhynia on "green" Saturday (*zelena*

Subota) a memorial meal of seven dishes is arranged in honor of the people's ancestors (*didy*).

In recent times the custom of commemorating at Whitsuntide outstanding individuals and heroes who have fallen for the freedom of Ukraine has gained wide acceptance and has become traditional.

The week of the *rusalky* or *Rusals'kyi Tyzhden'*. Whitsuntide or *klechal'nyi* week is also called the week of the *Rusalky*, the water-nymphs (*rusalky* or *mavky*). To them is dedicated either the Thursday of Whitsuntide or "Holy Thursday of Whitsuntide" or "Holy Week," the so-called "Easter of the *Rusalky* and *Mavky*," the *Rusalii*, on the tenth Monday after Easter, two weeks after Whitsun. Then the "seeing off" (*provody*) of the *rusalky* is celebrated; they are believed to leave their winter homes in the water and to go out into the grain fields. In modern times the *Rusalii* is no longer a wild, gay festival as it used to be; it is limited now to the singing of the *rusal'ni* songs, a ritual meal eaten in the fields in commemoration of the dead, and beliefs about the *rusalky* and ways of obtaining protection from them.

At the end of Whitsuntide or "Holy Week" and, as a prelude to the fast preceding St. Peter's Day, usually on the first Monday of the Petrine fast, but sometimes on the Monday before St. Peter's Day, there is festival with exuberant merrymaking which is most frequently called *rozihry*. It is often associated with the *Rusalii* and in certain places coincides with the rite of the burial of *Yarylo* (sometimes of *Kostrub*), which also occurs on the first Monday of the Petrine fast. It is as gay a festival as that of Shrovetide and games are played similar to those played at the *Kupalo* festival. It is believed that the animals also play at the *rozihry*. On this day the peasant women ask that "the cows may give much milk" and the girls throw their *klechal'ni* wreaths into the water.



FIGURE 260. NIGHT OF THE *Kupalo* FESTIVAL
(DRAWING BY VOLODYMYR BALAS)

The Rite of *Kupalo* is related to the *Rusalii* and is basically an agricultural festival celebrating the beginning of harvesting and the summer solstice. With the introduction of Christianity the festival of *Kupalo* became associated with the day of St. John the Baptist (June 24, O.S., July 7, N.S.) from which it took certain Christian features. The pre-Christian rite of *Kupalo* surpassed the *Rusalii* in its excesses. Old church sources describe these games as "hideous," "possessed of an evil spirit," "evil," and "unseemly."

The "games" of our time have been reduced to the modest amusements of the young people, the burning of a bonfire, the floating of wreaths, the singing of *Kupalo* songs, the collecting of herbs, the casting of spells, and the performance of some vestiges of ancient rites the meaning of which is no longer understood.

The feast of *Kupalo* symbolizes the strongest and most luxurious growth of

vegetation. At this time "the best plants" grow; the pearly fern, which gives knowledge and wealth to the fortunate, is in bloom; herbs and grasses acquire miraculous powers and are of use for healing and sorcery. For this reason, on the eve of *Kupalo's* Day, healing herbs are collected and mothers look for gentian in the forest because it will help them marry off their daughters more easily. That night the girls tell their fortunes and try to cast spells on the ones they love, and in the morning, after decorating the house with burdock and maple branches, they go out into the fields to gather herbs and weave wreaths of field flowers, wormwood, and lovage herbs. Then they go to the woods where they choose the most beautiful among them to be the *Kupailo*; she sits in a previously prepared pit filled with wreaths which she distributes to the girls who dance around the pit. It is believed that any girl who receives a wreath of fresh flowers will marry that year. Then the girls flee from *Kupailo* to the water's edge "to charm beauty for themselves," and for the purpose they undress and, sprinkling themselves with water, sing songs of invocation. They also cast wreaths on the water, reading their fate from the way they float.

As the climax of the festival a sapling (*hiltse*) is brought to a forest clearing and the *Kupalo* bonfires are lighted. The *hiltse*, a small maple or cherry tree, is carried from the forest to the pasture, adorned with poppies, basil, and periwinkle, planted in the earth, and then set on fire, while the people dance hand in hand around it and sing. They also jump over the fire. Finally, the young men and girls dress two scarecrows, *Kupalo* and *Marena*, and after long ceremonies drown them or tear them to pieces.

The *Kupalo* period is also the time during which supernatural forces, *rusalky*, *mavky*, vampires, and witches are believed to be active. All possible protection is sought against them: sting-

ing nettles are placed on the window sills, an aspen tree in the stables; the rounds of the fields are made. At the same time a careful watch is kept to see that evil persons, sorcerers, and magicians do not harm people or do damage in the fields.

Peter and Paul (June 29, O.S., July 12, N.S.) appear in Ukrainian rites as plowmen; Peter alone plays the chief part in agricultural beliefs. He "begins the harvest of the rye" and is the guardian of the fields, the harvest, and bee-keeping. He also plows the field for the winter grain. St. Peter's Day is regarded as a great festival in the villages.

In the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains, during the Petrine fast, the once widespread "maiden fairs" (*yarmarky na divchata*) are still held. In the nineteenth century there existed on the left bank of the Dnieper near Oleshky the custom of "marrying the crayfish." On St. Peter's Day, a male and female crayfish were dressed in human garb, adorned with ribbons and flowers and were "wed," being led around a table to the singing of marriage songs.

Two weeks later, on the DAY OF ST. CYRIACUS (July 15, O.S., July 28, N.S.), the "festival of the wind" is celebrated, during which no haymaking or work on the haystacks (*oborih*) may be done, for the "wind would sweep everything away." This is probably one of the "thunder" feasts which are held at the end of July and the beginning of August (July 28-Aug. 8). St. Panteleimon Polykop (Burn-stack) and Illia (the Prophet Elijah) are regarded as the greatest thunder-makers and the patrons of the harvest feast.

ST. VOLODYMYR and the introduction of Christianity into Ukraine are commemorated on the same day as St. Cyriacus.

The harvest period. Usually about a week after St. Peter's Day the main harvest begins and with its completion the cycle of agrarian festivals comes to an end. The harvest is accompanied by

the singing of special harvest songs (*obzhynochni* or *obzhynkovi*) which in general are of recent origin and usually refer to work in the "landlord's" fields or "for another farmer" although they are based on many archaic elements.

The customs and rites connected with the harvest are now mostly concentrated in the one traditional rite of the harvest feast (*obzhynky*) and have lost their ancient sacral character. One old survival is the custom of leaving some unharvested grain at the end of the harvest which is usually called the "beard of Volos" or "of Illia" (Elijah) or of *Spas* (the Savior); this custom is widespread throughout all of western Europe. This "Savior's beard," which in Volhynia is called the "goat" (*koza*) or, for short, the "Beard" (*boroda*), is turned ears down, then the grain is shelled from the ears and sown among the roots of the stalks with the words: "Yield, O God, a good crop as everyone's lot, for the poor and for the rich." At the same time young unmarried men crawl among the stalks of the "beard" and the women harvesters throw their sickles behind them, to invoke the crop for the next year. Also preserved are traces of reverence for the first sheaf as a symbol of the crop, and of the harvest wreath itself as the harbinger of the next crop.

The harvest ritual itself is identical throughout the entire Ukrainian ethnic territory, the only variations it shows being in the repertoires of songs, all of which, however, abound in songs of glorification. The women and girls collect stalks of grain and weave them into a wreath to the accompaniment of songs. After placing this wreath on the head of the girl they have selected as the most beautiful, they walk in procession to the master of the house for whom they have been harvesting. He accepts the wreath from the girl, wishes that she may "have the wreath put on her in church," and then invites everybody in for a drink (*mohorych*) which is accompanied by music and cheerful merrymaking.

The harvest customs and rites are grouped around three feasts. The Feast of Elijah, the Feast of the Maccabees, and the Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord which, with the coming of Christianity, replaced the pagan feasts of Volos and Perun.

The prophet ELIJAH is believed to protect the crop and ensure the harvest. Elijah, who "rides over the heavenly bridge in his chariot" and controls the thunder, walks through the fields with a whip of rye in his hand: "Where he waves it, there the rye grows."

After Elijah's Day it is forbidden to bathe or to collect swarms of bees and special care must be taken to protect oneself from lightning and thunder.

On the MACCABEES' DAY (August 1, O.S., August 14, N.S.) the women and girls have the last summer flowers blessed in the church.

SPAS (THE SAVIOR) (The Feast of the Transfiguration of the Lord; August 6, O.S., August 19, N.S.). The Savior is regarded as the patron of the harvest ("the Savior's Beard") and this festival ends the harvest season. For this reason the harvest wreath is blessed in the church, along with grain, fruits, and honey, to be threshed out on the eve of next year's feast of the Savior. Prior to the Feast of the Transfiguration, the old people do not eat fruit, even if it is ripe, so that on the feast day their children in heaven may receive heavenly fruit from the angels. After they have returned from church with the fruits that have been blessed, they partake of some before dinner. *Spas* is also the third in the series of festivals when the dead are commemorated.

Around the FEAST OF THE ASSUMPTION OF THE HOLY VIRGIN (August 15, O.S., August 28, N.S.), called the Feast of the All-Pure Maiden (*Prechysta*), heavy agricultural work is completed and only the autumn sowing remains.

On the last day of August, the day of FLORUS AND LAURUS, as if to mark the end of summer, the "horses' Easter" is

celebrated and on that day no work is performed with horses.

The Autumn Cycle

The customs and rites of the autumn cycle do not have the great wealth and diversity of the preceding cycles. They are mostly related to church rites and permeated with Christian influence.

The autumn calendar rites have few celebrations, agricultural or natural events. It is a period during which customs connected with marriage and magic predominate.

THE DAY COMMEMORATING THE BE-HEADING OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST (August 29, O.S., Sept. 11, N.S.) begins the autumn festivals. Its symbolism is related to the Gospel story. On this day everyone fasts, and it is forbidden to take a knife in one's hand and to cut a head of cabbage.

THE FESTIVAL OF SIMEON THE STYLITE (the Pillar-Saint) (September 1, O.S., September 14, N.S.) is, however, the first real autumn festival, and is probably related to the beginning of the church. At this time the birds are preparing for their winter migration, "the swallows hide themselves in the wells," the sparrows gather in the reeds, and the devil (in some areas it is believed St. Simeon himself) counts the number of sparrows and takes the excess for himself, which is why the number of sparrows decreases in autumn. On Simeon's Day, in some places, a "hair-cutting" is held and boys are sat on a horse.

THE BIRTHDAY OF THE MOST HOLY MOTHER OF GOD, called the second *Prechysta* or the Second Feast of the All-Pure Maiden (September 8, O.S., September 21, N.S.) was once also a festival for women in confinement (*rozhanytsi*). Today in place of a feast of "the family and the mother in confinement" a dinner is arranged to which the poor are invited.

THE ELEVATION OF THE HOLY CROSS (*Chesnoho Khresta*) (September 14, O.S. September 27, N.S.) is the day on which the birds leave for warmer climates, the

last to leave being the cuckoo. It is believed that the snakes are left to freeze in punishment if anyone has been bitten. At this time it is not considered advisable to walk in the woods.

THE FEAST OF INTERCESSION OF THE MOST HOLY MOTHER OF GOD (*Pokrova*) (October 1, O.S., October 14, N.S.) is regarded in Ukraine as a great national holiday which has various legends related to it. *Pokrova* day is often made the saint's day for the patron saints of parishes, and the Zaporozhian Sich (Kozak) was under its protection. Weddings are held following this festival.

THE DAY OF ST. DEMETRIUS (October 26, O.S., November 8, N.S.) ushers in the winter. It is exactly half a year from St. George's Day and the people tell fortunes to see who is going to die and when, and what the weather and the crops will be like. The Saturday before St. Demetrius' Day, known as Grand-sire's Saturday (*didova Subota*), is the autumn commemoration of the dead, for whom a requiem (*panakhyda* and *parastas*) is said in church and a dinner is held in the home.

A spoonful from every dish is put in a special bowl which is placed next to water and a towel, so that at night "the souls of the dead may dine and wash themselves."

THE DAY OF SAINTS COSMAS AND DEMIANUS (November 1, O.S., November 14, N.S.) is called "frostless." What the winter will be like is divined and various measures are taken against frost.

THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL'S DAY (November 8, O.S., November 21, N.S.) is celebrated with great reverence; he is the patron saint of Kiev. Many churches bear his name, and for this reason this day is one of the most popular as the saint's day for patron saints of churches. The Archangel Michael is believed to be the guardian of hunters and in this connection many legends and tales are told.

THE APOSTLE PHILIP'S DAY (November 14, O.S., November 27, N.S.) marks the beginning of the pre-Christmas fast



FIGURE 261. ARCHANGEL MICHAEL, SCULPTURE FROM THE OLD CITY HALL OF LVIV

(*Pylypivka*), and the same customs are repeated as at the carnival preceding Lent: visiting, entertaining, and the *kolodka* party.

FOLK CUSTOMS AND RITES RELATED TO FAMILY LIFE

The customs and rites related to birth are rather uniform throughout all Ukraine. Three moments are important here: (1) the actual birth; (2) the acceptance of the newborn baby as a member of the community; and (3) the purification of the mother and the midwife (*baba*). The aim of all the ceremonies is to protect the child from danger and to ensure for the new member of the family and the community the best conditions of life. To protect the

child from the "evil eye" and from witchcraft," and to ease birth, pregnant women conceal their condition for as long as possible. Many things are done to prevent a difficult birth—the mother is undressed, everything that is bound is unbound, all locks are unlocked, and all doors are opened. For every birth, even the easiest, a respected older woman (*baba*) is called in at the last moment to act as midwife. The place of birth is not important, and the custom which confines the mother to bed before the birth and for a prescribed period of time following it (the so-called childbed) is not observed.

The newborn child is carefully protected from all evil; the *baba* welcomes it with the sign of the cross and a special prayer, and cuts the umbilical cord on an axe if the child is a boy, or on a distaff if it is a girl. She then introduces the child to the family, places it under the stove, touches its head to the mouth of the oven, or its feet to the crossbeam, and, finally, wraps it in a sheepskin coat and puts it in the corner of honor (*pokuttia*). The after-birth is immediately buried under the floor with bread and money and sprinkled with rye, so that no one can use it for an evil purpose. Under the heads of the child and the mother are placed a knife, a triune candle, and various fragrant herbs to drive away the evil spirit, and a cloth in which are wrapped a coal and a piece of clay from the oven is placed in the child's shirt for the same purpose. Following the birth an infusion of fragrant grasses is poured over the mother, who is protected from the eyes of strangers by a curtain. The child is placed beside the mother so that it may be more easily protected from the devil, who might substitute a changeling for it; for this reason a candle is lighted under the ikon, the mother and child are guarded the whole time, and all are careful not to mention the devil.

This mystery ends with the ritual bathing of the child. Then the family

ceremony begins which is completed with the family reception and the church baptism, which usually takes place on the same day, for until the baptism the mother does not dare to nurse the child. The *kumy* or godparents, who are usually named by the father from among his most respected relatives, carry the child to baptism. No one declines this invitation, for to be a godparent (*kumuvaty*) is a great honor and a service to God. If there has been difficulty over the having of children, the first persons to be met are invited to be the godparents. The godparents bring bread and the baptismal cloth (*kryzhmo*) to the baptism and their first duties are to drink a toast and make prescribed wishes. Then the *baba* washes the child in "untouched" water (water taken from a prescribed place at a prescribed time which has "magic powers") and wraps it, if a boy, in its father's shirt, if a girl, in its mother's and presents it to the godfather, over the threshold, if it is a boy, and over a comb, if it is a girl.

After the baptism, the family reception is held (the so-called *rodyny* or *kalachyny*), at which neighbors and friends gather with gifts (bread, sausages, salt, dumplings or *varenyky*, groats, grain). At these parties in many areas, *kasha* (groats) and *kalachi* (rolls) are served, sometimes a special bread (*provodator*) is provided, and in addition, almost everywhere in Ukraine, the *baba* distributes among guests (the *vynohrad*) "grapes," which are cooked apples and pears, and "flowers," which are ears of grain or sprigs of periwinkle, rue, basil, and guelder rose (*kalyna*).

The third of the customs connected with a birth is the purification of the mother and the *baba*, who are considered to be unclean after the birth. This rite is called *zlyoky* or *zlyoshchyny*, and usually takes place soon after the baptism, on the ninth day at the latest. In this purification ceremony the hands of the mother and the *baba* are washed with "untouched" water in which sprigs

of guelder rose, lovage, rue, and periwinkle are placed crosswise; ritual prayers are said and a candle is burned. After this ceremony the *baba* is bade farewell and is paid; for her work (which sometimes lasts several days) she receives only the prescribed ritual gifts: *pyrohy* (pies), bread, a head covering, cloth for a *zapaska* (a kind of apron), and the like.

Until almost the end of the nineteenth century the custom of cutting the baby's hair (*postryzhyny* or *obstryzhyny*) was preserved. It usually took place a year after birth, although in some places it was earlier, even being done immediately following baptism. In the Poltava region at these ceremonies the *baba* spread out a sheepskin coat, fur side up, the godfather clipped the ends of the child's hair in front, in back, and on both sides near the ears, and the father threw some money on the coat.

The wedding rites extend beyond the family and are a festival which embraces the entire community. The Ukrainian wedding is a complex mixture of rituals. It is an echo of the ancient wedding, containing many elements of the family cult which are mixed with Greco-Byzantine and Christian elements. There are three principal strata to these rituals: (1) the basic one—from the epoch of exogamy—involving the bride's passage from one family to another and so with such ritual acts as the bringing in of the bride, the *umykannia* (abduction), mock skirmishes between the families of the bride and the bridegroom, and the ritual paying of ransom; (2) Greco-Byzantine elements which are connected with earlier religious and mystical elements; and (3) the modern Ukrainian wedding.

MATCH-MAKING (*svatannia*) is usually preceded by a courtship which is facilitated by various social meetings between the young people of both sexes (the *parubots'ki* and *divots'ki*). The ceremony of match-making begins with making "inquiries" (*dopyty*) at the home of the girl's parents, and ends with the "in-

spection" (*rozhladyny* or *obzoryny*) when the girl's family goes to look at the home which the prospective bridegroom will offer the bride. The most complicated ceremony is performed by the match-makers (*svaty*) of the bridegroom-to-be. He usually waits with his "future best man" (*druzhko*) at the prospective bride's door, only entering the house after a long ceremonial during which the parents of the bride-to-be accept bread and the girl gives her consent. She then ties ceremonial towels over one shoulder of each match-maker and places an embroidered kerchief in the prospective bridegroom's belt. The parents then give bread to the match-makers and they, in turn, offer liquor to the householders and make arrangements with them for the day of the betrothal.

The BETROTHAL (*zaruchyny*), which sometimes takes place at the same time as the match-making in the house of the future bride, is performed in the presence of all the relatives of both the young people and is conducted to the accompaniment of ritual songs, in which the betrothed are likened to the moon and the stars, and wishes are bestowed on them, that they shall be "as rich as

the earth and as healthy as the water." During the singing of the wedding chorus by the prospective bride's attendants, who now play an active role in the rite, the principal elements of the match-making are repeated: the speeches, the binding with ceremonial towels, the showing of the fiancée, and the exchange of gifts. Following this the betrothed pair are



FIGURE 262. WEDDING COSTUME FROM POKUTIA

blessed with bread. Either the fiancé's closest companion, the *druzhko*, who at the wedding acts as a sort of master-of-ceremonies, or, more frequently, the fiancée's *starosta* (usually her uncle), leads them bound by a towel to the wedding seat (*posad*) in the corner of honor. When the guests have departed, the betrothed pair are either left to retire or the celebration is continued in the home of the fiancé where another series of ceremonies are held which last throughout the night and are called *zapoiny*.

Now the preparations for the WEDDING begin. The bridegroom-to-be and the prospective bride have the banns put up (*na zapovidi* or *ohlas*) while their parents arrange for the dowry and the wedding. On the eve of the wedding, usually on a Saturday, a branch or a small tree is decorated in the bride's house to the accompaniment of ritual songs. It is decorated with flowers, rue, periwinkle, colored ribbons, and small candles; later it stands on the table during the entire wedding, or is set in the wedding loaf (*korovai*). At the same time two wreaths are plaited: a larger one of periwinkle for the bride and a smaller one for the groom. The wedding loaf (*korovai*) is baked on the Friday, but it usually is on Sunday that its makers, the *korovainytsi*, singing solemn festive songs, decorate the top with shapes modeled out of dough in the form of pine-cones, doves, geese, etc. The *korovai*, the ritual wedding bread, has



FIGURE 263. HUTSUL WEDDING



FIGURE 264. WEDDING CUSTOMS IN LEMKIAN REGION

Best man presents the bride with a *kolach* (wedding cake), while the groom looks on.

a sacrificial and kinship significance; it is made of flour contributed by all the kin. In the rite of baking it, the *druzhko* (best man) also takes part, bringing to the house from the barn a sheaf of rye, a symbol of chastity (*pokrasa*). Meanwhile the bride, wearing a wreath of periwinkle, goes with her attendants to the village to invite the guests to the wedding. After inviting them, she goes with the bridesmaids to the home of the groom, bows three times before the threshold and three times within the house, invites the parents of the groom to the wedding, and gives each of them a piece of cake (*perepiets'*). After they have been entertained at table the groom, who has meanwhile selected his attendants (*boiary*), escorts the bride and her attendants from the house. In the evening the bride arranges a "maiden's evening" (*divych-vechir*) during which she says farewell to the girls who for the last time unplait her

braid while she sits on a chair covered with a sheepskin coat in the middle of the room.

The church wedding (*vinchannia*) usually takes place on Sunday morning before the ritual wedding.

Before going to the church a brother combs out the bride's hair and the parents and relatives give her their blessing (*blahoslovennia*). After the wedding the married couple go to the home of the groom, where they are blessed with bread and salt and entertained. Then the bride returns home and the groom prepares the wedding train (*poizd*) with his attendants, who usually include two *starosty*, two *druzhky*, several *svaty* and *boiary*.

In the evening the most important part of the marriage ritual, the wedding (*vesillia*) itself, takes place. It begins with the departure of the wedding train of the groom, which goes back to ancient traditional rites. The members of the train first circle the table in the house and drink water from the same dish, as if taking an oath of allegiance to their "prince" (*kniaz*); they then perform the rites of "sowing" (*siannia*) with the mother of the groom and of "riding a horse" (*izda na koni*)—a rake—around a kneading trough, "so that the oats may be plentiful, so that the posterity of Johnny (*Ivas*) may be beautiful." They receive the blessing of the groom's parents and depart with a red banner (*korohva*), singing ancient knightly and mythological songs.

If the groom is from another village, the young men from the bride's village bar the passage of the train and demand the so-called *pereima* (treat and ransom); then the groom must ransom himself with coins. The train meets a second barrier before the house of the bride, which is guarded by young men with raised sticks. Only after a "fight" (*bit*) and long negotiations do they allow the groom to enter the house, but even then he must overcome the resistance of the brothers of the bride and

pay an appropriate ransom to obtain the right to sit beside her, remove her head-dress, and kiss her.

Now the high point in the wedding ceremony approaches. The bride's braid is unplaited, her head is covered with the cap of a married woman (*ochipok*) and with the groom's hat. The *korovai* or wedding bread is brought from the pantry to the accompaniment of singing and is distributed to all who are present, particular care being taken to see that all the relatives receive some, while the top with the "moon" (*misiats*) is left for the bride and groom. After the supper, the bride says farewell to the maidens and her parents and, to the accompaniment of songs and music, departs for the home of the groom, taking with her (in Western Ukraine) a "chest" or *skrynia* with her dowry (*posah*) in it and a black hen.

The parents of the groom meet the bride on the threshold of her new home with bread and salt and solemnly welcome her into her new family. The bride, who must keep silent during this entire time, is taken into the house, where she at once releases under the stove the black hen which she has brought with her. She is then seated in the place of honor; her head covering is removed with a stick and is thrown on the stove; in some places she is given a piece of *pechyna*, a piece of clay from the oven, or a piece of a raw beet, and she silently throws it under the table. This ceremony is called "receiving the bride" (*pryho-shchuvaty molodu*) and is designed to accustom her as quickly as possible to the new house.

Then the married couple are taken ceremoniously to the storeroom (*komora*) where the nuptial bed has been made on straw and a sheepskin coat, and a sheaf of rye and a holy ikon placed at its head. There the ancient rite of "breaking the guelder-rose" (*lamannia kalyny*) is performed. In the old ritual all the groom's kin would wait in the house throughout the wedding night

when, to the singing of erotic songs, the bride's shirt with the signs of her virginity was carried round. However, later this procedure was limited to hanging a red banner on the house of a true bride on the next day and decking the *boiary* (male wedding attendants) with red belts and ribbons.

The wedding ends with a wild, gay entertainment known as the *perezva*, which used to last for several days, and ended with the purifying ceremony of *vyvid* in the church or the ritual pouring of water by a river or spring. Now the wedding rites are usually much abridged because of material want, and a wedding rarely lasts more than two or three days (Saturday, Sunday, Monday) and sometimes goes on for even less time.

Burial rites have been preserved from ancient times, particularly in the Carpathians. Death is accepted calmly in the countryside. The eyes of the deceased are closed so that he will not take any of the family with him. The body is washed and the water and the hair and the comb are thrown out in a place which is frequented by neither people nor animals. After this the corpse is dressed in a shroud or "death" (*smertna*) shirt, trousers, *kalyhy* (a sort of slipper made of linen), and a fur cap. If it is a married woman who has died, the body is clad in a skirt and sometimes a *svyta* (a peasant upper garment), she is girded with a belt, and her head is wrapped in a headcloth (*peremitka*). Maidens and unmarried young men are dressed as for a wedding. A wreath of periwinkle is placed on a girl's head and a ring on her finger, and a specially baked *korovai* (wedding bread) is placed on the coffin. After the funeral, pieces of this bread are distributed at the grave among all the relatives of the deceased. Before burial the dead person is placed on a bench under the windows with his head toward the ikons and his feet toward the door; a dish is placed beside the body so that the soul may have something to drink. Only deceased

children of less than six years are placed on a table. In some places three small rolls of bread are placed in the bosom of the deceased.

From the moment of death, the ritual demands that the family direct its attention to driving the soul of the dead person away from the house. To this end the mirrors are covered, the arrangement of the furniture is reversed and care is taken to immediately sound the death knell (*podzvin*) for the repose (*za spokii*) of the soul which, until that is rung, might wander about the house. The departure of the dead person's soul is regarded in every way as a dangerous moment; for this reason, prior to the funeral all work ceases in the house, the floors are not swept nor is rubbish carried out. In some places the house in which the deceased is lying is marked with birch branches, a towel is hung in the house or a cloth is placed over the window, and a fire is lighted in front of the gate.

It is not proper to shed many tears for a dead person, and mothers in particular must not weep for their children. On the contrary, not so long ago in the entire area of the right bank of the Dnieper the custom was maintained of rejoicing, of singing songs and playing games. This custom is still preserved in the Carpathians and in the adjoining areas to the north, in Bukovina, Transcarpathia, and in parts of Podilia. There the whole night is spent beside the dead person and special games are played which are an echo of the ancient funeral games and feasts. The deceased cannot be left in the house unattended, for then an evil spirit might enter his body and disturb people at night.

The coffin (*truna*, *domovyna*, or *derevyshche*) is usually made gratis on the day after death by the neighbors of maple or pine. Among other things, these woods are believed to drive away the spirits and to stop vampires. The coffin is cushioned with grass and herbs blessed on the Feast of the Transfiguration

(*Spas*) or with shavings. A pillow filled with the same herbs is placed under the head as feathers must not be used. The corpse is only placed in the coffin, which in some places has a small window for the "soul," at the time of the funeral, after the priest has read the prayers. For the other world, in accordance with the local custom, the deceased is given bread, salt, a pot of groats, vodka, eggs, and apples (for children), rings and coins for the "passage" (in the Hutsul region and in the northern foothills of the Carpathians). However, this custom is going out of use. Before the body is taken from the house all those present bid farewell to the dead and kiss him as a sign that all offences are forgiven him.

The coffin is carried feet first and is knocked three times at the threshold of each room so that the deceased may bid farewell to the house and not return. The coffin is strewn with rye so that the living may not lack bread. In order to prevent the return of the deceased to the house, an axe is laid on the spot on which the coffin stood or on the threshold; the coffin is tightly nailed with aspen pegs. After the coffin has been removed, the relatives vigorously close the doors and walk around the kneading trough three times; in some places the housewife throws a new pot to the ground so that it may break into pieces. At the same time the cattle are turned out from the barn and the stalls to say farewell if the deceased is the head of the household, the gates are bound with a red towel or belt so that the "cattle may not follow the deceased from the yard," and the widow strews the entire yard with oats. The coffin is carried on the mourners' shoulders if the distance is not too great, or in a cart, and here and there, in the mountains, in accordance with old custom, in a sleigh drawn by oxen, avoiding the "water." Even among the poorest people funerals are usually very ceremonious. The funeral of a girl is given the appearance of a wedding procession with bridal attendants (*druzhky*),

best men (*starosty*), and match-makers (*svashky*), and all attending are presented with "guiding lights" (*provodnychky*), i.e., small candles of green wax.

The funeral procession is accompanied by special mournful songs and in the Hutsul land, by the playing of *trembita*. Only the women of the family of the deceased "wail" for the dead, although at times other women who are especially skillful are invited. Mourning begins



FIGURE 265. HUTSUL'S *trembita*



FIGURE 266. FUNERAL CORTEGE IN HUTSUL LAND

immediately after death; until the funeral the men do not cover their heads, the girls wear their hair loose, the women wear white kerchiefs and no necklace. In order that the dead may not later "walk" or "do penance," the grave is dug deep and the coffin is often strewn with poppy seed. When "great sinners," sorcerers of all kinds and those who have died an

unnatural death, are buried, in some places, twigs and stones are thrown on the grave.

The dead are buried in cemeteries, which formerly were near the churches or in the churchyard. Usually the graves are topped by mounds, low ones among the Boikians and the Hutsuls, but, in some places, more than twenty inches high. Wooden crosses of various shapes are placed on the graves. Sometimes food such as *kolyvo* (wheat or barley cooked with honey) is left on the graves.

All return home from the funeral without looking back, purify themselves by washing and touching the stove, and then sit down to the funeral dinner, which necessarily must always be begun with the *kolyvo*.

FOLK CUSTOMS AND RITES RELATED TO COMMUNITY LIFE

To this day traces have been preserved of the old community life which finds expression in a person's relations to his neighbors, in social and church obligations, in the sharing of pasture lands (*toloka*), and in other ways. The remnants of the old ritual hospitality are of particular importance.

Until recent times, the Ukrainian villagers cherished the old customs of organized social life for the young people of both sexes, with many forms of fraternity (*pobratymstvo*), sisterhood (*sestrynstvo*), fraternal festivals, common meals (*skladky*), customary gatherings, dances, and games. The communities of the unmarried young men under the leadership of an *otaman* or "birch" (*bereza*), elected for a certain period, played a very important role in performing various customary and ritual functions. Among these were the organization of the *koliady*, the preparation of various religious services, such, for example, cutting the cross out of ice in the river for the Blessing of the Water at *Vodokhrushchi*, the collection of offerings for candles for the church, the organizing of

the choir, the traditional part they play at weddings, and the like. The girls' communities, each of which was also under a chosen *otamansha*, were more concerned with the maintenance of the social life of the young people, organizing gatherings, out of doors in summer and in the homes in winter. These gatherings were arranged in a certain order according to customs fixed by tradition. The evening parties, called *vechernytsi*, began on the second day of the Intercession (*Pokrova*) and usually continued until the pre-Christmas fast (*Pylypivka*).

Of interest also are games and contests of the unmarried young men which are connected with popular sports. There are also a great many games and amusements for children.

FOLK CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH PARTICULAR KINDS OF WORK

These customs are going out of use more and more. There is a whole series of customs and rites connected with the various phases of agricultural work, going out into the fields, the plowing, sowing, reaping, harvesting (*obzhynky*), husking corn, spinning, and various household tasks. Thus going out into the fields to plow and the plowing of the first furrow are surrounded by a series of rites. The head of the household starts the work with a prayer, and, as the first furrow is ploughed, scatters eggs and bread throughout the field or places them in the furrow; colored Easter eggs (*krashanky*) are usually used for this purpose.

Before the sowing a festive reception is held, a dinner with liquor, after which one of the old members of the family performs the rite of the first sowing (*zasiv*) by scattering eggs and bread with the seed. In some places, the sower throws a handful of seed over his shoulder or simply in front of him but with his eyes closed, so as not to see where it falls.

Unusual festivity and ritual accompany the first driving of the herd to pasture, which in eastern Ukraine takes place on St. George's Day and in the Carpathians before Whitsuntide, about May 20. In the Hutsul region it is known as the march to the high pastures (*polonyns'kyi khid*). A series of ceremonies and rites goes with it and it usually lasts for about two weeks. Before the advent of spring the community selects a respected and honorable man as chief herdsman (*vatah*) and gives him the whole herd (*skotyna, marzhyna*) for the spring season (*vesnuvannia*), having first marked them with the owner's brand since each household is turning its animals over to the communal herd. The *vatah* performs all the ritual functions as well as his duties as herdsman. His first task is to make ready the pasturage on the high meadows. He strikes at the fence of the pen with one swing of the axe, burying it in the wood, and then throws a horseshoe on the old fireplace (*vatryshche*); he then lights a new living fire (*vatra*) while saying the Lord's Prayer and certain charms. When the fire blazes up, the *vatah* takes a red-hot brand from it and throws it into the water, again with a prayer, and with this water he makes the sign of the cross over the cattle pen and again over the herd when it arrives; the remaining water he keeps until the end of the season. The fire itself is borne festively to the pen where the horseshoe lies and is kept burning until autumn. From the fire the chief herdsman or *vatah* takes a blazing fire brand, carries it around the entire pen (*stoishche*) uttering prayers and the prescribed charms, and attaches it to the gate through which the herd is to pass.

The driving out of the herd takes place with much festivity. Early in the morning, before sunrise, the head of the household stands in the doorway and allows the sheep to pass between his legs and the cows to pass beside him, counting them as they go by and ending

with the wish "that nothing may harm them and they may not be exposed to spells." During the march, songs are sung, shawms (*trembity*) and horns are sounded, or shots are fired.

After receiving the herd on the high meadows and sprinkling it with water, the *vatah* places the animals in the pens and then, with a shawm (*trembita*), calls the shepherds to the fire, says a prayer with them, and asks God to "intercede and protect this Christian herd in the dews, the waters, at all crossings, from every evil and from serious accident."

Many rites have been preserved in connection with the construction of houses, the completion of a building (*zakosychennia*), housewarmings, and certain handicrafts. There are also many related beliefs.

Z. Kuzela

ELEMENTS OF PRE-CHRISTIAN RELIGION AND THE PEOPLE'S VIEW OF LIFE

Folk Customs and Rites

Prior to the unification of the tribes and the introduction of Christianity in Ukraine, each clan and tribe worshipped its "own" gods. In the process of unification, a unified religion was formed (tenth century) in which *Perun*, the god of thunder, was worshipped, as were *Dazhboh*, the god of the sun, *Veles* (*Volos*), the god of cattle, *Svarih* (*Svaroznyk*), *Khors*, *Stryboh*, *Mokosha*, and others. The existence of similar gods among the Lithuanians indicates their ancient Balto-Slavic origin. As it was a unified religion which was spreading, the paganism of the pre-Christian period included in its pantheon, along with the native local gods, gods of alien origin. The pagan cults of this period already had specific places for the performance of rites (*kapyshcha*), representations or idols, corporate performances of functions, and a class of professional priests, the so-called *volkhvy*. When Christianity

was adopted as the religion of the country, there was a struggle between it and paganism, and Christianity completely wiped out all elements of paganism from accepted religion.

The archaic conceptions and cults and the figures of the "lower mythology" showed greater endurance than did those of the established paganism. Whereas people did not preserve in their memories the images of the gods and the figures of the higher mythology, the archaic figures and ideas of the lower mythology have been preserved to our own time.

Christianity did not root out the old family cults. But these later ethnic peasant cults do not have any special places for their performance nor any special performers of the cult outside the limits of the family and clan, any cult figures other than the images of the lower mythology, or any festivals apart from the seasonal agricultural cycle. The place of the cult changes seasonally, and according to the occasion.

There is a view that the cult figures of *Kupalo*, *Koliada*, *Marena*, *Kostrub*, and others are echoes of the pagan pantheon, the vestiges of images from the realm of higher mythology. The *Hustyn Chronicle* asserts that *Kupalo* was the "god of abundance, like Ceres among the Greeks." Old sources refer to *Koliada* as a "god." The ethnic sources, however, refer to the sheaf of wheat which is brought into the house on Christmas Eve as *koliada*. The festival of *Koliada-Viliia* is the festival of ancestors; the *mavky-niavky* and *rusalky* (wood- and water-nymphs) are the unindividualized multitude of ancestors. The cult figures are purely of the family and clan, the *didy* and *baby*, forefathers and female ancestors. The entire cult ritual is kept within the framework of these family and clan conceptions, and does not overstep their boundaries. The performers of the cult are the head and other members of the family; the majority of the ritual acts are performed exclusively within the family circle and by the family with the father

at its head; only a few rites are performed by the whole community, the entire village, or a particular group of the same sex or age group (girls, young men, married women). The cult representations vary according to the occasion and to the seasonal cycle and include: (a) puppets in human garb (the *baba*, *Marena*, *Kostrub*); (b) a branch or sheaf which is given the shape of a person or animal; (c) the participants in a game who in their animal and plant masks, like the puppet, branch, or sheaf, represent a particular cult figure. Appeals to the *navia*, the souls of the dead, are not cult formulas, prayers, or hymns—they are direct incantations and pleas, the expression of wishes, and adorations.

In the minds of the people there is no separation between a festival and labor, work and play, a household task and dancing and singing. The festivals in the religion of the people involve labor. Work and play are combined. Amusement is always directly related to life's experiences and to agricultural production; amusement always has a practical and utilitarian goal while, on the other hand, work has a more than utilitarian goal since it is deeply rooted in mythology. Hence in the performance of every task (for example, sowing, harvesting) the practice of cult, the amusements, the songs and dancing, the festive occasions, are directly related to the fulfilment of the work; the work is accompanied by singing, dancing, and the appearance of masked figures.

With the introduction of Christianity the images, conceptions, and cults of the lower mythology came to be mixed with elements of the Christian religion. Thus the so-called double-faith (*dvoieviria*) originated. The festivals celebrating the completion of the agrarian seasonal cycle were detached from their seasonal base and connected with the Day of St. John the Baptist; the festival of the first morning frosts, the rite of invoking the frosts, which originally took place in autumn with the beginning of

the frosts, was later attached to Christmas. The cult figures were no longer of the clan; they were regarded from the ecclesiastical point of view as the so-called *zalozhni mertsi* (literally the guarding dead); the *navia* and *navky* were no longer ancestors who dwelt permanently in the river, but women who had died an unnatural death or had drowned, suicides, and unbaptized children. The verbal formulas were now and again interwoven with the texts of church prayers; the "I-formulas" of ritual actions were transformed into formulas based on God's actions.

The Popular View of Nature

At the basis of the people's beliefs, rites, and customs lay their view of life. The oldest elements of this view of life show it to have been unhierarchical. It did not contain a hierarchy of delimited grades, a distinction between the "higher" and the "lower." No hierarchical delimitation separated the organic and the inorganic; living and dead matter; the human and the non-human; the human being, the animal, the plant, and the object; being and place; the quality of the object and the object itself.

Hence the presence in the minds of the people of such conceptions as the sheaf-grandfather (*snip-did*), the maiden-ear (*divchyna-kolos*), the maiden-poplar (*divchyna-topolia*), the fire-mother (*vo-hon'-maty*), or such combinations of plants and animals as the quail-grain (*perepilka-zbizhzhia*), the goat-grain (*koza-zbizhzhia*), or even such complex ideas as the maiden-spring-lark (*divchyna-vesna-zhavoronok*). This is not a result of the anthropomorphizing of natural phenomena, as is often thought, but the fruit of the ancient unhierarchical conception of the world as of one clan. Every phenomenon and every act was considered an occurrence within the clan, a manifestation of the action of a related being and of relationships within the clan. Thus success in hunting did not depend upon the skill of the hunter, nor

upon his hunting experience, nor upon the technical perfection of his weapons, but only on the benevolent friendship of the animals, his forest relatives.

The maternal (or grandpaternal) conceptions of clan were connected with conceptions of space, the most elementary categories at the basis of human consciousness. Before the hierarchical distinction of the natural, the human, the animal, the plant, and the object, the category of space was the only basis for conceptual identifications, distinctions, and analyses. In the people's view of life all phenomena and actions were perceived as acts of coming and going, the coming and going of kinsfolk. The people did not have a naturalistic conception of nature and of the natural. Instead, they had spatial conceptions of natural processes as coming and going (the coming of the ear to the field of grain, the coming of spring, the coming of illness). When a tench was placed around the neck of a sick person, it was done so that the illness which had befallen the sick person would leave him and enter the fish; if the person who was ill was enveloped in smoke, it was done to induce the illness to go out of him.

When the grain eared in this view of life it meant that the people's ancestors (*navia*) had come to the field where the grain was planted; it was the result of their residence in the grain. It was not a natural act which occurred by itself in accordance with the laws of nature, but an act performed by kin as such. So that the grain would ear, the ear had to be brought to the field, the ancestors (*navia*) who lived in the river had to be evoked, welcomed, and escorted from the river to the field. The approach of the ancestors who had been thus evoked was therefore met with singing, shouting, and music. Masked figures walked, imitating the ancestors (*navky*), in a rhythmic march, performing the round dance. Each ritual game included choral and dance elements. In the theriomorphic conception of grain, the growth of

the grain was related to the movements of the animal, the "rye-mother" (*zhytiana-maty*). The rite of leading a goat in procession to secure the harvest was an indispensable element of the pre-vernal festival. As has been noted, all that was done was ascribed to the *navia*, the "kinfolk," to their arrival, sojourn, and departure.

Corresponding to this conception are the ritual "I-formulas," the formulas accompanying the direct action of the performers of a particular imitative rite. The girl in the spring game, standing in the midst of the choral circle, imitates the movements of the bird and thus represents the "spring-bird" (*vesnaptkh*). It is an imitative rite and, at the same time, one of identification. Every imitation, in the people's view of life, is simultaneously an act of representation and, at the same time, of identification. The full form of the act of imitative representation is attained by the union of all the composite elements: (a) gesture and mimicry; (b) masks and disguises; (c) rhythmic movement and dancing; (d) rhythmic shouting and singing. There are various types of masks in the imitative folk rituals. The mask might represent a bird, a plant, or an animal. The plant mask may be made of grass, flowers, branches, or grain. The custom of weaving wreaths belongs to this group of rituals. The weaving of plants into wreaths; weaving in a dance (*vesty, kryvyi tanets'*); weaving in a dance around peas, poppy heads, cucumbers, etc.—all these are acts with one meaning and one function.

A number of scholars treat the people's view of life as magical or animistic. Yet, in our opinion, its archaic elements are not magical. Magic is based on the recognition of a "third," "mysterious" force, whereas, here, what is desired is brought about by an act of direct identification, and not through the mediation of spirits, demons, or any mysterious force. The *navia* or the *vily* are not

spirits or demons; consequently, the view of life in its primordial form is not pan-demonism; it is neither magical nor animistic. It is based on belief in clan and is spatial, and, as a rule, unhierarchical.

The Clan in the People's View of Life

The clan includes not only the living but also the dead and the still unborn. The dead person, leaving and changing, does not leave the clan, he goes away for a "new" body, but he does not go outside of the clan. The conception of the clan as an indivisible unit of the living, the dead, and the unborn is one of the most characteristic features of the people's view of life. This view knows only the one principle of classification—membership in a clan and connection on the basis of blood relationship (maternity, grand-ancestry through the grandsire, filiation for both sexes, etc.). Not only people but everything connected with them belongs to the clan.

The primitive language, like primitive thinking, did not distinguish quality from being, the noun from the adjective, green from herbs, blindness from a blind animal. Therefore to eat the meat of a blind or of an intentionally blinded animal meant to become blind; to make a "gift" (*dannia*) of moss taken from an oak and a birch which had grown from the same root was to secure love and friendship. The modern conception of the world differentiates between "belonging" and "being;" this early conception did not. Thus a person's dress and the person himself were regarded as identical. To burn a thread from a young man's cap meant to kindle love in his heart. In the same way since the two banks of a river never meet, a drunkard can be kept from "meeting with liquor," by adding to his drink of water or liquor some earth taken from the two banks of a river. On these conceptions was built the entire system of spells (*chary*), incantations (*zamovliannia*), and the like.

The People's View of Death

At the basis of the people's view of death the conception of clan and the spatial conceptions are found again. Death is regarded as a departure, a local displacement in space. The dead person is believed to go out into the water, into the earth, or to paradise; depending upon his destination, he "goes away," "rests," "rides away" (*vid'izdyt'*), "flies away" (*vid'litaie*). With such a conception of death the funeral rites which developed reflected departure into the earth, sailing away on the water and into the water, and flying away to paradise. The ancient Slavs practised all of these types of burial rituals; the path of the dead could be by land or by river, and the place of the dead was the upper reaches of the river or the interior of the earth. The dead person was buried either in a sleigh or in a boat, in a pit in the earth, at the bottom of a river, or he was cremated. In accordance with ethnic customs, a stick was placed in the dead man's coffin or he was taken to the cemetery in a sleigh or in a cart and a casket was built for him, "a house without windows or doors."

The spatial conception of death was combined with the transformative one, the conception of death as a transformation, a change of external appearance. The dead man, in going away, changed the place of his abode as well as his appearance; he was transformed into an herb, an ear of grain, a bush, a tree, an animal, a bird. When grass, branches, a sheaf or an ear of grain were brought into the house it was a ritual representation of the coming of dead relatives. To enable the ancestors evoked to come, the windows were left open at night or cloth was spread from the window to the yard. Also flour was strewn on the window sill, and was examined in the morning: the ancestors, if they came, left behind them the prints of birds similar to hen tracks. On the other hand, in order to prevent the uncalled dead from coming,

stones were placed around a corpse, a ring of stones was constructed, a stone fence erected, and a mound raised over the grave. The dead were tied up (the contracted posture); the bodies of those who had been vicious in life were pinned to the earth with an aspen stake.

With death the connections between the living and the dead were not severed. Ancestors took part in everything; without them the grain did not ripen and poppies, cucumbers, and peas did not grow. They participated in all the agricultural work of the family. At certain times of the year festive commemorative dinners were held. The ancestors who were called came, and at the end of the festival cycle went away. Every commemorative feast included certain elements; the rite of evoking and inviting, meeting and greeting, the joint ritual meal in which all the members of the clan, living and dead, took part, and, as the finale of the festival, the rite of supplying the dead for their journey and seeing them off:

The funeral customs included protection against the dead, but this was not because of fear of them. The dead, as such, were neither unclean nor dangerous. However, protective rites were employed in order that the dead, in going away, might not take someone or something with them and that the cattle might not follow them from the yard.

On going away, the dead person went to the circle of his relatives who had died previously and his ancestors, and it was therefore not proper to weep or mourn for him. According to old custom, the departure of the dead was turned into a festive and joyous occasion in which the entire village and community took part; during the sojourn of the body of the deceased in the house, games and amusements took place around the coffin.

The Conception of Birth and Marriage

The idea of conception and birth was formed in accordance with the same

outlook, combined with ideas of clan, as was the conception of death. As death was the departure, birth was the coming of those ancestors who had gone away. The child was a member of the family who had departed and was returning to the group again in a new body by means of the womb. Depending upon where the *did* or ancestor had been—in a field, in an ear of grain, in the garden in an herb, in the orchard in a leaf, in the water, or in paradise—the woman became pregnant as she swallowed a pea or a cherry stone or ate a fish. The motif of the “miraculous” conception in folk tales is connected with this prototype of such a view in ideas of this clan-spatial type.

The newborn child's membership in the clan is emphasized by a series of appropriate rites: in Pokutia the midwife first touches the infant's feet three times to the beam of the house, and only then does she bathe it; when the child has been bathed and wrapped in a sheepskin coat, it is placed in the corner of honor; when the child is taken for baptism, a *pechyna* (a piece of clay from the stove) is wrapped in the swaddling clothes. Birth, like death, is an act within the clan. In general, marriage is treated in the same way—as an act of passage by the bride from one clan to another—although here other elements are also involved (see p. 359).

Manifestations of the People's View of Life in the Rites

The manifestations of the annual cycle of the folk calendar are usually treated as belonging to the solar cult or to the astronomical seasons, but basically they are rather connected with the work of the various seasons and are directly connected with the agricultural year and the undifferentiated conception of work and play. In the annual cycle the following ritual groups can be distinguished: the vernal festival of calling the spring and of the first furrow and sowing; the flowering and ripening of the rye (the

festival of the *Rusalky*); the summer-harvest rites, the rites before the beginning of the harvest (the festival of *Kupalo*) and the rites at the completion of the harvest; the autumn granary and threshing festival and the combined winter festival (of *Koliada*) of Christmas Eve. Separating the rites from their original basis and connecting them with the church calendar has changed their original content, scope, and motivation. With the loss of the original motivation in performing the rite, a new one, which had no connection with the old, was substituted.

However, in spite of the shifts and displacements in the content, scope, and motivation of the ritual of the folk calendar, each of its festivals is a seasonal-agricultural one, on the one hand, and a commemorative family festival on the other. Therefore, like every commemorative festival, every seasonal festival begins with the rite of evoking and inviting and ends with the rite of dismissal and seeing off. Both the commemorative festivals and the seasonal agricultural festivals include representational and imitative games, in the performance of which masked persons participate. The representational act may assume various forms; there may appear: (a) a chorus composed of disguised or undisguised participants in the game; (b) a puppet which is given a human, animal, or plant form; (c) a skin, a sheaf, a branch, or plaited herbs.

V. Petrov

DEMONOLOGICAL FIGURES IN UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE

The Ukrainian people, as their folklore shows, believed in the following demonological figures in which the old “lower mythology” is interwoven with elements of later periods:

The goblin (*domovyk*) guards the household, helps in the work, and brings good luck, but, if offended, may do various kinds of mischief. He appears in

the form of a cat, a dog, a dove, or, occasionally, a grass snake. In this being, elements of the cult of the ancestors and of the domestic hearth are united. Similar to the *domovyk* is the guardian of the bees, "the bee-master" (*pasichnyk*).

The wood-goblins (*lisovyky*) are believed to be wild people, evil spirits who feed and guard the forest animals. They appear to people in the form of beasts or as acquaintances, lead them into the forest, and sometimes even strangle them. The Hutsul *chuhaister*, a damned soul, a forest giant, who devours the *mavky* but does no harm to people, is to a certain extent related to the *lisovyky*.

The field-goblins (*poľovyky*) are similar to the *lisovyky*, but inhabit the steppes, fields, and meadows, and appear as birds, animals, or human beings.

The water-goblins (*vodianyky*) live in the rivers, lakes, and springs and guard the fish, govern the *rusalky*, and marry drowned women; they appear as various beasts, as fish, and sometimes as a person or a child; in some places they are identified with drowned men (*potopel'nyky*). Related to the *vodianyky* is "the swamp spirit" or *bolottianyky*, an evil spirit who inhabits the swamps and lures people into them.

The water-nymphs (*rusalky*) are believed to be the "unclean" dead, particularly unbaptized children, and girls and women who have died a premature, violent death. They live not only in the water, but also in the woods and fields, and entice people into unknown places and tickle them to death.

The older native name for the *rusalky*, *mavky* (from the word *nav'*—a dead person) is applied chiefly to the *stradchata* and *poterchata*—children who have died unbaptized and have waited in vain for seven years for some one to hear their voice and throw them a piece of kerchief for a baptismal robe (*kryzhmo*) and utter the baptismal formula. They fly in the form of birds, most frequently as magpies, or of bats.

The *rusalky* and *mavky* appear to people as beautiful girls, but the body of the *mavka* is transparent from behind so that one can see the lungs and the other internal organs.

These old demons (*bisy*) often have no individual features and merge in the one general conception of an "evil power" (*nechysta syla*) which is represented by the devil (*chort*). The latter conception came from Byzantium along with Christianity.

Stories about the devil are among the most widespread in Ukrainian folklore; sometimes he is depicted as a menacing demonic force, at other times as a comical figure who allows himself to be fooled and even harnessed to the service of a human being. Among the devils connected with the cult of the dead is the devil of the earth (*zemlianyi diťko*). (In some places a small coin is thrown into a fresh grave for him or is placed in the coffin of the deceased, in order that the latter can buy a place under the earth from him.) He is believed to guard the enchanted treasures hidden in the earth, and these can be secured only by charm and incantations. The devil who, flying like the whirlwind, raises dust or tears off thatched roofs is usually identified with the soul of a person who has committed suicide.

The "unclean" dead, those who have perished prematurely or in an unnatural manner—by suicide, hanging, or drowning—become *opyri* or vampires. They do not decay in the earth but retain their rosy faces and, wandering about at night, they terrify people and choke them or they suck the blood from sleeping persons. There are also believed to be among the living the so-called "born" (*rodymi*) vampires who can be recognized by certain signs. Vampires can attract great misfortune to their communities, such as drought, floods, and epidemics among people or cattle. The belief in vampires probably came to Ukraine from the West. They are mentioned in old *Rus'* sources as early as

the thirteenth century. Similar to the vampire is the succubus (*perelesnyk* or *litavets'*) who appears to lovers in the form of a dead beloved person who has died or of a serpent who flies in the air and exhales sparks.

Witches and sorceresses (*vid'my-charivnytsi*), whether "born" (*rodymy*) or "taught" (*vcheni*), are like the vampires, connected with the devil or the "evil power." With his help they can cast all kinds of spells and can assume various forms: those of humans, animals, and things. They fly in the air, and on certain days gather on Bald Mountain for meetings and for orgies with the devils (this belief came from Germany). They can bring hail or drought upon a region and can also bring down the stars from heaven, transform a human being into an animal, and harm people in various ways, chiefly by taking away the milk from the cows.

The mediators between human beings and the devils or "evil power" are charmers (*charivnyky*), sorcerers (*znakhari*), and seers (*vorozhbyty*). With charms and incantations they can do whatever they wish and what anyone asks of them. They know the past, the present, and the future. The werewolf (*vovkulaka*) has something in common with the charmers; he can, from time to time, change himself into a wolf and run with the wolves and then again become a person. These werewolves are different by nature from enchanted persons who remain wolves until someone frees them from the spell.

F. Kolessa

THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE PEOPLE

Until the expansion of modern education, the Ukrainian people preserved much of their knowledge, supplementing tradition with new experience.

Their knowledge of astronomy is ex-

tensive; they are well acquainted with the world of the stars and possess a rich astronomical terminology which correctly reflects the appearance of the different constellations (for example, the "Brood-Hen" (*Kvochka*), the Pleiades, "the Girl with the Pails," the Scales or the "Wain," the Great Bear). The peasants have known from olden times how to determine the time of day or night accurately with the aid of the sun and stars and other natural phenomena.

The proficiency of the peasants in meteorology is generally known. From the experience of many centuries and their knowledge of their own territory the people have developed an entire system of predicting the weather and making long-range forecasts.

Close contact with nature and constant observation of the plant and animal world have given the Ukrainian peasants a great wealth of knowledge concerning hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and agriculture. Their agronomic knowledge is self-evident; yet this aspect of the people's knowledge in general has still to be fully investigated.

In biology, anatomy, and somatology the people's knowledge is more primitive. The correctness of their observations and the richness of their terminology is surprising.

Folk medicine has preserved much of the ancient knowledge from the southeast and the south. In particular, the knowledge of healing with plant remedies is widespread (for example, against snake bite and the bite of mad dogs); the knowledge remains the secret of the individual families.

The great manual skill of the people is demonstrated in their outstanding work in various arts and crafts (see "Folk Art and Handicraft"). Especially highly developed is the knowledge of construction possessed by village builders and carpenters, who, without the professional guidance of architects, construct not only village dwellings but

also more complicated structures such as windmills and watermills, various types of wooden churches, and bell towers. The village artisans have their own instruments and their own techniques for making plans, calculations, and measurements which include trigonometric reckoning. The measuring of areas, chiefly of land, is carried out with the most simple instruments, for example, a stick or a string. On uneven plots they divide the land into squares and triangles in the same way as surveyors do.

The people know how to add, subtract, multiply, and divide even large figures and they make such calculations mentally using first the most convenient larger units (for example, 10, 50, 100) and then rounding them off later with the smaller ones. In these operations, which are sometimes complicated, the results come out correctly, although they have to "keep in mind" many figures and calculate correctly with them.

In recording numbers, illiterate people employed a primitive notation of lines or marks, most often on small wooden sticks (*byrky*) on which the units were marked by lines, the tens by other lines, usually longer ones, or by crosses.

The customary law also displays extraordinary wealth. It is significantly different from the legal norms of the states, which, in recent centuries, have dominated Ukraine.

The knowledge of the average Ukrainian testifies to the high level of the culture of the people. Many of its basic elements are considerably different from those of his northern and eastern neighbors, and closely connect Ukraine with the Mediterranean culture and the southern and western part of Europe.

Z. Kuzela

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5. ORAL LITERATURE OF THE PEOPLE

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, CONTENT, DEVELOPMENT

It is a characteristic of the ancient type of oral literature that in its ideas and its art it is closely linked with the practical side of life, that is, there is an identity of the thought and image with a practical goal. However, this is not a direct biological or technical connection between "work" and "rhythm" (K. Buechner). It is a connection between "the conception of work" and the "song," a complex relationship of "conception, rite and word" against a background of the prevalent general outlook on life. More than in any other form of oral literature, the connection between practical life, conception and image, ritual action and verbal text, is evident in the incantations (exorcisms) and ritual songs of the popular calendar cycle, and other such customs.

In the ancient oral literature the words never exist by themselves but are always connected with the ritual action. The relation of one image to another is always an expression of the relation between conceptions of the world. The words and the ritual action are always directed toward practical, utilitarian aspects of life. Thus, tradition places a limit on the creativity of the performer, beyond which he cannot pass. As a result, the role of the individual is not the same in the creation of the ancient oral poetry as it is in that of modern "artistic folklore" and in literature.

The essence of the changes in oral literature lies in its separation from the concepts on which it was originally based. As the identity of the outlook on life, folklore, and practical goal disintegrates, the unity of conception, image, ritual action, and word is destroyed. With the change in the outlook on life, the folklore also changes and the expression of the outlook content on

life loses its meaning. The verbal images are torn away from the original ideas and rites and as the concepts and practical motivation on which they are based are lost, they acquire new ones and, based on these, they either die out or become adapted and begin a new life.

Folklore without its old rite or its practical goal becomes "artistic folklore." The ritual and practical meaning are crowded out and the esthetic performance becomes dominant.

TRACES OF ORAL IN WRITTEN LITERATURE, OLD AND NEW

With the introduction of Christianity the church sharply opposed the oral literature and the folk rites and customs which it considered the remains of paganism. In the literary texts of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries we find a stern condemnation of the celebration of *Koliada*, *Kupalo*, "games among the peasants, dancing, and all devilish songs." The church condemned old rites, the telling of fairy tales, playing on the *husli* (a kind of psaltery) "trumpets and buffoons, *husli* and *rusalii*." But this opposition did not prevent the oral literature from influencing the written word. The epistle of Volodymyr (Vladimir) Monomakh to Prince Oleh (Oleg) (1096—the Laurentian Chronicle) mentions wedding songs and lamentations (*zhali*). The Primary Chronicle has preserved an echo of the old stories and the poetry of the *druzhyina* (prince's retinue). In the Lament of Daniel the Exile, we find popular sayings. Ihor's Tale is permeated with the spirit of oral literature (beliefs, lamentations, and poetic devices of oral literature, and a rhythm similar to that of the later *dumas*).

In the literary periods that followed, the Renaissance and the Baroque, although writers such as Ivan Vyshensky

sharply attacked both the influence of folk customs as well as of Latin, nevertheless this period (sixteenth to eighteenth centuries) witnessed a constant mutual influence between the oral and written literatures. "Baroque literature, especially the poetry and drama, greatly affected the development of popular poetry." "The Baroque leaned toward popular poetry and drew from its treasury. . . ." "The folk song acquired elements of the style of Baroque poetry." "Along with poetry written on the Baroque pattern, we find verses which are like a mosaic of quotations from folk songs." (D. Čiževsky) Two genres of the Baroque period which show a typical mixture of folklore and literature are the *intermedia* and the *vertep* (the folk puppet theatre), both of which have survived to our own times. "We find proverbs in all the Baroque writers of sermons, in all the chronicles, often in the poetry; these proverbs are sometimes translated from the Latin, but they were often formed by the authors themselves, and in part they were taken from the lips of the people" (Čiževsky). The Bohohlasnyk Collection of religious songs of Pochaïv is an example of the mutual intermingling of oral and written literature. Christmas and Easter songs, satirical poetry, and parodies became widespread among the people; verses of a rather "high style" were included in the repertory of the wandering *lirnyky*—lyre-players. The songbooks of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries give us a clear picture of this interaction between the oral and written traditions in the Ukrainian song of the time.

In the nineteenth century this interaction took a new form. The Romantic populists wished to bring the two literatures, oral and written, closer together. Condemning the old written literature as far removed from the people, the populists of the nineteenth century proclaimed the oral literature as the normal, standard literature, which was to be the basis of all future writing. As a result,

the literature of the nineteenth century was constantly forced into popular forms, and was full of ethnography and folklore; popular speech, the forms, genres, and content of popular poetry, strongly influenced the content, genres, rhythm, and language of the written literature of the Ukrainian Romantics. This is evident in the works of Hulak-Artemovsky, Hrebinka, Shevchenko (the early period), and, in particular, in those of Metlynsky, Borovykovsky, and the representatives of the "ethnic school" (Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Vovchok, and some of the work of Kulish and Rudansky). The writers of the second half of the nineteenth century also came under the influence of this ethnic approach (Nechui-Levytsky, Myrnyi, Hlibov, Starytsky, Kropyvnytsky, Tobilevych, Hrinchenko). Among those who were following the new trends in literature (naturalism, impressionism, and neoromanticism) Franko, Kotsiubynsky (*Tini zabutykh predkiv*—The Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors), Lesia Ukraïnka (*Lisova pisnia*—Forest Song), Kobylianska (*V nedilju rano zillia kopala*—On Sunday Morning She Dug up Herbs), and Khotkevych (*Kaminna dusha*—The Stony Soul) made use of folklore in depicting the life of the people. The writers of the generations after theirs (Tychyna, Yanovsky, Osmachka, Stefanovych, Barka) have tried to contrive the styles of folklore with the traditions of written literature and with modern style.

THE OLDEST TYPES OF ORAL LITERATURE

Incantations

Incantations are a special genre of oral literature which have preserved all the features of primitive oral literature with its identification with an outlook on life and the practical, utilitarian object in performance. Their content—ritual action and verbal text—corresponds exactly to the practical objective of the incanta-

tion; to evoke or turn away love, to secure success in hunting, to protect cattle, to drive away a cloud, to heal disease, etc. Thus, for example, the belief is natural, to the primitive view, that a person becomes ill because a disease has entered into him; for the person to get well, the disease must be driven out. Thus, there have arisen numerous incantations of the type, Hair, Hair, go into an ear [of grain] (*Volos, volos, vyidy na kolos*). The verbal formula and the ritual action correspond to the local and spatial conception of the coming and leaving of disease.

The verbal formula for incantations of this type is composed of the following elements: (1) an evocation; (2) an appeal, a threat, or an order to leave; and, usually, (3) an indication of the place of banishment. This compressed text may be expanded. The performance of the incantation begins by seeking the origin and nature of the disease, the introductory part of the evocation contains a logical series of the most detailed questions: where did the sickness come from, when, who sent it? The formula of command becomes a detailed enumeration of all the limbs and organs of the body from which the illness is being driven out. The concluding formula of banishment is likewise extended by a detailed description of the place to which the sickness is to be driven. This means that the verbal text has been formed not according to "the individual poetic fantasy" of the performer, nor on his aesthetic, verbal, or creative initiative, but in accordance with the practical object of enacting the incantation with closely parallel word and action. There is the same identification in the images. The verbal images in the incantations are not self-sufficient—they are functional. Theriomorphic and anthropomorphic images replace one another.

With a change of outlook on life the character of the incantations also changes. When demonological concepts appeared,

the formulas were adapted to them. Based on medieval Christianity the incantations mention the saints and the Mother of God and contain phrases and formulas of church prayers in combination with the traditional texts.

Incantations were preserved in Ukrainian oral literature until recent times. They were a special genre of oral literature in that they largely became the property of certain professional groups, soothsayers, village healers, and sorcerers. The incantations are sometimes prose, sometimes verse, and sometimes a mixture of the two. Those in verse have lines of irregular length connected by rhyme or by parallelism.

Lamentations

Lamentations are a separate genre of Ukrainian oral literature and, contrary to a widely held opinion, they contain hardly any subjective expression. The lamentations are bound by a set ritual and so show an extraordinary rigidity of expression in both content and form (uniform verbal formulas, analogous addresses and questions, identical epithets, comparisons, and images, and always the same musical modulations in recitatif). Like the incantations, the lamentations have preserved all the features of the ancient oral literature (the connection between verbal text and ritual action, the identity of conception, image, and practical goal).

They are based on a conception of death as a departure. Death is viewed as a movement in space. This conception of death determines the content of the verbal text of the lamentations. They contain dialogue which is a sort of ritual conversation between the community (actually the leader of the community—the professional woman who carries on the lamentations or a member of the family) and the dead person at the moment of his departure. As in the incantations the introductory part attempts to discover the one who has sent disease and death. The mourners, in

their ritual conversation with the deceased, try to learn the cause of his departure. The dead person must not be allowed to leave in anger against anyone or with a desire for vengeance. The community tries to regulate the relations between the living and the dead. All members of the community must express a ritual sorrow for the dead man, become reconciled to him while there is still time, praise and mourn him.

The spatial conception of death (as a departure) is intertwined with ideathemes of the clan: death occurs because an ancestor has come to claim the living; death is regarded as an act within the clan, as a man's return to his fathers in the "clan's place." The death of a young man or woman who was unmarried is explained as the coming of a fiancé or fiancée, a son- or daughter-in-law to take the young person. For this reason, the funeral is given the form of a wedding rite (funeral-wedding).

Mourning and praise for the dead person form the main part of the verbal text of the lamentation. Its scope is quite wide and it can be used to express personal feelings in addition to the traditional formulas required by the community. After the lengthy mourning and praise comes the community's farewell to the deceased. The first part of this is performed in the house, and then, as the coffin is taken out, it is continued in the yard. When the funeral procession reaches the cemetery, the ritual is performed of the meeting of the new arrival with those who have died previously. There is an appeal to the dead members of the clan to come to meet him, to grant him a place near them, to accept him into their group and take care of him.

The final section of the lamentation contains an invitation to the dead person to come as a guest and partake of the common meal which is a part of the obligation which the living have to provide for the dead, and of the ritual of commemoration on certain days of the year during festivals of remembrance.

Considered as an essential part of a ritual, the lamentation is never performed apart from the rite as an individual expression of art, a fact which marks it as belonging to the ancient type of oral literature.

With the introduction of Christianity the ancient conceptions of death took on a new form and coloration from the church. Death was still a departure but now the person died because "God has taken him."

The lamentations have their own style and their own poetical devices. Characteristic of this style are the lyrical and syntactical repetitions, questions, and appeals, a system of double or triple tautological expression of the same thought, which grows out of the form of dialogue of ritual conversation between the mourner and the dead. The structure of the lamentation is close to recitatif, irregularly rhythmical and without fixed form. The melodies have the developed rhythm of a sung declamation and are closely fitted to the text but not arranged in regular measure. The verses are of irregular length and are usually connected by the syntactical parallels. The assonances and rhymes, usually of verbs, are achieved by placing words with the same conjugational and declensional forms or with the same diminutive suffixes at the end of lines.

Ritual Songs

The ritual songs of the folk calendar are connected with the seasonal events of the agricultural year. Originally "work" and "festival" were not separated. The work of each season was begun, accompanied, and ended with the performance of choral, musical, and representational rites. Hence the ritual character of seasonal agricultural work and the seasonal agricultural character of ritual poetry. At the same time, although the existence of a solar cult is generally accepted in ethnographical literature, there is little obvious evidence of it in the ritual songs. The ancient

period did not comprehend conceptual differences between human and other natural elements, between the living and the dead, regarded nature and work from a spatial point of view and as coming within the clan. In this interweaving of naturalistic and agricultural concepts with spatial concepts and those of clan, every natural phenomenon, every natural element, all the work performed by the community, was considered as a manifestation of the action of the forefathers (*didy* and *baby*) of the clan, of the identity of the living, the dead, and the unborn. For this reason, the community performed in active "working" ritual every natural phenomenon and process (the melting of the snow, the coming of the warmth of spring, the growth of the plants, the ripening of the rye, etc.) Every natural phenomenon and all agricultural work were recreated in the rite as the coming and departure of the forefathers (*didy* and *baby*). The ritual act of coming and going was a part of each natural, seasonal, and productive game, its initial and final episode. The ancestors who appeared as a collective, undifferentiated group were frequently personified as *navia*, *mavky*, *rusalky*, *vily*, *mara*); personifications which were of men or women, or both in one figure, were given names (*Koliada*, *Kupalo*, *Kupalnytsia*, and there was *Yarylo*, *Marena*, *Kostrub*, etc.)—a tendency to define family and genealogical relations more accurately (husband and wife, mother and daughter). The members of the community or a certain sex or age group within the community represented the coming of the forefathers; they represented them by movement, mimicry, and gesture in rhythmic motion and dance connected with the singing. Whatever the chorus and its leader (*choragus*), the group, or individual performer of the ritual sang, the words of their song, and the rhythm of their dance, directly reflected the ritual action; word, movement, and gesture merged into a rhyth-

mic whole, a complete unit (the primitive syncretism of popular poetry). The words, the verbal text of the ritual song, reproduce the action.

Survivals from the ancient primitive period, the remains of the original ritual poetry, mixed with Christian rites and tied to the church calendar of Christian festivals, have become a part of the calendar cycle in which, along with the seasonal agricultural festivals, an important place is held by wedding seasons and times of commemoration of the dead. The songs connected with these rites are divided into the following groups: the *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* of the winter Christmas cycle; the *vesnianky* and *haivky* of the spring cycle; the *rusal'ni* songs, connected with the festival cycle of the earing of the grain; the *Kupalo* songs of the pre-harvest cycle; the harvest and granary songs.

The great antiquity of these ritual songs is further indicated by the fact that all, with the exception of the lamentations, are sung not by one person but by an entire chorus, the *haivky* and wedding songs being sung alternately by two choruses (antiphonic singing) while the singing, the music, the dance, and the dramatic action are interwoven in a single unit, in which masked persons often take part.

Koliada: the Koliadky and the Shchedrivky

The festival of *Koliada* has been fitted into the church calendar and embraces the period from Christmas Eve to *Vodokhrushchi*—Epiphany. The festival of *Koliada* is a collection and a selection of many elements from the old rites. It is possible that originally it was a "festival of the first increase of cattle," but, having been torn away from this original festival, it came to include: (a) the autumn rites of the harvest cycle; (b) the autumn rites connected with the first frosts; (c) echoes of the rites for bees, hens, etc.; (d) a group of spring rites (the rite of the first sow-

ing, of the plowing of the first furrow). Like every other festival, it is a commemorative festival for the clan. To the ritual songs of the *Koltada* cycle belong the *koliadky* and the *shchedrivky*. In some places, for example among the Hutsuls, the singing of the *koliadky* is accompanied by dancing. The content of the *koliadky* is quite varied. The oldest of them are "mythological" and treat of the origin of the world. In them appear the cosmic sea, the island-rock in the sea, the world tree as an image of the cosmos, and the bird-demiurges (the creators of the world). The dialogue form of these ritual songs makes clear their ancient representational and dramatic character. The archaeological find of a bronze from Scythian times, representing a tree on a hill with birds, the sun, and the moon in its branches (now in the Kiev Historical Museum), shows that the idea of a "cosmic tree" existed long before the Middle Ages. In the "Christianized" *koliadky*, Christ takes the place of the demiurges as the creator of the world; the "cedar tree" on which Christ was crucified or from which the world-church is being built (a variant—St. Sophia in Kiev) takes the place of the green maple as the eternal tree. The idea of the building of the world by demiurges is transformed into the pious motif of the building of a church. A second group of *koliadky* treats even more clearly of this theme of creation. These are the so-called "glorifying" *koliadky*. The singers—*koliadnyky*—here represent those beings who bring the harvest, on whom the "yield" of "the thick rye, the rich sheaves, the thick hemp stems" depends.

The mythological *koliadky* with their demiurges are directly connected with the glorifying *koliadky*, for both have the same practical function of creation—"the filling of the world." This practical aim determines the content, the images, epithets, and comparisons used in the *koliadky*. An expression of will is the basic and most important part of the

entire song. The universal images of the *koliadky*, their cosmic subjects, and their use of hyperbole are not an expression of art practised by a free imagination but result from the fact that the singers perform the function of those who "fill" the world. The hyperbole of the *koliadky* is not descriptive but active. The aim and purpose of the glorifying *koliadky* is close to those of the incantations.

While the glorifying *koliadky* are addressed to the head of the household and his wife, have agricultural motifs, and draw a picture of wealth and family happiness, there are other *koliadky* with an erotic content, which are sung to the young unmarried men and girls. They correspond to the customs of the Christmas courting and wedding season. These *koliadky*, which strongly resemble the wedding songs, can be placed in a special group. They are intended to bring about an early wedding in the household.

The spring and harvest motifs in the *koliadky* indicate that the place of some of these glorifying songs in the calendar has been shifted. The glorifying *koliadky* are also closely related in content and form to the Belorussian spring "harrow" songs. I. Vyshensky's comment on the "*volochilnote*" shows that these "harrow" songs also existed in Ukraine in the sixteenth century.

There is a separate group of *koliadky* with a military theme. F. Kolessa thought it possible to link these with the epos of the *druzhyzna* but their historical content is obscure. An analysis of the images, formulas, and epithets of this group shows that it differs from other oral poetry and this difference lies in its closeness to the poetic forms of the old literature of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.

As a genre of popular poetry, the *koliadky* have their own characteristics. The verse has ten syllables with a caesura after the fifth (5 + 5), and this is extremely regular even in the oldest recorded text (1693); the lines are not

grouped in strophes; each verse with its refrain forms a certain rhythmic and melodic whole; there is little rhyme, its place being usually taken by assonance. The *shchedrivky* which are sung by girls and children on the *Shchedryi* (Generous) evening—December 31—are similar to the *koliadky* in content and in their 5 + 5 arrangement. There is a small group of *shchedrivky* in which the verses are arranged 4 + 4, an arrangement which, in *koliadky*, is only found in the South Slavic ones, of which it is typical.

A special place must be given to the *koliadky* with Biblical themes. Based on the Gospels and the apocryphal tales, they tell of the birth of Christ, of Herod and the Three Kings, and of the baptism, sufferings, and death of Christ. However, the motif of the demiurge also finds an echo in this cycle.

The process of Christianization gradually enveloped the entire *koliada* ritual and substantially changed it. This ritual was basically agrarian; the singers went from house to house, carrying with them a plow; on the *Malanka*, the *Shchedryi-Vechir*, they performed the rite of the "first furrow," in imitation of plowing, and the next morning—St. Basil's (New Year's) Day—came the rite of the first sowing. In the Christianized variant the original "I" of the performer in the action and formula of the ritual sowing was at first supplemented by a prayerful appeal to God, and then omitted altogether; "God Himself" walks behind the plow and the singers no longer "produce the rye"—instead, it is brought to life through the intercession of the Mother of God with God.

The Goat (koza)

The *koliada* cycle included the custom of "leading the goat" in procession. Like the demiurgic and glorifying *koliadky*, the goat is basically an act of enchantment with a part devoted to the expression of an appeal or wish which is identical with that of the glorifying *koliadky*. Distinct from the latter, how-

ever, its dramatized act of incantation has developed into a game with the use of masks. In essence it is a representational act with a definite practical and agricultural aim. The central mask is an animal (a goat, sometimes a bear, a horse, etc.); its practical object is the same as that of the *koliadky*, the securing of the harvest, ensuring that the rye will be as thick as clouds and the sheaves in the field like the stars in heaven. It was the goat that gave birth to the grain. The goat and the rye, the animal and the grain, were identified. The purpose of each movement of the goat is the growing of grain. The game was based on the theme of the death and resurrection of the goat-grain. The action of the masked performers represented the pursuit of the goat by wolves and hunters, a theme characteristic of vegetative and agricultural cults. The animal died and was reborn as a grain-plant (a mythological theme of the change of a being characteristic of the Greek Dionysiac cults and the Orphics). The goat is pursued and killed by the hunters who skin it. The chorus turns to the killed goat: "Be alive, O goat" and it is revived. The goat—now a grown male—goes to the field and when it reaches it, the field revives. The final appeal, as in the glorifying *koliadky*, shows even more clearly the closeness of this masked game to the *koliadky*.

The failure to differentiate between the plant and animal worlds is typical of the ancient conception of the world. There is a similar ritual in the harvest cycle. In it the last sheaf cut in the field embodies both a maternal concept and the concept of an animal and so is called an ancestor (both male and female), a she- and a he-goat; the sheaf of rye represents an animal rite, on the one hand, and, on the other, a maternal rite of the clan.

Today, it cannot be said precisely when the rite of escorting the goat-grain to the field from the granary was originally performed. Possibly it was done, as the

majority of those who have studied the matter believe, on the day of the winter solstice, when the days, having reached their shortest point, begin to lengthen, or during the winter festival of the "first offspring"; but the possibility is not excluded that this rite originally belonged not to the winter but to the spring ritual cycle and was performed immediately before the beginning of the spring work in the fields.

The masked rite of "leading the goat" also throws an interesting light on the development of different genres of literature, for it reveals elements of the drama.

Spring Songs

The spring ritual songs have two names; in Western Ukraine they are called *haivky*, *hahilky*, *yahilky*; in Volhynia, Podilia, and the Dnieper basin, *vesnianky*. They are all almost exclusively maidens' songs. In Western Ukraine they have been almost completely separated from their original seasonal connection and fitted into the church calendar; they are sung during Easter. In other parts of Ukraine they have preserved their seasonal nature, and are sung when the snow begins to thaw in the hills—and in some places, according to the church calendar, this is after the Annunciation—and throughout the spring. The oldest *vesnianky* are game-songs which unite song and movement, a verbal text with mimetic and imitative movements. In some *vesnianky* the dialogue takes place between the performers divided into two groups or choruses, which sing in turn, with one or two girls leading each group in the singing and movement, directing the choral group and the chorus. These leaders of the chorus stand in front of the rows of girls or in the center of the choral circle and, by their movements and gestures, re-create the words of the song, or two girls stand with their arms raised, forming an arch under which the line of girls passes, leaving the last one at the gate, as if a hostage for ransom. Most frequently

they form a circle and, holding hands, step or run in time with the tune, first one way and then the other. They also form a long line (*kliuch*) which the first girl leads weaving turns (the crooked dance—*kryvyi tanets'*) or in the form of a horseshoe around three girls or three stones placed in a triangle.

Like all ritual cycles, the spring cycle begins with a rite of evocation. The songs expressly include a ritual appeal or evocation and in the great majority of the songs this is addressed to the birds (larks, swallows, golden-eyes, titmice). The sense of the ritual and of the words of the songs is that the birds appear not as symbolic harbingers of spring, but as the actual bearers of the warmth, the summer, the rye, and the flowers—the birds are directly identified with the summer, with the rye, and so on. In the dialogue form of the song and movement, when it is performed by two choruses, one chorus represents those who call the birds and the second, the birds themselves. The girls of the second chorus, which represents the birds, by imitating their movements act out what is desired, the "I" of the performer, in action and verbal formula, making her the bird itself. The imitative rite in the song-and-movement is always a rite of identification; the imitation is identification. Originally the ritual song and movement had the same practical and utilitarian function as the incantations.

After the initial rite of evocation comes the ritual act of sowing. The sowing motifs form the basic content of the *vesnianky*. The ritual and the image of "turning" or "weaving" are among the most important in Ukrainian oral literature. They are expressed in the game dance—the "crooked dance."

The performance of the *haivky* in the churchyard cemetery indicates that the rite of evocation in the spring ritual cycle, as in the others, was originally addressed to the people's forefathers, every seasonal festival being also a family festival. Although performed in

the cemetery, the *haiŭky* are nevertheless cheerful and frequently humorous.

The *vesnianky* and *haiŭky* have a great variety of rhythmic forms with dance rhythms predominating; the most frequently occurring are two- and three-segment lines which are usually joined by pairs in strophes, 4 + 3, 4 + 4, 4 + 5, 5 + 5, 4 + 3 + 3, 5 + 3 + 3, 6 + 3 + 3, 4 + 4 + 3, 4 + 4 + 4, 4 + 4 + 5, 4 + 4 + 6.

The Festival of the Rusalky or Mavky

"The Easters of the *rusalky* or *mavky*, otherwise called the *rusali*" (Chubynsky, III, 188), as fitted into the church calendar, fell in Trinity week or at the beginning of the fast observed before the Day of St. Peter and St. Paul. The name *rusali*, *rusalky*, is usually connected, in studies on the subject, with the *rosalia*, *rosaria*, *dies rosarium*—the festival of the roses of the ancient Romans. But its meaning is clear in the double name: *rusals'kyi* or *mavs'kyi*, "*navii* Easter." Thus the *rusalky* are *navky* or *mavky*, a name derived from the Old Slavic word, *nav'*, *navie*, meaning a dead person. According to the direct meaning of the word, the festival of *navie* was a festival of the dead, a festival of forefathers. In the process of Christianization the word *navia* lost its original ancestral sense and came to express the more recent idea, which was supported by the Church, of the so-called *zalozhni* dead and the *poterchata*—those who had died an unnatural death (particularly women who had drowned) and children who had died unbaptized. Sometimes it is assumed that this festival is based on a mixture of ideas of river and field spirits (Zelenin). However, ethnographical sources clearly indicate that these two conceptions are not combined but rather that the *navia* passed from the water where it spent the winter to the fields and into the grain. The housewife sprinkled the path from the water to the fields with milk and at the edge of his fields the head of each house-

hold placed a piece of bread for the *navia*. It was believed that the *navia* helped to husk the ears of grain, and so the community escorted the *navia*-ear to the field, so that the rye would begin to ripen, and the flowering and the earing of the grain would be secured.

Once the *navia* had passed from the water to the fields, it was safe for people to bathe in the rivers, and there was no further need to be afraid that the dead (the *navky* or *rusalky*) would draw them under and drown them. On the other hand, while the *navia* was in the grain, it was considered advisable to avoid going through the fields for fear of capture by the *rusalky*.

The stay of the *navia* in the fields ended with the harvest after *Illia*—the prophet Elijah's Day—when, it was believed, the *rusalky* returned to the river. Thus, after that time, it was again inadvisable to bathe.

Like every other ritual, the *navie* festival was one of imitation and representation, in accordance with the ideas of animal or plant "rye-mothers." The Legend of St. Nifont of the twelfth century mentions the animal masks which were worn by participants in the *rusalii*. The girls who represented the *mavky* wore wreaths and were girded with straw. The *rusal'nyi* song shows a clear relationship between the rite of weaving wreaths and the ripening of the rye.

The Kupalo Festival and the Kupalo Songs

The festival of the *rusalky* was a grain-ripening festival. The next, that of *Kupalo*, was associated, after Christianization, with the festivals of St. John the Baptist and of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 24 and 29 O.S., July 7 and 12 N.S.) in the church calendar, while it corresponded as an agricultural festival, to the beginning of the harvest. The *Hustyn Chronicle* clearly indicates that *Kupalo* was the festival of the beginning of the harvest. According to the descrip-

tion in the Chronicle the festival included: a rite in which the performers masqueraded, masking themselves with plants, the lighting of fires, the singing of songs referring to *Kupalo*, and leaping through the fires. The festival began as a rule with the rite of evoking *Kupalo* who had wintered in the forest and summered in the grass.

The songs of *Kupalo* speak of the un-reaped rye and the necessity of beginning the harvest. The central image of the harvester illustrates a vacillation between a male and female conception; sometimes the figure is an "it," the undefined collective plurality (*kupailo*, *kupallia*). The Chronicle mentions the "god *Kupalo*" but in the peasant agricultural cults this image, certainly, did not go beyond the ideas of the lower mythology, that is, ideas about ancestors, grandsires and mothers, the *navia*, who watched the rye during its flowering and ripening and who rightly were to be invited "to cut the rye" as well. The invited ones were represented by (a) a green branch, with three knots atop, tied by flowers and grass; (b) a puppet in the form of a human figure; or (c) a girl with a puppet, and participants in the game, wearing wreaths and waistbands of straw. The choral and dance games took place around the branch or the puppets. The festival ended with the puppets or the branch being carried to the water where they were "drowned" and "buried" until the next summer.

The ritual theme of death, the ritual of bewailing the dead and of burial were reflected in chorals and dance games (the *kostrubon'ko* game).

The Wedding as an Act of the Clan and Wedding Songs

From the point of view of the clan a wedding is an act of passage from one clan to another. For this reason, during the match-making, the girl clings to the stove and picks at its clay side; on the other hand, the young man, to secure the success of his suit, tries to break a

piece of clay off the stove to keep in his pocket during the match-making. The ritual "abduction" as a part of the wedding rite is not so much a survival from the days of real abductions (F. Kolessa, *et al.*) as a ritual intended to show the reluctance of the girl and her parents and to prove that she did not wish to leave her clan. The passage to another clan was regarded as a great crime against one's own clan. Accordingly the entire wedding ritual is saturated with customs and rites intended to show that the girl has not given herself nor have her parents voluntarily handed her over, and that she is only going to another clan under compulsion and yielding to force.

For this reason, alongside the rites recreating the abduction and violent seizure of the girl, there is another parallel group of deceiving rites which are intended to show that the clan is not involved in the affair. Thus, when the wedding procession arrives at the bride's yard to take her, her mother comes out to meet them disguised, and wearing her sheepskin coat turned inside out; she offers the bridegroom a cup of water and oats instead of bread and vodka. The bridegroom pretends to taste them and then throws the cup behind him over his head and the best man—*druzhko*—must break it with a stick in its flight.

When a girl marries, she leaves her family; such a parting from her clan was regarded as a death, as total annihilation. This is the idea behind the ritual bewailing of the girl. The bride is bewailed in the same way as a dead girl is. This is but a ritual lamentation growing out of the view of marriage as the girl's passing from one clan to another. The girl is going away; she is leaving on a long journey. This long journey is the main theme of the entire wedding ritual. With it, the wedding ritual begins and the entire "plot" of the match-making is determined by this idea.

To go on a long journey means to die. However the girl has died for her own

clan to enter another. Therefore the second part of the wedding ritual expresses the acceptance of the bride into her new clan.

The custom of building a fire in front of the gates of the bridegroom's home through which the bride and all her cortege must walk or ride is explained by T. Vovk as a purifying (lustrational) rite; however, it is above all the rite of acceptance of a member of the clan who has come on a long journey. All the other rites have the same meaning. The bride silently enters the house and releases by the stove the hen that she has brought; her head covering is thrown on the stove; she is seated in the place of honor and in her hand is placed a piece of clay from the stove which she throws under the table. Thus the bride is received in a similar way and with rites similar to those with which a newborn child is welcomed (see pp. 333-5).

The stove is at the center of the ritual, for it is the center around which the clan gathers, the clan's hearth. Because of this, on the eve of the bride's arrival the stove in the bridegroom's house was carefully made ready and a special ritual act was performed—"the examination of the stove." The married women came to the house, scoured and polished the stove, and then a feast was held and songs were sung. After the feast they placed wood in the stove and put on a pot of water which was left there overnight; the wood and water were supposed to feed the stove and the fire, "so that the souls of the dead may be kindly disposed to the young couple" (Chernihiv region). This is also the meaning of the rite which took place the day after the wedding. On the morning after the wedding the entire wedding procession went to the river or spring, to the accompaniment of music, and there the young couple were sprinkled with water; the bridegroom escorted his bride along the river bank and, on their return, she brought a pail of water to the house. This rite is not so much one of purifica-

tion (A. Fischer) as the final act pertaining to the clan, the last episode in the entire ritual ceremony of accepting the bride into her husband's clan.

Likewise the decoration of the wedding tree, the use of wreaths, and the baking of the wedding loaf (*korovai*) are not survivals of the cult of the celestial bodies, as was assumed by T. Vovk and adherents of the solar cult explanation of the wedding in general, but are a manifestation of the same cult of the clan. References to the clan are made throughout all the wedding songs.

In the medieval period new material was added to the wedding songs and rites. The trappings of a prince's court were introduced; the bridegroom is called the prince, the bride—the princess, the friends of the groom (*druzhky*)—the *boiary*. The wedding procession is presented as wearing splendid, luxurious costumes, etc. In the Ukrainian wedding rite the role of the bridegroom and bride and, to a certain extent, that of their parents is largely passive and is somewhat reminiscent of pantomime. The main role is played by the matchmakers and the attendants of the bridal pair (*druzhky, boiary*), who speak for themselves and in the name of the bridal pair and their families. Together with two choruses they represent the two clans taking part in the wedding. It is not individuals but the chorus, as a group, which acts. The chorus performs the greater number of the songs which accompany and explain all the parts of the wedding ritual.

The wedding songs are sung chiefly by women. In accordance with the basic theme of the rite ("The bride goes away from her clan," "She dies for her clan"), the wedding songs develop a complex system of images; the girl drowns in the sea; the branch is broken from the tree, etc.

The wedding song, like every ritual song, tells exactly what is being done at any given moment, indicates what is to be done, and includes wishes and their

realization. Thus the wedding songs are close in function to the incantations. The verse metres of the wedding songs are like those of the harvest songs—4 + 4 + 3 and 4 + 4 + 5; in addition, the following forms of verse occur: 5 + 3, 6 + 3, 4 + 4, 5 + 5 + 3; 5 + 5 + 7. Along with the two-line strophe the lines may be joined into strophes of irregular length—some of which have ten and even more verses. This free form, which leaves room for improvisation, to a certain extent, brings the wedding songs close to the lamentations and the *dumas*.

Besides the strictly ritual songs, other songs, glorifying, erotic, and humorous, are sung at weddings.

V. Petrov

THE HISTORICAL EPOS

The *Bylinas*

The medieval epos of the *druzhyna* (Prince's armed retinue, Prince's body-guard), the *bylinas* (*byliny*), has not been preserved to our day in Ukraine; they continued to be performed in the traditional way up to the twentieth century only in Karelia and around the White Sea, areas which were originally on the extreme periphery of the old Kievan Realm; there they are called *stariny*. However, references in the old Ukrainian written literature (the Chronicles) and definite traces of the *bylina* epos in Ukrainian folklore* show that the basic series of *bylinas* were first created and developed on Ukrainian territory and among the ancestors of the present-day Ukrainians. From the literature of the sixteenth century it is clear that the *bylinas* were still known in Ukraine at that time; we find references

*The song of Elias Muromets performed by a lyre-player and recorded in Volhynia, the *duma* about Alexis Popovych (Popovich) the figure of Dzhuryla-Churylo in the *kolomytky* and wedding songs, the parallels of the *bylina* of Solovei Gudimirovich in the wedding songs and *koliadky*, the parallels to the *bylina* about Michael and the Golden Gates in Ukrainian legend, etc.

to the *bahatyri* (heroes) in general and in particular to Churylo and Elias Muromets (M. Bielski, Herbinius, M. Rej, E. Lassota). It seems clear that at that time the *bylinas* were beginning to disappear in Ukraine while a new epos was developing—the *dumas* (Čiževsky). The landscapes, plants, and animals described in the *bylinas* are clearly a depiction of the Ukrainian steppes.

The oldest series of *bylinas*, like the *koliadky*, deal with mythological themes and the creation of the world (Sviatogor, Mikula Selianinovich, Volga Vseslavich, and in places, Elias Muromets). At the center of the second series is the constant battle to defend the Kievan state against various steppe nomads. These *bylinas* revolve around the figure of Volodymyr (Vladimir) the Great, in whom are incorporated features of several popular princes of the period. To this series belong the *bylinas* about Elias Muromets (originally Murovets, after the city of Morovske in the Chernihiv area), Dobrynia, and Alexis Popovych. This "Kievan" cycle is completed by later *bylinas* about Michael and the Golden Gates and the destruction of the *bahatyri* (*bogatyri*). The third series is centered around the territory of Halych and Volhynia and Prince Roman (the *bylinas* about Roman, Duka Stepanovich, Churylo Plenkovich, Michael Potok, Dunai, Solovei Gudimirovich, and in places, the one about Michael Kozarin). It has been conjectured that the *bylinas* concerning Elias Muromets originally belonged to a Chernihiv series, and the reference in the Chronicle to the duel between Mstyslav and Rededia has been assumed to indicate a Tmutorokan series (Čiževsky).

The performers of the *bylinas* were professional singers from among the *druzhynas*, who sang to the accompaniment of the psaltery. Later the *bylinas* were sung by performers of clerical and peasant origin, and some changes resulted.

S. Yu.

The Dumas

An especially important place in the more recent Ukrainian oral literature is held by the *dumas*—the lyrical epics based on historical events in the Kozak Ukraine of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This Kozak epos completely supplanted the old medieval epos. The *dumas* first occur in the sixteenth century, the first mention being made of one by the Polish historian Sarnicki in 1587.

The *dumas* are divided into two series according to content. To the first, older, cycle belong *dumas* about the struggle against the Tatars and Turks; they can be grouped as follows: (1) *dumas* on Turkish captivity (*Plach nevil'nyka*—The Lament of the Prisoner; *Plach nevil'nykiv na katorzi*—The Lament of the Prisoners at Forced Labor; *Vtecha bratuv iz Azova*—The Escape of the Brothers from Azov; *Marusia Bohuslavka*—Marusia from Bohuslav; *Ivan Bohuslavets'*—Ivan from Bohuslav; *Sokil*—The Falcon); (2) *dumas* on the heroic death of a Kozak (*Ivan Konovchenko*; *Khvedir Bezridnyi*; *Samars'ki braty*—The Samara Brothers; *Smert' kozaka v dolyni Kodymy*—The Death of the Kozak in the Valley of Kodyma; *Sirchukha i [and] Sirchenky*); (3) *dumas* rejoicing in the rescue of the Kozaks from captivity, the return from a military campaign, and the sharing of the spoils (*Samiilo Kishka*; *Oleksii Popovych*; *Rozмова Dnipro z Dunaiem*—The Conversation of the Dnieper and the Danube; *Otaman Mattiash*); all of these *dumas*, depicting the struggle with the Moslem world, glorify nameless heroes, describe events and figures typical of the Kozak period, but not one of them can be related to a definite historical figure; (4) also to the older series belong *dumas* which are not based on historical themes but draw a moral in connection with everyday life (*Pro vdovu i trokh syniv*—The Widow and Her Three Sons; *Povorot syna z chuzhyny*—The Return of a Son from Abroad; *Pro brata i sestru*—The Brother

and Sister). These emphasize the idea of the clan—the clan is a person's sole guardian, and the individual perishes when he loses contact with his clan. All the *dumas* of the older series are marked by their lyrical character and their sad mood.

The second series (the more recent one) includes *dumas* about the conflicts between the Ukrainian Kozaks and the Poles. They are divided by content into: (1) *dumas* on the Khmelnytsky period (*Khmel'nyts'kyi i [and] Barabash: Korsun'ska bitva*—The Battle of Korsun; *Orendy*—The Leases; *Moldavs'kyi pokhid Khmel'nyts'koho*—The Moldavian Campaign of Khmelnytsky; *Bilotserkivshchyna*—The Events at Bila Tserkva; *Smert' Bohdana*—The Death of Bohdan; *Vybory Yuriiia Khmel'nyts'koho*—The Election of George Khmelnytsky); all of these *dumas* tell of actual historical events (1648–57) and describe historical personages. They are imbued with the vigorous spirit of victory and the elegiac and lyrical element is either insignificant or altogether absent; (2) *dumas* on social themes (*Duma pro Handzhu Andybera*—The Duma on Handzha Andyber—on the internal social conflicts between the rank and file Kozaks and the "silver-loving rich"; *Duma pro poiedynok kozaka Holoty z tatarynom*—The Duma on the Duel of the Kozak Holota with a Tatar).

The creators and singers of the *dumas* were probably the Kozaks themselves who, according to sources from the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century (Paprocki, Morsztyn), encouraged singing and playing on the *kobza* (lute); subsequently the *dumas* were preserved by professional singers. The latter were organized into special musical brotherhoods on the pattern of the artisan guilds. With the decline of the Ukrainian Kozaks, these singers sank to the level of singing beggars and the Kozak repertory of the *kobzars* (minstrels) came close to and sometimes even merged with that of the



FIGURE 267. OSTAP VERESAI (FROM A PHOTOGRAPH BY KORDYSH); ANDREW SHUT (DRAWING BY P. KULISH); FEDIR KHOLODNYI (DRAWING BY P. MARTYNOVYCH)

lyre-players (*lirnyky*). The most prominent *kobzars* of the nineteenth century were Ostap Veresai, Arkhyn Nykonenko, Andrew Shut, Ivan and Michael Kravchenko, Hnat Honcharenko, Ivan Kucherenko, and Fedir Kholodnyi. At present the *dumas* are performed exclusively on the concert stage.

The *dumas* are a new genre of the traditional oral literature. In their verse and musical form they represent a higher stage in the recitatif style which had already been developed in the lamentations. From the latter they adopted certain motifs and poetic images, and they also resembled the lamentations in allowing room for improvisation.

The *dumas* are not sung but are performed in recitatif to a musical accompaniment on the *bandura*, *kobza*, or *lira* (bandore, lute, or lyre). The *duma* has no definite strophic structure and is divided into unequal periods, according to the course of the tale; each such period forms a complete syntactical whole, and contains a complete thought; the verse consists of lines of unequal length. In contradistinction to the artificial verses of the same period, the verses in the *dumas* have a clear-cut rhythm, and rhyme (especially of verbs) plays an important role in uniting several lines. The melody of the musical accompaniment varies greatly according

to the content. Every *kobzar* has his own particular variation of the melody and to this he recites all the *dumas* of his repertory. There are certain similarities between the poetic structure of the *dumas* and that of the Serbian epos. Like the folk songs, the *duma* uses parallelisms and contrasts. Among special stylistic features mention must be made of the frequent use of double synonymous expressions and constant epithets.

The use of Church Slavonic and complex words has led to suggestions that the *dumas* are of written origin (e.g., P. Zhytetsky); D. Ciževsky considers the Church Slavonic element as a general peculiarity of the language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In F. Kolessa's opinion it is a result of the merger of the *kobzar* repertory with that of the lyre-players, as a result of which the Kozak *dumas* adopted elements of the language of the church as well as a tendency to moralize.

Historical and Political Songs

In their themes and content these are close to the *dumas* but differ from them in form. The historical songs have a rhythmically arranged regular strophe (usually of two or four lines) which provides a completed image, a completed thought. The melody of the song embraces one couplet and is repeated

without change in those which follow. The lines of the songs are more or less equal and rhyme is not obligatory. The historical songs cover events from the sixteenth century to modern times. The oldest are songs about the centuries-long struggle with the Tatars and the Turks (the most prominent being the Song of Baida, 1564; the Capture of Varna, 1605; the Siege of the Monastery of Pochaiv, 1675). Among the most important songs dealing with the Kozak-Polish conflict are: the Songs of Khmelnytsky; the Battle of Zhovti Vody, 1648; the Battle at Berestechko, 1651; the Curse on Khmelnytsky for letting the Tatars make slaves of the Ukrainian people, 1653; songs about Nechai, Perebyinis, Morozenko, the destruction of the Zaporozhian Host, the cruel treatment of the Ukrainian Kozaks by the Russian tsars, hard labor on the construction of a canal, and the death of a Kozak in Muscovite slavery. Songs about the *Haidamak* uprising form a special group; others are about Bondarivna (a ballad), Sava Chalyi, Zalizniak, Shvachka, and others. In addition, there also exists a large group of songs which depict the Kozak way of life, the relations of the Kozak to his community, to his family, and especially to his sweetheart. A special group is formed by songs dealing with social themes: the social conflicts between the various groups of Kozaks, compulsory labor for the landlord, injustices against and oppression of the peasants, the people's resistance (songs about Karmeliuk and O. Dovbush), World War I, emigration to America, and the seasonal migration of labor.

The revolution of 1917-20 was also echoed in song. New *dumas* and songs appeared, as, for example, the *duma*-song on the destruction of the town of Liutenky by the Bolsheviks in July, 1920. The most widespread modern genre is the *chastushka* (on Petliura, the hetman, the Communists, the compulsory grain procurements by the Bolshe-

viks, collectivization, and the famine of 1933 see "History"). However songs depicting recent events are quite quickly forgotten and so never become very widespread. This is in part because they are repressed by the political regime and in part because of the spread of new songs from the cities.

OCCUPATIONAL SONGS

Occupational songs deal with the life, mode of living, and interests of different social and professional groups. The most outstanding among them are the highly poetical *chumak* (salt carter) songs, which have motifs similar to those of the Kozaks.

The songs of soldiers and recruits describe the harsh fate of the soldier, injustice during conscription into the army (the song of the widow's son), the soldier's longing for his homeland, and the death of a soldier in a foreign land.

Among the songs about everyday life, composed in the latter part of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries, those worth mentioning describe the fate of hired hands and seasonal laborers (the songs of the *burlakas*—landless peasants). The bitter fate of servants, both male and female, the homelessness and the loneliness of the *burlaka*, and the moods of melancholy and of deep profound sadness form the content of these songs.

LYRIC SONGS

These songs are generally personal lyrics.

Lullabies

Lullabies often express wishes, and, in this, are similar to the incantations. In the symbolism of these songs there are very archaic elements from the old clan life interspersed with more modern themes. (The object of the lullaby today is to lull the child to sleep with its

monotonous rhythm while at the same time wishing it a happy fate.) The lullabies use many diminutives and terms of endearment.

Love Songs

These are by far the most numerous of all songs. Their themes are exceptionally rich and varied; they include courtship, happy and unhappy love, various obstacles to love, motifs of inequality of property and age, separation, disagreements with parents, jealousy. "The love lyric even in the records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was already greatly idealized and refined and had come to be the expression of personal intimate feelings. It indicates the centuries long path of evolution along which Ukrainian folk poetry had passed, as it moved from the syncretism of the ritual choral game, which was the expression of collective feelings and moods, to the monodic song with the delicate shading of the psychic moods of the individual." (F. Kolessa)

Songs of Family Life

In style and general character, these are not different from the songs of love. Their themes are rich and varied. They describe more frequently the shadowy sides of married life: the hard conditions of life with an unloved husband or a drunkard, the oppression by the mother-in-law, the wretchedness of the young wife in a strange family, separation from a husband, the unjust division of property among children, and the dreary life of a widow. The basic theme of these songs is the position of a wife in the family—the misfortune of the wife. The image of the wife in Ukrainian folk songs is very different from that in the Russian songs. Instead of an obedient, oppressed wife, the Ukrainian songs provide a picture of a proud woman who has not lost her sense of human dignity and who has preserved her freedom and independence.

Dance Songs

These songs are very close to the love songs and to the songs of family life in content and mood. Many of them are humorous, amusing, satirical, while others depict social and political motifs. However they are all composed as a vocal accompaniment to the dance and their rhythm is fitted to the dance music. The basic forms of dance songs are: the *kolomyika*, *shumka*, *kozachok*, and *horlytsia*. The *kolomyika* is a dance song with an abrupt form of the typical scheme (4 + 4 + 6) with modifications (4 + 3 + 6, rarely 3 + 3 + 6), with a two-line strophe and feminine rhyme. The *kolomyiky* are composed of independent strophes which are each sung independently or are connected by associations in theme and/or image. This type is very popular in Galicia, where it has been separated from the dance and has become the favorite form of gay, humorous, and satirical songs. Songs of the *kolomyika* type are also known outside of Galicia, but they are not given this name. The *shumky* are short two- or even one-strophe songs with a dance rhythm in $\frac{3}{4}$ time and with the structure of the strophe 4 (4 + 4). The four verses are rhymed in pairs. The *kozachok* has the strophic structure 4 (4 + 3) with a strong rhythmic accent on the last (seventh) syllable. Samples have been preserved of the strophes of the *kozachok* and *shumka* as well as those of the *kolomyika* recorded as early as the seventeenth century. This form arose in the central Ukrainian area. The *horlytsia* (a variant of the *kozachok*) has a four-line strophe with the structure 2 (4 + 3) or 2 (3 + 3) and with rhyming in pairs. Short dance songs have a characteristic two-line strophe 2 (6 + 6). The popular dance songs of the Lemkians, which constitute the principal type of song in their repertory, have a similar form. Recently a new dance form—the *chastushka*—has spread in central and eastern Ukraine. It has a strophic struc-

ture 2 (7 + 6) or 2 (7 + 5). In some instances, the *chastushka* has lost its original function as an accompaniment, and has been turned into a sharply satirical political song on topical issues. In its compositional structure, parallelism plays an important role. In Ukraine the *chastushka* has mostly spread from the city to the village.

P. Odarchenko

LYRIC AND EPIC POETRY

Ballads

Ballads are narrative poems or songs describing events of an extraordinary nature, or giving accounts of conflicts in life that have tragic consequences. They can be divided into two groups: those that emerged from ritual song and action, and others that narrate events from real life.

The first group may be considered the ballads of fantasy. In their emergence from ritual, they preserved their basic themes. One of the most common of these themes was that of transformation, brought about by evil charms, a mother's curse, or as punishment for sin. At the same time they acquired new motivation. Typical of these ballads would be the transformation of a maiden into a poplar, a flower, or a bird. A young man might be transformed into a tree. As emerged from ritual, the ballad usually acquires one of three motivations. With natural motivation for transformation an evil mother-in-law might cause a bride to be changed to a poplar or a son cursed by his mother might become a maple tree. A moral and ethical motivation would be found in the situation of a brother and sister falling in love. When the girl realizes what has happened she asks to be chopped into pieces for the sin she has committed. Finally there is the motivation of adventure: robbers kill a girl or strangers persuade a girl to take a trip with them and then drown or burn her.

The second type of ballad is about real but extraordinary events. There are a number of such ballads. Probably the most popular are the following: the ballads about Hryts, who is poisoned by a girl (*Oi ne khody, Hrytsiu*—Oh don't go, Hryts); the ballad about Bondarivna, a girl killed for her pride and disobedience by Pan Kaniowski; finally the various ballads about Petrunia and Lymarivna. Some of these ballads have migratory themes and subjects, borrowed from the folklore of other countries. These themes, mostly of Romance or Germanic origin, reached Ukraine chiefly through the media of Polish, Czech, and Slovak folklore. Besides western European folklore, that of the South Slavs had a certain influence on the Ukrainian ballads. From the Ukrainians these themes passed to Belorussia and then to Russia and exerted an influence on Russian folklore. Ukraine was thus an intermediary in transmitting cultural influences from western Europe to the East.

Religious Songs

These songs usually have subjects or themes that are migratory. Their motifs are borrowed from Holy Scripture, the lives of the saints, church history, and church hymns. In addition, they have been influenced by folk legends and apocryphal works. The most popular songs were about: the rich man and Lazarus based on the well-known Gospel parable, St. George, "Alexis the man of God," the tortures of St. Barbara, and the dream of the Mother of God. Some of these songs have the mark of the fantastic found in ballads. Two on the subject of a mother killing her child might be mentioned: the song about the girl carried to hell by Satan or, the conversation between a girl and Christ. A special group consists of religious songs with moral, pious reflections on the vanity of this world, the sinful soul, death, the Last Judgment, injustice, truth, and the orphan. The spiritual songs reflect the influence of church

melodies. These religious songs, the so-called psalms, formed the basic part of the song repertory of the professional lyre-players and *kobzars*.

Humorous Songs

Migratory themes are also noted in the humorous narrative songs. The humorous character of these songs is attained, not only by the description of amusing situations, but by hyperbolic images and ironic comparisons. The satirical and humorous songs belonged to the repertory of the professional singers (*skomorokhy*, and later the *kobzars*) and lyre-players. Besides psalms and *dumas*, these professionals gladly sang funny songs about noble women or the visits of a woman to the home of her son-in-law. A special group consisted of humorous songs in which animals, birds, insects, and mushrooms parodied the ordinary events of human life. In a category by themselves belong the bawdy songs, and the songs concerning drunkards and drunken mishaps.

FOLK PROSE

Tales

These are usually defined as narratives in which truth is mixed with the fantastic. In the ancient world-outlook from which the tale emerged, there was no distinction between reality and the miraculous. The basis of most of the tales was the journey or the quest, a motif which is infinitely variable. Perhaps it is most often found in the "magic" tales and the tales of the innocent person facing life. The "hero" sets out on a journey; the motivation for the trip and details of the departure have great variety. In tales of the "innocents" persecuted, the motivation is taken from life, e.g., the hate of a stepmother for a stepdaughter. In the "magic" tales it might be the order of the father to secure a feather from the firebird (*zhar-ptytzia*). The hero might just as well be self-motivated. He might

be going to seek adventure, obtain a wife, or divert danger from the fatherland. As variable as the motivation given for starting the journey is the description of the spot at which he arrives and the nature of the evil opponent which he must usually overcome. The latter might be a giant, a cannibalistic witch, a monster, an iron man, a winged serpent, or the ruler of the sea. The hero usually has helpers. These helpers may be geese or swans, a giant bird which carries the hero on its wings from an underground realm, a horse, a bear, a mouse, a wise maiden, the dead mother of an orphan girl, a snake whose life the hero saved, or a puppet who knows a magic word. To the journey motif also belongs the incident in which the hero is strangely transformed. This can occur once or several times, and may happen by stages during the journey. It always takes place, however, during the second stage of the trip, on the return trip so to speak. It is most frequently the final episode in the tale. The fool becomes sensible; the peasant's son becomes the prince; the repulsive becomes the beautiful; the poor become rich; the hero receives the reward, and acquires a wife, and a realm.

In modern oral literature, the tale is of a genre which goes beyond ritual, although originally it was in the ritual tradition and formed part of the funeral-burial rite. Important in the latter was a dramatized narrative about the long journey which the dead man was starting. The different motifs of the tale usually correspond to the special element of the ritual act and follow in the sequence of the logic of the rite. In the tale, as in the ritual, "helpers" play a role. The performer of the ritual as well as all those present during its performance attempted to help the hero avoid the dangers which he encountered during his journey. On his return, the persecuted hero encountered danger in passing over rivers, mountains, and forests. The burial rite included the building of

the dead house to which the wandering dead man had to go. It foresaw the creation of mountains and rivers on the return journey of the deceased, if he wished to return to his associates. The tale lost its ritual vestiges as it passed through various social environments and received new interpretations. At the same time that it lost its ritual vestiges, it approached the novella, the novel, and the parable-fable. In its genre type, the new tale was either gallant, novelistic, or morally didactic. The people preserved the original meaning of the tale as a narrative accompanying the burial rite. In addition they forbade the telling of tales during the lambing season so that the lambs would not go on the road of the dead.

Finally there is a special group of tales about animals, and in particular about the wolf, fox, and bear.

V. Petrov

Animal Fables

From the tales about animals there developed fables. These are short stories of an allegorical nature which have a certain moral or didactic purpose and in which the active figures were anthropomorphized beasts or inanimate objects. In the fable the animals portray human types. In its further development the fable acquired the qualities of social satire. The favorite butts of the satire were the animal weddings, courts of justice, and war. In their realism and humor, the fables have much in common with anecdotes.

Demonological Stories

These fairy tales based on the superstitions about spirits, demons, and the "unclean power," furnish the plots for many stories.

Legends

These are stories with an ecclesiastical and religious basis and a moralizing

tendency, drawn from the Bible, the apocryphal works, and the lives of the saints. The original legends on wonder-working ikons and monasteries were based on foreign models. The content and themes are diverse. There are legends based on the Old and New Testaments, dealing with the saints, the life beyond the grave, the end of the world, happiness and sorrow, sin, death, and faith. Sometimes the elements of the Christian outlook and the pagan outlook are combined with the fantastic features of tales. The resultant legends are close to the fantastic tales. The narrator usually treats the content of the legends seriously, although there are parodies of the legends with humorous interpretations of the events.

Narratives (Perekazy)

In these stories of historical personages and events, the real elements are united with the common motifs of the tales or legends (or Dovbush, Pali, Kaniowski, Makhno). They are important because they give us insight into the process of material as it becomes part of the folklore, and they clarify for us the views of the popular masses concerning historical persons and events.

Novellas

These are folk stories of ordinary life without the fantastic element. The greater part of the Ukrainian novellas are migratory stories which have come from abroad and have been adapted to the customs and views of the Ukrainian people and the local situations. They are based on the motifs of Eastern literature and medieval European literature, the Italian *fablios* and the German *Schwänke*. Here, for example, belong the stories about the Muscovite wizard, the unfaithful wife and her lover, the poor and the rich brother, and the clever fool. Among the Ukrainian novellas are many that are original and have been created on the basis of actual

events. These are particularly notable for their local color.

Anecdotes

These short humorous stories and jokes have an unexpected ending. As the local color appears more strongly in them than in the novellas, most of the anecdotes fall in the category of original creation by the Ukrainian people. The anecdote is a living genre of folklore which grows and develops in both village and city. The political anecdote is the most widely developed form at present. In Soviet Ukraine political anecdotes are forbidden by the government.

Proverbs and Sayings

These are short expressions which contain the living philosophy of the people. They are usually short two-part expressions, broken by rhyme, assonance, alliteration, or by rhythmic structure. Between the two parts there is a connection in the psychological subject and a predicate of cause and effect, contradiction, or comparison. Some have definitely preserved traces of old superstitions, conceptions, and points of view.

The proverbs have a great variety of subjects: thoughts about God, truth and justice, the rich and the poor, ideas concerning knowledge, the evaluation of a person's capacity and character, family relationships, views on love, people's feelings and moods, patriotism, freedom, social and political questions. Many proverbs and sayings are genetically connected with rites, songs, tales, and popular narratives.

Proverbs and sayings belong to the living genres of contemporary folklore. The period of the revolution of 1917, of collectivization, the famine of 1933, and the German occupation are clearly reflected in the corresponding proverbs and sayings with an evident political tendency directed against the occupying forces: *Ni korovy, ni svyni, tiľky Stalin na stini* (No cows, no pigs, only Stalin

on the wall); *Prorobyla azh sim den'—zarobyla trudoden'* (I worked seven days but earned one labor day).

Riddles

The riddle like the proverb is marked by a terse, picturesque language and often has a rhythmic form. In allegorical form the riddles reflect the same observations from the life of the people as do the proverbs. Among the Ukrainian riddles are some on peripatetic material which came from Byzantium with the aid of written sources.

P. Odarchenko

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6. FOLK ART AND HANDICRAFT

FOLK MUSIC

General Characteristics

Ukrainian folk music consists of vocal and instrumental melodies which were created in the remote past and are still being created, and which live in the oral tradition of the people. These melodies were not notated until almost the end of the eighteenth century, but we have clear indications of their origins, as a result of the analysis of present

material, a comparison of it with the folk music of other peoples, the history of folk instruments, and the descriptions in literary and historical sources. The music of the Ukrainian folk songs is of several types, indicating different styles and even different musical systems, which are for the most part paralleled in the styles of stages of the historical development of the musical art in general. The strongest conservative tendencies are manifested by the melodies

Funeral Lament

Rubato

Khodovychi, Stryi area

Мо-я ти ди-тин-ко, со-лод-ка мо-я! Ку-даж ти йдеш від-ме-не, ку-да?
 Ри — боч-ко! ле-бі-доч-ко! вер-ниж-ти сі, вер-ни!

(I. Kolessa, *EZb*, XI, 248)

of the ritual songs (*koliadky* and *shchedrivky*, *haivky*, and *vesnianky*, *rusal'ni*, *Kupalski* and harvest songs, wedding and baptismal songs, and funeral laments), which are the remnants of a very ancient cult. Despite the general archaic character of the ritual songs, each kind demonstrates its own special musical type, with the exception of the melodies of the harvest songs which are identical with those of the wedding songs. On the basis of an analysis of the oldest ritual songs, we have reason to assume that the historical development of Ukrainian folk music led to the extension of the melodic range of seconds and thirds to the range of an octave and more and, from the point of view of form, from the short, primitive, "repeated" motif to the period and double period.

Stylistically, the folk songs are divided into two basic groups: (1) a free recitative and (2) a style with a clear rhythm, syntax, and form. The works of the first group, confined to the range of a third or fourth with a semitone between the

second and third steps, have an asymmetrical, free rhythm and are essentially monotonic repetitions of the same motif in different variations, shorter and longer, depending upon the length of the words of the improvised text. An example of this form is the extremely ancient funeral laments which are performed monodically without instrumental accompaniment (at times by professional mourners). This style reaches a higher grade of development in the steppe region of Ukraine in the epic-lyric historical *dumas*, which are also recited monodically but to the accompaniment of a *kobza-bandura* by professional *kobzar*-singers or bandurists.

The second basic group embraces all other genres of song, that is melodies having a clear, if not always symmetrical, rhythm and a definite syntactic arrangement of the phrases. Such a formal arrangement of the musical elements transfers itself to the text of the songs and develops in them regular caesuras and a fixed number of syllables in the syllabic groups, verses, and strophes.

Duma about Alexis Popovych

Rubato (♩ - приблизно 72 М. М.)

Kharkiv

Ой, по Чор-но-му мо-рю, ой, на ка-мі-ні біленько-му, там ся-дів со-кл яс-ненькай
 за-ліб-нень-ко клять, прокві-ля-є, і на Чор-но-є мо-ре смільна погля-да-є,
 що на Чор-но-му мо-рі все не доб-ре по-чи-на-є.

(F. Kolessa, *MUE*, XIV, 96)

Shchedrivka (three-tone repeated motif)

Ще - дрик, ще - дрик,
ще - дрі - воч - ка
при - ле - ті - ла
лас - ті - воч - ка . . . і т. д.

(Collection of folk songs compiled by
M. Leontovych)

The oldest examples of this type of music can be found in the archaic ritual songs, chiefly among the *koliadky* (Christmas carols), *shchedrivky* (New Year's carols), and *vesnianky* (spring songs). Their melodies are limited sometimes to a pattern of two or three tones in the range of a second or a third, but as a rule they consist of a monotonous "repeated motif" or a "repeated phrase," which can be marked down by repeat signs.

Haivka (tetrachord with a semitone between the third and fourth degrees)

Зе - ле - ні - і о - ги - роч - ки,
Мо - ло - ді - і па - ру - боч - ки,



сте - лить - ся, сте - лить - ся,
же - нить - ся, же - нить - ся.

(F. Kolessa, *MUE*, XII, 44)

The Tetrachordal System

A large group of ritual melodies consists of a perfect fourth, with the central tone (the tonic) as the lowest. The internal structure of such tetrachords is

varied, with a semitone between the 3rd and 4th, 2nd and 3rd, or 1st and 2nd degrees. Their form usually consists of short (4-measure) phrases.

A somewhat broader pattern is noticeable in the tetrachords of the melodies of wedding and harvest songs; these so-called *ladkannia*, common to all the Ukrainian territory, manifest various differences within the same type and are characterized by a kind of "recitativo" style.

Remote antiquity is also noticeable in these songs. Their melodic material is based upon two tetrachords: connected (that is, completely fused where the

Kolomyika (two connected Phrygian tetrachords)

Ов, іш - - ла я по - ло - нин - ков,



іш - ла — я, іш - ла — — — — — я,



пя - та - ли - ся зів - ча - ря - ки,



чи - я я — чи - я я?

(from a book of songs, *Chervona Kalyna*, 229)

Wedding *ladkannia* (a broader pattern of the tetrachord with a free semi-recitativo rhythm)

Ві - ноч - ку — мій пер - - ло - вий, — — — — — ві - ноч - ку мій пер - ло - вий
Як ти — з го - ло - ви спа - деш, — — — — — як ти з го - ло - ви спа - деш,



дер - жись близь - ко го - - - ло - ви,
то й на ві - ки про - - - па - деш.

(Verkhovynets [Kostiv], V., *EZb*, I, 33)

preserved in the song; the individual phrases of the melody are confined to one or other of the tetrachords, within the general pattern of the descending melodic line. Such a structure completely corresponds to the ancient Greek musical theory of the classical period. Songs of this type are encountered for the most part among the Western Ukrainian *koliadky* and *shchedrivky* but are also among the melodies of the *kolomyiky*. In the case of the *kolomyiky* the two Phrygian tetrachords (from the top down):

$f^{\sharp} e\text{-flat} d^{\sharp} | c^{\sharp} | b\text{-flat}^{\sharp} a g |$

are connected in a Hypophrygian mode.

The Pentatonic System

The system appears in the form of so-called anhemitonic pentatonism (without semitones). Melodies in a pure pentatonic style are rarely found; sometimes they have a narrow range, and are constructed only on some section of the pentatonic scale. On the other hand, definite influences of pentatonism are quite often found crossed with other systems.

The fatherland of pentatonism is ancient Mongolian eastern Asia and the appearance of pentatonism in Ukrainian folk songs can be attributed to the influences of the nomadic Mongolian hordes, the Huns, or the later Tatar hordes which were in contact with Ukrainian culture for a long time.

Pentachords and Hexachords

Pentachords and hexachords, with the range of a perfect fifth or a major or minor sixth, constitute the most frequent form of the ritual songs—among others, the *haiivky* and *vesnianky* which are marked by a lively tempo and a dance rhythm. The tonic of these is also the lowest note, but the trend of the melodic line, in contradiction to the tetrachordic style, is an ascending one. Formally, the songs of this style developed even into the two-phrase period.

Vesnianka (ancient melody with strong influence of pentatonism)

Andantino Town of Oster, near Chernihiv

На Ду-на-сч-ку край бе-ре- жеч-ку, та ря-ну-ла во-да з Ду-на-ю, з Ду-на-ю з бе-реж-ка ти-хо-го, кру-то-го.

(as recorded by A. Rubets)

A great number of Ukrainian folk melodies are based on scales identical with those of the medieval modes, but the melodic structure of these Ukrainian songs is not identical with that of the Middle Ages. An acquaintance with these modes could have reached Ukraine through Byzantine influences with the aid of Church music and/or through western European influences exerted through Poland; of course, it is possible that this might have been a case of an individual melodic evolution. To the original tri-, tetra-, penta-, or hexachord of the previously mentioned systems, a frequent addition, aside from the melismatic adornment and other non-essential additions, was the dominant, and a

Shchedrivka (hexachord, a major sixth)

Allegretto

Kamianets area

Пішов Мн-ха-ню ра-но ко-сн-ти, грай ко-ню, грай ко-ви-чень-ку, під мо-ло-день-ним па-ня-чом.

(recorded by Z. Lysko)

Koladka (Mixolydian scale)

Grave

Sheshory, Kosiv district

Ой, із-за го-ри, аза по-ло-ни-ни гої, дай Бо-же!
 Ой, и-дут вів-ці, як даять бі-лень-кий, гої, дай Бо-же!

(UZE, III, 494)

semitone below the tonic. When the tetrachord below the tonic became utilized by the tones of the melody, a more extended scale of tones was produced, which embraced an entire octave composed in its lower range of a tetrachord and its higher of a pentachord or hexachord, e.g.

pentachord

| g a b c¹ d¹ e¹ f¹ g¹ |

tetrachord

with the middle tone c as the tonic. This structure with its key-center approaches the structure of the medieval mode. However, in addition to the tonic c¹ with equal supporting points of the melodic system, there also emerges, in many cases, the dominant g¹ or the second degree d¹ which has no counterpart in the medieval mode. In the Ukrainian melodies, the most common scales are: Mixolydian—and also Dorian, Hypodorian, Hypomixolydian, Hypo-ianian, etc. Some melodies are based on unique modes such as g a b c¹ d¹ e-flat f-sharp g¹ which has no similar form in the medieval mode.

Intervals on the Augmented Second

The chromatic raising of the fourth or seventh degree of the scale led to melodic expressions which are characteristic of the Ukrainian folk song, that is, skips to an augmented second between the third and fourth note or the sixth and seventh or simultaneously in both as in:

g a b-flat c-sharp d¹ e-flat¹ f-sharp g¹

It is these melodic characteristics which, according to the well-known *kobzar*,

O. Veresai, add "sorrow" to the melody. Because we do not find such a phenomenon in Russian folk songs, we know that we are dealing here with relatively late historical influences. The home of intervals of the augmented second in the distant past as well as in the present is Turkistan. These intervals could have permeated Ukrainian culture by various means. They may have come from the Pechenegs and, even more likely, from the Cumans, and later from the Crimean Tatars; they could have been introduced as a result of the relations between old *Rus'* and Byzantium with its comparative music; and, finally, they may have come through the medium of the Balkan peoples for we know from historical sources that after the conquest of the South Slavs by the Turks in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries wandering Serbian singers appeared in Poland and Ukraine. As a result, from the sixteenth century on, we can assume this chromaticism to be a common characteristic of Ukrainian folk music, especially in the melodies of the *kobzars* and lyre-players, the leading musical performers of the period. The frequent use of the augmented second does not con-

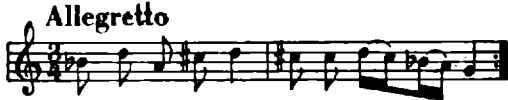
Lyric (love) song

Largo

Volhynia

Ой, ай-дя, ай-дя — ти зі-ронь-ко ве —
 чір-на-я, ой, вий-дя, вий-дя —
 дів-чи-нонь-ко — зір-на-я

(as recorded by C. Kvitka)

Shchedrivka (pentachord, augmented second)

Ой, в чис-тім по-лі, на о-бо-ло-ні,
Грай— мо-ре, грай, ра-дуй-ся— зем-ле.

(collection of folk songs by
M. Verykivsky)

stitute a special musical system, but rather a melodic manner which penetrated all genres and styles. Today it is found in the pentachords of the old ritual songs, in the funeral laments, the historical *dumas*, and the lyric (love) songs of modern origin, and even in the instrumental dance melodies of entirely modern creation (see p. 377). This chromaticism, adapted to all medieval modes, sometimes creates very original tone successions (lyric song).

Lyric (love) song (Phrygian scale, augmented second between the second and third, and between the sixth and seventh notes)



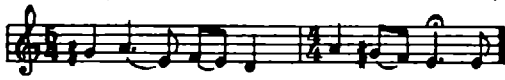
Ту-май, ту - май по до - ли - ні,



ту-май, ту - май по — до - ли - ні,



ши-ро - кий лист на ка - ли - - - - ні,



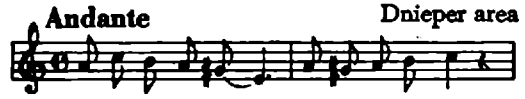
ши-ро - кий лист на ка - ли - ні.

(N. Lysenko, *Zbirnyk ukraïns'kykh pisen'*, II, 30)

The Modern Tonal System of Major and Minor

This system, the result of the influence of western European music, appears only in the most recent forms of folk song, and then so rarely that it is of rather small importance.

The period from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries was the golden age

Chumak song (modern, minor mode)

Ой, хо-дів чу-мак — сім літ по До-лу,



та не бу-ло при-го-донь - ки ні-ко-ля йо-му.



Та не бу-ло при-го-донь - ки ні-ко-ля — йо-му.

(from a collection by A. Yedlichka)

in the development of Ukrainian folk music as is shown by the flowering of lyric songs and historical *dumas*, the wealth of rhythmic forms, and the appearance of new stringed instruments, such as the lyre and the *kobza-bandura*. In addition, there appeared new types of folk singers and musicians such as the lyre-players (*lirnyky*) and the *kobzars* and bandurists, who formed musical brotherhoods which were organized like the artisan guilds; at the same time new dance forms developed (the *kozak*, and the *kolomyika*). During this period western European influences spread among the masses; we can cite here the polyphonic church singing (*partesnoie*), the choruses maintained in the palaces of the nobles, the collections of religious songs and new melodies (for example, the *Pochaïvskiy Bohohlasnyk*, 1790, which includes songs from almost the entire century), and the popular secular songs of literary origin, which also spread among the peasants. These influences favored the creation of a new type of folk song characterized by the octave system of a major and minor scale; modulation to the dominant, subdominant, and to the related keys; the introduction of a leading tone and chromatics in the European sense; and melodic phrasing based on individual separation of chordal tones, which indicates the influence of the new instrumental music.

Metelytsia (Kozak dance)—for bandura

Allegretto (♩ - 108 M. M.) Kharkiv area

(as recorded by F. Kolessa, *MUE*, XIV)**Dance Forms**

Dance forms, both instrumental and vocal, are preserved in the meter $\frac{2}{4}$ allegretto, but among them there are different rhythmical varieties which allow us to distinguish such various types of dance music as the *kozachok*, *metelytsia*, *kolomyjka*, *hutsulka*, and *arkan*.

In general, Ukrainian folk music is dominated by the two-beat rhythm. Thus duple meters ($\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{4}{4}$) prevail, although triple meters ($\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{9}{8}$), as well as various kinds of asymmetrical ones ($\frac{5}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, etc.), are found. Anacrusis in the

folk melodies is almost unknown. In the same way, the principle of duality usually prevails in the formal structure of the songs, each of the resulting two periods consists of two phrases. Periods of three phrases, or a generally asymmetrical structure of the form, are encountered less frequently. The most developed form, the double period, is found only in a few songs of late origin.

All these musical systems and styles do not always appear in a pure form. On the contrary, different historical influences usually dominate in the various

Two *kolomyjky*—for *flotara* and for violin

Moderato Zhabie-Yavoriv area, Kosiv district

a) *mf*

b) *f*

(V. Shukhevych, *Hutsul'shchyna*, III, 85, 97)

song genres, and these often are crossed; sometimes, even in a single song, elements of different forms are combined both chronologically and stylistically. Stylistic differences are noticeable also from region to region, where the musical culture of neighboring peoples has often exerted an influence. Thus musical dialects have been created which, in general, correspond territorially to the linguistic dialects. In the west, especially in the Lemkian area, we find influences of Slovak melodies (syncopated rhythm, a characteristically symmetrical form), of Polish melodies (the favorite $\frac{3}{8}$ time, the modern major), and even of Hungarian melodies (the typical construction of the repetition of the first phrase in the fifth). In the Hutsul dance melodies there are evident traces of Rumanian influences, which were introduced by wandering gypsy musicians. On the Left Bank, in the eastern provinces, there are traces of—perhaps—Russian influence (the *pidholosky*, a subsidiary voice, interwoven contrapuntally with the main melody, and the continuity of strophes by transitional insertions). In general, all the dialects can be divided (according to F. Kolessa) into two groups: the eastern, the larger and more homogeneous one, and the western, which is more differentiated. In the northern and western regions, especially in the Carpathians, the old ritual melodies, along with their various archaic features such as their small melodic range, a primitive form of the repeated motif or phrase, an excessive wealth of ornamentation which sometimes even obscures the melodic line, a sometimes very free rhythm of a recitatif character, and even the use of neutral intervals of thirds and fourths, have been better preserved. On the other hand, in the eastern group in the Dnieper and Donets regions, songs of newer types dominate. These are marked by an extended melodic range (more than an octave), a highly developed form, a complicated division into periods, a broad melodic line, and a quiet rhyth-

mical pattern (especially the *chumak* songs).

In recent times, with the elimination of many of the distinctions between the rural and urban ways of life, folk songs have begun to be much influenced by modern musical elements, along with forms approaching a standard type. Thus in modern Ukrainian folk music, old and new characteristics are interwoven, but the medieval elements and the preservation of tradition still dominate; in this way all the Ukrainian musical dialects are being fused into a single folk-song style and reveal a common musical language based on old song forms.

Almost all Ukrainian composers who have worked for the establishment and development of a Ukrainian national style and have applied to it the universal musical means of technique and expression, have turned again and again to the folk music and have arranged the folk melodies in various artistic ways and styles. Thus choral music, in particular, has acquired a rich literature based on the folk-song material.

Not only choral music but also instrumental music (symphonies, chamber music, compositions for solo instruments) has been similarly enriched. All the important Ukrainian composers of the second half of the nineteenth century (Lysenko) and the beginning of the twentieth century (Leontovych, Stetsenko) as well as the leading contemporary ones (Revutsky, Barvinsky, Liatoshynsky, Ludkevych, Meitus) have written major musical works based on folk music material. Even a number of non-Ukrainian composers have been inspired by Ukrainian folk music and used Ukrainian folk songs as thematic material: Beethoven in the *Rasumovsky Quartets*; Tschaiakowsky in his *Second Symphony* and in the third movement of the *B-flat minor Piano Concerto*; Musorgsky in the opera, *Fair at Sorotchintzi* (*Sorochyntsi*); Liszt; Walter Piston in his *Ukrainian Suite* for string orchestra, etc.

Z. Lysko

FOLK INSTRUMENTS

The folk instruments are divided into three principal groups: stringed (played with a plectrum or a bow), wind, and percussion.

Stringed Instruments

The *kobza* was the predecessor of the *bandura*. Although the time of its original appearance has not been established

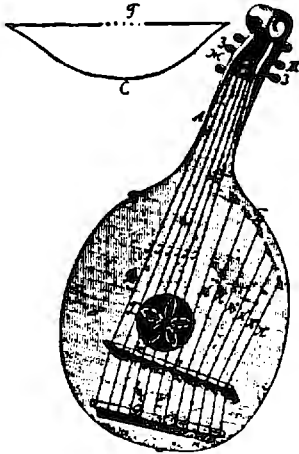


FIGURE 268. THE *bandura*

exactly, it probably had an oval or round body with a long, fretted neck, and three or four strings.

The *bandura* is generally accepted as the more modern version of the *kobza*. It has many more strings (up to approximately 60), there are no frets on the neck, and it is an open-string instrument. The characteristic feature of the *bandura* is the *prystrunky* (treble strings). The strings are struck, or plucked, with the tips of the fingers, or with the nails, although in the past some *bandura*-players, the *bandurists*, used plectra.

The *bandura* was considered the national instrument of Ukraine in the middle of the seventeenth century, but later sank into oblivion. In the nineteenth century it was played primarily by blind, itinerant, semi-professional musicians. It was revived in the twentieth century (Khotkevych, Yemets), and underwent

certain structural changes, becoming asymmetrical. The strings which extend along the neck are used for bass accompaniment; the shorter strings (the *prystrunky*) are stretched over the body to the right of the neck. The tuning of the *bandura* is not fixed. One possible style of tuning (in *Zolotonosha*) is:



The present *bandura* resembles the *torban*, and its tuning has no fixed, permanent setting.

The *torban* developed from the lute, and at one time was widely used throughout Europe, especially in Italy (*theorbe*, *theorbo*, *tiorba*) and France (*theorbe*, *tiorbe*, *tuorbe*). In Ukraine, after the eighteenth century, it was the favorite instrument of Kozak officers and the nobility but it went out of use in the mid-nineteenth century. The *torban* was not popular among the common people because it was too complicated to play. The neck has two peg boxes. The structure and strings are:

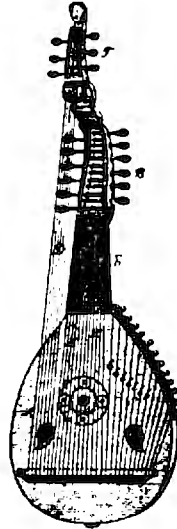
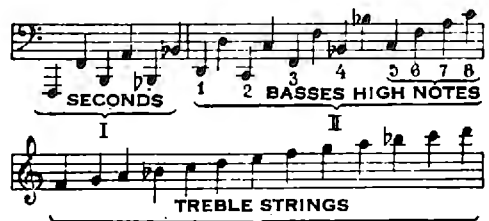


FIGURE 269. THE *torban*



The *husli* (cf., the verb *husty*, *hudity*, to play) is an old Slavic instrument; originally it resembled a harp, and was



FIGURE 270. PRIMITIVE *husli*. THE *husli-psaltyry* OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

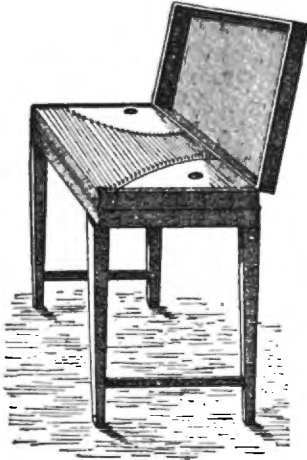


FIGURE 271. A CLAVICHORD *husli* ON A STAND

played in a horizontal position and held on the knees. In time its form underwent specific changes, among various peoples (cf., the Czech *housle-violin*). In the fourteenth century there appeared the *husli-psaltyry*, an instrument in the form of a trapezium with rounded corners. In the eighteenth century there were also the clavichord-*husli*, with attached legs or stand.

The dulcimers (*tsymbaly*) are related to the *husli-psaltyry*. On the top are 12, or more, groups of four strings, tuned identically, called *bunty*. The *tsymbaly* often have two bridges. The *bunty* pass over one bridge and under the other one, and vice versa. They are divided into

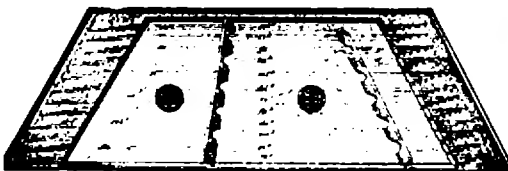


FIGURE 272. A DULCIMER



FIGURE 273. HUTSUL MUSICIAN, BASIL HABRYD FROM PASICHNA, PLAYS THE CYMBALS

basses (the longer strings), and *kanty* (the treble) which are shorter. The strings are usually tuned diatonically (with variations), and the range, usually of 2-3 octaves, depends upon the size of the instrument and the number of *bunty*, or groups of strings. The tuning is:



The instrument is played with hammers. The *skrypka*, or violin, is the well-known instrument played with a bow. The bass viol-*pidbasok*-(in central and eastern Ukraine also called *basolia*)

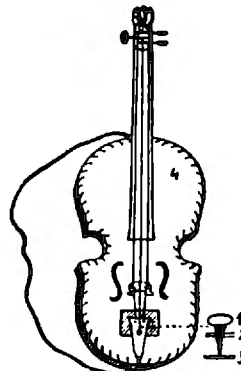


FIGURE 274. A BASS WITH THREE STRINGS (VILLAGE OF MIZYN, CHERNIHIV AREA)

The wooden parts are not glued but are sewn with a thick thread. (1) a tiny screw which after the tuning of the instrument is so tightened that its sharp end hardly touches the glass plate; (2) the wire holder; (3) a glass plate fastened with cobbler's wax; (4) the place at which the musician presses the instrument with his left palm against his abdomen. The instrument hangs on the player's left shoulder.

is an intermediate instrument between the 'cello and the double bass (about 1.30 meters long) and usually has three strings; it is used only in ensembles for dances.

The hurdy-gurdy (*lira*), of unknown origin, was known in western Europe in the thirteenth century. It is a special type of stringed instrument which unites the mechanisms of the bow and the key. It has three strings (more rarely, four): the *baiorok* and the tenor do not change their pitch and act as drones; the *melodia* (melody) is the chanter. The vibrating length of the *melodia* is changed by pressing on the attached keys, which have movable *nyty* or *pivkliavishi* (semi-keys). These can be adjusted to permit modulation from minor to the major, and vice versa. The range depends upon the number of keys and may reach 14. It can begin on any tone (which thus becomes a tonic).

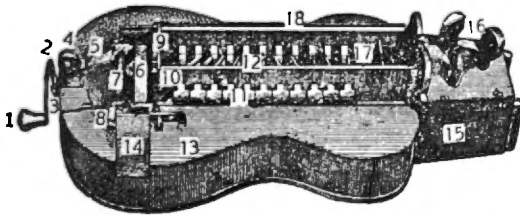


FIGURE 275. THE LYRE

(1) the handle; (2) the crank; (3) the cylinder which is in the middle of the lyre and on which the wheel turns; (4) the screw; (5) the *bator*; (6) the wheel; (7) the base-bridge for the melody; (8) two bases for the tenor and *batorok*; (9) the hummer; (10) the keyboard; (11) keys; (12) the *nyty*-sub-keys; (13) the *deka*; (14) the support; (15) the neck; (16) the pegs; (17) the string; the so-called melody (the tenor) and the *batorok* are not visible, beneath; (18) the apron.

The Wind Instruments

The *sopilka* (*dudka*), or flute, is a wooden pipe of elder, cranberry, ash, hazelwood, or bark, having six or seven holes on the top and, at times, one on the bottom as well. Depending on how they are played, the *sopilky* are: (a) the *dentsivka*, with a reed, which is placed

on the underside of the mouthpiece; (b) the *telenka*, the same, but made of bark or hazel; (c) the *zholomiga*, a double *dentsivka* of one piece of wood with 5 holes (2 & 3), which is used in the Hutsul area, and probably derives from the Princely period; (d) the tapered *sopilka* (*na zub*—with teeth), larger than the *dentsivka* and without a reed, which

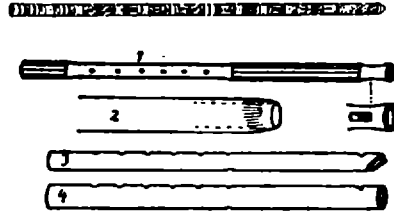


FIGURE 276. THE *floiara* (FLUTES)

(1) the flute used in the Dnieper area, the *dentsivka*; (2) the pipe which is played against the teeth; (3) the Polish flute; (4) a flute from Kovel.

the player uses by blowing directly across the tapered end of the instrument (Hutsul name, called *floiara* [*floiara*]); (e) the flute without a mouthpiece and holes (used by shepherds), on which the performers play in indefinite tones, controlling them by varied placing of the lips, by blowing strongly, and by closing or opening the end. It is possible to play on the flute and at the same time to hum a tune, producing the effect of two voices.



FIGURE 277. THE *zholomiga*

The *svyryl*—or reed pipe—is a series of reed stems of different lengths, united or connected on a common base (Hutsul name, *pidloha*). The reeds have their bottoms closed by wooden pegs. This gives the desired key. The reed pipe is going out of use, but is still used by the shepherds on the high pastures.

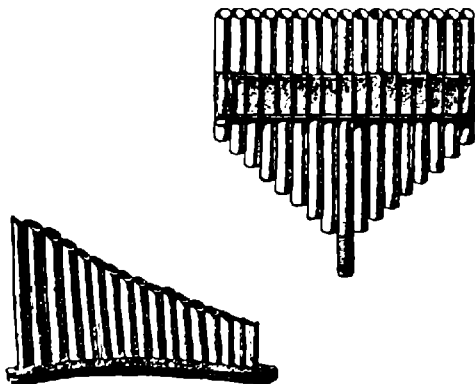


FIGURE 278. ONE-SIDED AND TWO-SIDED REED PIPE

The *trembita* is a long wooden tube, 2-2.5 meters in length, made of a single piece of wood, cut and hollowed out and wrapped with birch bark. The tube is straight, with an opening of 2.5-3 centimeters or slightly tapered out with the last 50-60 millimeters (the throat) gradually opening to 6-7 centimeters. It is played solo on the high pastures, and in groups at funerals and folk festivals; it produces a sad, muffled sound (Fig. 265).

The horn (*rih*) is a shepherd's instrument exclusively, being 0.40-1.20 meters



FIGURE 279. HORN

in length, and made of ox horn, metal, or wood (like the *trembita*), with a tapering tube; both halves are bound with bands of osier, wire, or iron.

The *duda* (*koza*)—bagpipe—is made of raw skin taken from a live goat. There are three wood-lined openings in the bag (the nests), into which are inserted: (a) the *sysak*—the mouthpiece through which the air is blown into the bag; (b) the bass or *huk*—usually of three parts, which fit into one another, and a valve, with which air is shut off, so as to make the drones sound; (c) two pipes with reeds, in one of which, closed at the end, there are holes as in the *sopilka*

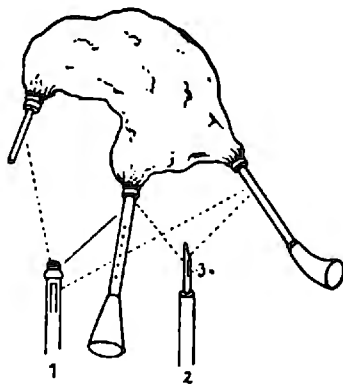


FIGURE 280. THE BAGPIPE
(1) the reeds; (2) the elder pipe; (3) the goose feather.

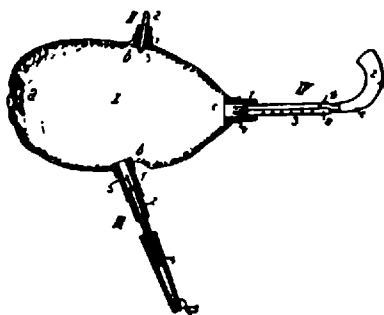


FIGURE 281. CROSS-SECTION OF A BAGPIPE
(1) the interior of the bag; (2) the mouthpiece into which air is blown; (3) the *bass* or *huk*; (4) the tube with the horn.

and one hole on the underside. The other has 1 or 2 holes. The reeds are made of wood or, more rarely, of metal. It is possible to tune a bagpipe. It is a solo instrument, played by the shepherds, but also by special *dudari*, *dudaryky*, *dudnyky*, *kobzars*.

The drum—*bubon* (*taraban*)—is a cylindrical shell, or frame, with a skin stretched across both sides, sometimes only across one end, and having indefinite pitch. It is played with a wooden drumstick, or struck with the *palni*. For rolls the drum is tapped rapidly with the fingers. There is frequently on the drum a copper cymbal which is struck with a piece of iron.



FIGURE 282. THE
TAMBOURINE

The tambourine—*resheto*—is a small drum with only one skin; there are metal discs on the wooden frame.

The *drymba*—jew's-harp—is a small metal instrument, which is played by placing it in the mouth. Its use is very wide-spread in all regions of Ukraine, chiefly among the young. It is of west European origin.

Instrumental ensemble playing is used exclusively for dances, and as an introduction to the dances which are to follow. Most frequently heard is the so-called *troista muzyka* (triple music combination) in which the principal instrument, the violin, plays the melody; rhythm is provided by the bass viol—*pidbasok* (*bas*), drum, or tambourine; the accompaniment, which reinforces the melody, is provided by dulcimers, bass viol, a second violin, and recently, in some areas, the clarinet.

Other combinations are possible, especially those which include the flute as a supplementary instrument.

N. Nyzhankivsky

APPLIED ART

Introduction

Ukrainian folk art, based upon very ancient traditions, traces its beginning to the Neolithic period (ceramics), the Bronze Age (metal work), and examples of carving on bone known from the Paleolithic (excavations in Mizyn).

The ethnographic ceramics and brass works in Western Ukraine and Volhynia in their prototypes date from the first centuries A.D. Glass-blowing and *kylym* (tapestry) manufacture are associated with the Princely period; however, it is possible that these art forms could have developed still earlier in Ukraine. The excavations of V. Khvoika confirm the existence of glassware and enamel work-

shops on the territory of Kiev in the time of Volodymyr the Great. Examples of Ukrainian wood-carving, which have been preserved, do not extend prior to the seventeenth century. Less important Ukrainian folk art—such as items made of straw and paper—are the work of still more modern times.

Geometric patterns play an important role in Ukrainian folk art. Next to geometric motifs in ornamentation are plant designs which developed out of the geometric forms and similarly had a symbolic significance (especially the ornamentation of Easter eggs). It was only later that they acquired a more naturalistic character. The Scythian finds with animal ornamentation did not have a direct influence upon Ukrainian folk art and were only partially accepted in their Hellenized forms through the Greek colonies. The representation of entire animals (especially on Easter eggs) is of a realistic rather than of a decorative character, and it is only in embroideries that their appearance, conditioned by technical means, assumes definite decorative features.

Ukrainian folk art can be best evaluated by a comparison with the art of other European peoples. The Ukrainian Easter eggs in their artistic attributes occupy an exceptional place in contrast to those of the Czechs, the Russians, and the still more primitive Easter eggs of the Poles and Serbs.

Hutsul metalware is marked by an originality of form, and in decorations applied to other material (especially to horn and wood), reveals a great wealth of decorative expression. Only the Estonian filigrees, with their unusual carvings adorned with silver inlays, stand higher. Among European peoples, only the Spaniards and Basques have developed the wood-carving art more highly than the Hutsuls. In the older examples of ceramics, embroideries, and tapestry (*kylym*), a marked similarity can be observed between Ukrainian articles and those from the territory of

Sweden and Norway, resulting from cultural and political relations between Scandinavia and Ukraine during the Princely period. In the field of folk needlework, only Greece with its extraordinary wealth of ornamentation and diversity of technique surpasses Ukraine.

The development of Ukrainian folk art was severely hindered by the 150-year enslavement of the Ukrainian peasants (serfdom); yet even under such conditions, the peasants developed their culture. Capitalism—with its proletarianization of the village and introduction of mass factory production—created still more unfavorable conditions.

Folk art cannot be separated from fine [professional] art. During the centuries, these two branches have constantly enriched each other. In modern times there is almost no branch of folk art to which professional artists have not brought advice, organization, projects, and ideas. Therefore, in this section dealing with folk art we will consider applied art in general.

D. Horniatkevych

Wood-Carving

Historical information. From the pre-Christian or early Christian periods, Ukrainian sculpture has been preserved almost exclusively in innumerable architectural details and their fragments and on stone materials. Although in these works the Romanesque-Byzantine character of ornamentation predominates, pure folk motifs combined with Byzantine tendencies can be encountered (e.g., the carvings on the marble columns in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev).

After the Tatar invasions, church carving declined in Ukraine, but in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was again highly developed. In the exquisite iconostases of the Church of the Holy Friday (*Piatnytsia*) in Lviv and the Rohatyn Church (1649), we sense the great combined influence of the Italian Renaissance and the decorative motifs of folk art.

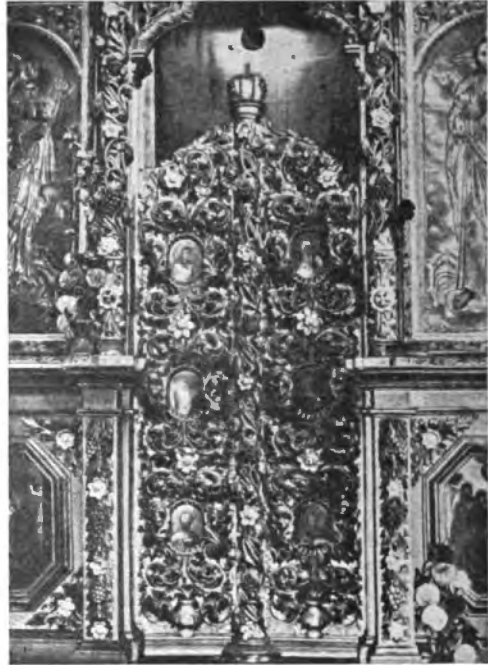


FIGURE 283. ROYAL GATES IN THE VILLAGE CHURCH OF OCHERETNIA, FORMER COUNTY OF LYPOVETS, NEAR KIEV

During the development of the Ukrainian Baroque, the carving of church iconostases attained a splendid decorative mastery. The extraordinary complicated (in number of layers), polychromatic, and gilded Baroque iconostases of the Ukrainian churches were covered with elegant, rich, and plastically represented plant ornamentation formed of masterfully stylized folk motifs. These included grape vines, sunflowers, and roses which were exquisitely woven into the architectural elements of the iconostases. Still more whimsical and imposing in grandeur were the carved iconostases of the Rococo. To the Baroque ornamental forms and motifs of the Rococo, very relevant figures of saints and angels were frequently added.

The period of Classicism and of the Empire introduced more concentration and repose into the carving of iconostases, but the Baroque ornamental



FIGURE 284. LECTERN FROM AN OLD SICH CHURCH

motifs often did not yield to the stern laconic character of the Empire style.

To the highly artistic works of Ukrainian wood-carving of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries belong the iconostases of the Bohorodchany Church, the Cathedral of St. Nicholas in Kiev, the Kievan St. Michael Monastery, the Uspenska Church of the Kievan Cave Monastery, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, and of the Uspenska

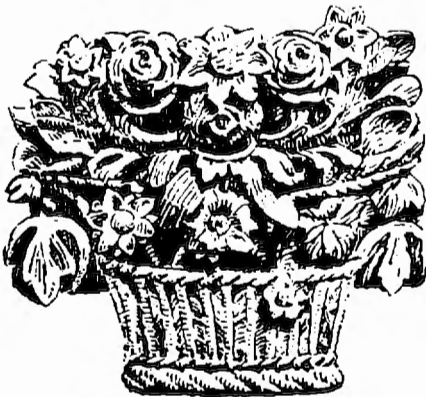


FIGURE 285. DETAIL OF WOOD-CARVING ON THE ICONOSTASIS OF THE KREKHIV MONASTERY, MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Church on the Podil in Kiev, the Kievan Cathedral of St. Andrew, the Cathedral at Kozelets, the Church at Sorochyntsi, the Church of the Holy Pokrova in Poltava; and, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the churches of the Basilian Fathers in Drohobych and Zhovkva, and many others.

There were corporations of carvers; thus the old Chronicles record that there were in Kiev special guilds of "wood-carvers"—*derevoruby*. The archives of Starodub in the Chernihiv area list under the year 1726 the names of the local carvers.

Unfortunately, the greater part of these outstanding works of Ukrainian wood-carving art were destroyed by the Bolsheviks in the larger part of Ukraine in 1930-40, often along with the churches which contained them.

Peasant carving. In later years, the external architectural elements of U-



FIGURE 286. CARVED COLUMNS UNDER THE BASKETS IN THE WINDMILL OF THE VILLAGE OF VYSHENKY (CHERNIHIV AREA)

krainian peasant houses have almost always been decorated with carvings. These have included door posts, window details, the columns of porches and verandas, gables, balustrades, and the like.

Likewise, the interior of the Ukrainian house was usually decorated with carvings on the beams, window sills, door posts, and shelves. There was also much hand-carved furniture (tables, chests, chairs, benches, trestle beds).

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, wood-carving was developed most highly in the province of Poltava (Myrhorod, Khorol, Pyriatyn areas) and



FIGURE 287. TABLE (CARVINGS AND PAINTINGS) FROM THE VILLAGE OF SALKIV (PEREIASLAV AREA)

its centers were also Smila and Sumy. In this area, a special, well-conceived type of decoration developed which was subordinate to the principal idea of architecture—symmetry, harmony, and lightness. The decorative elements are the circle with a constructive division into 6, 8 (rarely 5) sections, squares (most frequently divided into 4 quarters), the framing of the edges of the surface, and the wavy line which sometimes reveals very diversely shaped patterns usually filled with geometric ornamentation. Plant or animal motifs such as the grape, willow, sunflower, or rooster are less frequently encountered. All of this was done by cutting; in the old monuments of Ukrainian wood-carving, we find no

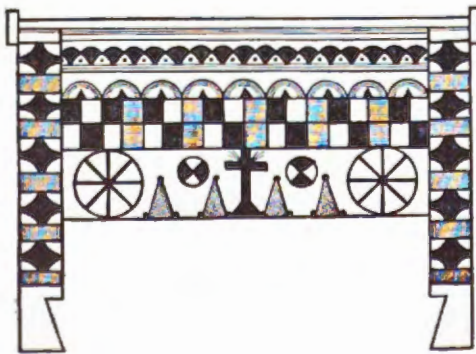


FIGURE 288. CHEST FROM THE HUTSUL REGION (CARVING AND PAINTINGS)

attempts at inlay, which are common to the modern examples of Hutsul art.

Special importance has been given in Ukraine to the decoration of hope chests. The top was usually painted a red color at the beginning, then the design was carved, and the chest was again painted in red, blue, and black. Such painted chests are a colored transition from pure carving to the painted stoves and walls and also to the color effects of the ceramics placed on the shelf. The carved wooden cemetery and roadside crosses (the so-called "figures") were also of extraordinary richness.

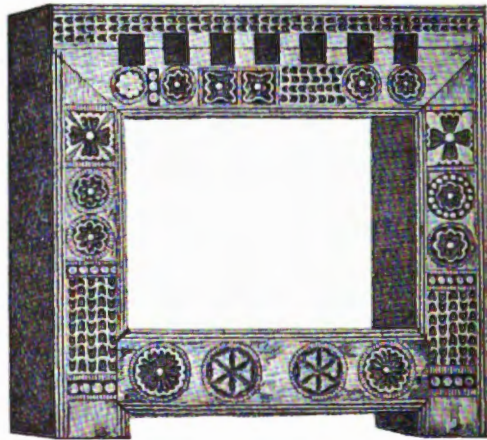


FIGURE 289. CARVED DISH CHEST, VILLAGE OF ADAMIVKA, NEAR CHYHYRYN, CHERKASY PROVINCE

These, usually with a representation of the Crucifixion, were erected in almost every Ukrainian village at the cross-roads, by the church, and at the wells. The great majority of these were destroyed as part of the anti-religious campaign conducted by the Soviet government.

The art of the carver, both for daily use and for religious purposes, was widespread throughout Ukraine. In the central and eastern territories, in addition to geometric ornamentation, plant designs were employed more widely than in Galicia or Volhynia. Still preserved in museums are carved carts, sleighs, various utensils, molds for press-



FIGURE 290. CARVED WOODEN HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS FROM THE HUTSUL REGION: SPOON-HOLDER, WALL SALT-HOLDER, WATER VESSEL

the nineteenth century, Hutsul woodcarving was similar in style to specimens from the Dnieper region. The Hutsul wooden objects of this period include all the articles for home use, but the most attention was given to ecclesiastical articles. To the churches belong handcrosses kept on the altar. The Hutsul crosses are related to Byzantine traditions and are characterized by the strict form of their structure, careful workmanship, and development from their recent primitive character to an advanced technique. An original variation among them is the type of triple cross in which two small crosses are placed on both sides of the main cross under its upper

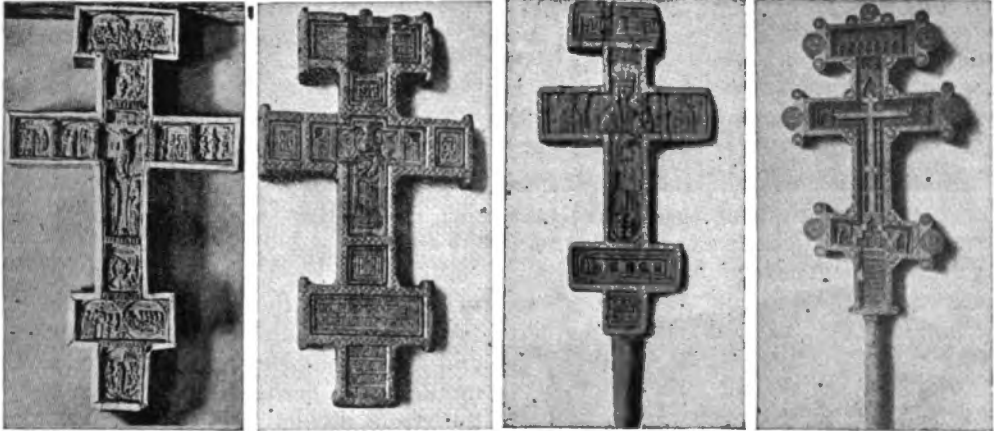


FIGURE 291. CARVED HAND CROSSES FROM GALICIA

A. cross from Sudova Vyshnia, 1687; B. cross from Boryslav, 1711; C. cross from Kobylnysia, near Yavoriv, beginning of eighteenth century; D. cross, the work of Yura Shkrybliak, 1885.

ing honey cake and other sweet cakes, and various architectural details.

Hutsul carving. The oldest examples of Hutsul carving (found by V. Shukhevych) date back to the seventeenth century and are called *obrazy*. They are small boards (10 inches in width), framed with a simple band or one with triangular designs, with one- and three-bar crosses and triune candle-holders carved on them. Artistically and technically, they appear very primitive.

During the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of

crossbar. To this category of church articles also belong chandeliers and candle-holders which combine the traditional achievements and the influences of the Baroque.

For many years the Hutsuls have also decorated such objects as canes, pistols, muskets, powder boxes, and kegs. Originally very primitive tools were employed, most frequently the knife, sometimes ordinary nails; no mechanical devices were used. The first carver in the Hutsul region to use a lathe was Yura (George) Shkrybliak (1823-85);

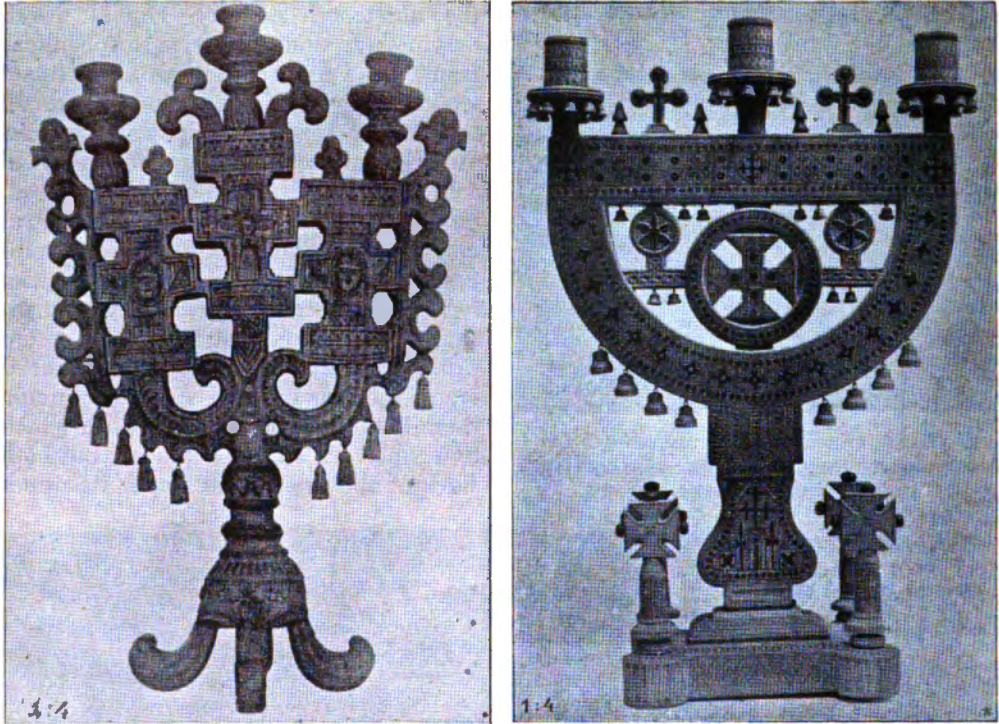


FIGURE 292. TWO HUTSUL WOODEN THREE-BRANCHED CANDLESICKS, THE SECOND, THE WORK OF YU. SHKRYBLIAK



FIGURE 293. MODERN HUTSUL CARVING WITH INLAYS

The box above is the work of carvers from the village of Richky, near Kosiv; the round box is the work of Kohut of Kosiv.

in addition to the lathe, he employed small chisels which he himself devised and hardened. He employed the same motifs as his predecessors: broken lines, the circle divided into six sections, the form of a brooch, rhythmically placed rhombuses, a form of pine, a system of rhombuses in a double frame with a broken ray outside and a whole series of crosses. These are all geometrical motifs which were used in antiquity and are similar to the decorations on Easter eggs with their symbolic meaning. Yura Shkrybliak first applied inlaying to wood-carving and used brass wires, metal plaques, and colored beads. His talent was inherited by his sons who developed the technique of incrustation and inlay to a high degree.

Incrustation with glass beads simplifies and cheapens the art of carving, but the Hutsuls easily mastered this foreign technique and obtained an exclusive effect in the choice of special colors of



FIGURE 294. PLATE, THE WORK OF O. KUZMYCH OF KOLOMYIA

beads and their appropriate arrangement in ornamental designs. Among other masters mention should be made of M. Mehedeniuk, the Korpaniuk brothers, and P. Hondurak.

A more primitive method of decorating articles for domestic use is the technique of burning on wood, and this is widely used by the Hutsuls. For this they used branding irons (*pysaky*) which after being heated in the fire are pressed in rhythmic order on all parts to be decorated, even of furniture such as tables, benches, chests, and shelves.

D. Horniatkevych and O. Povstenko

Weaving

Historical information. The weaving industry—especially the use of flax and hemp—was well developed even during the Princely period of Ukrainian history. The imported materials were chiefly of Byzantine origin—linen, wool, and silk—and were adorned with interwoven gold and silver threads. As we know from the discovery of small remains of material in tombs in the Chernihiv, Kiev, and Poltava regions, the designs of the materials of the Princely period had, in addition to small plants and geometric ornaments, large circles in which various signs and animal motifs (stars, crosses, griffins, lions, birds) were drawn. At that

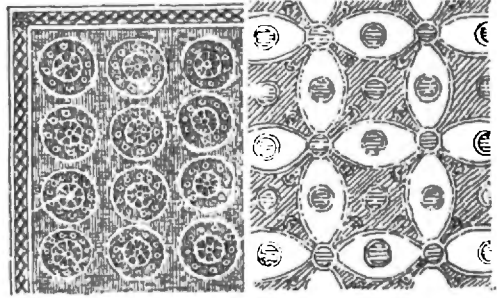


FIGURE 295. SPECIMENS OF CLOTH OF THE PRINCELY PERIOD

time, materials of west European origin, particularly France and Flanders, were brought to Ukraine.

The local weaving trade was known in Ukraine from pre-Tatar times, and guilds of weavers, based on the western European pattern, existed in the fourteenth century (in Sambir, 1376; Lviv, 1469). The widespread weaving of the sixteenth century was divided into various branches, the making of *kylyms* (tapestries), cloth, kerchiefs, and embroideries. Also known were the so-called *makaty* (drapes of eastern origin) which were quickly imitated by the local industry. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the manufacture of cloth in fulling mills (horse-driven) was developed especially in Podilia (Sokal, Rohatyn, Kamianets, Busk, Brailiv). In the first half of the

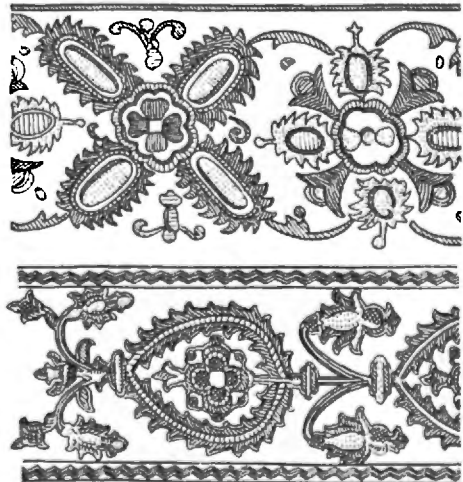


FIGURE 296. EMBROIDERIES FROM THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

seventeenth century, the great weaving plant in Brody was founded.

Likewise, a plant in Lviv made *kylyms* which were interwoven with gold and silver. For silk manufacture, there was an intensive cultivation of the mulberry, particularly in Podilia.

The greatest development of the textile industry came at the end of the seventeenth century and during most of the eighteenth century. Then it spread chiefly as a result of the efforts of Kozak officers. In the first half of the eighteenth century, the largest factories for the manufacture of linen and of other materials were in Pochep, Sheptakiv, and Topaz. There were cloth factories in Putyvl (1719–1865), Rasky (from 1737), Ponuriv, the factory of Col. Myklashevsky, Papulsk, and Drahliiv. Another center of cloth manufacture was Podilia: Zaliztsi, Minkivtsi, Derazhnia, Yarmolyntsi, and Tulchyn. The Ukrainian textile industry grew, especially in Podilia and Volhynia, in the first half of the nineteenth century. The largest factories in Volhynia were in Horokhiv, Tomashiv, and Slavuta; in Podilia, they were centered in Sokilka and Bershad; in the Hetman State, in Pochep, Ponuriv, Hlushkiv (Putyvl), Novo-Mezhyrichia, and Klyntsi. All these factories made decorative materials of an ornamental character in addition to cloth for costumes. However, in the main these factories worked on orders of the Russian army and lost contact with their Ukrainian background. On the other hand, the peasants made homespun cloth. The seizure of the Ukrainian market by Russian capital led to the collapse of the textile industry in Ukraine, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century. Weaving continued—as did other applied arts—and was preserved in the villages in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century; weaving was revived during the first decades of this century, until it was completely stifled by the new collectivization.

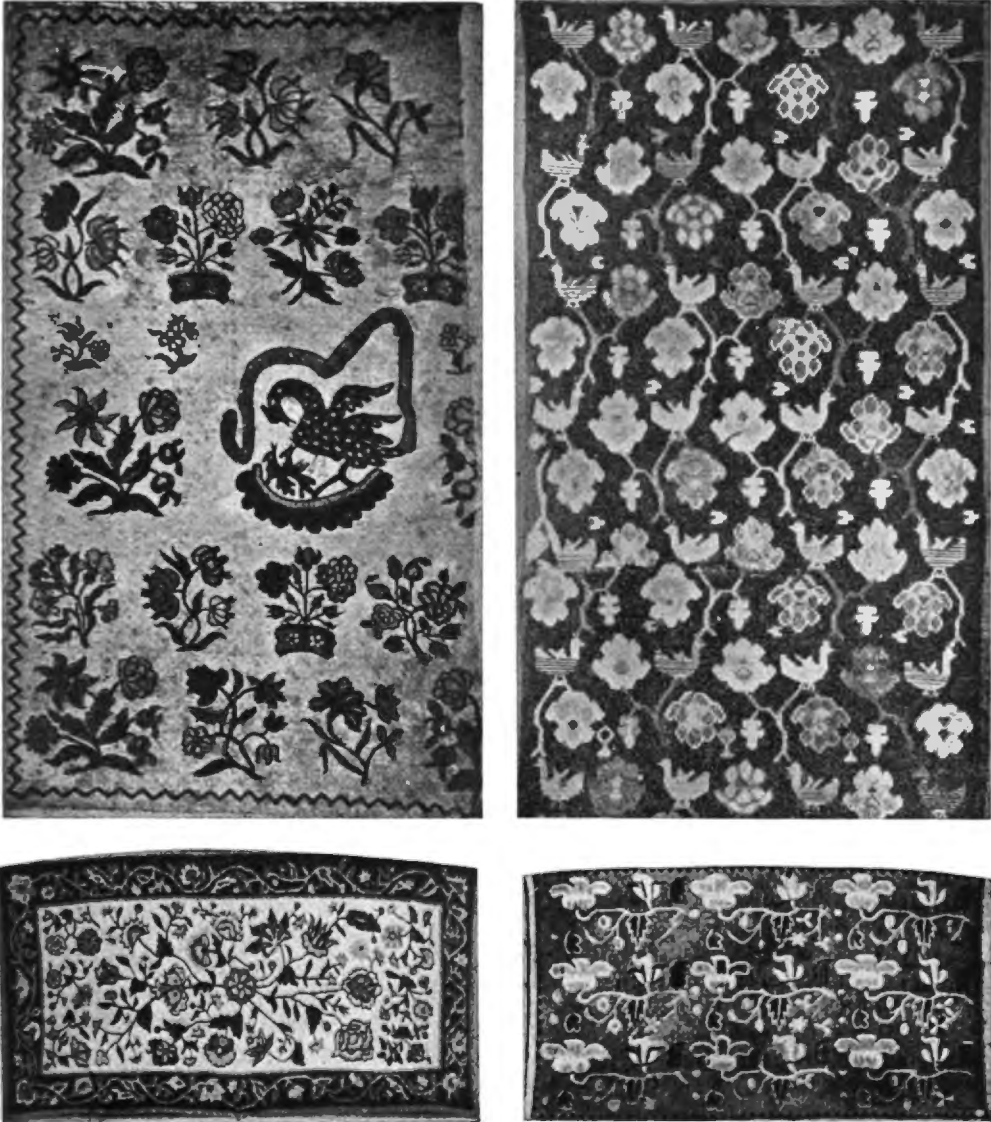
V. Sichynsky

Kylym-making. The oldest reference to *kylyms* in the Chronicles of Ukraine dates back to 997 in the description of the death and funeral in Ovruch of Prince Oleh of the Derevlians. The text states that rugs—*kovry*—were among the objects used at the prince's court, were an attribute of the funeral ritual, and were used for rest. However, it is possible that at that time the word *kylym* did not mean anything but sleeping carpet or bedding.

We can relate the beginnings of the Ukrainian *kylym*-making to the constant settling in Ukraine of nomadic peoples, the Pechenegs, Cumans, and others, who, as pastoral tribes, raised sheep and probably made fabrics from the wool. However, these influences have not been definitely proven.

As early as the fifteenth century, eastern *kylyms* were brought to Ukraine. References to rugs—*kovry*—are repeated in various documents of an economic and legal character—wills, court summonses, and inventories. In 1547, Prince Theodore Sanhushko bequeathed two rugs to his wife. Maria Holshanska had, in 1578, two rugs and Gedeon Balaban, archimandrite of the Zhydychyn Monastery in Volhynia, had "eight red rugs and four white ones." Unfortunately, these sources do not provide any information as to the origin of these *kylyms* or rugs. Some scholars regard the manufacture of *kylyms* in Ukraine as an independent creation of the local population. In some designs, however, we see forms similar to those which still appear in the rugs and tapestries of southern Sweden; in Scandinavia, the production of carpets was highly developed at an early period. Nor can we exclude the relations with ancient Greece; on one of the Greek vases a Thracian rider is represented with a robe on his shoulders. This design is similar to the present Galician *kylym* patterns.

A statement of 1588 refers to *kylym*-making in the noble household; Maria Holshanska received from a noblewoman—Volchkova—two "rug-makers," Yurko

FIGURE 297. *Kylims* OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

and Fedir. In the first half of the seventeenth century, a textile factory was established in Brody and employed masters from Gdańsk (Danzig), Holland, and Thrace. In the eighteenth century, *kylim* factories were opened in Korsun, Baturyn (by the Rozumovsky family), Nemyriv, Makhnivka, Tulchyn, Sokhaniv, Yanushpil, Zaliztsi, and later in Lviv. In the Kievan Cave Monastery there was a *kylim* workshop which pro-

duced *kotsy*, i.e. clipped rugs, with a *kylim* ornamentation up to 1692.

Kylim production spread throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; there were church, noblemen's, and village workshops staffed by the creative workers of the locality. The *kylims* produced in noble households reflected the spirit of the epoch, the artistic taste and fashion of the time. After the middle of the nineteenth cen-

tury, *kylym* manufacture declined in the households of the nobles; but, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, efforts were made to revive the art on the basis of local specimens as a result of action of private individuals and the *zemstvo* (provincial and county self-government). These attempts included that of the Poltava *zemstvo* in the village of Dihtiari, near Pryluky, of the Khanenko family under the leadership of V. Krychevsky in the village of Olenivka (Kiev region), of Fedorovych in Vikno (Galicia—a *kylym*-manufacturing school since 1888), of Hudym-Levkovych in the village of Yuziv (Vinnytsia region), of the Semyhradiv family in the village of Skobtsi (Poltava region), of M. Shcherbatova in Nemyriv, of the Vinnytsia *zemstvo* in the village of Tarabanivka, of the Farmers' Association (*Sil's'kyi Hospodar*) in the village of Zvonykha. In 1922, in the center of the *kylym* art in the Hutsul region in Kosiv, the *kylym* factory of M. Kurylenko as well as that of Michael Khamula in Hlyniany were opened. They relied on the tradition of local patterns, but they also executed the patterns of such artists as R. Lisovsky, P. Kovzhun, P. Kholodnyi, N. Butovych, Y. Muzykova, S. Hordynsky, and M. Nechytailo-Andriienko. Olha Kulchytka worked with great success in this field in Peremyshl, and S. Kolos, as well as S. Boichuk, was active in Kiev.



FIGURE 298. VILLAGE *kylym* FROM PODILIA

With respect to the **TECHNIQUE OF *kylym* MANUFACTURE**, *kylyms* made by the peasants are woven on wooden looms (*krosny*), the principal part of which is a large vertical frame on which the basic threads of the warp are stretched lengthwise. In old looms, these threads were fastened only at the top while they were tied together and stretched with weights at the bottom. On these lengthwise threads (usually of hemp but in fine, higher quality *kylyms*, of wool), the worker wove the threads of the woof, which are always of wool. Under this base, the weaver places a pattern with the design of the *kylym* drawn in full size. In Galicia, in the western part of Podilia, and in Bessarabia, the entire surface of the *kylym*—both the design and background—is woven simultaneously in parallel rows. In the Dnieper region the design is made first and then the background is filled in. Thus weaving of the background is not done in straight lines but in crooked and curved lines which often intertwine. The *kylym* technique of the Dnieper region is older.

Until the 1880's, the wool was colored with plant dyes. For yellow the wood and bark of the dye oak was used, along with the mignonette (which gave the most lasting and beautiful yellow dye), the young leaves and flower buds of the birch, the bark of the wild apple, the sunflower, dog's fennel, and sorrel. A clear yellow was made from the husks of the onion and a very bright shade from the berries of the buckthorn and an aluminous and tin mixture; dark yellow was obtained from buckwheat husks or from the berries of the buckthorn. The buckthorn provided various colors: its ripe berries colored wool green; its overripe ones, a clear red; and its bark, a dark yellow. Blue was obtained from the indigo plant. Green was secured from the husks of an onion, from the leaves of melon and indigo; a lighter shade was secured by soaking copper filings in acid (sour milk or acetic). In the Hutsul area, wool was



PLATE II. *Kylim*

Made in the so-called comb technique, patterned after a nobleman's *kylim* of the eighteenth century. Produced in the factory of M. Kurylenko, *Hutsul's'ke Mystetstvo* (Hutsulian Art), in Kosiv.

colored green by placing it first in a yellow dye and then in blue. All shades of red (from clear red to dark brown) was made from an insect (*Coccus ilicis*). In addition, red was sometimes obtained from the root of the *Rubia tinctorum*. In the Hutsul area, a red dye is obtained either from a worm (cochineal) or thyme and leaves of the wild apple.

To obtain white, the wool was either bleached in water with lye or soaked in chlorine. Black and gray were secured by dyeing with a decoction of black acorns or oak, alder, and chestnut bark; the discovery of aniline dyes in 1856 led to a change in the dyeing industry which had a detrimental effect upon the dyeing of wools.

In the matter of *kylym* ORNAMENTATION, Ukraine can be divided into two basic types; the geometrical ornamentation which has been preserved in Right-Bank Ukraine and in Galicia, and the plant motifs employed in Left-Bank Ukraine. The Galician and Podilian *kylyms* have preserved a special character of geometric design and original compositional features, which distinguish them from the *kylyms* of other parts of Ukraine; some scholars find Turkish and Persian influences in them, but they are rather similar to those of Bessarabia. *Kylym*-making is highly developed in the Poltava region and has an original plant ornamentation forming an independent type both in design and technique.

The Eastern influence on Ukrainian *kylym* designs came by two routes: the linear geometrical passed from the Balkan peninsula by way of the Dniester and the Danube to Right-Bank Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Galicia; plant ornamentation, directly connected with Asia and Iran, developed along with the elements of embroidery chiefly in Left-Bank Ukraine. To the geometrical forms belong the serrated line, the broken line, rhombuses, spirals, and stars. It is a purely technical ornamentation closely related to that form of technique which

was easiest on the loom. However, the compositional arrangement (the symmetrical division) and the well-harmonized coloration of the Ukrainian *kylyms* place them far above the other similar specimens. The special ornamented fields with their geometrical elements are divided on Ukrainian *kylyms* by colored bands.

Transitional forms between the geometrical and plant decorations are the motifs of the eight-petalled rose, which is typical of Easter eggs and embroideries, and of the geometrically drawn leaves and silhouettes of flowers. Among the plant elements, mention should be made of the "tree of paradise," the lotus flower, the palmetto, branches of leaves and flowers, and vases of flowers.

The decorative elements of Eastern origin like the lotus flowers or the palmettos were interpreted by Ukrainian *kylym*-makers who approximated or changed them to correspond to flowers known in Ukraine. The motifs of vases or pitchers with flowers are usually found on the square *kylyms*, rarely on the long ones. This element, which is repeated rhythmically several times, is usually found in odd numbers (3, 5, 7) with its coloring different in the several parts. Ornamentation by means of branches with flowers or a tree growing from an ornamental vase or pitcher is well known in European art, but the Ukrainian *kylym*-makers handled this problem in a quite different manner. They simplified the drawing to its fundamental essence and sought and produced pure form, applied it to the space, and enriched it with bright colors. The Poltava region has given the greatest number of plant patterns, extraordinarily stylized, and with a variety of form and a harmony of tone. The Kievan motifs are usually small, with emphasis on broken lines. The western Kharkiv region, bordering on the Poltava region, follows in its *kylym* patterns the old Ukrainian *plakhty*—small flowers, distributed in square

fields, with the preservation of many ancient elements. Usually, the design is either repeated in rows of a checker-board type or one type covers the entire surface of the *kylym*. Figures of people or animals as well as coats of arms occur rarely; but, in some exceptional cases, the *kylyms* show architectural motifs.

D. Horniatkevych

Vybiiky—prints. Closely connected with weaving is another branch of folk art, the *vybiiky*, made by stamping or printing a design on white linen by means of wooden dies of a flat or cylindrical form. In the latter case, the design is cut into the cylinder and then the entire cylinder is covered with oil paint in the appropriate colors and rolled over the linen on which the design emerges in a continuous row. This device has been known in Ukraine since the earliest times. In folk life, these stamps were used



FIGURE 300. POLTAVA *plakhta* (SKIRT)



FIGURE 299. PRINTED MATERIAL FROM THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The design was stamped or printed on white linen by wooden dies.

chiefly as decoration for the house—on the covers of pillows and feather beds, coverings, hangings, and also on skirts, aprons, and men's trousers. At one time, these stamps were spread throughout Ukraine, especially in Podilia, the Poltava and Kiev regions, Galicia, the Chernihiv area, the Kharkiv region, and Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine). The motifs of the designs are varied. The oldest resemble Byzantine patterns. The newer ones are plants in the form of small flowers and leaves combined with small geometrical motifs such as stars, circles, dots, and triangles.

Among other kinds of folk weaving in Ukraine, mention should be made of decorated linen towels, covers, squares, and parts of the women's costume such as aprons, girdles, *plakhty* (among the most beautiful are those from Poltava with stripes and checks), as well as kerchiefs, belts, bedspreads, bench covers, robes, and covers. The spreads in

the various sections of the Ukrainian lands offer a sharp contrast; the Hutsul covers are made of rough wool, with a broad primitive design, while those from Podlachia are of cotton with a linen base, usually in two colors with geometrical, sometimes very small, patterns. Of the towels, the best known are from Krolevets (Chernihiv area) with double-headed Byzantine eagles; of the belts, those from Slutsk with Polish and Ukrainian inscriptions; of the blankets—*kotsy*—those made by Kharkiv burghers.

The Soviet regime, in organizing the *kylym* industry, is divorcing it from the Ukrainian folk tradition and subordinating it to the themes and style of its political propaganda. Thus the *kylym*-makers of Skibtsi (area of Kiev), Reshetylivka (area of Poltava), and Dihtiari (area of Chernihiv) have been almost completely transferred to the making of tapestries on Bolshevik leaders, "The Young Donbas," "Our Aviation," etc. The work of the folk artists has been reduced to the technical execution of sketches sent from the center; even though some designs have been made by very talented artists like A. Petritsky, V. Kasiian, M. Derehus, they are always in the spirit of official orders.

D. Horniatkevych and V. Sichynsky

Embroideries

Historical information. The oldest historical information found in Ukraine testifies that embroidery had long existed there. Embroideries are also found on drawings and on the oldest pieces of cloth (the veil of the Kievan Church of the Tithes of 1240).

Attempts to decorate cloth with embroidery were first inspired by faith in the power of protective symbols, and later by aesthetic motives. Symbolic designs were incorporated into the woven cloth by means of a weaving shuttle or a needle. These symbols formed the basis of the ornamentation of both cloth and



FIGURE 301. WOVEN TOWEL FROM THE POLTAVA REGION

Easter eggs and the majority of them came from central Asia. As a result of migrations, wars, and trade, they penetrated the Dnieper valley and the neighboring areas. In historical times, they were transformed into more complicated patterns and underwent the influence of Byzantium. Under this influence, a new branch of embroidery—church embroidery—which required imported materials and a more complicated technique was developed.

In the course of time and under the influence of new artistic styles, folk embroidery and that of the church became more differentiated. In the monasteries, centers of church embroidery developed; and, in the cities (Kiev, Lviv, Brody), centers were established for the embroidery trade (*haftarstvo*) which produced cloth for the Kozak officers and the nobility. The development of Ukrainian life during the period of the

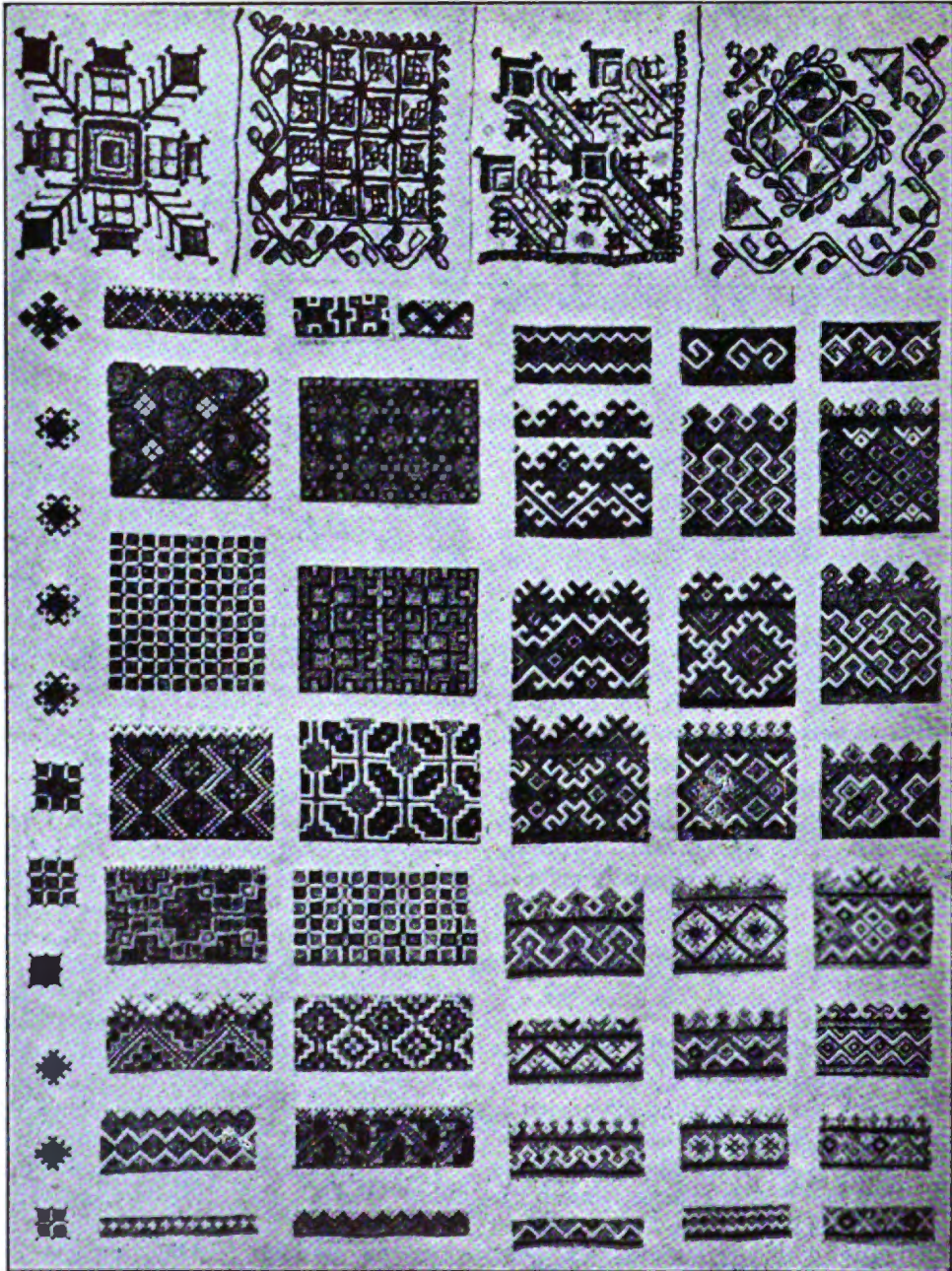


FIGURE 302. SPECIMENS OF HUTSUL EMBROIDERED ORNAMENTATION

Hetman State revealed the strong influence of the Baroque, which first appeared in work done for the church and was later reflected in folk art.

The further development of Ukrainian

life did not foster the development of embroidery. With the denationalization of the Ukrainian nobility and the church hierarchy, this art could not develop and influence the people; and, therefore, the

later artistic styles did not penetrate as deeply into the masses of the people. However, embroidery maintained its popularity among the people and even developed along with the perfecting of technique and materials. As a result, specialists on folk art, in examining Ukrainian embroidery at the end of the nineteenth century, found that it was strongly flourishing in three fields—for the church, for folk-rite customs, and for wearing apparel.

Ornamentation. The entire area of Ukraine can be divided into three areas in terms of the patterns of embroidery (and of Easter egg ornamentation): (1) the north, the inaccessible parts of Polisia, where geometric patterns, also found in the Carpathians, have been preserved; (2) a broad stretch of central and eastern Ukraine, from the Buh (Bug) along the Dnieper to the Black Sea, where the plant designs predominate; (3) the west (Volhynia, central Galicia, the Boikian region), where the transition from geometric designs to plant motifs had already occurred, although in certain areas (such as Poltava and Bukovina), the transition manifested itself in a markedly geometric form of plant motif.

Color effects were also related to the type of pattern. The colors—even in the case of a complicated and varied design—are limited to one or two, such as black and red. The finest examples of this are found in Polisia, which revels in red with a slight admixture of black. The same can be said of the embroideries of the Lemkian region and Podilia. On the other hand, the geometric patterns of the Hutsul area and Bukovina are multi-colored.

At times plant motifs use a somewhat greater number of colors such as black, red, and yellow. They differ greatly in form and reflect various artistic styles, while the geometric patterns still reflect the old symbols and the influence of Byzantium.

Animal motifs are rarely encountered.

Among the neighboring peoples, we find a rich geometric ornamentation in central and eastern Russia, in Belorussia, and in Rumania. Plant designs are developed among the Poles, Slovaks, and Hungarians.

Application. Most embroidery designs are used on clothing. A traditional form of embroidery is used for the shirt (for both men and women). The basic part of the design on a woman's shirt is placed on the upper sleeve just below the shoulder. This is an elongated design, 4 to 6 inches in breadth, called the *polyk* or *vustavka*. In some areas, another strip is added under it, which is called the *pidpolychia* or *morshchynka*. The lower length of the sleeve may also be embroidered. Other parts of the shirt—such as the collar, the front, the cuffs, and the bottom hem—have narrower bands of embroidery, which carry out the main motif on the sleeve.

Throughout Ukraine, shirts are beautifully embroidered, but other parts of the costume are embroidered only in certain regions: skirts among the Boikians, aprons in Polisia. The head covering of a married woman is simply but meticulously decorated. In Polisia, this decoration is a narrow band which frames the face; in Pokutia, it takes the form of broad colored bands (*zabori*) woven into the ends of the headscarf, which hang down the back. The best developed decorations are those on kerchiefs, in the form of large flowered motifs (Yavoriv area, Lemkian region).

Other pieces of clothing also have embroidered decorations. On sleeveless jackets there are complicated motifs of branches and flowers; the outer garments are decorated with various finishing stitches. *Kozhukhy* (sheepskin jackets) have very complicated decoration.

Special significance is attached to the embroidery on towels and kerchiefs used in folk rites and popular customs. The ancient symbolic signs are rarely found at present; their place is taken by plant designs extending along both sides of

the towel. Embroidered towels were used for folk rites, particularly for weddings and decorating the holy icons. Embroidered kerchiefs are important in funerals (it covers the face of the deceased).

The neighboring peoples use embroidery differently. All use a shirt which is more or less carefully decorated. In Russia, the *poneva*—a wraparound garment—is decorated. Everywhere great attention is lavished upon the head covering (Russia, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary), but only that of Rumania can rival the Ukrainian in its classical simplicity.

The technique of embroidery: Solid stitches. The oldest technique of Ukrainian embroidery is the *nyz*, *nyzia*, or *zanyzuvannia*. This is done with red or black thread along the warp (the lengthwise threads) of the linen. The embroiderer works on the reverse side of the cloth and thus makes a negative pattern. She develops her design by advancing thread by thread in a progressive pattern. The threads of the cloth which are thus covered are always odd in number (1, 3, 5). Theoretically, this technique is simple; but, in practice, the woman who has not done it since childhood can never accomplish it proficiently.

This method of embroidery—from the reverse side—can be employed only with geometric motifs which are formed by the crossing and breaking of lines. The motifs thus developed have a symbolic meaning and are regarded as having protective powers.

Related to this stitch is the *zavolikkannia* or *pidbyrannia* (backstitch). This is not as well preserved as the preceding one. While the *nyz* is usually done in black thread, more rarely in red, the latter stitch is almost exclusively done in red with a very small mixture of black or blue. While the *nyz* is worked along the warp, the *zavolikkannia* is carried out along the woof. The embroiderer advances in double or

triple steps. The steps in the pattern of the *nyz* are almost imperceptible, but they are much clearer in the *zavolikkannia*.

We also find these stitches among the neighboring peoples. They are used in the central and eastern provinces of Russia and in the whole of Belorussia and are also found among the Rumanians, Bulgarians, and Serbs. However, they are less widespread than in Ukraine, where, in certain areas (Polisia, the Carpathians, Podilia), they have been generally preserved.

The second most widespread technique of embroidery in Ukraine is the *lyshtva*—leafing stitch—a two-sided stylized backstitch which makes the design appear almost the same on both sides of the cloth. As the unit for determining the count, the *chysnytsia* is used, i.e. three threads, but even more can be included. The embroideries in the *lyshtva* usually form stylized leaves or flowers in the form of geometric figures or true geometric designs. In using this stitch, the craftsmen at one time employed only white threads or unbleached threads on white linen. Later, the linen threads were dyed in oak bark (light brown) or in ashes (gray). The embroidery thread must be heavier than the thread of the weaving. The *lyshtva* stitch is often used in open-work embroidery. This stitch, in various forms, is found also in Russia and in the Balkans, especially in those areas where geometric patterns predominate.

The most popular method of embroidery, is the cross-stitch. It is of more recent origin but has penetrated into the most remote areas because it made possible, to a large degree, the transition from geometric to plant motifs. The Ukrainian embroiderer has shown great care in the use of the cross-stitch which easily allows her to create her own personal design. As in Ukraine, the cross-stitch has become widespread among the neighboring peoples and has replaced the older stitches.

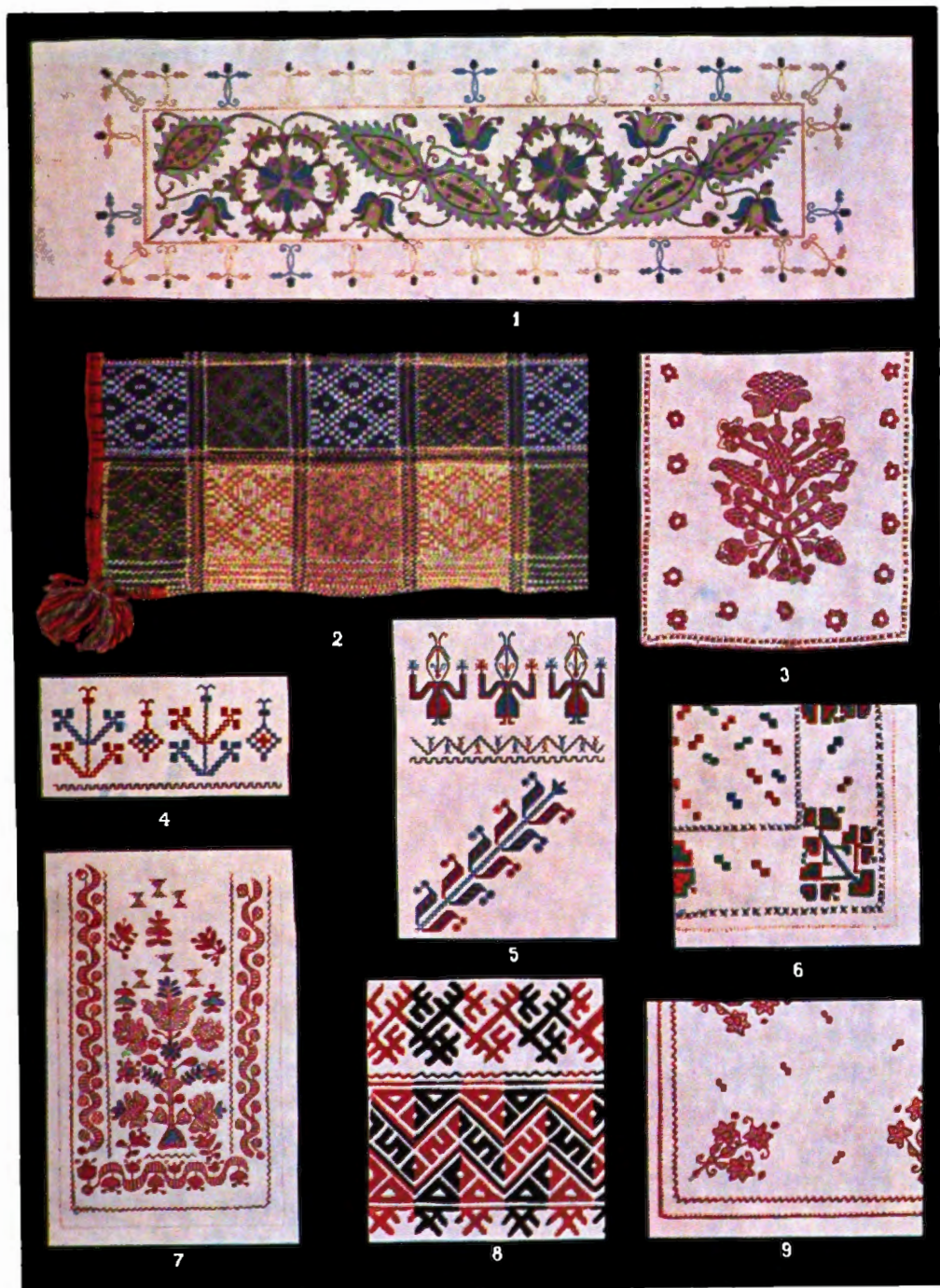


PLATE III. SPECIMENS OF EMBROIDERY AND WEAVING IN CENTRAL UKRAINE

(1) The *lyshytva* on white linen, embroidered with colored silk and silver, seventeenth century, Poltava area; (2) Woolen *plakhta*, interwoven with silk, Poltava area; (3) Decorative towel, embroidered with red thread, Poltava area; (4) and (5) Towel patterns, embroidered with red and blue threads, Podilia; (6) Kerchief, embroidered with multi-colored silk, Poltava area; (7) Decorative towel, embroidered with red and blue threads, Poltava area; (8) Embroidery pattern in the *nyz* technique on a woman's shirt, Podilia; (9) Kerchief, embroidered with red thread, Poltava area. Drawing by C. Moshchenko.



FIGURE 303. VARIOUS TECHNIQUES OF UKRAINIAN EMBROIDERY

The most intricate stitches are those used for the headcloths in Galicia and for the towels in the Dnieper area. The most important feature of these stitches is that they allow a preliminary outline of the designs, which is later filled with

other stitches. Both the outline and the filling stitches are executed exactly in duplicate on front and reverse sides with due regard for the object which they are ornamenting (a woman's headcloth, a towel). For filling in the headcloth de-



FIGURE 304. TOWEL FROM THE POLTAVA AREA
(WHITE AND GRAY THREADS)

sign, a stylized stitch is used; for the towel designs in the Dnieper region there are many filling stitches.

Mention must also be made of edging and bordering stitches. Border stitches

include the *obmitka*—buttonhole stitch—for colored materials and the *zubtsi*—overhand—for white cloth.

The technique of embroidery: **Open-work stitches.** These can be divided into three principal branches: *merzhenka*—open-work, *stiahuvannia*—drawn-work, and *vyrizuvannia*—eyelet work.

In Ukrainian, unlike Russian, *merzhenka*, the threads are drawn crosswise only, and never lengthwise. The design is embroidered on the remaining lengthwise threads. *Stiahuvannia*—drawn-work—is executed by drawing the lengthwise and crosswise strands into square or circular designs. The *vyrizuvannia*, eyelet work, has been developed in some parts of Ukraine (Poltava, Polisia, Pokutia). First the contour of the eyelet (square or circular) is overcast in various prescribed ways. When this part of the embroidery is completed, the eyelets are cut out of the linen and it is only then that the center is filled in. The overcasting and filling are done only with white or unbleached thread, and only rarely with brown or gray. Eyelet work is always used with the *lyshtva*.

Open-work embroidery is also found in the eastern and central parts of Russia, but eyelet work is used less; there, the most popular is the net-like drawn-work,

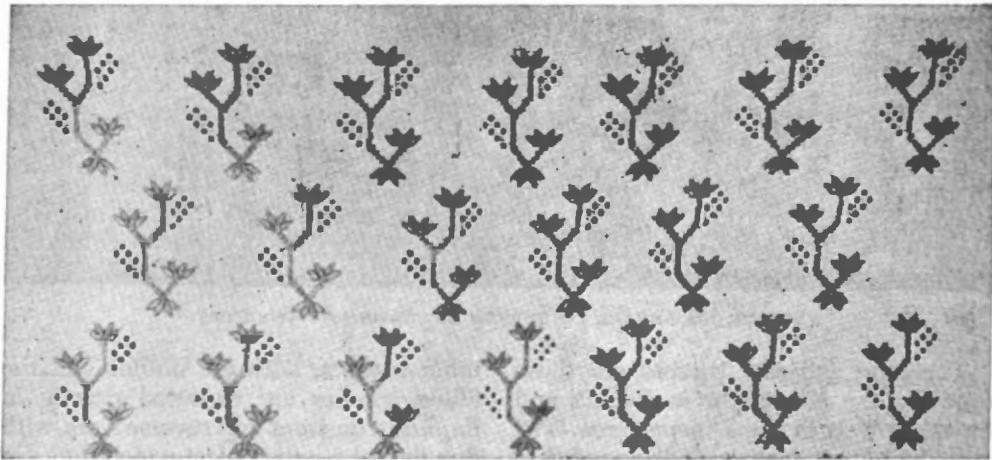


FIGURE 305. EMBROIDERED MOTIF FROM THE POLTAVA AREA (SLEEVES OF SHIRTS, WITH EMBROIDERY, CUT-OUTS, GRAY ON WHITE)

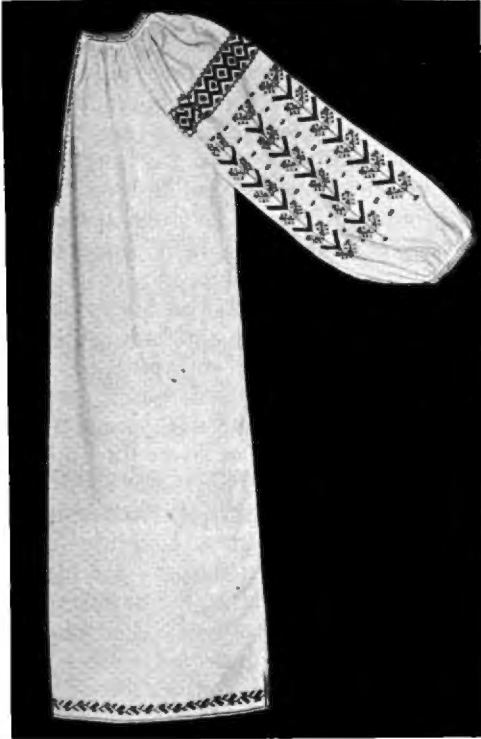


FIGURE 306. EMBROIDERED SHIRT FROM THE
POLTAVA AREA

overcast with varicolored threads, and then covered with the embroidery design. The Balkan peoples also use open-work, but they concentrate on the first type and do not use the third type. Open-work stitches are used less among the Slovaks and Hungarians.

Threads. The original embroidery thread was the same linen thread used in weaving the cloth. To make it more durable, it was coated with wax or soot and became yellow or gray. When black was required, woolen threads were used. Later the art of dyeing threads with plant dyes was discovered. More recently, commercially manufactured threads have been introduced. Most of these are of colored cotton, but sometimes wool or silk are made. In the south of Ukraine, embroideries are also executed with metallic threads (gold and silver).

Similar embroidery threads are em-

ployed by the neighboring peoples. In Russia silk is used in embroidering head-dresses, and in the Balkans gold and silver threads are popular.

Embroidery production. Embroidering was done in the village by specialists in the art who worked for pay. These were talented women who created their own patterns. Other women also embroidered but copied the designs of the professionals.

At the end of the nineteenth century, students of folk art saw the need for commercializing this field. The first steps in this direction were taken by the Poltava county self-government, which founded several embroidery shops.

After World War I, efforts to revive embroidery were intensified. In Soviet Ukraine these steps were taken by the worker in the cooperatives and the state administration; in Western Ukraine by cultural and economic institutions. Within the boundaries of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic the *Ukrkhudozhsoiuz* (Uk-



FIGURE 307. EMBROIDERED SHIRT FROM THE
VILLAGE OF KLEMBIVKA, NEAR VINNYTSIA, THE
WORK OF M. KORZHUK

rainian Artistic Union) continued the work and attracted persons of significant artistic talent. Beginning in 1934 workshops for Ukrainian folk art were opened with the intention of exporting the products. The chief centers for the production of embroideries were the provinces of Kamianets Podilsky, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kiev, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Odessa, and Dnipropetrovske; in 1940 there were 109 *artels* (collective workshops) employing 54,000 workers. In Western Ukraine production was concentrated in the cooperative, Ukrainian Folk Art, in Lviv; the cooperative, Hut-sul Art in Kosiv; and The Women's Society in Chernivtsi. Although all of these groups sent work abroad, many of the Ukrainian embroideries were exported under other labels as Soviet or Polish. All the neighboring peoples developed and continued similar productions, and did not limit themselves to working in their own national styles.

As is usually the case, in the transition from individual work to mass production the quality of folk embroidery declined. This was true also in the case of Ukrainian embroidery. The methods of the leading workers were not always efficient, and much harm was also done by carelessly printed designs. However, recently an understanding of the value of this field has developed, and it has been studied more carefully.

Church embroidery. Church embroidery was of quite a different character from that of the folk embroidery. While stitches of the latter were counted by strands—*chysnytsi*, church embroidery was done only by copying a free design.

Albs, chasubles, stoles, and veils were embroidered. The albs were embroidered usually on linen cloth in a broad band. The design was composed of a continuous motif, bordered on both sides by a chain-stitch; above and below it scattered flowers were embroidered. The embroidery thread used was a twisted silk of a dark red or dark green color combined with gold or silver thread. The stitches used on the albs were either the Poltava or old Kiev types. Both resulted in heavy embroideries, covering large expanses. Often the designs for towels were used on the albs; then the thread used was red cotton. The church chasubles, stoles, and veils were embroidered with gold or silver thread. The technique of embroidering with gold was known by only a few people. Factory-made brocade later replaced the church embroidery.

Under the Soviet regime church embroidery was completely destroyed. The government seized all the chasubles from the church vaults and in the state workshops turned them into objects for everyday use. No new chasubles were made.



FIGURE 308. EMBROIDERED ALTAR CLOTH OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (KYTAIV NEAR KIEV)



PLATE IV. SPECIMENS OF EMBROIDERED ORNAMENTATION IN WESTERN UKRAINE

(1) Kerchief, Metelno village, near Lutsk (Volhynia); (2) *Vustavka* on a woman's shirt, Herasymiv village, near Horodenka (Pokutia); (3) and (11) patterns on the *peremitka*, Dolyna village, near Tovmach; (4) Pattern "*kalynka*," extremely popular in the Buchach, Horodenka, and Tovmach areas; (5) *Vustavka* on a woman's shirt, Polisia; (6) and (10) The *vustavky* on shirts, Zhabie village, near Kosiv (Hutsul area); (7) *Vustavka* on a woman's shirt, Petriv village, near Horodenka; (8) Embroidered motif from the Yavoriv area; (9) Embroidery from Transcarpathia; (12) *Bavnytsia* on a woman's cap, Strybichi village, near Yavoriv. From a collection of the *Soiuz-Ukrainok Ameriky* (Ukrainian National Women's League of America).



FIGURE 309. LITURGICAL CLOTH, EMBROIDERED WITH SILK AND SILVER (POLTAVA AREA)

The stitches used in church embroidery were turned to use on silk panels and other large pieces for propaganda purposes.

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Ceramics

Historical information. The great deposits of the finest quality of ordinary and kaolin clays in Ukraine inspired the development of the ceramic industry in earliest times. In the history of Ukrainian art particular importance must be given to the painted pottery from Trypilia at the end of the Neolithic period (2500–2000 B.C.). The rich ornamental motifs and the painted principle of composition of the Trypilian painted pottery exerted an influence on the later development of Ukrainian ceramics. Another factor in this development, especially in the form of the articles, consisted of the Greek antique examples on the shores of the Black Sea, beginning with the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Greek clay ceramics, found in great quantity from the shores of the Black Sea to the central part of Ukraine, are very similar to those found in Greece itself, and included white-, black-, and red-figured ware similar in style and in pattern to that of the Greeks. The decorated vases and

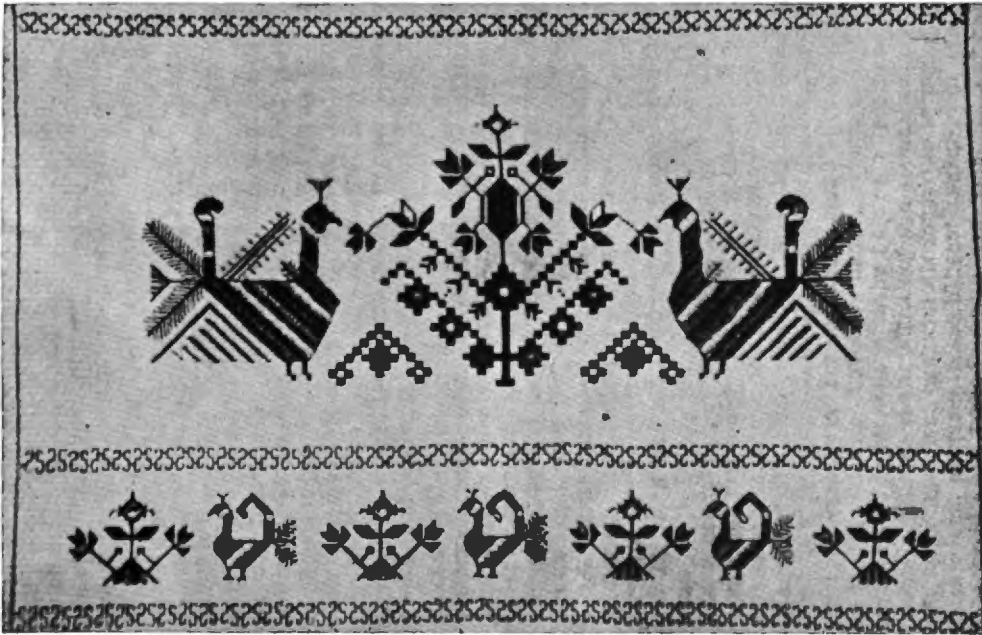


FIGURE 310. EMBROIDERY MOTIF FROM THE VINNYTSIA AREA, WORK OF O. MELNYK, VILLAGE OF KLEMBIVKA

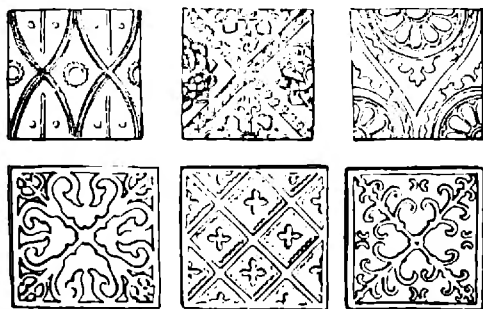


FIGURE 311. TILES

The upper, from Bilhorodka, twelfth-thirteenth centuries; below, from Terebovlia, sixteenth century.

other articles of the Samos school found in Olbia, were especially fine, as were the discoveries near the city of Smila, in the province of Kiev, and in the Kerch area (Crimea)—the last-named differing in the technique of their manufacture. The ceramics of the so-called Slavic period, beginning with the seventh century A.D. are much more modest, and in certain instances are a survival of Roman ceramics (dark gray) with an engraved design usually of parallel, wavy lines and, in rare instances, of notches and stars.

During the Kievan (Princely) period of Ukrainian history (tenth to twelfth centuries), ceramic manufacture became an important industry. The potter's wheel then came into use, and composition and firing were perfected; at the end of the tenth and the middle of the eleventh century a special method of working kaolin clay was discovered which was quite similar to that of the modern porcelains of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The shapes of the articles often followed the Greek patterns, jugs and other ancient shapes, but there also appeared new and original types of pottery such as scoops and cups. The ornamentation was delicate and simple, and was usually engraved on the upper portion of the vessel. There were also artistically sculptured figures, such as animals, and such articles of religious use as ikons, crosses, and amulets. Ceramics for construction pur-

poses reached an astonishing perfection; these included bricks, slabs, tiles, architectural terra-cotta details, and ornament; these were often glazed. The bricks of the Kievan churches (Church of the Tithes and others) and of the churches in Volodymyr Volynsky carried the stamp of the trident. Slabs of various forms and colors were arranged in beautiful *kylym* patterns (the Church of the Tithes, Halych, Bilhorodka). Ornamented tiles are found in Chernihiv, Halych, Zvenyhorod, Belz, and (the best preserved) in Bilhorodka.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, manufacture declined somewhat, but with the end of the fifteenth century and the appearance of new artisan *tsekh* organizations (the guilds) technique improved along with the training of the younger artisans, who greatly developed pottery of a manufactured character (in Lviv, Peremyshl, Potylych, Terebovlia, Kaminka Strumilova, Kolomyia, Kamianets and Bar in Podilia, Nepolokivtsi in Bukovina). The better dishes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were influenced in their shape and ornamentation by certain Gothic and Renaissance motifs. Glazing, on both the inside and the exterior of vessels, appeared particularly in the middle of the seventeenth century (Yaroslav, Potylych, Stryi, Sianik). The use of the ornamental tiles



FIGURE 312. TILES OF THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

became widespread (Terebovlia during the sixteenth century).

The ceramics of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries underwent great improvement in technique and artistic motifs particularly in the Hetman State and Podilia. The elegant Baroque style, greatly transformed by Ukrainian artists, provided a unique decorative character and a richness of colors with original ornamental motifs, especially the glazed tiles. On these tiles are represented entire compositions of plants and animals and also scenes from daily life and history.

In addition to the multicolored glazed tiles used for stoves and the walls of rooms, tiles of a single color—either of dark yellow or red depending upon the firing—were manufactured with carved ornamentation. The chief centers of manufacture were: in Chernihiv province, Starodub, Kozelets, Nizhyn, Chernihiv, Ichnia, Baturyn; in Poltava province, Khorol, Komysna, Opishnia; in Podilia, Kamianets, Derazhnia, Sharhorod, Zinkiv, Bar, Kupyn, Liatyshiv, Smotrych, Yaniv, Mykolaïv; in Galicia, Yavoriv, Sudova Vyshnia, Stryi; in Volhynia, Volodymyr. The technique and artistic level of the Ukrainian ceramic manufactures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were so high that Ukrainian masters were invited to other lands, especially to Muscovy where industry was only in its infancy.

V. Sichynsky

Porcelain and faïence. The manufacture of porcelain and faïence (decorative tableware) developed in Ukraine at the end of the seventeenth century. In the second half of that century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century technically well-equipped factories were established, among them the following: Mezhyhiria near Kiev (founded in 1798), Korets (1783–1832 under the direction of the Mezer brothers), Baranivka (1797–1845), Tomashiv (1795–1846), Horod-

nytsia in Volhynia (c. 1800), Volokytno in the Chernihiv area (under the Myklashevskys) and Hlukhiv (under the Markovyches). The manufacture of porcelain and faïence was not pure folk art, but was the work of Ukrainian peasant master craftsmen (especially in Mezhyhiria), and the demands of the Ukrainian market caused Ukrainian thematic and stylistic motifs to be introduced into the designs. The works of the Mezhyhiria factory were of a definitely Ukrainian character in form and in content. Their products depicted portraits of

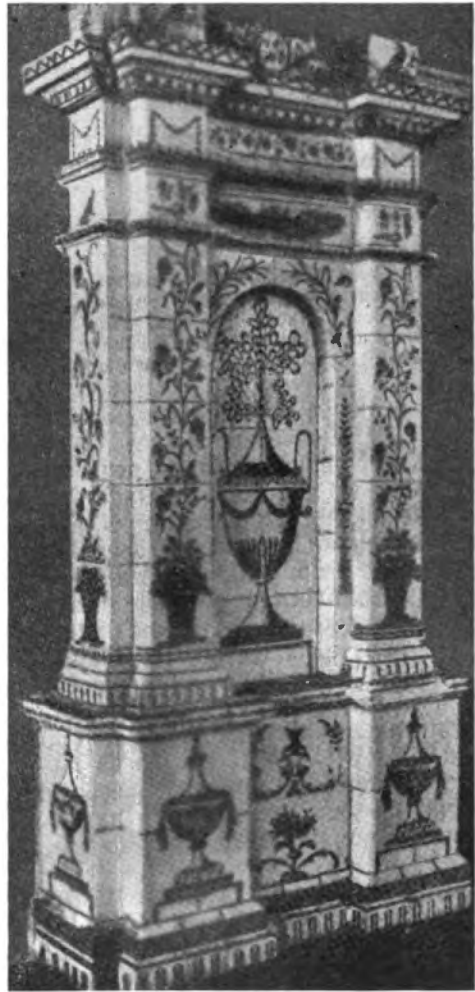


FIGURE 313. STOVE FROM THE HOUSE OF THE SAMOILOVYCH FAMILY IN HLUKHIV, 1817

Ukrainian poets, architectural monuments, local landscapes, and scenes from everyday life made for the local trade. The Mezhyhiria porcelain was of high quality; its hard granular texture took a very beautiful glazing, shiny and transparent, as well as durable, and its design was accurate. The same qualities characterized the products of Korets.

As regards style, the entire production had to suit the tastes of the period, the Rococo and the empire. The Korets porcelain not only imitated the Viennese, Saxon, Sèvres, and also the English (Wedgwood) but at times was even their equal. The products of Baranivka, as compared with those of Korets, show a more definite Ukrainian character in ornamentation (the dominance of flower motifs and the excellently arranged background). The products of the faïence factory in Horodnytsia were also on a very high level. They were durable, light, and beautiful and were similar to the English wares. The works of the factories of the Myklashevskys were based upon the Ukrainian tradition; among the products of Volokytno, in addition to dishes, were the elegant empire porcelain fireplaces.

The volume of production of these factories can be seen from the following figures: in Korets in 1793 about 1,000 workmen were employed on 86 benches, and they produced 20,000 pieces per month; the annual production of the Tomashiv factory was about 6,000 plates and 20,000 pieces of other porcelain; the Mezhyhiria factory had 80 benches in 1809.

The hallmark of the Mezhyhiria plant was two lions, or a lion and a horse supporting a shield with a crown and the inscription, "Mejigorie" and "Kiev," as well as the signature of M. Barsky (one of the owners of the factory in the period 1858-74). As the hallmark of the Korets factory the word "Korzec" was used in either Latin or Cyrillic as well as the eye of Providence (in a triangle) or a combination of both symbols. The stamp



FIGURE 314. MOTIFS FROM KORETS PORCELAIN

of the Baranivka porcelain was three blue stars, somewhat later with the inscription "Baranówka" (in Latin or Cyrillic), sometimes with the family name of the manufacturer Mezer; the Tomashiv plant used as its symbol the coat of arms of the Zamojski family (the owners of the factory). The Horodnytsia factory had as its hallmark a small shield under a crown and an inscription (in Latin or Cyrillic), Horodnica.

The contemporary peasant pottery industry is not uniformly distributed territorially, for it is dependent upon deposits of accessible pottery clays. The most important regions for pottery have been: the Sokal county, western Podilia (Hrymaliv, Mykulyntsi, Chortkiv); eastern Podilia (Smotrych, Zinkiv, Ziatkivtsi, Adamivka, Bar, Brailiv, Bubnivka, Haisyn, Kamianets Podilsky, Maidan, Mezhybizh, Kyblych, Zhardenivka, Lisovi Berlyntsi); the Poltava province (Opishnia, Hlynske, Velyka Hremiachka, Minski Mlyny, Mali Budyshcha, Myrhorod, Zaitsi, Postaluky, Popivka, Bilyky, Khomutets, Komyshna, Ustavytsia); Polisia (Horodno); Podlachia (Ostriv, Parchiv, Volodava); Chernihiv province (Nizhyn, Ichnia, Oleshnia, Lovin, Rudka, Hanivtsi), the Kiev province (Baryshivka, Dybyntsi, Uman); the Kharkiv province (Boromlia, Nova Vodolaha, Mezhyrich, Yovsuch, Khutir Budkiv, Dentsivka,



FIGURE 315. HUTSUL TILES, WORK OF TSVILYK (KOSIV)

Hrudnia, Kotelva); Bukovina (Nepolo-kivtsi); and Transcarpathia (the area of Uzhhorod).

The ceramics of Kiev, Chernihiv, and Poltava, in the form of the wares and their ornamentation, reflect the traditions of the old Princely period as well as the influence of other forms of folk art especially of embroidery and weaving. Ceramics of a single color made for practical use, without decorative effects, are found in Polisia, and at times in Podlachia and in Galicia (in the Rava Ruska and Zolochiv counties). However, even in this ordinary ware we can still see the old tradition and find analogies in the forms of prehistoric ceramics (especially in Polisia and Podlachia). In their external appearance and design



FIGURE 316. UKRAINIAN FOLK POTTERY

A, B. Pots from Opishnia (Poltava region); C, D. Pitcher and pot from Khust (Transcarpathia); E. Traveling flask (village of Bubnivka, near Vinnytsia); F. Liquor flask (Zinkiv, near Vinnytsia); G, H. Flasks from Opishnia.

the bowls and jugs are the most typical. The form of the jugs from the Kiev, Poltava, and Podilia areas bears a resemblance to ancient Greek pottery. Hutsul creative ceramics occupy a unique place.

In the ORNAMENTATION of Ukrainian ceramics, as in other branches of folk art, geometric motifs are among the oldest: straight, broken, and wavy lines,

closely connected with the shape of the vessel (Podilia, Volhynia, Transcarpathia). Plant decoration (leaves of the grape, the oak, the sunflower, ears of grain, berries, and especially periwinkle—separately or as a decorative whole) is native to the Kiev and Poltava areas and to eastern Podilia. Both kinds of ornamentation appear on Galician pottery in the Sokal and Hutsul regions.



A



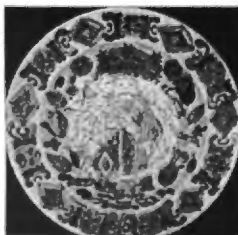
B



C



D



E



F

FIGURE 317. HUTSUL POTTERY

A. Three-branched candelabrum, work of Tsvilyk (Kosiv); B. Five-branched candelabrum, work of P. Koshak (Pistyn); C. Plate, work of Bakhminsky; D. Plate, work of P. Koshak (Pistyn); E. Bowl, work of Bakhminsky; F. Ram, work of P. Koshak (Pistyn).



FIGURE 318. HUTSUL POTTERY, WORK OF TSVILYK (KOSIV)

Found also are figures of birds (the rooster and the peacock), of animals (the fly, the frog, the horse, the fish), and even of people. Among the most talented masters of pottery were Ivan Bakhmatiuk (1820–82), P. Baranovsky, and P. Koshak from the Hutsul area, V. Shostopalets in the Sokal area, Y. Batsutsa of Zinkiv, F. Lavriniuk and V. Kyblytsky of Zherdelivka, K. Masiuk and A. Shnurenko of Dybyntsi near Kaniv, P. Nochovnyk and I. Bahrii of Opishnia, P. Kalashnyk from the Myrhorod area, and Puzyr from the Chernihiv area.

The TECHNOLOGY of ceramics includes: (1) the securing and preparation of the clay, (2) the fashioning of the vessel, and (3) the firing. The technological nomenclature is common even in the most remote parts of Ukraine. The clay is dug with spades and taken to the house where it is trampled with the feet in order to break up the lumps and

clear it of pebbles. Then the potter models it on a double wheel on the upper part of which he fashions the clay, turning it by a rapid revolution of the lower and larger wheel with the aid of his feet. With his right hand, which is moistened by water, he forms the inside of the vessel, and with his left hand he smoothes the exterior. When the vessel is ready, it is dried and then placed in the kiln, the so-called *horna*, for firing. This kiln (usually over 3 yd. in length, and 1 yd., 2 ft. in width) is composed of two parts: in the larger part the dishes and pots are placed along with pieces of broken pottery; the other smaller part is for the fire. After the first firing the dish becomes hard and waterproof. If it is to be glazed, it is left in the kiln for a longer time. This makes the color of the clay clearer, and it can then be covered with designs. The potter paints it with a brush in combinations of colors which

fuse in a second firing. The green color is made from thin shavings of burned copper with the addition of lead oxide; red is made from ochre; white from white clay; and black from iron filings. The design is inscribed on the surface of the dried but still unburned dish.

In the field of ceramics, as in the manufacture of *kylims*, efforts have been made to raise the level of workmanship. To this end special schools were established in Kiev, Myrhorod (founded by V. Krychevsky, O. Slastion, and O. Biloskursky), Opishnia, Kamianets Podilsky, Kolomyia, and Lviv (in the last-named factory directed by H. Levynsky, which developed the Hutsul motifs, and later by S. Lytvynenko, who introduced motifs from Poltava). The faculty of the school in Mezhyhiria at the end of the 1920's included such distinguished artists as: V. Sedliar, O. Pavlenko, and S. Domakha. The 1930's and the 1940's were marked by the destruction of Ukrainian ceramic art by the Soviet government; those masters of the craft who remained alive were organized into collective workshops (*artels*) controlled from the center, and compelled to make objects having nothing in common with the Ukrainian tradition.

D. Horniatkevych

Works and Ornamentation Made of Glass

Historical information. The oldest glass objects found in Ukraine date from the pre-Christian period; they are glass beads from necklaces found in Scythian and Greek graves. From the early centuries of the Christian era there are beautiful examples of vessels, bracelets, and necklaces found in Kerch (Crimea), in the burial fields of the Dnieper area, and in Galicia (Horodnytsia, Terebovlia). In the Princely period a native Ukrainian glass production developed which has been revealed by excavations of workshops near the Church of the Tithes in Kiev. Beginning with the eleventh century there are references in the Chronicles to glass dishes, used

along with ceramic ware, and there is also mention of a glass "forge" (glass-works) and an established terminology for glass manufacture. In the description of the St. John Church in Kholm (Chelm), founded by King Daniel, the chronicler states that there were (in 1259) "three windows adorned with Roman glass" (stained glass). Stained glass is also mentioned later by Paul of Aleppo who saw panes in the churches of Ukraine in Obidivka, Uman, and Kiev (during his travels in the middle of the seventeenth century). That glass objects were widespread between the tenth and thirteenth centuries (mugs, cups, drinking glasses, necklaces, and bracelets) is known from discoveries made in Kiev, Chernihiv, and Zvenyhorod near Lviv. Although these articles still bear a stylistic relationship to Byzantium, many give evidence of local origin. With the fall of the Princely state, the glass industry died out.



FIGURE 319. GLASS VASE AND DISH IN THE FORM OF A BEAR, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (ROHODOVE, NEAR POLTAVA)

Glass manufacture was again revived in the sixteenth century, in the Belz area (1564, in Potylych, Kalush, and in the Horodenka area). This craft developed as a result of the presence of the woods and sands needed as raw materials. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many glass-works were opened in Volhynia, the northern Kiev area, in the Chernihiv area (110 works), in the Poltava area, and also probably in the Ukrainian northeastern frontier (Khar-kiv) area. Ukrainian glass enjoyed a



PLATE V. SPECIMENS OF HUTSUL CERAMICS

good market in Muscovy (Russia) and in Belorussia.

Style. The shapes of the vessels were unusually diverse and were not without originality. From the artistic point of view, the most interesting pieces are those in the form of different animals, most frequently bears (the wedding cult), rams, hares, roosters, and others used for various drinks. Great attention was paid to a harmonious choice of colors: pale green, milky azure, blue, cherry, yellow, violet, and a blending of several shades. Painted glass vessels, usually pitchers for drinks, had decorated designs and outline drawings. The painted glass of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries shows original patterns, predominantly of plant motifs and more rarely of animals, although there are some with human figures and scenes from everyday life.

Later, glass-working also interested the peasants who devoted time to it not taken by their agricultural work. The peasants also employed glass in painting ikons (from the reverse side), most frequently in Pokutia and in the Hutsul region.

Glass ornaments in the form of necklaces are common throughout Ukraine, and at present have replaced beads and amber which were much treasured in the Kozak period of Ukrainian history (see "Material Culture, Clothing and Footwear").

The decline of glass-making. At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, glass-making declined as a result of severe economic conditions. Factory production, carried to high technical excellence, demanded larger investments, and the Russian government deliberately did not permit foreign capital to build up Ukrainian industry. From the middle of the nineteenth century Russian glass, although of inferior quality, secured a foothold in the market and began to crowd out Ukrainian glass. In the first decade of the twentieth century only 26 factories

were left in the Kievan and Volhynian provinces and 10 in the Donets Basin. In Galicia in recent years there were only two glass centers.

D. Horniatkevych and V. Sichynsky

Objects of Bone and Horn

This craft was known in Paleolithic times (as seen in an ornamented upper tusk from Mizyn in the Chernihiv area, covered with a rhythmically composed meander design). In the Princely period, horns, often finished in silver, were used as vessels. In the Kozak period the Zaporozhians used horn to decorate



FIGURE 320. HUTSUL HORN OF A STAG-HORN, INLAID WITH BRASS NAILS AND LEAD

various parts of their weapons, the emblems of the hetman as well as their pipes. This industry completely vanished after the destruction of the *Sich*, and has been preserved to our time only in the Hutsul area, where elaborately carved powderhorns of deer antlers are still found.

D. Horniatkevych

Metallic Objects

The period of Greek colonization on the Black Sea has left us the oldest bronze objects, primarily from Olbia (the Odessa Museum); these are of



FIGURE 321. "NYKOPIL" SILVER VASE FROM THE BURIAL MOUND OF CHORTOMLYK, FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

local workmanship with delicate bas-relief, and are of two styles: the Ionian and the Hellenistic. Many discoveries in the Crimea, Zaporizhia, the Kiev area, Podilia, the Kherson area, and in the Kuban testify to the highly developed character of this art; local needs were probably fulfilled by local craftsmen. To these belong the splendid silver Nykopil vase from Zaporizhia of the fourth century B.C. (Fig. 321) and the gold Kul-Oba vase from Kerch on which scenes from Scythian life are vividly and naturally depicted. The objects of jewelry, splendidly created from gold threads and twisted wires included earrings, masks, necklaces, bracelets, rings, and dangles. The Greek traditions had imposed upon them Scythian motifs (the

so-called animal design) which created their own style of wares and decorations. Other influences are recognized: in eastern Ukraine, especially in the Kuban, the influences from Asia Minor (the Hittite heritage) and from Iran; in Western Ukraine, the influence of the Hallstatt culture and the Celtic Latène (see "Archaeology"). The local coinage of the kingdom of the Bosphorus and Panticapaeum, the Chersonesus, Olbia, and Tiras is considered to be one of the greatest achievements of antiquity in this field. The art of enameling in Ukraine dates from the post-Greek (the fourth century A.D.) period, long before the Byzantine influences with their center of manufacture in the Dnieper area.

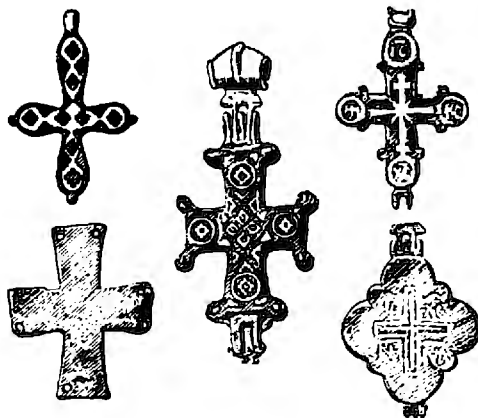


FIGURE 322. METAL CROSSES FROM THE PRINCELY PERIOD

In the early Kievan (Princely) period of Ukrainian history, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, metal-working attained a high level of development. In addition to pieces of jewelry, various objects were made for military or everyday use as well as for agriculture. Ukrainian weapons of old were well known beyond the boundaries of Ukraine, to the east as far as Bagdad, as well as in all Byzantium and in western Europe. Besides work in iron and steel, there were wares of copper, zinc, and lead, objects of precious metals, expensive vessels, adornments for ikons,

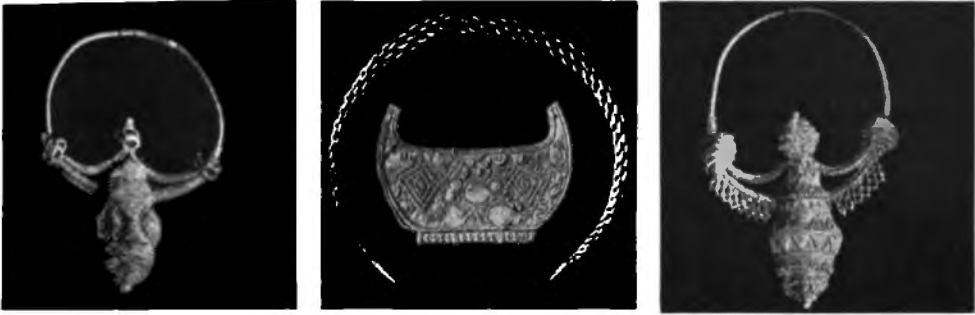


FIGURE 323. SILVER DECORATIONS OF THE PRINCELY PERIOD (EARRINGS, ETC.) FROM THE EXCAVATIONS IN THE DUBNO AREA

church articles—crosses and various ornaments. Casting was well developed for making vessels, kettles, and objects of ecclesiastic and domestic use. Bells were cast in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Novhorod Siversky (1146), Kiev, Kholm, and in other cities. Many discoveries of jewelry and enamel work testify that this workmanship was on a higher level than that of neighboring countries. Jewelry workshops have been found in Kiev, Kaniv, Chernihiv, and these prove that the art was local. The best-known objects of this period are the helmet of Prince Yaroslav Vsevolodovych (1216) with a representation of figures and plastic decoration, a cup of Prince Volodymyr Davydovych of the twelfth century, a silver chalice from the Pereiaslav cathedral church, and the binding (with enamels) of the Mstyslav Gospel of the twelfth century.

The enamel work of the tenth to twelfth centuries, chiefly of local origin, attained a high level in delicateness of execution and rivalled the works of the Byzantine capital. They are primarily crowns, danglers, earrings, rings, crosses, and small ikons; the most valuable collections are in the Leningrad Hermitage, the old Khanenko Museum in Kiev, and the Zvenyhorodsky collection (now Morgan) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The coins of the Kievian state of the tenth to thirteenth centuries with figured representations and signs of the trident are among the

finest creations of

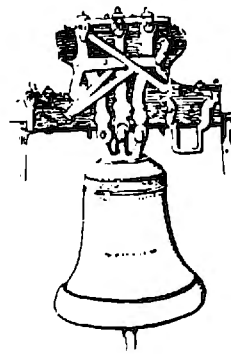


FIGURE 324. BELL FROM THE CHURCH OF ST. GEORGE IN LVIV (1341)

medieval Europe (Figs. 395–399). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the old Ukrainian technique and types still existed. The names of the jewelers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Lviv, Peremyshl, Kamianets, Belz, Yaroslav, and Sianik reveal their Ukrainian origin. The casting of cannons and bells was also

highly developed, especially in Lviv (the bell of St. Yur [George], 1341).

In the middle of the fourteenth century the “Kozak” sword became a fixed type differing from others both in form and manufacture. In the seventeenth century, metal work, especially in jewelry, was developed not only in the above-named centers but also in Kiev, Lutsk, Kremianets, Volodymyr, Kovel, and Rohatyn. The making of weapons was carried on in Lviv, Kamianets, Belz, Rohatyn, Busk, and Torchyn. This industry was on a high level in Zaporizhia as is mentioned by de Beauplan and other foreigners. The models, especially in jewelry, came from western and central Europe, but eastern tendencies from Turkey and the Wallachia are also



FIGURE 325. GOSPEL BINDING IN LEAD (KIEV, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

evident, especially in military adornment and equine equipment.

There was also a special style for ecclesiastical objects (cf., the silver cross of the Lviv master Andrew Kasiianovych, 1638). Gothic traditions continued in the Dnieper region in jewelry into the sixteenth and even into the seventeenth century (crosses, tombs, chalices, book bindings, censers).

A great development of casting in copper and in tin and other metals occurred in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Kamianets, Brody, Chorny Ostriv, Kiev, Nizhyn, Starodub, Pochev, Novhorod Siversky, Hlukhiv, Pereiaslav, Poltava, Chernihiv).

Of the copper-casting masters, the names of Ivan Stepaniv (1675), Opanas Petrovych (1690), and Paul Romanovsky are well known in Kiev; in Novhorod Siversky, that of Ivan Andriiovych; in Hlukhiv, K. Balashevych; in Pochev, H. Yakovlevych (1679-87); and in Nizhyn, that of Aleksander. The casting of sculptured objects also attained a high level of artistic merit and originality, particularly church utensils, iconostases, altars, and other articles, as well as jewelry.

The forging art, related to architecture, reached a high artistic level in the hammered gates and doors, handles, cupola crosses, and "sunflowers." Simul-



FIGURE 326. CENSER AND BOAT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (KIEV)

taneously with Russian expansion, which was accompanied by the systematic impoverishment of the Ukrainian urban classes and the artisans' guilds, jewelry and casting began to decline at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. However, until recent times the manufacture of articles for the church, metal vestments for ikons, pendants, and decorations had been preserved. With the beginning of the twentieth century, jewelry as a local and individual production was below the European level and casting had become of secondary importance and was confined chiefly to the casting of bells and household articles. In recent times there have been only a few outstanding artists in this field, as, for example, the well-known Ukrainian enamelist of Vienna, Maria Dolnytska.

V. Sichynsky

Objects and Decorations of Straw

Straw is used in decorating windows; this is done by means of little crosses, fashioned chiefly in Western Ukraine at the time of Epiphany (Whitsuntide), and left until the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, as well as with *pavuky* ("spiders") which are hung on the beams from Christmas to Epiphany and sometimes till Easter. The straw crosses and *pavuky* show a great wealth of fantasy; they form a long series of diverse symmetrical unions of various geometric figures on one axis. Besides straw with its golden color, reeds are also used and provide a delicate combination of light yellow and greenish shades.

Easter Eggs (*Pysanky*)

Easter eggs, along with ceramics and embroidery, hold one of the first places in Ukrainian folk art because of their artistic level and their symbolic and ritual significance.

The technique of coloring Easter eggs centers in the use of a special device, a

kystka (a thin piece of metal twisted into the shape of a funnel and set perpendicularly on a small stick), which is dipped in melted beeswax, and with which a drawing is made in thin lines on the surface of the egg—the so-called *batikova* technique. The decorator of an Easter egg first covers with wax the parts of the design which are to remain white. She then places the egg in a yellow dye (necessarily cold, for the wax melts in heat). She covers with wax that part of the pattern that is to remain yellow. She then passes on to the red and so on to black, and at each stage she covers with wax the various parts of the decorations which are to be of a given color, beginning with the lightest and ending with the darkest. This technique is applicable to the colors placed in one scale (the so-called warm). If she wishes to add additional "cold" colors (blue or green shades), she must wipe the undesired colors from the places which are to be covered by the supplementary colors. She does this by placing the egg in water with vinegar or cabbage *kvas*, which eats off the calciferous shell in the places not covered by the wax, and then continues her work. After coloring, all the eggs are placed in a warm stove, the wax melts and the colors emerge in their full beauty. In some places the eggs are colored in another way; the entire egg is painted one color, and then the desired pattern is scratched upon it with a sharp tool (a little knife or a needle). The most primitive form of Easter egg is the *krashanka*—colored in only one shade without any decoration.

For painting the egg, decorators or *pysancharky* prepare the colors themselves or buy them prepared in shops. The yellow is made from the bark of the wild apple, the onion, buckwheat husks, the campion, and also from the flower of the lilac or dog's fennel. The red is made from cochineal (carmine), deer horn, the *brazoliia* (sandalwood or aniline). Green is usually obtained from a concoction of sunflower seeds, berries of the

wild elder, the dark red or black hollyhock, bush-anemones, as well as from leaves of the birch and from moss. For dark yellow, alder buds are used, along with hazel and chestnut leaves or the walnut and apple and oak bark. Black is prepared from the husks of sunflower seeds by the addition of sulphate of iron (*kupervas*), the bark of the alder, young leaves of the black maple, and sometimes two or three dark periwinkles.

Design. The oldest designs for Easter eggs in Ukraine are of an ideographic character. The principal motifs are symbols of the sun; among these are the swastika, the tripod, the rose, and stars. The designers often round off the corners of the swastika for aesthetic or compositional reasons or join two swastikas to create the new motif—the star. A three-part swastika is a three-branched flower or tripod, known to remote antiquity. The third symbol of the sun is the eight-pointed (more rarely, six-pointed) star, which is also called a rose. It can result from the joining of two swastikas or two tripod designs, but it probably developed independently and appeared as a separate ornamental element. An almost naturalistic symbol of the sun is the circle with outward projecting rays (a popular motif in the Yelisavet and Dubno areas and in the Hutsul region), or a whole series of lines, which start as rays extending around the circle and end in small beads (especially among the Boikians and Lemkians). Graphically there is an analogy between the tripod and the ordinary triangle, although the symbolism of the two is entirely different. The symbolic meaning of the triangle varies. It represents some triad: air, fire, water; sun, thunder, bonfire; the household, human life; or finally heaven, earth, and hell.

Easter eggs with crosses (with one or three bars in all variations) have a purely Christian significance, but in general, they are not very widespread. The *tserkovtsi*—church eggs, a favorite type of the Hutsuls—are a geometric combination

of a cross and triangles. The net or grating which covers the entire surface with triangles, spirals, and rhombuses, has only a decorative character.

An important geometric element is the endless line—*bezkonechnyk*. From the point of view of construction, it is analogous to the meander. It is a wavy line, which arises from the joining of several concentric circles and is continued in the direction of the following circle; the name comes from the continuous nature of the form which proceeds forward in many curves without any visible ending. This motif is popular in the Hutsul, Volhynia, Podilia, and Kuban regions, and also in the Kiev and Kharkiv areas.

As a transition from geometric to animal forms, mention should be made of the "hen's feet," or rather the tracks of a hen's foot, combined concentrically like the swastika or the tripod. Among the animal representations on Hutsul eggs, the deer occupies the first place along with the rooster. The sign of the fish (popular among the Hutsuls) indicates its Christian origin. Other animal motifs (small horses, hares, ducks) are probably not derived from the old tradition. Almost no human figures are found on the older patterns.

Plant elements are noticeably fewer and are identified with geometric and animal motifs.

The individual elements of the Easter egg design, depending on their composition, are symmetrically arranged on the surface of the egg on the constructivist principle, by the division of the surface into 2, 4, or 8 parts. Almost all Easter eggs have old local names which confirm the ideographic meaning of the motifs; in some areas, especially in the Hutsul region, there are women who know more than one hundred different patterns. An industrious woman can decorate 10 or 12 eggs in a day.

Ritual significance. The Easter egg in folk superstition possesses magic power. It is given as proof of friendship and respect, it is left on the graves of the



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PLATE VI. EASTER EGGS (*Pysanky*)

(1) Boikian area; (2) Volhynia; (3) Galicia; (4) "Rozha," from Galicia; (5) "Sorokivka," from Bukovina; (6) "Baryl'tse," from *Slobids'ka Ukraina*; (7) Hutsul area; (8) "Konyky," from the Hutsul area; (9) Bukovinian part of the Hutsul area; (10) Bukovina; (11) Kiev area; (12) Sokal area. Drawing by V. Sichynsky.

dead; or the shells are thrown into the water—as a visible sign for the *rakhmany*—who, having no calendar, must be informed when to celebrate Easter. The cattle are given drinking water containing shells of Easter eggs in order to protect them from disease, and the yolks of blessed eggs have a curative power for people. The Easter egg also preserves human dwellings from thunder and fire.

Historical information. The oldest archival references regarding the use of *krashanky* or *pysanky* (decorated eggs) for curing illness and for entertaining people date from the thirteenth century.

In the last decades prior to World War II, especially in Galician Ukraine, there was a notable competition to raise the decoration of eggs to the highest possible artistic standard, sometimes to the detriment of the traditional types. This movement began in the Sokal area at the end of the last century and was developed to an exceptional level by a peasant woman, Irine Bilianska (born 1899), in the village of Horodolovychi. Bilianska relied on the local traditional designs, but later she created her own style. It was marked by its wealth of compositional possibilities, new motifs, and a wide range of shades, which included on almost every Easter egg three-colored palettes; her designs were composed of plant elements, Easter inscriptions, embroidery decorations, and tridents. The creative work of Bilianska has all the marks of the modern tendencies, but it springs from tradition. Among the women of her village she created her own school.

Ukrainian Easter egg design had a great influence upon the development of embroidery patterns and in modern times also on the wood-working art.

D. Horniatkevych

Folk Wall-painting

The decorating of the walls of the house, more rarely of household tools, was very widespread in the past and had



FIGURE 327. DESIGN OF A PEASANT STOVE, VILLAGE OF AVULA IN THE DNIPROPETROVSKE REGION



FIGURE 328. A PEASANT STOVE, VILLAGE OF PISTYN, NEAR KOSIV (CARPATHIANS)

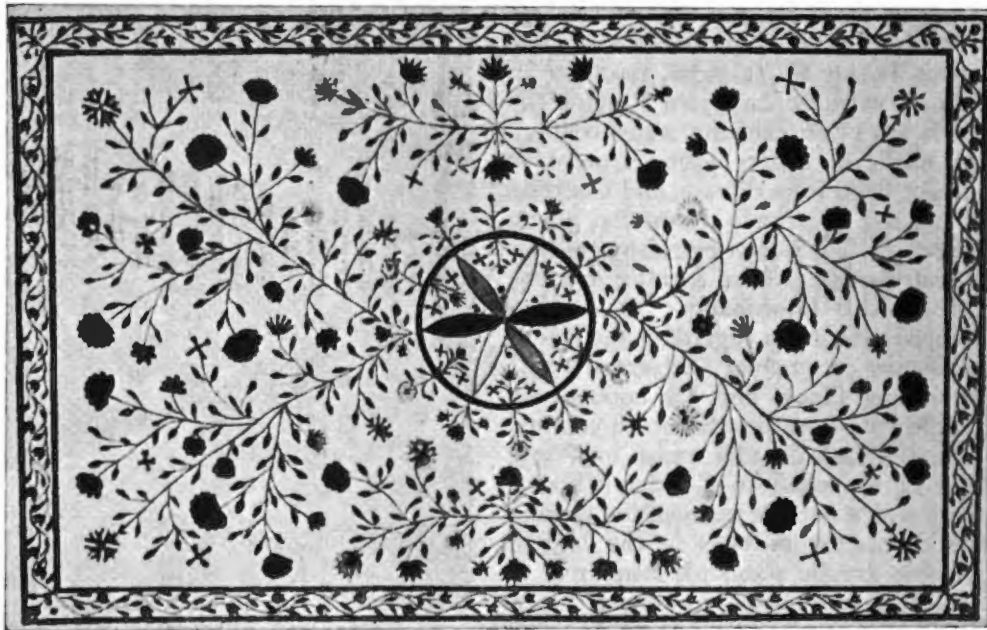


FIGURE 329. DESIGN OF THE WALL OF A HOUSE, VILLAGE OF OLEKSANDRIVKA, KRYVYI RIH AREA

not only aesthetic but also ritual significance.

No pattern of the old folk wall-painting has been preserved, but its wide diffusion is indicated by references to it in folklore, literature, and in historical sources—and this for the entire Ukrainian territory. Wall-painting was practised sparingly: on the outer walls of the house around the windows and door, if they did not have a wooden door post; more rarely as a frieze under the roof; very rarely on the corners, between the windows. The principal object of decoration in the interior of the house was the stove, and especially its top; more rarely the space between the windows, the wall above the bed, the ceiling, and the beams.

Design was very simple on the outside and more elaborate within. It was composed especially of flower patterns (*marafety*); of pines (*sosonky*); leaves of the oak, maple, hops, periwinkle, grapes. Wreaths and bouquets were included along with birds (roosters, peacocks, owls), and animals, often fantastic. All are stylized or more or less

naturalistic, depending on the individual orientation of the artist. The designs of the wall-painting are sometimes similar to those of the embroideries (especially in the designs above the windows), to the *kylims* (especially in those over the



FIGURE 330. DESIGN OF THE OUTER WALL OF A PEASANT HOUSE IN OSTRYTSLIA (BUKOVINA)

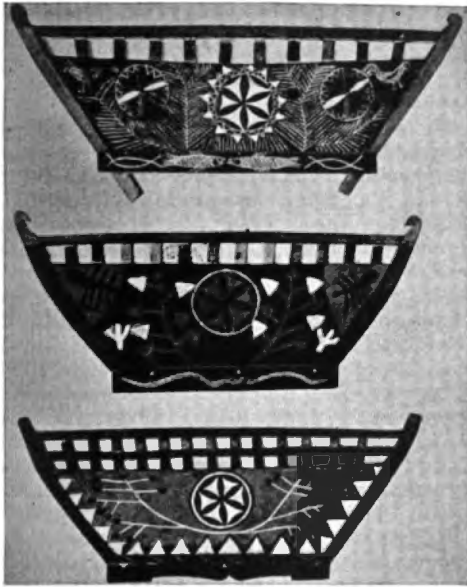


FIGURE 331. CARVED AND PAINTED BACK OF A SLEIGH (UMAN REGION)

bed), and to the stove tiles (on the stoves), but they are usually more elaborate.

Technique. Houses are usually painted by the girls and young women. As implements they employ a feather, homemade brushes of cat-tail, reeds, straw wisps. The flowers and leaves are usually painted with the finger. Color is sprinkled on by the use of ears of grain and applied by means of stamps cut from a raw potato or a beet. The colors also were originally homemade, from plants, and were applied on a white, blue, greenish, or other background. At present, in so far as wall-painting is found in the unified collective farm village, mineral colors predominate. The drawing was marked by a freshness of color but was not permanent and was usually renewed once or twice a year.

Centers. The chief centers for wall-painting in Ukraine were the villages of Verbivka, Horodetske, Dmytrushky, Viitivka (Kiev area) in which worked the masters Ye. Pshychenko, V. Dovhasheïn, S. Zabolotna, Kh. Shelenko, H. Sobolenko, D. Polishchuk; a special center existed in Petrykivka (Dnipro-

petrovske area), where T. Pata and her family worked. The wall-painting of Petrykivka was marked by an especial elaborateness and decorativeness; some paintings in Podilia were also elaborate. The wall-paintings of Poltava were rich in forms of design and in colors while the paintings in the Uman, Kherson, and Odessa areas were more ascetic and graphic.

B. M.

Articles and Decorations Made of Paper

Workmanship in paper commenced in Ukraine at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Galicia, in the middle of the same century in Volhynia, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the Dnieper region.

Decorations of colored paper, cut-outs, are intended to complete the inner appearance of the house, especially the painted walls and stoves. This kind of folk decoration is newer than the other types and is related to the introduction of colored paper. The cut-outs are to be found in almost all parts of Ukraine. They are usually monochromatic, but in some localities the village women (who usually make the cut-outs) enrich them with additional colors and attach them to the walls under the ceiling, between the windows and even outdoors (under the roof). Geometric motifs predominate, although there are various kinds of flowers, and more rarely animals or figures with human silhouettes. The designs are cut out with scissors after a preliminary pencil sketch.

D. Horniatkevych

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7. PEOPLE'S WAY OF LIFE, FOLKLORE, AND ART UNDER THE SOVIETS

With the forcible establishment of Soviet government in 1917-20 in that part of Ukraine which had been part of tsarist Russia, a planned drive was initiated with the intention of changing the reactionary and, allegedly, backward world outlook and spiritual heritage of the people, and of destroying, as remnants of the past, the basic elements of this heritage which had been preserved through the ages in the customs, rites, and beliefs, as well as in the popular arts and folklore. As a result of World War II, the population of those Ukrainian lands which had belonged to Poland, Rumania, and Czechoslovakia but which were now occupied by the Soviets was subjected to similar pressures and conditions. Prior to the occupation the prevailing conditions were much more favorable to the development of individual branches of national culture.

In carrying through their program to fully exterminate the Ukrainian national culture, particularly its spiritual aspect, the Soviet regime in Ukraine made allowances only with respect to embroidery, carpetmaking, ceramics, and certain types of folklore which were created artificially and even falsified on the basis of old folklore material. Numerous other branches of the national spiritual and material culture were prohibited. The calculated ruthlessness of the government's drive is manifestly evident in the complete exclusion of ethnography, art, and folklore from the domain of scholarly research in the 1930's and 1940's. Studies and research on the national folklore, which had been growing at a rapid pace in 1920's and at the beginning of 1930's, were abruptly terminated in the middle 1930's by the repression of scholars and scholarly institutions, the termination of their publications, and the exclusion of

the works already published from public libraries. Further "scientific research" was limited only to the collection of folklore material about J. Stalin, the party, and the building of Communism. The best illustration of these controls is the fact, established by the editors of recent Soviet bibliographical reference books on ethnographic literature, that, not only in the period of 1934-44 but in 1945-56 as well, no scholarly work in this field appeared in the Ukrainian language in the form of a separate book edition, and that no collection of ethnographic material was published during those two decades.

Yet, all the exterminative efforts of the Communist regime in Ukraine did not bring about the desired results. Although branded as remnants of the past, integral elements as well as whole branches and genres of the national culture remained very much alive and able to outlast both the government-imposed ideology and the way of life created by the new conditions. The regime was therefore compelled to make some concessions to the people, particularly after the death of Stalin, concessions not only in the realm of popular folk art, but also in the realm of ritualistic customs and traditions. These customs were permitted to develop and even to be incorporated into the contemporary mode of life of the workers and the collective farmers.

The scope and extent of this process can best be seen through an examination of the present state of affairs in various areas of the Ukrainian popular material and spiritual culture and through an analysis of the apparent changes which are taking place in the people's mode of life.

The way of life and the material culture of the Ukrainian village have under-



FIGURE 331A. TYPICAL HOUSE OF A COLLECTIVE FARMER IN THE ZHYTOMYR AREA, WITH ADJACENT STABLE (PHOTOGRAPH FROM 1941)

gone considerable transformation not only as a result of forcible collectivization but primarily through the gradual diminution of the peasant population and the simultaneous growth of cities and workers' settlements.

CHANGES IN FOLK BUILDING AND CLOTHING

Collectivization of agriculture has had a marked effect on the general outlook of the Ukrainian villages and on individual house construction. The liquidation of one-family farmsteads has also caused the disappearance of stables, barns, storerooms, and the other farm buildings. The only remaining houses have a small garden plot and tiny shed or stable, frequently adjacent to the house, where a cow or a hog is kept. In order to fulfil the agricultural tasks of the collective farms, new collective production centers have been appearing in place of the former private estates and mansions. They are erected on the outskirts of villages, separated from the living quarters with a hedge on the sides and a fence and a gate in front; they are divided into two sections: a one-storey administration building in the right-hand corner and a garage and repair shops in the bigger left-hand section. Loudspeakers are placed in the middle of the yard and in the centers of the villages, the

wires extending to each individual house. Collective farm buildings and cattle enclosures are located in the southern section of the yard. The houses in the villages are of the old type, with the actual living room, entrance hall, and pantry, but there are also new four-room houses with an entrance hall, a small pantry, a kitchen, and a large room divided by the stove into the living room and the bedroom. Similar room layouts are maintained at many collective farms, particularly those which are intended as showpieces.

Collective farm centers, separated from the villages, are being constructed now in Transcarpathia on all major collective farms; brick and tile buildings of an urban type are beginning to take the place of the old wooden houses with straw roofs. In Polisia the village buildings are also gradually assuming a new urban character, although the collective farmers there still maintain the old traditional way of building their houses with the front windows facing south.



FIGURE 331B. FARMER'S HOUSE IN OSTRYTSLIA, CHERNIVTSI PROVINCE (1940's)

In the second half of the 1950's, the official Soviet organs began to advocate the construction of agro-cities in Ukraine. The reasons given were the saving of arable land and construction material on the one hand, and the desire to eliminate the individual garden plots from the collective farmers' mode of life, on the other. But parallel to this planned construction, there is widespread independent building in many localities,

using the traditional room scheme of Ukrainian houses. This occurs even in places where agro-cities are in the process of construction. Even workers in such industrial centers as the Luhanske area do not comply with the officially recommended building projects. They favor local traditions in the construction of new houses, furnishing them according to the local customs and usages and using embroidery and ceramics for decoration.

Considerable changes have taken place in the realm of popular clothing and footwear. Such colorful and richly ornamented garments as skirts, *foty* (wrap-around-skirts), *manty* (mantles), *serdaky* (jackets), and *portianysti* (kind of

trousers) of the Bukovinian (Hutsulian) folk clothing have disappeared. They are no longer manufactured, and if they are worn at all it is only during holidays or on stage. The Hutsulian *postoly* (leather moccasins) have completely disappeared from the scene. Among the garments that have remained are men's and women's embroidered shirts, *kyptari* (sleeveless fur coats), and the sheepskin caps in place of the former horn-rimmed ones. Similar trends are apparent in the Hutsulian area where ready-made clothing is generally worn. The folk costume is gradually disappearing in the Boikian area where the elderly people are preserving it only to be laid to rest in it. The inhabitants of the Boikian villages wear an urban type of clothing, although some still use homemade cloth. The traditional popular costume is also vanishing from the people's mode of life in Galician Podilia and Volhynia and Ukrainian Polisia. Only some pieces of clothing and their ornaments still remain in use.

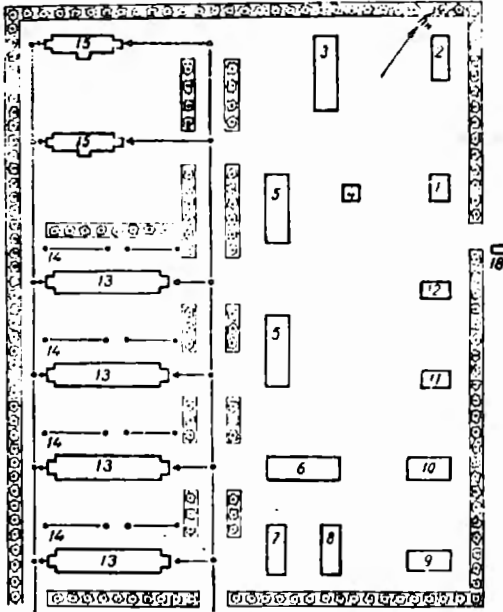


FIGURE 331c. PLAN OF THE "COMINTERN" PRODUCTION CENTER IN THE OVRUCH rayon, ZHYTOMYR oblast

(1) Garage; (2) repair shop; (3) storehouse for agricultural machinery; (4) firehouse; (5) storehouse for transport implements; (6) fodder storehouse; (7) storehouse for potatoes; (8) storehouse for fruit; (9) storehouse for seed; (10) grain elevator; (11) storehouse for products; (12) warehouse; (13) stables; (14) picket lines; (15) oxsheds; (16) yard for young animals; (17) cartsheds; (18) toilets; (19) storehouse for provender; (20) place for straw and hay.

RETURN TO NATIONAL CUSTOMS AND RITUALS

Old national customs and rituals have remained alive not only in Western Ukraine, where they could be practised freely until 1939-45, but also in those Ukrainian lands where they had seemingly died out. In spite of an all-out effort on the part of the Communist regime to eradicate these customs and rituals as "remnants of religion" and "superstitions," a number of ancient Ukrainian customs have been preserved and incorporated into the body of contemporary folk usages of the Ukrainian collective farm village. The regime's unsuccessful attempts to erase them from the consciousness of the Ukrainian people, including the collectivized peasantry, the workers, and the intelligentsia, have resulted in strange and unexpected efforts on the part of Communist ideologists and theoreticians to create a kind

of "Soviet ceremony and ritualism" which would serve both as a means of invigorating the Soviet way of life and as a tool, in "the active struggle against religious survivals," to turn those who still believe in God away from religion, churches, religious rituals, and holidays. As a result, folk customs and rituals were revived in family and community life, particularly among the youth.



FIGURE 331D. CATTLE FARM AND ITS MANAGER IN THE "XIX CONGRESS OF THE CPSU" COLLECTIVE FARM, VILLAGE OF SELIUKHY, VOLHYNIA

In addition to customs and rituals connected with the Christian calendar, particularly Christmas and Easter, which are still alive among believers in Ukraine, a number of popular feasts of the winter, spring, summer, and autumn cycles have been revived during the last decade. The celebration of the New Year is particularly solemn and jubilant, with a New Year's tree in place of a Christmas tree and with *Did Moroz* (Father Frost). Recently, this holiday has been enriched by the addition of *shchedrivky* singing; groups of young men and women go from house to house bringing greetings and singing the so-called *shchedrivky* whose lyrics and motifs have been appropriately adjusted to Soviet life. This custom is well known in villages and in cities where students, comsomol youth, and workers take part in it. It is known, on the basis of sporadic and fragmentary references in Soviet ethnographic and folklore literature (1959), that the traditional spring dances and spring songs (*vesnianky*) performed by older girls and teenagers continue;

that the collective farm youth gladly participates in the singing of *hahilky* (Easter songs), in *Rusaliia* festivities, and in the feast of *Kupalo*.

There has been a revival of folk ritualism in the customs connected with the completion of the harvest season, now known as collective farm *obzhynky*. To the former traditional ceremonies and processions there have been added patriotic speeches by the chairman of the collective farm as well as contemporary collective farm songs.

REVIVAL OF WEDDING RITES

Folk rituals have found their fullest expression in customs relating to the contemporary act of marriage. As in the past, when wedlock was not complete without both the precise performance of all wedding rituals in the proper order and the church ceremony, now, in the Ukrainian SSR, the act of marriage performed legally in *ZAHS* (Registry Office) assumes full validity only upon performance of the folk wedding before or after the civil marriage. The various and varied acts of the traditional wedding drama continue to be performed in many *oblasts* in Ukraine, sometimes in abbreviated form as the daily rigors of collective farm life do not allow for the prolonged ceremonials of tradition. There are in contemporary weddings the *druzhky* (best men), *starosty* and *svaty* (matchmakers), *boiary* (attendants), all with traditional decorations, embroidered towels, etc. The *korovai* (wedding bread) continues to play an important part in the wedding ritual as does its cutting. The matchmaking with full display of established rituals usually begins a month before the wedding.

Along with the revival of wedding customs and rituals, attempts have been made to add ceremonial solemnity to such family occasions as the birth of a child, the departure of the young son for army service, the observance of silver and golden wedding anniversaries, and

the burial of the dead. At the present time, when a newborn child is registered, one or more pairs of god-parents (*kumy*) are invited to the parents' home, and they bring the *kryzhmo* (diaper cloth) and drinks. According to information from 1962, there were five pairs of *kumy* at one such occasion in a village in the Chernivtsi *oblast*; they wore embroidered towels across their chests, according to tradition, and they brought bread and flowers. Departures of army draftees are also accompanied by traditional ceremonies, similar to those performed in tsarist times when an unmarried draftee was leaving for duty in the army, with the inclusion of certain forms of wedding rituals. Silver and golden wedding anniversaries are celebrated amid friends and relatives. The wedding table is set, with the traditional *korovai*, and sometimes "the newlyweds" are attired in wedding dress with flower bouquets. The custom of a solemn funeral ceremony, with a separate although non-religious

service for the dead, is becoming increasingly popular among the people. Even today, many funerals are attended by priests and accompanied by a church procession. Along with other customs there has been a revival of housewarming customs to mark the construction of a new house or the obtaining of a new apartment. Many elements of folk usage have become part of ceremonies associated with various community and school festivities.

RITUALISTIC POETRY AND "SOVIET FOLKLORE"

Popular ritualistic poetry is also sustained among the masses along with other rites and customs. It has been frequently recorded by the Soviet collectors of folklore, although according to the prevailing policy it is not published in folklore collections and ethnographic editions. In addition to such traditional ritualistic songs as the *shchedrivky*,

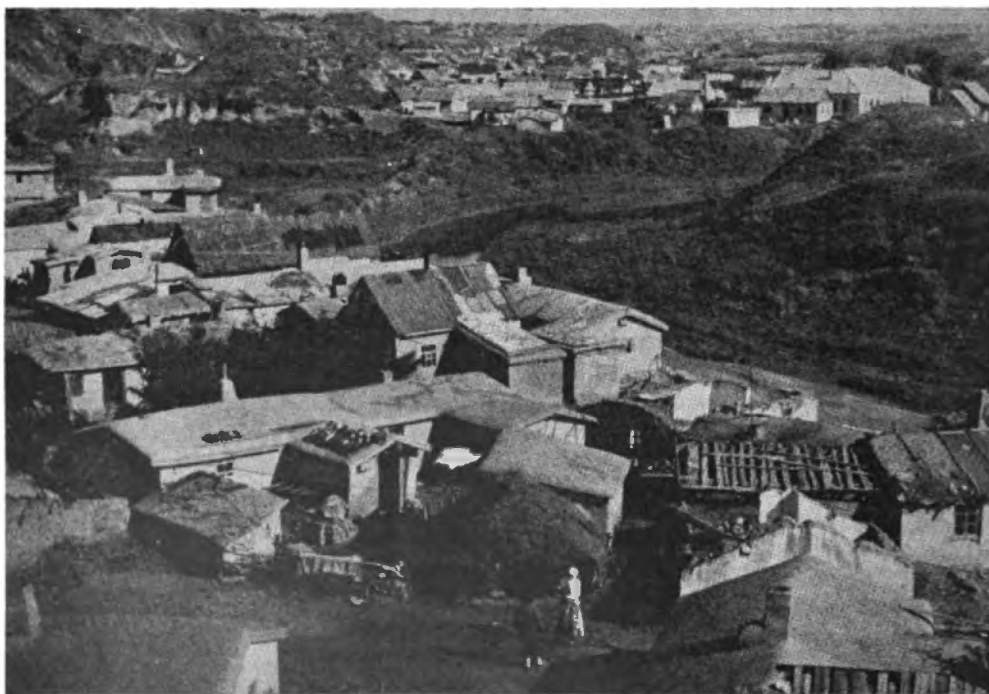


FIGURE 331E: TYPICAL WORKERS' SETTLEMENT NEAR KRYVYI RIH IN 1941

vesnianky, and harvest songs, which have become part of the contemporary collective farm way of life, such ritualistic songs as *koliadky*, *hahilky*, and others continue to occupy a leading place in present-day folklore. In this respect, the song material gathered by the Soviet folklore collector, H. Tanciura, and published by him in 1958 may serve as an illustration. Of the 2,276 songs collected by him in his native village, Ziatkivci, Haisyn raion, Vinnytsia oblast, 134 were ritual songs, 41 *koliadky* and *shchedrivky*, and 800 wedding songs, but only 130 were Soviet songs and *chastushky* (a kind of popular song), and only 135 Russian songs and *chastushky*. This shows that the Soviet way of life has failed to penetrate deeply into the Ukrainian folklore.

The real condition of the Ukrainian oral literature has not been described in contemporary Soviet ethnographic and folklore science. The so-called popular folklore published in Soviet editions in 1957-62 is concerned solely with such themes as the glorification of Lenin and the Communist party, the "building of Communism", the Soviet army, Soviet "heroes of labor", etc. Frequently, records of "antireligious folk art" are published in collections. This does not concern songs alone. Contemporary Soviet tales, proverbs, and sayings are designated in scholarly publications to serve as "tools of agitation and propaganda." In spite of the fact that folklore material does exist and has been recorded in the notes of folklore collectors and in manuscripts of the Institute of Arts, Folklore, and Ethnography at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the information and data are not published.

Similar trends prevail in the realm of folk humor and satire which are directed against former lords, the church and priests, idlers, and others. There is no mention of the anti-regime and anti-Communist humor and satire, even though it exists, as evidenced by the

collections of anti-Soviet anecdotes, verses, sayings, widely popular in Ukraine and published abroad. Rich folklore material created in jails and concentration camps is also excluded from Soviet publications.

The situation is not different in the realm of folk music. Some *kobzari* (minstrels) are still alive and they perform occasionally, but as in other cases, their creative talents are used solely for propaganda purposes, the glorification of Lenin, the party, and Communism. One of the last remaining blind lyre-players, the late Avram Hreben (died at the age of eighty in December, 1961) from the village Dmytrivka in the Chernihiv area, was compelled to compose and perform such "glorifying songs" on stage.

FOLK THEATER AND APPLIED DECORATIVE ART

The once popular puppet theater, known as *vertep* and associated with the feast of Christmas, declined completely during the Soviet occupation of Ukraine. Attempts to revive it in some towns of the Kharkiv area, in the Mezhyhirske Art Institute, with an anti-religious repertoire and under the name of "revolutionary puppet theater," failed because the modernized version had little in common with the traditional forms of the Ukrainian *vertep*. These attempts were discontinued in 1930's. Renewed attempts to revive the *vertep* appeared in 1957 among collective farmers in the Zhytomyr area, where an amateur puppet theater was organized in the village of Stara Huta. Some contemporary Soviet ethnographers have requested recently that this branch of folk art be revived.

Numerous changes have taken place in the folk decorative applied art, although it was one of the branches of folk art that enjoyed the highest degree of tolerance. The most significant change is to be found in the transformation of almost all types of applied art from individual, often nameless, folk artists to



FIGURE 331f. EMBROIDERED PANEL "BLOSSOM, O, UKRAINE" BY N. VESOLOVSKA, FROM KIEV, 1961, WITH TRADITIONAL PLANT-LIKE AND CONTEMPORARY INDUSTRIAL MOTIFS

streamlined industrial forms of production. In such former centers of applied art as Opishnia, Reshetylivka, Petrykivka, Kosiv, Hlyniiany, and others, new artistic artels have been established, where most of the local folk artists work collectively in shops and factories. At times these artists are allowed to work at home but they can distribute their products only through the artels. In many parts of Ukraine, where at one time applied art was highly developed, no such artels have been organized either because of lack of initiative or indifference on the part of Soviet administration or simply because of shortage of raw materials. In these areas, Polisia for example, this type of art is almost totally extinct. For

the same reasons other kinds of applied art have also declined.

Woodcarving continues to develop in the Hutsulian area, and it is now expanding to include wood sculpture on an individual basis but within the framework of collective artels—for example, the works of the Lemkian engravers in Truskavets or those of the sculptors in Transcarpathia. At the same time, however, the art of wood engraving on carts, yokes, gates, and beams has waned. The highly developed folk art of furniture-making has declined completely as a result of industrial production. The art of weaving and carpetmaking has been developing well as a form of industry, although the production of home-made carpets and decorative wool cloths is no longer continued on a mass basis. Almost completely lost is the art of making *plakhty* (a kind of skirts); the cloth from which they were made is now applied usually for the decoration of walls, furniture, etc. Ukrainian embroidery continues to predominate as a popular folk art, although golden thread embroidery has vanished in the Vinnytsia area, and bead embroidery has declined sharply in Western Ukraine. Pottery has been transformed into artel production with the result that both the form of the ceramics and the designs have lost some of their creative beauty. The once famous colorful ceramic designs of the Kiev area have almost gone out of existence. The art of working glass, such as chinaware, faïence, mosaics, has been confined to industrial enterprises, with only occasional application of folk ornamentation. The working of the metals, at one time highly developed in the Hutsul area, has gone out of existence owing to lack of raw materials. In connection with intense anti-religious campaign, the making of Easter eggs (*pysanky*) has been discontinued, except for some areas in Western Ukraine. Straw incrustation is now a rare form of folk art; only some craftsmen are still working in it.

The art of decorative wall painting has become very popular in the Dnipropetrovske area, Odessa area, Podilia, and even in Transcarpathia, where huge sheets of paper are first painted and then placed on the walls. And although the individual artists in this branch of folk art are organized in artels, their works are becoming more individualistic in form and in content. Consequently, their creations appear under their own names.

B. Krawciw

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The following literature has been used in this chapter: articles and notes of Soviet ethnographers and folklorists published in the magazine, *Narodna tvorchiť i etnografija* (Folk Creativeness and Ethnography), Kiev, 1957-62, and in the serial edition, *Materialy z etnografii ta khudozhn'oho promyslu* (Materials on Ethnography and Art Industry, 1954-7), since 1959, *Materialy z etnografii i mystetstvoznavstva* (Materials on Ethnography and the Study of Art), as well as the most recent works in this field of study, which are listed in the bibliographies for other articles of this section.

V. Language*

1. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE AND THE PRESENT STATE OF RESEARCH

The beginnings of linguistics in Ukraine go back to the sixteenth century when handbooks began to appear for use in the schools (*Gramatyka slovenska jazyka* [Grammar of the Slavic Language, 1586], *Adelʹfotes*, 1591, the grammars of L. Zyzanij-Tustanovsʹkyj, 1596, and of M. Smotrycʹkyj, 1619). All these works were patterned on the Latin and Greek handbooks (Donatus, Alvarus, Laskaris, Moskopoulos, and others) and presented the most important rules of the Church Slavonic language (using Ukrainian phonetics). The Ukrainian language itself was dealt with only indirectly. Some of these books (M. Smotrycʹkyj, the manuscript grammar of Uževyč, 1643) came to play a prominent part in the history of Slavic philology (Dobrovský), and their grammatical terminology, based on Greek and Latin models, has been used in Russian and Bulgarian grammars. Smotrycʹkyj's book and reworkings of it became the school handbooks of the CS language in Russia and Serbia (Mrazović).

During the period of Romanticism, under the influence of the newly awakened interest in the folklore and language of the common people, A. Pavlovsʹkyj prepared his grammar of

spoken Ukrainian (1818). (The manuscript was presented in 1805 to the Russian Academy in St. Petersburg.) He treated the subject from the point of view of the differences between Ukrainian and the Russian literary language. The ethnographic materials published at that time were mostly supplied with vocabularies and orthographic notes of a practical nature (e.g., M. Maksymovyč, 1827, 1841, A. Metlynsʹkyj, 1848).

In Western Ukraine, where the old tradition of "slovenoruščyna" had not been interrupted, the first grammatical works of the beginning of the nineteenth century were entangled in a web of Church Slavonic which some grammarians of the day identified with Ukrainian (M. Lučkaj, 1830), while others mixed CS elements with those of the national speech (Josyp Levycʹkyj, 1834, I. Vahylevyč, 1845). At the same time the structure of their works and the laws which they established showed the strong influence of the contemporary Russian grammars, from which the authors copied not only entire rules but even the examples (I. Levycʹkyj and Tappe, Butovskij, I. Vahylevyč and Greč; the influence of Tappe is also noticeable in Lučkaj). In the general confusion in questions of language it was very hard for an objective view of Ukrainian to break through, especially as, because of the regulations of the Austrian censorship, works giving such a view either

*The transliteration system used in this chapter ("Language") differs from the system adopted for all other chapters of the book. The following variants are used in this section: e — je, ж — ž, ѣ — j, ĭ — ji, x — x, u — c, ч — č, ш — š, щ — šč, ь — ′, ю — ju, я — ja.



FIGURE 332. PAGE FROM THE GRAMMAR OF M. SMOTRYC'KYJ, 1619

did not appear in print (the grammar of I. Mohyl'nyč'kyj, submitted to the censor in 1824) or did so only after long delay (the grammar of J. Lozyns'kyj, submitted in 1833 and published in 1846). Neither Mohyl'nyč'kyj's enlightened views on language, *Vidomost' o jazyci russkom*, 1824-7, *Rozprava o jazyku ruskim*, 1829 (Essay of the Ruthenian Language) nor the ideas of Lozyns'kyj, a fanatical advocate of the popular language (foreword to his grammar), nor the notes of the great Slovene, Kopitar, were able to change the traditional views on the so-called book language, which in the opinion of the majority had either to be CS or to have a heavy admixture of it.

This explains why a long series of grammatical handbooks for the schools

(1848-50) based upon the popular speech and the living Galician dialects (Teofan Hlyns'kyj, Luka Sluhoc'kyj, Ivan Žukivs'kyj, Josyp Haninčak) remained in manuscript. A good grammar by Jakiv Holovac'kyj (1849) based on the facts of the Ukrainian language owed its appearance to Holovac'kyj's position as a university professor. Although the authors of grammars observed the most important rules of Ukrainian national speech, indicated the dialectal peculiarities (Vahylevyč), and tried to classify the Ukrainian dialects (Holovac'kyj, *Rozprava o jazyci južnorusskom i eho naričijax* [Essay on the South Russian Language and its Dialects], Lviv, 1849), yet their efforts all displayed a certain dilettantism. The one work which showed that its author held wider views and was acquainted with the linguistic literature of the time (Vostokov, Grimm, and others) was the collection of the university lectures of Ja. Holovac'kyj, but it remained in manuscript.

At this period (the 1830's-50's) grammatical studies in central and eastern Ukraine (and in Russia) were bound up with the development of Slavic studies in the universities. The first studies of Ukrainian were of a defensive nature (O. Bodjans'kyj, 1835), written to combat the view held by Greč and others that Ukrainian was a "regional dialect of Polish," or they concerned themselves with the "peculiarities" of Ukrainian as opposed to the standard Russian language (Bodjans'kyj, 1834, especially in his correspondence with Šafařík, 1835; P. Lavrovskij, 1852-5) or to both Russian and Polish (M. Kostomarov, 1863). This view of the Ukrainian language was held in the west (Šafařík, *Slovanský Národopis* [Slavic Ethnography], 1842). At the same time there were discussions as to the antiquity of Ukrainian as com-

pared with Russian (I. Sreznevskij, 1849, M. Maksymovyč, 1856, and others), its relationship with other Slavic languages (P. Lavrovskij, 1856), and its place among the Slavic languages; the classification of Dobrovský, who recognized only one "Russian" language, was corrected (Maksymovyč, 1827, 1838, and others). Then came the discovery of texts in the old Ukrainian language (C. Kalajdovič, Bodjans'kyj, Sreznevskij) and the beginnings of a study of these from the standpoint of historical grammar. There first appeared chrestomathies of the old *Rus'* language (Buslaev, 1861). These contained texts in old Ukrainian with grammatical and paleographical explanations.

Comparative and historical research on Ukrainian was begun by scholars in the 1850's with the work of F. Miklosich. He definitely established its full independence and the extent of its kinship with the other Slavic languages in its geographical neighborhood, basing himself on linguistic earmarks of individual Slavic languages (*Vergleichende Lautlehre der slavischen Sprachen*, 1852, and later comparative works). Miklosich collected a great wealth of material but was extremely cautious in drawing conclusions and making generalizations. Being close to the Neogrammarians, he considered language as the mere sum of the sound and formal correspondences, and reduced the study of all languages to one scheme. He employed Ukrainian material for works of comparative grammar, of lexicography (loan words in the Slavic languages), and of onomastics. His influence in Austria was great, and for a long time to come he determined the course of philological studies in Galicia.

In Galicia in the 1860's-70's the only works in linguistics were a few school

handbooks (Osadca, 1862, 1864; Šaškevyč, 1862; Djačan, 1865; Om. Partyc'kyj, 1883). It was only in the 1880's that the Miklosich school produced the first works of O. Ohonov's'kyj (*Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache*, 1880), of Stepan Smal'-Stoc'kyj (on the influence of analogy in the declension of substantives, 1884), and of J. Hanuš (on accent, 1884). Miklosich's method was also evident in the works of I. Verxrats'kyj (dialectology).

Ohonov's'kyj (*Studien, Hramatyka* [Grammar], 1889) collected a great deal of linguistic data, rejected everything alien to the popular language, and provided his text with historical explanations; his syntax was the best part of his work and is still not outdated.

Smal'-Stoc'kyj criticized the work of Ohonov's'kyj, and his grammar (1893) broke with the historical-etymological principle in spelling and devoted more attention to phonetics and word derivation and less to syntax (1st edition; later editions, 1907, 1913, paid more attention to the latter and also to semantics). But even after this Smal'-Stoc'kyj remained a follower of Miklosich in his methodology. In his large *Grammatik der ruthenischen (ukrainischen) Sprache*, written in collaboration with Th. Gartner, he collected a great deal of material, especially on word derivation and accent, but he did not introduce any general principle of arrangement into it; his thesis that there was no Common Eastern Slavic language and that Ukrainian developed directly from Common Slavic, was based on statistical data of the distinctive features of Ukrainian as compared with those of other Slavic languages. To the defense of this position, Smal'-Stoc'kyj in the main devoted his further linguistic work. Features of the Miklosich school are also noticeable in many other Galician philo-

logists (O. Kolessa) even up to the most recent times.

In the 1860's the most distinguished Ukrainian philologist, Oleksander Potebnja (1835-91), began his scientific work. He was the founder of scientific Ukrainian linguistics. In his works Potebnja started from an original interpretation of the position of W. von Humboldt; he emphasized the direct connection between language and the spiritual character of a people and nation and saw in language the revelation of a nation's spiritual being (*Mysl' i jazyk*—Thought and Language, 1862). These views of Potebnja's were not valued in his own day but at the beginning of the twentieth century a special



FIGURE 333.
O. POTEBNJA



FIGURE 334.
P. ŽYTEC'KYJ

school of "Potebnians" developed, based on them (V. Xarcijiv, O. Vetuxov, and others). Of special importance is his work on the historical syntax of the Slavic languages (*Iz zapisok po russkoj grammatike*—From Notes on Russian Grammar, I-IV; *Značenie množestvennogo čisla v russkom jazyke*—The Meaning of the Plural in Russian, 1888), where these views are applied to a very rich collection of factual material taken from old texts and from contemporary Slavic and Baltic languages. Unfortunately these most important works of

Potebnja's did not find continuers, with the exception of A. Popov (*Sintaksiděskie issledovanija*—Syntactical Studies, 1881), for among the Neogrammarians, who dominated the field, syntax was the most neglected part of philology. Whereas he sought in syntax and semantics the imprint of the development of individual and national consciousness, Potebnja in his works on historical phonetics was cautious in generalizing, and very critical. The general comparative sections of these works (*Dva issledovanija o zvukax russkogo jazyka*—Two Studies on the Sounds of Russian, 1866; *K istorii zvukov russkogo jazyka*—On the History of the Sounds of Russian, I-IV, 1876-83; *Zametki o malorusskom narečii*—Notes on the Little Russian Dialect, 1871) were based on the principles current before de Saussure. They do not give a general conception of the phonetic development of the Ukrainian language but they are still valuable for a whole series of explanations of individual phenomena. In particular Potebnja popularized an explanation for the development of the Ukrainian *i* from *o*, *e* through a compensatory lengthening of these sounds which he regarded as common for the entire Ukrainian language.

A synthetic account of the phonetic development of the Ukrainian language was first put forward by P. Žytec'kyj (*Očerok zvukovoj istorii malorusskogo narečija*—Outline of the Phonetic History of the Little Russian Dialect, 1876) but the attempt was premature and methodologically insufficient. Žytec'kyj started from the thesis that the contemporary dialects of Podlachia retain not only the old Ukrainian but also the proto-Eastern Slavic sounds and on this false premise he based his work. The survey of Ukrainian phonetics made by

V. Naumenko (*Obzor fonetičeskix osobennostej malorussskoj reči*—Survey of the Phonetic Peculiarities of Little Russian Speech, 1889) contained similar romantic speculations, but was valuable for its factual material. More important in this field were the works of K. Myxaľčuk (1840–1914) which were unfortunately scattered throughout the various journals. The most systematic of these (*K južnorusskoj dialektologii*—On South Russian Dialectology, 1893), a sort of review of the phonetic history of the Ukrainian language, was chiefly based on rich dialectal material and, on the other hand, on the theoretical concept of an “etymological phoneme,” which made him, to a certain extent, a predecessor of the later phonology. The classification of the Ukrainian dialects made by Myxaľčuk (1872) was especially important. Although this work is somewhat fragmentary (for the material was collected by untrained people on the basis of a questionnaire), yet he did provide a general survey of the dialects, and made an attempt to divide them into three groups (Ukrainian, Polissian, and Red Rus’—*červonorus’ka*). He later abandoned this scheme (1893) in criticizing the sketch of Ukrainian dialectology by A. Sobolevskij (1892). His map of dialectal regions was also valuable. A certain lack of system in this work was corrected later by Myxaľčuk in his *Prohrama zbyrannja dijalektyčnyx odmin ukrajins’koji movy* (Program for Collecting Dialectal Varieties in the Ukrainian Language), which was arranged for the Russian Academy of Sciences and published (1909) under the editorship of A. Kryms’kyj (Russian edition) and Je. Tymčenko (Ukrainian edition).

After the 1880’s the development of scientific work in Ukrainian philology

was such that it is better considered by fields. The greatest attention was paid to problems of historical phonetics and dialectology.

In historical phonetics (and, in part, morphology) a great discussion was started in the 80’s and 90’s by the works of A. Sobolevskij (*Lekcii po istorii russkogo jazyka*—Lectures on the History of the Russian Language, 1889). It is true that Sobolevskij treated the Ukrainian language as a dialect of the one Russian language, but he made use of a mass of dialectal and historical material. Thus, Sobolevskij explained various phenomena, though not always exactly and correctly, as V. Jagić showed in his criticism (*Kritičeskie zametki po istorii russkogo jazyka*—Critical Remarks on the History of the Russian Language, 1889). Sobolevskij’s attempt to renew (on the basis of Galician-Volhynian texts which he had discovered) the “Pogodin hypothesis” that the Kievan dialect before the Tatar invasion was Russian (*Očerki iz istorii russkogo jazyka*—Sketches from the History of the Russian Language, 1883; *Drevnekievskij govor*—The Old Kievan Dialect, 1905), caused great activity among the Ukrainian philologists. The results were an analysis of the Ukrainian manuscripts of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the language of which was disputed (Kryms’kyj, S. Močul’s’kyj, O. Kolessa); theoretical work on the criteria for classification of the old Eastern Slavic dialects (Kryms’kyj, V. Rozov); and descriptions (linguistic and paleographic) of both newly found and long-known old church texts (V. Šymanovskij, A. Šaxmatov, E. Kalužnjac’kyj, O. Kolessa, I. Svjencič’kyj, I. Pan’kevyč and others), and descriptions of the texts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Rozov).

The works both of Sobolevskij and of

his opponents were based primarily on an analysis of the ancient texts. Comparative material from other languages was neglected and the present dialects were not often cited. This attitude reached its culmination in the *Ukrainskaja Grammatika* (Ukrainian Grammar) of Kryms'kyj (1907), where he collected a great mass of material for every sound change but where, because of his overwhelming confidence in the letter of the old texts and his lack of understanding of the characteristics of the literary language as distinct from the spoken, he did not always treat the material convincingly.

The need to explore a wider range of materials for historical phonetics became clear when the work of A. Šaxmatov began. In the early 90's he published one work after another, devoted to the historical phonetics of the Eastern Slavic languages and treating, in almost every case, questions of the history of the Ukrainian language. He used the material of as many ancient manuscripts as Sobolevskij and Kryms'kyj but more critically; he united it systematically with the data of dialectology and thus aimed at a reconstruction of the language and, through the language, of the history of the Eastern Slavs in the prehistoric period. Frequently changing his views on smaller questions, Šaxmatov kept working toward a synthetic work which he finally prepared in his *Kurs istorii russkogo jazyka* (Course on the History of the Russian Language, 1911-12) and the *Očerok drevnejšego perioda istorii russkogo jazyka* (Outline of the Oldest Period of the History of the Russian Language, 1915). Šaxmatov's concept was basically the theory of Eastern Slavic unity, out of which there later grew three dialects—South *Rus'*, East *Rus'*, and North *Rus'*. The South *Rus'*

speech developed into Ukrainian, the North *Rus'* was the origin of the North Russian dialects, and the East *Rus'*—partly of the South Russian dialects and partly (as a result of various crossings) of the Belorussian language. The concept of an original Eastern Slavic unity had already been basically accepted by Sreznevskij (1849), Maksymovyč (1856), Lavrovskij (1859), Potebnja, Žytec'kyj, and Myxaľčuk, but with caution and without detailed elaboration; now Šaxmatov placed it at the center of his whole structure. His influence was very great and a similar position was taken by the majority of Russian linguists, such as Je. Budde, N. Durnovo, S. Kul'bakin (*Ukrainskij jazyk* [Ukrainian Language], 1918), and N. Trubetzkoy. The Belorussian E. Karskij, the Czech V. Vondrák, the Frenchman A. Meillet, the new Polish school of linguists including T. Lehr-Splawiński, and others, also adopted it.

In time, new, more profound studies of the dialects and especially of their origins, on the one hand, and the very breadth of Šaxmatov's consideration of the question, on the other, began to reveal the inadequacy of this concept. Especially insofar as it concerned Ukrainian, even Šaxmatov's followers, although they accepted it, actually undermined it in their studies (V. Hancov); others avoided mention of the Common Eastern Slavic period, disguising it by calling it "Prehistoric" (P. Buzuk); and there were direct attacks upon it as well (Je. Tymčenko, K. Nimčynov, O. Synjavs'kyj). In the 1920's a new concept of the historical development of Ukrainian phonetics began to develop, chiefly based on the discoveries in Ukrainian dialectology.

DIALECTOLOGY at this time not only collected a great mass of material, it

also went through an important methodological evolution. Its beginnings had been marked by an eagerness to generalize in the face of a lack of definite, concrete studies (e.g. Maksymovyč, Vahylevyč). In the 1860's-80's empirical methods became dominant. Scholars would write down all the dialectal facts noticed without any distinction as to their typicality or their function in the linguistic system of the dialect, often without making a distinction among various villages in a quite large area, and without a precise phonetic transcription (Verxrats'kyj, Hnatjuk, Dykarev). The dialectological work of O. Broch in the 90's brought a change; his writings were, above all, accurate in choice of material and especially in phonetic transcription. All the better



FIGURE 335.
K. MYXAL'ČUK



FIGURE 336.
I. ZILYNS'KYJ

dialectological writings between 1890 and 1920 have these same features (I. Zilyns'kyj, H. Holoskevyč, and others) and this approach reaches its height in the studies of M. Johansen (1927) with his efforts to fix the most minute individual shades of pronunciation. This evoked a reaction; phonological-structuralist principles were proclaimed and the grasp, behind the interplay of various sounds, of the system of phonemes was considered central in the

description of a dialect (Synjavs'kyj and, in part, O. Kurylo, Hancov, Zilyns'kyj).

The fact that individual descriptions of the dialects of almost all the Ukrainian regions had been made since 1920 was further evidence of the wide scope of the work done by dialectologists: Kharkiv province (Bezkrivnyj, Popov), Poltava province (Buzuk, Johansen), Chernihiv province and Polisia (Hancov, Kurylo, Synjavs'kyj, Vynohrads'kyj, Kuraszkievycz, Ossowski), Kiev province (P. Hladkyj), Podolia (P. Hladkyj, Holoskevyč, K. Dejna), the Hutsul region (B. Kobyljans'kyj, Janów, I. Pättrut), the Boikian area (Rabijivna, Svjencic'kyj, Ja. Rudnyc'kyj), the Dniester basin (Janów, Pšepjurs'ka), Transcarpathia (Pan'kevyč, Gerovskij, Durnovo), the Lemkian region (Zilyns'kyj, Ohijenko, Šemlej, Stieber [the latter started publication, in 1956, of a dialectal atlas of the Lemkian area, in fascicules]), and the Don area (Grinkova). This enabled scholars to turn their attention to historical dialectology. Previous discussion had centered on the division of the Ukrainian language into three groups (Myxal'čuk, 1872) or two groups (Sobolevskij—northern and southern—1892; Kryms'kyj—eastern and western—1907; Zilyns'kyj—southeastern and northwestern—1914) and the question of considering or not the Carpathian dialects as a separate dialectal type (N. Durnovo, N. Sokolov, D. Ušakov, 1915). New theories were advanced, in general outline, of a division of the Ukrainian dialects in prehistoric times into northern and southern groups, of which the latter later gave rise to a third southeastern group (Hancov, 1923, Kurylo, 1924, Zilyns'kyj, 1925, 1938). This was confirmed in the historical works of a Pole, W. Kuraszkievycz (1934), although in his dialectological works he opposed the views of Hancov and Kurylo. Ukrainian

social dialects have not been sufficiently investigated, except in the studies of argots by O. Horbatsch.

Interest in descriptive grammar of the Ukrainian language developed later. During the period when the Neogrammarians dominated the field, emphasis was placed on descriptive phonetics only. Among the outstanding achievements of twentieth century philology, we must count the phonetic survey of the Ukrainian literary language of O. Broch (*Slavische Phonetik*, 1911) based on the Western Ukrainian pronunciation of I. Zilyns'kyj, a student of his (and of Jagić's); the work of Synjavs'kyj; and especially the first systematic phonetic description of the Ukrainian language which was made by I. Zilyns'kyj (1932). In descriptive grammar, the beginning of the twentieth century only saw the appearance of popular handbooks of the Ukrainian language (Zaloznyj, 1906, Šerstjuk, 1907) and the more important grammar of Je. Tymčenko (1907, second edition 1913). The rapid development of the Ukrainian literary language in the years of independence and in the 1920's gave rise to the appearance of a whole mass of practical grammars, some of which were of scientific importance (*Pidvyščenyj kurs ukrajin's'koji movy* [Advanced Course in the Ukrainian Language], edited by L. Bulaxovs'kyj, works of Synjavs'kyj, I. Ohijenko). The speed of the literary language's development provided the stimulus for a series of critical works on its purity both from highly trained philological specialists (Kryms'kyj, A. Nikovs'kyj, Simovyč, Synjavs'kyj, Kurylo, Hancov, Ohijenko) and from editors who knew the "spirit" of the language and its rules (Je. Cykalenko, M. Levyc'kyj, M. Hladkyj). A special interest in syntax grew up, producing purely descriptive

works (Tymčenko) or works which were both descriptive and standardizing (M. Sulyma), and then deeper efforts to show the syntactic peculiarities of the Ukrainian phrase and to connect syntax and stylistics, these latter showing some relation to the tradition of Potebnja (Kurylo, S. Smerečyns'kyj, G. Shevelov). From the pure description, in the Miklosich spirit, in his first work on Ukrainian word formation (1915), R. Smal'-Stoc'kyj went on to make a systematic study of questions of word formation in connection with semantics (1926). Less



FIGURE 337.
L. BULAXOV'S'KYJ



FIGURE 338.
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attention was given to questions of vocabulary, outside lexicography (see "Lexicography"), and of accent. However, the contemporary material on accent was systematized by Z. Neboživna, and the historical by Ohijenko, and it was widely commented upon, against the background of general Slavic data, in the many articles of Bulaxovs'kyj.

THE HISTORY OF THE LITERARY LANGUAGE was embarked upon by P. Žytec'kyj who wrote a work on the literary middle Ukrainian language—*Očeršk literaturnoj istorii malorusskogo narečija v XVII v.* (Outline of the Literary History of the Little Russian Dialect in

the Seventeenth Century, 1889) which has not lost its importance, although subsequent writings have appeared, such as V. Šymanovs'kyj's work on the main features of the Ukrainian literary language of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (1893) and monographs in the field (M. Markovs'kyj on the language of A. Radyvylovs'kyj, 1895, Z. Veselovs'ka on the language of P. Berynda, 1927-30, etc.). This branch of Ukrainian philology attracted little attention during the supremacy of the Neogrammarians, and its development was consequently interrupted. It was reborn, in the 1920's, as a result of the general interest in the literary language and its development. This interest manifested itself in the studies made of the texts of the Middle Ukrainian period (Ohijenko, J. Janów) and especially of the works of individual writers: Skovoroda (Buzuk, Synjavs'kyj, Nimčynov), Kotljarevs'kyj (Synjavs'kyj, Shevelov), Kvitka (Veselovs'ka), Ševčenko (Synjavs'kyj, Sulyma, Simovyč, H. Levčenko), Svydnyč'kyj (Xraščevs'kyj), Teslenko (Sulyma), Ryl's'kyj (Ohijenko), and many others. Also important to the history of the literary language and to the Ukrainian language in general was the publication of the *Historical Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* begun by Je. Tymčenko (I-II, A-Z, 1930-2). But no synthetic work in the history of the literary language was compiled; the work of Metropolitan Ilarion (1949) gives only its external history and does not replace the outline of M. Sulyma (1929); that of V. Čaplenko (1955) encompasses only the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century (till 1917).

The structuralistic trend in Ukrainian philology was checked, but showed im-

portant results in the works of Simovyč on historical phonology and morphology, in D. Čyževs'kyj's treatment of questions of the phonology and morphonology of the contemporary Ukrainian language. Some elements of it were used in the works of Šerech (G. Shevelov) on historical phonology and the descriptive grammar of the Ukrainian language.

THE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN TOPONYMY began with the historical, ethnographic, and literary explanation of geographical names (Maksymovyč, 1837, the historians V. Antonovyč, V. Ploščans'kyj, O. Lazarevs'kyj, A. Petruševyč, and others). M. Sumcov also explained some names ethnographically. In dictionaries and collections of names, the first work was that of Ja. Holovac'kyj: *Geografičeskij slovar'* (Geographical Dictionary, Vilnius, 1884). Much Ukrainian material is contained in the Polish *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, Vols. I-XV, Warsaw, 1880-1902, and also in the Russian geographical dictionary of P. Semenov. Unfortunately in these publications the names are usually cited in forms which are far from those used popularly and which have been adapted artificially to fit into the Polish or Russian tradition. In 1929, A. Petrov published a collection of Transcarpathian boundary names: *Karpatorusskije meževyje nazvanija pol. XIX i nač. XX v.* (Carpatho-Russian Boundary Names from the Middle of Nineteenth and the Beginning of the Twentieth Centuries). As subsidiary sources, the deeds of the church, lists of inhabited places, and geographical maps and atlases, especially those of V. Kubijovyč, may be used. Ja. Rudnyč'kyj's index, *Ortsnamenverzeichnis der Ukraine*, the most complete list of names so far, appeared in 1943.

The twentieth century has seen an intensification of toponomastic studies, a field in which the philologists were late in taking an interest. I. Franko and M. Korduba did historical work in the field. Mention must also be made of A. Sobolevskij, G. Il'jinskij, P. Skok, M. Vasmer, M. Sergievskij, I. Pan'kevyč, and especially Ja. Rudnyc'kyj who, in addition to making studies of individual names, produced a systematic description and explanation of the names of the Boikian region—*Nazwy geograficzne Bojkowszczyzny*, Lviv, 1939. S. Hrabec prepared a similar work on the place names of the Hutsul region (*Nazwy geograficzne Huculszczyzny*, Cracow, 1950), and Z. Stieber, on those of the Lemkian area (*Toponomastyka Łemkowszczyzny*, in two parts, Łódź, 1948–9).

Development of the study of Ukrainian personal names can be divided into two periods. In the older period, works were produced by students of names who were not philologists (Sumcov, V. Ochrjmovyč, Franko, M. Kornjlovyč).

Of the works of linguists the most important are the studies of Simovyč, who, basing himself on historical material, traced the development of the structure of Ukrainian Christian names and showed how some types of Ukrainian names had developed. Also important were the works of I. Pan'kevyč, I. Ohjenko, and Ja. Rudnyc'kyj.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the centers of philological study were the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv and, for a while, the Southwestern Section of the Russian Geographical Society of Kiev. At the beginning of the twentieth century the work centered around the lexicographer B. Hrinčenko (aided

by Myxaľčuk, Tymčenko, and others) and also in the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev. The work was greatly expanded in the 1920's in the Historical and Philological Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev where there were at work special commissions for grammar, dialectology, and the history of the Ukrainian language. After the purge of the Ukrainian Academy, philological work came to an almost complete standstill. *Movoznavstvo* (Linguistics, 1934–9), which appeared irregularly, published by the Institute of Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, contained more propaganda than scholarly material. It is only rarely that works of scientific value on linguistics have appeared in the Soviet Ukraine (works of Bulaxovs'kyj on Slavic accentology, dialectological materials, *Kurs sučasnoji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy* [A Course in Modern Literary Ukrainian], in 2 volumes, edited by Bulaxovs'kyj, 1951).

In Galicia, philological study continued until 1939 in the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. There were other centers of philological research and publication in Poland before the war, and in Germany, before and after. In Poland the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw produced valuable works (Ohjenko on the history of the Ukrainian language, R. Smal'-Stoc'kyj, Ja. Rudnyc'kyj on word formation, M. Pšepjurs'ka on dialectology). At present in the emigration, the work is chiefly carried on in the Ukrainian Free University (the works of Ja. Rudnyc'kyj, P. Kovaliv, Shevelov, O. Horbatsch, and others), the Shevchenko Scientific Society (*Proceedings of the Philological Section*), and the

Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States and Canada (the *Annals* and the series *Slavistica, Onomastica*, under the editorship of Ja. Rudnyč'kyj).

Since the 1950's, particularly since Stalin's death, the Institute of Linguistics in Kiev has become somewhat more active in research and publication. The publication of *Movoznavstvo* was resumed, in 1941, under the editorship of L. Bulaxovs'kyj as *Naukovi zapysky Instytutu movoznavstva*, and after 1947 as *Movoznavstvo* again. The more important works are: in dialectology, *Narysy z dialektolohiji ukrajins'koji movy* (Outline of Ukrainian Dialectology, 1955) by F. Žylko, and his *Hovory ukrajins'koji movy*, 1958; in the history of the literary language, *Pytannja rozvytku movy ukrajins'koji xudožn'oji prozy* (Problems in the Development of the Language of Soviet Ukrainian Prose, 1955) by I. Bilodid; in the history of Ukrainian, *Pytannja poxodžennja ukrajins'koji movy* (Problems of the Origin of Ukrainian, 1956) by Bulaxovs'kyj, and studies of A. Hens'ors'kyj on the language of the Chronicle of Halych and Volhynia. Research in dialectology has mainly been concentrated on the dialects of the Kiev, Poltava, and Chernihiv areas and published in the symposia *Poltavs'ko-kyjiv-s'kyi dialekt—osnova ukrajins'koji nacional'noji movy* (The Dialect of Kiev and Poltava—the Basis of the Ukrainian National Language, 1954) and *Seredn'onadnıprjans'ki hovory* (The Dialects of the Middle Dnieper Area, 1960), and in the non-periodical series *Dialektolohičnyj bfuleten'*. Monographs on the dialects of the Poltava area by Vaščenko, the Lviv area by P. Prystupa and D. Bandrivs'kyj, the Hutsul area by B. Kobyljans'kyj, and the Drohobych area by Ja. Pura have appeared, as well as

dictionaries of dialectal words typical of the Odessa area by A. Moskalenko and of Transcarpathia by I. Dzendzelivs'kyj and two volumes of the dialectal atlas of Transcarpathia by Dzendzelivs'kyj (1958–60). A series of sources for the history of Ukrainian was initiated by the publication of *Leksykon slovenorosskyj* by P. Berynda (1961). Lexicographic work appears in *Leksykohrafičnyj bfuleten'*. The studies of Lviv scholars have been published in the non-periodical series *Doslidžennja z movy i literatury* (Studies in Language and Literature) since 1954, and *Pytannja ukrajins'kojo movoznavstva* (Problems of Ukrainian Linguistics) since 1956. In the latter some articles with a cautious structural approach have been published (I. Kovalyk, I. Petlyčnyj). Some research articles have been published in the journal *Ukrajins'ka mova v školi* (since 1951). Articles and monographs on the Ukrainian language are also published from time to time by the universities of Lviv, Kharkiv, Uzhhorod, Odessa, etc. In connection with the Fourth International Congress of Slavists in Moscow (1958) several symposia have been published: *Filolohičnyj zbirnyk, Doslidžennja z syntaksysu ukrajins'koji movy, Slovjans'ke movoznavstvo*, 1-2, as well as the monograph by L. Humeč'ka on Ukrainian word derivation in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Most promising are the articles by O. Mel'nyčuk on the history of Ukrainian and by I. Kučerenko on theoretical and descriptive syntax. However, all research is seriously impaired by the long break in studies and the weakness of the link with scholarly tradition, the lack of contact with progress in linguistics abroad, political restrictions and requirements of propaganda, and insufficient technical equipment and training.

As a result, even the most serious works often make an inadequate or distorted presentation of their data. This is particularly striking in attempts at synthetic presentation, such as *Porivnjaľna hramatyka ukrajins'koji i rosijs'koji movy* (Comparative Grammar of Ukrainian and Russian, 1957 and 1961) by T. Bajmut, M. Bojčuk, and others, and *Istoryčna hramatyka ukrajins'koji movy* (Historical Grammar of the Ukrainian Language, 1957) by O. Bezpal'ko, Bojčuk, and others, which are completely derivative and outdated. To a great extent this is also true of the historical syntax of Ukrainian by O. Bezpal'ko (1960) and the historical morphology of Ukrainian by S. Bevzenko (1960) as well as *Narysy z istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturniji movy* by P. Pljušč (1958) and the collective work *Kurs istoriji ukrajins'koji literaturnoji movy*, edited by Bilodid (2 vols., 1958-61).

V. Simovyč, G. Shevelov,
J. B. Rudnyckyj

Lexicography

Ukrainian lexicography, if we disregard the glosses in the old texts, goes back to the fifteenth century and began with the old "alphabets" (*azbukovnyky*) and "lexicons" of which the oldest are the manuscript *Leksys s tolkovaniem slovenskyx slov prostio* (Lexicon with Interpretations of Slavonic Words) added to the Ostrih Bible (1581) and the *Leksys syrič rečeniĵa okratci sbranny i iz slovenskaho jazyka na prostyj ruskyj dialekt istolkovany* (Lexicon of Words, a Brief Collection and Interpretation from the Slavonic Language into the Simple Ruthenian Dialect) by Zyzanij-Tustanov's'kyj, printed in Vilnius in 1596. This was used in Ukraine until the appearance in 1627 in Kiev of the *Leksykon*

slavenorosskyj, imen tolkovanie (Slavo-Ruthenian Lexicon, Interpretation of Names) of Pamva Berynda. Berynda's *Dictionary* (second edition 1653) distinguishes the Church Slavonic element from folk Ukrainian and so does the manuscript dictionary *Synonima slavenorosskaja* (Slavonic-Rus' Synonyms) from the end of the seventeenth century (edition of 1888). These were the first real dictionaries of the literary Ukrainian language of the time. The manuscript *Heptaglot Lexicon* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (Latin-Greek-Turkish-Crimean Tatar-Armenian-Ukrainian-Rumanian), called *Lughat-Namah*, which was compiled in the first half of the seventeenth century somewhere in the Ottoman Empire, lists about 2,500 Ukrainian words, in a form close to that of the popular language, although often distorted in the rendition of a foreigner. The number of words reaches more than 20,000 in another manuscript dictionary, *Dictionarium Latino-Rutenicum*, probably compiled in the early eighteenth century and now preserved in the Franciscan monastery Mala Braća in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. But this dictionary is oriented on the Ukrainian version of Church Slavonic and mostly reflects the popular language indirectly.

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries came the first attempts to list the Ukrainian popular lexicographic material: in the *Sravnitel'nyj Slovar' vsech jazykov i narečij* (Comparative Dictionary of All Languages and Dialects, 1787-89); in the new version of Pallas (1790-1)—65 words; in Fedor Tumans'kyj's supplement to the *Letopisec Malija Rosii* (Chronicle of Little Russia) entitled *Explanation of Little Russian Expressions*—333 words; and particularly in the glossary to the first edition of the *Ene-*

ŭda (Aeneid) of I. Kotljarevs'kyj (1798) —972 words, and to the third edition in 1809—153 words.

The *Kratkij malorossijskij slovar'* (Short Little Russian Dictionary) of A. Pavlovs'kyj in his *Grammar* (1818) which contains 1,131 words is especially valuable for its popular material gathered at first hand, for example, its baptismal names and phrases and proverbs. Mention must also be made of the first separately printed Ukrainian dictionary, which appeared during this period, that of Ivan Vojcexovs'kyj (1823) with a collection of 1,173 words which, however, was largely based on Pavlovs'kyj.

The 1850's and 60's saw a long series of lexicographic works in journals and collections (especially in *Osnova*, *Večernyci*, *Černigovskie Vedomosti*) and produced the first dialectological and terminological dictionaries of value: those of Xalans'kyj; A. Rohovyč (*Opyt slovarja narodnyx nazvanij rastenij* [Attempt at a Dictionary of the Folk Names of Plants]); F. Vovk (List of Plants), and I. Verxrats'kyj (*Počatky do uložennja nomenkljatury i terminolohiji pryrodopysnoji narodnoji* [Materials for Compiling the Folk Nomenclature and Terminology of Natural History, 1864–79] and *Znadoby do slovarja južnorus'koho* [Materials for a South Rus' Dictionary, 1877]). At the same time we have the first, usually unfinished, attempts at large general dictionaries. There were the unfinished *Slovar' malorusskogo narečija* (Dictionary of the Little Russian Dialect) of O. Afanas'ev-Čužbysn's'kyj (Petersburg, 1855, A-Z); a work which was outstanding for the time, M. Zakrevs'kyj's *Dictionary of Little Russian Idioms* (1861—11,127 words) in Vol. III of the *Starosvetskij Bandurist* (Old World Bandurist), followed by the broadly planned but un-

critical and incomplete *Opyt južnorusskogo slovarja* (Sketch for a South Russian Dictionary, 1862–86) of K. Šejkovs'kyj (A–B, T–Ju) which did not justify expectations.

In 1867 there appeared in Lviv the first large, two-volume *Deutsch-Ruthenisches Handwörterbuch* (German-Ruthenian Dictionary) by Omeljan Partyč'kyj, which included "folk words" in addition to the coined terms of the Galician-Ukrainian literary language of the time.

Of the dictionaries of the 70's mention must be made of Myxajlo Levčenko's valuable attempt, *Opyt russko-ukrain-skogo slovarja* (Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary, Kiev, 1874). The once popular dictionary of F. Piskunov (1873; second edition 1882) is of no scientific value. A. Potebnja also worked on a Ukrainian dictionary but his material has not yet been published.

With the ban, in 1876, of publications in Ukrainian in Russia the center of lexicographic work moved to Western Ukraine where in 1882–6 there appeared the large two-volume *Malorus'ko-nimec'kyj slovar'* (Little Russian–German Dictionary) of Jevhen Želexivs'kyj. He used all the Ukrainian lexicographic material then known, making wide use of dialectological records. The *Rus'ko-nimeckij slovar'* (Ruthenian–German Dictionary) of O. Popovyč (Chernivtsi, 1904) which was re-edited several times for the schools was only important for practical use. Las. Csopej's *Rus'ko-madžarskij slovar'* (Ruthenian–Magyar Dictionary, 1883) was of purely local importance in Transcarpathia.

In Lviv the four-volume *Slovar' rossijs'ko-ukrajins'kyj* (Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary) compiled and edited by Myxajlo Umanec' (M. Komar) and Co. (1893–8; second edition 1923) appeared

as a supplement to *Zorja*. Far less practical was the two-volume *Russko-malorossijskij Slovar'* (Russian-Little Russian Dictionary) of the well-known grammarian Je. Tymčenko (Kiev, 1896-9) in which he limits himself to a dry listing of words and fails to profit from contemporary Ukrainian creative writing.

A new epoch in Ukrainian lexicography came with the four-volume work of Borys Hrinčenko—*Slovar' ukrajinskoji movy* (Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language, Kiev, 1909). After long preparation he listed and explained more than 68,000 words using the lexicographic material of the nineteenth century Ukrainian writers and popular material from ethnographic records and collections made throughout the entire Ukrainian territory.

Hrinčenko's dictionary made Ukrainian lexicographical material available and rendered possible further work in this field. This was chiefly centered around the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv (the works of I. Verxrats'kyj, V. Hnatjuk, I. Franko, the terminological dictionaries of V. Levyc'kyj, S. Rudnyc'kyj, and others) and around the group of philologists and lexicographers in Chernivtsi. In Chernivtsi there appeared (1909-12) Ju. Kobyljans'kyj's valuable *Latyns'ko-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk* (Latin-Ukrainian Dictionary), the first Ukrainian *Slovník čužyx slov* (Dictionary of Foreign Words) by Z. Kuzelja (1912; second edition 1918), the *Deutsch-Ukrainisches Wörterbuch* (German-Ukrainian Dictionary, 1912) of B. Kmicykvyč and Co.

The period of Ukrainian statehood made good practical dictionaries a necessity, especially Ukrainian-Russian and Russian-Ukrainian, and orthographical dictionaries (Dubnjak, S. Ivanyč'kyj and F. Šumljans'kyj, O. Izju-

mov, I. Ohijenko; H. Holoskevyč's *Pravopysnyj slovnyk* [Orthographical Dictionary] reached its eighth edition).

A revival of lexicography in particular began in the 1920's when the best Ukrainian philologists and experts from various fields of knowledge gathered at the Institute of Ukrainian Scientific Language of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for joint lexicographic and terminological work. At this period many valuable publications appeared, especially the *Rosijs'ko-ukrajins'kij slovnyk* (Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary) of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences compiled under the direction of A. Kryms'kyj, S. Jefremov, *et al.* (3 volumes, 6 fascicules, A-P), an edition which still retains its scientific, practical, and standardizing value for the literary language; the *Istoryčnyj slovnyk ukrajins'koho jazyka* (Historical Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language) edited by Je. Tymčenko (A-Z, 1930-2); the *Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary* of M. Johansen, M. Nakonečnyj, K. Nimčynov, and B. Tkačenko; the *Slovník čužomovnyx slov* (Dictionary of Foreign Words) of Bojkiv, Bujnyj, Izjumov, Kališevs'kyj, and Troxymenko (Kharkiv, 1932); and also a long series of terminological dictionaries.

Work in Western Ukraine also continued enriching Ukrainian lexicography with several publications, in particular those of I. Svjencič'kyj (Polish-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-Polish dictionary, 1920), Je. Hrycak, and K. Kysilevs'kyj (Ukrainian-Polish and Polish-Ukrainian dictionary, 2 volumes, 1931).

This accelerated tempo in the development of Ukrainian lexicography was checked at the beginning of the 1930's by the Soviet government's purge of the Ukrainian Academy and the Institute for the Ukrainian Scientific Language. The

experienced lexicographers were tried and imprisoned. New editions eliminated from the old dictionaries many popular Ukrainian terms and replaced them by Russian terms (the new series of *Terminolohični Bjuleteni*—Terminological Bulletins). The Russian-Ukrainian dictionary published later under the editorial direction of S. Vasylevs'kyj and N. Kahanovyč (Kiev, 1937), the great dictionary with 80,000 words compiled under the direction of M. Kalynovyč (Moscow, 1948), and to a certain extent the large Ukrainian-Russian dictionary, edited by I. Kyryčenko (Vol. I, A–Ž, Kiev, 1953), which were prepared under the political order to Russify the Ukrainian language, have only limited practical and scientific importance. The following volumes of this latter dictionary (Z–P, 1958–61) are more reliable. The practical English-, French-, and German-Ukrainian dictionaries by M. Podvez'ko; O. Andrijevs'ka and L. Javorovs'ka; and V. Leščyns'ka, O. Maznyj, and K. Sil'vestrova; which were published in the 1950's in Kiev are primarily intended for the schools. Dictionaries devoted to the language of an individual author are represented by a very thin index of words used in the poems of Ševčenko as compiled by Nestor-Litopysec' (M. Hexter), Mykolajiv, 1918, and by the index of words used in Kotljarevs'kyj's *Enejida*, compiled by V. Vaščenko, F. Medvedjev, P. Petrova, Xarkiv, 1955. The publication of terminological dictionaries was resumed in 1959 (chemistry by E. Nekrjač a.o., geology by S. Holovaščuk a.o., mining by O. Kovšulja a.o., mathematics by F. Hudymenko a.o., hydro-technical by H. Švec' a.o., etc.).

Important work in lexicography has also been carried out between the two world wars in Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Germany.

During the last thirty years there have appeared in Prague several terminological dictionaries for technical subjects, forestry and agriculture, and the great *Medyčnyj Latyns'ko-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk* (Latin-Ukrainian Medical Dictionary) of M. Halyn (1926). In Rome the *Ukrajins'ko-italijs'kyj slovnyk* (Ukrainian-Italian Dictionary) of Je. Onac'kyj appeared in 1941. Through the Dictionary Division of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, several technical, terminological, and practical dictionaries were put out in Germany in the 30's. The Dictionary Division put its principal effort into the preparation of the *Ukrajins'ko-nimec'kyj slovnyk* (Ukrainian-German Dictionary) of Z. Kuzelja and Ja. Rudnyc'kyj (Leipzig, 1943), which contained about 100,000 words and used the newest materials, especially modern terminology. Military events prevented the appearance of the *German-Ukrainian Dictionary* of Ja. Rudnyc'kyj and H. Nakonetchna and the *Ukrainian-German and German-Ukrainian Agricultural Dictionary* of R. Dymins'kyj and Z. Kuzelja.

During World War II several dictionaries were published in Lviv and Cracow, and recent years have seen some dictionaries published in the emigration, especially English-Ukrainian and Ukrainian-English dictionaries by A. Zaxarkiv, Verbjanj-Lev, and others. The most important among these is *A Complete Ukrainian-English Dictionary* by C. H. Andrusyshyn and J. N. Krett (Saskatoon, 1955), based largely on Hrinčenko's dictionary. Also of importance are the Ukrainian-Polish dictionary by S. Hrabec and P. Zwoliński (1957), and the larger Polish-Ukrainian dictionary by L. Humeč'ka (1958).

Z. Kuzelja, supplemented by G. Shevelov

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2. THE POSITION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE AMONG THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES

The Ukrainian language which is spoken today by about 45,000,000 people belongs as an independent and original unit to the Slavic group of Indo-European languages.

In its structure, the Ukrainian language shows (a) original features which are not found in other languages and (b) features which are common to other Slavic languages.

Among the original features which occur in the literary language, the following are important:

1. The sound *i* in new closed syllables in place of the Common Slavic vowels *o*, *e*, for example, *nis*—*nosa* (nose, nom. and gen.), *nis*—*nesty* (carried—to carry).

2. The fusion of the Common Slavic vowels *i* and *y* (*ĭ*) into one intermediate sound *y* (*u*); for example, *byty* (to beat), *myty* (to wash) (<*biti*, *myti*).

3. The sound *o* in place of an original *e* after *č*, *ž*, *š*, and *j* before a historically hard syllable, i.e., a syllable in which

there were the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, *y*, without regard to accent; for example *žoná* (wife), *jo hó* (his), etc.

4. Palatalized *-č-* in the suffixes *-ec'*, *-ycja*, *-cja*; for example *švec'* (cobbler), *molodycja* (young married woman), *vivcja* (sheep), *misjac'* (moon).

5. Palatalized *-s-*, *-z-* and *-c-* in the suffixes *-s'kyj*, *-s'ko*, *-z'kyj*, and *-c'kyj*; for example *ukrajins'kyj* (Ukrainian), *vijs'ko* (army), *kozac'kyj* (Kozak).

6. The pronunciation of the unaccented *e* is close to *y*, and at times that of *o* is close to *u*; for example, *do ményo* (to me), *ko*žúx* (sheepskin coat).

7. The ending *-a* from an original *-e* in neuter nouns of the type *žyttja* (life), *zillja* (herbs), *nastinnja* (seed) (as dialectally in Slovak).

8. The special suffixes: (a) *-ošči* in such words as *paxošči* (fragrance), *ľubošči* (love caresses), etc.; (b) *-enko* in such words as *tkačenko* (from *tkač*—weaver), *bondarenko* (from *bondar*—cooper), and such names as *Ševčenko*,

Korolenko; (c) a great variety of diminutive and endearing suffixes: *mamka*, *-očka*, *-unja*, *-unen'ka*, *-unečka*, *-usja*, *-usen'ka*, *-usečka*, *-unconja*, *-uncunečka*, *-us'ka*, *-uľka*, *-ulečka*, etc. (from *mama*—mother), and the diminutive suffixes applied to infinitives: *jistky*, *jiston'ky*, *jistočky*, *jistusi*, *jistuni*, *jistunečky*, *jistunen'ky*, etc. (from *jisty*—to eat); in adjectives: *malen'kyj*, *malesen'kyj*, *maljusin'kyj*, etc. (from *malyj*—small); and in adverbs, for example: *tamečky* (from *tam*—there), *tuton'ky* (from *tut*—here).

9. The coexistence of the suffixes *-yšče*, *-ys'ko*, *-s'ko*: *babyšče*, *babys'ko*, *babs'ko* (from *baba*—woman) (as at times in Czech and Slovak).

10. The transference of the ending of the instrumental singular of the feminine nouns to adverbs of the type *kudoju* (where), *sjudoju* (here), *tudoju* (there).

11. Verb forms of the type *buty* (to be), *buv*, *bula*, *bulo*, *buly*, instead of the Common Slavic forms from the root *by*.

12. The broadly developed distinctive functions of the expiratory accent, which cannot be fitted into the same scheme, in any other Slavic language:

(a) LEXICAL FUNCTIONS:

Appellative	Appellative-onomastic
<i>Hórod</i> (town)	<i>Kúty</i> (town in West Ukraine)
<i>horód</i> (garden)	<i>kuťy</i> (corners)

Onomastic
Ivánovyč—*Ivanóvyč*

(b) GRAMMATICAL FUNCTIONS:

Word Derivational	Inflectional
<i>rybnyj</i> (fish, attr.)	<i>ruký: rúky</i> (gen. sing. —nom. plur. of <i>ruká</i> —hand)
<i>rybnýj</i> (full of fish)	

Syntactical
mohó: do móho

13. Peculiarities in declension (for example, the type of pronominal forms

joho, *jomu*, along with *n'oho*, *n'omu*—gen. and dat. of *vin*, he, *cieji*—*tieji*—gen. sing. fem. of *cej*, this and *toj*, that, etc.); in syntax (for example, the importance of verbal constructions as compared with nominal ones), the wide development of parataxis alongside hypotaxis; in style and phraseology and also in vocabulary (for example, *jahilka*, *hahilka*—spring-play, *perekotypole*—eryngium, *bajdužyj*—indifferent, *zajvyj*—superfluous, *dovkiľnyj*—neighboring, etc.).

Among characteristics of the Ukrainian language which it shares with some Slavic languages and which divide it from others, should be noted:

1. The first pleophony (*morok*—darkness, *polon*—captivity). This is a phenomenon which Ukrainian has in common with Belorussian and Russian.

2. The development of Common Slavic **tj* and **dj* into *č*, (*d*)*ž*, in common with Russian and Belorussian and partly also with Slovene; for example, *svič/k/a* (candle), *meža* (dialectally also *medža*)—boundary.

3. The change of the Common Slavic initial *je-* into *o-* before front vowels; for example, *ozero* (lake), *odyn* (one), known also in Russian and Belorussian.

4. The sound *h* in place of the Common Slavic *g*; for example, *noha* (leg), *horod* (garden), in common with Belorussian, Czech, Slovak, and Upper Sorbian. The south Russian dialects have the velar spirant.

5. The passage of the Common Slavic *ě* into *i*; for example, *vira* (faith), *lis* (forest). A similar development is seen in some north Russian dialects and the so-called "ikavian" dialects of Serbo-Croatian and in the case of the long *ě* in Czech.

6. The simplification of the Common Slavic groups *tl*, *dl*, into *l*; for example, *mela* (she sweet), *šylo* (awe), in com-

mon with Russian, Belorussian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian. Other languages have kept these groups unchanged.

7. The passage of the groups **kv*, **gv*, before *ě* and other front vowels, from the Indo-European diphthongs into *cv*, (*d*)*zv*; for example, *cvit* (flower), *zvizda* (star), in common with Russian, Belorussian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovene, and Macedonian. Other languages have kept these groups unchanged.

8. The so-called epenthetic *l* after labials; for example *ljublju* (I love), *kraplja* (drop), in common with Russian, Belorussian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene. In other languages only remnants of this consonant have been preserved.

9. Hard consonants before *e*, *y*; for example, *selo* (village), *syla* (strength). This also occurs in Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovene, and partly (before *e*) in Czech.

10. The groups *ry*, *ly* in place of Common Slavic *ř*, *ľ*, *ř*, *ľ*; for example, *kryvavij* (bloody), *hrymity* (to thunder), *blystity* (to shine). This is also found in Belorussian.

11. The change of consonantal *l* in the combination *řl* + a consonant to *v*; for example, *vovk* (wolf), *stovp* (pole), and also in the past of the masculine form of the verb, for example *dav* (gave). This is also found in Belorussian.

12. The pronunciation of *v* as a non-syllabic *u* at the end of a syllable; for example, *krov* (blood), *lavka* (bench), *pravda* (truth), (pronounced *kroū*, *laūka*, *praūda*). The interchange of the *v* and *u* of the type *vdova*—*udova* (widow), *vže*—*uže* (already) belongs here. This is found also in Belorussian.

13. The development of long (doubled) consonants before *-ja* (<*-ja*, *-je*), *-ju*,

from Common Slavic *-ŕja*, *-ŕje*, *-ŕju*; for example, *suddja* (judge), *niččju* (at night). This is also found in Belorussian.

14. The preservation of the Common Slavic groups *-čě*, *-zě*, *-sě* (from **-koi*, **-goi*, **-xoi*) in declension; for example, *ruci* (from *ruka*—hand), *nozi* (from *noha*—leg), *musi* (from *muxa*—fly). This is found in all other Slavic languages except Russian, Slovak, and Slovene, which have developed here a secondary form of the type *ruke*.

15. The preservation of the Common Slavic vocative; *brate* (from *brat*—brother), *sestro* (from *sestra*—sister), etc., as in the other Slavic languages with the exception of Russian and Slovene which have replaced the vocative with the nominative.

16. The development of the ending *-mo* in first person plural of the verbs: *jimo* (we eat), *xodymo* (we walk). This is also found in Serbo-Croatian and Slovene.

17. The formation of the future tense with the aid of the component *-mu*; for example, *xodytymu*, *-meš*, *-me* (from *xodyty*—to walk), as in Belorussian.

18. Other characteristics of inflection, word formation, syntax, and vocabulary common to the Slavic language group or to the Indo-European group as a whole.

In view of these common features, which connect the Ukrainian language both with its immediate neighbors (Russian, Belorussian, Slovak, Polish, Bulgarian) and with its more distant ones (Upper Sorbian, Slovene, Czech, etc.) and also in view of its nearness to the territory of the proto-Slavs, it may be said that the Ukrainian language occupies a central (intermediate) position in the Slavic linguistic world, although geographically it belongs to the Eastern Slavic languages along with Belorussian

and Russian. The Ukrainian language has developed from those proto-Slavic dialects which had to their north the dialects from which developed the present Russian and Belorussian languages, to the west, the Polish, Czech, and Slovak, and to the south, the Southern Slavic dialects.

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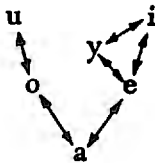
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3. THE MODERN UKRAINIAN LITERARY LANGUAGE

SOUND SYSTEM

Vowels

The Ukrainian literary language has six vowel systems; four unlabialized, i.e. a low-back *a*, a mid-front *e*, a high-front *i*, and a central-high, mid-front *y*, a sound which in some locations approximates the *e* series and in others the *i* series; and two labialized, i.e. a mid-back round *o* and a high-back round *u*. Schematically:



These vowels in their role in the language are divided into alternating and non-alternating series. The non-alternating are *a*, *u*, *y*. It is true that in isolated cases these vowels can also alternate with others; for example, *a* : *o*

in verbs with the root *moh-* (*dopomohty*—*dopomahaty*, to help) and a few other cases (*lomyty*—*lamaty*, to break); *y* : *e* in the words *xrest*—*xrystyty* (cross—to baptize), and in verbs of the type *beru*—*zabyraty* (I take—to take); *y* : *o* in the words *hrymity*—*hromy* (to thunder—thunder, plur.), *dryžaty*—*drožu* (to tremble—tremor, gen. sing.), *kryvavyj*—*kroo* (bloody—blood), *čornobryvyj*—*brova* (dark-browed—eyebrow); *u* : *y* (*dux*—*dyxaty*, spirit—to breathe); *u* : *o* (*suxyj*—*vysox*, dry—dried); but these alternations are not only unproductive, they do not even embrace broad types of words; they occur sporadically in a few, individual words and form a "ballast" inheritance from older epochs in the development of the language. In contradistinction to these, alternations play an essential role in the use of the alternating vowels *i*, *o*, *e*.

The vowel *i*, as far as alternation is concerned, has a triple nature: (1) *i*,

which does not alternate with other vowels (*lis-lisu*, forest, nom. & gen.); (2) *i*, which alternates with *e* (*pid-peči*, stove, nom. & gen.); (3) *i*, which alternates with *o* (*dvir-dvoru*, courtyard, nom. & gen.). This last *i* differs from the first two in that before it the consonants *d*, *t*, *n*, *l* are not palatalized; thus *tik-tekty* (flowed—to flow) pronounced [ʔik], and *tik-toku* (stackyard, nom. & gen.) pronounced [tik]; but *lid* (ice), *proklin* (curse), *kolir* (color), *paslin* (night-shade)—*lodu* (gen. of *lid*), *proklonu* (gen. of *proklin*), *koloru* (gen. of *kolir*), *paslonu* (gen. of *paslin*) with a palatalized *l*. In addition, these consonants are not palatalized before *i* in the endings of "hard" adjectives: nominative plural *žovti*, dative singular feminine *žovtij* (from *žovtyj*—yellow). As to the conditions under which *i* replaces *o*, *e*, in the modern language they are in part determined by certain morphological categories (for example, the last syllable of the nominative case of masculine and feminine nouns ending in a consonant, the last syllable of the genitive plural case of feminine and neuter nouns with zero endings, the syllable before the diminutive suffix in nouns and before the suffixal *-n-* in adjectives). These usually have *i*: *lebidʔ* (swan), *nič* (night), *brov* (gen. plural of *brova*—eyebrow), *holivonʔka* (from *holova*—head, dim.), *potribnyj* (necessary)—compare *lebedja* (gen. of *lebidʔ*), *noči* (gen. of *nič*), *brova*, *holova*, *potreba* (necessity)—but there are some exceptions in certain sound combinations and in some isolated words, where the alternations are retained by tradition only (for example, *oves-vivsa*, oats, nom. & gen.; *visim-vosʔmy*, eight, nom. & gen.).

The sounds *e*, *o* are also of three types: (1) those alternating with *i* (*selo-sil*, village, nom. sing & gen. plur.; *milʔ*—

molju, moth, nom. & gen. sing.); (2) those alternating with a zero sound (*teren-ternu*, blackthorn, nom. & gen.; *likotʔ-likťja*, elbow, nom. & gen.); and (3) permanent (*šerstʔ-šersty*, wool, nom. & gen.; *lob-loba*, forehead, nom. & gen.; *voda-vod*, water, nom. sing. & gen. plur.). The alternation of *e*, *o* with a zero sound is also determined mostly by certain morphological categories. The presence of *e*, *o* is typical in those categories in which, in the alternations *e* : *i*, *o* : *i*, *i* appears; the loss of *e*, *o* occurs in those categories in which, in the alternation *e* : *i*, *o* : *i*, there is *e*, *o*; for example, the nominative singular of nouns ending in consonants: *denʔ-dnʔa* (day, nom. & gen.); others of the above-mentioned categories: *vikno-vikon* (window, nom. sing. & gen. plur.), *vikonnyj* (window, attr.), *vikonce* (window, dim.); and in part the alternation rests on tradition only (*švecʔ-ševcja*, cobbler, nom. & gen.).

These alternations of vowels are now unproductive, and new derivatives and especially newly borrowed words usually do not undergo them (*kursovod*—instructor, *lokator*—radar). At present the only productive alternation of vowels is conditioned by stressed versus unstressed position and comprises the sounds: (1) *e* : *y*, and sometimes also (2) *o* : *u*. The first is mandatory because the sounds *e* : *y* in unaccented syllables do not differ (*lyžy* from *lyzaty*—to lick and *ležy* from *ležaty*—to lie are pronounced alike); the vowel which replaces the stressed *e* and *y* varies toward *e* or toward *y* according to its position, and partly depending upon the vowel in the following accented syllable (elements of vowel harmony). The alternation *o* : *u* is optional and occurs because an unaccented *o* before an accented *u* and, more rarely, before an ac-

cented *i* can be pronounced like *u* [*kožúx*]~[*kužúx*]-sheepskin coat. (For the vowel alternations, see "Morphophonemics"; for the origin of the alternations, see "The History of Language".) The alternations *e:y* and *o:u* are determined by the nature of the Ukrainian accent.

Accent

The accent in Ukrainian, being free and mobile, is dynamic (expiratory). A lengthening of the accented vowel and a slight raising or lowering of the pitch occur as subsidiary properties. The weakest pronunciation is that of the syllable after the accent, if it is not final, but even this syllable never reaches the point of full reduction. An approximate idea of the force given to the pronunciation of the syllables of a word is presented by the following scheme:

2 3 2 4 1 2 3
ponavyzbýruvaty

For the morphological functions of the accent, see "Morphophonemics" and the "Inflectional System." In vocabulary, accent also makes it possible to distinguish between words (*horód*, garden—*hórod*, town), and sometimes to distinguish proper from common names (*Pisky*—*piský* from *pisok*—sand). Generally, the Ukrainian word is accented, there being only one accent in each word; yet prepositions, conjunctions, and particles as a rule have no accent, being proclitic or enclitic. The shifting of the accent from the noun to the preposition has generally gone out of use, except in a few fossilized expressions; but in certain pronouns, the preposition causes the accent to move one syllable back: *johó*, but *do n'óho* (from *vin*—he), *svohó*, but *do svóho* (from *svij*—own). In compound words with two stems, a second

dary accent can be retained on the first part, while the main accent is on the second; this sometimes distinguishes a coordinate word formation from a subordinate (*kýjivs'ko-poltávs'kyj*—Kievo-Poltavan, but *dalekosídniij*—Far Eastern), although the length of the first component and the frequency with which the compounded word is used are of greater importance.

Consonants

The Ukrainian language has 23 basic consonants: the labials *p, b, f, v, m*; the dentals *t, d, s, z, c, ʒ, n, l, r*; the post-dentals *š, ž, č, ʒ̣, j*; the velars *k, g, x*; and the laryngeal *h*. Eight of these, *t, d, s, z, c, ʒ, n, l*, also occur in the special so-called palatalized form (articulatorily, a supplementary articulation bringing the tongue to the middle of the palate and broadening the pharynx, acoustically raising of the pitch). Further, the 16 consonants, *b, v, m, d, z, ž, n, s, t', d', s', z', c', n', l, j*, also appear in a lengthened variant (*obbryzkaty*—to besprinkle, *zavvaha*—remark, *panna*—miss, *volossja*—hair, *vijja*—pole of an ox-cart); the palatalized *š, ž, č* (*Zaporizžja, kloččja*—oakum) exist only in the lengthened form. This, then, constitutes a system of 50 consonantal phonemes.

The most important peculiarities in the pronunciation of the individual sounds are: *v* after a vowel but not followed by a vowel has a bilabial pronunciation, which usually creates a falling diphthong with the vowel (*dav*—gave [*daŭ*]), and between vowels it may optionally have a bilabial or a labio-dental pronunciation; the dentals *t, d* are articulated against the upper front teeth, and not against the alveoli; the phoneme *l* appears as a middle *l* or (more frequently) a velar, depending upon the

region; the consonant *r* is a tongue-tip vibrant.

The consonants *g*, *f* occur chiefly in foreign words; in popular speech and sometimes even among the educated classes they are replaced by *h*, *x*(*v*). The affricates *dz* (/ʒ/), *dž* (/ʒʲ/) are not always clearly distinguished from *z*, *ž* and are sometimes replaced by them (the pronunciation *zvjakaty*, *xožu* as a variant of the normative *dzvjakaty*—to tinkle, *xodžu*—I walk). All the consonants, besides the eight mentioned above, acquire a slightly palatalized coloring before *i*, but this is a purely allophonic phenomenon; they have no phonemic palatalization. The consonants *v*, *m* have retained, in some words, their palatalization before other vowels, especially *a*, *o* (*cvjax*—nail, *t'mjanyj*—dusky), and this is also true of the consonant *r* to an even greater extent—i.e. also before *u* (*burjak*—beet, *br'oxaty*—to splash, *hrjukaty*—to bang)—but before *e*, *y* and in the final position this sound cannot be palatalized (*tvar*—face). For the grouping of consonants in correlative pairs in voicedness, palatalization and lengthening, see "Phonemics."

Alternations of consonants. In modern Ukrainian there are several characteristic alternations of consonants, which are now determined by certain morphological categories, namely:

<i>h</i> (<i>g</i>)	— <i>ž</i> — <i>z'</i>
<i>x</i>	— <i>š</i> — <i>s'</i>
<i>k</i>	— <i>č</i> — <i>c'</i>

The hushing spirants *ž*, *š*, *č* appear instead of *h*(*g*), *k*, *x* in the vocative case before *e* (*kozak* 'Kozak'—*kozače*), in the present tense and the imperative mood of the verb and the corresponding participles (*stryhty*—to cut, *stryžu*—*stryžy*—*stryženyj*), and also before some

suffixes (*ruka*—hand—*ručka*). (See also "Word Derivation.") The change to *z'*, *c'*, *s'* from *h*(*g*), *k*, *x* is chiefly typical before *i* in the locative and dative cases of some nouns (*rux* [motion]—*u rusi*).

The alternations *t* : *č*, *d* : *dž*, *s* : *š*, *z* : *ž*, and of labials with labials +*l*, occur most frequently in verbs and participles (*krutyty*—to twist—*kručū*—*kručenyj*, *kupyty*—to buy—*kupljat'*—*kuplennyj*).

Consonantal alternations which are assimilative are purely phonetic and operate without exceptions in the modern language, i.e.:

1. The alternation of dental consonants with the corresponding palatalized dentals (*c* : *c'*, *z* : *z'*, etc.) before *i* (usually not in alternations with *o*) and before other palatalized consonants (*loza*—*lozi*—*osier*, nom. & dat.; *pizno*—*piznij*—late, adv. & adj.; pronunciation: [loz'i], [p'iz'n'ij]).

2. The change of a voiceless into a corresponding voiced consonant before another voiced consonant (*borotysja*—to fight—*borot'ba*—fight; pronunciation: [borod'bá]). Voiced consonants, on the other hand, remain voiced in all positions.

3. The alternation of dentals with post-dentals depending on the consonant following (*neseš*—*nesešsja* from *nesty*—to carry; pronunciation: [ne'sés'a]; *brjazkaty*—to clang—*brjažčaty*—to clank).

Then there is a tendency in the vowels *u*, *i* to become "shortened" after a vowel into the corresponding consonants *ü*, *j* (if semantic or stylistic reasons do not forbid it) and, on the other hand, for the consonants *v*, *j* between consonants to become "lengthened" into the vowels *u*, *i*. These phenomena appear in spelling as the alternation of *u* : *v*, *i* : *j* (*stav ity*—*stala jty* 'he started going'—'she started going'; *pišov u xatu*—*pišla v xatu* 'he went into the cottage'—'she went into the

cottage'). Such phenomena which are typical in the word-initial positions and are controlled by the rhythm of the phrase may even result in the complete loss of the sounds, *v*, *u*, *i* (*ihra-hra*—play, *uves'-ves'*—the whole, *vuxo-uxo*—ear).

PHONEMICS

Among the phonemes of the Ukrainian language we can distinguish these main groups (CORRELATIONS): (1) vowels versus consonants; (2) accented vowels versus unaccented; (3) voiceless consonants versus voiced; (4) hard consonants versus soft (palatalized); (5) short consonants versus long.

(1) VOWELS are distinguished from CONSONANTS in that they can form a syllable; in Ukrainian, leaving the particles aside, there are only two categories of words which can be formed of consonants only: prepositions, which are really not independent words—for example *z* (from) or *v* (in)—and in fact are often "completed" by a vocalic element—the pronunciation *vyjnjav zi stolu* (took it out of the desk), *po buvav uv Odesti* (was in Odessa); and interjections (*š*, *ps*, *pr*—interjections are often exceptions to the phonological norms of a language). Vowels play an important role in every rhythmic or rhythmized language, especially in "verse."

(2) The correlation of ACCENTED versus UNACCENTED vowels includes all the Ukrainian vowels: *a : á*, *e : é*, *y : ý*, *i : í*, *o : ó*, *u : ú*, and plays an important role, especially in morphophonemics (for example, *Krúty*—place name—*krutý*—imp. sing. of *krutyty*—to twist; *kólom*—*kolóm*—instr. of *kolo*—circle and *kil*—stake) and in inflection (*písni*—*pisní*—gen. sing. & nom. plur. of *pisnja*—song;

perébih—course—*perebih*—ran across etc.). A feature typical of Ukrainian, in contrast to other Slavic languages, is the application, in certain words, of the accent to different syllables in the same word. These variations in accent depend to only an insignificant extent upon the differences between dialects; they play a great role in the structure of Ukrainian poetic language.

(3) The correlation of VOICELESS versus VOICED consonants unites the Ukrainian language with the rest of the Indo-European group, especially the other Slavic languages. This correlation is found almost throughout the entire system of consonants; only *m*, *n*, *r*, *l*, *ʃ* are always voiced. Thus we have the pairs: *p : b*, *f : v*, *t : d*, *s : z*, *š : ž*, *c : ʒ*, *č : č̣*, *k : g*, *x : h*. Compare *pyty* (to drink)—*byty* (to beat), *sad* (garden)—*zad* (back), *rit* : *rid* (kin), *žal* (sorrow)—*šal* (shawl), *čort* (devil)—*džort* (a word without meaning), etc. In individual (sometimes even in literary) pronunciation *ʃ* is lost, being changed into *xv*, *xʃ*, etc., as is *g* which, under the influence of the old loan-words (*liturhija*—liturgy, *Hryhorij*—Gregory, etc.) and the hypercorrect pronunciation (in contradistinction to the Russian and, to a certain extent, to the Polish), is changed into *h*, and is used only in a small group of "folk" words (e.g. *gyrlyga*—shepherd's crook).

In the Ukrainian language, unlike many others, especially Russian, the unvoicing of the voiced and the assimilation of the voiced to the voiceless does not occur (compare *pit*—sweat—*pid*—under, *rozsypav* from *rozsypaty*—to scatter—the Russian and to a certain extent the Polish pronunciation of the latter Ukrainian word would be "rossypaf," "rassypaf" or "rasypaf").

(4) A broad correlation between **HARD** and **SOFT** consonants is common to Ukrainian, Russian, Belorussian, and Polish, but in Ukrainian it is less broad than in Russian and the correlation of variously colored consonants as in Polish and Belorussian does not occur (the Polish and Belorussian pairs; $t : t'$ and $d : d'$). The labials are depalatalized (have become hard) and the correlations between hard and soft are limited to the following: $t : t'$, $d : d'$, $s : s'$, $c : c'$, $z : z'$, $ʒ : ʒ'$, $l : l'$, $r : r'$, $n : n'$; for example, *sudy* (nom. plur. of *sud*—court): *sjudy* (here), *rada* (council)—*rjada*, *nis* ([nis] from *nosz*—nose) and *nis* [n'is] (from *nesz*—carried), *synu* (voc. of *syn*—son) : *synju* (accus. sing. fem. of *synij*—blue), *dzus* (off) : *dzjus* (a word without meaning), *cap* (goat) : *cjap* (chuck), etc. When they occur with the palatalized consonants, the vowels *a*, *e*, *o*, *u* change their coloring slightly (moving toward the more front articulation); for example, *noha* (leg)—*syn'oho* (from *synij*—blue), or *kudy* (where)—*kulja* (ball), etc. In every case, however, these are merely allophones of the same phoneme. In the same way there are variations of *y* before palatalized consonants (before *y* there are normally only unpalatalized consonants).

In literary pronunciation the following regional variants in palatalization occur: (1) in a wide area there is only the single phoneme, a "middle *l'*" instead of *l* and *l'* (the Poltava area and part of the Kiev region); (2) in the west and north *r'* is depalatalized; the literary pronunciation [r'abkó]—(a dog's name) is changed to [rabkó, rjabkó]; (3) *m* + *j* + vowel in some places is pronounced as *m* + *n'* + vowel ([mjáso] and [mn'aso]—meat). These variants (like *xv* instead of *f*) are the literary language's heritage

from the long period during which there were no state schools and from the deliberate efforts made to cling to the popular language. They are typical of the phonology of the Ukrainian language (in other languages there are certain phonological variations which are typical of the language spoken in the capitals: for example, among the Czechs, in the Czech spoken in Prague and in Brno; in Russian, the competing variants in pronunciation in the two capitals, St. Petersburg and Moscow, etc.).

(5) One phonetic characteristic of the Ukrainian language is the **LONG CONSONANTS**—most Slavic languages have lost it, and although such consonants are common in Russian, they only occur on the boundary between two "morphemes" (*sšit'* 'to sew together' is pronounced [ššyt']). In Ukrainian, however, there are long consonantal phonemes, i.e. /t' : /, /d' : /, /s' : /, /z' : /, /l' : /, /c' : /, /j : /, /č' : /, /š' : /, /ž' : / (soft) and /n : /, /n' : / (hard and soft). Compare *Zilja* (a proper name) : *zillja* (herbs), *pana* (gen. sing. of *pan*—lord, master) : *panna* (miss), *u pani* (loc. of *pan*) : *u panni* (loc. of *panna*), *viča* (gen. sing. of *viče*—public meeting) : *seredn'ovič-čja* (Middle Ages), *otočeni* (pass. part. nom. plur. of *otočyty*—to surround) : (*v*) *otočenni* (in the surroundings of) (although in the last two cases the difference lies in the palatalization of the corresponding consonants as well).

The Ukrainian language uses basically the whole system of consonants in all positions (see above), and this is an important difference between it and the neighboring Russian language. Nor does Ukrainian make its system of vowels dependent upon the accent (compare Russian "akanije," "ikanije," etc.). Unaccented vowels have however at times—

in contradistinction to the Russian—a “dark” coloring; *o* approaches *u*, *e* approaches *y* (and in some regions merges with it, as [vylykyj] (great) in many eastern Ukrainian dialects).

There is still a need for studies which would result in a general phonological description of Ukrainian pronunciation, and especially for investigations into the “functional load” of the Ukrainian phonemes. (See also “Morphophonemics.”)

MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics investigates the functions of the individual phonemes in word formation in the broad sense of that word, i.e. in the inflection of words (PARADIGMATIC word formation) on the one hand, and, on the other, in the formation of “new” words (DERIVATIONAL word formation). Examples of paradigmatic word formation are *žinka* (woman)—*žinky*, *žinci*, *žinku*; *pysaty* (to write)—*pyšu*, *pyšeš*, *pysav*, *pyšučy*, etc. Examples of derivational word formation are *žinka*—*žinocyj* (female), *žinoctvo* (womenfolk); *pysaty*—*pysar* (clerk), *pysarčuk* (young clerk), *Pysarenko*, *pys'mennyj* (literate), *pys'mennyk* (writer), etc. It is questionable whether the forms of the various verbal aspects belong to the paradigmatic or the derivational type; compare *pysaty*—*pysuvaty*, *pysnuty*, *pysanuty* (the last two forms from the works of H. Kvitka).

In the study of word formation the smallest element found is the MORPHEME. In the Ukrainian language the following main types of morphemes may be distinguished: (1) the root of the word, which enters into the formation of various words (*pan*—lord, master, *pan-s'kyj*—adj., *pid-pan-ok*—lordling, *pan-uvaty*—to rule, *za-pan-uvaly*—began to rule, plur., etc.); (2) PREFIXES (*pid-*

panok, *za-panuvaty*, *po-panuvav*, etc.); (3) SUFFIXES (*pan-s'k-yj*, *pan-uva-ty*, *pan-ivn-yj*—predominant, *pan-uvann-ja*—rule, *pan-s'kist'*—lordly behavior, etc.); (4) DESINENCES or endings (for example, *pans'k-yj*, *pans'k-e*, *pans'k-oho*, *pans'k-ym*; *pan-a*, *pan-ovi*, *pan-iv*; *panuj-u*, *panuva-ly*, etc.). Each of these morphemes adds something to the meaning of the word or to its form. It is important to note that the lack of a morpheme can also give a particular meaning to a word (the lack of an ending in the word *pan* characterizes it as the nominative case of a masculine singular noun, the lack of endings in the words *ruk* from *ruka*—hand and *oseľ* from *oselja*—settlement shows these feminine nouns to be in the genitive plural); these are zero-endings (compare the verbal forms *nis* from *nesty*—to carry, *liz* from *lizty*—to climb, etc.). A considerable number of words are composed of various morphemes of different kinds or even of the same kind: *par-o-tjah* (locomotive, two roots), *po-po-jisty* (to have a square meal, two prefixes), *po-na-pan-uva-ly-sja* (two prefixes, a root, a suffix, two endings; *-sja* was originally the pronominal form “*s'-a*,” but its function is now close to that of a suffix. The introduction of a special name for morphemes with a derivational function used after endings is needed. They may be called postfixes).

Various types of morphemes have different STRUCTURES:

I. There is no fixed number of syllables in roots: (1) *pan*, *sel-o* (village); (2) *molok-o* (milk); (3) *skovorod-a* (frying pan); *izmarahd* (emerald, a foreign word), etc. Every root has at least one vowel sound, which can alternate with a zero sound (*dn-o*—bottom—*den-c-e*—dim.). Noun roots always end in a consonantal sound, verbal roots

often in vowels (*by-ty*—to beat, *zna-ty*—to know, *my-ty*—to wash).

II. Prefixes do not have more than two syllables, and sometimes are composed of one consonant only (*z-jisty*—to eat up, *v-byty*—to kill). They never end in a group of consonants or in a palatalized consonant.

III. Suffixes do not have more than two syllables either and can be composed of consonants only. In them groups of consonants and palatalized consonants occur (*pan-s'k-yj*).

IV. Endings do not have more than two syllables.

The variations of the morphemes constitute the chief question in Ukrainian morphophonemics. A root or any other morpheme can take different forms: *braty* (to take), *beru* (I take), *zbyrav* (collected), *zborny* (meeting), or *muxa* (fly), *mušynyj* (adj.), *musi* (dat. sing. of *muxa*), or *vbyty* (to kill), *vviyty* (to enter), etc. Vowels and consonants can change, among other ways, by being dropped. Some examples follow.

1. CHANGE OF VOWELS. In nouns an alternation characteristic of Ukrainian is: *i : o*, *i : e*; for example, *stil : stoly* (table, nom. sing. & plur.); *pleče : plič* (shoulder, nom. sing. & gen. plur.). Occasionally we have variants of the same form: *narid ~ narod* (people). We find the same situation in the derivational word formations—*stil* (table) : *stolyk* (little table) : *stolyšče* (big table); *dim* (house) : *domovyk* (goblin); more rarely, *oči : vič* (nom. plur. & gen. plur. of *oko*—eye, *v* being the so-called “prothesis”). There are variations also in other types of morphemes—*vidibraty : odibraty* (to take away); *distaty* (to get) : *dorobyty* (to finish working). In verbal paradigms the same is found (rarely!): *nesty* (to carry) : *nis* (carried). But verbs and nouns derived from verbs have other

types of alternations: *e : y : o : i : #* (zero)—*ber-u* (I take) : *z-byr-aty* (to collect) : *z-bor-y* (meeting) : *z-bir-ka* (collection) : *br-aty* (to take). We also find other variations of different kinds: *o : a*—*holos-yty* (to lament) : *halas-uvaty* (to shout); *a : o : #* (zero)—*hanjaty* (to drive) : *honyty : hnaty* (and in addition *hin : honu*—moving force, nom. & gen.). Another typically Ukrainian change is *e : y*—*xrest* (cross) : *xrystyty* (to baptize). From the historical point of view the changes in vowels are reflections of the old “Ablaut” and the loss of the so-called reduced vowels *ɨ* and *ʲ*, and also of the specifically Ukrainian process of changing *o* and *e* into *i* in the so-called new closed syllables (see “History of the Language”).

2. CHANGE OF CONSONANTS. The Ukrainian language has preserved, as have all other Slavic languages (except Russian, Slovene, and Slovak) typical reflections of the old palatalizations in the nominal paradigms: *h : ž : z'* (*Bih* or *Boh : Bože : v Bozi*—God, nom., voc., & loc.); *k : č : c'* (*rik : roče : roci*—year, nom., voc., & loc.); *x : š : s'* (*kožux : kožuše : kožusi*—sheepskin coat, nom., voc., & loc.). The alternations in the verbal paradigms are different: *s : š, z : ž, x : š, k : č, h : ž, t : č, d : dž, p, b, f, v, m : p, b, f, v, m +l, st : šč, sk : šč, zd : ždž, zh : ždž*. Compare: *pysaty* (to write) : *pyšu* (I write), *rizaty* (to cut) : *rižu* (I cut); *ljubyty* (to love) : *ljublju* (I love); *budyty* (to awake) : *budžu* (I awake); *postyty* (to fast) : *pošču* (I fast); *jizdyty* (to drive) : *jizdžu* (I drive); etc. There are similar changes in derivational word formation: *božes'kyj* (divine), *mušynyj* (fly, attr.), *ričnyk* (annual), *odiž* (clothing, compare *odjah*), *svička* (candle, compare *svit*—dawn), *zemlja* (earth, compare *zemnyj*—earthly), etc. A typically Ukrainian change in the verbal

paradigms is the alternation of /ʏ/ : l—*pysav* (he wrote) : *pysala* (she wrote), etc. The alternation, typical in Russian (stylistically colored), of the groups *oro*, *olo*, *ere*, *ele* : *ra*, *la*, *re*, *le* is almost completely lacking in Ukrainian; for example, *vorožyj* (hostile) and *vražyj* (synu) (devil's son) are now scarcely connected. Along with these "systematic" changes, there are quite a few "sporadic" changes, which occur in smaller groups or are found in individual words. The smaller groups have the change of *j* : *n'*; for example, *n'oho* : *joho* (from *vin*—he), *vzjaty* (to take) : *njaty* (*viru*—to believe), *sonce* (sun) : *sojašnyk* (sunflower); also *c* : *š*; for example, *jajce* (egg) : *jaješnja* (scrambled eggs) (compare *ruka*—hand : *rušnyk*—towel); and *k* : *c* in such pairs as *kvit* (blossom) : *cvisty* (to blossom), *lyk* (face) : *lyce* (face). And there are the individual alternations: *čerta* (line) : *čerknuty* (to cross off), *trjasty* (to shake) : *trjaxnuty* (to give a jolt), and many others. Borrowings account for only a part of these alternations; they are largely historical. Alternations of palatalized consonants with unpalatalized are not as frequent in Ukrainian as, for example, in Russian: *nis* : *nesty* (carried—to carry), *hovoryty* : *hovorit'* (to speak—speak!), *oraty* : *orju* (to plow—I plow), also in the noun paradigms: *stoly* : *na stoli* : *stolam* (nom. plur., loc. sing., & dat. plur. of *stil*—table), etc. The change of palatalized and unpalatalized consonants involves even consonants at the beginnings of morphemes, whereas other changes, almost without exception, occur at the end of morphemes (at the morpheme boundaries). There are some special cases of changes at the beginning of morphemes, as *slaty* (to send) : *šlju* (I send), *kvitka* (flower) : *cvisty* (to flower).

3. The DROPPING OF VOWELS occurs in

the most diverse cases. The interchange of a vowel with a zero sound is a general Slavic phenomenon, in Ukrainian *o* : # (zero) and *e* : # (zero): *otec'* : *otcja* (father, nom. & gen.), *braty* (to take) : *beru* (I take), *zov* (call) : *zvemo* (we call), *rebro* : *reber* (rib, nom. sing. & gen. plur.), *vikno* : *vikon* (window, nom. sing. & gen. plur.), *marka* : *marok* (stamp, nom. sing. & gen. plur.—a foreign word). As we see, there is a loss of the vowel in various types of morphemes. A typical Ukrainian alternation is *ɨ* : # (zero) in prefixes: *vidibraty* (to take away) : *vidrizaty* (to cut off), *zvjaty* (to take off) : *zrvaty* (to tear away). The loss of a vowel at the end of a word is much less common: *podavsja* : *podavs'* (gave way); this has a greater importance in the poetic language.

4. The DISAPPEARANCE OF CONSONANTS is likewise varied. It occurs in consonantal clusters: *kozac'kyj* (Kozak, attr., from *kozac-s'kyj*), *pisnyj* (lenten, from *pist*—fast), *rozčepyty* (to split, from *roz* + *ščepyty*), *visnyk* (herald, from *vistnyk*), *serce* (heart, *serd-ce*), *pas* (pastured to *pasty*—to pasture—from *pas-l*), *viv* (led, *vesty*—to lead, *vedu*—I lead, from *ved-l*), etc. There are many separate cases: *žyty* (to live) : *žyvu* (I live) : *žyttja* (life), *žaty* (to reap) : *žnu* (I reap), *m'jaty* (to rumple) : *mnu* (I rumple), *jim* (I eat) : *jisy* (you eat) : *jidjat'* (they eat), *damo* (we shall give) : *dadut'* (they will give), *žuvaty* (to chew) : *žuju* (I chew), *kydaty* : *kynuty* (to throw), *obnjaty* (to embrace) : *objimu* (I shall embrace).

5. The INTERCHANGE OF VOWELS AND CONSONANTS is a special characteristic of the Ukrainian language, i.e., *j* : *ɨ* and *v* (bilabial) : *u*; for example, *vzviz* (ascent) : *uzhiv'ja* (slope), *Ukrafina* : *Vkrafina* (Ukraine; the rare *Ukrajna* is an example of the disappearance of *ɨ*), *ity* :

ity (to go), *byty* (to beat) : *b'je* (beats) (*by-* : *bj-*). This may be called a manifestation of "euphony," for it is connected with certain rhythmic qualities of the Ukrainian language.

6. Another typical feature is the morphophonemic role of ACCENT: *trubý* : *trúby* (gen. sing. & nom. plur. of *truba*—tube), *pečí* : *pečí* (gen. sing. & loc. sing. of *pič*—stove). The relative ease with which the accent can be shifted in a word reduces its morphophonemic importance and increases its role in the poetic language.

Most alternations occur in the morphemes of roots and suffixes, and there are very few in the endings. For this reason most of them are found in the middle of the word. There are important differences in the alternations: (1) in various types of morphemes; (2) in derivational and paradigmatic word formation, (3) in nominal and verb word formation (compare above point 2, p. 455, for example; in the noun endings we meet, along with the vowels, *m*, *v*, *x*, *j*; in the verbs, along with the vowels, chiefly *š*, *č*, *t*, *l*, *v*).

All the morphological variations can be divided into alternations of CORRELATIVE elements (stressed : unstressed, palatalized : unpalatalized, voiced : voiceless) and alternations of DISJUNCT elements (different sounds having no mutual correlation, e.g., *t* : *o*, *k* : *č*, etc.; the alternations with "zero" must also be placed here). While in Russian the alternations with correlative elements predominate, in Ukrainian they are in a minor position and the alternations of disjunct elements are of much greater importance. This is one of the chief differences between the morphophonemics of the two languages.

In the system of the language there are quite a number of morphological

differences which are not marked phonemically (compare the dative *ruci* and the locative (*v*) *ruci* of *ruka*—hand, or the declension of the word *pani*—lady: *pani—pani—pani—panijefu* [rare]~*pani—pani*, etc.). The morphological semantics therefore is not always based on phonemic differences.

WORD DERIVATION

In the Ukrainian language, a word can usually be broken up into meaningful components. When this can not be done it is often a sign that the word is a foreign one which has not yet been acclimated in the language system. This feature facilitates the formation of new words in the poetic language and in individual language in general. There are words which can be divided into several definitely meaningful parts (for example, *sadok* 'small orchard'=*sad*+*ok*), and others in which only the root has a definite meaning (*pys'mo* 'writing'=*pys'*+*m*+*o*), or only the affix (*krematorij* 'crematorium'=*kremat*+*orij*). Words are most frequently formed by affixes (suffixes or prefixes). The affixes can be added to roots alone or to roots which already have other affixes; for example, *likar* (physician)=*lik*+*ar*, but *likarka* (woman physician)=*likar*+*k(a)* or more exactly: *lik*+*ar*+*k(a)*. Yet the rest of the word always emerges as a whole, in relation to its last suffix or first prefix as *povyxodyty* 'to go out'=*po*+*vyxodyty*, *skotarstvo* 'cattle-breeding'=*skotar*+*stv(o)*.

For each suffix there is a corresponding ending or paradigmatic set of endings; for example, the suffix *-k*, which forms the nouns to denote women in different occupations, is connected with the ending *-a* (*sekretarka* 'woman secretary'), the suffix *-stv-* with the ending *-o*

(*skotarstvo*), the adjectival suffix *-ov* with the ending *-yj* (*sosnovyj* 'pine', attr.); and they are connected with the modifications of these endings in the other forms of the word. A suffix is not necessarily a fixed sound element but may be a certain sound feature which determines the type to which the word belongs. For example, the collective suffix *-j-* in neuter nouns appears directly only after labials and *r*, while in other cases it appears most frequently as a lengthening of the last consonant of the stem before the ending *-a* (*pirja*, from *pero*—feather; but *zillja*—herbs; *kolossja*, from *kolos*—ear; *hruddja*—clots [*z'ila*, *kolos'a*, *hrud'a*]).

It is also characteristic of many suffixes that they cause an alternation of consonants in the preceding syllable of the stem (*horox+ok* = *horošok*—small pea; *xovrax+ok* = *xovrašok*—earless marmot), or an alternation of vowels (*holov + k[a]* = *holivka*—small head; *syrot + k[a]* = *syritka*—orphan). Prefixes do not do this.

As a rule, neither suffixes nor prefixes have a completely definite meaning; they have quite a variety of connotations. Thus the same affix in different words may have various meanings (for example, *kerivnyk* 'leader'—a person, *ličyl'nyk* 'meter'—an instrument), sometimes even contrary meanings (*zlizty na derevo* 'to climb a tree'—movement up, *zlizty z dereva* 'to climb down a tree'—movement down); there are only a few suffixes with a narrow and accurately defined meaning and they are usually not very productive, for example, the suffix *-yzn(a)* meaning an inheritance: *didyzna*, *materyzna* 'ancestral inheritance', 'maternal inheritance').

Basically, each affix is characteristic of a certain part of speech, but since other derived parts of speech are usually

formed from entire stems rather than from roots, the affixes can easily be transferred to these other parts of speech. But in that case, they usually occur along with other affixes which characterize the derived part of speech. For example, basically, the prefix *po-* is verbal (*xodyty* 'to walk'—*poxodyty* 'to walk for a while'), but it is transferred to substantives (*poxodžennja* 'origin', along with the suffix *-en'*), and to adjectives (*porčdnyj* 'derivative', along with the suffix *-n-*); the suffix [*-eñ-*] belongs basically to substantives (*značennja* 'meaning') but is transferred to adjectives (*značennevyj*, along with the suffix *-ev-*), etc. If the same affix seems to occur in various parts of speech, this simply shows the homonymy of the affixes (for example, the suffix *-k-* in substantives and adjectives: *sekretar-k-a* 'woman secretary', *v'jaz-k-yj* 'viscous'). The base for word derivation is frequently found to be not only the stems of words but entire phrases; for example, *po toj bik* (on that side of)—*potojbičnyj*, *za lisom* (beyond the forest)—*zalissja*, *zalisnyj*. A peculiarity of the word derivation of adverbs is the fact that their suffixes are very often homonymic with the desinences of the nouns (*žyvce* 'alive', *pidtjupce* 'ajog'—compare the instrumental case *xlopce*—from *xlopec'*—boy, *kiłce*—from *kiłce*—ring; *zhorda* 'proudly'; *zvysoka* 'from above'—compare the genitive cases *dida* from *did*—grandfather, *liška* from *lišok*—grove).

There is, however, one group of suffixes which is not basically connected with one part of speech, and can be common to substantives, adjectives, adverbs, certain groups of pronouns, and even some infinitives. These are suffixes of emotional coloring; for example, *-en'k-*, *-on'k-* (*kozačenko* from *kozak*—Kozak, *moloden'kyj* from *molodyj*—

young, *piznen'ko* from *pizno*—late, *samen'kyj* from *samyj*—alone, *jiston'kyj* from *jisty*—to eat). They always have an emotional character, but otherwise they tend to change their meaning according to the nature of the stem. For example, *-en'k-* with a stem having a derogatory meaning has a weakening effect (*brexlyven'kyj*—a little mendacious) while with a non-derogatory connotation in the stem, it has a strengthening effect (*moloden'kyj*—very young). These suffixes are also influenced by context and intonation. These peculiarities place them in a special group and because of their relatively frequent use, they constitute one of the peculiarities of the structure of Ukrainian words.

In addition to the affixes, some parts of speech employ specific morphemes in word derivation. They stand after and not before the ending and have a greater independence. They are most typical of the pronoun (*jakyjs'—jakohos'* 'a certain', nom. & gen. sing. masc.), and are transferred from them to certain groups of adverbs (*des'* 'somewhere'). The reflexive verbs have the "particle" *-sja, -s'*, which often fuses phonetically with the preceding part of the word (*bratysja* 'to take up', but *berešsja, beret'sja*—pronounced [be'rés'a, be'réc'a]). Particles are also used in the derivation of the conjunctions (*ščob* 'in order to', *nemov* 'by', 'as if'). A special term, postfix, has been proposed for morphemes of this kind.

Word derivation with the aid of postfixes lies on the border between affixation and word composition. The latter is fairly frequent in Ukrainian, but it plays a subordinate part in word formation. In substantives, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs, word composition has usually the form of a connection of two stems by the so-called linking vowel *-o-* (in substantives also *-e-* and, if the first part is

a numeral, in some cases *-y-*: *syn'oze-lenyj* 'blue-green', *zemletrus* 'earthquake', *šestykutnyk* 'hexagon'). Word juxtaposition, in which the first component becomes a part of the compound word without undergoing any change (if there is an ending, it becomes a part of the compound also: *žaljuhidnyj* 'pitiful', *kil'kapoverxovy* 'several-storied'), is not very productive in the inflectional parts of speech, except in the derivation of compound numerals (*dvisti sorok p'jat'* 'two hundred and forty-five', genitive: *dvisti sorok p'jat'ox*), but is normal in the derivation of prepositions (*ponad* 'above', *z-pid* 'from under'), particles (*xiba ž bo* 'indeed') and interjections (*tap-talap* 'plop'). The derivation of substantives, especially the names of states, institutions, organizations, and positions, admits of several types of abbreviation: initials (UNR = *Ukrajins'ka Narodna Respublika*—Ukrainian People's Republic), syllables (*komdyv* = *komandyr dyviziji*—division commander, *fizkul'tura* = *fyzyczna kul'tura*—athletics), and combinations of both (CeSUS = *Centralnyj Sojuz Ukrajsn'koho Studentstva*—Central Association of Ukrainian Students).

In the derivation of interjections there is considerable use of reduplication and sound variation (*bam-bam, balam, bambalam*—onomatopoeia).

In the Ukrainian literary language of today, the chief productive suffixes in the derivation of substantives are: (1) those which denote persons according to their activity, such as *-ač, -nyk, -ar, -ec'* (*vykladač* 'lecturer', *tekstyl'nyk* 'textile worker', *drukar* 'printer', *vyborec'* 'voter'); (2) those which denote actions, such as *-nn(ja), -tt(ja)* and the zero suffix (*vytoplennja—vytop* 'melting out'); (3) those which denote qualities, such as *-ist'* (*dalekozorist'* 'far-sightedness'); (4) those in adjectives derived

from nouns, such as *-n-*, *-ov-* (*-ev-*), *-s'k-* (*traktornyj* 'tractor', attr., *operovyj* 'opera', attr., *hospodars'kyj* 'economic'); (5) those in adjectives derived from verbs, such as *-k-*, *-al'n-*, *-enn-* (*sypkyj* 'crumbly', *vidpovidal'nyi* 'responsible', (*ne*)*zličennyj* '(in)numerable'). In the derivation of verbs, a small number of suffixes of rather indefinite meaning are typical: the most definite and productive of them is *-uva-* (*-ova-*)—(*čytaty* 'to read', *xodyty* 'to walk', *zelenity* 'to turn green', *merznuty* 'to freeze', *dovšaty* 'to grow longer', *orhanizuvaty* 'to organize'). On the other hand the derivation of verbs with the use of prefixes occurs very frequently.

There is a total of more than 175 suffixes and there are about 40 prefixes.

THE INFLECTIONAL SYSTEM

One of the chief means of expressing the syntactic role of the word in the Ukrainian sentence is a change of ending (inflection). The substantive, adjective, numeral, pronoun, and verb can be inflected. There are three chief types of inflection: the nominal; the adjectival and pronominal; and the verbal. Numerals have a special type of inflection but it tends to be limited.

Substantives are declined to convey case and number. Every noun also has a gender (in the singular), but this does not change. Gender is determined, to a certain extent, by the meaning of the substantive (males are of masculine gender, females of feminine, small and/or young beings are mostly neuter) but chiefly by the ending of the nominative case in connection with that of the genitive singular. Nominatives ending in a consonant with *-a* or *-u* in the genitive are masculine, those with *-i* or *-y* in the

genitive are feminine; nominatives ending in *-o* are usually neuter, although they are sometimes masculine, chiefly when names of persons; ending in *-e*, neuter; in *-a* with a genitive in *-y* or *-i*, feminine, except names of male persons; those with a genitive in *-a* or *-aty*, *-eny* are neuter; for example, respectively, *klyč* (call), *nič* (night), *vikno* (window), *Petro* (Peter), *more* (sea), *ruka* (hand), *žyttja* (life), *telja* (calf), *im'ja* (name). As a grammatical device, the gender of the substantive determines a change in that of words subject to a change in gender, to achieve grammatical agreement (adjectives, corresponding pronouns, numerals—*odyn* 'one', *pytóra* 'one and a half', *dva* 'two'—and the past tense and the conditional mood of verbs).

The cases show the syntactic role of the substantive directly. The nominative case usually indicates the syntactic independence of the substantive and is the form given to the subject; the other cases indicate syntactic dependence. Of these latter the accusative and the dative mostly show objective relations, whereas the genitive and the instrumental, although in some special cases they indicate the substantive as an object, too, more often express temporal, spatial, and causative relations. All these dependent cases are used sometimes with and sometimes without prepositions. The last (fifth) dependent case, the locative, is used only with prepositions and shows temporal and spatial relations almost exclusively. In addition, masculine and feminine substantives in the singular have a special vocative form, which in rare cases is replaced by the nominative case.

Each case is characterized by its ending (or endings) which consist (with the exception of the zero-endings, see

"Morphophonemics") of a vowel (*sad-u* from *sad*—orchard), or a vowel + a consonant (*sad-om*, *sad-iv*), or a vowel + consonant + vowel (*sad-ovi*, *sad-amy*). Often the same endings occur in the dative and the locative singular (*knyzi* from *knyha*—book), the nominative and the accusative (*lyst*, *lysty* 'letter', sing. & plur.), the genitive and the accusative (*xlopcja* from *xlopec'*—boy, *duba* from *dub*—oak), and in some types of declension the endings are the same in the genitive, dative, and locative singular, the nominative and accusative plural (*jabluni*—from *jablunja*—apple-tree, *tini* from *tin'*—shade), or the genitive singular and the nominative and accusative plurals (*xaty* from *xata*—cottage). Cases with the same endings are sometimes distinguished by the accent (gen. singular *xáty*, nom. & acc. plural *xatý*) but more frequently by the fact that the substantive belongs to a certain type of inflection and by the place and role of the given form in the sentence. Likewise those few nouns (usually of foreign origin, as *žjuri* 'jury', *kakadu* 'cockatoo') which have no endings still always appear in a certain case.

The type of nominal declension is indicated by the gender of the noun and, within the gender, by the hardness or softness of the final consonant of the stem. Hard types use the vowels *-o-* and *-y-* in the endings, and the soft the vowels *-e-* and *-i-* (respectively, *sadom*, *sady* from *sad*—orchard, *konem*, *koni* from *kin'*—horse). Substantives which have their stem in a hushing sibilant, were formerly soft and retain in their declension the vowels *-e-* and *-i-* (*tkačem*, *tkači* from *tkač*—weaver). But in no type of declension do the dative and locative cases ever have *-y*. There are two unproductive types of declension which stand apart: neuter substantives in *-a-* with

the inserted suffix *-at-* (rarely *-en-*) in most of the indirect cases (*loša*—*lošaty* 'foal', nom. & gen. sing.), the so-called second declension; and feminine substantives in consonants (*nič* 'night', *mid'* 'copper'), the so-called third declension. In principle all substantives have the same endings in the dative (*-am*), the instrumental (*-amy*), and the locative (*-ax*) of the plural. Masculine and feminine substantives coincide in form in the nominative plural and the same is true of the feminine and neuter of the productive types in the genitive plural.

Some cases have two endings for the same type. Sometimes the second endings are the remains of old usage and are employed in some individual words (especially the nominative plural: *vuxa* from *vuxo*—ear, but *oči* from *oko*—eye); or are determined by certain suffixes (for example, the vocative *konju* from *kin'*—horse, but *xlopče* from *xlopec'*—boy, the locative singular *na jazyci* from *jazyk*—tongue, but *na dubku* from *dubok*—oaklet), or by accent (for example, the genitive singular *do stolá* and *do stólu* from *stil*—table); sometimes their use depends upon semantic categories. The chief of these, although they do not affect the endings consistently, are the personal category (for example, the accusative singular *baču komyn* 'I see a chimney' vs. *baču xlopcja* 'I see a boy' but also *baču duba* 'I see an oak', the locative singular *na xlopcevi* from *xlopec'*—a boy vs. *na kinci* from *kinec'*—end), and the category of "having form" (wholeness) as opposed to "lack of form" (partitivity): for example, the genitive singular *učnja*, *metra*, *cvjaxa* from *učen'*—pupil, *metr*—meter, *cvjax*—nail but *nastupu*, *jačmenju* from *nastup*—attack, *jačmin'*—barley.

Number in the substantive has a predominantly referential rather than a syntactical meaning. There are a few substantives which are used only in the singular (*vira* 'faith', *mid* 'copper') or only in the plural (*okuljary* 'spectacles', *radošči* 'joy'). The dual as a category has gone out of use. In the declensions there is a tendency to differentiate the plural from the singular by accent (*žinka* 'woman'—*žinký*, *rešeto* 'sieve'—*rešéta*) and also by the elimination of differences between genders in the plural, while they are strictly preserved in the singular.

In the adjectival-pronominal declension not only the case but the number and gender have a purely formal function as a means of agreement. This declension has only one type for all words, with the exception of a few variations in certain forms of the pronoun (for example, the feminine genitive singular *čornoji*, *syn'oji*, *jakoji* from *čornyj*—black, *synij*—blue, *jakyj*—which, but *čijeji*, *tijeji*, *čyjeji* from *cej*—this, *toj*—that, *čyj*—whose), and always keeps the accent in the same place throughout the entire paradigm (with only a few exceptions in some pronouns). The pronouns *ja* (I), *ty* (thou), *my* (we), *vy* (you), *sebe* (oneself), do not belong to this type; they have a suppletive declension (*ja*, genitive *mene*, instrumental *mnoju*). The pronouns *vin* (he), *xto* (who), *ščo* (what), belong here in the indirect cases, but have another root in the nominative (*vin*—*joho*, *xto*—*koho*, *ščo*—*čoho*). The so-called "short forms" of adjectives which were formerly used have only been retained in some individual adjectives in the nominative case of the masculine singular and in possessive adjectives (*laden* 'ready', *brativ* 'brother's') and they have completely lost their special declension.

The numerals have various types of declensions: the nominal (*tysjača* 'thousand', *mil'jon* 'million'), the adjectival-pronominal (*odyn* 'one'), and one that is special to them (*dva* 'two', genitive-locative *dvox*, dative *dvom*, instrumental *dvoma*), which includes the numerals from 'two' (*dva*) to 'ninety' (*devjatedsjat*). There is also a tendency to limit the declension of the numerals by reducing the number of forms (nominative and accusative *p'jat* 'five', genitive, dative, and locative *p'jaty*) or to abolish it completely (*pivtora* 'one and a half').

In the Ukrainian verb the development and distinction of moods is relatively inconsiderable (the indicative, which often also expresses an unreal action, a conditional, similarly for potential and unreal actions, and an imperative). This is even more true of the tenses. Neither the conditional, the infinitive, nor the participle has tense forms; and even in the indicative the present is often used to denote the future and the past. Conjugation practically exists only in the present tense and the persons are indicated chiefly by endings containing consonants: *-š* in the second person singular, *-t'* (or the simple stem) in the third singular, *-mo* in the first plural, *-te* in the second plural; before these consonants the vowels *-e-* or *-y-* usually occur, but they are only distinguished if stressed; *-t'* with a preceding *-u-* or *-a-* (*berut'*, *kryčat'* from *braty*—to take, *kryčaty*—to cry) marks the third plural. The first singular has the ending *-u*. Only three verbs have a different conjugation: *fisty* (to eat), *daty* (to give) and (*rozpo*)*visty* (to tell)—*jim*, *fisy*, *fist'*, *jimo*, *jiste*, *jidjat'*. The verb *buty* (to be) has no personal forms in the present: *je(st')* is used for all persons. The form of person is used chiefly in agreement with the subject;

but in the past tense (and the more rarely used, so-called pluperfect—in reality a form which shows an impeded action), which has no personal forms, the agreement is (in the singular) in gender (*vin upav* 'he fell', *vona vpala* 'she fell', *vono vpalo* 'it fell'). The future tense of imperfective verbs is formed from the infinitive + the future tense of the verb *buty* (to be) or by the consonant *-m-* with the usual personal endings added to the infinitive (*budu braty* 'I shall take', *budeš braty* or *bratymu*, *bratymeš*). The conditional mood is formed from the forms of the past + the particle *b(y)*. The personal forms (second person singular and first and second plural) in the imperative are more independent: they are as a rule used without a subject. In the singular, the imperative has the ending *-y* under the accent and a zero ending when the accent is on the root, and similarly in the plural, *-im(o)*, *-it'* or *-mo*, *-te* (*berý*, *berím*, *berit'* from *braty*—to take; *stan'* *stán'mo*, *stán'te* from *staty*—to stand).

The typical system of the Slavic verb with its two stems—infinitive stem (the infinitive, the past, and the conditional mood, originally aorist-stem) and the stem of the present tense (the present tense, the future of perfective verbs, the imperative)—has been retained in the Ukrainian language but it is greatly simplified in many verbs. The infinitive ends in *-ty* (*braty* 'to take', *mohty* 'to be able', *pekty* 'to bake'). The only participles used are the passive in *-nyj* and *-tyj* (*vzjatyj*, *davanyj* from *vzjaty*—to take, *davaty*—to give); there are also indeclinable gerunds in *-čy* and *-šy* (*beručy*, *bravšy* from *braty*—to take), and an indeclinable impersonal form in *-no*, *-to* (*prošeno*, *vzjato* from *prosyty*—to ask, *vzjaty*—to take).

The productive category which runs through all forms of the verb is really only the aspect—perfective *vs.* imperfective: in principle, every verb is found in these two forms, but there is no one general rule for the change of aspect and it occurs in various ways, by the use of various suffixes and prefixes, and, more rarely, by changes of accent. The iterative meaning is not usually expressed independently and is not distinguished from the usual durative form.

THE SYNTACTICAL SYSTEM

In the syntactical system of the modern Ukrainian literary language the crucial unit is the so-called personal sentence, that is, a sentence with one grammatical centre and two principal components. That a SINGLE CENTER exists is shown by the fact that in a sentence there is only one grammatically absolutely independent word (the so-called SUBJECT: its form of independence is the nominative case) while all other parts of the sentence depend upon it grammatically—directly or indirectly. That there are TWO PRINCIPAL COMPONENTS is shown by the fact that the kernel of the sentence is formed by the subject and that other member which shows what characteristics are assigned to the subject in time and mood (the PREDICATE), taken together; the normal sentence has both these components, and the second is grammatically dependent on the first.

Individual instances in which the principle that a sentence has one center is broken (the use of a gerund, logically not connected with the subject, of the type *Stavšy navkolišky*, *molytva зробlasja harjačiša* 'Having kneeled, the prayer became more ardent'; the use of the so-called "second cases," etc.) are remains of the old language pattern and

are not typical of present usage. Aside from the grammatical linkage which in the end always leads back to the one center, the only possible accessories to the sentence of the contemporary literary language are certain limited types of words and/or word clusters: nominatives of existence, modal words, inserted phrases, addressings. One exception to this general tendency toward a sentence with only one center is more widely used in Ukrainian than in other Slavic languages. This is the NEUTER forms which fall outside the normal agreement in gender; for example, the neuter predicate with a subject which is a collective noun (*Bazar ljudej nasxodylos' 'A crowd—of a market place size—gathered'*), and the neuter predicate which is independent of the gender of the substantive in the subject in order to indicate various shades of emotion—from disdain to tenderness (*Duren', molode, odvažne . . . može zhynut' neborak 'A fool, young and daring . . . he may perish, the poor devil'*).

There are more cases of exceptions to the binarity of the principal components of the sentence. Among sentences with ONE CHIEF COMPONENT are various types of impersonal and nominative sentences. However, absolutely impersonal sentences with only one principal component, that is, those in which the acting person cannot be expressed at all (of the type: *Svitalo 'It was dawning', Večorije 'Dusk is falling'*), are reduced to a very small number of fixed phrases and are not productive; in other types of sentences the acting person can be expressed either by the dative case (*Ment ne spyt'sja 'I cannot sleep'*), or the instrumental (*Knyžku pročytano 'The book has been read', Knyžku čytajet'sja 'The book is read'*), or else the nominative case of the acting person can be added

directly (the so-called indefinitely personal and the universalized personal sentences). This shows that in the linguistic system these sentences exist rather as a special variation of the sentence with two principal components, in which the substantive denoting the acting person has been moved to a grammatically dependent position and the predicate of the sentence with two principal components has been raised to the position of the independent principal member of the sentence. As regards NOMINATIVE sentences, for the most part they unite the meanings of the subject and the predicate (which is of an existential character) in their single principal member. Thus it is the sentence with two principal parts which is a standard and all other types of sentences function as complications of the standard type of sentence (although genetically they have appropriated many old constructions).

Passive and possessive constructions (of the type: *Mij hrix = ja zhrišyv 'It is my sin' = 'I have sinned'*) are relatively rare in the contemporary Ukrainian literary language.

Within the sentence the factors which make for connection and unity are the GRAMMATICAL TIES which join members of the sentence to one another in pairs and occasionally in threes, the INTONATION, the SEQUENCE OF WORDS, and as a minor means the REPETITION OF WORDS. The repetition of words usually has a purely emotional value but it is also used to denote intensification (duration, an increase in quality or quantity). As is usual in languages with a developed inflectional system, the word order is not of decisive importance in Ukrainian. Only formal words—prepositions, conjunctions, and sometimes particles—hold a definite place in a sentence. There is a tendency in certain cases to use the word

order to avoid ambiguity (when subject and object have the same form, to make clear the interrelation of two grammatically connected genitive cases, etc.) or to make a differentiation in meaning (the connection of the numeral with the noun), but in no case do these tendencies form obligatory norms. Besides these there is the typical (usual) order of words—which however, when considered statistically, is more frequently violated than preserved—to express the flow of emotion, to emphasize a particular word, etc.

The intonation of the sentence in the contemporary Ukrainian literary language is, for the most part, COMPENSATORY, that is, it grows more distinct in pronunciation and assumes more expressive syntactical functions in proportion as the sentence loses the formal grammatical indications of its character (for example, the interrogative sentence with the particle *čy* 'whether', 'if' is not pitched as definitely as one without it). There is a tendency to divide the sentence intonationally into two parts (the so-called group of subject modifiers and the group of predicate modifiers). A certain part of the sentence which has acquired the value of a subordinate predication can be stressed by ISOLATING it in its intonation. Besides this, intonation is a means of showing emotion or stressing a phrase, the so-called "logical" accent.

The principal factor in the coherence and unity of the sentence is the grammatical connection of the members of the sentence to one another in pairs (agreement, government, adjoining) and in syntactical rows (sometimes with the aid of copulative, partitive, and adversative conjunctions, and sometimes in all three cases, without conjunctions). In grammatical pairs connected by

means of GOVERNMENT in the contemporary Ukrainian literary language, there is a tendency to broaden the use of prepositional connections. In many cases the prepositional constructions have almost completely crowded out the old types without prepositions (for instance, with the comparative degree of adjectives and, to a lesser extent, of adverbs, in constructions of a causal nature: *Čornišyj saži, Polih xorobožu*, have been replaced by the types *Čornišyj vid saži, za sažu, proty saži* 'Blacker than soot'; *Polih vid (z) xoroby, čerez xorobu* 'Died of—from, because of—the disease'). Analogous tendencies are noticeable in temporal and local constructions. To the contrary, the connection of AGREEMENT does not show this tendency to introduce formal intermediate words; thus the Ukrainian literary language usually dispenses with the copula in the present tense, and if it is expressed in any tense, there is a tendency to place the predicate name in the instrumental case and thus limit the agreement to the connection between the verb and the subject. The modal shades in the sentence are usually not rendered by modal verbs in Ukrainian but by the so-called modal (inserted) words which, while they apply to the whole sentence, are without grammatical connection with the individual member of the sentence—compare the Ukrainian *Vin, zdajet'sja, xvoryj*, with the English, He seems to be sick.

A peculiarity which is characteristic of the Ukrainian language is the broad use of the INFINITIVE; this makes it possible to speak of the verbal quality of Ukrainian as compared with the nominal quality, for example, of Russian and Polish. The infinitive in the Ukrainian literary language can have the function of a subject and predicate, replace a

substantive as an object, modify a substantive (*Majster opovidaty* 'Master of narrating', *Ščitka čystyty zuby* 'A brush to clean the teeth'); it can even be used with certain prepositions (*Zamíst' vybačytysja* 'Instead of apologizing').

The contemporary Ukrainian literary language has preserved the wide use of asynthetic and coordinate connections in its COMPLEX SENTENCE, which has, at the same time, a developed system of subordinate connections and appropriate conjunctions. The subordinate connection is normally indicated by the presence of the CONJUNCTION or the connecting word in the subordinate clause and, in the principal clause, by the presence or the possibility of its CORRELATIVES (usually a demonstrative pronoun); for example, *De borošno, tam i porošno* (Where there is flour, there it is also dusty). There are few individual conjunctions without a correlative (*bo* 'because'). In some instances the correlative has merged with the conjunction in a single whole, and has been transferred to the subordinate clause where the two form a compound conjunction (*tomu ščo* 'because', *tak ščo* 'so that'). Such instances indicate a tendency to make the subordinate clause dependent upon the principal clause as a whole. Yet, predominantly, the subordinate clause in the modern Ukrainian literary language depends upon some one member of the principal clause. In the Ukrainian complex subordinate sentence the principle of consecution of the tenses of the verbs in the principal and subordinate clauses is underdeveloped. Very frequently in a subordinate clause a form of the present tense is used neutrally to indicate the simultaneous character of the actions; compare *Vin bačyt', ščo ja xodžu*; *Vin bačyv, ščo ja*

xodžu, and the English, He sees that I am walking; He saw that I was walking.

VOCABULARY

The circumstances in which the contemporary Ukrainian literary language was formed have largely determined the peculiarities of its vocabulary. The literary language did not develop in urban centers and hence, for the most part, is based on the vernacular of the peasantry as it has been transformed in the written language, mainly that of belles-lettres. Particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century, many authors based their writing as a matter of principle on the language of the countryside (see "History of the Ukrainian Language").

Later these "populist" principles were reconsidered, but this movement explains the special development of a vocabulary to describe village life and work in the Ukrainian literary language. Synonyms are particularly abundant in this field. The great number of locutions also reveal their peasant origins (*U kopy vklady* 'to make up into shocks' = to beat; *mov korova zlyzala jazykom* 'as if a cow had licked it up with her tongue' = disappeared without a trace).

The lack of a single urban center on whose language the literary language could be modeled has also meant that, in the language of the intelligentsia, local turns of speech were relatively frequent and are still sometimes to be found. As a result many doublets—words with the same meaning as a word already accepted—passed into the literary language (*čoven* and *lodka* 'boat', *misto* and *hórod* 'town', *pojzd* and *potjah* 'train'; sometimes they were also of foreign origin: *vidsotok* and *procent* 'percentage', *postup* and *progres* 'progress').

Many doublets in the standard Ukrainian vocabulary are frequently connected, however, with conceptions of civilization and originate not in peasant dialects but in the influence exerted by the nations bordering on or ruling over a given part of the Ukrainian territory; on the other hand, the purely peasant words which have become doublets of those adopted by the literary language are very often considered to be localisms and are used only to provide local color (for example, Western Ukrainian *gazda* 'master of the house', *kryminal* 'prison', and the literary *hospodar* or *xazajin*, *vjaznycja*), although sometimes they have been raised to the position of doublets of equal stylistic value (southeastern *leleka*, northeastern *cornohuz*, western *busol*, *buz'ko* 'stork'—all used in the literary language). Nowadays there is an obvious tendency to remove or to clearly differentiate the doublets, but they still form a much more pronounced feature in the Ukrainian vocabulary than do similar words in Russian, Polish, or Czech.

The fact that the vocabulary is (at least to a certain degree) of peasant origin has caused a proportionately extensive development of its emotional elements—words with affectionate and pejorative suffixes, formulas from folklore and folksongs (*lastivka* 'swallow', *holubka* 'dove', *rybka* 'little fish' in appeals to girls, etc.), concrete abusive expressions (*xudoba* 'cattle', *psajuxa* 'hound's blood' and so on). In its original form the Ukrainian literary language showed little social differentiation and only gradually did it adopt or work out language for different strata such as (1) the language of the intelligentsia, scholars, writers, (2) various professional languages, (3) argot and slang.

The natural, elemental process of forming a scientific and technical terminology based on the popular language was hastened and regulated by the work of special terminological institutes, especially the Academy of Sciences, as is natural in any literary language and especially in those of more recent creation. It is true that the application of this work has been hampered and even paralyzed by the Russifying policy of the Soviet government. None the less today the Ukrainian literary language has moved far in vocabulary and phraseology from its original single stratum of village speech and shows great wealth and a complex interweaving of various linguistic genres, which are based upon elements of the social and professional dialects, in the broadest sense of that word, which have been acquired by the literary language or have remained marginal to it.

However, on the one hand, the fact of these strata of the language having been created and included in the literary language comparatively lately, and on the other hand the peasant origin of the standard language, have resulted in there being two very characteristic features in the vocabulary of the contemporary Ukrainian literary language. These are:

1. The relative closeness of the literary language to that of the people, although it is not confined to the language of any one locality. At first it developed mainly from the dialects of Poltava and southern part of Kiev province, but it soon adopted a number of words from other dialects, chiefly words and turns of speech from the Galician dialects acquired through the medium of the Galician intelligentsia (see "History of the Ukrainian Language"). As a result of

this the popular quality of the Ukrainian literary vocabulary ceased to reflect a connection with any one dialect or group of dialects, although there is no doubt about the predominance of Kievo-Poltavan elements. As an example of words introduced from the Galician dialects the following can be cited: *zasada* (principle), *vlastyvist'* (peculiarity), *zarozumilist'* (arrogance), *vidčuvaty* (to feel), *rozpuka* (despair), etc. They have contributed a particularly large number of abstract words and also of names of objects and the concepts of urban civilization. As a result there came certain homonyms (*aby*—'if only' and 'in order'; *vidčyt*—'account' and 'lecture,' 'paper,' etc.).

2. Although the Ukrainian language has adopted many foreign words, chiefly Germanic, Turko-Tatar, and Polish, and recently has acquired many so-called Europeanisms, especially those with Latin and Greek components (*konto* 'account', *kolit* 'colitis', *akcija* 'action', *demokratija* 'democracy', *pilot* 'pilot', *generator* 'generator'; in general, in the Ukrainian language of modern times, borrowings have far exceeded in number the loan translations and the replacement of foreign words by neologisms, a point in which the Ukrainian vocabulary is very different, for example, from the Czech), yet these words usually have a nominative function and gradually go through the normal course of phonetic, morphological, and other forms of naturalization in the native vocabulary and do not have a special stylistic function which would cause them to stand out, even when they have synonyms or doublets in the basic vocabulary of the language (for example, *evolucija* 'evolution'—*rozvytok*; *avijacija* 'aviation'—*litunstvo*). From this point of view the Ukrainian language is fundamentally

different from such double-layered languages as Russian with its Church Slavonic elements and, in part, English with its Latin and French elements. The Ukrainian language draws the means of stylistic expression from its own resources, and not from a blend with any other literary language. It is true that recently there have been attempts to graft on a double layer, at least for the poetical language, by introducing Church Slavonicisms (compare in M. Bažan *brennyj* 'perishable', *suščyj* 'real', *lža* 'lie', *lanyta* 'cheek', in M. Orest *rekty* 'to speak', *diva* 'virgin', *stokrat* 'hundred times'—for Sevčenko see "History of the Ukrainian Language"), but with few exceptions these grafts have not become permanent. The Church Slavonicisms in Ukrainian, like the other foreign elements, have had specifically nominative functions for the most part and are mainly used to express church and religious concepts (*vladyka* 'bishop', *xram* 'temple', *svjaščennyj* 'sacred'). In general the poetic genres in the modern Ukrainian literary language are to be distinguished by elements of semantics and imagery rather than by peculiarities in vocabulary, although there is a certain number of these.

Thus the chief features of the modern Ukrainian literary language have developed primarily as a result of the addition of different elements, mostly native but some of foreign origin as well, to the original base (which, it may be said, was a peasant one), and, to a certain degree, as a result of its "interdialectal" character. But there have not been sufficient studies of the vocabularies of languages in general to determine their originality as definite systems to permit a full description of the Ukrainian vocabulary which would go beyond these general remarks.

The total number of words in the contemporary Ukrainian language, so far as such computation is possible, is in the neighborhood of 150,000.

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4. THE DIALECTS OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

Of the various attempts that have been made to classify the Ukrainian dialects, the most satisfactory is the bipartitional system of Hancov and Zilyns'kyj. This divides the Ukrainian dialects into two basic groups: (1) SOUTHERN and (2) NORTHERN. The southern group is again divided into two sub-groups: (a) western (more differentiated) and (b) eastern (more uniform).

The main division is based on the part played by the accent in the changing of the old *o*-*e* in the new closed syllables as well as of the ancient *ě* and *ę*. While in the southern group of dialects these vowels all have similar reflexes under the accent and without it, their reflexes in the northern group are different in the two positions. At the present time, the boundary between the two groups runs approximately along the line Cholm (Chelm)—Rivne—Žytomyr—Fastiv—Pyryjatyn—Romen—Konotop. This boundary

is slowly shifting northward and there has formed, north of the line, a strip about 100 kilometers wide of transitory sub-dialects, based on the northern dialects.

In the northern group, in the new closed stressed syllables, the reflexes of the old *o* appear as the inconstant labialized vowels (diphthongs or polyphthongs) *uo*, *uò*, *üe*, *uy* or monophthongs *u*, *ü*, *y* (*kūon'*, *kūēn'*, *kün'*, *kyn'* 'horse') and without the stress as *o* (*kon's'ky* 'horse', attr., *kūdstka* 'bone'—*kostr'ki*). The reflexes of the old *e* in new closed syllables under the stress are, (a) before the soft consonants, *-iē* (*š'ēs't'* 'six'), (b) before the hard consonants, *-uo*, *'üò*, *'üe*, *'üy*, *'u*, *'ü*, *'y* (*pryn'ūòs*, *pryn'ūòs*, *pryn'ūēs*, *pryn'ūys*, *pryn'ūs*, *pryn'ūs*, *pryn'ýs* 'brought'), but without the stress, in both cases, *e* (*šestý*, *výnes*). The reflex of the old *ě* under the accent is the diphthong *iē* (*d' iē ŭka* 'girl'), and

without the stress *e* (*deučáta, d'îeücy*, dat. sing.). The reflex of the common Slavic nasal *ǣ*, under the accent, is the vowel 'a (*pjat' 'five, bežat' 'they run'*) and *e* without the stress (*petá 'heel, xódet' 'they walk'*).

In the southern group, in the new closed syllables, the reflexes of the old *o*, regardless of accent, are usually *i*, occasionally 'i (*dim, d'im 'house'*), and, within a small (Carpathian) area, *u, ü, y* (*dúm, düm, dym, pušlý, püšlý, pyšlý 'went', plur.*). The reflex of the old *e* in new closed syllables is 'i (*šis't' 'six, lid 'ice'*), occasionally, before hard consonants, in the Carpathian dialects, 'u, 'ü (*ľud, ľüd*). The reflex of the old *ě* is 'i (*ľis 'forest, ľisý*); the reflex of the old *ę* is 'a (*ja* after labials: *z'at' 'son-in-law, pjat' 'five'*) which in some of the southwestern dialects, regardless of the accent, secondarily underwent the transition to 'e, 'y (*je, jy*) (*z'et', z'yt', pjet', pjyt'*).

The southern isophones of the phenomena of the northern dialects do not coincide at present: the further south we go, the more often diphthongs become monophthongs and have a more front articulation (from *üđ* to *ü, y*). The southernmost isophone is that of preserving *o, e* (from old *o, e, ě*) in unstressed syllables, while in accented positions *i* takes the place of diphthongs. This is the most characteristic feature of the transitional sub-dialects which have arisen on the basis of the northern dialects. The least prevalent (for it is found only in the northern strip of eastern and central Polisia) is the transition of unstressed old *ę* to *e* (*petá 'heel'*). In the northernmost area, notably in the sub-dialects of western Polisia, there occurs the monophthongization of accented 'îe into 'i.

The northern dialect is also characterized by other phonetic and morphologi-

cal peculiarities: (1) the dative singular in *-u* (*brátu* from *brat*—brother, *kon'ú* from *kin'*—horse) for the southern *-ovi, -eoi*, in the east; *-ovy, -evy* in the west; (2) the ending *-'îete, -'ite* in the second person plural imperative (*ber'îete 'take!, xod'îete 'walk!*) as contrasted with the southern, generally *-'it'* (or more rarely *'it*); (3) the nominative singular masculine of adjectives *-y* (*-'i*)—(*čórny kúđt 'black cat, ľîeťni den' 'a summer's day'*)—in contrast to the southern *-yj, -'ij* (*čórnyj, ľitn'ij*); (4) the suffix of verbal and collective nouns of the neuter gender *-t'ie, -n'n'e* (in the Volodava [Włodawa] area *-t'e, -n'e*)—*žyt't'é* (life), *ves'îeľ'e* (wedding)—while in the southern dialects it is *žyt't'á, čytan'n'a* (reading) in the east, and *žyt'á, čytan'a* in the west, which secondarily in some western dialects has become *žyt'é, čytan'e, čytan'i*; (5) the sporadic transition of *e* to *o* (*jid'ón*—sporadically *strýžony, kólony*), which does not occur in the south; (6) the hardened *r* in all positions (*varú 'I cook, búra 'storm'*); (7) the verbal suffix *-ovaty* (*d'ákovaty 'to thank'*), also preserved in this form in the Carpathians.

The NORTHERN dialects fall into the following sub-dialects: (1) East Polisian (the Desna River basin); (2) Central Polisian (between the Dnieper and Horyn' rivers); (3) West Polisian and Podlachian (to the Buh [Bug] River); (4) the Trans-Buh (Volodavan). The differences between these arose chiefly as a result of influences exerted by the neighboring Belorussian dialects (in the eastern and central parts of Polisia) or by southern Ukrainian, (southern Volhynian, in the case of western Polisian and Podlachian, and the Sjan [San]-Dniester dialects in the case of the Trans-Buh dialects).

In addition to those already men-

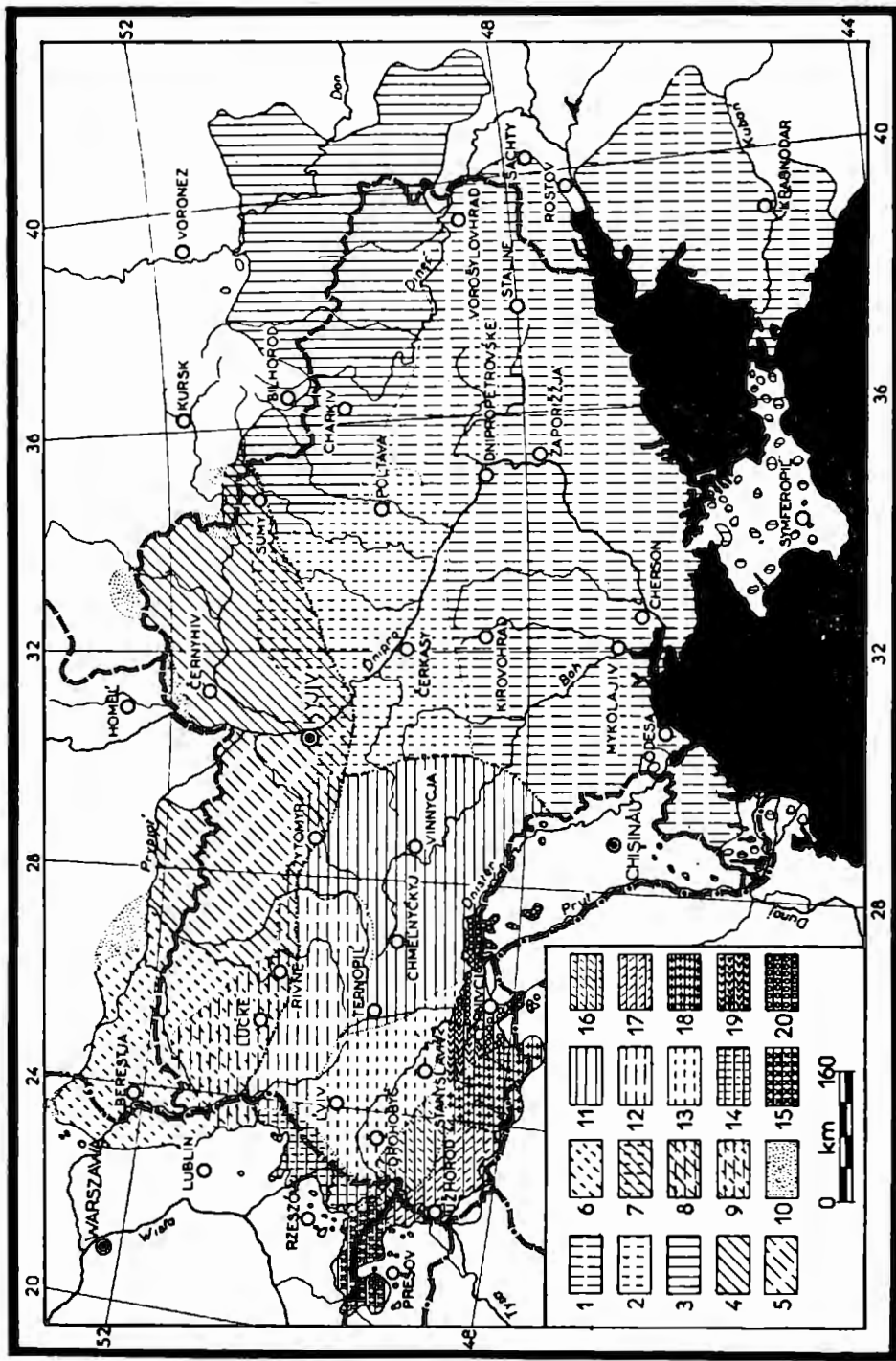


FIGURE 339. MAP OF THE UKRAINIAN DIALECTS (ACCORDING TO F. ŻYLKO)

Groups of Dialects: Southeastern (1) Southern; (2) Central Dnieper; (3) North Dnec; (4) East Polishian; (5) Central Polishian; (6) West Polishian; (7) Transitional on South Polishian Foundation; (8) Transitional on Central Polishian Foundation; (9) North Volhynian; (10) Transitional Ukrainian-Belorussian; (11) Podolian; (12) Dniester; (13) South Volhynian; (14) Sjan; (15) Lemkian; (16) Boikian; (17) South Boikian; (18) Hutsul; (19) Pokutian; (20) Bukovinian.

tioned, the EAST POLISIAN sub-dialects have these peculiarities: (1) the narrowed, that is, raised pronunciation of the groups *ky^t*, *hy^t*, *xy^t* (*rukyy^t*, *nohy^t*, *muxy^t* from *ruka*—hand, *noha*—leg, *muxa*—fly), which spread westward as far as the Buh River; (2) the hardened *č* (*nuččcu* ‘at night’, *pléčy* ‘shoulders’); (3) the ending *y^t* in nominative plural adjectives (*taký^t* ‘such’, *brátovy^t* ‘brother’s’, *mámyny^t* ‘mother’s’); in possessive adjectives this ending is prevalent in all the northern sub-dialects; the ending *-yji*, *-iji* in *tyji* (those), *s’iji* (these); (4) “akanie” in the sub-dialects north of the Desna River (transition of *o* to *a* in the unstressed positions: *vaná* ‘she’, *pašlá* ‘she went’).

The sub-dialects of CENTRAL POLISIA show Belorussian influence in *dzekanie* (affricative pronunciation) of palatalized dentals *d^t*, *t^t* as *dz^t*, *c^t* (*dzic’á* ‘child’, *kóc’ic’á* ‘it rolls’), and the hardened *c* in the suffixes *-ec’*, *-yc’a* (*stárec* ‘old man’, *júly’ca* ‘street’); they retain the palatalization of dentals and *l* before the old *í* as well as, to a lesser degree, before *e* (*xris’c’ic’i* ‘to baptize’, *uzel’i* ‘took’, plur.). The WEST POLISIAN and PODLACHIAN sub-dialects are characterized by the absence of Belorussian and by strong south Volhynian influences.

In phonetics, the TRANS-BUH (VOLODAVAN) sub-dialects present a blending of north Ukrainian traits with those of the Sjan and Dniester dialects; in morphology they have been strongly influenced by both these southwestern dialects. Characteristic of them are: (1) the transition under the accent of ‘*a*’ to ‘*e*’, ‘*ie*’, but the retention of the unstressed ‘*a*’ (*čies*, *časú* ‘time’, nom. & gen.). In the southern section of these dialects such an ‘*iē*’ from ‘*a*’ merged with the diphthong *iē* (from old *ě*, *e*) so that both became monophthongized into ‘*i*’

(*t’izko* ‘hard’, adv., *čis* ‘time’—*t’azkúj*, *t’ezkúj* ‘hard’, adj., *časú*); (2) the palatalized dentals in the west before old *i*, *e* (*t’epér* ‘now’, *xod’it’i* ‘to walk’); further east only the palatal *l* before *i*, thus: *daléko* ‘far’, *xod’it’i* ‘walked’, and *daléko*, *xodýl’i*; (3) the preservation of the weak palatalization of hushing sibilants (*š*, *ž*, *č*) in the west; (4) the preservation of final *l* in the participle of the past tense (*dal*, *xodíl* from *daty*—give, *xodyty*—to walk), in the west; (5) the verbal and collective substantive neuter of the type *žyt’é* (life), *span’é* (sleep); (6) the hardened *r* (*pýsar*, *pýsara* ‘clerk’, nom. & gen.); (7) the preservation of soft *c’* in suffixes *-ec’*, *-ic’a* (*xlópec* ‘boy’, *úlic’a* ‘street’); (8) parallel contracted and non-contracted forms of adjectives—*dóbruj* (good), *dóbraja*, *dóbruju*, *dóbroje*, *dóbroji*, and *dóbry*, *dóbra*, *dóbru*, *dóbre*, *dóbry*; (9) archaic endings of *o*-stems in the dative and locative plural substantive masculine and neuter—*kón’om*, *pól’om*, *v kón’ox*, *v pól’ox* (from *kn’*—horse, *pole*—field); the dative singular masculine and neuter *-ovy* (‘-ovy)—*kon’ovy*, *pól’ovy*; (10) verbal forms (*b iē xčy*~*b iē ščy* ‘to run’, *xodžú*~*xožú* ‘I walk’, *xodyt’*, *xod’at’*; *xodyvem*, *xodyves’*, *xodýl’ixmo*, *xodýl’is’te*; *búdu xodýú*; in the east, on the Buh River, *xodýtymu*, *xodýübym*).

The group of SOUTHERN dialects falls into two sub-groups, the more uniform southeastern, and the southwestern which is very largely differentiated. The boundary between them runs approximately along the line Bila Cerkva—Uman’—Pervomajsk.

In a broad sense the typical features of the uniform SOUTHEASTERN GROUP became the foundation of the modern Ukrainian literary language. Among the peculiarities not adopted by the literary language are: in conjugation, the forms

of the infinitive—*brať*~*brátý* 'to take', *nestýs'*~*nestýs'a* (to rush along); forms of the third person singular of the present tense of the verbs of the *i*-conjugation with non-final accent of the type *xóde*, *róbe* (literary *xódyt'* 'he walks', *róbyt'* 'he makes'); truncated forms of the third person singular of the type *pytá* (asks); the first person singular of the verbs of the *i*-conjugation with stems ending in a dental—*xoďú*~*xoźú* (I walk), *vozú* (I transport), *nosú* (I carry), *kruťú* (I twist); in verbal derivation forms, *vmírát'*, *zbirát'* (literary forms, *vmyraty* 'to die', *zbyraty* 'to gather'); the merger of endings of the substantive feminine in *-st'* in the genitive, dative, and locative singular and in the nominative and accusative plural with the endings of the soft feminine declension (thus a generalized *-i*, while in the western dialects it is *-y*: *višt'*~*višt'i* 'news', sing. & plur.); partially the form of the third person pronoun with preposition without epenthetic *n*- (*do jého* 'to him', *z jímý* 'with them', *bez jix* 'without them'). The dialects of the Poltava and Kharkiv regions know the "middle European" *l* (*póle* 'field', *xlópec* 'boy'); the southern area of the Kiev region—softened hushing sibilants in certain morphological categories: *č*, *ž*, *š* (*kryčát'* 'they shout', *lošá* 'foal', *bižát'* 'they run'); the dialects on the east bank of the Dnieper still know the dual form of the masculine substantive (*dva čolovika* 'two persons'); the sub-dialects of the northern area of Poltava—the transfer of the unstressed (adjectival) suffix *-n(yj)* into the soft declension (*krásn'ij* 'fine', *čórn'ij* 'black').

The SOUTHWESTERN GROUP falls into quite a few further subdivisions which are linked by a larger or smaller number of characteristics. These sub-dialects are as follows: (1) South Volhynian (a strip

about 150 kilometres wide from the Uman' district to the districts of Sokal' and Volodymyr); (2) Podolian (south of the above to the Zbruč River and the upper reaches of the Strypa River in the west); (3) that of the Dniester basin (west of the Podolian); (4) that of Pokutia and northern Bukovina; (5) Hutsul (in the Čeremoš River basin, in southern Bukovina and the Maramaroš district); (6) Boikian and the central Transcarpathian dialects (between the Bystrycja and the Teresva rivers in the east and the Oslava and Laborec' rivers in the west); (7) Lemkian (west of the Boikian); (8) that of the Sjan River basin (northwest of the Dniester dialects).

SOUTH VOLHYNIAN is the nearest to the southeastern dialects, especially in morphology. It is linked with the sub-dialects of Polisia through: (1) the hardened *r* (*varú* 'I cook', *zorá* 'star'); (2) the archaic ending of the second person imperative *-ite*~*-it'* (*berite*~*berit'* 'take!'); (3) the verbal and collective substantive neuter of the type *ves'ill'e* (wedding), *žyt't'é* (life; in the south near the Podolian dialect, *žyt'á*; in the southeast, *žyt't'á*). Other characteristics are: (4) the insertion before initial vowels of a prothetic *h* (*hóči* 'eyes', *húlyc'a* 'street', *hýnšyj* 'another', *horáty* 'to plow'); (5) the forms of the feminine pronouns in the genitive and the instrumental—*méji*, *svéju*, *téji* (from *mij* 'my', *svij* 'own', *toj* 'that').

Some phonetic features of the PODOLIAN dialect connect it with the southeastern and Volhynian sub-dialects; and in morphology it is linked to the rest of the southwestern sub-dialects. The characteristics of this dialect are: (1) hardened *r* (*rjabýj* 'pitted', *pýsarju*—from *pysar*—'clerk'); (2) the palatalized velars in the clusters *k'y*, *x'y*, *g'y* (*knyžk'y*

'books', *múx'y* 'flies', *ǎzýg'y* 'whirligigs'); (3) the hardened *t* in verbal endings (*bižýt* 'runs')—the *t* is dropped in the singular when the last syllable is unstressed: *xódy*, *xód'at*, *xod'it* from *xodyty* (to walk); (4) in the soft declension of the substantive *o* instead of *e* under the influence of the hard declension (forms: *z'át'om* from *zjat'*—son-in-law, *pól'om* from *pole*—field, *zyml'óju* from *zemlja*—earth); (5) the endings of the soft substantive in the genitive plural *-yj* (*voč'ýj*, *kónyj*, *husýj* from *oko*—eye, *kin'*—horse, *husy*—geese), and in the dative singular masculine and neuter *-ovy* (*volóvy*, *pól'ovy* from *vil'ox*, *pole*—field); (6) verbal forms of the past tense, of the conditional mood, and of the future tense, of the type *xodyújym*, *-jys'*, *xodylys'mo*, *-s'ty*, *jakým xodyjú*, *xodyjubym*, *-bys'*, *xodylybys'mo*, *-s'ty*; *búdu xodýjú*, *búdymo xodýly*~*búdu xodýty* (from *xodyty*—to walk); the movable particle *-s'a* with reflexive verbs: *ja s'a mýju*~*ja mýjus'a* (I wash). Features 5 and 6 are common to all the other southwestern dialects.

The sub-dialect of the DNIESTER BASIN presents a blend of some characteristics of the Hutsul-Pokutian dialect in phonetics and Podolian morphology. The peculiarities are: (1) the change of *'a* to *'e* (when unstressed to *-y*, *'y'*) (*č'es*, *č'ys*—*č'isú* 'time', nom. & gen., *pjyt'* 'five', *pjitá* 'heel', *l'yx*—*l'ixč'ý* 'to lie down', *prijýsty* 'to spin'—*prídú*) in common with the sub-dialect of Pokutia-Hutsulia and the major part of the Sjan basin; (2) the dorsal palatalization of *t'*, *d'* as *k'*, *g'* (*k'ýško*<*tjažko* 'hard', *g'yk*<*djak* 'deacon'), as in the Pokutian-Hutsul and Sjan dialects; (3) the dispalatalization of the final *t'* or its loss in the third person singular and plural of the root-stressed verbs of the second conjugation (*xódyt*, *xódy*~*xóg'yt*, *xóg'y*;

xóg'it from *xodyty*—to walk), in common with the sub-dialects of Pokutia-Hutsulia and a part of the Boikian region as well as those of the Lemkian and Sjan sub-dialects; (4) the dispalatalization of *-c* in the suffix *-ec'* and the hardening of the dental consonants in the suffixes *-s'k-*, *-c'k-*, *-z'k-* (*xlópyc*—*xlópc'i*—boy, nom. sing. & plur., *pán'sk'ýj*—manorial, *n'iméck'ýj*—German) common to the sub-dialects of Pokutia-Hutsulia and the Sjan basin; (5) a soft pronunciation of the velars in the groups *k'y*, *x'y*, *g'y* (unstressed as *k'i*, *x'i*, *g'i*; *lóuk'i*—bench, gen. sing.~*lóuk'ý*—benches); (6) the narrowed pronunciation of the diphthong *-aũ-* as *-oũ-* (*pysóũ*—wrote, *lóuka*—bench) common to a part of the northern Boikian sub-dialects; (7) the pronunciation of postvocalic *l* at the end of words and syllables as *ũ* (*voréũ* 'eagle', *hóũka* 'needle'); (8) the articulation of *i* (from the old *ě*) lowered to *y* before *r* (*mn'ýrka* 'measure', *vjýra* 'faith', *s'ýrka* 'sulphur'); (9) the loss of the final *j* in the ending *-ij* of adjectives (*dóbri zymlý* 'to good soil'); (10) the disappearance of the soft type of adjectival declension (*sýnyj* 'blue', *trétyj* 'the third'); (11) the preservation of old endings of the soft substantive in the locative singular (*na koný* 'on the horse', *na zymlý* 'on the earth', *v póly* 'in the field', *v sércy* 'in the heart'), in the southwest also of some feminine dual forms (*dvi bány* 'two cupolas'); the form of the instrumental singular of the feminine substantive *-oũ*, *-eũ*, *-yũ* (*holovóũ*, *zymléũ*, *mólostyũ* from *holova*—head, *zemlja*—earth, *molodist'*—youth); the influence of the hard declension on the soft in the instrumental singular of the masculine and neuter substantive (*kon'óm*, *pól'om*, *tyl'ýt'om* from *kin'*—horse, *pole*—field, *telja*—calf); the influence of the ending of ancient *u*-stems

in the locative plural (*v kón'ox* 'in the horses', *v pol'ox* 'in the fields', *v zém'ox* 'in the lands'; (12) the verbal forms: of the infinitive—*strýšćy*, *strýčćy*, *strýčćy* (to cut); of the past tense—*xodývim*, *-is'* (-is), *xodýlys'mo*, *-s'ty* (-smo, -sty); of the future tense of the type *búdu xodýü*, *búdymo xodýly*; of the conditional mood—*xodyübym* (from *xodyty*—to walk). Some of the phonetic peculiarities described extend as far as the sub-dialect of the Sjan basin in the west and the dialects of the Xolm area to the north (the change of 'a to 'e). In the latter they are mixed with certain features of the Sjan basin dialects (*k'i*, *g'i*, *x'i* also under the accent: *laük'i* 'benches'; non-lowered articulation of *e* as *a*: *váčir* 'evening', *várba* 'willow'), and with certain south Volhynian features.

The HUTSUL dialect has some characteristics which link it with the Boikian sub-dialects, while on the other hand it has features which have spread northward as far as the Xolm region. Its peculiarities are: (1) *i* from the old *o* in new closed syllables palatalizes the preceding dentals (*g'im* 'house', *z'ir* 'eyesight'); in the south such an old *o* changed to *y* after labials (*pyp* 'priest', *vyn* 'he'); (2) 'a, *ja* changed into 'é, *jé* (*z'ék* 'son-in-law', *jébluko* 'apple', *jek'éj* 'which'); -*ja*- is retained in the internal position in verbal suffixes: *bojátesy* (to fear); (3) lowered articulation of *y* (from old *i* and *y* to *e*: *méte* 'to wash', *sen* 'son', and *e* to *a*: *tráta* 'the third'); (4) the palatal pronunciation of hushing sibilants *š*, *ž*, *č* (*xóč'u* 'I wish', *vóž'u* 'I transport', *nóš'u* 'I carry'); in the south only *š*, *ž* in common with the Boikian sub-dialects; (5) the hardened *c* in the suffixes -*ec'*, -*yc'a* (*xlópec* 'boy', *molodýca*, *molodýcu* 'young married woman', nom. & accus.) and final -*s'*, *z'* (*ces* 'this', *des* 'some-

where', *šos* 'something', *križ* 'through'); (6) the absence of *l* after labials in verbal forms: *róbju* (I work), *lójje* (they catch); (7) the preservation of soft *r* and "central European" *l* (notably in the southern areas and parts of Bukovina: *ver'x* 'top', *pýsar* 'clerk', *pól'e* 'field', *mo'okó* 'milk') in common with the Boikian sub-dialects; (8) the dorsal articulation of soft *t'*, *d'* as *k'*, *g'* (*k'ilo* 'body', *g'id* 'grandfather'); (9) the palatal pronunciation of the groups *k'y*, *g'y*, *x'y* (in the south hard, as in the Boikian sub-dialects); (10) the preservation of differences in the form of endings in hard and soft nominal declensions: *duš'éü*, *konévy*, *pól'em* (from *duša*—soul, *kin'*—horse, *pole*—field); the ending of the genitive plural of the feminine substantive often -*yj* (*bábyj*, *žabyj*, *kósyj* from *baba*—woman, *žaba*—frog, *kosa*—scythe); the retention of *e* in the endings of pronouns: *je'hó* (from *vin*—he), *sého* (from *sej*—this), *nášeho*, -*emu*, -*ejj*, -*eü* (from *naš*—our, attr.), *mojého* (from *mij*—my); (11) verbal forms: *mu xodýty* ~ *búdu xodýty*; *xodýü sme*; *xodýü byx* (from *xodyty*—to walk); *beréme* (we take, in the west and south—near the Boikian region *berémo* ~ *berém*); (in the east) contracted forms—*trýmaš*, *trýmat* (from *trymaty*—to keep); (12) the comparative degree of adjectives formed with the Rumanian particle *maj* (*maj dobryj* 'better'); (13) the prefix *vy-* changed to *vi-* (*víbraty* 'to choose').

The POKUTIAN and NORTHERN BUKOVINIAN dialect possesses in the western area (the districts of Deljatyn and Nadvirna) some of the traits of the Dniester basin dialect (*pytátys'y*, *pytátys'i* 'to ask'), while in the eastern area it has those of the Hutsul (*pytátysy*). Typical of it are the peculiarities of the Hutsul dialect listed under (1), (2), (4), (5),

(6), (8), (9), (13), and in addition: (1) verbal forms: *sag'ú* (I plant), *krík'u* (I twist), *sag'y* (plant!), *nesét* (carries), *berét* (takes) (especially in the east); (2) the discrimination between the soft and hard nominal declensions (*dušéü* from *duša*—soul, *koném* from *kin'*—horse, *pólem* from *pole*—field, *d nému*—towards him); (3) soft dentals in adjectival suffixes *-s'k-*, *-c'k-* (*pánc'k'yj* 'manorial', *rús'k'yj* 'Ruthenian'). The striking Hutsul characteristics ('*e* from '*a*', the prefix *vi-*) disappear in the northern part of the dialect where it comes in contact with the Podolian dialect.

The BOIKIAN dialect, like the Lemkian, and that of the Sjan basin, is characterized by the preservation of some important archaic traits in phonetics (different reflexes of ancient *y-i*) and morphology. Its territory is divided into the north Carpathian and central Transcarpathian areas; the latter has retained a number of archaisms in phonetics, and besides has been influenced by Lemkian dialects, and in its eastern part (the sub-dialects between the Teresva and the Ljatorycja) by the Hutsul dialects as well.

The Boikian dialects are characterized by: (1) the vowel *ɨ* in place of old *ý* (*rośba* 'fish' which after labials often labializes into *ω* (*bolá*—she was). Accordingly, especially in the south, between the Teresva and the Ljatorycja, and in the western strip of the north Boikian area, the groups *kw*, *gw*, *xw* are preserved (*z b'íkwl*—with bulls), otherwise *ky*, *hy*, *xy*; (2) the preservation of '*a* in common with the Lemkian dialect (*z'at'* 'son-in-law'); (3) the sporadic labialization of the group *-aü* into *-oü* in the northern Boikian sub-dialect (*doü* 'gave'); (4) allophones of *e*, *o* (open *e*, *o* and closed *ê*, *ô*) are used

according to the phonetic environment (*ê* before a palatal consonant, *ɨ* and as a result of vowel assimilation to *ê*, *ô* in the following syllable: *ôit'ec'* 'father', *něji* from *vona*—she, *tép'ér* 'now'; *ô* before the following *i*, *u*: *dôróž'i* from *doroħa*—road, *svôj'ú* from *svij*—own); (5) *i* from old *o*, *e*, *ě* palatalizes the foregoing dentals and their clusters (*s'ř'iü* ~ *s'c'iü* 'table', *s'n'ip* 'sheaf'); also *-zôlôt'i* (gold, nom. plur. adj.); (6) the coronal (weak) palatalization of the dentals *s'*, *z'*, *c'*, that retain their palatalization in the final position in the suffixes *-ec'*, *-yc'a* (*kôř'ec'* 'a dry measure' *üđôv'yc'a* 'widow' and in the suffixes *-c'k*, *-z'k*, *-s'k*); (7) the palatalization of hushing sibilants *š'*, *ž'*, *č'* is preserved in the north; in the south only *š'*; (8) the soft *r'* is retained as in the eastern Lemkian and Hutsul dialects: *vêř'x* (top), *mlynár'* (miller), and "central European" *l* is used in the southern Carpathian dialects (notably before the old *e*, *i* and the new *ɨ* from *o*); (9) the cluster **dj* appears here as *-ž*, less frequently as *ž* (the latter in the south, east of the Ljatorycja River; *xóžu* 'I walk'): *xóž'u*, *méž'y* (among); *ž* occasionally occurs in place of an initial *z-* (*žérno* 'corn', *ž'vir'* 'animal'); (10) intervocalic *j*, *h* are lost (*mau* 'I have', *tóo*—of 'this') in the northern dialects; in the western part of the southern area, up to the river Velyka Rika only *j* is lost (*mávu* 'I have'); (11) the distinct preservation of voiced consonants in the final position (*bib* 'bean', *rid* 'kin', *viz* 'cart'); (12) changes of the clusters *-n'k-* to *-jk-* (*bátejko*—father, dim.), *šk-* to *čk-* (*čkóda* 'harm'), *-dn-* to *-nn-* (*n'n'a* 'of the day'); (13) the retaining of soft *t'* in verbal endings in the southwestern Carpathian dialects; (14) the absence of *l* from *j* after labials in the verbal forms of the northern dialects

(*l'ubju* 'I love'); (15) verbal forms of the type *trýmam* (I keep), *-aš*, *-at* (*-at'*), *-ame*, *-ate*, *aut*, in common with the Lemkian dialect; (16) the influence of the hard nominal declension on the soft: *vitc'ovy*, *pál'c'om*, *mát'ir'öü* (from *otec*—father, *palec*—finger, *maty*—mother); (17) archaic endings, notably in the genitive singular of the masculine and neuter substantive (*dne*, *cěr'kve*—from *den*—day, *cerkov*—church); in the dative plural *poröhim* (*-om*, *-um*, *-üm* in the south—from *porih*—threshold); in the instrumental plural (*bviki*, *jahn'áty*, *kón'y*—from *byk*—bull, *jahnja*—lamb, *kin*—horse); in the locative plural (*v kón'öx*, *viknöx* 'in the horses, windows'); in the nominative plural (*vóucy* 'wolves'); and dual forms in the instrumental (*xlópc'öma*, *pól'öma*, *tyma*, *s'yma*—from *xlopec*—boy, *pole*—field, *toj*—that, *sej*—this); (18) the old feminine *-u* stems ending in *öü* (*cěr'koü* 'church', *mórkou* 'carrot', *bróitöü* 'razor'); (19) particularities in accent: more frequently than anywhere else, it is shifted to the prefix (*pót'ik* 'stream', *óborih* 'stack') and moved to the beginning in a certain group of words (*kól'ino* 'knee', *hódyna* 'hour', *čékaty* 'to wait').

The central Transcarpathian sub-dialects, in addition to the peculiarities already mentioned, also know the following: (1) the spreading of the Lemkian abridged form of the imperative: *xod'* (walk!), *ber'*, *-me*, *-te* (take!); (2) the past tense forms *mjux* (*müx*), *pflux*, *vjux*, *bux*, from *mesty* (to sweep), *plesty* (to plait), *vesty* (to lead), *bosty* (to butt); (3) the reflexes *u*, *ü*, *'u* from old *o*, *e* in new closed syllables in the southern strip of dialects; (4) the assimilation of the groups *-rl-* to *-ll-* in the eastern dialects as in Rumanian (*umélla* 'she died', *téllyc'a* 'swingle'); (5) the

formation of the comparative of adjectives by the old suffix *-j-*: *molódžyj* (younger), *tvérdžyj* (harder), *vúžyj* (narrower), *doužyj* (longer), mainly in the sub-dialect between the Uh and the Boržava rivers.

The LEMKIAN dialect, while it retains a number of essential characteristics in common with the Boikian dialect, has been strongly influenced by the neighboring Polish and Slovak dialects. This is manifested in the penultimate accent (*vóda* 'water', *sélo* 'village') as well as in the dorsal (strong) palatalization of the dentals *s'*, *z'*, *c'*, which in the west give soft hushing sibilants: *š'*, *ž'*, *č'* before *-i* (from old *ě*, *'a*, *'u*). Its peculiarities are: (1) the change of old *o* in new closed syllables into *i*, in the sub-dialects beyond Poprad into *ü* (*vüü* 'ox') and of old *e* into *'u* (*ft'uk* 'ran away'), *spjuk* 'baked'), in the Spiš area into *'ö*; (2) the preservation of the discrimination of old *u-i* (*kvirvi*—blood, gen. sing.), however, with the pronunciation of old *i* as *u* after hushing sibilants *š*, *ž*, *č*: *šü*, *žü*, *čü* (*žvita*—from *žyto*—rye, *švst'* 'six', *nožv*—from *niž*—knife); in the south the pronunciation of the groups *švü*, *žvü* extends beyond the Ljatorycja River (3) *j* after labials before *i* from old *ě* (*vjira* 'faith', *pjisn'a* 'song'); (4) the evolution of the old groups *tröt*, *tröt*, *tlöt*, *tlöt*, into *tvirt*, *tvilt* ~ *tröt*, *tlöt*: *xvrbet* (spine), *svüza* (tear), *hvrmity* ~ *hrvmity* (to thunder), *blvixa* (flea); (5) the appearance of narrowed variant *ě* before soft consonants (*otěc* 'father'); (6) the hardening of final dentals *t*, *d*, *n*, *s*, *z* (*kin* 'horse', *smert* 'death', *xod* 'gol', *voz* 'take!', *nes* 'carry!'), the hardening of *c'* in the suffixes *-ec*, *-ica* (*kupec* 'merchant', *pšenica*—*pšenicu* 'wheat', nom. & accus.) and of *s*, *z*, *c* in the suffixes *-skvüj*, *-zkvüj*, *-čkvüj*; (7) the hardening of final *r'* (*kosar* 'mower') in

the western Lemkian area; (8) the hard *-t* in verbal endings (*robyt* 'works'); (9) the lack of epenthetic *l* from *j* in verbal forms after labials (*spju* 'I sleep'); (10) the labial pronunciation of hard *l* like *ü* (*hoüova* 'head'); (11) peculiarities in the nominal declension: case endings—in the nominative plural, *xlopi* (men), *ptacy* (birds), *dymove* (smoke, plur.), *ptaškove* (birdies), *voľare ~ voľary* (oxherds); in the genitive and locative plural the Slovak forms *do xlopor* (to the men), *od sus'idox* (from the neighbors); the instrumental singular feminine is consequently *-om* (replacing *-oü*)—*rukom*, *dobrom* (from *ruka* 'hand', *dobryj* 'good') and *mnom*, *tobom* (from *ja* 'I', *ty* 'thou'); the locative singular in masculine and neuter adjectives, *v dobrüm* (in the good . . .), *v synym* (in the blue . . .); the genitive singular feminine, *dobroj* (more rarely—*dobroji*); the nominative plural, *dobry* (from *dobryj*—good); (12) forms of the imperative, *id'*, *id'me*, *id'te* (go!); (13) the change of the prefix *v* to *h*, *x* (*hmer* 'died', *xpal* 'fell down').

The dialect of the SJAN BASIN (the *Doly*) is closest to the Lemkian dialect in its essential peculiarities; yet it has been strongly influenced by the dialects of the Dniester basin and the Boikian region. It is linked with the Lemkian dialect by the differentiation of the reflexes of old *y* (*u*)—*i* (*büiti* 'to be'—*büis'i* 'to fight'), but only *čüi*, *žüi*, *šüi* and *k'i*, *h'i*, *x'i* (*žüitu* 'rye', *čüistvij* 'clean', *hr'ix'i* 'sins', *müx'i* 'flies', *nöh'i* 'legs'), except in the district of Bilhorai (Biłgoraj), where *küi*, *hüi*, *xüi* appear; the reflex *'u* from old *e* in new closed syllables (*ft'uk* 'ran away'); "central European" *l* before *e*, *i* (*daleko* 'far', *xodili* 'walked'); the change of the prefix *v* to *h/x* (*hmer* 'died', *xpaü* 'fell down'); the ending of the instrumental

plural feminine of substantives and adjectives *-om ~ -oü*; the locative plural masculine and neuter of substantives *-ox*; adverbial forms ending in *-i* (*ladn'i* 'well', *sm'isn'i* 'funnily'); forms of the imperative *ber* (take!), *nes'* (carry!) ~ *beri*, *nesi*; contracted verbal forms of the type *hadam* (I think), *-aš*, *-at ~ hadaju*, *hadajis*; the absence of epenthetic *l* in verbal forms: *l'übjü* (I love). Under the same conditions as in the Boikian dialect, the Sjan basin dialect has the closed *é* in place of the old *e*, *ü*, under the stress (*dén'* 'day', *bërix* 'shore'), and the change of the group *-n'k* to *-jk-* (*mis'a-čëjku* 'moon', dim.). Its connection with the dialect of the Dniester basin is seen in the change of *'a* to *'e* (*čës* 'time', *r'ët* 'row'; except in the Bilhorai district where *čas*, *rjat* are found); also in the hardened *-t* in verbal endings, *-c* in the suffix *-ec'*, and hard dentals in the suffixes *-s'k-*, *-c'k-*. In addition the dialect of the Sjan basin is characterized by the following features: (1) the consistent pronunciation of unstressed *o*, *e* as *u*, *i* (*kulu mën'i* 'beside me'); (2) the pronunciation of *e* lowered to *a* before and after *r* and after hushing sibilants (*čaravik* 'shoe', *šástyj* 'the sixth'); (3) *j* and *n'* after labials before *i* from old *ě* (*bjilyj* 'white', *mn'ira* 'measure'); (4) far advanced *sandhi* of the Polish type (*büilizmu* 'we were'); (5) the appearance of *üi*, *y* in place of old *o* in new closed syllables in a small strip (*byp* 'bean', *snüp* 'sheaf'); (6) the progressive assimilation in voicedness of the type *kn'izga* (book), *hurbg'i* (hills); (7) the remnants of nominal and compound adjectival declensions of the type *brätuvu pól'i* (the brother's field), *tutüi pul'é* (those fields), *malóji hurn'é* (small pot), *bjilyji birázu* (white birches).

The Ukrainian Dialects in the Diaspora. These form either clear linguistic

islands if the settlers came from the same vicinity (for example, the Sjan basin sub-dialects of the "Hadays" in central Canada, the villages of Tursby and Calmar in Alberta) or a mixed super-dialect *koine* in the larger cities. The literary language has had a marked influence on them, especially since World War II. All Ukrainian dialects in the diaspora have been tinged, mostly in vocabulary, by the influence of their environment (English in the United States and Canada, Spanish and Portuguese in South America, Croatian in Bačka, etc.). In large concentrations of the Ukrainian emigration, where there is greater social differentiation, various dialectal and super-dialectal systems are found to coexist.

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*The introductory remarks and the section on "The Ukrainian Dialects in the Diaspora" are by J. Rudnyckyj; the remainder of the article is by O. Horbač.

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5. HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The history of the Ukrainian language embraces, on the one hand, the history of the phonetic, morphological, and syntactical system of the spoken language in its various dialectal forms and, on the other, the history of the literary language. In the latter, there have occurred great changes and breaks with tradition, brought about by circumstances in the cultural and political history of Ukraine. Consequently the history of the literary language is divided into three periods: the old period (tenth-thirteenth centuries) when the basic literary language of Kievan *Rus'* was Church Slavonic to which popular elements were added slowly but regularly; the middle period (fourteenth-eighteenth centuries) during which, after long vacillation between popular elements and foreign influences (Belorussian and Polish) on the one hand and the renewed influence of Church

Slavonic, on the other, the so-called "literary language of the seventeenth century" was formed, which was a mixture of different elements. Russian pressure and Russian influence in the eighteenth century put an end to this development. After a period of decline (second half of the eighteenth century), the literary language was reconstructed and based entirely on the popular language. This development took place in the modern period (nineteenth-twentieth centuries).

The history of the spoken language really knows no periods. Within the dialectal groups it shows a surprising continuity in development from prehistoric times to our day. However, to make more evident the contacts and mutual influence of the literary and spoken languages at every period, the history of the latter is here presented within the periods which constitute the stages of development of the former.

THE FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE AND THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD OF ITS DEVELOPMENT

Opinions as to the origin of the Ukrainian language are divided. While some scholars think that it evolved directly from the proto-Slavic language (Miklosich, Ohonov's'kyj, S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj, *et al.*), others believe that the proto-Slavic language first produced an Eastern Slavic (or *Rus'*) language which, in its later subdivision, produced the modern Ukrainian, Belorussian, and Russian languages (Sreznevskij, Šaxmatov, Krym's'kyj, Meillet, *et al.*). The exact time when Ukrainian became an independent entity is disputed among the advocates of the latter view. Some (Krym's'kyj) ascribe it to the tenth-eleventh centuries, other to the twelfth (Šaxmatov, Trubetzkoy), at the time of the disintegration of the Kievan state, or the fourteenth (Sreznevskij, Lehr-Splawiński). Soviet linguists have lately given acceptance to the view that Ukrainian (and Belorussian) arose in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, and they connect their appearance with the inclusion of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Obnors'kij, Grekov, Mavrodin and others). This last assumption is refuted by the simple observation that if the Ukrainian and Belorussian languages had originated as a result of the extension of the Lithuanian state over Ukrainian and Belorussian territory, there would not have been two languages (Ukrainian and Belorussian), but a single language, or if there had been two, their appearance would have accorded with the political division: one within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the other in Galicia and Transcarpathia, which were not a part of that

state. Since this is not so, it is clear that the Ukrainian and Belorussian languages existed as separate entities before the creation of the Lithuanian state.

An objective answer may be found to the question of the formation of the Ukrainian language, if the origin, the spread, and the history of the Slavs is related to the history of the language and its dialectology. With the exception of the theory that the Baltic lands were the original home of the Slavs (Rozwadowski and, partly, Šaxmatov), almost all modern theories about the original Slavic homeland, whether they place it in Polisia (Peisker, Rostański, Vasmer, in 1926), between the Odra and Volhynia (Lehr-Splawiński), between the Elbe and the Desna (Niederle), between eastern Galicia and the upper Don (Vasmer in 1941), or between the Vistula and the middle Don (Vernadsky), include Ukraine or some part of it in the original home of the Slavs and state that Slavic colonization moved outward from it to the west, north, south, and east.

The colonizing movement to the west (from the fourth century) weakened the links between the tribes on the territory of Ukraine and the Western Slavs and was the beginning of the latter's separation, although the break was not complete. The link is indicated by common East and West Slavic features of language such as the distinction of the groups *rot-*, *lot-* with the falling pitch from *rat-*, *lat-* with the rising one (*robota* 'work'—*ralo* 'wooden plough') both from Common Slavic **ort-*, **olt-*, -*ě* in certain nominal endings corresponding to the Southern Slavic -*ę* (for example, the genitive singular *zemlě*—*zemlę* 'of the earth', *jeje*—*jeje* 'her'), the instrumental singular of the *o-* stems in -*омъ* (and not -*омь*), and, to a certain extent, the forms of the pronouns *tobě* (thee,

dat.), *sobě* (oneself, dat.) as compared with the Southern Slavic *tebě*, *sebě*. In particular, the people of the Western Ukrainian territory time and again renewed contact with the nearest West Slavic tribes after longer or shorter periods of separation. This explains some points which the Western Ukrainian dialects have in common with Polish and in some cases with Slovak—features which date far back. They are found mainly in vocabulary (*abo* 'or', *aľbo* 'or', *at* 'let . . . !', *ľjub* 'or', *xvyľja* 'wave', *vesyllja* 'wedding'), but also in phonetics and morphology ($\text{ʒ, ʒ} > y$ before *j*, the partial preservation of the group *kv-* before *ě* from **oi*, possibly the passage of *g* into γ as in Czech and Slovak). In addition to this, these regions were not affected by the direct Iranian influences exerted during the domination of the Scythians and Sarmatians in the Black Sea steppes and the adjacent forest-steppe zone.

Thus separate features originated in the southwestern Ukrainian dialects, which nevertheless underwent a large number of the same processes of development as the language of the Slavs located further to the east (*tl, dl* > *l*, the change of *x* into *s* in the second palatalization, the preservation of *ľ* from *j* after labials, and to some extent **kv-*, **gv-* > *cv-*, *zv-* before *ě* from **oi*). The spread of these linguistic changes was facilitated by the fact that in the third and fourth centuries all these tribes formed a part of the realm of the Goths and later (until the middle of the fifth century) of that of the Huns. The great southern movement of Slavic migration since the second half of the fifth century separated the South Slavs from the other tribes. Contact with their languages was actually broken off from the time they settled in the Balkan peninsula and were

cut off from central Ukraine by the nomads of the steppe, and insofar as it was reestablished later, it was chiefly through the channels of the literary language, or affected separate dialects only (mostly in the Carpathian regions).

At the same time, the movement to the north followed the Dnieper, its tributaries and neighboring streams, and resulted, first, in the formation of the Belorussian language on a substratum of the languages of the Baltic tribes, in the basin of the central Dnieper and the upper reaches of the western Dvina and perhaps further to the east as well, and then, further to the north, in the formation of the north Russian dialects, on a substratum of the languages of the Finnic tribes. These north Russian dialects developed under different ethnic and political conditions, and, in many ways, completely independently, possibly from the sixth century (Vernadsky) and in any case "long before the ninth century" (Niederle)—(the development of *cokan'ie*; the preservation of *g*; *žγ*, *šx* corresponding to the southern *ždž*, *šč*).

With the exception of these lands to the north the East Slavic lands were united on the outer edge of the realm of the Avars (middle of the sixth to the middle of the seventh century) and this was a factor in bringing together the whole southern group of the Eastern Slavic tribes. It is possible that such special features of present-day Ukrainian, Belorussian, and, in part, south Russian dialects, as *g* > γ , *w* from *l* after *ʒ* before a consonant, the change of ʒ, ʒ before *j* toward *y, i* developed during this period. But a later decisive political union on Eastern Slavic territory—the Khazar state (middle of the seventh to the ninth century)—included within its boundaries only a part of the tribes of the southern group of Eastern Slavs (according to the

Chronicle—the Vjatiči, the Radimiči and the Poljane; see “History”). As a result, the Western Ukrainian lands were again separated from the central Ukrainian and the latter were joined with the southern Belorussian. We may conclude that some phenomena common to the north Ukrainian and south Belorussian dialects appeared during this period (the strengthening of the expiratory accent and its falling character, $\varepsilon > e$ [if not stressed]) which are unknown to either the West Ukrainian or the north Belorussian dialects.

Thus, before the end of the prehistoric period, there were several well-defined dialectal groups among the Eastern Slavs, and on the territory of Ukraine we find two clearly delineated groups of dialects: the southwestern, which included Galicia, Podilia, and probably southern Volhynia and Transcarpathia, and the northern, which covered northern Volhynia, the Kiev area, and the Černihiv region, and extended further to the north to the territory of present-day Belorussia approximately as far as the region around Minsk. Nothing definite can be said about the language of the south Ukrainian tribes who supposedly lived in the basins of the lower Dnieper, the Boh, and the Dniester and on the shores of the Black Sea. Their language was probably closer to that of the southwestern group.

These dialectal groups arose as a result of the long series of separations and unions in the constantly changing groupings among the various Eastern Slavic tribes and also, to some extent, among the Eastern Slavic and the Western Slavic tribes, with the other, non-Slavic tribes exerting a certain influence—the Iranian and later the Turkic in the south. Lechitic was influential in the west. During these unions there were formed the

common features of the Eastern Slavic languages ($\check{c} < {}^{\circ}tj$, $[d]ž < {}^{\circ}dj$ and also $\check{c} < {}^{\circ}kt[i]$, ${}^{\circ}gt[i]$: *kručū* ‘I twist’, *sydžu* ‘I sit’, *urožaj* ‘harvest’, *nič* ‘night’; old Ukrainian and modern southwest Ukrainian *močy* = literary *mohty* ‘to be able’; $\upsilon > \varepsilon$; pleophony, with *el* $>$ *olo*: *holova* ‘head’, *moloko* ‘milk’; *je-* $>$ *o-* before a syllable with a front vowel except ε ; *ozero* ‘lake’, *osin* ‘autumn’, $\rho > u$). But in almost all of these developments there are divergences in detail, which suggest that the same phonetic changes do not always indicate a common development (compare the Eastern Slavic parallel forms *urožaj* and *urožaj* ‘harvest’, *sriblo* and *serebro* ‘silver’, *vovk* and *volk* ‘wolf’, *ožyna* and *eževyka* ‘blackberry’). On the other hand, in the process of divergence features arose characteristic of the southwestern Ukrainian dialectal group (a weak expiratory accent with an even tone and, as a result of this, the same development in principle of the accented and unaccented vowels, $\varepsilon > {}^{\circ}a$ independently of the accent, *-tʷ* in the third person of verbs, probably the hard consonants before *e*) and of the north Ukrainian dialectal group (a stronger expiratory accent of a falling type and, in connection with it, a different pronunciation of stressed and unstressed vowels, unstressed $\varepsilon > e$, no change of ε before *j* to *i* in the genitive plural of the *i*-stems, the hardening of *tʷ*, *-tʷ* in the third person of the verb, soft or semi-soft consonants before *e*). The differences between the two groups of dialects began to dwindle during the period when they both fell within the boundaries of the Kievan state, but even then many different linguistic developments occurred in the two groups, which continued to follow trends started in the prehistoric period.

The historical circumstances under which the Ukrainian language was formed in its two dialectal groups are also reflected in the vocabulary, primarily in the different borrowings from other languages. The oldest are still Common Slavic. To these belong the many words assimilated from proto-Germanic and Gothic (*xlib* 'bread', *red'ka* 'radish', *sklo* 'glass', *kolodjaz* 'well', *pist* 'fast', *polk* 'regiment', *šeljah* 'small coin', *myto* 'customs', *lyxva* 'usury', *skot* 'livestock' . . .); the Germanic languages were also an intermediary in the spreading of some Latin words (*cisar* 'emperor', *osel* 'donkey', *cerbljud* 'camel', *vyno* 'wine', *xrest* 'cross', *pip* 'priest'). From Greek came the words *korabel'* (ship), *kolyba* (Carpathian hut). From Iranian, possibly, *Boh* (God), *Svaroh*, *Xors* (pagan Slavic gods), *vyrij* (warm lands to which birds migrate), *hospodar* (master, owner), *raj* (paradise). Less study has been made of the old Turkic influences (Avars, Khazars, etc.) but it is probable that in the prehistoric period the words *tovar* (goods), *loša* (foal), *bahatyr* (hero), *kahan* (sovereign), came into the language. Not all the Iranianisms and Turkisms are common to all the Slavic dialects and some did not reach the southwestern Ukrainian dialectal group (for example, the Iranian *sobaka* 'dog', and *žemčuh* 'pearl', *tehiha* 'cart', which perhaps are Turkic). On the other hand, the southwestern group has some Germanisms that are little known in the east Ukrainian dialects (*kotel* 'boiler'), although it is possible that some of these differences are the result of a later development. The old Germanisms and Turkisms are chiefly words used in social life and material culture while the Iranianisms belong to the religious life.

In general there is much that is un-

clear and hypothetical in the knowledge of the prehistoric development of the Ukrainian language. There is no way of reconstructing either the history of the tribes beyond the facts of their presence in the greater political unions, or many other cultural and economic factors. Nevertheless, the main lines of development of the language even in those times can now be depicted with sufficient certitude.

THE OLD UKRAINIAN (OLD RUS') PERIOD (ELEVENTH-THIRTEENTH CENTURIES)

After its Christianization, Ukraine (*Rus'*) had its own literary language. But, as was typical of the Middle Ages, the literary language differed greatly from colloquial speech.

The LITERARY language of Kievan *Rus'* is known from written texts, from the middle of the eleventh century on. The two Collections of Svjatoslav (*Izbornik Svjatoslava*, 1073 and 1076), The Gospel of the Archangel, 1092, the Thirteen Sermons of Saint Gregory of the eleventh century, possibly the Ostromir Gospel, 1056-7, and many other works were written on the Ukrainian territory. These texts, however, do not fully represent the literary language in all its territorial and dialectal forms and in all stages of its development. The Kievan texts date from the eleventh-twelfth centuries, after which there are hardly any; Černihiv is represented only by an inscription on a goblet which belonged to Prince Volodymyr Davydovyč (about 1151) and perhaps by a text of the Rumjancev's Ladder (*Listvyca*) of the twelfth century (Kryms'kyj's hypothesis); Tmutarokan', perhaps by an inscription on stone (1068); Perejaslav and the chief city of the Ulyči, Peresičen, are not re-

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 ЛА·ДАВЗИУУАНТЕ
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 ТЪВЗИАНЖНВНТЬ·
 ТАКОЖЕННЪ·АЖЕ
 ХОЦЕТЪЖНВНТЬ+
 ОЦЬБОНЕСЖАНТЬНН
 КОМОУЖЕ·НЪСЖАЗ
 ВЪСДАСТЬСНОВН·
 ДАВЪСНУЪТЖТЬ
 СНА·АКОЖЕУЪТЖ

FIGURE 340. OSTROMIR'S GOSPEL OF 1058-7,
FRAGMENT OF TEXT

presented at all. It is only from Galicia that we have a series of texts beginning with the end of the eleventh century.

As well as this, the known texts are almost all ecclesiastical; there is one charter, that of Prince Mstyslav of 1130, reflecting administrative language; private and epistolary material has survived only when inserted in the Chronicle. The Chronicle itself, like the tales and poetry (Ihor's Tale), is known only in later copies mostly made outside Ukrainian territory and by foreigners (for example, Ihor's Tale, in Pskov, the Chronicle, in Pskov and Kostroma). The reason for this scarcity of texts is to be found in

the constant wars in Ukraine and the frequent destruction of Ukrainian cities.

The literary language of Kievan Rus' was based on the Old Church Slavonic language, which at that time was not a living tongue, but the written ritual language which had been broken off from its Macedonian (Salonican) or Moravian base. Developing not so much in accordance with its own internal laws as through the exertion of various local influences, it had been formed into several recensions: Czech, Serb, Croatian, middle Bulgarian, middle Macedonian, Ukrainian, north Russian. On the territory of Kievan Rus', in particular, it had taken over a whole series of local words of various origins (*posadnik* 'governor', *tiun* 'administrative official', *hrivna* 'a coin and a measure of weight', *kuna* 'marten', 'monetary unit', *řezana* 'small monetary unit', 'coin', *kožux* 'pelt', *žmčjuh* 'pearl', *uksusz* 'vinegar', *řen* 'shallow', *lajati* 'to scold', *tulitisja* 'to hide', *sorok* 'forty' and many others), had undergone certain phonetic and morphological changes, and, in the resultant form, had become a standard written language.

In essence these phonetic and morphological changes are a partial adaptation to the local pronunciation; the signs of the nasal vowels Ѥ , Ѧ were pronounced as *u*, *ja*; *g* as *h* (or *γ*); the letter *u* was read as *šć*, not *št*; instead of *žd*, *ž* was often written; *ě* was pronounced in the local manner as the diphthong *iě*; *v* had a bilabial pronunciation and could in certain positions alternate with *u*; *ѣ*, *ѥ* in words of the *trǫh* (trade) type were pronounced as reduced vowels preceding the sonants (of the *trǫh* type). Similar substitutions were made in morphology. Works which were not copied from Bulgarian originals but were made in Kiev disclose the great uniformity of

the standard language (for example, Ilarion's *Slovo o zakoni i blahodati*—Sermon on Law and Grace). It was, it seems likely, also the spoken language of the most cultured among the intellectuals (Saxmatov), but this was only a very small group. Outside this development the population had their own speech and thus maintained the tribal dialects, of which we have no direct record. It may be assumed that in the many cities of the time which were the centers of extensive trade, a special kind of *koine* was formed, although there is no direct evidence of it. As witnessing the relations with foreigners, there are loan words from the Turko-Tatar languages (for example, *šerešir* 'quiver', *koščěj* 'slave'), and from Germanic (for example, *ščihla* 'mast', *jakorb* 'anchor', *kodola* 'rope', *retjazb* 'chain', *hridb* 'man-at-arms', *tiunz*, *stjahs* 'banner', *vira* 'fine', etc.). As far as the numerous loan words from Greek are concerned, they came only in part via the city *koine*, having in great measure been introduced through the Church books. There are numerous loan translations (for example, *rodoslovie* 'genealogy' from γενεαλογία, *zemnočtobstvo* from γεωμετρία, *blahoslovenie* 'benediction' from εὐλογία) and, especially later, loan words (as *klimat* 'climate', *kentr* 'center', *aromat* 'aroma', *musikija* 'music', *ipostasb* etc.)

We can trace the meeting of local tradition with the Greco-Bulgarian in the SYNTAX of the texts written at the time. From the spoken language comes the dominance of paratactic constructions in the sentence (for example, *emše imb věry i prisjazě ixz—Hyp.*) and in the connection between the clauses, the lack of prepositions in certain spatial, temporal, and other functions (*Ne mohu vy ja ity—Hyp.*), the

absence of indirect speech, the utilization of the participle (which gradually became indeclinable) in the predicative function along with finite verbs, the wide use of the dative absolute and the system of second cases, etc. Undoubtedly hypotaxis, the use of prepositions, and the single-center sentence also developed in the living language. This development was favored by the use of Church Slavonic, which was itself modeled on the highly developed Greek syntax. The system of hypotactic conjunctions (*aščē*—if, *zanje*—as, since, *ponježe*—because, *bo*—because, *da*—let . . . !, *jeda*—whether, *neže*—than, *iže*—that, *křto*—who, *čřto*—what, that, *jako*—as, *křdē*—where, when, *kamo*—where, whither, *kudy*—where, *aky*—as, *čřtoby*—in order to, so that, *aby*—in order to, etc.), which were not always correctly used, was largely taken over from the Church Slavonic texts.

PHONETIC development in this period was partly a completion of changes which had started earlier (the change of initial *je-* into *o-* before a syllable with a front vowel before and under the accent, for example *jesenb* > *osenb* 'autumn'; the change of initial *a* into *o*, for example *Oleksandrř* 'Alexander'); however, most changes were closely connected with the loss of the weak reduced *z*, *z*. This process probably took place in the second half of the twelfth century and brought with it a whole series of phonetic changes, some of which were adopted in all the Ukrainian dialects: the assimilation of consonants (*dřxorř* > *txorř* 'polecat'), the assimilative palatalization and depalatalization of consonants (*krařnyj* > *krařnyj* 'beautiful'), the dissimilation of consonants (*křto* > *xto* 'who'), the loss of consonants (*mřhla* > *mła* 'haze'), the change of the strong *z*, *z* into *o*, *e* (*rřřř* > *rot* 'mouth', *třřř* > *test*

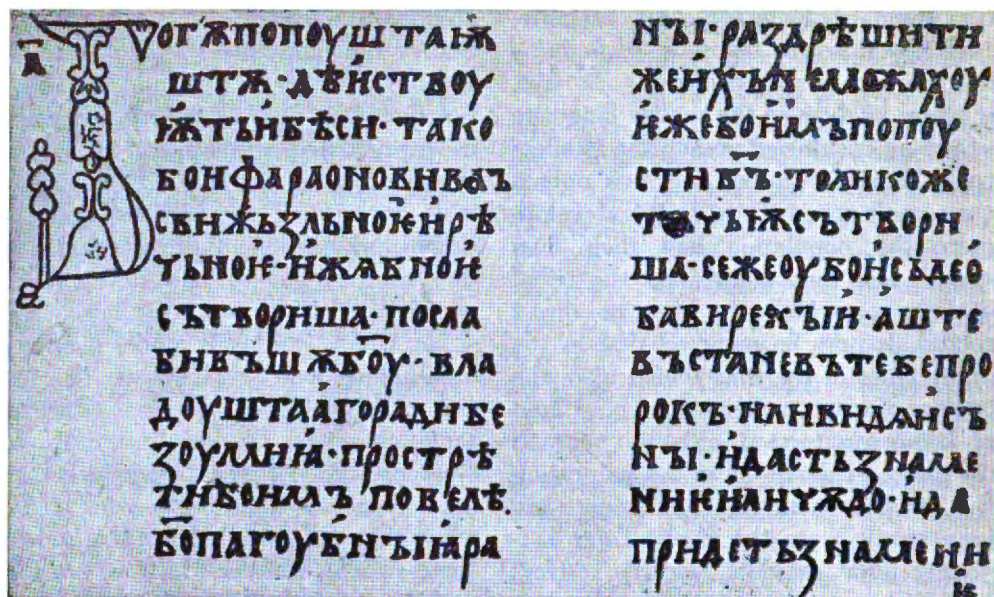


FIGURE 341. FROM THE COLLECTION OF SVJATOSLAV, 1076

'father-in-law') and the appearance of the so-called fugitive *o*, *e* (*son—snu—sleep*, nom. & gen., *den'—dnja—day*, nom. & gen.). But the special features of the sound systems of the dialects caused some important dialectal differences in the developments resulting from the loss of the weak reduced vowels. In the northern Ukrainian dialectal group with its falling dynamic accent, the middle vowels *o*, *e* in syllables before the lost *ъ*, *ь* (new closed syllables) were lengthened under stress, then were narrowed in their final sections and thus changed into diphthongs of a kind: *o* > *ō* > *uo*, *e* > *ē* > *iē* (= *ě*) before a syllable with a lost *ь*, *e* > *ō* > *'uo* before a syllable with a lost *ъ* (*nožь* > *nūož'* 'knife', *pečь* > *pīēč'* 'stove', *pekъь* > *p'ūok* 'baked'). On the other hand, in the southwestern group with its weaker, even accent, *o* in syllables before the lost *ъ* and *ь*, and *e* in syllables before the lost *ь* were narrowed independently of the accent; it is from these narrowed *o*, *e* that modern Ukrainian *i*

alternating with *o*, *e*, developed subsequently: from the narrowed *e*, which still in this period joined in its development with the old *ě*, in some places (Bukovina and southern Galicia), and from the narrowed *o* in middle Ukrainian. In addition to this, the northern dialectal group kept the character of the final consonants in the newly created closed syllables, while the southwestern group of dialects began early to make voiced consonants sound in this position partially or wholly voiceless (northern [*nūož'*]-knife, [*sad*]-orchard, southwestern [*niš'*], [*sat*]).

Another phenomenon connected with the loss of the weak reduced vowels was the development of the sound groups *rs*, *rv*, *lv*, *lv* between consonants in an open syllable. In the northern group, these clusters developed into *ry*, *ly* (*krъvavъ* > *krycavyj* 'bloody', *hlytaty* > *hlytaty* 'to swallow') whereas in the southwestern group the vowel before *r*, *l* was lost (*krъvavyj*, *hlytaty*) and only later a *y*-like vowel developed, usually before,

but sometimes after, *r*, *l* (*kyrvavyj* and more rarely *kryvavyj*).

Other important sound changes of this period also affected the two dialectal groups in different ways. The northern group tended to change *e* before hard consonants into *o*, showing a special consistency in this after *ž*, *č*, *š*, *j* (*žena* > *žona* 'woman', 'wife'). In the southwestern group this change occurred only sporadically (the present Western Ukrainian *včera* 'yesterday', *šestyj* 'the sixth', as compared to northern and eastern Ukrainian and the literary language, *včora*, *šostyj*). Final *e* in the group *-ije* is reflected in the northern group as *-a* (*zelyje* > *zīl'ja* 'herbs'). Both phenomena were connected, it may be assumed, with the fact that the southwestern group had hard consonants before *e*, and the northern group had soft or semi-soft. The characteristic change of the clusters *hy*, *ky*, *xy* into *hi*, *ki*, *xi* (*nohy* > *nohi* 'legs'), which came in the middle of the twelfth century, chiefly affected the northern group of dialects. It began the approach of *y* to *i* so that these two fused in the modern Ukrainian middle *y*. It was a gradual process—first it affected *i* after *h*, *k*, *x* and the labials, then after the dental and postdental consonants and spread thus to the consonants before *e*. In the northern group a general hardening of *r* (*udarъ* > *udar* 'strike', *burja* > *burā* 'storm') was also introduced. The hardening of the labials is found in all Ukrainian dialects.

Thus a phonemic inventory of the Ukrainian language in the middle of the thirteenth century can be established basically as follows: vowels: *a* (< *a*, *ę*), *o* (< *o*, *je-*, *ɔ*, *e*, *ɔ*), *e* (< *e*, *ɔ*), *ū* or narrow *o* (< *o*, *e*), *u* (< *u*), *y* (< *y*, *i*), *i* (< *ě*, *e*); consonants: labials *b*, *p*, *v*, *m*, (*f*); dentals *d*, *t*, *z*, *s*, *n*, *l*, *c*, *dʲ*, *tʲ*, *zʲ*, *sʲ*, *nʲ*, *lʲ*, *čʲ*; *r*, *rʲ* (dialectal); palatals *ž*, *š*, *č*, *j*; velars *k*, *x*; laryngeal *h*.

In DECLENSION, the chief developments of this period were the beginning of the disappearance of the genders in the plural; the merging of the declensions of substantives with various stems and their grouping (in the singular) by grammatical gender; the tendency to distinguish doublets in endings semantically, where these had been preserved (*a/u* in the genitive of the masculine singular). In the pronominal declension a confusion between the hard and soft groups appeared. In conjugation, during this period, the verb lost the aorist and imperfect and the functions of the perfect began to be transferred to the participle in *-lъ*, the supine began to disappear, and certain simplifications were made in the formation of the imperative mood.

In the scientific literature there is a certain tendency to exaggerate the unity of the linguistic development of the Eastern Slavic tribes in the tenth-twelfth centuries, because of their political union in the Kievan state (*Šaxmatov*, *Trubetzkoy*, and others). In reality, there was very little unity in linguistic development—partly because the political union was not a stable one (under *Oleh* the state encompassed only the *Poljane*, *Derevljane*, *Siverjane* and *Radimiči*; the subjugation of many of the tribes took many centuries; ties with *Novgorod* were rather loose; the principality of *Polock* was independent almost all the time, part of Western Ukraine, *Červen horody*, was now attached to *Kiev* and now became part of *Poland*) and partly because the already existing differences between the various dialects modified the development even of common sound changes. Even the so-called general Eastern Slavic developments of this period (the change of *hy* (*gy*), *ky*, *xy* into *hi* (*gi*), *ki*, *xi*, the loss of the weak reduced vowels, and the development of

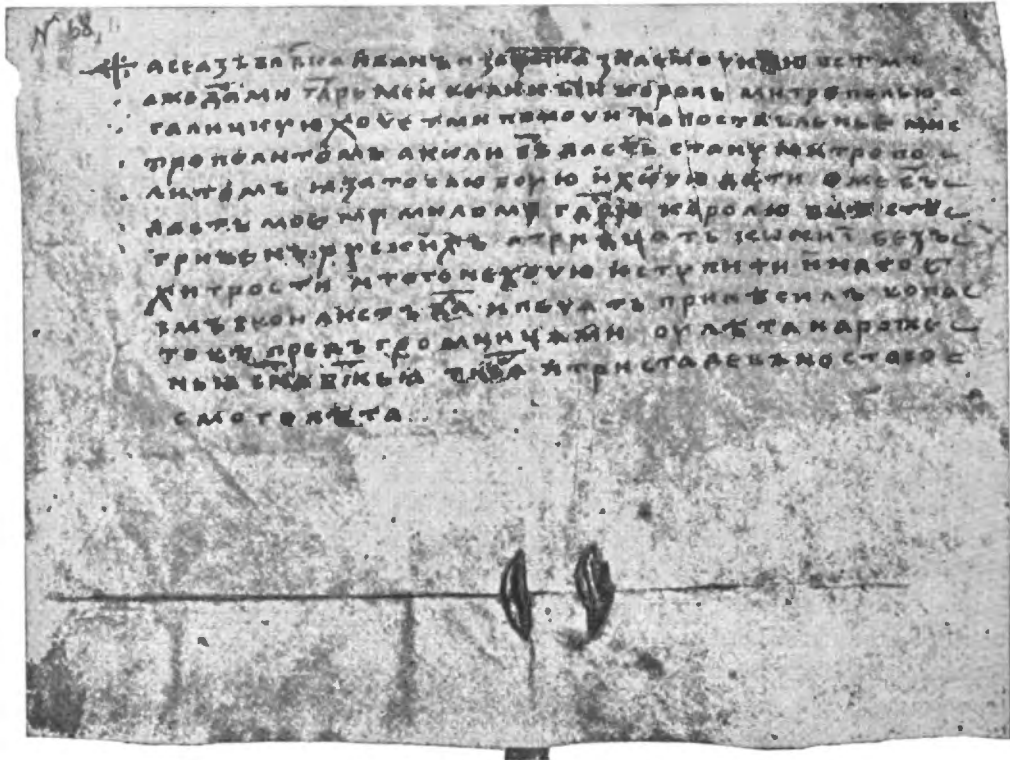


FIGURE 342. THE CHARTER FROM LUC'K, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

the strong *з, ѣ* into *о, е*) either did not affect all the dialects or appeared in them at different times (both these developments occurred in the Belorussian and Russian dialects 100–200 years after they appeared in Ukrainian) so that it is impossible to consider them as a single common process. A common tendency in the development of the language, in fact, concerned morphology rather than phonology.

MIDDLE UKRAINIAN (FOURTEENTH–EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES)

The decline of the Kievan state, followed by that of Halyč and Volhynia, and the inclusion of all the Ukrainian lands except Galicia and Transcarpathia into the basically Belorussian Grand

Duchy of Lithuania, created completely new conditions in the development of the literary language in Ukraine. There was a break in the direct link with the traditions of the literary language of the preceding period, and a breach developed between the church and the official languages.

The most important development in the LITERARY language in the ecclesiastical genres and styles at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries was a new wave of Church Slavonic influence (the so-called second period of Church Slavonic influence). Because of the decline in the cultural life of Ukraine, it was easy for the reforms introduced into the Church Slavonic language and spelling in Bulgaria by Patriarch Euthymios to exert a wide influence (an archaizing of the

ХАДБЛА·МБНЬІАСИЛЫ
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 МІНЕБОВСАМОВАТА
 ПОХВАЛБМІНАРБІТСА
 ІШТОББГРАДБЖНІ
 ЄРІМІЕ·ТОРОДЕЦРА
 ВІЛНІСБ·ДАСУТВОРА
 ПСАДВІРІХОУБНА
 ШЕМОУ·ШТОШВОРАБ
 ДВЕРІМБНА·ЛСА
 КРЪШАБДВІРІПЛБНЬ
 МІНА·ШТОМЕРЪШНІ
 ЛЪЧІСТЫДВІНУСІМ
 ДВІРІМІТРЕСВОБЕ·
 НІНІШТОПТВЕСТЬ·ШІБ

FIGURE 343. FROM ШЕТ'Я-МІНЕЈА, 1489

language, imitation of Greek in syntax and spelling, the fashioning of a rhetorical style). This influence checked the movement which had begun to bring the ecclesiastical-literary language nearer to the colloquial during the old period of development of the Ukrainian language.

Meanwhile the official language developed in an entirely different direction, mainly by absorbing more elements of the colloquial language, partly by responding, especially as regards formulas, to the influence of the languages of the western European chancelleries (Latin, German, Czech, Polish). The political division of the Ukrainian lands between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania caused this official

language to develop two forms, Galician and Volyno-Polisian. The Galician reflected the phonetics and morphology of the southwestern dialects and had more Polonisms (*všytok* 'all', *krul'* 'king', *matka* 'mother', *radcja* 'councillor'); the Volyno-Polisian with its center in Luc'k reflected the phonetics and morphology of the north Ukrainian dialects, and in its later development, when it became the basis of the official language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, it absorbed many Belorussian features (the confusion of *e* : *ě*, chiefly unaccented, -*uje* in the nominative accusative case of the adjective plural, etc.) although it generally tended to use the features common to north Ukrainian and south Belorussian (the lack of *akanije*, the distinction of *e* : *ě* under the accent, hard *r*, *ž*, *č*, *š*, etc.). While the Galician form of this official language became extinct as a result of the introduction into government use of Latin and Polish (1433), the north Ukrainian branch acquired the features of a peculiar *koine*, and at times even became the diplomatic language of eastern Europe. It also became the basis of the official language of Moldavia, although with a great admixture of elements from Bukovina and the Balkans, especially middle Bulgarian elements.

The development of the cities and the position of the Ukrainian *miščanstvo* (city people) in the sixteenth century caused the literary language to come closer to colloquial speech. This development did not only occur in belles-lettres, but even spread to ecclesiastical literature. Attempts were made to translate the Holy Scriptures into a language close to the colloquial (the Song of Songs of the sixteenth century, the Peresopnycja Gospel, 1556-61, the Krexiv Acts and Epistles, 1563-72, etc.). But this move-



FIGURE 344. FROM THE PERESOPNYCJA GOSPEL, 1556-61

ment was hampered by the so-called third wave of Church Slavonic influence.

Its chief cause was the inclusion, after the Union of Lublin in 1569, of the Ukrainian lands in the Kingdom of Poland, making them the object of Polish cultural, political, and economic expansion. This, on the one hand, undermined the formation of a Ukrainian literary language based on the spoken language, for the higher nobles became Polonized and the Ukrainian cities under Polish domination lost their standing

and could not become centers of a national cultural and political life. On the other hand, the spiritual leadership of the Ukrainian opposition passed into the hands of the clergy. When a cultural tradition was needed to oppose the powerful Latin tradition introduced by Poland, the clergy emphasized the Church Slavonic language as the bearer of the old Greco-Byzantine tradition, rather than the first attempts to create a literary language on a popular basis. A strong movement began for a rebirth of the Church Slavonic language, to purify it, draw up new rules for it and to teach it in educational institutions. Church Slavonic handbooks and grammars were prepared (the Lviv Primer of 1574; the Ostrih Grammar, 1586; the Grammar by L. Zyzanij, 1596, that of Vilno, 1621; of Kremjanec', 1638; and above all the grammar by Meletij Smotryckyj, 1619), as were dictionaries (the *Leksyś*—Lexicon—of Lavrentij Zyzanij, 1596, and the *Leksykon slavenorosskij* of Pamva



FIGURE 345. TITLE PAGE OF THE LEKSIKON OF P. BERYNDA, 1627

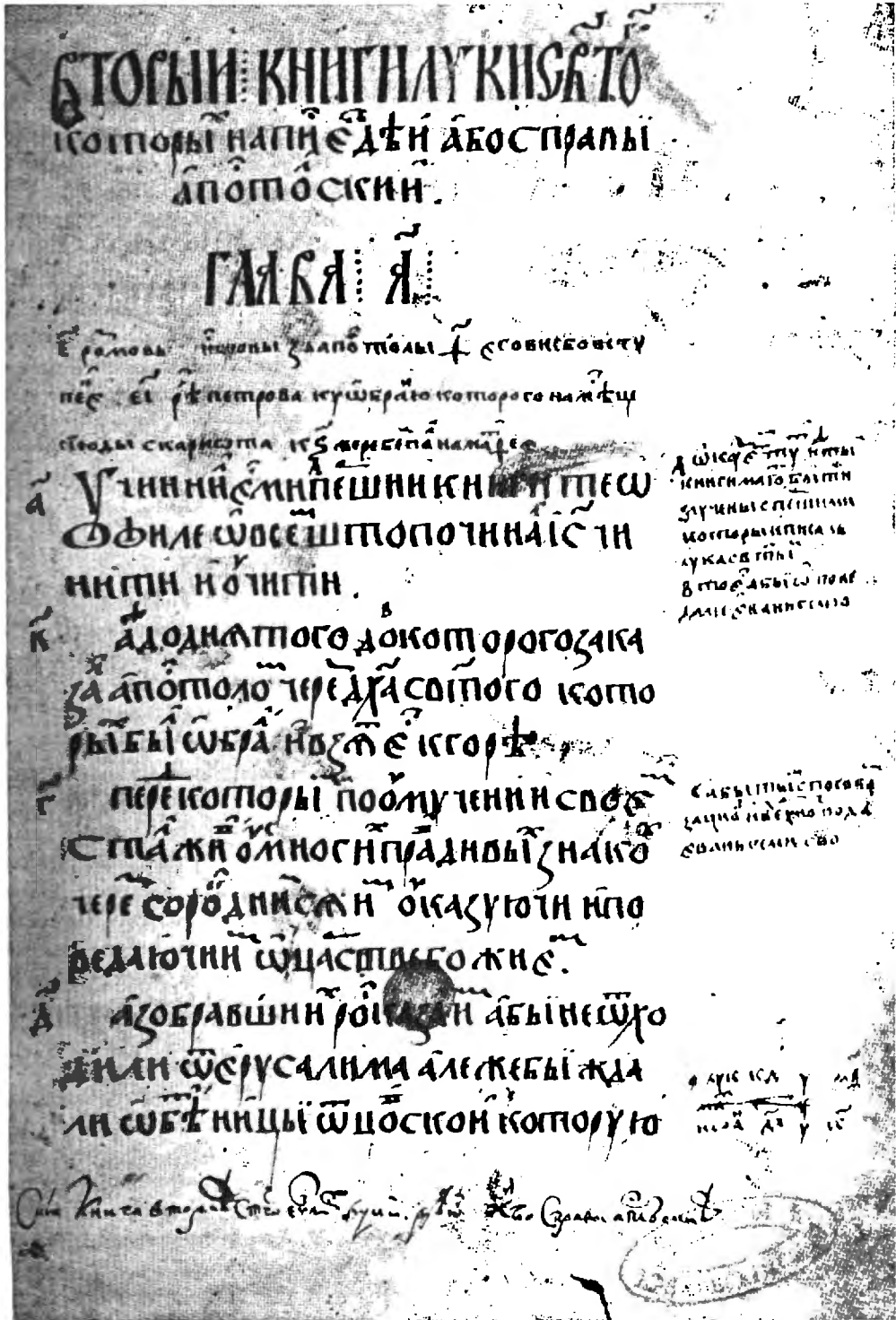


FIGURE 346. A PAGE FROM THE ACTS AND THE EPISTLES OF KREXIV, 1563-72

Berynda, 1627, 1653; *Synonima Slaveno-rosskaja*, middle of the seventeenth century, etc.).

Despite these endeavors the Church Slavonic language could not be reconstructed in its old form; it was penetrated by elements of more recent origin and others that were arbitrary, as well as some specifically Ukrainian elements (for example, in phonetics pronunciation of Ѣ , Ѧ as *u*, *ja*, *i* as *h*, ѣ as *i*, the unpronounced ѳ , ѵ . . .). Basically, however, it was opposed to the living language. This Church Slavonic recension exerted great influence in Russia, Belorussia, Serbia, and other countries, but in Ukraine—entirely contrary to the purposes of its promoters—it served to increase the successes of Polonization, for it separated the popular language from the literary without itself being able to become the living language of Ukraine.

Yet even in written and official usage it was impossible to maintain the purity of this language, not even within the boundaries set by M. Smotryč'kyj, and it was mixed with a long series of elements from the spoken language and even from western languages, especially Latin and Polish. Thus the literary language of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries developed on this Church Slavonic base, with an abundance of Polonisms and Latinisms in its vocabulary, and especially with a wide use of Polish conjunctions in the complex sentence (*gdy* 'when', *żeby* 'in order to', *ponevaž* 'because'), some Polonisms in syntax (for example, the use of the instrumental case as a predicate in accordance with Polish rules), partly Latin word order (the verb at the end of the sentence, sometimes the adjective after the substantive), the cultivation of participial constructions no longer natural

to the living language, passive constructions, and a rhetorical style. The phonetics were based primarily on the Ukrainian spoken language, while in vocabulary, syntax, and morphology the living Ukrainian language had relatively much less weight. This language was used in preaching, scientific literature (Chronicles, etc.), belles-lettres (the drama, verses, tales), and, with a much decreased Church Slavonic element, in official and administrative documents (for example, the Universals of Bohdan Xmel'nyč'kyj), and in private correspondence (for example, the letters of Ivan Mazepa).

The depth of these Polish and Latin influences is indicated by the great number of words and constructions that passed into the popular language, where they are still in use (Polish *zavše* 'always', *mic* 'power', *plentatysja* 'to trudge', *obicjaty* 'to promise'; Latin *raptom* 'suddenly', *litera* 'letter', *bursa* 'seminary', *arkuš* 'sheet', *meta* 'aim' . . .). Loan words from German were partly spread through the intermediary of Polish but they also came directly from German through the German artisan colonists and others, and also through the Jews. The German influences, which became evident in the fourteenth century (and even before that in Galicia), were chiefly concerned with trade, handicrafts, and local government (*sljuzar* 'locksmith', *dax* 'roof', *cał* 'inch', *rura* 'pipe', *kušnir* 'furrier', *lymar* 'saddler', *ratus* 'town hall', *rynok* 'market', *jarmarok* 'fair', *majster* 'master', 'craftsman', *bruk* 'pavement'). At the same time, Czech influences appeared, partly through Polish (*vlada* 'power', 'authority', *vlasnyj* 'own', *barva* 'color', *nahlyj* 'sudden', *postava* 'deportment' . . .). Relations with the east, the Turks and Tatars, had been strengthened after the rise of the

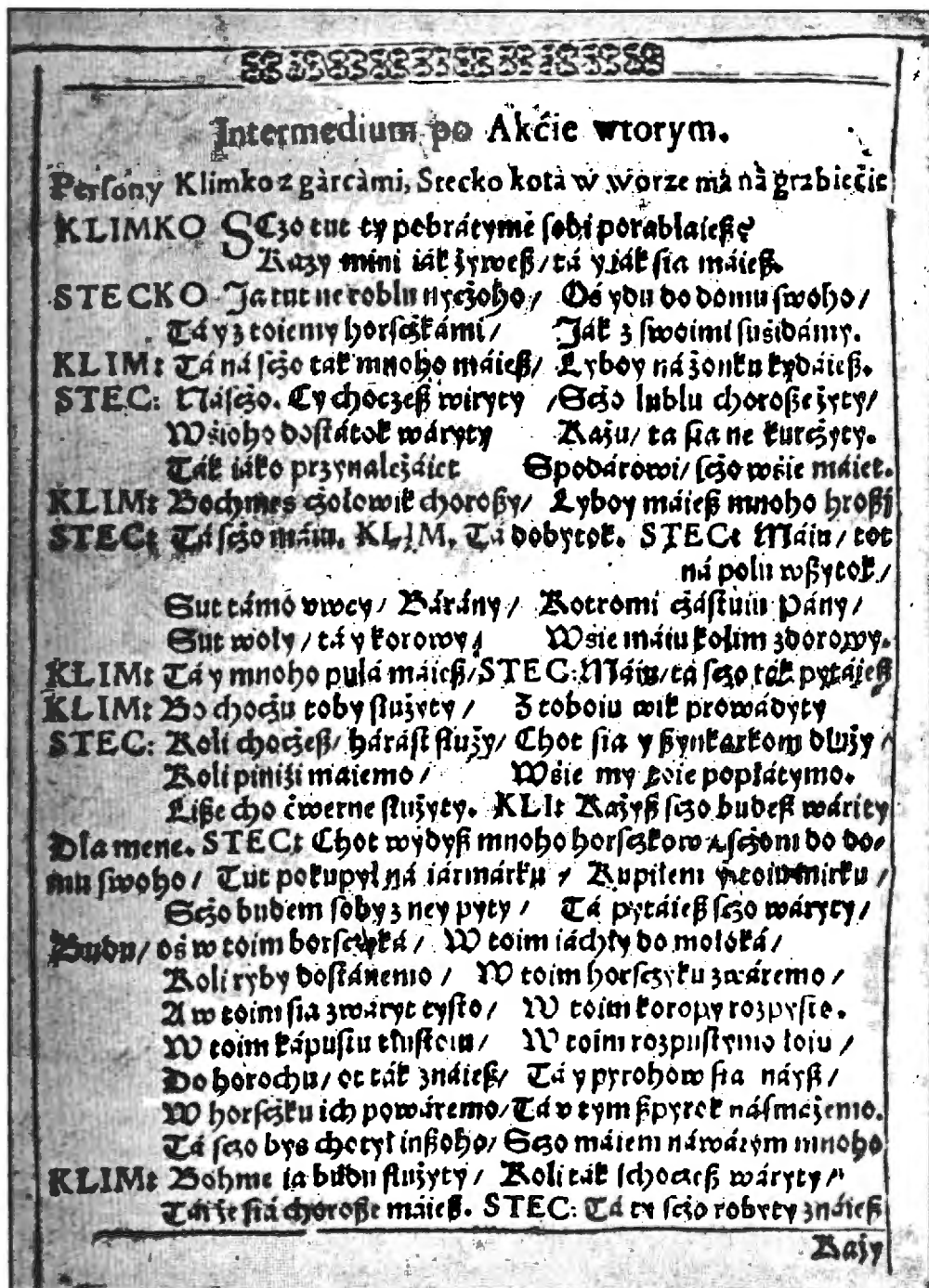
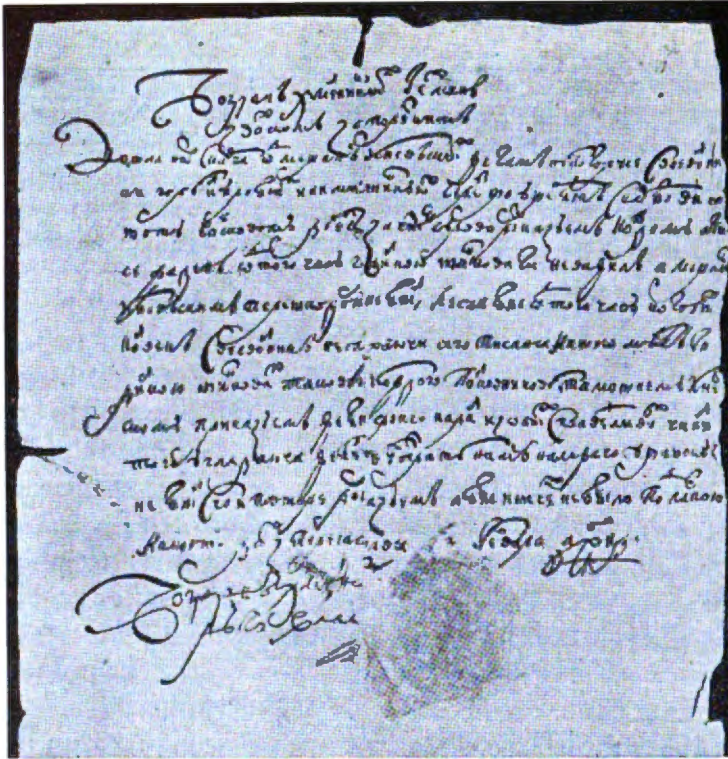


FIGURE 347. FROM THE INTERMEDIJA OF J. GAVATOVICZ, 1619

FIGURE 348. TEXT OF A *Universal* OF BOHDAN XMEL'NYČ'KYJ

Ukrainian Kozaks. In the vocabulary loan words appeared as a result, which were used in the steppe industries and army organization (*buhaj* 'bull', *otara* 'flock', *čumak* 'carter using oxen to transport salt and other goods from the Crimea', *torba* 'bag', *tjutjun* 'tobacco'; *bunčuk* 'symbol of the Hetman's authority', *osavul* 'high-ranking Kozak officer' ...).

In its general development the Ukrainian literary language of the seventeenth century showed a gradual increase of popular elements and Polonisms in the place of Church Slavonic elements, but the proportion depended also upon the genre. Then with the eighteenth century, the number of Polonisms also began to diminish and there was a movement to bring the literary language closer to the spoken language.

The dialectal basis of this literary language cannot be exactly identified, for the whole language was in the nature of an artificial synthesis and, what is more, it did not achieve equilibrium and become systematized. It contained southwestern along with the predominant northern elements. But the fall of the Ukrainian Hetman state after the battle of Poltava in 1709 interrupted its normal development. For the most part, it could thenceforth only be used without hindrance in Galicia (it was used for the lectures of the Lviv Seminary and University as late as the 1780's) although it was employed to some extent in Volhynia and Transcarpathia. On the other hand in the central and eastern Ukraine Russification began, relying partly on compulsion (the ukases of 1721, 1727, 1728, 1735, 1766, and 1772, to introduce

В Дрѣвнихъ, що Книги дравіють.
 Писанъ бѣше дравіть бѣсѣдникъ славнъ.
 Потомъ дравіть Книги Православнъ.
 Любѣ: бо сѣмъ бѣло и тѣмъ и листно:
 а бѣше тѣмъ Потомъ крѣпко бѣло гелогоство.
 Дравіть бѣше бѣснѣ цѣлостныя обрядни.
 и зъ хрѣстїанскѣ розныя порядни.
 Навнѣ бѣше бѣрны мѣтася побѣд:
 и бѣшнѣ обрѣтатѣ рождѣна дождѣ.
 Крѣпко бѣше Правнѣ Книги хто тутѣмъ.
 Мано бѣше зсѣмъ бѣло оправдѣмъ.
 Тутѣмъ бѣше зсѣмъ бѣло опрѣмъ.
 але бѣснѣ бѣмъ ою и тѣмъ бѣмъ.
 Любѣмъ бѣше бѣмъ бѣмъ неспоконо:
 и не обрѣтатѣ бѣмъ бѣмъ.
 Понѣ бѣше бѣмъ бѣмъ бѣмъ бѣмъ:
 а бѣмъ бѣмъ бѣмъ бѣмъ бѣмъ бѣмъ.
 За=

FIGURE 349. PAGE FROM THE COLLECTION OF VERSES OF KLIMENTIJ ZYNOV'IV, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

the censoring of the language of Ukrainian printed works, and to forbid the Ukrainian pronunciation of Church Slavonic in the churches, etc.) and partly on the desire of certain groups among the Kozak officers and the higher Orthodox clergy to strengthen their positions in the Russian Empire. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, the Academy in Kiev and other higher schools introduced Russian as the language for lectures, and works written in

the Ukrainian literary language of the seventeenth century ceased to appear in print, while the spoken language of the higher classes of society in Ukraine became more and more Russian. This process of assimilation to the Russian language is reflected in the appearance of various sets of practical rules for mastering the Russian language adapted especially for the "Little Russian nobility" (anonymous, 1772, Pereverzev, 1782). In the work of H. Skovoroda, the Ukrai-

nian literary language of the old type came very close to the Russian. After him, this language practically went out of use in central and eastern Ukraine.

The PHONETIC development in the Ukrainian language during the middle period was largely a continuation of processes which had begun in old Ukrainian and again they were not exactly the same in the northern and southwestern groups of dialects. In the northern group, the diphthongs (polyphthongs) from the old *o*, *e*, *ě* under the stress in the new closed syllables were still preserved. In the southwestern group, the narrow *o*, *e*, which had developed from the old *o*, *e* before the lost *z* and *z*, passed respectively into *u*, *i* (*nuž* 'knife', *pič* 'stove'—fourteenth century, at the latest) and then *u* passed over into *i* (*niž*). This last change was partly phonetic, going through the *ü* stage, and partly a result of equating the system of alternating the vowels (*o* : *i* on the pattern of *e* : *i*—Myxal'čuk). Texts show that *i* < *o* appeared in the sixteenth century at the latest. In the northern group, as in the Belorussian, the palatalized consonant +*j* became long palatalized consonants (*z'ieľja* > *z'ieľ'a* 'herbs'). The northern group also had in common with Belorussian the spreading of the prothetic consonants *h*-, *v*- (*harmata* 'cannon', *haspyd* 'viper', fig., *vuxo* 'ear') and the hardening of the sounds *ž*, *č*, *š*; the latter occurred, however, in the majority of the southwestern dialects as well (fourteenth-sixteenth centuries). In most of the southwestern dialects, the *r* too became hard ([*bur'a*] > [*burja*])—storm). Under western influences, the sounds *g*, *f* were introduced into the Ukrainian sound system but they became an integral part of it only in the western dialects.

Very important to the development of

the Ukrainian language was the final formation in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries of a third group of dialects—the southeastern in the southern Kiev, Poltava, and Kharkiv regions with a further extension to the Black Sea, the Don, and the Kuban on the south and east. This group was formed mainly as a result of a mixture of streams of colonization from the west and north and so included elements of both of the old dialectal groups. The organic mixture of these two groups in the newly colonized lands was the result of a constant movement of people, caused by the rise of the Ukrainian Kozaks and the almost incessant wars of the seventeenth century and also by administrative measures (the "driving" of the population from one bank of the Dnieper to the other, 1678, 1711, etc.). Consequently, the dialects of the southeastern type were a synthesis of the southwestern and the northern dialects, and while features of the former predominated in their phonetic system, those of the latter were stronger in their morphological system. (See "The Dialects of the Ukrainian Language"; especially for the phonetic changes in the dialects confined to small areas.)

Some of the MORPHOLOGICAL changes of the middle period affected the entire Ukrainian territory (sometimes with the exception of border areas) while others did not go beyond the boundaries of one dialectal group. They showed a general tendency toward a reduction of the number of paradigms in the nominal declensions; the total removal of differences in gender in the plural; a reduction in the number of inflectional doublets; and a merger of the forms of the dative and locative cases and, in part, of the nominative and accusative; that is, a tendency to limit the number

ЧАСТЬ ЕДИННАДЕСЯТАЯ

ПРОКЪ ОДИННАДЦАТИ ПОЧАТКЪ БОНИ ХМЕЛНИЦКОГО ЗПОМІАКА

Въ которо описується, притиць твѣрца на дѣло, побѣднѣ царинко, швѣско
 мѣра желаніе склоненіе. Виговского до полку въ борань татарскѣхъ оуказо,
 ринковъ виговского з пѣшкаремъ, кинѣти вѣрѣо виговского, рога нѣтѣ пѣшкара
 чрезъ бичевского, нѣмѣна виговского, вѣдствіе вѣраинского шромодановского,
 побѣднѣ ромодановского, поставленіе гетманомъ берпалого, швѣско =
 порого здѣвчякомъ, полѣсамн, нѣсѣвнѣкамн повѣднѣ, одѣлѣ твѣрци Роси
 нѣмѣнѣхъ неприжнѣнѣ, сѣтѣ оуцѣнѣ полковѣ оуцѣ царинко оу нѣмѣнѣхъ
 шдѣбранѣ толѣнѣхъ бшвѣровѣ по хорѣ бѣанікѣ вѣрѣаковѣ нѣ томѣхъ нѣго:
 вѣнѣ ЗАПОРОЖСКИХЪ ДОВИГОВСКОГО ДОГАДИТЕЛИНѣ ГАНѣИ ЕМѣИ УМѣНѣ ЕГО И БѣРА =
 ШЕБАЛѢАНА НА ИМѣИ РОПОЛІЮ КСІВСКІЮ ПОСТАВѢСТѢ КСѢОВѢ, И КОМАИ:
 СІА ГДА ЦКА ВЪ ПОМІНАЕТѢСѢ

РОЗДѢЛЪ А:

Въ полвѣнѣу Королевскому з помяну рабостнѣ сѣ вѣ сѣ до нѣ, кѣ сѣ ртнѣ при:
 вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ: а по вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ: а по вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ:
 лѣути. шѣтѣ, вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ: а по вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ:
 шѣтѣ. шѣтѣ, вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ: а по вѣнѣ оу з помяну нѣхъ шѣтѣ:

FIGURE 350. TALE OF THE KOZAK WAR WITH THE POLES OF S. VELYČKO (circa 1720), FRAGMENT OF TEXT

of forms although on a moderate scale. Consonantal stems went out of use with the exception of the *telja* (calf) type, masculine *i*-stems merged with the *jo*-stems; the soft type coalesced with the hard, in the southwestern group of dialects, in the endings of the dative singular masculine, and in the instrumental singular of all genders (*kon'ovy, kon'om*—from *kin'*—horse—as *stolovy, stolom*—from *stil*—table), and, in the northern and southeastern groups, in the endings of the dative and locative singular (*na koni*—on the horse, *na zemli*—on the earth, from the fourteenth century, as *na stoli*—on the table—instead of the

old *na kony, na zemly*); in the dative, instrumental, and locative plural the endings of the *a*-stems (*-am, -amy, -ax*) were applied to all substantives, from the fifteenth century on; the inflectional doublets were either removed, with the exception of some fossilized words or groups of words (for example, the locative singular of masculine and neuter substantives in *-u*, the vocative in *e: u stavku*—in the pond, *xlopče*—boy, voc.), or used to express the category of having form (wholeness) in contradistinction to shapelessness (partitivity) in the genitive singular of masculines (*mistka*—from *mistok*—small bridge vs. *pisku*—

from *pisok*—sand). The fusion of the nominative and accusative plural in masculine substantives (from the fourteenth century on) made it possible to eliminate the alternations in those cases of *h, k, x : z, c, s* (*vovky—vovcy* ‘wolves’; the second form has been preserved in some Carpathian dialects only). In most of the dialects the dual was eliminated as a category.

In the declension of adjectives and pronouns there was a broad interaction of the two types of declension, and also of the hard and soft types of adjectives, which led to the formation in principle of a uniform declension (*nova*—new, fem. under the influence of *ta*—that, fem. and on the other hand, the variant *taja* under the influence of *novaja*), which was in part transferred to the numerals as well. In the northern and southeastern dialects the enclitic pronouns disappeared, and the change of the pronoun *sja* (oneself) in reflexive verbs into a postfix of the verb was connected with this.

In the verb the importance of aspects was increasing, while the role of the tenses was narrowed. In the present tense the alternation of vowels was removed which had arisen as a result of the decline of the weak reduced vowels (the third person singular of the type *neset'sja* ‘rushes along’ instead of *neset'sja*); in the first person plural the ending *-mo* was made general, whereas *-my* disappeared as with a few exceptions did *-m* (*nesemo* ‘we carry’); the southeastern dialects also eliminated the alternations of consonants in the first person singular in verbs of the fourth class (*moloťju* ‘I thresh’, *prosju* ‘I ask’ instead of *moloču, prošu*). On the other hand almost all the dialects extended the use of *l* after labials in the first person singular to the third person plural

(*ljublju* ‘I love’, *ljubljať* ‘they love’), and also *ž, č* which arose out of *h, k* was generalized in the whole paradigm (*stryžut* ‘they cut’, *pečut* ‘they bake’—from the fourteenth century on). In many verbs the stems of the infinitive and the present tense came closer together (*hrebty—hrebu* ‘to row’—‘I row’, *dyxaty—dyxaju* ‘to breathe’—‘I breathe’, *derty—deru* ‘to tear’—‘I tear’). In the past tense and the conditional mood, the use of the auxiliary verb was finally discontinued; but in a number of the southwestern dialects, this verb was changed into a form of ending (the northern, southeastern, and literary *ja xodyv* ‘I walked’, *ty xodyv* ‘thou didst walk’—southwestern *xodyvem, xodyves*’); in the form of the masculine under the influence of the gerund, which arose from the old participle and often performed the functions of a predicate, the final *-l* was replaced by *-ü* (written *-o*), which formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel ([*xodyü*])—walked—in texts from the fifteenth century on). In the future tense of imperfective verbs, the use of the forms *budu* (I shall) + infinitive (*budu xodyty* ‘I shall walk’) was expanded and, in addition to them, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries on there were forms which arose from the infinitive + verb [*i*]*mu, [i]meš*—(*xodytymu, xodytymeš*).

In SYNTAX there was a further development of the one-center sentence; the retreat of participial and nominal constructions in general and a spreading of verbal ones; a growth of some types of impersonal sentences, especially in *-no, -to* (A *toť jarlykž pysano u Ordě*—And that charter was written at the Horde—from the fourteenth century on); a simplification of the syntactic constructions of numerals; and a development of the use of prepositions.

THE MODERN PERIOD (NINETEENTH-TWENTIETH CENTURIES)

The chief distinction of the modern period in the history of the Ukrainian language is the fact that the literary language has been built up consciously and consistently on the popular base, and has entirely divorced itself from the Church Slavonic tradition. As early as the Baroque period the imitation of the dialects had been admitted into the speech of characters in the intermedia, etc. (beginning with the intermedia of J. Gavatovicz, 1619), but these were special cases which had no major significance for the literary language as such. In the eighteenth century, parallel with the decline and disintegration of the literary language of the seventeenth century, local dialects were used more and more frequently for literary creation, but this was predominantly in satiric and humorous works and parodies (the verses of I. Nekraševyč, the productions of the wandering students and clerics). They were used more rarely in the lyric genre (Ukrainian romances in Russian songbooks, the Počajiv book of religious songs—*Bohohlasnyk*—of 1709). In principle, there is no difference between these and the works of Kotljarev-s'kyj and his school, which were intended primarily "for home consumption" and relied upon local dialect, without making any effort to form a national literary language. Kotljarev-s'kyj's work was based on the Poltava dialect, that of Kvitka-Osnovjanenko on the Kharkiv, and the language of I. Vahylevyč on a Galician dialect, just as earlier, in the eighteenth century, the language of Nekraševyč had been based on the northern Ukrainian dialects. Nor were the genres new where the popular

speech was used (humorous works and lyrical romances). Kvitka turned to prose, but primarily in imitation of popular story-telling narration.

Romanticism which in Ukraine acquired a distinctly populist coloring (see "Ethnography") brought a different attitude with it. The problem arose of how to create a full-fledged literature, which would have a real standing, in the popular language; attempts were made to write ballads, romantic poems, and tragedies (Šaškevyč, Metlyns'kyj, Kostomarov). Besides the local dialects another source of language was found which also came from the lips of the people but was a higher form in that it was linked with historical tradition, the language of folklore. The southeastern base of the literary language definitely became predominant. But these attempts needed synthesis and a historical basis.

Ševčenko was the first to understand that a literary language must be general and universal, and must draw from historical elements (the use of archaisms, Old Church Slavonicisms, barbarisms, etc.) and geographical (the use of certain elements from Ukrainian dialects which were accessible to him and which he knew—southeastern, northern, and southwestern, including a study he made of his predecessors who used the Poltava and Kharkiv dialects). He aimed at a synthesis of various stylistic traditions (blending the colloquial language with that of folklore and the styles of the old literature: the Church Slavonic Bible, the Chronicles, and Ihor's Tale). Ševčenko's contemporaries and closer followers (Drahomanov) did not understand the historical and stylistic synthesis which were the essence of his language reform, but his broad geographical synthesis secured great influence for his use of language. On it were based the

linguistic trends among the writers grouped around the magazine *Osnova* (see "Press"). Of special importance in the development of the literary language after Ševčenko was the work of P. Kuliš, who made rich use of ethnographic material and also turned enthusiastically to the historical tradition, especially to the language of the old and middle periods. As a result his language did not have a clear-cut dialectal character (he personally came from the north and, in secondary details, his language reflected the peculiarities of the northern dialects) but was inclusive of heterogeneous elements and far richer than that of his contemporaries. Basically Kuliš followed the line laid down by Ševčenko. Moreover, he applied its principles to prose as well as to poetry, especially in scientific and journalistic writings. During these years, the Ukrainian literary language spread to new areas—science, journalism, and teaching in the schools.

This development was ended by the prohibition of printing in the Ukrainian language in the Russian Empire in 1863. This ban did not extend to Galicia which was under Austria. In the 60's and the first half of the 70's the Ukrainian literary language as founded and formed by Ševčenko and the *Osnova*—based largely on the south Kievan and Poltavan dialects—exerted great influence on the literary language of Galicia. As a result the attempts of the Galician Muscophiles supported by the Russian government to use Russian (usually in a very corrupt and awkward form) in literature became of secondary importance and subsequently ended in complete failure.

With a second prohibition of Ukrainian printing in the Russian Empire (the ukase of 1876), all publication and journalistic activity was transferred to Galicia. Works published there from 1876 to

1905 (aside from those of the Muscophiles) accepted the standards worked out by Ševčenko and the *Osnova*, but they naturally picked up numerous Galician elements—some from local dialects and some from the language of the Galician intelligentsia with its many loan words and loan translations from German and Polish. A great deal of direct Galician influence can be seen in the language of M. Drahomanov. The enrichment of the Ukrainian literary language with Galician elements was advocated in principle by V. Mova-Lyman'skyj, K. Myxaľčuk and Olena Pěilka; the latter gave definite expression to her opinions on this matter in her preface to the translations of Gogol (1881). It was M. Staryč'kyj who was the most consistent in putting the idea into practice. The critics of the day reproached him for coining new words. In reality a great many of his coined words were not his own creations but the introduction into the literary language of southwestern elements, including some from the Galician dialects. This process of mixing dialectal elements into the literary language was assessed in a discussion on language between 1891 and 1893, in which B. Hrinčenko and, to a certain extent, A. Kryms'kyj stood out as opponents of the Galician influences while I. Franko, I. Kokorudz, Losun (I. Verxrats'kyj), and in part M. Školyčenko (Kononenko) defended them. The discussion ended with a condemnation of extremes and advocacy of a middle course.

Actually this discussion about whether Galician elements should be used in the literary language, and if so, to what extent went deeper than this. The real question was what type of literary language was desirable, whether it should be an accurate reflection of one dialect

or, while still being based on the popular language, should be more general, using elements from different dialects. It was not only because the Ukrainian language could be used and could develop in the press, and school system, and scientific and political life only outside the Russian Empire, that the second principle triumphed. It was also because a synthesis of the dialects as a basis for the literary language was necessary to its very existence. The populist phase was complete and this development in the literary language marked its end. The chief accomplishments of these years spread from Galicia to Ukraine under Russia. They penetrated beyond the Zbruč steadily but through narrow channels: through books slipped across the frontier, through acquaintanceships made during journeys, through the movement of Ukrainian students who went from central Ukraine to Galicia to study, and, above all, through the Ukrainian political parties which based their underground activities, including publishing, in Galicia.

The barriers were removed by the Revolution of 1905. The press and publishing houses which were then founded in Kiev and other Ukrainian cities found that the tradition of *Osnova* by itself was insufficient for a modern journalistic and scientific language. Even the opponents of the Galician linguistic elements were compelled to resort to them. The creative work and language of such writers as M. Kocjubyns'kyj and Lesja Ukrajinca show that in syntax, morphology, and vocabulary and above all in the expression of abstract conceptions and in modern urban terminology, the Galician linguistic additions were very useful. I. Nečuj-Levyč'kyj's attacks on the Galician elements in the language (*S'ohočasna časopysna mova na Ukrajinu*, 1907—The

Present Newspaper Language in Ukraine, *Kryve dzerkalo ukrajins'koji movy*, 1912—The Crooked Mirror of the Ukrainian Language), which started from the premise that the literary language should not differ from the language of any peasant woman, were refuted by S. Jefremov, I. Stešenko, M. Žučenko, M. Levyč'kyj, and I. Verxrats'kyj.

But especially important was the approval of the principle of synthesizing the dialectal elements in the literary language, which was embodied in the creative works of the principal writers of the early twentieth century who also opened the way for Europeanisms in the language of belles-lettres, sometimes even increasing their use to the point of overemphasis, in their desire to move away from populism in the development of the literary language (M. Voronyj, M. Semenko, and others). It was realized that the Ukrainian language had ceased to be the language of the village only; it had become the language of the city as well and needed to express all the diversity of urban life. Thus the new synthesized Ukrainian literary language has arisen; to the central Ukrainian dialectal base, it added a quite considerable number of elements from the peripheral areas—eastern, southern, some northern, and many western.

The Galician army's participation in the struggle for independence and later the active part played by Galicians in "Ukrainization" (schools, scientific terminology, literary works, etc.) favored this synthesizing trend. It was further developed by the great work of standardization which was carried out chiefly in the 1920's—in the field of grammar (above all by O. Synjav's'kyj), of vocabulary (the Academy of Sciences), of technical terminology (the Institute of the Ukrainian Scientific

Language in the Academy of Sciences), of orthography (the Conference of 1927), of orthoepy. True, a thorough analysis of the works of many writers will still reveal the dialectal basis of their works (for example, the northern in P. Tyčyna, Kharkovian in J. Ščoholiv and M. Xvyľovyj, Galician in I. Franko, and others) but, with the exception of attempts at direct stylization of particular dialects (in the work of M. Čeremšyna, V. Stefanyk, K. Hordijenko, and others), they all write in the synthesized literary language and the perceptible admixture of their own dialectal elements is rather small. Although Soviet linguistic policy since 1932 has been deliberately aimed at moving the dialectal basis to the east (along with a general trend toward Russification), it has been unable to "purge" the Ukrainian literary language of its many irreplaceable components which came from the various dialects and have become accepted throughout Ukraine (see "The Modern Ukrainian Literary Language: Vocabulary").

A particular trend, representing an archaizing tendency in the language, is connected with the names of such writers as K. Hrynevčeva, O. Ljaturyns'ka, V. Svidzins'kyj, J. Lypa, and others, who in building the language upon a historical synthesis are the most recent followers of Ševčenko and Kuliš. In journalism, S. Jefremov, A. Nikovs'kyj (also in his translating work—see especially his translations of N. Gogol), and others, have come close to this trend, although without stylization. All these different trends along with the general development of Ukrainian national life, have made possible the formation of the language of such writers as V. Pidmohyl'nyj, A. Ljubčenko, J. Yanovs'kyj, M. Zerov, M. Ryl's'kyj, J. Plužnyk, which

does not stand in direct relationship to the ethnographic-dialectal element and displays a high level of cultivation as the result of the standardization and rooted traditions of the written Ukrainian literary language.

G. Shevelov

THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE

After the occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet armies, two views of a linguistic policy for Ukraine developed within the Communist party. The Russifying policy rested upon the theory of "the conflict between two cultures" of A. Lebid' and was as follows: The czarist regime had Russified the cities and part of the urban proletariat. The future belonged to proletarian culture, and therefore to Russian culture and the Russian language. Hence Ukrainian culture would inevitably become merged in the Russian so that the village culture would be "united" with that of the proletariat in a single Russian culture. Therefore the Communist party should insure the triumph of the Russian culture and language.

Opposed to this theory were the Ukrainian forces (and a vibrant echo of their struggle was M. Skrypnyk's pamphlet *Do teorii borot'by dvox kul'tur*—On the Theory of the Conflict between Two Cultures, 1926). They insisted that a large proportion of the workers were already Ukrainian-speaking and that this proportion would be further increased by the influx of people from the villages; that experience in Bohemia, Slovakia, and the Baltic states had indicated that the rural linguistic element would become predominant in the cities; that a policy of Russification would mean a separation of the city from the village

and the hostility of the peasantry to the entire regime. The triumph of these views was expressed in the so-called "Ukrainization" policy which was introduced against the stubborn opposition of Russian imperialist elements.

As a result, up to 1930, although without freedom of speech, the press, and scientific work, and without personal freedom, there could be no normal development of the Ukrainian language, much was actually done in increasing linguistic research and in standardization. The extensive preparation of dictionaries (the Academic Dictionary of the living language, a Historical, two orthographical, and a series of terminological dictionaries) standardized the orthography and the grammar, and many important works were published on the history of the language and on dialectology. As a result of the Ukrainization of schools, theatres, movies, press, and administration, and of the constantly increasing number of Ukrainians working in industry and in cultural fields, even in the cities which were the most Russified linguistically, the Ukrainian language began to get the upper hand.

Moscow's general change of policy, beginning with 1929-32, introduced, in linguistic policy, a period of "de-Ukrainization," which is still going on. Ukrainian philology was dealt a heavy blow, publication of the Academic Dictionary and all similar work was stopped, and the old editions were banned. The majority of Ukrainian philologists (Synjavs'kyj, Kurylo, Hancov, Holoskevyč, Nimčynov, Johansen, Smerečyns'kyj, Hladkyj, and many others) found themselves in exile or in prison.

The course of this policy of repression of Ukrainian philology can be followed in a long series of pseudo-scientific writings in which Moscow tried to show that

the "de-Ukrainization" of the Ukrainian language was in the interests of the laboring masses of the Ukrainian people (A. Xvylja, "Za bol'shevyč'ku pyl'nist' na fronti tvorennja ukrajinskoji radjans'koji kul'tury"—For Bolshevik Vigilance on the Front of the Creation of a Ukrainian Soviet Culture, *Komunist* 4, IV, 1933; A. Xvylja, "Na borot'bu z nacionalizmom na movnomu fronti"—For the Struggle with Nationalism on the Linguistic Front, *Komunist*, VII, 1933; N. Kahanovyč, "Movna teorija ukrajins'koho buržuaznoho nacionalizmu"—The Linguistic Theory of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism, *Komunist*, 1933; A. Xvylja, *Vykorenyty, znyščyty nacionalistyčne korinnja na movnomu fronti*—To Root Out and Destroy the Nationalistic Roots on the Linguistic Front, Kharkiv, 1933).

Even before the trial of the SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine) which began March 9, 1930, the charge was so phrased as to ascribe "linguistic sabotage" to the accused at all costs. In 1933 A. Xvylja undertook to secure a "scientific" basis for the accusation of "linguistic sabotage" and in 1934 the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences itself produced a special publication in the "struggle" against nationalism in language.

Publication of *Movoznavstvo* (Linguistics) was begun with an article by A. Xvylja outlining a program, which opened the "new period" of the new policy in Ukraine; its whole content was an indictment of the Ukrainian linguists. It can be boiled down to three points: (a) "nationalist sabotage" in terminology; all Ukrainian terminology which differed from Russian was proclaimed nationalistic sabotage, for example, *svt-lomir* (*fotometr*)—photometer, *dotyk* (*kontakt*)—contact, *zbirnyk* (*kollektor*)—collector, *znečulennja* (*narkoz*)—narco-

sis, *haslo* (*signal*)—*signal*, *perven'* (*element*)—*element*, etc.; (b) “nationalistic sabotage” in syntax and phraseology; all efforts to avoid obvious Russianisms in syntax and phraseology and to combat their compulsory introduction into Ukrainian were pronounced “nationalistic sabotage”; (c) “nationalistic sabotage” in orthography; all deviations of Ukrainian from Russian orthography comprised “sabotage.” Ukrainian orthography ceased to be phonetic, the letter for *g* which had been used since the seventeenth century was abolished, special rules were introduced for the writing of Russian and international words to harmonize them with the rules of Russian orthography (for example, not *Hegel* but *Hehel* ‘Hegel’, not *Hjugo* but *Hjuho* ‘Hugo’, not *katedra* but *kafedra* ‘chair’, ‘department’, etc.).

In essence A. Xvylja’s line of attack was that the “saboteurs” had developed the theory that “the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian culture were European and should be oriented on Europe,” and also that “the process of creating a Ukrainian scientific terminology, and the direction of the development of the scientific language was aimed along the line of an artificial separation from the common, brotherly language of the Russian people.”

In 1930, the compulsory Russification of the Ukrainian language was started in Soviet Ukraine, using all the devices of a totalitarian dictatorship: the publication of all dictionaries was immediately stopped, dictionaries and their entire terminology were “reviewed,” handbooks and research works were taken out of circulation; a “unification” of Ukrainian and Russian terminology was put into effect; Ukrainian orthography was “revised”; and a “reexamina-

tion” was made of those who worked on “the linguistic front” and “bourgeois-nationalist elements” were “driven out.”

The Russification of the Ukrainian language was a part of the action taken by Communist Moscow throughout the entire Soviet Union, against all national languages, but with special severity against Belorussian and Ukrainian. Moscow’s linguistic policy was shaped by the philologist N. Marr and his school. Marr taught that: “Its essence [his so-called Japhetic theory] lay in the fact that taking as a point of departure the historical developments in different and multi-staged periods, it gave a linguistic science based upon the method of dialectic materialism, and explained the appearance of forms which, along with the economy and as a result of the struggle and triumph of the proletariat will be transformed into a unity of thinking and language with the unity of the world economy as its basis.”

Accordingly, the Russian Communists thought that a whole series of important questions connected with the future unification of language were vital questions even then, which Moscow was called upon to solve—such questions as the unification of technical and scientific terminology, the unification of various systems of writing, and the regulation of orthographical systems.

By using Marr’s theory, the Russian Communists turned linguistics into a weapon in the Russification of the entire USSR. It was to continue the Russification of the peoples enslaved by Moscow, denying them a future for their own languages, and attempting to convince them that their own languages had no value and that the only course open to them was to begin at once to speak “in the proletarian Russian language.”

At present, the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian SSR does not have full rights; it does not even enjoy the right of development, as any language outside the Soviet Union does. The trend of development in the Ukrainian language is decided not by Ukrainians in the interests of the Ukrainian people but the Russian Communists in the interests of Moscow.

The direction for the further development of the Ukrainian language has been declared to be the closest possible approach to the Russian language. The merging of all the peoples and languages in the Soviet Union into one "Soviet people" with the one Russian language is carried out by "parceling" (the creation of artificial "literary" languages out of dialects), the "bilinguality" in all schools, "unification." These trends are supported by the entire apparatus of the Communist party, the state, the army, the school system, the press, literature, and science, in particular, linguistics which has the main task of establishing "by scientific methods" the most expedient "technique for the fusion of languages."

Moscow's attack upon the Ukrainian language called forth a series of protests (those of X. Polons'kyj in Kharkiv, of a series of Ukrainian writers in Kiev, and of students) which were suppressed and silenced by all possible means of oppression including physical. There were more possibilities for open protest abroad. The Promethean League of the Nations Subjugated by Moscow called together a Promethean Philological Congress which was held in Warsaw May 31–June 1, 1936, under the presidency of R. Smal'-Stoc'kyj and was attended by 140 delegates. Philologists, historians, and ethnographers read reports on the enslave-

ment of each nation and passed resolutions of protest, which were sent to the League of Nations and to other international political and cultural organizations.

During World War II, when Moscow needed the Ukrainians to take part in the struggle against Germany, the policy of Russification was somewhat checked. Some small encouragement was given to expand Ukrainian schools and the press. Words and phrases, which had previously been abolished because they differed from the Russian, were restored to use and there was a renewal of scientific research in Ukrainian philology (the new *Naukovi Zapysky Instytutu Movoznavstva*—Annals of the Institute of Philology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR) and some standardizing work on Ukrainian orthography was done (*Ukrajins'kyj pravopys*—Ukrainian Orthography, 1946) as well as dictionary work (*Rosijs'ko-ukrajins'kyj slovnyk*—Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary—of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, 1948), etc. These publications were far from scientific or objective and had little connection with tradition. They served the policy of Russifying the Ukrainian language, consolidating the accomplishments of this process up to 1939, but without carrying them any further.

After 1946, with the war over, Moscow returned to a more active policy of Russification although it carried it out more cautiously because of the passive opposition of the Ukrainians and because of the great importance which the question of language played in the nationality problem in the USSR and the satellite states. Under these circumstances, it was deemed expedient to break with the teachings of Marr.

Although in 1949 the Academy of Sciences of the USSR had solemnly celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of Marr's death lauding him as an incontrovertible authority on philology, in May 1950 *Pravda* published a very sharp critical examination of his theory written by the Georgian A. Čikobava. Then the so-called "linguistic discussion" began in the columns of *Pravda* (compare *The Soviet Linguistic Discussion*, translated from the Soviet Press, King's Crown Press, 1951), in which Ukrainian linguists (L. Bulaxovs'kyj) were obliged to participate. On June 20 this was capped by Stalin's article "On Marxism in Linguistics," in which, as the infallible authority on Marxism-Leninism, he stated that Marr's entire linguistic theory was not Marxist-Leninist. He announced the abrupt end of Soviet linguistics as it had been developing and rehabilitated the principles of comparative linguistics.

The fact that Marr's theory had been used for the violent Russification of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union came out clearly in a discussion by a long series of linguists: A. Čikobava, C. Arutinov, A. Tkač, A. Merdinov, and others (compare *The Nationality Problem in the Soviet Union*, Bruce Publishing Co., 1952, p. 232, "Communist Witnesses with Reference to the Persecutions of the non-Russian Languages"; there the reasons for dropping Marr's theories are given, p. 240).

Although Marr's theory (which assigned to linguists, as their chief task, "the hastening of the fusion of languages") was repudiated, the view expressed in the Communist party's program for language was not condemned—the view that on the establishment of a world dictatorship there would be one people with a single language and culture. Stalin only changed tactics so as to

avoid further "linguistic opposition" in the Soviet sphere of the influence. Stalin now asserted that only in the Soviet Union was there full freedom of peoples, cultures, and languages and that, under the influence of Moscow, the peoples had "voluntarily" chosen Russian as the common "zonal language" to promote mutual understanding and cooperation. This benign view was probably also intended to prevent a "linguistic opposition" to this Russian "zonal language," which was imposed by force, from arising outside the Soviet Union. At the same time Communist propaganda constantly glorified the "great" Russian language as the language "of progressive humanity" and created the following theory of the "alternation of international languages in the course of history": "A succession of world languages runs through the ages. . . . Latin was the language of the ancient world, French that of the feudal epoch, English that of capitalism, while Russian is the world language of socialism. French is the fancy language of courtiers and English, the jargon of traders. They were the tongues of the ruling classes and of snobbish intellectuals. The English language corrupted people in foreign lands. Russian is the first language of internationalism." (D. Zaslavskij)

The repudiation of Marr's teachings seemed, at first glance, to open up greater possibilities for research by Ukrainian linguists; but they were hampered by not being free to study what elements in Ukrainian differed from Russian; an adequate history of the Ukrainian language was impeded by the official thesis that there was no Ukrainian language before the fifteenth century. Dialectal studies were not primarily directed at showing the individuality of the dialects but rather at stressing the Russian

influences—real or imagined—on those dialects. In general the efforts of the Soviet regime have been aimed at discrediting the Ukrainian language, although Moscow has not declared this position openly. These attitudes in linguistics correspond to the practical linguistic policy, which is tending toward the forcible introduction of full “bilingualism” for all non-Russians and considers a transition to the exclusive use of the Russian language a sign of complete loyalty to the Soviet regime. In the new program of the Communist Party of the USSR as accepted by the XXII Party Congress (1961) these goals are formulated quite overtly.

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6. UKRAINIAN WRITING AND ORTHOGRAPHY

THE HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN SCRIPT (PALEOGRAPHY)

The present Slavic script which is used by the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Eastern Slavs, comes from the Cyrillic script, which was possibly formed by Clement, a disciple of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, and which is called the *Kyrylycja* in Ukrainian in honor of Clement's teacher. It is not impossible that there had been writing before this in Ukraine but no trace of it has been preserved. The oldest examples of the capital hand in Ukraine are represented by the Ostromir Gospel of 1056-7, the Izborniks of Svjatoslav of 1073 and 1076, and the Halyč Gospel of 1144. They are written in letters of large size, in the form of squares, usually between two (not four) lines. The initials have geometric, floral, and animal forms and the headings and miniatures, executed in cinnabar, show the same high artistic and aesthetic standard. All these—the script and the initials, the headings and the miniatures—directly or indirectly (through Bulgaria) follow Greek models. In the thirteenth century the characteristic appearance of the Ukrainian uncial began to change, developing into the

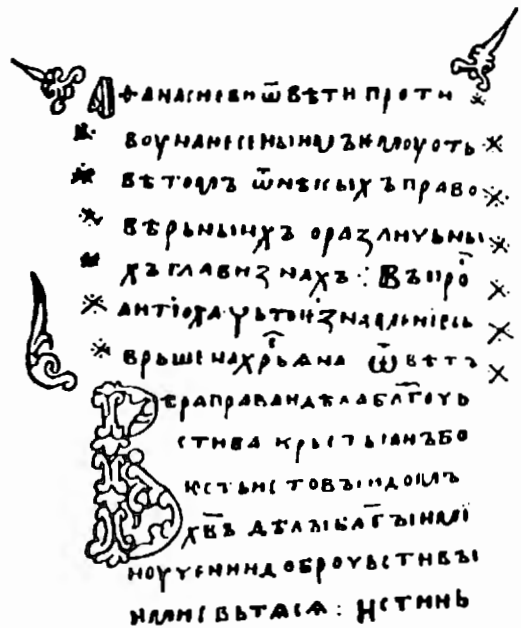


FIGURE 351. FROM THE COLLECTION OF SVJATOSLAV, 1076

so-called large semi-uncial, and then into the semi-uncial, which became dominant in Ukraine at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. This development was the result of economizing in materials and the haste of the scribes, and as a consequence the letters grew smaller, their vertical lines became bent and curved, and they changed from a square

form to that of an upright oblong. The cross strokes of the letters *и, н, ѡ, ѣ*, which in the uncials were placed in the middle, now rose to the upper half of the letter and the signs *и, н, ѡ* changed to *и, н, ѡ*. In the same way the letters *ж, з*, were deformed into *ж, з*. The letters *оу* was replaced by *ѡ, Ѣ*. Many letters and even entire syllables were placed above the line and sometimes two or three letters were combined in one sign. At the same time interest in and care for artistic adornment, especially in initials and miniatures, diminished, although there are some splendidly executed sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts, such as the *Peresopnycja Gospel* (1556-61) which has beautiful semi-uncial letters, initials, and miniatures, the *Gospel of Krymkovyč* (1614) which has uncial script and beautiful illustrations of the Biblical text, and many manuscripts of "Commentated Gospels" and "The Acts and The Epistles" with semi-uncial script, created on the pattern of the printed letters of the time and with headings which are usually geometrical in style.

In the sixteenth century, the semi-uncial gradually became cursive, and this became dominant in the seventeenth century. The script grew smaller, the letters were deformed and often took on a fantastic appearance that was in keeping with the baroque style which was fashionable at that time. Often letters and entire syllables were placed above the line. The initials are modest and often reminiscent of printed letters, while instead of headings the sections and books are introduced by ligatures—a very artificial connection of two or more letters into one sign.

The last stage in the development of the Ukrainian script was the reform of

the cursive, by order of Tsar Peter I, as a manuscript script and the acceptance in print of a special script approaching the Latin in appearance, in place of the printed *kyrylycja* of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. The germs of this script are actually to be found in the Western Ukrainian lands as early as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In writing, the finest models of the cursive of the day came into use; all fantastic characters and the placing of letters above the lines were rejected. The division of the writing into words, the joining of the letters in a word, and punctuation marks which were already applied in printing were adopted. Thus separate written and printed types were established which were called *graždanka* (civilian script). The nations which adopted this script have introduced special signs to meet their own needs, for example, the Ukrainian *ї, е, і*, the Russian *ѣ*, the Belorussian *ѣ, ѣ*, and the Serbian *љ, њ, Ѣ, ѣ, ѣ*. The old *kyrylycja* is still used in church books.

V. Lev

THE HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN ORTHOGRAPHY

Even in the oldest texts, the more popular elements intruded into the literary Church Slavonic language, the more "mistakes" began to appear in the signs which represented the sounds differently pronounced in the two languages. In the oldest church texts of Ukrainian recension, there is an occasional confusion of the letters *и-ѡ* (for the sound *y*) and *ѣ-и* (for the sound *i*); letters for the reduced vowels (*ѣ, ѣ*) became signs, the first for hard consonants at the end of a syllable, the second for soft; there is a confusion of *ѣ* with

ОУЪСТРОДН
 ТѢЛЪ
 ЖЕУНСТРОДН
 БЪШАМЪНЪИ НВЪ
 ЗААННЕМЪВЪ
 ЗААТНАДЪЖЪ
 ННЕСМЪ ОТЪЕ
 СТЪСТЪНАГО
 ПОСЛАДОВАМЪ
 ІА .НОТЪБЖЪІА
 ГОУЗАКОНЕНЪ
 ІА ПРЪВОГОУБО
 ЗАСТЪВЪСТЪ
 НЪННЕСЪВЪТЪ
 ТЪМНОУЗЪРЪ
 ХОМЪ .ПОТОМЪ
 ЖЕНРАЗУМНЪ
 Н .СНРЪТЪЕЖЕ
 ВЪГНАШЕГОУ
 ХА .КРШЕННЕМЪ
 РАЗУМЪННЕ .
 НЗАСТЕСТЪВЪ
 ПЛЪЖНЪЛЮ

БЪЛЕНТРОУДЪ .Е
 ГОЖЕПРЪТРЪЛЪ
 БАІАОВЪСКРЪМЛЕ
 ННННХЪ Н ПІТА
 АМЪ .ЖЕНМЪТЪ
 ДНЪННОШЪНХЪ
 РАДН ІААТТОНЕ
 КОЛЬЕМЪОУТЪ
 КНЕТЪСАНХЪ .Н
 ДЪЛАМЪЩЕНТРОУ
 ЖДАМЪЩЕСА .ЩО
 ДІЖАННКРЪМЪХ
 НЪННСКАТННМЪ
 ООУМРЪТВЪН .КА
 ІАОУБОДІСТОННАА
 ВЪЗДААННАЗА
 СНБСА .ВЪЗДАТН
 МОЖЕМЪНМЪ .
 ТЪМЖЕОУБОДСЕ
 ГДАПОТЪШНМЪ
 СА .ІАЖЕНАТЪСТЪ
 ННАСЛОУЖЕНЪЕ .
 НПОКОННМЪСЪ

FIGURE 352. FROM THE PANDECTS OF ANTIOCH, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

ІА and Ж with *ou* and after the fourteenth century Ж disappears completely, appearing later only in manuscripts of South Slavic or Rumanian origin. In the

fifteenth century new signs appear for the foreign *g* (*ѡ*, *ѣ*); still earlier *e* is differentiated from *e* and in some cases *ї* appears.

Є В А Г Г Е Л І К ѿ М А Т ѿ Є А. —

К Н І Г Ъ Р О Ж Ъ
 С Т В А І С Х Р О В А.
 С Н А Д А Д О В А.
 С Н А В Б Р А А
 М Л А . А В Р А А М Ъ
 Р О Д Н І С Л А І К А.
 И С А А К Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І
 И Д К О В А . И М І С
 В Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І Н Ю А
 И В Р А Т Ъ Ю К Е Г О .
 И Ю Д А Ж Е Р О Д І Ф А
 Р Е С А Н З А Р А ѿ Ф А
 М А Р Ъ І . Ф А Р Е С Ъ
 Ж Е Р О Д І Є С Р О М А .
 Є С Р О М Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І
 А Р А М А . А Р А М Ъ
 Ж Е Р О Д І А М І Н А
 Д А В А . А М І Н А
 Д А В Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І Н А
 Д І О Н А . И А С О Н Ъ
 Ж Е Р О Д І С А Л М О Н А .
 С А Л М О Н Ъ Ж Е Р О
 Д І В О О З А ѿ Р А Х А
 В Ъ І .

В О О З Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І О В І
 Д А ѿ Р О У ѿ Т І . О В І
 Д З Ж Е Р О Д І Н Е С Е Ъ .
 И Е С Е И Ж Е Р О Д І Д А Д А
 Ч Р А . Д А Д Ъ Ж Е Ц Р Ъ
 Р О Д І С О Л О М О Н А . ѿ
 О У Р І Н Н Ъ І Ъ . С О Л О
 М О Н Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І Р О В О
 Д М А . Р О В О А М Ъ Ж Е
 Р О Д І А В І Ъ . А В І Н А
 Ж Е Р О Д І А С А . Д С Л Ж Е
 Р О Д І Н О Л С А Ф А Т А .
 Н О А С А Ф А Т Ъ Ж Е Р О
 Д І И А Р А М А . И А Р А
 М Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І О З І Ю .
 Н О З І А Ж Е Р О Д І Н О
 Д Ф А М А . Н О Д Ф А
 М Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І А Х Л З А .
 А Х Л З Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І Н Е З Е
 К І Ю . Н Е З Е К І А Ж Е
 Р О Д І М А И А С І Ю . М А
 И А С І А Ж Е Р О Д І А М О С А .
 А М О С Ъ Ж Е Р О Д І Н О С І Ю .

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the development of the school rules (especially those of M. Smotryč'kyj) as to when certain Church Slavonic characters were to be used, especially those which for a long time had had no special sound functions: *o*, *e* singular, *ω* *e* plural; *Ѧ* at the end and in the middle of words, *Ѧ* at the beginning; *ѣ* for hard syllable, *ѣ* for soft; *ѣ*, *Ѧ* were left only in foreign words although such spellings as *ѦѦ* = *psy* (dogs) sometimes occurred. But in practice *u* and *υ* were constantly confused, as were *н* and *и*, while under the Belorussian influence of the time *н* was interchanged with *e* as well. It was especially difficult to set fixed rules for the writing of foreign words; in the eleventh–thirteenth centuries the mechanical transliteration of the letters was usually employed and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the phonetic principle came to predominate (compare in J. Galjats'kyj: *релькѣтя* 'relic').

When at the end of the eighteenth century Ukrainian literature turned to the popular language, two principles of spelling opposed each other: (1) the traditional method of the church which became dominant where the language tradition in literature was not interrupted (Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia); and (2) the phonetic, where the tradition of the seventeenth century Ukrainian literary language had been crowded out by the new literary Russian language. In the works of the eighteenth century writers both principles were applied (Nekraševyč: *розумнѣ*—from *rozumnyj*—wise, *пѣнѣ* 'priest'; Skovoroda: *мырѣ* 'peace'; Kotljarevs'kyj: *ѣнѣ* 'he'), but in Pavlovs'kyj, 1818 (*сынѣ* 'son' but *лѣсѣ* 'forest', *ѣго* 'his', *спасеннѣ* 'salvation', plur., *кѣанокѣ* 'porch', *пѣять* 'five'), in Kvitka, 1840 (*сынѣ* 'son' but *лѣсѣ*

'forest', *ѣмѣ* 'to eat', *ѣго* 'his'), in Hrebinka, Pysarevs'kyj, Topolja, Ševčenko—the principle was phonetic, and was based upon the officially adopted Russian alphabet (*ѣaryžka*). Maksymovyč attempted (1827, in the preface to his collection of Ukrainian songs, and the more developed project in 1841, in a letter to Osnovjanenko) to standardize Ukrainian orthography on etymological principles: *ѣнѣ* 'he', *лѣдѣ* 'ice', *дѣбрѣ* 'good', plur., *дѣбрѣ* (gen. fem. sing.), *синѣ* 'blue', *лѣбокѣ* 'deep', *лѣсѣ* 'forest', *сынѣ* 'son', *робѣти* 'to make', etc., the so-called *Maksymovyčivka*, and his system was adopted in the Western Ukrainian lands, where it was retained in the schools until 1893, and in the press into the early twentieth century. At the same time, first attempts at a phonetic orthography by M. Šaškevyč, 1837 (with a short *ѣ*, and the Serbian *ѣ* = *dž*, the rejection of *ѣ*) were not accepted. In general, attempts to introduce radical changes in the spirit of phonetic orthography did not find favor, although these changes were often logical and better suited the laws of the Ukrainian language than the orthographic laws of the generally accepted system (for example, the orthography of Drahomanov, used first in 1877, the so-called *Drahomanivka*). The attempt of Kuliš at orthographic reform (*Zapiski o Južnoj Rusi*—Memoirs of South Rus', 1856) was successful. He chose a middle course between the phonetic and the historical principles, and his *Kulišivka* became the basis of modern Ukrainian orthography. But the orthographic suggestions which he made later in the 1880's and which were based wholly on phonetic principles found no response (compare *оцѣя* instead of *отѣя*—father, gen., *ѣиччинѣ*—*vidčynyla*—she opened, etc.).

In the 70's the younger generation of Ukrainian writers in Central Ukraine simplified the *Kulišivka*: they rejected *ѣ* (Nomys, 1864), allowing it only after labials (*пѣять* 'five'); they introduced *ї* with the function of *ji*, where Kuliš used only *i* (*Rudčenko*, 1874); instead of the *ѣ* of Kuliš (*ѣму*) and *іо* (*іому*), *їо* began to appear; they began to use *e* consistently (Maksymovyč had indeed proposed it and Kuliš had introduced it but he used it inconsistently; for example, 1861, *моє*—*му*, neut. but *едваб* 'silk'; later in the 80's *лє* 'pours', *заввѣтте* 'persistence', but *смїєм* 'we dare'); slowly instead of the Latin *g* (in the Kievan editions of the 70's) or *кi* (Kuliš in the 80's) *ʃ* came into use, so that with the appearance of Zelexivs'kyj's dictionary (1885), the system of Ukrainian orthography was complete.

Zelexivs'kyj, however, consistently went further and extended (by analogy to *я*, *ю*), the function of *ї* from *ji* to *i* (*лїс* = [l'is] 'forest', *e* from *je* to *'e* (*лє* = [l'e] 'pours'), and in accordance with the phonemic laws of the Ukrainian language, he marked the softening of *c*, *z*, *s* before labials in a position before *я*, *ї* (*свѣятый* 'saint', *цвѣт* 'flower', *звѣр* 'beast'). It was on this system (*Zelexivka*) that S. Smal'-Stoc'kyj relied in his school grammar (1893); he also applied it to foreign words and he fought hard for the adoption of this orthography against the supporters of the *Maksymovyčivka*. This struggle (in which Russia interfered by diplomatic means) ended in victory for the phonetic principle. Subsequently some of the more radical changes, which had been introduced to make the orthography more phonetic, disappeared (*свѣятый* 'saint', *цвѣт* 'flower', *Австрія* 'Austria', *Росія* 'Russia', *російський* 'Russian', etc.); this orthography (the *Zelexivka*) was

accepted throughout Galicia, and after the Revolution of 1905, wherever Hruševs'kyj had influence it was used for scientific and for some literary works (the *Literaturno-naukovyj visnyk* after 1907, *Zastv-Selo*, etc.) in central and eastern Ukraine.

In other publications in central and eastern Ukraine there were some deviations from this orthography. They received support when the restrictions were taken off and the Ukrainian press began to appear (after 1906), and especially in the *Slovar' ukrajins'koji movy* (Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language), edited by B. Hrinčenko (1907-9). This new orthography followed the corrected *Kulišivka* of the 1870's as to the function of *ї* which was given the value of *ji* only (*їду* 'I drive', but *лїто* 'summer', *ніс* 'carried'), extended the apostrophe of Zelexivs'kyj from compound words (*з'явитуся* 'to appear') to labials (*п'ять* 'five'), wrote *ся* in junction with the verb (compare the polemics on this between Hrinčenko and Hnatjuk, 1911), and did not use a written sign for the softening in such cases as *свѣтлый* (saint), *цвѣя* (nail). The orthography with these changes came into general use after the 1917 Revolution in the whole of central and eastern Ukraine; in 1919-20, it became standard for the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (*Najholovniši pravyla ukrajins'koho pravopysu*—The Principal Rules for Ukrainian Orthography); the Academy introduced definite rules for the writing of foreign words based mainly on V. Simovyč's grammar, for the first time in central and eastern Ukraine.

The appearance of The Principal Rules compelled the Ševčenko Scientific Society (NTŠ) in Lviv to review the orthography which had been in use before the war, and as a result the scheme of ortho-

graphy of the NTŠ appeared in 1922. The most important differences between it and the academic orthography of 1919–20 were: (1) the marking of long consonants by double letters was not extended to hushing sibilants (*начиння* 'utensils', but *коччя* 'oakum'); (2) the apostrophe was not used at all; (3) in foreign words *h* was rendered *z*, *g* was rendered *ʃ* (in the academic orthography *ʃ* was used only in foreign proper names); (4) foreign *la*, *le*, *lu* were rendered *ля*, *ле*, *лю* (under the academic rules, *ла*, *ле*, *лу*); (5) in the declensional endings some parallel forms were introduced.

After preliminary work has been done the People's Commissariat of Education of the Ukrainian SSR convened an orthographical conference in Kharkiv in 1927 to standardize the orthography. Ukrainian linguists from all the Ukrainian lands, representatives of the press, writers, teachers, public representatives, and representatives of the NTŠ participated. At the conference a special commission was appointed to draft the definitive rules on the basis of the discussion (Synjavs'kyj, Kryms'kyj, etc., presided over by the People's Commissar of Education, Skrypnyk). This commission established a standard orthography which was a compromise between the central Ukrainian and the Western Ukrainian views on transliterating foreign words (*z*, *ла*, *ло*, *лу* in Greek, *ʃ*, *ля*, *лю*, *лю* in Latin and western European loan words) and which retained the apostrophe. This standard orthography was made obligatory for all institutions and publications of the Ukrainian SSR. The NTŠ accepted it for its publications, too (1929). However, a series of discussions then commenced on revision of the "Kharkiv" orthography. Such a re-examination was carried out but the changes made were in the opposite direc-

tion than expected: when the Russian reaction began in Ukraine (1933), there was a crafty reversal of the previous trend, and the clearly "unifying" (with Russian) orthography (including the Russian transcription of foreign words and the rejection of *ʃ*) was introduced.

With the outbreak of World War II and the annexation of the Western Ukrainian lands by the Ukrainian SSR the orthographical differences between the western part and the rest of Ukraine were eliminated. In 1940 the People's Commissar for Education of the Ukrainian SSR issued in Kiev a plan for a "Ukrainian orthography" prepared by M. Hruns'kyj, and in 1946 *Ukrajin's'kyj pravopys* (Ukrainian Orthography) under the editorship of L. Bulaxovs'kyj appeared as the obligatory official orthography for the Ukrainian SSR (published anew with slight corrections in 1960). Both these versions of the orthography were a confirmation and a further continuation of the policy of Russification, especially in the rendering of loan-words and the rejection of *ʃ*. In the emigration the orthographical rules of 1929 are still observed.

THE LATIN ALPHABET has been applied to the Ukrainian language occasionally since the sixteenth and seventeenth century (the record of the song of the voivoda Štefan in the grammar of Jan Blahoslav of 1571 in a Czech Latin alphabet, the song of the defeat at Berestečko, the intermedia of Jakub Gavatovicz, a collection of the songs of Kondracki and others in a Polish Latin alphabet). In the nineteenth century, there were attempts to introduce the Latin alphabet into all Ukrainian writing (*Ruskoje wesile* of Josyp Lozyns'kyj, 1834; T. Padura and other Ukrainian romantic poets of Polish origin). A consistent system for a Ukrainian Latin

alphabet for scientific publications was worked out in 1852 by F. Miklosich (with the characters *č, š, ž, dž, ě, ě* taken from the Czech and *ś, ź, ć, Ń* from the Polish and *ł* also on the same pattern). On this system was based a plan for the practical Latinization of Ukrainian writing which was offered in 1859 by J. Jíreček and which set off the "war of the alphabets" in Galicia. In 1876 Drahomanov made an attempt to drop the letters *я, е, ю, і*, and to introduce into the *graždanka* the Latin letter *j* in their place. All these attempts failed, for a complete or partial Latinization of Ukrainian writing was politically unacceptable in view of Polish pressure in Galicia. For the same reason attempts to Latinize the Ukrainian writing in Transcarpathia on the basis of the Hungarian alphabet, which were stimulated by the Hungarian government, met with no success; during the 1914–18 war an attempt was even made to impose the Hungarian Latin alphabet officially on the two dioceses of Transcarpathia—Prjašiv (Prešov) and Mukačiv—but there was only time to carry it out in the former before the break-up of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In central Ukraine the problem of the Latinization of the Ukrainian script came to the fore during the orthographical conference of 1927 in Kharkiv, when a group of linguists (M. Johansen, B. Tkačenko, M. Nakonečnyj) came forward with a proposal that it be carried out. The plan was rejected, chiefly because of the opposition of the government representatives. Later V. Simovyč supported the use of the Latin alphabet for Ukrainian.

The problem of Latinizing the Ukrainian script must be distinguished from that of TRANSLITERATING Ukrainian words into languages which use the Latin alphabet. Transliteration is necessary

for the rendering of Ukrainian words in scientific literature and for the rendering of Ukrainian proper names. There is a traditional scientific system of Ukrainian transliteration which is generally accepted in Slavic studies (in the order of the Ukrainian alphabet: *a, b, v, h, g, d, e, je, ž, z, y, i, ě, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, f, x* [more rarely *ch*], *c, č, š, šč, ju, ja, ' = ь*) and, in addition, there are systems of transliteration in different languages, which have their own special characteristics.

V. Simovyč, supplemented
by J. B. Rudnyckyj

THE PRINCIPLES OF MODERN UKRAINIAN WRITING AND ORTHOGRAPHY

At the basis of Ukrainian WRITING lies the PHONEMIC principle, that is, the rule that one letter corresponds to one phoneme of the language. Yet there are exceptions:

1. There are letters which represent not one phoneme but two: *ш* /šč/, *ї* /ji/; also the letters *е, я, ю*, when they stand at the beginning of a syllable or after an apostrophe, represent two phonemes (*моє* /mojé/, *мою* /mojú/, *моя* /mojá/ from *mij-my, з'являється* /zja-vútys'a/ to appear).

2. On the other hand, there are phonemes which do not have a separate letter and are represented by two letters or special combinations of letters. To these belong (1) the affricates *dz, dž* (2) the palatalized (softened) sounds, to denote which Ukrainian writing does not have special letters. They are represented by the same letters as the corresponding unpalatalized sounds, but they are usually followed by the special letter *ь* (the sign for "softening") which does not in itself denote a sound (*м-мь, д-дь, н-нь*).

This is so in final position of words and syllables, as well as in the position before *o* (*кин* 'stage', *кинъ*, *кинъми*—horse, nom. sing. and instr. plur., *люх* 'cellar'); the palatalization of a consonant before *e*, *u*, *a* is indicated by writing the corresponding letter *є*, *ю*, *я* (*орле—орле* 'eagle', voc.—'aquiline', neuter, *сину—сину* 'son', voc.—'blue', acc. fem. sing., *сина—синя*). The palatalization of consonants before *i* is usually not indicated in writing.

In Ukrainian writing there are also special cases where the SEMANTIC principle, that is, the rendering of shades of meaning independently of the sound form, is applied. The semantic principle in Ukrainian writing can be seen in the use of capital letters to distinguish proper names from common names—for example, *Поїхали до білої церкви* (they drove to the white church), *поїхали до Білої Церкви* (they drove to [a city named] Bila Cerква)—and in writing words together or separately. For example, adverbs which are compounded from a preposition + a substantive are written together, but the corresponding substantive is written separately from its preposition, although their pronunciation is the same (*читали вкупі* 'they read together', *в купі піску* 'in a pile of sand').

Although Ukrainian orthography is built primarily on the phonemic principle, it also has instances where MORPHOLOGICAL and HISTORICAL principles are applied. Stressed vowels are consistently written according to pronunciation, that is, phonemically and phonetically; for example, *hrim* (thunder)—*hromu* (gen.)—*hrymaty* (to fulminate), *šist'* (six)—*šostyj* (the sixth)—*šestero* (six). In the case of unstressed *e-y*, *o-u*, the morphological principle is applied: that letter is written which is used when it is accented (for example, *vysokyj* 'high', adj. because of *vysoko*

'high', adv., *stepovyj* 'steppe', attr. because of *stép* 'steppe'). If this syllable is never stressed then the word is written according to the historical (etymological) principle (for example, *leváda* 'meadow', *kebéta* 'talent', *kyšénja* 'pocket', *véleten* 'giant'), although there are some exceptions in favor of the phonetic principle (for example, *budjak* 'thistle', *mačuxa* 'stepmother', *kažan* 'bat', which, historically, should be written *bodjak*, *mačoxa*, *kožan*).

The phonemic and phonetic principle prevails in the orthography of consonants (*noha—nozi*—leg, nom. & dat.; *Hadjač—hadjac'kyj*—attr.; *brjazkit—brjažčaty* 'clank—to clank'; *pist—pisnyj* 'fast', subst. & adj.), but the following are contrary to the phonetic principle: (1) the assimilation of voiceless to voiced consonants is not indicated in writing (the word is pronounced [molot'ba] but written *molot'ba* 'threshing', to correspond to the root *molot-yty* 'to thresh'); (2) the change or loss of the sounds *t*, *d* before *s*, *š* is not represented (pronounced [karpác'kyj] but written *Karpats'kyj*—Carpathian, pronounced [užhoródz'kyj] but written *užhorods'kyj*—Užhorod, adj.); (3) the changes of consonants in clusters before the last consonant of the stem are not reflected in spelling (for example, *kradižka—kradižci*—theft, nom. & dat., *nytká—nytci*—thread, nom. & dat., *halka—halci*—daw, nom. & dat., although the pronunciation is [krad'iz'c'i], [nyč'c'i], [hál'c'i]); (4) the palatalization of a consonant which is immediately followed by another palatalized consonant is not indicated (*pisnja* 'song', *zvir* 'beast', *umans'kyj*—Uman, adj., but pronounced [pís'n'a], [z'v'ir], [úman's'kyj]); but after *l* in such cases the *ь* is written: *xorolьcькуї* (Xorol, adj.). The historical principle in the writing of consonants occurs only in

a few individual words (for example, the word *zamist'* 'in place of' which is pronounced [zam'is'c']; this is because the word has the old root *mist-*).

In the orthography of FOREIGN WORDS there appears a moderate approximation of the foreign pronunciation to the native (for example, sounds which do not exist in the sound system of the Ukrainian language are rendered by the closest Ukrainian letters, for example German *ö—e*, German *ü—ju*; *i* is written to correspond to the foreign *i*, but after *d*, *t*, *s*, *z*, *c*, *ž*, *č*, *š*, *r*, in the middle of words if followed by a consonant, *y*). In foreign proper names a difference is made between those which have long ago been assimilated and adapted to the rules of the language (for example, Roma—*Rym* 'Rome', Paris—*Paryž*, Wien—*Viden'* 'Vienna') and those which have come in later. In the latter cases they are usually written, within the limits of the Ukrainian sound system, to approximate their original pronunciation (*Velz*—Wales, *Garibal'di*—Garibaldi), but suffixes and endings which are analogous to the Ukrainian are usually written according to the Ukrainian rules (thus Д^ост^ов^ьс^ьв^ьй, К^рас^ін^ьс^ьв^ьй and not Д^ост^ов^ьс^ьк^ій—Dostoevski, К^рас^ін^ьс^ьк^і—Kraśiński).

The rules for Ukrainian PUNCTUATION are chiefly based on the syntactical structure of the text, but certain concessions are made to logical and intonational structure. This compromise in the Ukrainian system of punctuation provides the minimum standards necessary for all who employ writing while allowing freedom, within certain limits, for those who use the written word creatively.

G. Shevelov

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VI. History

1. ARCHAEOLOGY

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

An interest in the antiquities of Ukraine can be traced as far back as the Middle Ages (for example, the collecting activity of Grand Prince of Kiev Sviatoslav Yaroslavych [1073–6], and the reference in the Primary Chronicle for 1114 to beads washed from the earth by rain). In 1633 Metropolitan Peter Mohyla conducted the first excavations in Kiev (the Kievan Desiatynna Church); he also restored the damaged monuments in the Cathedral of St. Sophia. About this time, too, the first foreigners began to list and describe Ukrainian antiquities: Stanisław Sarnicki (1585), Simon Okolski (1646), Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan (1651), Abraham van Westerveld (1651), Johannes Herbinius (1675).

During the eighteenth century antiquities continued to be collected in churches and monasteries (Kiev, Lviv, Peremyshl, Uman, etc.). Experts were sent from the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg to southern Ukraine to study the monuments of the past. In the nineteenth century the first archaeological museum collections were put on display in Ukraine (Mykolaiv, 1809; Theodosia, 1811; Lviv, 1823), and the first systematic archaeological studies and excavations were begun (the activities of Count Alexander Uvarov); this was the beginning of scientific research in the field of Slavic and classical antiquity. Three important archaeological centers were established: Odessa, Kiev, and Lviv.

The Odessa Center

The Odessa center arose from the interest in the culture of the early Greek

colonies on the Black Sea. Its pioneers—Paul Dubrux, Ivan Stempkovsky, Anthony Ashik, and John Blaramberg—organized an archaeological museum in Odessa (1825) and one in Kerch (1826). An *Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei* (Society of History and Antiquities) was founded in Odessa (1839–1914) which was granted official permission to carry on excavations throughout the whole of Ukraine. The first fifty years of its work were primarily devoted to studies of classical Greek and Roman monuments in Ukraine and to the evaluation of historical sources. The greatest development of archaeological studies in Odessa occurred during the time the society was headed by Ernst von Stern (1894–1910), who investigated the Greek Black Sea colonies, “Gothic” jewelry, and Trypilian culture (Petreny). Mention must be made also of Michael Boltenko (excavations at Usatove), Serhii Dlozhevsky, and Alexander Dobrovolsky. The society’s research publication was the *Zapiski* (Proceedings, 33 Vols.).

The Kievan Center

The Kievan center, established by several scholars of antiquity (Maksym Berlinsky, Eugene Bolkhovitinov, Nicholas Zakrevsky, Conrad Lokhvytsky), began to study Kievan antiquities of the Middle Ages. Soon an archaeological society (chairman, Michael Maksymovych) was founded in Kiev—*Vremennyyi Komitet dlia izyskaniia drevnostei v g. Kieve* (The Provisional Committee for the Study of Antiquities in the City of Kiev), 1835–43. In 1835 an Archaeological Museum and Numismatic Collection were established at the University of Kiev. In 1843 the committee was dis-

banded and the Kievan Archaeographical Commission was formed, which also organized extensive field researches. The artist, painter, and poet, Taras Shevchenko, participated in its work as a draftsman. In 1872 the Kievan Church-Archaeological Society and Museum was established at the Kiev Theological Academy.

The historian Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908) put archaeological studies in Ukraine on a truly scientific basis. He was the first to lecture on archaeology at the University of Kiev, thereby beginning the historico-archaeological trend in the studies of the antiquity of Ukraine. He investigated the medieval graves in Volhynia; he also took part in organizing archaeological congresses in Kiev (1874, 1899), in Odessa (1882), in Kharkiv (1902), in Katerynoslav (1905), and in Chernihiv (1908), and in publishing archaeological maps of the individual provinces of Ukraine. With him worked his wife, Catherine Melnyk-Antonovych, Nicholas Biliashovsky (Kiev), Serhii Hamchenko (Zhytomyr), Michael Hrushevsky (Lviv), Basil Danylevych (Kiev), Yukhym Sitsinsky (Kamianets Podilsky), and others. Apart from Antonovych's circle, the distinguished archaeologist Vincent Khvoika (who discovered the Trypilian culture in 1893), Theodore Vovk, Nicholas Makarenko, Borys Farmakovsky, and several others were active in similar work.

Materials from excavations were first kept in private collections. In 1904 a museum, built at public expense, was opened in Kiev. The valuable collections of Bohdan Khanenko, Count Alexis Bobrinskoi, and Vincent Khvoika were donated to it. The activities of the museum were connected with the names of N. Biliashovsky, V. Khvoika, Daniel Shcherbakivsky, Valeria Kozlovsky, and Theodore Ernst. After several reorganizations, this museum became the Central Historical Museum of the Kievan Cave Monastery (*Pecherska Lavra*).

After 1917 care of the monuments of

antiquity was assumed by a series of different committees and institutes among which was the All-Ukrainian Archaeological Committee (VUAK, 1922–33). Associated with the VUAK were: Biliashovsky, Danylevych, Ernst, Kozlovsky, Kurinnyi, Makarenko, Melnyk-Antonovych, Morhilevsky, Daniel Shcherbakivsky (all from Kiev); Boltenko, Dobrovolsky (from Odessa); Hamchenko (Zhytomyr); Hordiiev (Tbilisi); Sitsinsky (Kamianets Podilsky); Smolichev (Chernihiv); Farmakovsky (Leningrad); Yavornytsky (Dnipropetrovske); and many others. The VUAK carried on many archaeological investigations on the Mesolithic and Neolithic eras of Ukraine, and especially on the Trypilian culture. Medieval monuments also received great attention. A large expedition was sent to the area of the Dniprelstan (1927–32) under Yavornytsky, Miller, Serhii Hamchenko, Rudynsky, and others. At the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences the Vovk Research Institute of Anthropology and Ethnology was organized (1928–34).

In 1934 the VUAK was replaced by the Institute of History of Material Culture of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences which was subject to strict Communist party supervision. It was again changed, in 1938, to the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Affiliated with the work of the last-mentioned institute were many experts, among them Kozlovsky, Kurinnyi, Sylvester Mahura, Victor Petrov, I. Samoilovsky, and Irene Fabrytsius. In addition to studies by individuals, it organized several joint expeditions to study Trypilian culture (Tatiana Passek, S. Mahura), Scythian culture (Fabrytsius, P. Shults), Polisia and southern Podilia (M. Artamonov), the central Dniester area (S. Bibikov), the tributaries of the Desna (M. Voievodsky, P. Boryskovsky), the Bosphorus (V. Haidukevych), Kerch (V. Blavatsky), Nykopol (B. Grakov), Olbia (B. Farmakovsky, L. Slavin, T. Knypovych), Panticapaeum

(Blavatsky), Phanagoria (M. Kobylina), etc.

In 1926 the Kievan Cave Monastery was declared an All-Ukrainian State cultural and historical institution; it was reorganized as an All-Ukrainian Museum City to which were transferred the museums of the Academy of Sciences and others.

Besides those in Kiev and Odessa, there were archaeological centers in Kharkiv (Demetrius Bahalii, Ivan Levytsky, Alexander Fedorovsky, S. Taranushenko), Dnipropetrovske (Yavornytsky, Peter Kozar), Poltava (Vadym Shcherbakivsky, K. Moshchenko, Michael Rudynsky), and Rostov-on-Don (Michael Miller).

Works on the archaeology of Ukraine were printed in the *Trudy* (Works) of the Archaeological Congresses (Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, and Chernihiv, 1875–1908), *Kievskaiia starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882–1906), *Arkheologicheskaiia letopis' Yuzhnoi Rossii* (Archaeological Chronicle of South Russia, 1897–1905), the publications of the VUAK—*Korotki zvidomlennia* (Notes, 1925–6), *Zapysky* (Proceedings, 1930), *Kronika Arkheolohii ta mystetstva* (Chronicle of Archaeology and Art, 1930–1), *Antropolohiia* (Anthropology, the publication of the Vovk Research Institute, 1927–32), *Naukovi Zapysky IIMK* (Scientific Proceedings of the IIMK [Institute of the History of Material Culture], 1934–7), *Sovetskaia arkheologiia* (Soviet Archaeology, from 1936), *Arkheolohiia* (Archaeology, from 1947), *Naukovi Zapysky Instytutu Istorii i Arkheolohii Ukrainy* (Research Publications of the Institute of History and Archaeology of Ukraine, from 1945), *Arkheolohichni pam'iatky URSS* (Archaeological Monuments of the Ukrainian SSR, from 1949), *Kratkie soobshchennia Instituta Arkheologii AN USSR* (Brief Communications of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, from 1951), *Visnyk Akademii Nauk URSS* (Journal of the Academy of Sciences of the Uk-

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Before 1917 there was no separate chair of archaeology in any university in central and eastern Ukraine, but courses were given in it by professors of history: e.g., Antonovych, Danylevych, Natalia Polonska in Kiev, Bahalii in Kharkiv, Ivan Lynnychenko in Odessa. At the present time lectures in archaeology are being given at the universities of Kiev, Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovske, and Odessa.

The Lviv Center

The discovery of a stone statue presumed to be the Slavonic god Svitovyt in the river Zbruch (1848) aroused the interest of Galician historians in antiquities. The first of these—Anthony Petrushevych, Isidor Sharanevych, and Alexander Czołowski—began to investigate the territory of the medieval capital of Halych. They also organized archaeological expositions in Lviv (1861, 1885, 1889), in Kolomyia (1880), and in Ternopil (1884); called the first archaeological congress in Lviv (1885); and established the first Ukrainian museums with archaeological sections (in the National Home, 1873, and in the Stavropigia, 1875).

In 1875 an archaeological society was founded in Lviv; one of its members, Sharanevych, was the first official curator of archaeological monuments. Excavations were first carried on by Adam Kirkor, Godfrey Ossowski, Thaddeus Ziemięcki, and W. Demetrykiewicz, all of Cracow, and their results were published in the *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej* (Collection of Data on National Anthropology) and the *Materyaly antropologiczno-archeologiczne i etnograficzne* (Anthropological-Archaeological and Ethnographical Materials, Cracow). In 1894 Michael Hrushevsky studied the monuments of the Early Iron Age (Vysotsko) and of the medi-

eval period (Zvenyhorod). He founded the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society which included an archaeological section where the young archaeologists Bohdan Yanush (1907) and Volodymyr Hrebeniak (1913–14) worked.

In 1905 a chair of archaeology was established at the University of Lviv, occupied by Charles Hadaczek (1905–15), Casimir Bulanda (1916–21), Leon Kozłowski (1922–39), Yaroslav Pasternak (1939–41), and Markian Smishko (since 1945; 1933–41, docent). Thaddeus Sulimirski was an associate professor (1933–7), and M. Smishko was docent (1939–41). Another center of archaeological studies was in the Museum of the Shevchenko Scientific Society; its curators were George Poliansky (1924–8), Yaroslav Pasternak (1928–39). The former made excellent studies of the Paleolithic Age; the latter carried on extensive and systematic excavations in the medieval princely city of Halych-Krylos (1934–41) and at various other sites. Their works were printed chiefly in the *Zapysky NTSh* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). In 1940 a Lviv branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR was organized and S. Krukowski, K. Majewski, Yaroslav Pasternak, M. Smishko, and I. Starchuk worked there. In 1951 it became a branch of the Institute of Social Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (Lviv branch). An Archaeological Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society was founded in 1941.

Other Centers

Archaeological research in Volhynia was conducted by Volodymyr and Catherine Antonovych, Serhii Hamchenko, I. Levytsky, L. Radzimiński, R. Jakimowicz, J. Hoffman, T. Leńczyk, T. Sulimirski, O. Cynkalowsky, Yu. Shumovsky, etc.; in Bukovina by Romuald Kaindl, Demetrius Olinsky, Charles Romstorfer, Joseph Szombathy, Česlaw Ambrojevich, and O. Chernysh. The pioneers

of archaeology in Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine) were Thivadar Lehoczky (Mukachiv) and Joseph Hampel (Budapest). Joseph Jankovich worked in Mukachiv (Lehoczky Archaeological Museum) during the 1930's. At present K. Berniakovych and F. Potushniak are working in Uzhhorod.

The center of emigrant Ukrainian archaeological science was the chair of archaeology at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague (1921–45) occupied by Vadym Shcherbakivsky. Ivan Borkovsky, Oleh Kandyba, and Leo Chykalenko also worked there and, after the transfer of the Ukrainian Free University to Munich in 1945, Peter Kurinnyi, Yaroslav Pasternak, and Michael Miller. In Munich the work of the Archaeological Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society was renewed, and an archaeological group was established with the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Archaeological Collections

Archaeological collections exist in all the historical museums of Ukraine. The most important are in Kiev, Odessa, and Lviv. In addition to these, there are valuable collections in the museums of Kharkiv, Poltava, Dnipropetrovske (museum founded by Alexander Pohl), Chernihiv (museum of Basil Tarnovsky), Zhytomyr, etc. Much archaeological material from Ukraine can be found in Leningrad and Moscow (to which, before 1917, the most valuable archaeological finds in Ukraine were taken), in Vienna, Cracow, Warsaw, and Budapest.

Y. Pasternak

THE PALEOLITHIC AGE

General Characteristics

Archaeological findings indicate that man, in early prehistoric times, first used stone—especially flint—to make tools. This period of time is called the Stone Age and it is divided into three main stages: the oldest, the Paleolithic; the

middle, the Mesolithic; and the most recent, the Neolithic. The first of these, the Paleolithic, coincides with the glacial period.

On the basis of the research of French archaeologists (Gabriel de Mortillet, 1883; G. de Ault du Mesnil, 1889; H. Breuil, 1907), a relative chronology of cultures of the Paleolithic era has been defined for Europe, but their order and duration may not always be completely applicable to Ukraine.

Paleolithic man lived in a group, hunted wild animals in a group, and probably believed in a common group ancestor who was his totem-guardian.

Lower Paleolithic Period

The typical flint implement of this time was the *coup de poing*, a somewhat flattened instrument, almond-shaped and sharp on the ends. It was held in the hand by the larger end and used for doing various kinds of work.

The Chellean culture. During the oldest of the Lower Paleolithic cultures, man lived as a nomad hunter and food gatherer in the warm and humid climate of the second interglacial period. The only site as yet found in Ukraine with very old (300,000 years) Paleolithic implements (including the *coup de poing*) was discovered on the bank of the Dniester in the village of Luka Vrublivetska (I) near Kamianets Podilsky (P. Boryskovsky, 1946-7).

The Acheulean culture. Man of the following, Acheulean, culture lived in the much less favorable and colder climate of the Riss glaciation (ca. 230,000-110,000 years ago) which compelled him to take refuge in natural caves and *abris*. His need for a larger number of calories helped to bring about the development of more effective hunting techniques. The *coup de poing* remained the chief implement used for various purposes, but the spear became the main weapon used for hunting. In Ukraine, Acheulean sites have been discovered in the Dniester region

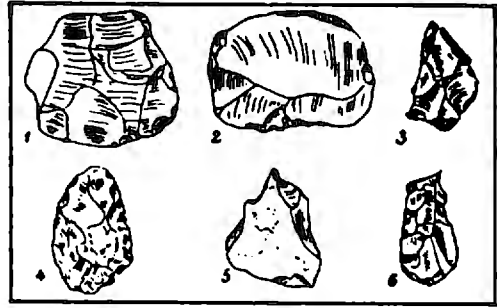


FIGURE 354. OBJECTS FROM THE CAVE OF KÏIK-KOBA IN THE CRIMEA

Top, implements from the lower stratum: (1) hand axe (*coup-de-poing*), 4 cm.; (2) big scraper, 4.5 cm.; (3) awl, 3 cm. Bottom, implements from the upper stratum: (4) *coup-de-poing*, 3 cm. (5) flat point, 4.5 cm., side view; (6) scraper and piercer.

(Luka Vrublivetska II), the Dnieper region (Hryhorivka, Nenasytets, Kruhlyk), on the Sula River (Velyka Burimka), and in the Crimea (the cave of Kïik-Koba, lower strata, Fig. 354). Some implements of this period, very similar to the *coup de poing*, were excavated in southern Volhynia among the ruins of the chalk caves, south of the Riss glaciation (Hostra Hora and Divycha Hora near Kremianets), and in Galicia (village of Chystopady, between Brody and Ternopil).

The Mousterian culture. The life of the Mousterian hunters (100,000-40,000 years ago) was concentrated around the hearth, where they burned chiefly the bones of the big animals they had killed (the mammoth, reindeer, cave bear, etc.). These animals had to be hunted in an organized way, in a group hunt; the spears used as the hunting weapons had tips of quartzite and flint. The great number of remains of dwellings, both in caves and out in the open, leads to the assumption that there was a great influx of population from the pre-Mousterian center, probably in Asia Minor. The Mousterian hunters moved successively into eastern Ukraine, Belorussia, and Russia, and along the Dniester and the Prut to Western Ukraine and Poland. Traces of

their settlements are known in Ukraine from many sites in the region of the rivers Dniester (13), Dnieper (4), Desna (5), and northern Donets (2); north of the Sea of Azov (3), and from the Crimea caves (7 [Figs. 354 and 355]). On some bones from the Kiik-Koba cave (Crimea) we find the first traces of deliberate workmanship (polishing, grooving, engraving); and the

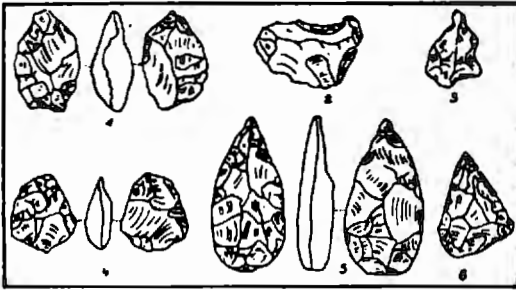


FIGURE 355. IMPLEMENTS FROM THE CAVE OF SHAITAN-KOBA IN THE CRIMEA

(1) core, 10.5 cm.; (2) two-sided scraper, 7.5 cm.; (3) point, 5 cm.; (4) two-sided scraper, 5.5 cm.; (5) ordinary burin, 5.5 cm.; (6) burin, 5 cm.

flint tools sometimes have fine, longitudinal retouching (Chokurcha, Kiik-Koba). At the bottom of the Kiik-Koba cave, Bonch-Osmolovsky excavated the oldest burials and human remains yet found in Ukraine: the skeleton of an infant without a skull and, in a burial pit dug in the rock, the remains of a skeleton (the leg) of an adult of the Neanderthal type.

Upper Paleolithic Period

The Aurignacian, Solutrean, and Magdalenian cultures of the Paleolithic Age form later phases of development. The Upper Paleolithic, in which hunting still played the main role, is marked by great cultural progress: the working of bone and antler, new forms of flint implements and a new technique of making them (long, thin flakes were chipped away from the crude cores for use), and the beginnings of reproductive art (painting, engraving, and carving). Bone tools became more prevalent in the Magdalenian culture, taking the place of some of their

flint prototypes. The appearance of these new forms in Ukraine is associated with a change in the population. The majority of the Lower Paleolithic inhabitants migrated after the first phase of the Würm glaciation (Würm I), following the animals who preferred the colder climate to the north. Their place was taken by a Cro-Magnon population from the warmer parts of eastern Europe who had a more developed civilization of the Aurignacian type (M. Boule, 1923; Hugo Obermaier, 1934; Henry Breuil, 1937; George Poliansky, 1937; G. Garrod, 1937; Lothar Zotz, 1939; Peter Yefymenko, 1941). As early as the middle phase of the Aurignacian period there were two separate centers of this culture: the western in France, and the eastern in southern and western Ukraine (A. Böhmers, 1942).

The Aurignacian culture. The oldest traces of the sites of people of the Aurignacian culture (40,000–25,000 years ago) in Ukraine (pre-Aurignacian, J. Bayer, 1926) were excavated by George Poliansky in Novosilka Kostiu-kova near Zalishchyky and in Peremyshl on the Sian River, both in the upper stratum of Loess I. The flint implements of the Peremyshl site, which include dart heads, knives, and scrapers of the old Mousterian type, illustrate the local development of the Aurignacian from the Mousterian. Some types of bone and reindeer antler implements have no counterparts in western Europe. All the other Aurignacian sites in Ukraine (over 150) in the basins of the Desna, Dnieper, Dniester, and Prut (M. Rudynsky, George Poliansky, N. Morošan, and C. Ambrojevich) belong to the middle and late phases of this culture. They were almost all in the open air. Most frequently they were temporary camping sites, rarely were they hunting camps for an entire season, sometimes they were flint workshops (Rozhniv near Chortkiv, 10,000 square meters). They were usually located alongside rivers near drinking water. At the camp sites

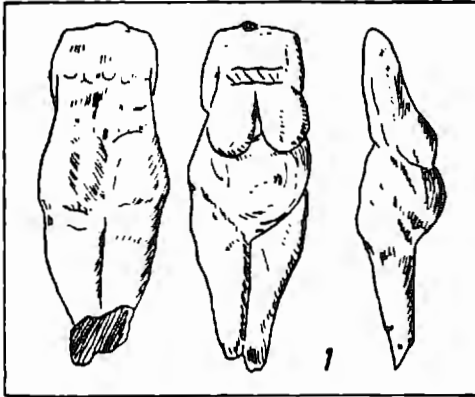


FIGURE 356. FEMALE STATUETTE CARVED OF MAMMOTH TUSK (VILLAGE OF KOSTENKY, NEAR VORONEZH)

of these mammoth-hunters red ocher has been found in such a way as to indicate it was used in some form of rite. Also connected with these sites are female statuettes made of mammoth tusks, several dozens of which have been excavated near the Russo-Ukrainian ethnic boundary (Kostenky, south of Voronezh—Fig. 356).

Burials of this period have not yet been discovered in Ukraine. In the village of Valiava (Walawa) near Peremyshl, in the diluvial boulders of the last interglacial period, water exposed a fossilized lower jaw of a man of the Cro-Magnon (Aurignacian) race, along with two mammoth teeth (George Poliansky).

The Solutrean culture (30,000–25,000 years ago). During the intense warming at the time of the Würm glaciation, when the nomadic life of the Aurignacian hunters and fishers in Ukraine was at its fullest development, a European center of the early Solutrean culture emerged in the Danube basin to the south of the Carpathians. This culture, presumably of African origin, had a new technique of flint-working—long flake blades were detached from the flint cores and later received careful and thorough surface retouching (the well-known points in the laurel leaf form).

Thus far, only one site (pre-Solutrean) from the early Solutrean period has been found in Ukraine—in Peremyshl on the Sian, under a rough stratum of dark marl (bones of the mammoth, rhinoceros, horse, tools of flint, reindeer antlers); and only one dwelling from the period of the European classic Solutrean—in Pushkari near Novhorod Siversky (a pit dwelling under a tent with three hearths and a primitive tooth of a child). There for the first time appeared the great slim flakes and flint points with typical Solutrean retouching (Fig. 357). A number of spearheads of the Solutrean type, probably brought through the Carpathian passes as barter wares, have been unearthed in several

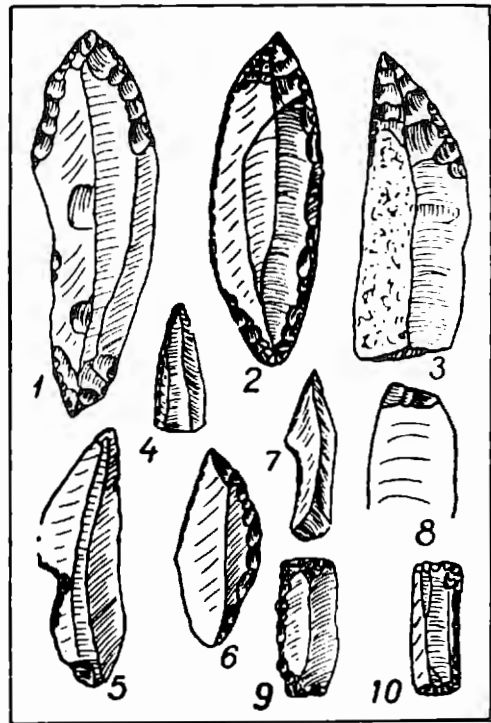


FIGURE 357. FLINT IMPLEMENTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF PUSHKARI, CHERNIHIV oblast

(1, 2) leaf-shaped lance point (dart point); (3) asymmetrical lance point with typical Solutrean retouching; (4) flake with a blunt edge; (5, 6) points with a rudimentary haft; (7) point with a haft; (8) chisel; (9, 10) scrapers.



FIGURE 358. FLINT OBJECTS FROM THE MIZYN PALEOLITHIC SITE IN CHERNIHIV *oblast*

(1) core; (2) flake; (3) scraper at the end of a flake (concave); (4) scraper with a concave groove; (5) scraper at the end of a flake (convex); (6) scrapers on the side of a flake; (7) scraper (concave) provided with two piercers; (8) borer at the end of a flake; (9-11) little flakes with a shaped end; (12) simple burin; (13) double angular burin; (14) angular burin; (15, 16) two implements resembling bow-shaped burins; (17) boat-shaped scraper.

sites of the upper Dniester area (Hanusivtsi, Horodnytsia, Dolyna, Koniushky, Nezvytska, Oleshiv, Torske, Ustie Zelene—G. Poliansky). Aurignacian-Solutrean stations also have been excavated in Berehovo and Mukachiv (Transcarpathia).

The Magdalenian culture (25,000-8,000 B.C.) replaced the Solutrean during the period of Würm III. It was marked by the decline in the production of flint implements and a great advance in the working of bone. The inhabitants of Ukraine in this period still subsisted by means of hunting, fishing, and gathering—chiefly by hunting reindeer. The great number of sites, grouped chiefly along the large rivers (the Dnieper, Desna, Donets, and Dniester), indicate a steady increase in the population which had already begun to build more permanent dwellings for itself. These pit dwellings were pits in the ground, with animal skins

and the bones of mammoths forming respectively the roof and walls of the house (Hontsi, Kiev, Mizyn, Chulativ). In southern Ukraine the caves of the Crimea (Siuren II, Shan-Koba, Fatma-Koba, Zamil-Koba) continued to be inhabited (Fig. 358).

The station in Mizyn (Mezin) near Novhorod Siversky on the river Desna is best known for its splendidly carved objects of mammoth tusk (T. Vovk, L. Chykalenko); spearheads, thin ivory needles, and the many examples of art—a pair of bracelets, several figures of animals (dog? owl?), and more than a dozen figurines of an obscure character (birds or highly stylized female figures)—are mostly decorated with engraved meanders which have no close analogies in the whole of Europe (Fig. 359). This Mizyn culture is a peculiar stage in the development of the Upper Paleolithic cultures in Ukraine, a stage which marked the beginning or perhaps was a distant precursor of the Magdalenian culture in central, and possibly in western Europe (L. Chykalenko).

Drawings on mammoth tusks have been excavated in Kolodiazhne in eastern Volhynia (head of a reindeer) and in

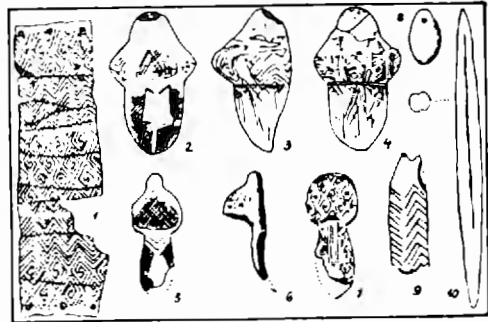


FIGURE 359. BONE OBJECTS FROM THE MIZYN PALEOLITHIC STATION IN CHERNIHIV *oblast*

(1) straightened bracelet of mammoth tusk (greatest breadth 6.5 cm.); (2-4) three views of figurine of mammoth tusk of the first type (6.8 cm.); (5-7) three views of figure of mammoth tusk of the second type (9 cm.); (8, 9) beads of mammoth tusk (3 cm. in breadth and 6.3 cm. in length); (10) dart point of mammoth tusk (19.2 cm.).

Kiev (unidentified stylization). As yet only a few remains of man from the Magdalenian period have been found in Ukraine; these include fragments of skulls (drinking cups?) from Chulativ I and from Novhorod Siversky.

The Azilian culture. The descendants of the Upper Paleolithic population in Ukraine developed a civilization similar to that of western European Azilian in the early post-glacial period. The best known Azilian stations in Ukraine are in Kiev (Kyrylivski Vysoty), Zhuravka near Pryluky, Osokorivka, Dubova, and Kaistrova Balka near Zaporizhia, and in

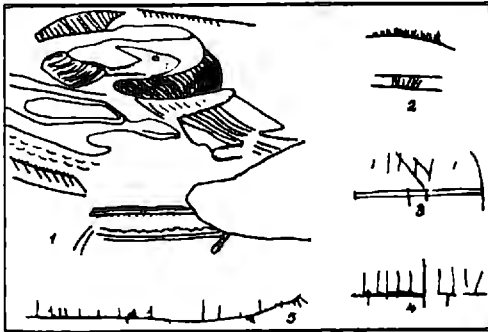


FIGURE 360. DRAWINGS ON IVORY FROM KIEV (1-2) AND HONTSI (3-5)

(1) scratched lines on a piece of mammoth ivory from the Paleolithic settlement in Kiev on the Kyrylivka; (2) two scratchings from the same site; (3-5) three sections of the same scratching design from the Paleolithic site in the village of Hontsi, near Lubny, in the Poltava area.

the caves of Shan-Koba, Fatma-Koba, etc. in the Crimea. The inhabitants of these sites were nomad hunters who usually lived in tents, were armed with bows, and fed on the meat of bison, wild horses, hares, and large rodents—in the Crimea, chiefly on fish and oysters. Refuse heaps of their food are very similar to the north European *kjökken-möddinger* or kitchen midden (Shan-Koba). Their flint implements differ little from those of the late Magdalenian period although they are more carefully fashioned. Numerous very small forms—microliths—have been found at these

sites, signs of the approach of the new phase of the Stone Age—the Mesolithic period. In the post-Paleolithic age, new family burial grounds appeared in the middle Dnieper area (Vasylivka, Voloske). The unique anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and linear-geometric drawings on the walls of a cave near the village of Balamutivka (Bukovina) can also be traced to this era.

L. Chykalenko

MESOLITHIC PERIOD

General Characteristics

The period of the first millennia after the last glaciation during which the Upper Paleolithic population of Europe with its arctic civilization was adapting itself to the new conditions of life in the developing forests is called the Mesolithic (8,000-5,000 B.C.)

With the warming of the climate, the sand moraines dried, and a nomadic Mesolithic population appeared on the dunes. These people lived chiefly by hunting small animals and birds with the bow, by fishing, and by collecting molluscs. As a result of the changes of climate and consequent changes of vegetation and fauna, changes also occurred in the kinds of implements used. The dominant flint product became the pygmy flint, or microlith, and it was used as an arrowhead or was inserted (one or more) in a wooden or bone shaft to serve as a spearhead or a cutting tool. The vast quantity of quite similar microliths indicates the degree of perfection achieved in the technique of working flint. The form of the dwellings (huts?), the method of burial, and the physical anthropological type of this population have not as yet been learned.

In Ukraine there were three Mesolithic flint techniques which superseded one another: the Swiderian (named after Swidry Wielkie in Poland), the Tardenoisian (named after Fère-en-Tardenois in France), and the Campignian (named after Campigny in France). It was

formerly assumed that the Tardenoisian and the Campignian techniques were brought into Ukraine—the former from Africa through France (Michael Rudynsky, V. Gordon Childe), the latter from the Balkans (Leon Kozłowski). However, new studies have indicated that the three techniques were only three phases in the development of the flint technique of the indigenous Epipaleolithic population (Eugene Krychevsky).

The Swiderian

Sites with flints of this type have been excavated chiefly in the northwest part of Ukraine along the Desna, Teteriv, Prypiat, and Buh rivers. They are all situated on sand dunes. The best-known site is Smiachka XIV on the high plateau not far from Novhorod Siversky (M. Rudynsky, E. Krychevsky). The flint implements morphologically connected with

the late Magdalenian, are characteristically slender, microlithic flakes from which knives, scrapers, burins, and arrowheads of various types (triangular, tanged, and of the type Font Robert) were made.

The Tardenoisian

The sites of this culture also are situated on dunes. The mode of life was similar to that known in the Crimean caves (Fatma-Koba, Murzak-Koba)—burials with ritually flexed skeletons, for example. Typical microlithic implements include knives with a blunt back (the Gravettian type) and short chisel-like inserts in bone objects (Izium region).

Michael Rudynsky, the best authority on the Mesolithic in Ukraine, revealed two separate areas of the Tardenoisian in Ukraine which perhaps correspond to two tribal groups—one in the northwest, and the other in the southeast. The first of these, on the territory of the Swiderian culture, was connected with the Mesolithic population of the Baltic; the other, located on the central course of the Donets, the river Vorskla, and the river Mius, is characterized by a flint technique of "chipped flake and geometrical forms," by the presence of first pottery vessels of the kitchen midden—*kjökkenmøddinger* type (village of Terpinia on the river Mius), and by evidence of barter with Transcaucasia (the obsidian microliths in the Kharkiv and Poltava regions).

Of important cultural significance in the Donets Mesolithic area is the group of petroglyphs from Kamiana Mohyla (Fig. 361) near the village of Terpinia (group of horses, various signs, and perhaps a fish). They were left by the Mesolithic descendants of the indigenous Paleolithic population who lived there without interruption into the Neolithic and Bronze ages. On this territory a site has been unearthed (Pisochnyi Riv, near Novhorod Siversky) with a unique Mesolithic industry, as yet without analogies (M. Voievodsky, 1947).

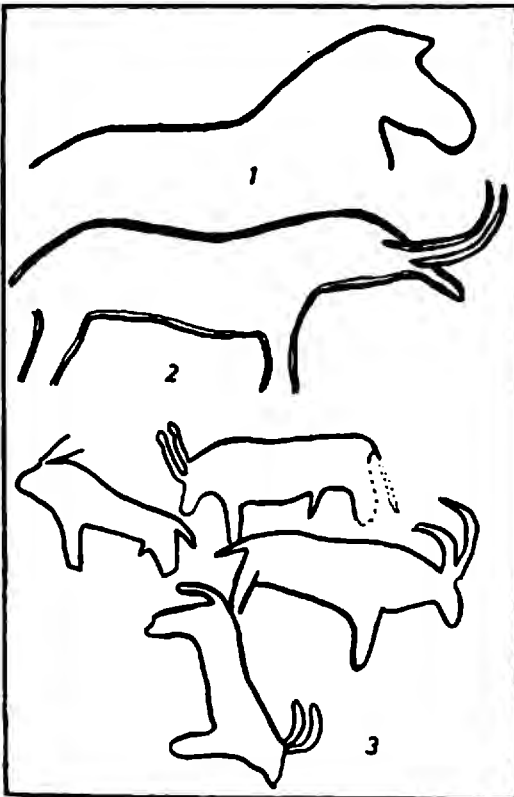


FIGURE 361. DRAWINGS FROM THE CAVE OF KAMIANA MOHYLA, NEAR MELITOPIL
(1) Horse; (2) mammoth; (3) bulls.

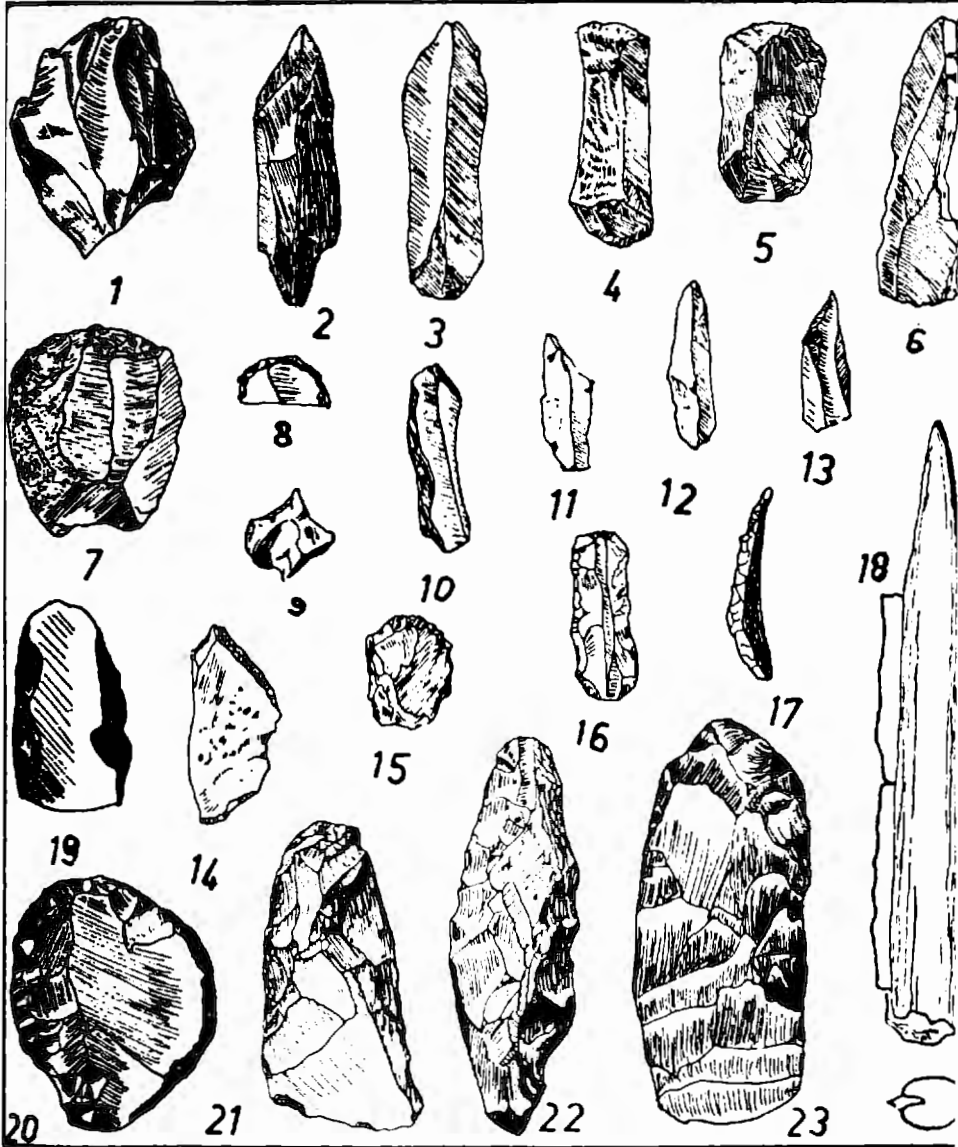


FIGURE 362. MESOLITHIC FLINT IMPLEMENTS

(1-7) Swiderian industry from Smiachka XIV, near Novhorod Siversky; (8-18) Tardenoisian industry from Okhtyrka, in Kharkiv oblast; (19, 21, 22) Campignian industry from H. Leviatynskiy, near Kremianets, and (20, 23) from Sapaniv, near Kremianets (Volhynia).

The Campignian

This culture of the macrolithic Mesolithic, or rather the early Neolithic, was found in Ukraine in the basins of the Desna, Donets, and the lower Dnieper, the Podilia-Volhynian plateau, and along

the Dniester. The population of Ukraine already had some knowledge at this time of primitive agriculture and pottery making, and had domesticated the dog, but, generally, they were still living in a Mesolithic mode of life. Their burials

have not yet been discovered. Among their small microlithic implements large ones also appear—the first axes made of crude flint flakes, oval, but without signs of polishing—indicating the approach of the new era in the development of civilization, the Neolithic.

Y. Pasternak

THE NEOLITHIC AGE

General Characteristics

The new Stone Age, the Neolithic (5,000–2,500), was in the modern geological period. The population greatly increased in the warm, damp climate. In comparison with Paleolithic and Mesolithic man, Neolithic man made great progress in civilization. He perfected the technique of flint and stone artifacts—cut, drilled, and polished stone—and increased the variety of his products. He knew weaving and pottery-making; he had domestic animals, permanent dwellings, and often lived in large settlements; he built pit dwellings and houses, and began to work at primitive agriculture; he cultivated the soil with mattocks, sowed, reaped with sickles, and ground grain with saddle-quoerns. His mastery of the boat (in the form of a concave log) permitted the spread of fishing. Also it made possible relations between tribes which, in turn, resulted in the beginning of commercial exchange: products of Volhynian flint are found in the Kiev area and the Baltic lands, Transcarpathian obsidian in Volhynia, and so forth.

During Neolithic times we can speak of separate tribes that dwelt in Ukraine. On the basis of a comparison with the life of other peoples whom archaeologists have found in similar stages of culture, it can be concluded that the population of Ukraine during this era lived in large matriarchal family groups united by a woman (mother, grandmother, ancestress). The matriarchate was reflected in the cult of the woman-mother. Neolithic man fashioned idols of

women and animals. His religious conceptions included a belief in a life beyond death: the dead were buried according to a definite ritual, the bodies being burned or placed in a tomb, often strewn with red ocher, with implements and food placed beside them.

During Neolithic times the tribes migrated, seeking better land for agriculture, animal-raising, or hunting; as a result conflicts occurred between tribes. It is possible that the need to protect himself from danger caused Neolithic man to build dwellings on piles in lakes, swamps, and even on solid ground (pile dwellings).

In the Neolithic age the territory of Ukraine was inhabited by tribes of various origin and in various stages of civilization: they had different customs, techniques of production, and religious rites. Thus the characteristics marking the Neolithic age led to classification by regions.

The Trypilian Culture

The basic Neolithic population of Ukraine, except for the Left Bank, was of the so-called Trypilian culture (the name comes from the village of Trypilia in the Kiev area). It belongs to the great group of Neolithic tribes of Europe who were noted for pottery decorated with incised or painted spiral bands. Some scholars (A. Spitsyn, V. Gorodtsov, and V. Shcherbakivsky) attribute the origin of the Trypilians to Asia Minor, others (V. Khvoika, A. M. Tallgren, P. Kurinnyi, E. Krychevsky, T. Passek, and V. Milojević) to the local Mesolithic population (Campignian culture); the latter theory is more probable. The relation of the Trypilian culture to the culture with the spiral-meander ceramic is a question of parallel development, not genetic (Y. Pasternak, S. Bibikov).

The Trypilian population occupied Ukraine from the Dnieper region to western Podilia and the upper Buh and was scattered mainly on the high regions of the Ukrainian lands. Hundreds of

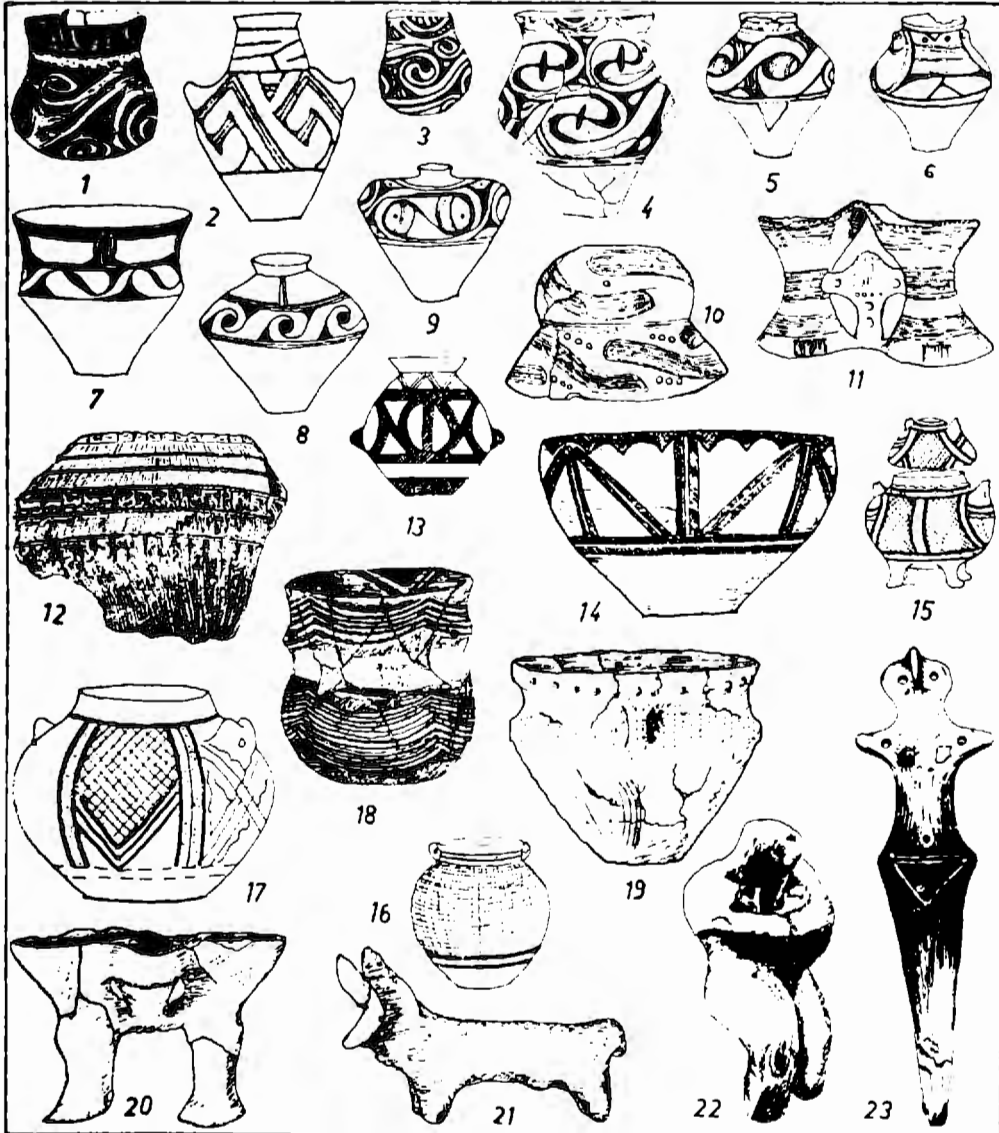


FIGURE 363. POTTERY OF THE TRYPILLIAN TRIBES

NEOLITHIC ERA: (1) pot from Nezvyska, near the town of Obertyn, Stanyslaviv *oblast*; (2) amphora from Horodnytsia, near Horodenka, Stanyslaviv *oblast*; (3) pot from Kudryntsi, near Borshchiv, Ternopil *oblast*; (20) vessel on legs from Nezvyska. ENEOLITHIC PERIOD: (4) amphora from Volodymyrivka, southeastern Podilia, near the town of Uman; (5, 6) amphorae from Petreny, Bessarabia; (7, 8) amphorae from Bilche Zolote, near Borshchiv, Ternopil *oblast*; (9) amphora from Tomashivka, near the river Boh; (10) helmet-shaped cover; (11) "binocle" from Veremia, near Obukhiv, Kiev *oblast*; (19) vase from Buchach. BRONZE AGE: (12) fragment of a vessel from Horodske, near Korostyshiv, Zhytomyr *oblast*; (13) amphora from Koshylivtsi, near Borshchiv, Ternopil *oblast*; (14) pot from Usatove (near Odessa); (15, 16) vessels from near Tyraspil; (17) vessel from Bilozerka, near Kherson; (18) bowl from Zalishchyky; (21) bull from Koshylivtsi; (22) figure of a mother with child from the Kiev area (?); (23) female figure from Bilche Zolote.

settlements with remains of dwelling places—the so-called *ploshchadky* and the pit dwellings in the eastern parts of the black earth region—have been found.

The first of these—rectangular buildings on stout posts of wood and clay—were of various sizes. The floor sometimes had a wooden foundation covered with several layers of burned clay; the walls were made of osiers woven between oak posts and plastered with clay. A peaked roof, with four slopes covered with straw or reeds and with a hole to permit the escape of smoke, rested on oak posts. The large dwellings had several rooms for living, with one or two ovens, and with a hall at the entrance. There were rooms without any hearths, probably storerooms for keeping grain. The square, vaulted ovens (of wood, osiers, and clay) were built on a base of burned lumps of clay. Near the oven was a sleeping place—a rectangular elevation made of the same material. Under the wall opposite the oven was a place for large pots for grain storage and for the saddle-quern. Near the oven were the cooking utensils—bowls and pots. The walls and ovens were sometimes decorated with paint. Samples of the Trypilian house are provided by the clay models of houses (Popudnia, Sushkivka, Volodymyrivka, fragments from Nezvyska). These buildings could have been either living houses or cremation platforms. In addition to these buildings on the ground, there were also pit dwellings (Kiev, Rzhyshchiv). Groups of Trypilian dwellings sometimes formed whole villages along the rivers (western Podilia). A primitive agriculture was the most important source of subsistence for the Trypilians. They cultivated wheat, barley, millet, and possibly rye (cf. pp 287–9), and their chief agricultural tools were mattocks made of stone and deer antlers, bone and wooden sickles with flint blades, and stone saddle-querns. Stock-raising was of secondary importance. (They had two kinds of cattle, as well as sheep, swine, and the dog as an aid to the shepherds.)

Hunting and fishing were still less important. They also collected many molluscs and acorns for food.

The most typical object found in the remains of the Trypilian villages is hand-made pottery, the manufacture and ornamentation of which was at a very high level (Fig. 363). Two kinds of pottery are known: a more elaborate style used for the table and for storage, and a plainer one used for cooking. The former was of fine ground clay, usually very well baked, brick in color, rich in forms (which differed according to the purpose for which the vessel was intended), and ornamented; the latter was a plain type—gray, undecorated, of clay mixed with small broken shells and sand.

Table ceramics are richly painted with spiral motifs which later separated into special parts in rectangular fields (Chykalenko, Kandyba). These ceramics are polychrome (black or brown and white) or monochrome (black or brown) on a brick background. The idea of painting the pots may have come from Mesopotamia. Along with the painted pottery is another type with furrowing and incised ornamentation. Much pottery without decoration has been found. On the bottoms of some pots (Romanivka, Stiny, Bilche, Nezvyska) impressions of woven fabrics have been preserved, sometimes very fine, which, together with the clay spindle whorls and loom weights, point to highly developed weaving techniques and to linen clothing (Fig. 364).

A special group of pottery products are the clay human and animal figurines. The human statuettes are usually female (there are few of men), of varying age, standing—schematic or seated—realistic. Sometimes the hairdress is indicated (Krynichky), or tattooing (Zozulyntsi), more frequently a necklace. The figurines were for religio-magical purposes; in a matriarchal family group they could represent the mother-ancestor of the clan and also be a symbol of fertility. In the dwellings, they frequently stood on a raised cult place near the oven. The



FIGURE 364. IMPRESSION OF A THIN CLOTH ON THE BOTTOM OF A JAR OF THE TRYPILLIAN ERA Found in the "Verteba" Cave in Bilche Zolote, district of Borshchiv, Ternopil *oblast*.

religio-magical character of the figurines is confirmed by their discovery in graves (Usatove). There are also many figurines of domestic animals, especially bulls, which can be connected with a totemistic cult (Romanivka).

As working tools, it is known that the Trypillians had flint scrapers, saws, knives, typical stone mattocks arched on one face, deer antler mattocks and awls, bone daggers, sickles, and small spades for smoothing the surface of the pots. Very few flint arrowheads have been found.

The question of the rite of burial among the Trypillians is not definitely settled, but there are indications that they either burned their dead (Veremia, Kononcha, Kolodyste, Vasylykivtsi), or buried them in a flexed position (Chernykhiv) or a straight one (Kolodyste, Nezvsyska, Shcherbanivka). There were also skeleton burials in the Verteba cave (Bilche Zolote), where all the skulls were identified as belonging to Indo-European long-headed races, mostly Mediterranean.

The life of the Trypillians, their houses and villages, remind us of later Ukrainian life. In the opinion of scholars, the Trypillians were the oldest ethnic base

from which the Ukrainian people grew. On the other hand, the Trypillian culture was the first which connected in one complex—not yet fully investigated—the territory of Ukraine with what were then the most developed cultures of the world, those of Asia Minor and the Aegean (Mycenae, Crete, Knossos).

The beginnings of the Trypillian culture go back to the middle of the fourth millennium (Kyrylivski Vysoty in Kiev). It prevailed for a full 2,000 years encompassing the Eneolithic, Bronze, and Hallstatt Iron ages (see below) and manifesting many local variations.

The Neolithic of Left-Bank and Northern Ukraine

The Neolithic population of the Left Bank was culturally backward. It lived along the rivers, hunting, fishing, and

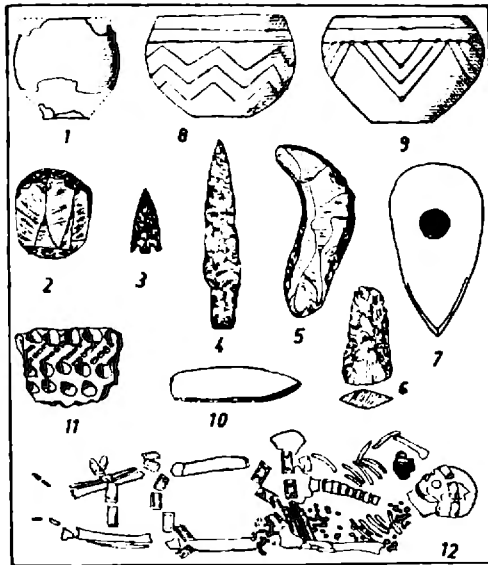


FIGURE 365. NEOLITHIC ERA

BUH CULTURE: (1) pot from Slokhy Annopilski (Podlachia); (2) scraper; (3) arrowhead; (4) lance head; (5) scraper; (6) axe (all flints from the Sokal area); (7) stone axe from the Yaroslav area. LINEAL-BAND CERAMICS CULTURE: (8) vessel from Nezvsyska, near Obertyn, Stanyslaviv *oblast*; (9) vessel from Kolodnytsia, near Stryi; (10) stone hoe from Korchivka, near Zhydachiv. VARIOUS: (11) fragment of a vessel with comb-tooth ornamentation; (12) woman's burial from the burial ground near Mariupil.

collecting molluscs; it had no agriculture; and it believed in totems. In the north, on the sand dunes in the valleys of the Desna and the Seim and in the central part of the Poltava area, were tribes related to the original Finns. Their "comb-and-pit marked" pottery (Fig. 365, 11) was decorated with small pits—impressions made by a comb and by a small stick wound with cord.

Polisia, northern Volhynia, and part of the Kholm (Chełm) area were occupied quite early by tribes akin to those of the Left Bank. They also settled along the rivers and subsisted chiefly by fishing and hunting; in the summer they lived in tents of skin, and in the winter in pit dwellings; they gave their dead red ocher for tattooing in the next world.

Southern Ukraine

In the south, between the Dnieper and the Sea of Azov, the remains of a cemetery in Mariupil (N. Makarenko—Fig. 365) have been found where the dead were placed on their backs, one upon another, in three tiers; they were sprinkled with ocher (magic tattooing), and richly adorned with bone plates, tusks of wild swine, and shells. Around them were flint arrowheads and knives, a few stone axes and mace-heads; there was no pottery. It is possible that the settlements of the Rapids section of the Dnieper (Serednii Stih) belonged to this tribe.

Galicia-Volhynia (The Buh Culture)

Galicia and Volhynia were occupied in the Neolithic age by tribes which later formed the Buh (Bug) culture (Fig. 365). They lived in pit dwellings, occupied themselves with agriculture, stock-raising, and hunting; they knew pottery-making and weaving, and made fine implements from Volhynian flint which they traded in the Kiev area and the Baltic lands (flint hoards). Typical objects are the bilateral flint axes, the later ones with a rectangular cross-section. Their pottery has a flat bottom and

holes in the rims for steam. They buried their dead in a flexed position along with flint implements but without pots of food, and they erected mounds over the graves (Ostapie).

At the end of the Neolithic period tribes with a later spiral-meander pottery (Fig. 365) and stone mattocks in the form of a shoe-last came from Silesia along the Vistula to Volhynia (Lutsk, Ostrih) and the Dniester area. They were the original ancestors of the Western Slavs, whose culture, according to the latest studies (Zotz, Miložčić), probably developed directly from the late phase of the European Magdalenian Age. They occupied high, naturally defensible places (Kotovannia), lived by agriculture, buried their dead in a flexed position in flat graves, and obtained implements of volcanic glass (obsidian) from Transcarpathia in exchange for flint implements and grain (?).

Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine)

In the upper Tysa (Tisza), across the Carpathians, lived tillers of the soil who belonged, like the Trypilians, to a group of tribes with spiral-meander ceramics. They left settlements on the hills, and flint workshops (Porach). Their burials have not been studied. They seem to have burned their dead. Small mounds were placed above the ashes, and pots of food were given to the dead for the next world. In the ceramics of this Bükk culture (name from the Bükk mountains in northern Hungary), there were many obsidian flint and bone artifacts, and stone implements in the form of a shoe-last. Clay figures of women and animals point to the cult of the mother-goddess and to totemism.

THE ENEOLITHIC PERIOD

The Eneolithic was the final phase of the Neolithic age (2,500–1,800) in which the first metallic (copper) implements appear; hence it has been given the name "Copper Age."

Trypilia

In the area of the Trypilian culture there are Eneolithic settlements of the type of Volodymyrivka (T. Passek, N. Kordysh), Sushkivka (V. Kozlovsky), and Kolomyishchyna near Khalepia (S. Mahura, T. Passek, E. Krychevsky, N. Kordysh) in the Kiev region; Petreny in Bessarabia (E. Stern); and Buchach in

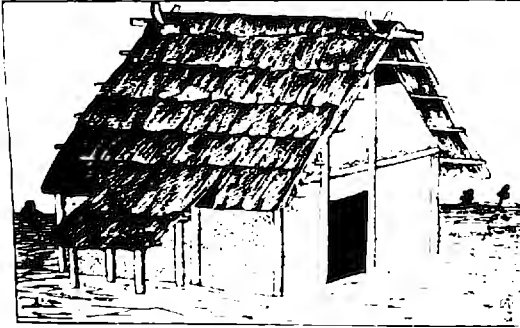


FIGURE 366. RECONSTRUCTION OF A TRYPILIAN DWELLING FROM NEZVYSKA (AFTER L. KOZLOWSKI)

western Podilia (L. Kozłowski). In Volodymyrivka there were more than two hundred huts, most of them with two rooms, a developed cult as evidenced by a cross-shaped altar, and a richness of pottery. It may have been the center of the Trypilian tribes. In a tribal settlement in Kolomyishchyna, the houses were placed in two concentric circles, for defense, with two community buildings and a place for cattle in the center. In Petreny a form of pit dwelling, only partly sunk, with baked clay floors has been found, and in Buchach one-room dwellings with clay floor and stone oven. There are typical realistic female figurines in the basic local style (a standing nude woman); twice (in Sushkivka and in Krynychky) the statuettes of a mother with a child at her breast have been found (the cult of the mother-goddess, which came to Ukraine, along with copper, from Mesopotamia). Human and animal figurines and often fantastically painted ornamentation of pottery, which might partially have arisen from

the "vivification" of some ornamental forms (L. Chykalenko), have also been excavated. Among the ceramics there are typical pear-shaped amphorae, helmet-shaped covers, and "binocles" (double vessels without a bottom) which some consider to be drums (Fig. 363, 11).

Y. Pasternak

Southern Ukraine

The steppe part of Ukraine, between the Caucasus and the Dniester, was settled in the third millennium B.C. by matriarchal hordes of nomads who lived by hunting, fishing, and food-gathering. Some went west to Bessarabia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Transylvania, and reached the central course of the Tysa (Tisza). In the middle of the third millennium they adopted the primitive agriculture (millet) and stock-raising (sheep and cattle) of the neighboring Trypilian tribes. At their fishing settlements near the rapids of the Dnieper great piles of their refuse (kitchen midden) have been found containing various stone implements (saddle-querns, narrow axes, knives, scrapers, and arrowheads), bone implements (harpoons, awls, needles), and later, copper ones (knives, awls) of north Caucasian origin, in addition to many fragments of typical ceramics decorated with *Wickelschnurornament*. The form of these ceramics (without exception egg-shaped) and the technique by which they were decorated (predominantly by means of a stick wound with string) make them completely different from the central European corded ware, however. These two ceramic groups apparently developed independently, and there is no genetic connection between them.

Many burials of the Eneolithic nomads in Ukraine have been studied. The oldest, on the steppes, are grave mounds beneath which are pits covered with wooden beams. The early skeletons are lying on their backs with their legs bent

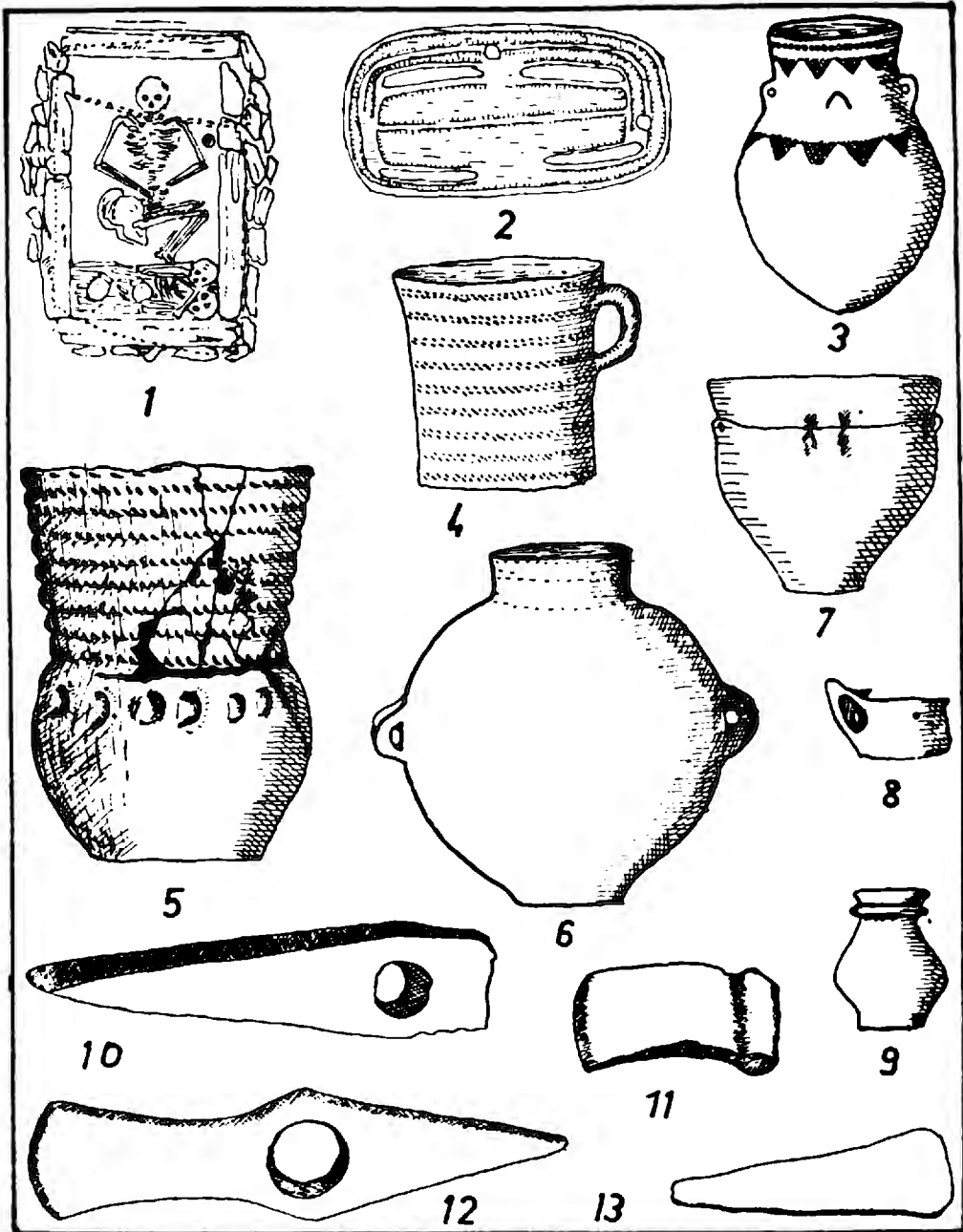


FIGURE 367. ENEOLITHIC PERIOD

CULTURE OF THE CIST GRAVES: (1) cist grave; (2) bone buckle clasp (from Uvysla, near Husiatyn, Ternopil *oblast*); (3) vessel from Kotsiubyntsi, near Husiatyn. CULTURE OF CORDED WARE: (4) vessel from Khorostkiv, near Husiatyn; (5) jug from Kulchytsi, near Sambir; (6) amphora from Syvky, near Ostrih, in Volhynia. CULTURE OF FUNNEL WARE: (7) funnel ware for storage; (8) ansa lunata cup; (9) collared flask (from Hrybovychi Mali, near Lviv). COPPER WORK: (10) one-bitted axe; (11) axe; (12) double-bitted axe; (13) flat axe (from the area of Uzhhorod).

at the knees; later ones are flexed on their side with the head to the north or east. The women's graves contain children up to ten years of age (M. Miller). All the skeletons and the bottom of the pits are thickly sprinkled with red ocher, hence the name, "ocher graves." The newly discovered skeleton graves in the region above the Dnieper cataracts (Vovnihy—M. Rudynsky) belong to the Eneolithic.

M. Miller

Western Ukraine

In Galicia and Volhynia the local agricultural tribes of the Buh (Bug) culture, with greatly developed flint techniques (Sapaniv), still lived on in the Eneolithic Age. Their daggers, spearheads, sickles, and saws, carefully fashioned over the entire surface, were widely spread throughout the territory of Ukraine and Poland through the exchange of wares.

In the second half of the third millennium, dolichocephalic Nordic tribes with a Megalithic culture (the name is derived from their grave structures of large stone slabs) came in two waves along the Vistula and the Buh. They depended more on stock-raising and hunting than on agriculture. The first of these tribes reached only as far as northern Galicia where they settled on elevated, naturally defensible places as a protective measure against the local population of alien tribes (Potelych). They fashioned pots with a funnel-shaped neck (funnel-shaped beakers—Fig. 367, 5) and made stone battle-axes with a round flaring back. They did not flex their dead in burials but sometimes burned them (Terebovlia) to cleanse the spirit from everything earthly.

Other Nordic tribes later occupied southern Volhynia and Podilia; they tried to cross the Carpathians by the Veretsky pass, and reached the Kiev area (Łosiatyn) and Bukovina (Dol. Horodnyk, Granicești). They buried

their dead in flexed position in family graves made of stone slabs (stone cist graves, Fig. 367, 1) under a burial mound; they left food for them in egg-shaped pots with incised and white-incrusted geometrical ornamentation (later in globular amphorae), flint and stone weapons, amber necklaces, and bone buckles.

In eastern Volhynia (Vysoke, Kykova, Skobliv) we find cremation burials in stone cists, but these sites (Ulvivok near Sokal, Nova Siniava near Lityn) have been insufficiently studied.

At the end of the third millennium new northern tribes came from Silesia bringing with them pottery decorated with the imprints of a cord (corded pottery, Fig. 367, 4). They wandered widely over Galicia and Volhynia, and even reached the Dnieper (Hryshchyntsi near Kaniv). They lived in the upper Boh area (Yatskovytsia), along with the bearers of the steppe pit (*yamna*) culture who had come along the Dniester to the upper Dniester area (Kulchytsi, Kolpets, Krylos, Pidhorodia near Krylos). Some finds of western corded ware have been made across the Dnieper (Poltava and Kharkiv areas, Crimea, the Subcaucasus); they probably reached there in an exchange of commodities.

The people of the corded pottery preferably settled on the sand dunes where they lived a nomadic life as hunters and fishers, but they also lived in the forest regions in pit dwellings and carried on primitive agriculture and stock-raising. They usually buried their dead in a flexed position under mounds on the surface of the earth (often surrounded by stone circles), leaving with them stone battle-axes, flint implements, and food in pots and typical globular amphorae.

To the Eneolithic Age in Transcarpathia we can ascribe with absolute certainty only the cremation burials in Luchky (Štaray) and in Perechyn (Y. Pasternak), and individual finds of copper axes and celts.

THE BRONZE AGE

General Characteristics

Stone as a material for implements was replaced by metal very slowly in Ukraine because of the lack of copper and the complicated process of working it. Since pure copper is not hard, people began to mix other metals with it, usually tin; the mixture of copper and tin produced bronze. In spite of the superior quality of bronze implements,

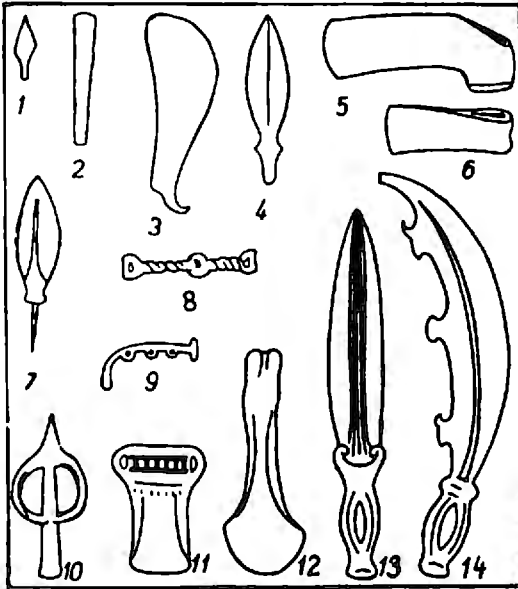


FIGURE 388. BRONZE WORK FROM CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE

EARLY BRONZE AGE: (1) lance-shaped knife; (2) chisel. LATE BRONZE AGE: (3) sickle; (4) knife; (5, 6, 12) axes; (7, 10) spearheads; (8) curb-bit; (9) cheek piece of bit; (11) bronze celt; (13, 14) swords.

they were not in general use in Ukraine for they were expensive and usually imported. Stone implements remained in use but were greatly perfected. They often were made to imitate the bronze tools in form and polished to gleam like a mirror; among them were axes, mace-heads, and lance-heads.

The Bronze Age (1,800–800 B.C.) witnessed a great development of stock-raising on the territory of Ukraine and the acquisition of carts, wooden plows, and bronze sickles by the tiller of the soil.

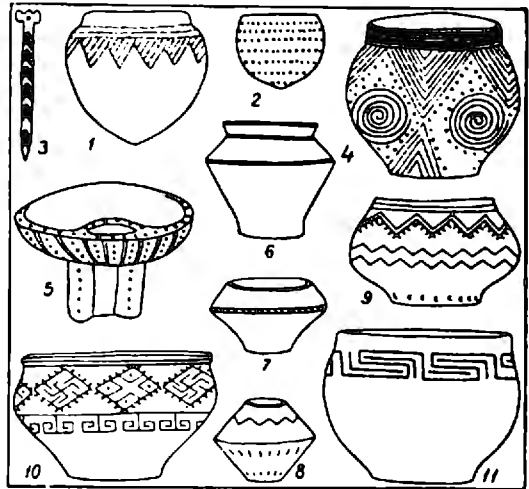


FIGURE 369. CERAMIC WORK OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE

(1, 2) Eneolithic Period; (3) bone hammer-headed pin; (4, 5) early Bronze Age; (6–8) middle Bronze Age; (9–11) late Bronze Age.

At the same time there was an influx of various tribes which came from the east, west, and south. Better armed, they took over new areas. The influences which came from the various centers of bronze civilization—the Caucasus, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Silesia—crossed and formed a complicated complex of cultures in Ukraine.

Trypilia

The sites in Raiky, Horodske, Yevmynka, Lukashi, Rzhyshchiv, Koshylivtsi, and Kornych in the area of the population with the Trypilian culture belong to this period. The local agricultural population was impoverished by raids of the stock-raising (sheep and horses) nomads of the corded pottery culture, who brought about the decline of the Trypilian culture. The ornamentation on the ceramics, although rich in color (dark brown, black, and white), became simpler and linear, or disappeared completely. The cult vessels have bulls' heads modeled on the sides (Koshylivtsi). The firing of ceramics deteriorated. There were many flint implements, stone axes, saddle-querns, clay spindle whorls, and loom weights. We often find copper articles,

such as awls, beads, daggers, etc., and silver ones (Koshylivtsi). In addition to the pit dwellings of the Trypilians on the dunes there are houses on stout posts, storage pits, kilns, and ovens (Koshylivtsi). The Trypilian tribes left family burial grounds on the middle left bank of the Dnieper (Sofiivka, Chernyn, Chervonyi Khutir).

There is a Bronze Age settlement and burial ground in Usatove near Odessa. The pottery is painted; usually it is decorated with *Wickelschnurornament*. There are typical cult vessels on four legs. The rich male burials are under mounds in a stone enclosure; the poor ones in flat graves under stone slabs. The connections with the Aegean cultural area are evident: the cult of the bull (paintings and carvings of bulls' heads found in the graves), and the clay statues of women with wide dresses—both well-known in Minoan times of Crete.

Y. Pasternak

Southern Ukraine

The steppe area of Ukraine was inhabited by the same nomadic tribes (Cimmerians?) who lived in pit dwellings and huts, raised animals (cattle, sheep, swine, and a few horses), practised a primitive agriculture, and wove sheep wool. A new craft now began—that of bronze-working swords, daggers, knives, axes, chisels, sickles, saws, spearheads, arrowheads, and so forth. This craft, together with the necessary raw materials, spread from the Caucasian foothills throughout Ukraine and a native bronze center developed near Bakhmut in the Donets Basin; many forms of casts have been excavated. By an exchange of wares with Thracian workshops, Transylvanian bronze objects reached the basin of the river Donets (bronze hoards in Kniaz-Hryhorivka, Klynova, Kolontaïv, Novopavlivka, etc.).

The form of graves changed: a catacomb niche was dug in the wall of the burial pit ("catacomb graves"), and

was sprinkled with the magic red ocher, chalk, and ashes. The ritually flexed body was interred there as a better protection against evil spirits. Burials of a man and woman have been found, which indicate patriarchal family system.

In the second half of the second millennium B.C. wooden mortuary houses began to be built over the burial pits; these were also covered with a burial mound. But toward the end of this millennium, the dead were laid on the bare earth (indicating a change of religious belief) and were covered by burial mounds. Later, the members of a family who died were buried in the same mound. From Transcaucasia spread the custom (new immigrants?) of burying the dead in stone cists under the mounds and surrounding these mounds with magic circles of stones (*cromlechs*).

Pottery with a broad flat base, decorated with impressions of a cord and a toothed implement, is the most important of the burial artifacts. The motifs of the ornamentation are spirals, circles (the solar cult?), squares, rhombs, etc. Burned kernels of millet were found in some pots. Other objects include flint knives, spearheads and arrowheads, stone saddle-querns, hoes, battle-axes with hafting holes, mace-heads, etc., bronze and copper knives, awls, bone hammer-headed pins, and notched tubular beads.

The richest of the large barrows in Europe (except for the Aegean area) from the Eneolithic period to the end of the Bronze Age have been found in the North Caucasus bronze area near the Kuban River (Maikop). The gold and silver objects (diadems, vessels, costume decorations) from these mounds show the great influence of the Sumerian civilization from Mesopotamia.

M. Miller

Western Ukraine

The agricultural tribes of the Buh (Bug) culture moved from Galicia into

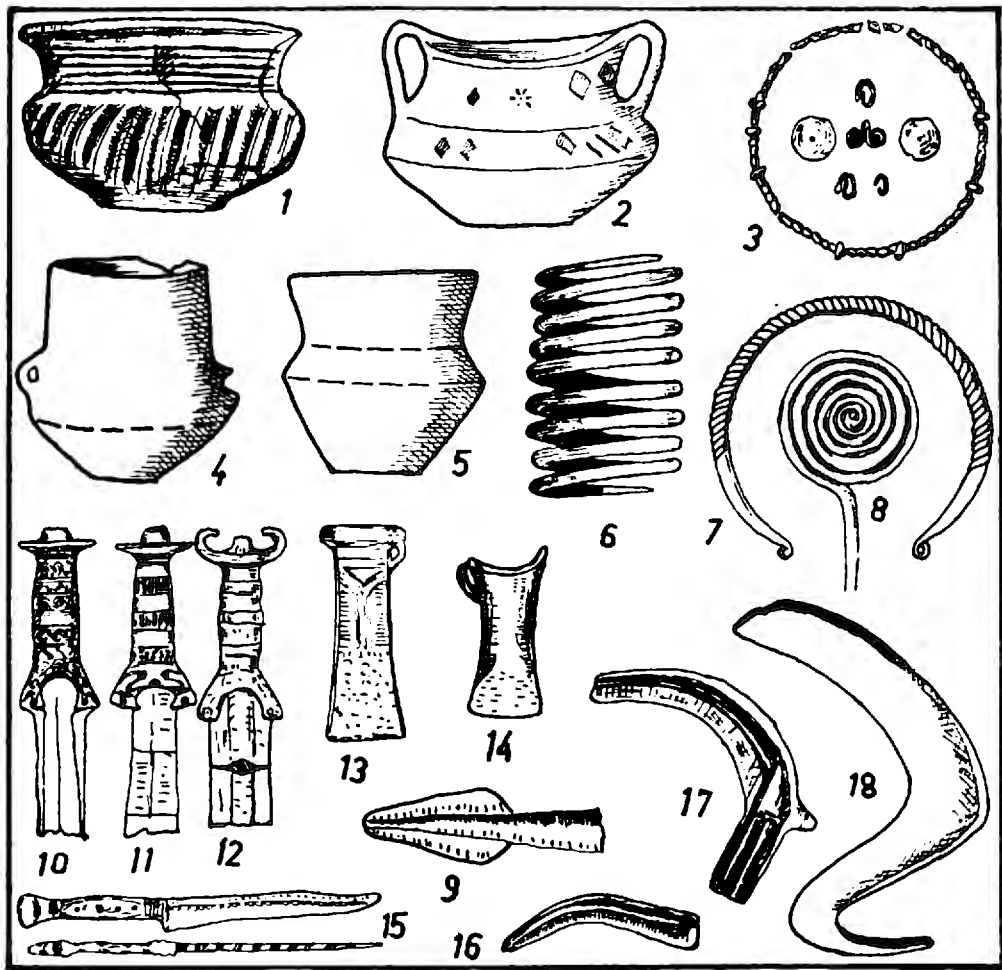


FIGURE 370. BRONZE AGE

KOMARIV CULTURE: (1) vase from Komariv (near Stanyslaviv); (2) vase from Horodnytsia (near Horodenka). **AUNJETITZ CULTURE:** (3) decorations from a grave in Pochapy, near Zolochiv. **LAUSITZ CULTURE:** (4, 5) urns from Sokilnyky, near the mouth of the Sian; (6-9) bronze armet, necklace, pin, and lance head from Zarshyn, near Sianik. **IMPORTED HUNGARIAN BRONZE FROM THE DNIESTER REGION:** (10) sword from Koropets, near Buchach, Ternopil oblast; (11) sword from Halych, near Stanyslaviv; (12) sword from Yazlivets, near Buchach; (13) celt from Halych; (14) celt from Zaliztsi, near Brody; (15) knife from Borshchovychi, near Lviv; (16) sickle from Horodnytsia, near Horodenka; (17) sickle from Zhabokruky, near Horodenka; (18) sickle from Oleshiv, near Tovmach, Stanyslaviv oblast.

Polisia at the beginning of the Bronze Age; they were replaced by the Nordic nomads with the funnel-necked vessels and the corded pottery. The first of these crossed into the upper Buh region and the neighborhood of Lviv, where they lived on hills (Vynnyky, Hrybovychi).

The Nordic nomads secured from Silesia the first bronze objects of the Aunjetitz culture (daggers, bracelets, wire rings, and earrings) that we find in graves along with flexed skeletons (as in Volhynia, Fig. 370). Between the Dniester and the Carpathian Mountains they

came under the strong influence of the Thracians from Transcarpathia and created a mixed culture of the Komariv type (Komariv) with Thracian bronzes and two-looped clay vessels (Fig. 370). They built mounds over the flexed or the burned dead. Gold objects are found in some mounds (Komariv). In western Podilia, at the same time, are the graves of migrants from Moldavia, with flexed skeletons in stone cists but without grave mounds—the Bilyi Potik culture (Bilyi Potik near Chortkiv).

In northern Volhynia and Polisia the Nordic tribes with the corded ceramics and the funnel-necked vessels also mixed with the animal-raising proto-Finnic people. They left traces of settlements (ceramics with an incised and plastic band decoration), and mounds with flexed skeletons and local forms of bronze armlets.

At the end of the Bronze Age the ancestors of the Western Slavs brought from the west to the upper Buh an agrarian culture of the Lausitz type (Luzhytsi). In their cremation burials the urns have a biconical or an "S" profile; they are ornamented with oblique furrowing, a notching decoration, or little holes around the rim; and they are often blackened. Near them are bronze celts with socket and lug, spearheads, bracelets, necklaces, and safety pins for holding clothing. Also of local production are massive necklaces of the Siniava type (Siniava) and bracelets with overlapped ends. The settlements are unknown. Some bronze implements of the Lausitz culture found their way to the Dnieper area through trade.

Under the influence of the neighboring Thracians, the Transcarpathian population developed superior bronze-working techniques (typical swords with a cup at the end of the handle) and carried on a lively trade with Galicia (bronze hoards) through the Poprad, Uzhok, and Veretsky passes in the Carpathians (Fig. 370).

THE IRON AGE

General Characteristics

At the end of the second millennium B.C., the expensive bronze imported from Transylvania and the north Caucasus was replaced by a new, native (and therefore inexpensive) metal—iron—which later became irreplaceable. In the tenth century B.C. iron was brought from Asia Minor to the north. The Subcaucasus later developed its own special center of iron culture (the Kuban culture) from which the first iron products came to southern Ukraine.

In western Ukraine the older part of the Iron Age (800–500 B.C.) is called the Hallstatt period (Hallstatt, in Lower Austria). It is marked by the great development of agriculture and stock-raising, the resultant strengthening of the patriarchal family system, and the spreading of the eastern Alpine influences (Illyrian) throughout most of Europe. The Illyrian influences were replaced in the second half of the first millennium B.C. by Celtic ones, and these mark the later phase of the Iron Age (500–1 B.C.) called the La Tène period (La Tène, Switzerland). The eastern Ukrainian archaeologists call the Iron Age the Scythian-Sarmatian Age.

Since Ukraine entered the Iron Age in its early historical period which is discussed in another chapter, we will speak here only about the archaeological aspects of the Greeks, Scythians, Cimmerians, Thracians, and the Celtic tribes, the Bastarnae, Skiri, and Teurisci, who then lived in Ukraine or passed through it.

The Hallstatt (Scythian) Period

The Bilohrudivka Culture. The culture of the successors of the Trypilian population in Ukraine in the Hallstatt period was represented by monuments of the type of Bilohrudivka (Borysivka, Nemyriv, Novosilka Kostiukova—Fig. 371, 1). These people had highly developed

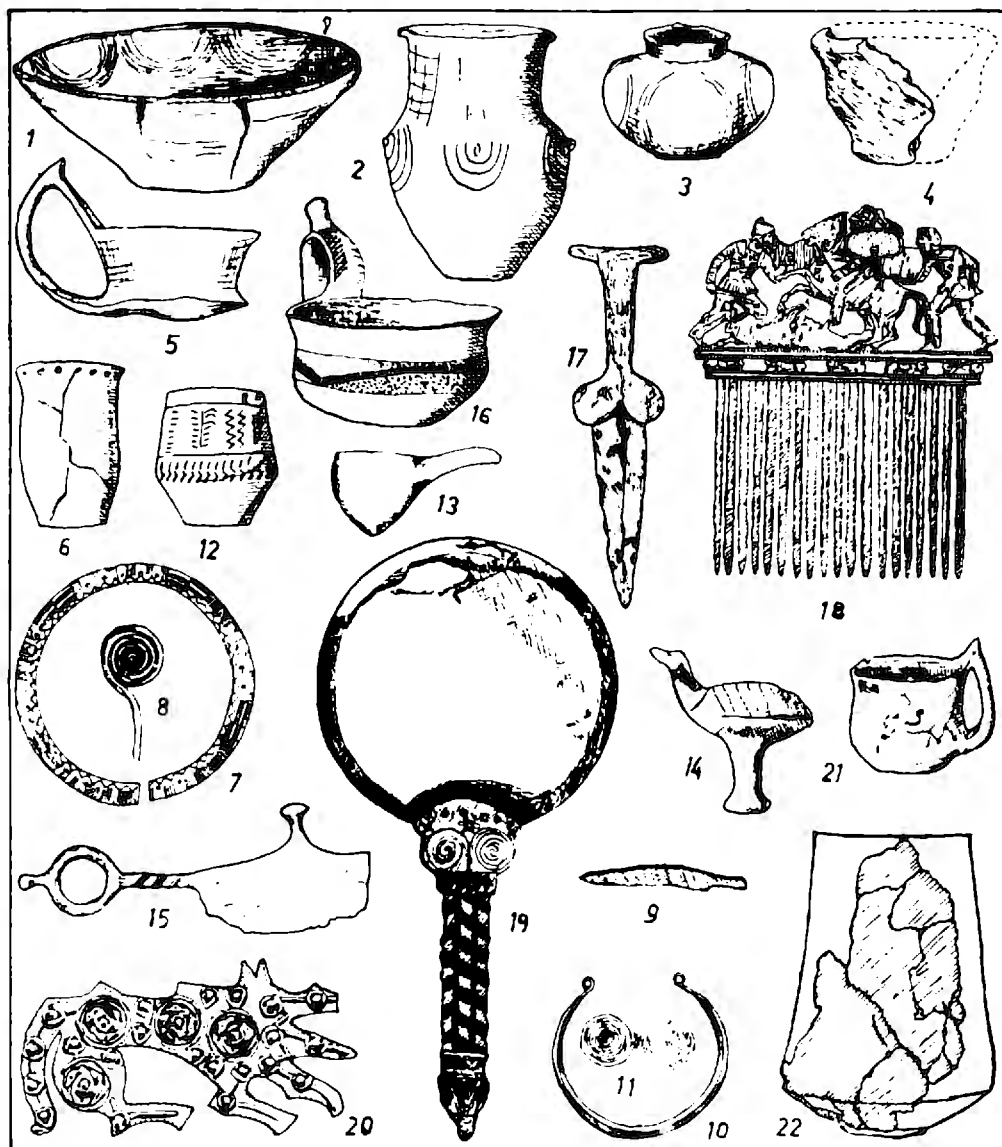


FIGURE 371. HALLSTATT PERIOD

BILOHRUDIVKA CULTURE: (1) plate from Novosilka Kostiukova, near Zalishchyky; (2) amphora from Trypilia, near Obukhiv, Kiev *oblast*; (3) vase from Sniatyn, Stanyslaviv *oblast*; (4) small bowl from Bilohrudivka, near Uman; (5) ladle from Horodnytsia, near Horodenka.

VYSOTSKJE CULTURE: (6) drinking cup; (7) bronze armlet; (8) bronze pin; (9) iron knife; (10) bronze necklace; (11) bronze fibula, all from Chekhy, near Brody, Ternopil *oblast*; (12) drinking cup; (13) spoon; (14) bird; (15) bronze razor from Belzets, near Zolochiv.

SCYTHIAN CULTURE: (16) drinking cup from the Dnieper area; (17) iron dagger from Bureny, Bessarabia.

GREEK WORK: (18) gold comb from the mound of Solokha near V. Znamianka, near Nikopil, Zaporizhia *oblast*; (19) bronze mirror from Bratyshev, near Tovmach.

THRACIAN WORK: (20) gold fibula from Mykhalkiv, near Borschiv. **KUSHTANOVYCHJ CULTURE:** (21, 22) drinking cup, and urn from Komariv, near Stanyslaviv.

stock-raising, built the first fortified settlements (Bilsk, Nemyriv, Krylos, Subotiv) which became the bases for their clan administrative organization, and lived in pit dwellings or in houses "on stout posts." Mound-like cultural remains which include flint, stone, and bone implements, small clay beads, and a very few clay figures are typical. As yet there was no transition from bronze to iron. There was a typical lustrous black pottery (the Ukrainian Hallstatt) with fillet, groovings, button-like ornamentations, and bronze fibulae (Novosilka Kostjukova) which indicate the period to be from 1,000 to 700 B.C. In the graves are ceramics with high handles and bronze vessels. This is the pre-Scythian culture.

Scythian culture. Between the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. Iranian tribes came from the east and occupied the country between the Dnieper and the Sea of Azov. The Greeks in southern Ukraine later began to refer to the entire population of Ukraine by the collective name of Scythians, whom Herodotus (fifth century) divided into two groups: Scythian plowmen and royal Scythians. The former were the local agricultural tribes who had been in close cultural contact with the Aegean-Greek and Caucasian-Asia Minor world. The others were true Scythians—nomads—who did not bring a higher culture to Ukraine and who did not create their own (animal) style in art.

Typical Scythian monuments are the great "royal" mounds with wooden chambers (Lyta, Kelermeska, Seven Brothers, Aksutynetska, Vovkovetska, Melitopil, etc.) of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. A barbaric oriental burial rite (the killing of women, slaves, and horses) was practised. The graves are rich in gold and silver vessels and adornments decorated in the animal style (deer, goats, fish) developed under the influence of Near East religious systems. These include daggers with a heart-shaped guard, covers on bows combined

with quivers for arrows, triangular bronze arrowheads, etc. Among the jewels are Assyrian-Persian and, later, Greek colonial objects (Fig. 371, 16, 17).

The best-explored Scythian fortification is in Nemyriv near Vinnytsia. It had walls of horizontal beams on a stone foundation, covered with clay, with a central post and walls of vertical beams, and a hearth built of stones (Artamonov, 1947).

Greek Black Sea colonies. In the seventh century B.C. Greek ships entered the Black Sea and began to trade with the Cimmerians and the Scythians. They founded colonies, chiefly at the mouths of the great rivers: Tyras at the mouth of the Dniester, Olbia at the mouth of the Boh, Chersonesus in the Crimea, Panticapaeum on the Kerch Straits, Phanagoria at the mouth of the Kuban, Tanais at the mouth of the Don. These later developed into rich important cities and became intermediaries between the Scythians and Greece (Fig. 371, 18, 19).

Detailed archaeological study has so far been carried out only in the areas of Chersonesus, Olbia, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Ilurat, and Kalos Limen. This study has given a complete picture of the lives of Greeks in southern Ukraine—of their purely classical culture in architecture (many-roomed houses with interior courts and colonnades, especially



FIGURE 372. GILDED SILVER VASE FOUND IN THE *Solokha*, A TOMB OF A SCYTHIAN KING

The scene on the vase depicts Scythians hunting wild animals.

in Olbia), of their many different kinds of manufactures, of their mode of life and burial, of their rich artistic products of jewelry and painted vases. In Chersonesus the remains of a theater were unearthed, the first such find in Ukraine.

The cultures of Western Ukraine. In the upper Buh area the Buh agricultural tribes moved from Polisia, met the ancient proto-Slavs with their Lausitz culture, and at the same time fell under the influence of Thracian culture. In the eighth century B.C. a new agricultural culture of the Vysotske type (Vysotske, Fig. 371, 6-15) developed with cremation and skeleton burials (not flexed); these sites have been only slightly investigated. Often living on sand dunes (Pochapy), these tribes spread as far south as the Dniester. The pottery of this culture often had white inlaid ornamentation and holes around the rims; there were also many miniature vessels, and bronze axes, razors, needles, and awls. Flint implements of the Buh type (sickles, daggers, arrowheads, knives) are found frequently in their burial mounds. These people made their own bronze implements as well (Pochapy).

An agricultural tribe—the Scythian plowmen of Herodotus—came into western Podilia from the Kiev area in the sixth century B.C. There were no human sacrifices and no horse burials in their skeleton and cremation graves. The typical objects were three-sided arrows, earrings in the form of bent nails, bronze mirrors, stone plates, and Greek coins. Their settlements were discovered in Bukovina.

The cremation stone cist graves with lustrous black pottery in the Kholm area and in western Podilia may be the result of the passage of the Celtic Bastarnae and Skiri to the south in the middle of the first millennium B.C. Two gold hoards from Mykhalkiv are Thracian work of the eighth to seventh centuries B.C. (Fig. 371, 20).

Transcarpathia was still inhabited by the "Thracians" who traded their bronze

(swords and celts) in the Dniester area. The wide diffusion of the bronze hoards in the area indicates ancient Carpathian roads. The ceramics included in the cremation burials (Mukachiv, Bilky, Kolodne, Kushtanovychi) show Scythian influences (Fig. 371, 21, 22). Settlements are almost unknown.

La Tène (Sarmatian) Period

General characteristics. The second half of the last millennium B.C. is the period when the Celtic tribes reached their greatest expansion and occupied a considerable part of central Europe, especially that constituting present-day France. At the end of the Hallstatt period they were affected by the strong cultural influences of Greece; they then developed their own high culture, which they brought to wide areas of Europe during their wanderings. In the archaeology of Europe this culture filled the last five centuries B.C. and is divided into three periods: early (500-300 B.C.), middle (300-100 B.C.), and late (100-0 B.C.). It is marked by the mass production of iron objects—chiefly arms and agricultural tools—the invention of the colter on the plow, scythes, shears, spurs, and the diffusion of vessels made on the potter's wheel. In Ukraine it was a period of great development in agriculture and in crafts and a period of trade in grain with Greece, a period of a noticeable increase in the population and the beginnings of social differences.

The Dnieper region was still inhabited by the descendants of the Trypillians. There are only a few monuments from the early La Tène period, but in the middle and even more in the late La Tène period, the land was quite densely populated. In the neighborhood of Kiev the cemeteries are about four and one-third miles apart; the settlements have not been explored. The skeleton graves were gradually replaced by cremation burials and urn fields in which there are usually three vessels in a longitudinal pit: the largest of these is a loopless urn

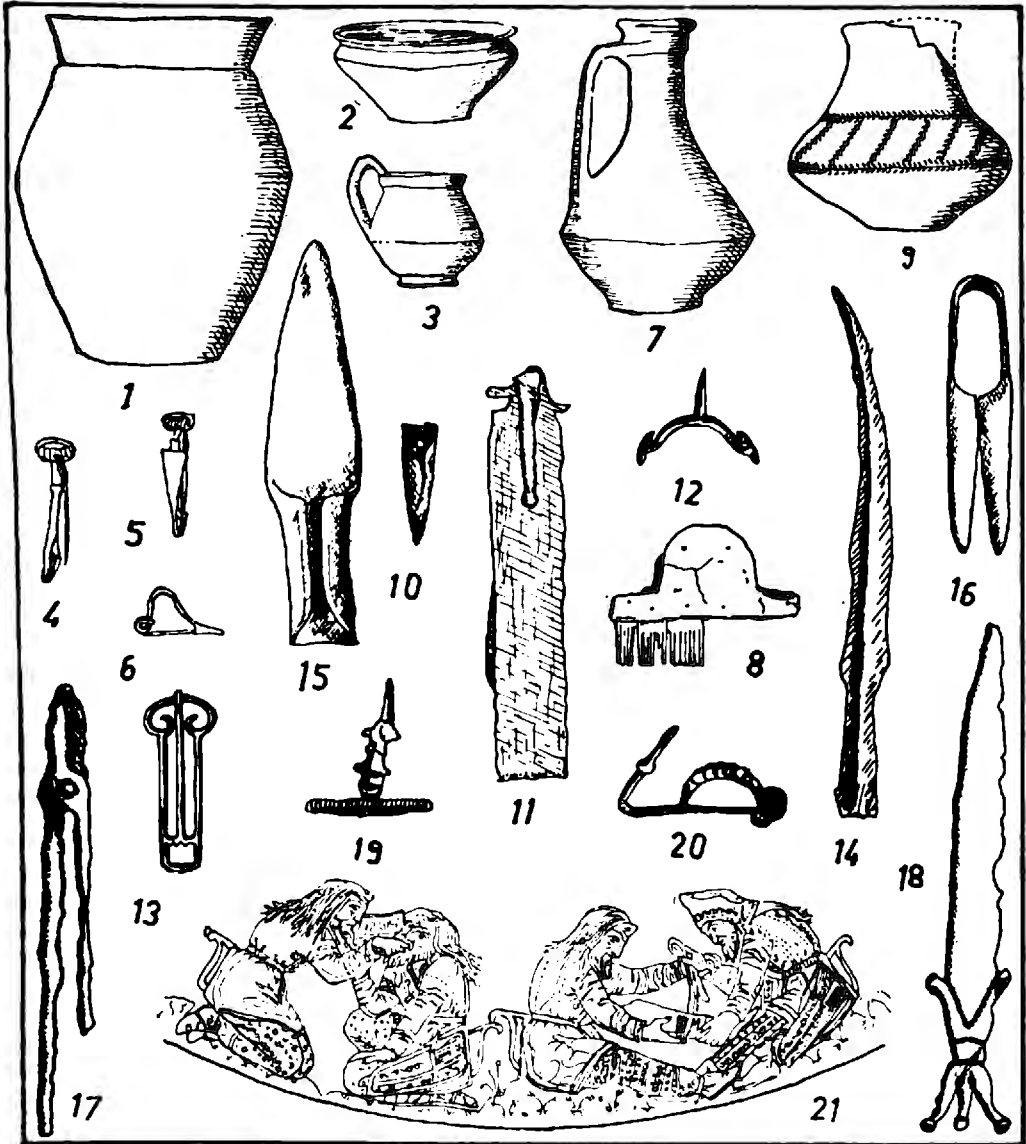


FIGURE 373. LA TÈNE PERIOD

ZARUBYNTSI CULTURE: (1) vessel, (2) bowl, (3) pot, and (4-6) bronze fibulae (all from Zaru-
byntsi, near Pereiaslav in Kiev *oblast*); (7) jar, and (8) bone comb (from Maslova, near
Novomyrhorod, Kirovohrad *oblast*). BASTARNAL CULTURE: (9) urn from Kamianka Strumylova,
Lviv *oblast*. VENEDI CULTURE: (10) forged spearhead, (11) thrice bent sword, (12) spur,
(13) buckle from a bow (Ternopil), and (14) lance head (all from Hryniv, near Bibrka,
Lviv *oblast*). CELTIC FORGED WORK: (15) plowshare, (16) shears, (17) pincers, and (18)
sword (all from Mukachiv); (19) fibula from Horodnytsia, near Horodenka; (20) fibula from
Dubliany, near Lviv. GREEK WORK: (21) two scenes from Scythian life on a silver vase from
Kul-Oba, near Kerch in the Crimea.

with the burned bones of the deceased, and the other two contain food for the afterworld. There are also iron implements, adornments, and bronze fibulae, similar to present-day safety pins in their mechanism, for holding clothes. In the middle period these pins have a broad, flat triangle or a narrow, round bow; in the late period they are strongly profiled. The bronze fibulae were brought to Ukraine by the Celtic tribes of the Bastarnae and Skiri who passed quite rapidly along the Teteriv, Boh, and Dniester into the Dnieper area. Typical burials in Ukraine of this period, and the most thoroughly studied, are those in Zarubynsi and Korchovate in the Kiev area.

A stylistic examination of the grave inventory shows that the majority of the late Scythian "royal" mounds must be ascribed to the La Tène period. In these have been found such masterpieces of the Greek jeweler's art as a gold comb (Solokha), an electron vase (Kul-Oba, Fig. 373, 21), and silver vases (Chortomlyk, Voronezh) with ethnographic scenes

from the life of the nomad Scythians, gold clasps of bow covers, and gorythos (Chortomlyk, Illintsi), also with figured ornamentation. In the women's graves are found typical Greek bronze mirrors (Kul-Oba, Chortomlyk, Nykopil), frequently with handles that end in animal figures.

In the middle La Tène period, in the second half of the third century B.C., a new Iranian horde—the Sarmatians (*Yazygi, Roxolani*)—crossed the Don into southern Ukraine; they subdued the greater part of the Scythians and were masters of the Ukrainian steppes for five hundred years. They left fortified settlements (*horodyshcha*) and many mounds with skeleton burials around them. Near the dead, who were wrapped in tree bark, are dismembered sheep and pots of food for the afterworld. The grave goods were more modest than those in the Scythian graves—with silver and iron instead of gold and bronze—and there are often iron helmets and parts of the harness of horses.

At the beginning of the La Tène

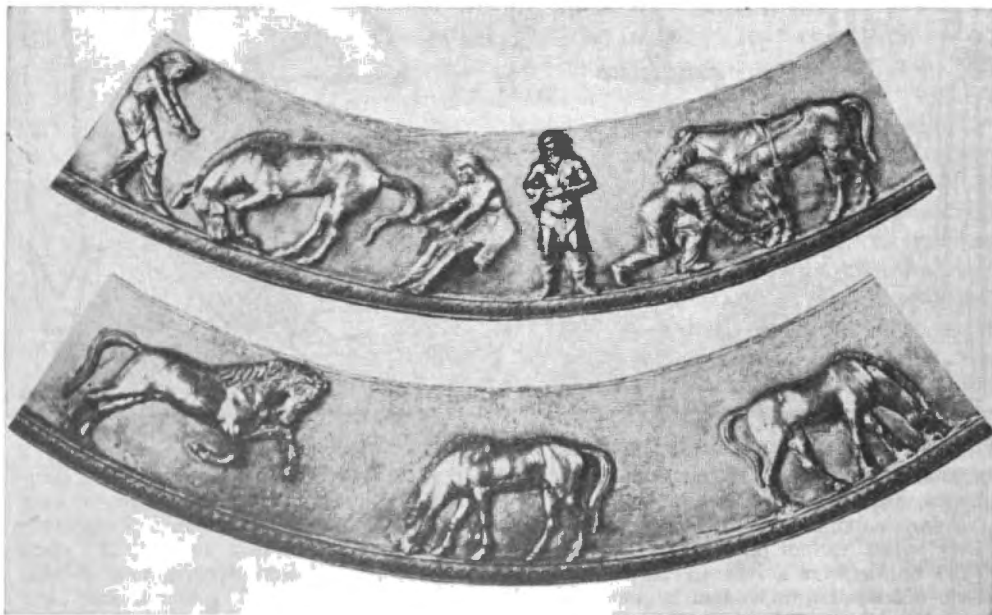


FIGURE 374. SCYTHIAN CULTURE

Scythians taming the horses, from a vase of the fifth century, B.C. (tomb of Chortomlyk).

period the Greek colonial empire of Bosphorus was organized near the Cimmerian Bosphorus with its capital at Panticapaeum (Kerch). Here studies have been made of the rich graves of the Greek ruling class and of the stone-walled tombs on the northern slope of the Mount of Mithridates.

Western Ukraine. In the La Tène period the northern part of Galicia and southern part of Volhynia were still settled by people of the Vysotske culture who usually left skeleton burials. There is a noticeable decline in culture, perhaps because of the Celtic Bastarnae and Skiri who passed through Volhynia and Podilia to the south. They left behind them toothed bronze necklaces and cremation burials in stone cists and in clay urns under bell-shaped covers (Fig. 373, 9). In the first century B.C. Galicia was settled by new tribes which brought with them La Tène culture, formed under Celtic influences. The warlike tribe of the Venedi moved from Silesia along the Sian (San) and the Buh (Bug). Its cremation burials (Perevorsk) contain many iron weapons, ritually bent so that they were unfit for further use (Fig. 373, 10-14), and black three-handled urns. Their settlements were discovered in Zymne (Volhynia) and Dorohychyn (Podlachia). At the same time the agricultural Getae came from Moldavia through Bukovina into the Dniester area. Their settlements and cremation burials are known; their pottery was frequently made on the potter's wheel (Lypytska culture). There are Celtic imports: bronze fibulae and gold coins (Skomorokhy).

The Transcarpathian "Thracians" are the Getae of classical authors, whom Theophil Simokatta calls Slavs. These were conquered by the Celts, who established their center on the site of present-day Mukachiv and began to produce a large quantity of iron implements (Fig. 373, 15-20). They had skeleton burials, ceramics made on the potter's wheel, and much Celtic money of various types.

Y. Pasternak

THE SARMATIAN-ROMAN PERIOD (1-375 A.D.)

General Characteristics

The victorious efforts of the Romans to dominate the ancient world in the last decades B.C. put an end to the Celtic political and commercial control. The Romans thus secured great markets for the goods of Roman industry and trade, and spread the influences of classical and provincial Roman culture to the most distant areas of their newly acquired lands. Their civilizing influence slowly equalized the cultural differences in "barbarian" central Europe, and the nations which they conquered assimilated many imported Roman products—especially in the field of armament. At this time Ukraine was greatly influenced by the provincial Roman culture because of the lively trade with the neighboring Roman provinces (lower Moesia on the lower Danube and Dacia in Transylvania) and entered a new phase in its cultural development.

The Dnieper Area

In the Roman period the ethnographic territory of densely populated eastern Ukraine (settlements two and a half to three miles apart) began to take shape. The agricultural population of the forest lived on open hilltops in wooden houses which were plastered with clay, had clay stoves or hearths, and were sunk one to two meters into the ground. In the lower Dnieper area was a local type of fortified settlements (*horodyshcha*) (Biziukove, Mykolaïvske-Kozatske, Zolota Balka, Kozyrky, Kapustyno), with stone walls, moats, and stone towers. Near the settlements were urn fields typical of the time (sometimes 500-600 burials in urns and pits); the best-examined ones are in Cherniakhiv and Romashky (Khvoika). We also find skeleton graves, where the skeleton lies on its back, rarely flexed, with three to twelve gray clay vessels containing food, and with fibulae, knives, and coins around it. On the steppes east

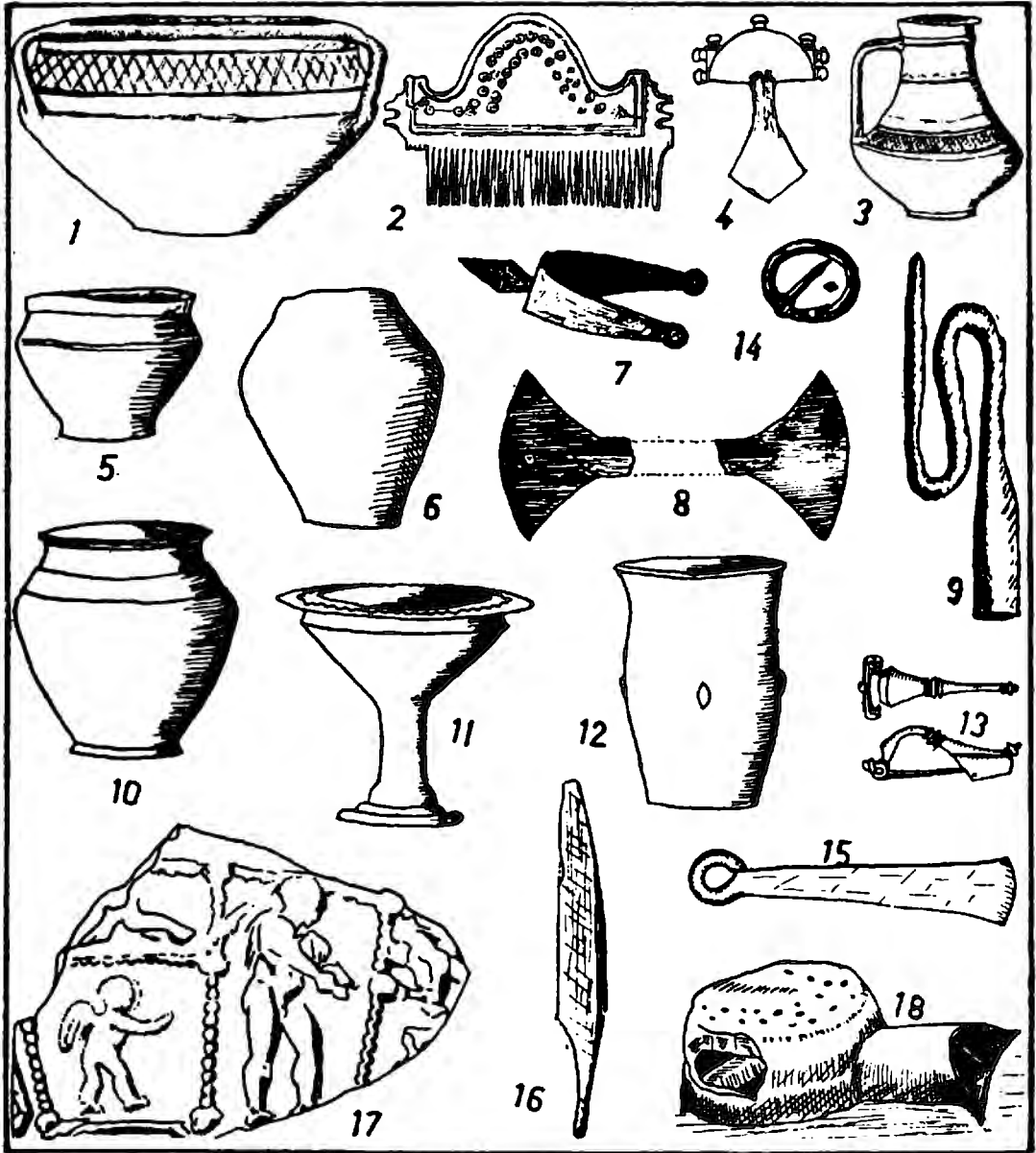


FIGURE 375. PERIOD OF THE INFLUENCE OF PROVINCIAL ROMAN CULTURE

CULTURE OF THE URN FIELDS: (1) burial urn, (2) bone comb, and (3) jar (all from Cherniakhiv in Kiev *oblast*); (4) bronze fibula from Romashky, Kiev *oblast*. VENEDI CULTURE: (5) burial urn from Krystynopil, near Sokal, Lviv *oblast*; (6) burial urn from Zvenyhorod, Bibrka, Lviv *oblast*; (7) gold spur from Petryliv, near Tovmach, Stanyslaviv *oblast*; (8) iron armet of shield from the Dnieper area; (9) iron lance from Luchka, near Ternopil. LYFYTSKA CULTURE: (10) urn, (11) bowl with pedestal, (12) urn, (13) bronze fibula, (14) iron buckle, (15) iron steel for making fires, and (16) iron knife (all from Lypytsia Horishnia, near Rohatyn, Stanyslaviv *oblast*); (18) kiln from Holyn, near Kalush. ROMAN IMPORT: (17) fragment of *terra sigillata* from Zvenyhorod.

of the Dnieper are the poor burial sites of the Sarmatian nomads—the Alans.

In addition to intensive agriculture craftsmanship was highly developed: the making of pottery on the potter's wheel, the working of iron, bronze, glass, and bone (combs). The hoards of Roman coins (many in the area of Kiev) show the significant development of trade, chiefly with Olbia and the Roman province of Moesia.

In the middle of the third century the East German Goths came into Ukraine. Their large burial grounds are in Partenit, Gurzuf, and Suuk-Su in the Crimea (Repnikov).

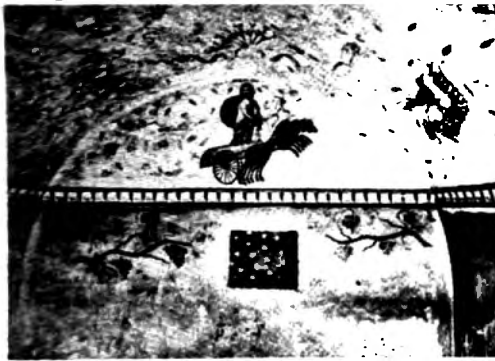


FIGURE 376. GREEK ARCH.

Found in Kerch, Crimea, in 1895, with a picture of Pluto (cc. second century A.D.).

The old Greek colonies on the Black Sea fell under the cultural influence of the neighboring Roman provinces. Excavations on their territory have revealed many monuments of architecture from the Roman period (Panticapaeum, the Mount of Mithridates in Kerch). The neighboring empire of Bosphorus developed the export of grain and also trade in salt fish (stone basins in Tiritaka and Mirmekion on the Kerch peninsula), the production of Crimean wine, and fresco painting, epitaphs (Panticapaeum), and highly artistic ceramics.

M. Miller

Western Ukraine

The local agricultural population has not been archaeologically studied. Until the end of the third century it was under

the occupation of the Venedi, who then passed on to Transcarpathia. The settlements of the Venedi have been little studied (Kholm area and southern Volhynia). There are many cremation burials with iron weapons, including ritually bent swords. The tureen-shaped urns with three handles and a meander decoration (Fig. 375, 5-9) are typical. The largest urn field is in Perevorsk (Perevorsk culture).

After the occupation of Dacia by Trajan many Getae came into the Dniester area (Kostoboky). Their settlements and their burials without weapons (Lypytska culture) are known (Fig. 375, 10-16). Their pottery was made free-hand and on the wheel; pedestal bowls are typical.

In the middle of the third century the German Gepidae went along the Buh to the south, leaving skeleton burials behind them in southern Volhynia and western Podilia. After 375 A.D., the Goths retreated before the Huns from the Dnieper area to western Podilia, as did the proto-Slavs with their typical gray pottery. The burials of both were without weapons. Their iron lances had runic signs and inscriptions (Berestia, Kamenytsia, Sushychno). Merchants from the Roman provinces of Moesia and Dacia imported wine in slender amphorae; there are bronze, glass, and terracotta vessels (*terra sigillata*, *terra nigra*, Fig. 375, 17), fibulae, and necklaces. The Roman legions never crossed the Carpathians.

In Transcarpathia, the Getae formed the local population. After 170 A.D. the Venedi crossed from the lower Dniester and brought their cultural customs of cremation burials (Gibart, Ostroviany) and skeleton graves (Ardanovo). There are many Roman coins. In the Marmarosh area there are traces of salt mines. Although Transcarpathia did not form part of the Roman province of Dacia, this was the beginning of its historical period.

Y. Pasternak

**THE EARLY SLAVONIC PERIOD
(375-800 A.D.)**

The Early Slavonic period in Ukraine coincided with the period of the great folk migrations. The great drought which

prevailed in Asia in the first centuries A.D. forced the nomad stock-raisers of Turko-Tatar origin to move elsewhere for grazing land. Horde after horde surged through the Ukrainian steppes. This great migration of eastern peoples, who re-

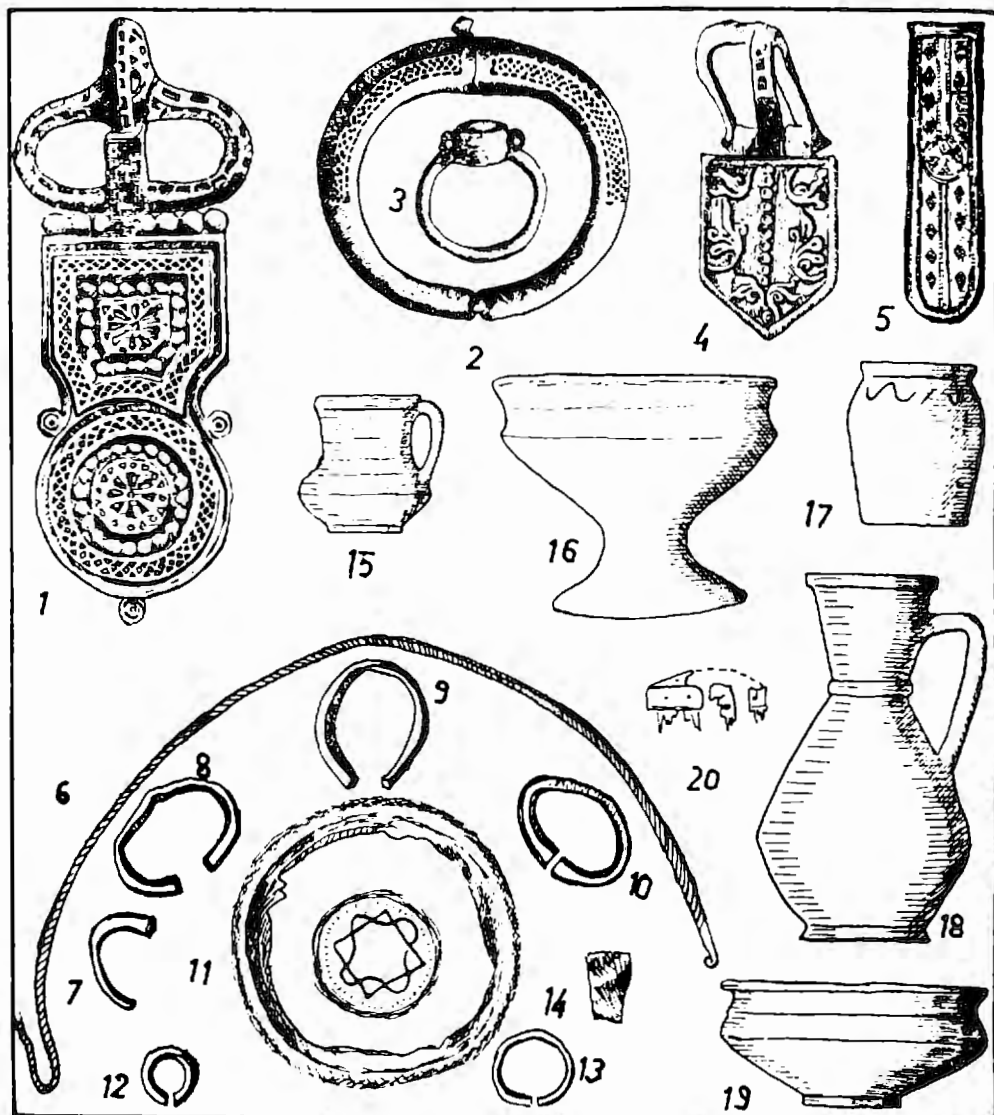


FIGURE 377. PERIOD OF THE FOLK MIGRATIONS

GOLD HOARD FROM MALA PERESHCHEPYNA, POLTAVA *oblast*: (1) buckle, (2) bracelet (3) ring, (4) buckle, (5) forging strap. SILVER HOARD FROM ANCIENT HALYCH, NEAR THE PRESENT-DAY VILLAGE OF KRYLOS: (6) Necklace, (7-10) bracelets, (11) bowl with ornamented bottom, (12, 13) rings, (14) fragment of vessel. CHERNIAKHIV CULTURE: (15) jar, (16) bowl with pedestal, (17) pot, (18) jar, (19) bowl, and (20) bone comb (all from Pererisl near Nadvirna, Stanyславiv *oblast*).

placed the Germanic tribes, brought devastation to the peoples of Europe.

Central and Eastern Lands

The basic population of these lands consisted of the descendants of the people of the urn fields whom ancient historians (Procopius, Pseudo Mauricius) called Antes. They built large, well-fortified settlements for protection against the Asiatic nomads, with houses above ground and semi-pit dwellings (the largest of these is Zharyshche near the village of Pastyrske). Groups of houses were sometimes connected by underground passages for the joint defense of the huge patriarchal families.

The *horodyshcha* of the Antes often have revealed iron colters, sickles, charred kernels of wheat and millet, bones of domestic animals, and adornments for clothing and horses' bridles made of silver, a white metallic compound, and bronze (fibulae—finger-shaped, two-shielded, and with carved heads of horses and falcons or with human images, bracelets, buckles, and leaf-shaped pendants). Somewhat later bronze decorations with enamel cloisonné appeared (the *horodyshcha* of Motronynske and Pastyrske in the Kiev area). A large hoard (20 kg.) of gold and silver articles was found in the village of Pereshchepyna (Poltava region)—booty from a raid by the Antes on Byzantium. The most recent Antean *horodyshcha* of the type of Romny in the Poltava area (A. Spitsyn, M. Makarenko, V. Dovzhenko) are assigned now to the eighth and tenth centuries (I. Lapushkin, 1947). The culture was declining and pottery made on the wheel was disappearing.

On the area of the former Greek colonies (especially Panticapaeum) a special style of gold adornment was developed with incrustations of precious stones or colored glass. These adornments have been found frequently in the burials in Panticapaeum, in the Alan cemeteries of Osetia, and in graves on

the left bank of the lower Dnieper (the "Golden Knights" cemetery below the Dnieper rapids); in smaller numbers they have been found around the Sea of Azov, on the middle Dnieper, and on the Dniester and Prut. This special style of decoration spread from the area around the Black Sea during the folk migrations. After 375 it was taken by the Goths throughout all Europe, first under the name of Merovingian and later under the name Gothic style (M. Miller).

As yet, very few monuments of the Asian nomads from the period of the folk migrations have been studied. So far only separate finds from the Huns, the Bulgars, and the Avars are known; these show their nomadic mode of life. There are more finds from the Sarmatian tribe of Alans: the *horodyshcha* (Saltivske, Maiatske) and the skeleton catacomb graves give a full picture of the trappings and clothing of the Alans of the time. The best studied of these sites are the cemetery in Verkhnyi Saltiv on the river Donets in the Kharkiv region (V. Babenko, N. Merpert), Neshcheretovo in the Voroshylovhrad region (I. Lutskevych), and Novopylypivka in the Zaporizhia region (V. Danylenko).

V. Kozlovska, M. Miller, V. Petrov

Western Lands

We must ascribe to the local Slavs many settlements in southern Volhynia and Podilia. Gray pottery is found here, manufactured on the potter's wheel—the technique acquired from the Antes. Along with this type there also appears pottery made of clay mixed with sand, typical of the early Slavs (Holihrary near Zalishchyky). The region between the Dniester and the Carpathians was probably settled in the fourth to fifth centuries by Slavs (White Croats—M. Smishko). The pottery found in their cremation burials under mounds of stones shows a relation to that of the Getae

(worked freehand and on the wheel) and to that found in the urn fields of the Dnieper region (Fig. 375, 10–12; Y. Pasternak, M. Smishko, T. Sulimirski, A. Tymoshchuk). In these graves glass and clay vessels imported from the Roman provinces also have been found (Pereris, Kaminne near Nadvirna). Relations with Byzantium are indicated by a silver hoard from Krylos—medieval Halych—with the Greek mark Bi-ta-li-ou at the bottom of a bowl (Fig. 377, 11); a silver hoard from Khoniakiv (Volhynia) is of Sassanid-Persian origin. As yet, no traces of the Avars have been found in Volhynia.

In Transcarpathia the remains of settlements in Mukachiv and Berehovo, and individual finds of personal objects imported from the upper Dnieper and decorated with semi-precious stones (almandines, garnets), have been found. There are as yet no certain Slavic finds.

Y. Pasternak

THE MEDIEVAL (KIEVAN RUS') PERIOD (800–1345 A.D.)

At the time when all the Ukrainian lands were occupied by the early Ukrainian tribes known to us from the Primary Chronicle (the Polianians, Derevlians, Siverianians, Ulychians, Tivertsians, Dulebians, White Croats [Khorvatians]), their culture was generally uniform. This was largely a result of their political unity, active commercial relations, and joint military campaigns.

Kiev

The medieval Ukrainian state (Kievan Rus') was born on the territory of present-day Kiev. Kiev already had become an important commercial center during the Roman period. The city was founded by the half-legendary prince, Kyi, in the seventh century and later developed from the Polianian settlements of the ninth and early tenth centuries on three hills—Shechavytsia, Khorevytsia, Kyselivka

—as well as in the city of Kiev itself. From the middle of the tenth century on political and economic life began to be concentrated on the territory of Kiev. The city was known at that time to Arab and Persian writers as a rich commercial center. Archaeological excavations have unearthed the remains of a royal palace and a pagan temple with an altar on the high, well-fortified hill of Kiev. From the character of the building material, we can assume that the palace was built under Princess Olha (Olga) and enlarged during the reign of Volodymyr (Vladimir) the Great (a brick has been found with Volodymyr's heraldic device—the trident). The palace had two stories. It was decorated outside with marble; within, it was painted with frescoes and adorned with mosaics. With the introduction of Christianity, Volodymyr the Great built near his palace the stone-walled Desiatynna Church (Church of the Tithes) which impressed the Kievans of the time with its beauty.

During the first half of the eleventh century, Kiev reached its height as the capital of the Kievan state. The city of Volodymyr became too small. During the great conflagration of 1017 the palace of Volodymyr burned and the Desiatynna Church was damaged. Yaroslav the Wise enlarged the city and transferred its center higher up, where he built the beautiful Church of St. Sophia. The city was well fortified; on the west it had the great Golden Gate made of brick. The Desiatynna Church had already lost its primary importance. Kievan residents of the hill were buried in the cemetery near it during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. On the site of the old princely palace were the partly sunken pit dwellings of the Kievan residents, and a number of workshops for the manufacture of bone products, glass bracelets and finger-rings, and building ornaments such as clay tiles with an enamel glaze.

The Kievan Cave Monastery with its great stone-built church arose near Kiev

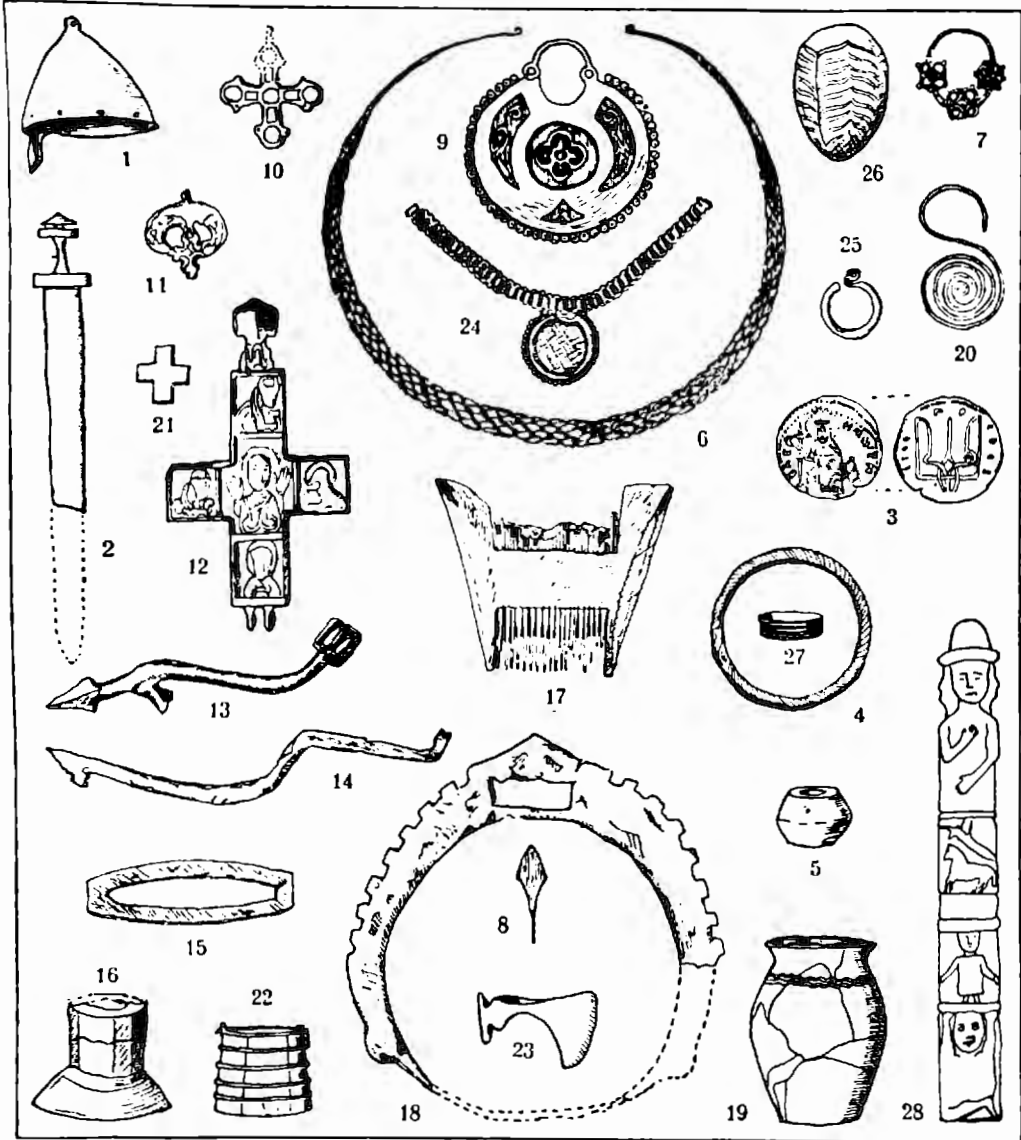


FIGURE 378. WORKS OF THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

(1) iron helmet from Chernihiv; (2) iron sword, (3) silver coin, (4) glass bracelet, and (5) slate spindle-whorl (all from Kiev); (6) silver necklace, (7) silver earring of the Kievan type, and (8) iron arrowhead (all from Kniazha Hora, near Kaniv, Kiev oblast); (9) gold enameled earring from Sakhnivka, near Kaniv; (10) bronze enameled cross, (11) bronze ivy-leaf-shaped pendant, (12) bronze cross, (13) iron spur, (14) iron fishhook, (15) iron flint for striking fire, (16) clay candlestick, (17) bone comb, (18) iron stirrup, and (19) pot (all from ancient Halych-Krylos); (20) bronze earring from Brovarky, near Hadiach, Poltava oblast, (21) stone cross from Korsun (Kherson); (22) wooden pail from the environs of Lutsk; (23) iron battle celt from Kiev area; (24) silver chain with a pendant, from Verbiv, near Peremyshliany, Lviv oblast; (25) silver earring of Western type from Valiava, near Peremyshl; (26) clay "pysanka" (decorated egg) from the Dnieper area; (27) silver ring from Lipliava, near Zolotonosha, Cherkasy oblast; (28) stone statue of Svitovyt from the Zbruch River, near Horodnytsia.

in the eleventh century. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the churches of St. Demetrius and St. Michael were built in the city itself. The numerous hoards of gold ornaments adorned with varicolored enamel produced in the Kiev jewelry workshops indicate the wealth of the Kievan princes and boyars. The first excavations were conducted in Kiev by Metropolitan Peter Mohyla (1633); later ones were directed by K. Lokhvitsky (1830-40), D. Mileiev (1908-14), M. Karger (1939-52), and others.

Horodyschcha (Fortified Settlements)

The most typical archaeological monuments of the Medieval period are the numerous *horodyschcha* which, scattered throughout the whole of Ukraine, reveal the dense population of the Ukrainian lands at that time. Some of these *horodyschcha* are connected with the cities mentioned in the Chronicles: for example, old Halych (in the village of Krylos near present-day Halych on the Dniester); Ivanhorod (on Ivan Hora near Rzhyschiv in the Kiev area); Rodnia (on Kniazha Hora near Kaniv); Old Terebovlia (in present-day Zelenche on the Strypa River); Iziaslavl (near present-day Horodok in the Khmelnytsky region).

The Kiev outposts—the cities of Bilhorod (the present Bilhorodka on the river Irpin) and Vyshhorod on the Dnieper—were important settlements in the twelfth century that arose from the princely settlements of the tenth century. The remains of many brick churches and workshops have been excavated in both areas. The *horodyschcha* of the tenth century have been studied in other parts of Ukraine. Many have been found in the Chernihiv region. The best excavated *horodyschche* is Raiky near Berdychiv (T. Molchanivsky). From the same period come Volodymyr Volynsky (A. Prakhov, M. Karger), Peremyshl (A. Žaki), Cherven (L. Chykalenko), Chernihiv (M. Makarenko, B. Rybakov), Tmutorokan (A. Miller), Halych (Y.

Pasternak), Plisnesko in the village of Pidhirtsi near Zolochiv (I. Starchuk, Pasternak), and the *horodyschche* in Strutyn Dolishnyi near Dolyna (Pasternak).

The *horodyschcha* were fortified with clay walls having an inner wooden framework; the houses of the residents were of wood. The houses on the outskirts usually were built along rivers (Belz, Halych, Zvenyhorod, Terebovlia). Near the *horodyschcha* were villages where the rich people lived in houses, the poor in pit dwellings. There were many burials, both pagan cremation burials with gifts, and Christian skeleton burials without mounds and in rows (church cemeteries?). Burial equipment included clay vessels, special types of adornments (typical were earrings of the Kiev style decorated with three tiny balls, and a western style with one s-shaped end; half-moon shaped pendants; glass bracelets; folding cross-enkolpia; rings; frontlets; etc.), and weapons.

The princes were buried in marble and stone sarcophagi (Yaroslav the Wise in Kiev, Yaroslav Osmomysl in Halych-Krylos), in cists made of stone slabs (Olha, Volodymyr the Great, Sviatopolk II in Kiev, an unknown prince in Chernihiv), and in wooden coffins (the Ihorevychi in Davydhorodok). Their costume is well known from miniatures (the *Izbornyk* of Sviatoslav, the Trier Psalter) and from frescoes.

Of the pagan cult monuments, the following are known: the temple near the Desiatynna Church in Kiev, a stone statue of Svitovyt with four faces from the river Zbruch, the lower part of a similar statue from Lopushna near Rohatyn, and two stone statues in Ivankivtsi near Nova Ushytsia. Of the Christian monuments the foundations of the large churches—brick in the eastern and cut stone in the western Ukrainian lands are known (the Desiatynna Church in Kiev, the Uspenska Cathedral Church in Halych-Krylos, the "Old Cathedral" in Volodymyr Volynsky). Of the civic structures, in addition to the palace of Kiev, defensive towers

near Kholm and Kamianets Lytovskiy have been found.

Alien Monuments in Ukraine

The graves of the mercenary members of the *druzhynas* of the tenth century are Varangian (Kiev, Shestovytsia). There are also ancient Magyar graves of the tenth century (Transcarpathia), the grave of a Magyar chieftain with gold and silver ornaments of the ninth and tenth centuries in Krylos, and many graves of Mongol nomads (Pechenegs, Cumans, Tatars).

Among the Mongol nomads the dead were sometimes buried in wooden coffins, their heads pointing to the west. Both men and women were often accompanied by a horse. Men were dressed in full armor (crooked swords, rhomb-shaped arrows, etc.); few decorations were found with them (gold, silver, copper). Also with the men were remains of Chinese silk weavings and footwear, and, infrequently, clay and wooden vessels. With women were found remains of a tall hat made of bark and covered with silk. Over the Cuman graves were human figures in stone (*kamiani baby*), usually of women, all with two or three braids and with an unknown object (a vessel or a chest) in their hands. The most recent Mongol graves of the Golden Horde are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

V. Kozlovsky, Y. Pasternak

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2. UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The study of the Ukrainian past began in the eleventh century in the form of the so-called Chronicles—the earliest writings known in Ukraine. In time the form of the study changed, and the old Chronicles steadily gave ground to new types of historical research. Beginning with the nineteenth century the history of Ukraine has been studied scientifically by Ukrainian scholars and research institutions, and also in the framework of foreign historiography, primarily Russian and Polish. At the turn of the twentieth century, the first scientific outline of Ukrainian historiography was prepared by M. Hrushevsky; after that, Ukrainian historical science entered a new period marked first by the predominance and later by the complete triumph of the idea of national self-government and independence (V. Lypynsky). The various currents of this tendency are represented in contemporary Ukrainian historical science.

EARLY HISTORIOGRAPHY**The Eleventh to the Thirteenth Centuries**

The Chronicles are the basic source for the history of medieval Ukraine as

well as being the oldest records of Ukrainian historiography. The Chronicles were begun in Ukraine in the first half of the eleventh century at the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev, and later were continued in the Kievan Cave Monastery. In addition to those in Kiev, Chronicles were written in Chernihiv, in Pereiaslav, in Volhynia, and in Galicia. The first Chronicles were a chronological account of current events. But they soon became more complex, their authors expressing views closely connected with the political and church life of the times. As a result of the wealth of their content, the breadth of their historical thought and viewpoint, the criticism of their sources (official documents, local chronicles, Byzantine chronicles and chroniclers, some western European chronicles, local traditions and legends), and also their skillful exposition (often connected with epics of the princely warriors), the Ukrainian chronicles occupy a prominent place among similar literature in all of Europe.

The oldest monuments of Ukrainian historiography are the so-called Primary Chronicle or The Chronicle of Nestor, entitled *Povist' vremennykh lit* (Chron-

icle of *Bygone Years*) up to 1111, *The Chronicle of Kiev* (up to 1200 incl.), and *The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (1201–92). Undeniably the most important work of Ukrainian historiography of the medieval period is the *Chronicle of Bygone Years*, the author of which, according to old tradition and the studies of some scholars (especially A. Shakh-Kievan Cave Monastery. The oldest history of the Ukrainian land, it is imbued with deep patriotic feeling and contains a wealth of political, geographical, and ethnographical information.

The Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries

The chronicles were not interrupted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but very few from this period have been preserved. The work was continued in the fifteenth century in the form of the so-called *Lithuanian or West Rus' (Ruthenian)* chronicles. Although the oldest of these are direct continuations of the chronicles of the old Kievan period and embody the old Ukrainian historical traditions, we see in the later ones—for example, the *Chronicle of Bykhovets*, end of the sixteenth century—the strong influence of the changed conditions of political life (Ukraine in the framework of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania). The Ukrainian historical traditions were presented more effectively by the Ukrainian chronicles of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries (especially the *Hustyn Chronicle*). The great cultural and national movement which began in the second half of the sixteenth century produced at the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth century a great number of polemical church and political treatises. The authors of these had to turn to history as a basis for their ideas in defense of the national and religious rights of the Ukrainian people, and to revive the historical traditions of the old Ukrainian state. The works of George Rohatynets, Stephen Zyzanii,

Christopher Philalet (Martin Bronevsky), Ipatii Potii, Zachariah Kopystensky, Meletii Smotrytsky, Job Boretsky, Isaiah Kopynsky, Kasian Sakovych, and the learned group of the Kievan Mohyla Academy (Athanasius Kalnofoisky and others) are especially valuable to the historiographer for their renewal of the national historical tradition and for their efforts to bind together the thread of the continuity of events and of the entire historical process in the life of the Ukrainian people.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The period of Hetman Khmelnytsky and the foundation of the second Ukrainian state had a great influence on the development of Ukrainian historiography. Historical work went beyond the chronicles and took the form of a pragmatic history with efforts at synthesis.

During the second half of the seventeenth century such works appeared as the *Kroinyka* (Chronicle) of Theodosius Safonovych, 1672, which was imbued with the idea of the unity (*sobornost'*) of all Ukrainian lands and was intended to give an outline of the national history; the *Synopsis* probably of Innocent Gizel (first edition, 1674), a synthesized outline of the history of the Kievan Principality as the political center of eastern Europe; the *Litopysets st est' kronika* (This is a Chronicle) of Leontius Bobolynsky (1699); and others.

A special category of historical works of this period is the so-called *Kozak Chronicles*, compiled at the end of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth centuries. The central theme of all these Chronicles is the period of Khmelnytsky. Their authors were laymen—Kozaks who themselves had taken part in the events or had witnessed them. The most important *Kozak Chronicles* are those of Samovydet, an *Eyewitness* (probably Roman Rakushka)—*O pochatku i prychnakh voiny Khmelnytskoho* (On the Beginning and Causes of the War of

Khmelnitsky, 1648–1701), of Gregory Hrabianka—*Diistvia prezilnoi i ot nachala poliakov krvavshoi nebyvaloi brani* (Events of the Most Severe and Bloody War in the History of the Poles, 1648–1708), 1710, of Samuel Velychko—*Skazanie o voini kozatskoi z poliakamy* (The Story of the Kozak War against the Poles, 1648–1700), 1720.

In the eighteenth century, in addition to various chronicles and compilations, historical works which connected the Hetman period with the medieval Kievan period of Ukrainian history appeared, chiefly on the Left Bank. In the 1730's *Kratkoe opysanie Malorossii* (A Short Description of Little Russia) was composed; it was an attempt to give a factual history of Ukraine, beginning with the medieval period and ending in 1734. Published much later by Basil Ruban, under the editorship (and with a supplement describing events up to 1776) of Alexander Bezborodko, this work won great popularity. In 1751 Gregory Pokas composed *Opysanie o Maloi Rossii* (A Description of Little Russia), an interesting work demonstrating Ukrainian historiography of the period of Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky. To this group belong also the following works: Peter Symonovsky, *Kratkoe opysanie o kozatskom malorossiiskom narode i o voennykh ego delakh* (A Short Description of the Kozak Little Russian People and Their Martial Deeds, 1765); Stephen Lukomsky, *Sobranie istorycheskoe* (Historical Collection, 1770); Alexander Rigelman, *Letopisnoe povestvovanie o Maloi Rossii i ee narode i kozakakh voobshche* (Chronicle Account of Little Russia and Its People, especially the Kozaks, 1785–6); Opanas Shafonsky's historical sketch of Ukraine in his work *Chernigovskogo namestnichestva topograficheskoe opisanie* (Topographical Description of the Chernihiv Province, 1786); Jacob M. Markovych's historical outline of Ukraine to the eleventh century in his *Zapiski o Malorossii* (Notes on Little Russia, Part I, 1798); Michael Antonovsky, *Istoriia o*

Maloi Rossii (History of Little Russia, 1799); Arkhyp Khudorba's history of Ukraine, which has not survived; and several others.

Many individuals worked on the history of Ukraine or its special problems in the second half of the eighteenth century and at the beginning of the nineteenth century including Archbishop George Konysky, Gregory A. Poletyka, Gregory I. Poletyka, Theodore Tuman-sky, Timothy Kalynsky, Adrian Chepa, Basil Lomykovsky, Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky, Basil Poletyka, Michael Markiv, Maksym Berlinsky, Elias Kvitka, Metropolitan Eugene Bolkhovitinov, and others.

At the end of the eighteenth century three historical works devoted to Ukraine were written and published abroad by foreign authors. They were the two-volume *Annales de la Petite Russie* by Jean Benois Cherer (1788), the *Geschichte der ukrainischen und saporogischen Kosaken* of Carl Hammersdorfer (1789), and the *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Kosaken* of Johann Christian Engel (1796).

Sometime at the end of the eighteenth or the beginning of the nineteenth century, the *Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii* (History of the Rus' People or Little Russia) was prepared. The work of an unknown author, it is an impressive history of Ukrainian national political thought, and one that had a tremendous influence on the Ukrainian historiography of the nineteenth century.

SCIENTIFIC HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The First Half of the Nineteenth Century

In the first decades of the nineteenth century Ukrainian historiography followed the same path as in the preceding century, emphasizing the desire for unity and self-determination. Efforts at synthesis in the form of general works

on Ukraine continued, for they answered the need of the people for a complete outline of their national history. Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky (1788–1850), in 1822, published his *Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (History of Little Russia). In this work, which was written and published with the aid and cooperation of the governor general of Left-Bank Ukraine, Prince Nicholas G. Repnin, a great advocate of Ukrainian autonomy, Bantysh-Kamensky gave a systematic description of the history of Ukraine from the most ancient times to the end of the eighteenth century, drawing liberally on the archives and describing in some detail the times of the Kozaks and the Hetman State. But the work was written in a spirit of loyalty to the Russian empire and lacked patriotic inspiration and the power of the national historical tradition. These elements were apparent in two other works on Ukrainian history: the *Istoriia Ukraïny* (History of Ukraine) by Alexis Martos (1790–1842) which was published in a few fragments, the remainder of the work being lost; and the *Istoriia Malorossii* (History of Little Russia) by Nicholas Markevych (1804–60), published in 1842–3. Although Markevych made use of a large amount of documentary material, the greatest influence on his work was the *Istoriia Rusov*, for it was in its spirit that he explained the Ukrainian historical process.

The Populist Trend

Another source contributing to the Ukrainian national rebirth in the nineteenth century, in addition to the old historical tradition, was the development in Ukraine of an interest in its national character—its way of life, its language, and its literature. This was an interest characteristic of Romanticism which began in western Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century and appeared in Ukraine somewhat later. Poetical works (historical songs and *dumas*) began to be treated as historical documents and sometimes were pre-

ferred to written documents. Ukrainian historiography, which formerly had dealt primarily with the state and its development, now centered on the people, on folk life and the history of folk movements. The Romantic absorption with the people soon turned into sympathy with them—especially with the peasants—for their social and economic hardships. This marked the beginning of a new trend in Ukrainian historiography which, with certain differences at various times, was united by one general idea—that of populism.

The opening of modern universities in Ukraine to replace the older institutions of higher learning—in Kharkiv in 1805 and in Kiev in 1834—created cultural centers that developed an interest in historical studies and acquainted students with new methods of historical work. The establishment of the Archaeographical Commission in Kiev in 1843 and the organization of the Kievan Central Archives greatly aided Ukrainian historiography, by providing new means and sources for research. The work of the Ukrainian historians and ethnographers of the 1830's and 1840's laid the basis for the scientific study of Ukrainian history and for attempts at that scientific synthesis which was to come much later.

The first member of this group of historians was Michael Maksymovych (1804–73) whose many studies, articles, and notes served Ukrainian historiography by their criticism of sources and explanations of various events in Ukrainian history; he also was responsible for popularizing these matters throughout the community. Especially important were Maksymovych's studies on the history of the Kozaks and the Hetman State: several studies of Hetman Sahaidachnyi; *Istoriicheskiiia pisma o kozakakh zaporozhskikh* (Historical Writings on the Zaporozhian Kozaks); *Pisma o Bogdane Khmelnytskom* (Writings on Bohdan Khmelnytsky). Also of major importance was his research on the Kozak Chronicles (e.g., of Hrabianka)

and the history of Kievan Rus'—*O mni-mom zapustenii Ukrainy v nashestviye Batyia* (On the Supposed Devastation of Ukraine in the Raid of Batu) and *Obozrenie starogo Kieva* (Survey of Ancient Kiev).

Working along with Maksymovych were Joseph Bodiansky (the publisher of many important sources), Nicholas Zakrevsky (history of Kiev), Apollonius Skalkovsky (history of Zaporizhia and south Ukraine), Alexander Markovych, Michael Sudiienko, and Nicholas Bilozersky (publications of historical sources). The populist trend may be seen most clearly in the works of Kostomarov, Kulish, Lazarevsky, and Antonovych.

Nicholas Kostomarov (1817–85) devoted his energy chiefly to studies on the history of Hetman Ukraine. His great monographs on Khmelnytsky (*Bohdan Khmelnytsky*, 1857, 1859; the *Ruina* [Ruin], 1879–80), on the period of Mazepa (*Mazepa i Mazepintsy*, 1882–4), and his studies on the hetmanates of Vyhovsky, George Khmelnytsky, and Polubotok were based on rich source material from the Moscow official archives of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and on the Polish documentary collections of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Written in his own artistic style, they give an excellent, if one-sided, picture of the historical life and development of Ukraine in the second half of the seventeenth and first quarter of the eighteenth centuries. Although Kostomarov gave a vivid description of the spontaneous character of popular movements, he minimized the importance of the work of the hetmans, even that of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The historical-philosophical views of Kostomarov expressed in his works *Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi* (Thoughts on the Federative Principle in Ancient Rus'), *Dve russkie narodnosti* (Two Russian Nationalities), and *Cherty narodnoi yuzhno-russkoï istorii* (Features of the South Russian Folk History)

greatly influenced the further development of Ukrainian historical thought. In these studies, and also in his many popular articles (especially the article "Ukraina" in 1860), Kostomarov expressed his view of the essence of the Ukrainian historical process—that of the freedom-loving democratic spirit of the Ukrainian people hemmed in between two psychologically and spiritually, as well as politically, alien and hostile peoples, the Poles and the Russians.

The historical studies of Panteleimon Kulish (1819–97) were connected chiefly with the period of the Kozaks (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). Kulish's monographs—*Istoriia vossoedineniia Rusi* (The History of the Reunion of Rus'), 1873–7 and *Otpadenie Malorossii ot Polshi 1340–1654* (The Breaking Away of Little Russia from Poland 1340–1654), 1888–9—based chiefly on Polish sources, and also his other works of a scientific and popular character, suffer from excessive subjectivism, lack of a scientific view, and many contradictions. Nevertheless, they draw on valuable documentary materials and supply many critical evaluations. Although the latter, for the most part, have not been accepted in Ukrainian historiography, they still aided in the search for historical truth, which motivated Kulish.

Whereas Kostomarov and Kulish concentrated their attention on the problems of the political history of the Kozaks and the Hetman State, two other prominent Ukrainian historians of the populist trend—Lazarevsky and Antonovych—were more interested in social and economic history.

Alexander Lazarevsky (1834–1902) possessed a wide knowledge of the archival heritage of the Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He dealt with the history of the Left-Bank peasants in his monograph *Malorossiiskie pospolitnye krestiane 1648–1783* (The Little Russian Free Peasants), 1866, and others; the Kozak officers and nobility in his *Ocherki malorossiiskikh*

famili (Sketches on the History of Little Russian Families) and *Liudi staroi Malorossii* (People of Old Little Russia); the colonization and landownership of the Hetman State, chiefly in his *Opisanie staroi Malorossii* (Description of Old Little Russia), vols. I–III, 1888–1902. He also wrote on the administrative and judicial system of the Hetman State, and Ukrainian historiography of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Only rarely and incidentally did he touch on general historical problems (for example, in his article “Zametki o Mazepe”—Notes on Mazepe) in the spirit of populist historiography.

Volodymyr Antonovych (1834–1908) concentrated on the social and economic history of Right-Bank Ukraine in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and also on the history of the Grand Principality of Lithuania. On the basis of



FIGURE 379.
N. KOSTOMAROV



FIGURE 380.
V. ANTONOVYCH

archival material (mostly in the Kievan Central Archives), Antonovych published a series of monographs on the history of the Kozaks: *O proiskhozhdenii kozachestva* (On the Origin of the Kozaks), 1863; *Poslednie vremena kozachestva na pravom beregu Dnepra po aktam 1679–1716 g.* (The Last Period of the Kozaks on the Right Bank of the Dnieper According to the Records of 1679–1716), 1868; and *O gaidamachestve* (The Haidamaks, 1876). He also produced works on the peasants—*O krestianakh v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii po aktam 1700–1798 g.* (The Peasants in Southwest Russia Ac-

ording to the Records of 1700–1798), 1870; on the nobility—*O proiskhozhdenii shliakhetskikh rodov v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (On the Origin of the Noble Families in Southwestern Russia), 1867; on the cities and burghers—*O gorodakh v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii po aktam 1432–1798 g.* (The Cities in Southwest Russia According to the Records of 1432–1798), 1870; and *Kiev, ego sud'ba i znachenie v XIV–XVI v.* (Kiev, Its Fate and Importance in the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries); on the Church—*Ob unii i sostoianii Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi s pol. XVII do kontsa XVIII v.* (The Union and the Condition of the Orthodox Church from the Middle of the Seventeenth to the End of the Eighteenth Century), 1871.

Antonovych avoided general conclusions or broad syntheses; the chief importance of his work lies in his deep analytical study of various parts of Ukrainian history. Only in his popular lectures—*Besidy pro chasy kozats'ki na Ukraïni* (Talks on the Time of the Kozaks in Ukraine), 1897, which were revised and republished under the title *Vyklady pro chasy kozats'ki na Ukraïni* (Lectures on the Times of the Kozaks in Ukraine), 1912—did Antonovych give a general survey of Ukrainian history from the time of the Kozaks. This period, in his opinion, expressed most clearly the dominant political ideals of the Ukrainian people—broad democracy, a recognition of the individual rights of all citizens, and popular representation in the form of the *viche* or council.

Antonovych was responsible for forming a school of scholarly historians (the so-called Kievan school) which, through his students in the University of Kiev, laid the foundations for modern Ukrainian historical science. These scholars prepared monographs on the history of the different lands of Ukraine and Belorussia which belonged to the old Kievan state, and on particular events in Ukrainian history. From this school the following outstanding Ukrainian historians emerged: Dmytro Bahalii, author of major works on



FIGURE 381.
V. LYPYNSKY



FIGURE 382.
D. BAHALJI

the history of the northeastern frontier territory (*Slobids'ka Ukraïna*) and founder of the Kharkiv Ukrainian historical center; Ivan Lynnychenko, founder of the Odessa Ukrainian historical center; Mytروفan Dovnar-Zapolsky, who produced many works on the history of Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; Nicholas Dashkevych; Peter Holubovsky; Basil Liaskoronsky; Alexander Hrushevsky; Basil Danylevych; Alexander Andriiashev; Peter Ivanov; Nikanor Molchanovsky; Basil Vovk-Karachevsky; and others. Michael Hrushevsky, Ukraine's most prominent historian, was also a product of Antonovych's school.

The name of Antonovych was closely connected with the activity of the Kievan centers of Ukrainian historical science. The Kievan Archaeographical Commission devoted itself primarily to publishing documents of Right-Bank Ukraine dating from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries (chiefly in the *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*—Archives of Southwestern Russia), and a series of monuments of the Ukrainian ecclesiastical-polemical literature and historiography—especially the chronicles of Velychko, Hrabianka, and the Samovydets, as well as monographs based on, or dedicated to, these materials by Nicholas Ivanishev, Orest Levytsky, Stephen Holubev, Serhii Ternovsky, Theophan Lebedyntsev, Nicholas and Andrew Storo-

zhenko, Ivan Kamanin, Michael Hrushevsky, Michael Vladimirsky-Budanov, Ivan Novytsky, Michael Yasynsky, M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, N. Molchanovsky, Volodymyr Shcherbyna, and others, but chiefly by V. Antonovych himself. The Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler (in the *Chteniia*—Readings) published many works of V. Antonovych, A. Lazarevsky, Volodymyr Ikonnikov, Theodore Nykolaichyk, I. Kamanin, and others; it also published the journal *Kievskaia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity), in which V. Antonovych, A. Lazarevsky, O. Levytsky, Jacob Shulhyn, A. and N. Storozhenko, Peter and Alexandra Yefymenko, Philip Ternovsky, Basil Horlenko, Ivan Luchytsky, Nicholas Vasylenko, Benedict Miakotin, Alexis Andriievsky, Kost Kharlampovych, and many others took part. Historical work was also done at the Kievan University of St. Volodymyr (research in the field of the history of Ukraine and of Ukrainian law) and at the Kievan Theological Academy (research in the history of the Ukrainian church, education, and culture by Nicholas Petrov, S. Holubev, Theodore Titov, and others).

Ukrainian historical studies also were conducted in the second half of the nineteenth century in Kharkiv (at the University and at the Historical and Philological Society), and in Odessa (at the University and at the Society of History and Antiquities). In Galicia research was done by Denis Zubrytsky, Fr. Antony Petrushevych, Isidore Sharankevych, Julian Tselevych, Cornelius Zaklynsky, Anton Dobriansky, Bishop Julian Pelesh, Stephen Kachala, and many others at the Galician-Ruthenian Matytsia, the Lviv Stavropygia Institute, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Of special importance were the studies of the Ruthenian Historical Library edited by Alexander Barvinsky.

Historical studies of Ukraine were carried on abroad by Ukrainians in western Europe. Recent historiography owes much to Michael Drahomanov

(1841–95), a great Ukrainian scholar, who worked chiefly in the field of folklore and the history of literature, but who, in his historical and historiosophic works—especially in his study *Propashchyi chas: Ukraïntsi pid moskov's'kym tsarstvom* (The Lost Epoch: The Ukrainians under the Moscow Tsardom, 1654–1876), which remained unfinished—had a great influence on the further development of Ukrainian historical thought.

Ukrainian historiography at the end of the nineteenth century already had at its disposal a mass of monographic literature and archaeographic publications. The general rise in Ukrainian national consciousness greatly increased the need for a scientific synthesis of the historical process of the Ukrainian people and wide popularization of the history of Ukraine. This task was undertaken by the Kievan school of Antonovych. In 1896 the editors of *Kievskaiia Starina* announced a competition on the history of Ukraine. *Istoriia Ukrainського naroda* (The History of the Ukrainian People) written for this contest by Alexandra Yefymenko was published in 1906 (in the St. Petersburg edition of Brokhaus and Efron, *The History of Europe by Lands and Peoples*); the Ukrainian edition, edited and with a supplement on the nineteenth century by Dmytro Bahalii, was brought out in Kharkiv in 1922. In 1907 A. Yefymenko published in St. Petersburg a shorter and very popular *Istoriia Ukrainy i eia naroda* (History of Ukraine and Its People).

Michael Hrushevsky (1866–1934)

Hrushevsky, a pupil of Antonovych, presented in scientific form the first outline of the complete history of the Ukrainian people.

The conditions of Ukraine under the rule of the Russian tsarist regime, which did not recognize the independent existence of the Ukrainian people and its culture, language, and history, and which resolutely forbade and persecuted

all manifestations of Ukrainian national life, prevented the further development of Ukrainian historiography. Only in Western Ukraine (Galicia), which enjoyed Austrian constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, in the scientific and scholarly setting of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, could Hrushevsky hope to work freely on Ukrainian historiography and train a new generation of Ukrainian historians.

In 1898 the first volume of Hrushevsky's *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy* (The History of Ukraine-Rus') appeared in Lviv. In Lviv and later in Kiev eight more volumes (II–IX) were published, and Volume X, in which Hrushevsky brought his survey of the history of Ukraine up to 1658, was prepared. This volume appeared after his death in 1937. Hrushevsky's monumental work won complete acceptance in Ukrainian and in foreign (especially Polish and Russian) historiography.

Hrushevsky gave a general survey of the entire history of Ukraine in scientific and popular books which appeared in many editions after 1904, both in Ukrainian and in foreign languages: *Ocherk istorii Ukrainського naroda* (Sketch of the History of the Ukrainian People); *Iliustrovana istoriia Ukrainy* (Illustrated History of Ukraine); *Pro stari chasy na Ukraini* (On the Old Times in Ukraine); a section in the book *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoiashchem* (The Ukrainian People in Its Past and Present); a short history of Ukraine which was published in Ukrainian, then translated into German, French, Bulgarian, Czech, and English (*A History of Ukraine*, published in 1941 by Yale University Press).

Hrushevsky gave a theoretical basis for his historical outline in his article "Zvychaina skhema 'ruskoi' istorii i sprava ratsional'noho ukladu istorii skhidnoho sloviaanstva" (The Traditional Scheme of "Russian" History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs) printed in the *Sbornik statei po slavianovedenitu*

(Collection of Slavic Studies) by the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, I, 1904. (It appeared in English in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States*, 1952.) Besides this Hrushevsky published several hundred scientific works on the history of Ukraine.

The History of Ukraine in Russian and Polish Historiography

Foreign scholars, chiefly Russian and Polish, also treated Ukrainian history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Although much of this Russian and Polish historiography was presented in such a way as to validate particular political claims to Ukrainian territory, many Russian and Polish studies brought to light a great deal of new documentary material. Some of these scholars made important contributions to the study of the Ukrainian past. Notable Russian scholars were Sergei Solovov, Gennadii Karpov, Alexander Lappo-Danilevsky, Alexis Shakhmatov, Eugene Golubinsky, Matthew Liubavsky, Alexander Presniakov, Michael Priselkov, Vitalii Eingorn, Platon Zhukovich, Eugene Shmurlo, Boris Grekov, Vladimir Picheta, George Vernadsky, and many others. In Polish historiography, Ukrainian history was handled by Michael Grabowski, Edward Rulikowski, Julian Bartoszewicz, Thaddeus-George Stecki, Karol Szajnocha, Alexander Jabłonowski, Joseph Rolle (Dr. Antoni J.), Marian Dubiecki, Francis Rawita-Gawroński, Thaddeus Korzon, Casimir Pułaski, Joseph Tretiak, Louis Kubala, Marcellus Handelsman, Casimir Chodyncki, Władysław Tomkiewicz, Stephen Kuczyński, Oswald Balcer, Przemysław Dąbkowski, Oscar Halecki, Casimir Lewicki, Janusz Woliński, Olgierd Górka, and others.

Ukrainian Historical Studies at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

The great service of Hrushevsky was his formation of the historical research

center in Lviv. The works of his students—Stephen Tomashivsky, Myron Korduba, Ivan Krypiakievych, Ivan Dzhydzhora, Ivan Krevetsky, Basil Herasymchuk, Bohdan Barvinsky, Denis Korenets, Oleh Tselevych, Stephen Rudnytsky, Omelian Terletsky, Fedir Sribny, and many others—primarily on the Lithuanian and Polish periods and on the Kozaks and hetmans were printed chiefly in the publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Historians from central and eastern Ukraine also contributed to the publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, for example, A. Hrushevsky, Viacheslav Lypynsky, Basil Domanytsky, N. Vasylenko, V. Modzalevsky, Alexander Lototsky, Michael Slabchenko, V. Barvinsky, and others. When, after 1905, M. Hrushevsky transferred the center of his scientific activity to Kiev, research in Ukrainian history became concentrated around the Ukrainian Scientific Society which he established, and its publications *Zapysky UNT* (Memoirs), *Ukraina*, and *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Collection). In addition to the students already mentioned, O. Levytsky, I. Kamanin, V. Shcherbyna, Leonid Dobrovolsky, B. Danylevych, Dmytro Doroshenko, and others took part in the work. Studies in the history of Ukraine also were continued in Kiev by the Archaeographical Commission, the Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler, and other scholarly organizations.



FIGURE 383.
D. DOROSHENKO

In Kharkiv scientific historical work, primarily on problems of Left-Bank Ukraine and *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*, was carried on at the University and at the Historical Philological Society by D. Bahalii, Dmytro Miller, Michael Plokhynsky, Victor Barvinsky, Nicholas Maksymeiko, and others.

Scholarly research was conducted in Odessa, at the University and in the Society of History and Antiquities, by I. Lynnychenko, Michael Slabchenko, Paul Klepatsky, among others. In Katerynoslav, the Katerynoslav Archival Commission published ten volumes of its *Letopis'* (Chronicle), and devoted its efforts largely to the history of Zaporizhia and south Ukraine (see works of Dmytro Yavornytsky, the outstanding historian of Zaporizhia, for example, as well as those of Dmytro Doroshenko, Basil Bidnov, and others). Chernihiv Archival Commission, in which Vadym Modzalevsky—the well-known Ukrainian historian and genealogist, author of many works, notably *Malorossiiskii Rodoslovnyk*, I–IV (Little Russian Genealogy, 1908–14), and co-author of *Malorossiiskii Gerbovnik* (Reference Book on Little Russian Coats of Arms, 1914)—Peter Doroshenko, Arkadii Verzilov, and others were active. In Poltava there were the scholarly products of the Poltava Archival Commission and its associates such as John Pavlovsky, Leo Padalka, and Volodymyr Parkhomenko. In Zhytomyr there was O. Fotynsky; Kamianets produced the works of Fr. Yu. Sitsinsky. In Nizhyn the Historical Philological Society, as well as Michael Berezhkov, George Maksymovych, and others contributed to Ukrainian historiography. Kuban produced the works of Prokip Korolenko and Fedir (Theodore) Shcherbyna, and the Crimea those of the Taurian Archival Commission, Arsen Markevych, etc.

Among the general surveys, *Istoriia Ukraïny-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-Rus') by Nicholas Arkas, edited by Basil Domanysky (editions 1908, 1912, 1922, etc.), won great popularity.

The Trend toward a National State

The historical works of Hrushevsky were the highest achievement of populist historiography, but his *History of Ukraine-Rus'* revealed new areas requiring historical research. Moreover, the Ukrainian cultural and political upsurge

at the beginning of the twentieth century set new tasks for Ukrainian scholarship, especially in history. Relying upon the historical studies of the preceding period, Ukrainian historiography of the twentieth century was able to trace the continuity of the Ukrainian historical tradition from the time of the Kievan and Galician-Volhynian states of the tenth to the fourteenth centuries through the Hetman State of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries to the modern Ukrainian national revival. The tradition was that of national statehood, which became the dominant idea in the new Ukrainian historiography and marked its further development.

The signs of a new trend in Ukrainian historical studies appeared at the height of populist historiography when a few isolated critical voices (for example, M. Drahomanov in some ways, and Theodore Umanets in his monograph *Hetman Mazepa*, 1897) were heard. The new trend called for a Ukrainian national state. But it required new historical studies on the chief periods of the Ukrainian state—the medieval period and the Kozak-Hetman period—to substantiate its case. These were made by V. Lypynsky and S. Tomashivsky, who became the founders of the new Ukrainian historiography.

Viacheslav Lypynsky (1882–1931) studied the history of the Ukrainian nobility and its national, political, and cultural achievements in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, making use of rich, newly-discovered archival material in, for example, *Szlachta ukraińska i jej udział w życiu narodu ukraińskiego* (The Ukrainian Nobility and Its Part in the Life of the Ukrainian People), Cracow, 1909, and some studies in the Proceedings of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. He paid particular attention to studies of the history of the second Ukrainian state—that of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. His works—among them a monograph on Stanislav Michael Krychevsky, Khmelnytsky's associate, in the collec-

tion *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (From the History of Ukraine), Cracow, 1912, and the monograph *Ukraina na perelomie, 1657-9* (Ukraine at the Turning Point), Vienna, 1920—were penetrating studies written by a talented historian and sociologist.

While Lypynsky saw the task of the new Ukrainian historiography to be the resurrection of the historical tradition of the Hetman State, Stephen Tomashivsky (1875-1930), after a series of important source studies on this period (published chiefly in the Proceedings of the Shevchenko Scientific Society), turned to the study of the history of the medieval period and gave a masterly synthesis of it in his books *Ukrains'ka istoriia: I, Starynni i seredni viky* (Ukrainian History: I, Old and Middle Periods), Lviv, 1919, and *Vstup do istorii tserkvy na Ukraini* (Introduction to the History of the Church in Ukraine).

Historiography, 1917-39

The rebirth of the Ukrainian state in 1917 opened wide possibilities for the further development of Ukrainian historical science. The foundation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, of several new universities (Kiev, Kamianets, Poltava), of the National Archives, of the National Museum, and of the National Library, and the spread of Ukrainian scientific publishing houses all promised a brilliant development in Ukrainian historical studies. But the occupation of eastern and central Ukraine by Soviet Russian forces (where the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic was established) and the division of western Ukrainian lands among neighboring states altered conditions to the disadvantage of Ukrainian scholarship. The Ukrainian historians had either to emigrate or to remain under a foreign conqueror and thus lose, in whole or in part, the possibilities of free scientific study. Yet even under such unfavorable circumstances, Ukrainian scholars, including those in their native land under

Bolshevik control, continued the scholarly work begun during the third Ukrainian state (1917-20), raising it to new heights.

The chief credit for the fact that scientific historical research in Ukraine showed great development in the 1920's belongs to M. Hrushevsky who, in 1924, concentrated his activities in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Under his over-all editorship a long series of important publications was produced: *Ukraina, 1924-30; Za sto lit* (Events of a Century), 1927-30; *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu UAN* (Proceedings of the Historical Philological Section of the UAN [Ukrainian Academy of Sciences]), 1919-31; *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoi Sektsii UAN* (Scientific Collection of the Historical Section of the UAN), 1924-9; publication of the Archaeographical Commission. In addition to the major works of Hrushevsky himself, the works of his collaborators (A. Hrushevsky, Joseph Hermaize, Philip Klymenko, B. Danylevych, V. Shcherbyna, L. Dobrovolsky, Catharine Lazarevsky, and others) were important for Ukrainian historical science, as were those of his pupils Catharine Hrushevsky, Serhii Shamrai, Alexis Baranovych, Nicholas Tkachenko, Victor Yurkevych, and others.

The scientific institutions in Kiev and Kharkiv, headed by Dmytro Bahalii, produced important works on Ukrainian history of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. Among these works were those of D. Bahalii (1857-1932), especially his *Narys istorii Ukrainy na sotsial'no-ekonomichnomu grunti* (An Outline of the History of Ukraine on a Social and Economic Basis), Vol. I, Kharkiv, 1928; of Alexander Ohloblyn on the economic and political history of Ukraine, in particular his *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi fabryki* (History of the Ukrainian Industry), 2 vols., Kiev, 1925; of Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko on the history of Zaporizhia and southern Ukraine—a monograph *The Settlement of Southern*

Ukraine, 1750–1775, in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vols. IV–V, Nos. 14–15, 1955; of Victor Romanovsky, Nicholas Tyshchenko, Basil Bazylevych, V. Barvinsky, Natalia Mirza-Avak'iants, Basil Dubrovsky, Olha Bahalii-Tatarynova, Nicholas Horban, Dmytro Solovii, Antony Kozachenko, and others. Excellent scientific work in the history of the Ukrainian law and state system was done by Nicholas Vasylenko (1866–1935) and his collaborators and pupils—Leo Okinshcheych, Irynarkh Cherkasky, Victor Novytsky, Stephen Borysenok, Basil Hryshko, and others; the field of the economic history of Ukraine was studied by Constantine Voblyi, Andrew Yaroshevych, Eugene Stashevsky, and many others.

The Odessa historical center was directed by Michael Slabchenko (born 1882), one of the most outstanding Ukrainian historians of the twentieth century, author of major works on the economic and social history of Ukraine in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, and also on the history of Ukrainian law. His chief works are: *Orhanizatsiia hospodarstva Het'manshchyny XVII–XVIII st.* (The Organization of the Economy of the Hetman State of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries), 4 vols.; *Sotsiial'no-pravova orhanizatsiia Sichi Zaporiz'koï* (Social and Legal Organization of the Zaporozhian Sich), 2 vols.; *Materiialy do ekonomichno-sotsiial'noi istorii Ukraïny XIX st.* (Materials for the Economic and Social History of Ukraine of the Nineteenth Century), 2 vols. In addition to M. Slabchenko and his students, Eugene Zahorovsky, Alexander Riabinin-Skliarevsky, and other scholars also worked in Odessa.

Considerable research, chiefly on the basis of local archival material, was carried on in Dnipropetrovske by D. Yavornytsky, Volodymyr Parkhomenko, and others; in Poltava by Paul Klepatsky, Michael Hnip, and others; in Nizhyn by Nicholas Petrovsky and Anatol Yer-

shov; in Chernihiv by Paul Fedorenko; and in other cities of Ukraine.

A special place was held by the so-called Marxian historical school in the person of Matthew Yavorsky and his pupils, the chief center of which was Kharkiv. This school was supported by the Communist party and was marked by an excessive respect for, and need to explain, the social and economic contradictions of Ukraine in terms of the so-called "class struggle." The works of Yavorsky and his collaborators and pupils (M. Rubach, Z. Hurevych, T. Skubytsky, M. Svidzinsky, and others) were printed chiefly in the journals *Prapor Marksyzmu* (Banner of Marxism) and *Litopys Revoliutsii* (Chronicle of the Revolution) or as books.

During the 1930's almost all these scholarly centers were eliminated by the Soviet government; the historians were repressed or forced to be silent, and Ukrainian historical science in the central and eastern lands ceased to develop. Several attempts to publish general textbooks of the history of Ukraine (even written in the Soviet spirit) ended in disaster; monographs on the history of Ukraine appeared very rarely, and they had not a scientific but a propagandistic character. The history of Ukraine in the frame of the Soviet system of propaganda was used only to confirm the idea of the original closeness of the Ukrainian people to the Russian people, who, despite all historical evidence to the contrary, were proclaimed the "older brother." All facts and themes which did not support this thesis were not subject to study. Even the collections of archival data published from time to time included only material that supported this thesis or at least did not contradict it.

Historiography in Western Ukraine and in the Emigration

Conditions for the development of Ukrainian historical science were different in Galicia. In spite of severe material conditions and political limita-

tions, the Galician historians, chiefly those grouped around the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, could develop and publish quite important scientific studies. In the 1920's and 1930's the following persons worked there: S. Tomashivsky, I. Krypiakevych—author of *Studii nad derzhavoiu B. Khmel'nyts'koho* (Studies on the State of B. Khmelnytsky), M. Korduba—author of *Zakhidne pohranychchia Halyts'ko-Volyns'koï derzhavy v XIII st.* (The Western Boundary of the Galician-Volhynian State in the XIII Century), O. Terletsky, V. Herasymchuk, I. Krevetsky, B. Barvinsky, Nicholas Chubaty—author of *Ohliad istorii ukrains'koho prava* (An Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Law), Nicholas Andrusiak, Rev. Josaphat Skruten, Rev. Theophil Kostruba, Rev. Roman Lukan, Elias Vytanovych, Roman Zubyk, and others. Their historical works were printed in the *Zapysky* (Memoirs) of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, *Stara Ukraina* (Old Ukraine), 1924–5, the *Zapysky Ch. SVV* (Analecta OSBM), and *Bohosloviia* (Theology). In Transcarpathia, historical research was conducted by the Rev. Basil Hadzhega, Anthony Hodynka, and others.

Emigrant Ukrainian historical science found its main centers in Prague (at the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Historical Philological Society, the Museum of the Struggle of Ukraine for Liberation), in Berlin (at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute), in Warsaw (at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, the Ukrainian Society of Military History), and in Paris. Among the emigrants were M. Hrushevsky (until 1924), V. Lypynsky, S. Tomashivsky (for a time), Dmytro Doroshenko, Andrew Yakovliv, Rostyslav Lashchenko, Basil Bidnov, Alexander Lototsky, Viacheslav Prokopovych, John Ohienko (subsequently Metropolitan Hilarion), Elias Borshchak, Borys Krupnytsky, Simon Narizhnyi, Domet Olianchyn, Viacheslav Zaikyn, Michael Antonovych, Ihor Losky, and others. The majority of them worked with western

European archival materials, for the most part unknown previously to Ukrainian scholars, and produced a series of very important publications. Among these are the monographs of D. Doroshenko (1882–1951) on P. Kulish, N. Kostomarov, and V. Antonovych, a series of articles by him on Ukrainian historiography and some general works of his on the history of Ukraine and Ukrainian historiography—*Narys istorii Ukraïny* (An Outline of the History of Ukraine), 2 vols.; *Istoriia Ukraïny 1917–23 rr.*, (History of Ukraine 1917–23), 2 vols.; *Ohliad ukrains'koï istoriografii* (A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography), Prague, 1923; *History of the Ukraine*, Edmonton, 1939, 1941. In this series also belong the works of A. Yakovliv (1872–1955)—*Ukrains'ko-Moskovs'ki dohovory XVII–XVIII st.* (Ukrainian-Muscovite Treaties of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries); of B. Krupnytsky (1894–1956)—monographs on *Het'man Pylyp Orlyk*, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit*; of E. Borshchak (1892–1959)—the monograph, *Velykyi mazepynets' Hryhor Orlyk* (The Great *mazepinets*, Gregory Orlyk), and studies on Napoleon and Ukraine and on Philip Orlyk and France; and of other authors.

Historiography after World War II

The end of World War II found all Ukrainian lands forcibly integrated within the USSR; as a result, a free historical science in Ukraine ceased to exist. There are historical scientific institutions in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic (especially the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR) where an impressive number of historians are engaged in scientific pursuits (I. Krypiakevych, N. Tkachenko, C. Huslysty, T. Yastrebov, I. Boiko, M. Rubach, M. Marchenko, N. Suprunenko, P. Lavrov, V. Diadychenko, F. Los, C. Stetsiuk, V. Holobutsky, I. Hurzhii, S. Korolivsky, T. Shevchenko, N. Leshchenko, O. Kompan, A. Kasymentko, O. Apanovych, L. Kovalenko, D.

Myshko, L. Polukhyn, A. Slusarsky, and others) and an increasing number of works on the history of Ukraine are appearing primarily on modern history. Also, since 1957 the *Ukraïns'kyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal* (The Ukrainian Historical Journal) has been published. But the present Ukrainian Soviet historiography is totally subordinated to the political objectives and directives of the Soviet government and the Communist party, and this determines the entire activity of Ukrainian Soviet historians—their ideology, methodology, and subject matter. Moreover, it determines the consequences of their research and dictates the results of their works. The official Communist line characterizes the recent general surveys of the history of Ukraine—particularly *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï RSR* (The History of the Ukrainian SSR), Vols. I and II, 1953, 1958—as well as the monographic historical works, most important of which are *Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi* by I. Krypiakievych, 1954; *Narysy suspil'no-politychnoho ustroiu Lvoberezhnoi Ukraïny kintsia XVII i pochatku XVIII st.* (Surveys of the Socio-Political System of Left-Bank Ukraine toward the End of the Seventeenth and at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Centuries) by V. Diadychenko, 1959; *Ukraina nakanune Osvoboditelnoi voiny seredyny XVII v.* (Ukraine on the Eve of the War of Liberation in the Middle of the Seventeenth Century) by A. Baranovych, 1959; *Zaporiz'ka Sich v ostanni chasy svoho isnuvannia* (The Zaporozhian Sich in the Last Days of Its Existence) by V. Holobutsky, 1961; and the collective work, *Narysy starodavn'oi istorii URSR* (Essays on the Ancient History of the Ukrainian SSR), 1957. Even documentary editions show evidence of bias, the principal ones among them being *Vossoedinenie Ukraïny s Rossiei: Dokumenty i materialy* (The Union of Ukraine with Russia: Documents and Materials), Vols. I–III, Moscow, 1954, a joint publication of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR and *Dokumenty*

Bohdana Khmel'nitskoho (Documents of Bohdan Khmelnytsky), Kiev, 1961.

Ukrainian historiography has found more favorable conditions for its development outside the borders of the USSR. Ukrainian émigré historians in Europe and America are continuing their scientific work, both on the research of certain singular aspects of Ukrainian history and the development of comprehensive surveys of the history of Ukraine and of Ukrainian historiography. The centers of Ukrainian historical science in the emigration were the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Ukrainian Free University, the Order of St. Basil in Rome, and the Institute for the Study of the USSR in Munich. Alongside the historians of the older generation (N. Andrusiak, E. Borshchak, *d.*, N. Chubaty, D. Doroshenko, *d.*, V. Dubrovsky, P. Fedenko, B. Hryshko, B. Krupnytsky, *d.*, A. Ohloblyn, L. Okinshevych, D. Olianchny, J. Padoch, N. Polonska-Vasylenko, O. Pritsak, V. Shuhaievsky, A. Shulhyn, *d.*, Rev. J. Skruten, *d.*, D. Solovii, I. Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych, *d.*, E. Vytanovych, A. Yakovliv, *d.*), there is a new generation of Ukrainian historians who began their scientific pursuits after World War II. The principal attention of these historians has been focused on the following matters: on the ancient and medieval era of Ukrainian history (A. Dombrovsky, P. Hrytsak, *d.*, V. Matsiak, Rev. I. Nahaiievsky, Rev. I. Nazarko, OSBM, M. Zhdan, and others); on the history of the Kozaks (L. Wynar, T. Matskiv, B. Kentrzhytsky); on the modern history of Ukraine (M. Stakhiv, V. Markus', I. Kamenetsky, B. Botsiurkiv, S. Horak, J. Borys, and others); on the history of the Ukrainian church (P. Isaïv, H. Koch, I. Levkovych, B. Lencyk, G. Luzhnytsky, L. Sonevytsky, Rev. A. Velykyi, OSBM, I. Vlasovsky, and others); on the history of law (B. Halaichuk, S. Ivanytsky, and others); on the history of Ukrainian political thought (Marko Antonovych, G. Lawrynenko, I. Lysiak-Rudnytsky, and others); on Ukrainian

military history (G. Krokhmaliuk and others); on Ukrainian historiography (L. Bilas and others); and on Ukrainian heraldry and genealogy (V. Seniutovych-Berezhny, N. Bytynsky, R. Klimkevych, and others). In the 1940's and 1950's, Ukrainian historians in the emigration published a number of monographs, of which the most important were: *Hetman Danylo Apostol i ioho doba* (Hetman Daniel Apostol and His Times) by B. Krupnytsky, 1948; *Znachne viiskove tovarystvo v Ukraïni-Hetmanshchyni XVII-XVIII st.* (Nobility in the Ukrainian Hetman State of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries) by L. Okinshevych, 1948; *The Settlement of Southern Ukraine (1750-1775)* by N. Polonska-Vasylenko, 1955; and *Hetman Ivan Mazepa ta ioho doba* (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Times) by A. Ohloblyn, 1960.

Of particular importance among documentary publications is the voluminous edition of the Vatican archive materials on the history of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Church, edited by the Reverend A. Velykyi in Rome.

During the past twenty-five years there have been published in Europe and America many surveys of the history of Ukraine written by English, American, and other authors, such as Hugh P. Vowles' *Ukraine and Its People*, London, 1939; W. E. D. Allen's *The Ukraine: A History*, Cambridge, 1940; Clarence A. Manning's *The Story of the Ukraine*, New York, 1947, his *Twentieth Century Ukraine*, New York, 1951, and his *Ukraine under the Soviets*, New York, 1953. Manning also has written a monograph on Mazepa—*Hetman of Ukraine: Ivan Mazepa*, New York, 1957. Considerable space is given to Ukrainian history in the first volumes of the *History of Russia* by George Vernadsky (Vol. I, *Ancient Russia*, New York, 1946; Vol. II, *Kievan Russia*, New Haven, 1948; Vol. III, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953). He also has written a monograph on Khmelnytsky—*Bohdan, Hetman of Ukraine*, New Haven, 1941. The recent history of

Ukraine is treated in the monograph of John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-20*, Princeton, 1952; in John A. Armstrong's *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945*, New York, 1955; in B. Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and the Ukraine, 1918-1953: A Study of Bolshevik Nationality Policy*, New York, 1956; in J. Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine*, Stockholm, 1960; in Oleh S. Pidhainy, *The Ukrainian-Polish Problem in the Dissolution of the Russian Empire, 1914-1917*, Toronto-New York, 1962; and in Robert S. Sullivant, *Soviet Politics and the Ukraine, 1917-1957*, New York-London, 1962.

An important addition to works on the history of Ukraine lies in the memoirs of leading political personalities, particularly of those who were active in the days of the revival of the Ukrainian state. Among the more important of these are: *Zamitky i materialy do istorii ukrains'koï revolutsii* (Notes and Materials on the History of the Ukrainian Revolution), 4 vols., by Paul Khrystiuk; *Vidrodzhennia natsii* (Revival of a Nation), 3 vols., by Volodymyr Vynnychenko; *Ukraina v ohni i buri revolutsii* (Ukraine in the Fire and Storm of the Revolution), 3 vols., by Isaak Mazepa; *Stezhkamy zhyttia* (Through Paths of Life), 4 vols., by Basil Ivanys; and works and memoirs of such ranking officers as Nicholas Kapustiansky, Ysevolod Petrov, Michael Omelianovych-Pavlenko, Eugene Konovalets, Marko Bezruchko, and Stephen Shukhevych.

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Bibliography on such special topics as the history of the Ukrainian Church, the law, culture, and the army is listed at the conclusion of the relevant section.

3. THE EARLY HISTORY OF UKRAINE

Man inhabited Ukraine several thousand years before our era (see "Archaeology"). The Greeks were the first to leave literary information about the land and its population during the early part of the first millennium B.C., but these sources can be properly interpreted only with the aid of archaeological material.



FIGURE 364. GOLD CROWN FROM A HOARD OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.

The amount of written source material available for study is gradually increasing and becoming more reliable as historical research comes into its own.

We can distinguish two main periods in the historical development of Ukraine from the first millennium B.C. to the end of the first millennium A.D.: the pre-Slavic period, from between the eighth and seventh century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., and the Slavic, beginning with the fourth century A.D. when the ancient population of Ukraine—the Ukrainian branch of the Slavs—first appears on the pages of history. This people built its own culture and developed its own forms of social life on the ruins of the ancient world of the northern Black Sea coast. The two periods described above are separated by the great folk migrations which changed the ethnic and political situation in southern Ukraine.

THE PRE-SLAV PERIOD

The first references to the population of Ukraine, dating from the early part of the first millennium B.C., are few and vague. Greek sources mention the Cim-

merians who lived in the northern Black Sea steppes. The Cimmerians were of Indo-European origin. In the seventh century B.C. the Scythians appeared from Asia. Apparently they were Iranians, and they settled in the steppes between the Don and the Danube. Beginning in the sixth century B.C., many Greek colonies were established along the north shore of the Black Sea and on the Sea of Azov: Tyras, Olbia, Chersonesus, Theodosia, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Tanais, and several others. These maintained not only commercial, but also cultural, relations with the neighboring population of Ukraine. In this way Ukraine was drawn into the sphere of the economic and cultural influences of the ancient world.

In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., the Scythians established a great state between the Don and the Dniester. They made frequent raids on neighboring peoples, the Balkan Peninsula, and Asia Minor. In 513 B.C. Scythia was attacked by King Darius of Persia. Although they were not conquered, the war with the Persians was a great defeat for the Scythians for they were compelled to cease their attacks on Asia Minor. The Persian campaign against Scythia described by the Greek historian Herodotus was the first event on Ukrainian territory to be recorded.

For several centuries, close economic, cultural, and political contacts existed between the Scythian world and that of the Greeks who were centered in Olbia in the west, and in Panticapaeum (the capital of the Kingdom of Bosporus) in the east. Gradually the Scythian state began to disintegrate. During the fourth century B.C., southeast Ukraine was settled by the Sarmatians (a people of Iranian origin; in the opinion of some scholars—for example, M. Miller—they were a Scythian tribe). The Sarmatians later dominated the steppes from the Ural River to the Danube; they re-

mained there from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.

At the end of the second century B.C., the Greek colonies began to decline. To secure protection from the new flood of barbarians, they sought assistance from the Hellenic Kingdom of Pontus on the south shore of the Black Sea. The Pontic King, Mithradates VI, broke the power of the Scythians, but he also subdued Panticapaeum and the Kingdom of Bosphorus, and in 106 B.C. founded a new Pontic-Bosporan state.

From the middle of the first millennium B.C. various tribes from the west and southwest began to invade the territory of Ukraine. Some were Germanic (the Skiri, Bastarnae, and later the Vandals) and others were Celtic (the Tevriski); from the southwest came the Thracian tribes (the Getae). The Greek colonies suffered severely from attacks by these tribes: in the third century B.C., Olbia was ruined by the Skiri and Bastarnae; in the middle of the first century B.C. it was ravaged by the Getae. Only the extension of the power of the Roman empire into south Ukraine at the end of the first century B.C. prolonged the existence of these ancient centers for a few more centuries.

Beginning with the second or third century A.D., there were great new movements of tribes from the east (the heirs of the Sarmatians—the Alans and also the Roxolani) and from the northwest (Germanic tribes—the Gepidae, the Goths, and others) into Ukraine. Somewhere around 200 A.D. the Goths reached the Black Sea and soon began to dominate the great areas to the north. In 251 they destroyed Olbia, Tyras, and other cities.

When the Goths later divided into the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths the Ostrogoths founded a great state, the center of which was Dnieper Ukraine. This Gothic state with its capital on the Dnieper reached the height of its power in the fourth century under King Hermanaric (350–75) who united all the Goths under his rule. The first appear-

ance of Christianity and of Christian culture in Ukraine occurred in the fourth century and is connected with the Goths.

In the fourth century the great migration of peoples from the east began. At the end of the fourth century the Alans on the Don were destroyed by the hordes of Huns, and the remnant of the tribe retreated to the foothills of the north Caucasus where, from the tenth to twelfth centuries, they were known to the Ukrainians as Yasi or the Yasians (now Ossetes). The Huns then destroyed the Kingdom of Bosphorus and the Gothic state on the Dnieper, bringing the entire area under their control. Only a small number of the Goths remained in the Crimea, where a minor Gothic principality existed until the fourteenth century.

The Hunnic empire stretched from the Caspian to the Rhine and the Adriatic, and was centered in Pannonia on the middle Danube. It achieved its high point under Attila (444–53). However, after they were defeated on the Catalaunian fields near the Loire in 451, the Huns returned to the east; the conquered peoples of central Europe rose against them and the Hunnic empire soon fell apart. The Huns were the first Asiatic people to bring ruin with them and to destroy everything in their path; for centuries afterwards Ukraine suffered constant and devastating blows from these Asiatic invaders.

At the end of the fifth century came the hordes of Bulgars. Some of these turned north and in the sixth century settled on the middle Volga near the mouth of the river Kama, where they founded the Bulgarian kingdom (with its capital in the city of Bulgar) which existed until the tenth century. A second Bulgarian horde under Khan Asparukh pushed into Ukraine, and then into the Balkan peninsula. In 680, the Bulgars conquered the Slavic tribes living there and formed a Bulgarian kingdom. The Bulgars of the Danube were assimilated by the local Slav population, from whom

they took their language and culture, but to whom they contributed the name of Bulgaria.

In the sixth century, following the Bulgars, Ukraine was invaded by the still more fearful horde of Avars (called Obry, according to the Chronicle). During the middle of the sixth century, the Avars held the Danube plain and established a great state. For a long while, they were the most menacing neighbor of Byzantium and western Europe. But in 797 Charlemagne defeated them; the Avar state fell apart and disappeared.

At the beginning of the seventh century, the Khazars came from Asia and they, too, formed a great state—the so-called Khazar khaganate—between the Ural River and the Dnieper (and as far as Crimea for a time), and between Transcaucasia and the middle Volga and Kama; the capital of Khazaria was Itil, at the mouth of the Volga. Khazaria became a peaceful commercial state and for several centuries served as a barrier to new Asiatic invasions of Ukraine. It was only in the second half of the ninth century that the horde of Ugrians (Magyars) penetrated this defense. They crossed Ukraine in the 880's and settled in Pannonia in 896, where they founded their state, now called Hungary. The Ugrians were followed by the Pechenegs, who broke through into the Ukrainian steppe, and, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, dominated a large part of south Ukraine. This movement of the Asiatic hordes into Ukraine lasted for several centuries more (see "Archaeology").

SLAVIC EPOCH

The oldest references to the Slavs in general belong to the first centuries of our era: the Roman writer, Pliny the Elder (23 A.D.—79 A.D.), called them Venedi (Veneti); the Greek geographer Ptolemy (second century A.D.) wrote that "the great nation of the Venedi" lived east of the Vistula and north of the Carpathians.

The Ancestral Home of the Slavs

There is still some doubt as to the definite area comprising the original homeland of the Slavs, and of the Ukrainians in particular. In the opinion of M. Hrushevsky, the original settlements of the Slavs covered a broad area from the Carpathians to the Valdean heights, and from the upper and middle Dnieper to the Vistula and the Niemen. L. Niederle narrowed these boundaries somewhat to south of the Prypiat, between the Dnieper and the Carpathians. Other scholars have limited the original home area of the Slavs to that of Polisia, but newer studies have rejected this idea. In its place attempts have been made by Czech archaeologists to place the original home of the Slavs west of the Oder, in Silesian-Lusatian territory. However, Niederle's theory, with these or other variations, is supported by many modern scholars who consider the ancestral home of the Slavs to be the area southeast of the Vistula, stretching in a broad band from the Carpathians to the headwaters of the Don (for example, J. Eisner).

Modern Ukrainian scholars more or less accept this same area as the ancestral home of the Ukrainian people, although some look for it in the Kievan stretch of the Dnieper. In the opinion of S. Tomashivsky, "the historical reservoir of the Ukrainian people" was "on the upper and middle Dniester, the upper Prut and Buh, the Styr, Horyn, Sluch, Teteriv, and Irpin." But probably the majority of modern Ukrainian historians consider the original homeland of the Ukrainian people to have been the area from the middle Vistula to the upper Donets, with the southern border of the compactly settled territory stretching along the line Kolomyia, Vinnytsia, Cherkasy, and Sumy.

The State of the Antes (Fourth to Seventh Centuries)

When, in the fourth century, the Goths retired before the attack of the

Huns and the Huns moved to the west, it became possible for the Slavs to move south to the Black Sea. During the fourth century the Slavs, known as the Antes (the name is probably of Iranian origin), dominated the territory from the Danube and the Balkans to the Sea of Azov.

Jordanes (Jordanis), the sixth-century historian of the Goths, says that the great nation of the Venedi was divided in two parts: the Slovenians in the west and the Antes in the east. "The Antes, the bravest of them, live on the curve of the Black Sea from the Dniester to the Dnieper." Procopius of Caesarea, a Byzantine historian of the sixth century, speaks of the "innumerable tribes of the Antes" north of the Black Sea.

The Antes created the first Slavic state. We do not know the boundaries of this state nor its center, but we do know that it united, throughout a broad belt of Ukraine, not only the Slavic tribes but the remains of the Goths, Greeks, and Iranians as well. Of the social order of the Antes, Procopius says: "no one man rules the Slavs and the Antes, but since ancient times they have lived in a communal order and thus all questions, good or bad, are decided in common." Actually power was in the hands of the tribal leaders, who were called princes and who united all the tribes of the Antes under their rule.

In the 380's Bozh (or Boz), a prince of the Antes, led a struggle against the Goths who had attacked his people. He was taken prisoner and cruelly murdered, together with his sons and seventy Antian leaders. In the 550's there is mention of a brave prince of the Antes named Mezamer, killed in a war with the Avars who captured him by treachery. The Antes won their greatest fame by their raids on Byzantium. They were such a threat to Byzantium that its government sought an alliance with them against its other enemies—chiefly the Avars and the Bulgars.

The downfall of the state of the Antes at the beginning of the seventh century probably forced the Antian people to re-

tire to the north and northwest of the Black Sea. From that time on, there is little mention of them in the historical records for more than two hundred years.

The Ukrainian Tribes and Their Neighbors in the Ninth Century

The Primary Chronicle mentions the following Ukrainian tribes in the ninth century: the Polianians, who lived on the right bank of the Dnieper, between the rivers Ros and Irpin; the Siverianians (Severians), who lived on the left bank of the Dnieper on the banks of the Desna and Seim rivers; the Derevlians (Drevlians), who were between the Teteriv and the Prypiat; the Dulebians or Buzhanians (also called Volhynians), who lived on the banks of the Buh; the White Croatians (Khorvatians), who lived in Subcarpathia; and the Ulychians (Uhlchians), who lived on the banks of the Boh. The Ukrainians of today descended from these tribes. The Primary Chronicle also mentions the Tivertsians, but the question of their ethnic relationship is still being disputed.

Some tribes changed their homes. The Chronicle says that the Ulychians and Tivertsians were great powers until the tenth century and that they dwelt on the Dnieper and the Boh as far as the sea; but in the time of the chronicler not much of this population remained. There is a possibility that part of it had moved to Subcarpathia. But after the time of the chronicler, there was a Ukrainian population on the lower Dnieper in Biloberezhia (or Lukomoria), on the bank of the Black Sea. A Ukrainian population in the Crimea is also mentioned. There were important settlements of Ukrainians at the mouth of the Kuban, on the lower Don, and on the Donets. These Ukrainian settlements in the tenth and eleventh centuries connected the territory of Siverianians with the principality of Tmutorokan (with its center on the peninsula of Taman).

The Ukrainian tribes had as neighbors other east Slavic tribes to the north, and the Lithuanian tribes to the northwest.

Among the Slavic neighbors of the Ukrainian tribes were the Drehovichians on the Prypiat; the Krivichians further to the north on the headwaters of the Dnieper, the western Dvina, and the Volga (the Slovenes lived to the north of them, between Lakes Ilmen and Nevo or Ladoga); the Radimichians between the Sozh and the Dnieper; and the Viaticians between the Desna and the Oka. From these northern Slavic tribes the Belorussian and Russian peoples evolved. Although in prehistoric times they occupied a broader area to the east and south, in the ninth and tenth centuries the Lithuanian tribes lived between the Vistula and the western Dvina.

The entire central and northern part of eastern Europe was inhabited by Finnish tribes, whose settlements in prehistoric times extended southward to the upper reaches of the Dnieper and Desna rivers.

Although the Finnish tribes were not immediate neighbors of the Ukrainian tribes, they did have political and economic relations with them during the Princely (Kievan Rus') period. In the west the Ukrainian tribes bordered on the Polish tribes, on the Great Moravian State which took shape in the first half of the ninth century and, from the end of the ninth century, on Hungary.

In the south their neighbors were the Bulgarian kingdom and the Byzantine empire, which controlled the Greek colonies north of the Black Sea (including Chersonesus and also the Cimmerian Bosphorus).

In the east the Ukrainian tribes were bounded by the possessions of the Khazar khaganate (southeast), and the Volga Bulgars, with whom they had lively commercial relations.

The Life and Political Organization of the Ukrainian Tribes

The Ukrainian tribes lived a settled life. They engaged in agriculture and in cattle-raising; they sowed wheat, millet, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, hemp, and flax, and they cultivated fruit and vegetable gardens. They fished in the rivers,

and in the forest they hunted wild animals and birds and collected the honey and wax of wild bees. They had well-developed trades in pottery and weaving, making cloth of flax and wool, and they worked wood, bone, and metal—especially iron.

The various Ukrainian tribes differed little from one another in their mode of life. They usually lived in clans under the domination of the clan elder; they had similar religious beliefs (they were pagans) and a common language.

The centers of the tribal organization were the *horody* (fortified places) which were strengthened with walls and moats. These were built on heights, on the banks of rivers, or between several streams and watercourses. The remains of these *horody*—the so-called *horodyshcha*—indicate their great number in the past: in the Kiev area there are about 400; in Volhynia, about 350; in Podilia, about 250; in the Chernihiv area, about 150; in Galicia, more than 100. The dimensions of these *horodyshcha*, their complex character, and also their common construction indicate the well-organized planning of the government that directed their building. The peasant population lived in settlements around the *horodyshcha*. The chief centers were Kiev for the Polianians, Chernihiv for the Siverianians, Iskorosten (Korosten) for the Derevlians, Volyn (now Horodok on the Buh) for the Dulebians, and Peresichen for the Ulychians.

Leadership in the tribal organization was in the hands of the representatives of the families who had secured positions of power and influence because of their wealth, military prowess, or personal qualities. They met in *viche* (council) and decided important questions. The actual leadership of the tribes soon passed into the hands of tribal princes.

Trade

The Ukrainian tribes were involved in trade with other parts of the world from very ancient times. In the seventh century Arab merchants marked out



FIGURE 385. ARAB COINS OF THE NINTH CENTURY AND BYZANTINE COINS OF THE TENTH CENTURY FOUND IN UKRAINE

a trade route to the north—from the Caspian Sea, by way of the Volga or the Kama, to the Finnic Biarmia or to Lake Ladoga; and from there, by the Neva, to the Baltic Sea. The Arabs brought eastern products: costly weavings (rugs, etc.), gold and silver vessels, various ornaments, and spices. From the Finnic tribes, they secured valuable furs; from the Baltic Scandinavians, iron swords—at that time the finest in the world—and amber. An enormous number of Arab coins (silver dirhems) found on Ukrainian territory accurately date these trading relations in which the Ukrainian tribes were involved (see Fig. 385). The Arab writers of the time tell us much about this trade and about the life of the eastern Slavs.



FIGURE 386. BYZANTINE VELVET OF THE TENTH CENTURY

A second trade route of international importance, "the great waterway from the Varangians to the Greeks"—that is, from Scandinavia to Byzantium—was mapped out later. It ran from the Baltic Sea by the river Neva, Lake Ladoga, the river Volkhov, Lake Ilmen, the river Lovat; then, by land, past the head-

waters of the Wester Dvina to the headwaters of the Dnieper and down the Dnieper. At the rapids the boats were hauled ashore and carried as far as was needed; then they were sailed down the Dnieper to the Black Sea (later called the Sea of Rus'), to Byzantium, or to its chief colony in the Crimea, Chersonesus (Korsun). From Byzantium and Chersonesus they carried to the north gold weavings, silks, costly jewelry, various adornments, gold, silver and glass vessels, and also wine and dried fruit. The Byzantium trade was important for the Ukrainian people. The products it brought were used not only by the rich; even in poorer burials we find traces of velvet, silver balls, and glass beads.

A third route crossed Ukraine from east to west, connecting the Arab east with western Europe. From the Caspian Sea it went up the Volga, then overland to the Don and to the Donets, by land along the borders of the forest and the steppe to Kiev, and by the northern border of the Podilian plateau to Poland. This route, mainly a land route, crossed the water route from Byzantium to the Baltic, thereby aiding in the growth of Kiev as an important medieval center. From western Europe came arms (Frankish swords), silver and tin vessels, weavings, and wine.

Ukraine was not merely a stopping-place on the trade routes; it also was part of the world of trade and furnished foreign countries with furs, wax, and slaves. It developed commercial relations with western Europe quite early.

The edict on duties, issued in Raffelsteden (Bavaria) in the reign of Louis the German (843–76) and confirmed by Louis the Child (900–11), mentions merchants from Rus' who brought wax and slaves. But the chief articles of export were various costly furs brought from the Finnic tribes in the north. The

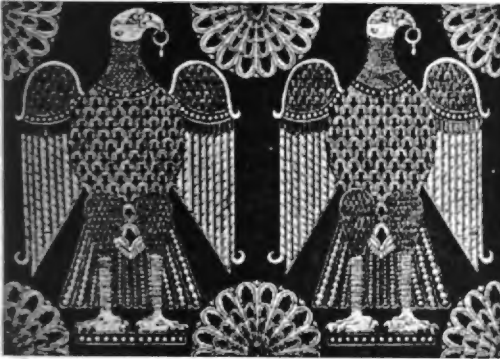


FIGURE 387. BYZANTINE VELVET OF THE TENTH CENTURY

Ukrainian merchants took these furs to Bagdad and Byzantium during the eighth to tenth centuries. The period of peace which came in eastern Europe during the flowering of the Khazar khaganate (from the eighth to the tenth centuries) greatly aided in the development of Ukrainian as well as international trade.

A. Ohloblyn

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See also the appropriate bibliography listed under "Archaeology."

4. THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF UKRAINE: THE PRINCELY ERA

KIEVAN RUS' BEFORE THE TIME OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT

The Rise of Kievan Rus'

The first historical state in eastern Europe was Kievan Rus', the fatherland of present-day Ukrainians. In all probability it was the culmination of the

development of tribal states of the Antes. It first was organized on the territory of the tribe of the *Poliane* (Polianians, see p. 578) in the second half of the sixth century by the semihistoric Prince Kii, the founder of Kiev (around 560 A.D.). Kii's dynasty reigned in the land of the Polianians until the first half

of the ninth century, at which time the country first appeared under the name *Rus'*.

This part of eastern Europe was relatively peaceful during the ninth century. Agriculture steadily advanced into the steppes; and the main waterways, the Dnieper and the Don, carried a lively commercial traffic between Kievan *Rus'* and Byzantium and the Moslem states of the Near East. The trade routes across Ukraine swarmed with Arab, Byzantine, and Varangian merchants. The Khazar state was strong enough to extend its political influence far to the west and to force the Slavs east of the Dnieper to become politically dependent upon it and to pay tribute. On the lower Don the Khazars established their military and commercial base, Sarkel.



FIGURE 388. HANDLE OF A VARANGIAN SWORD

The Khazars fell under the influence of the Mohammedan culture of the Near East, but at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries they accepted Judaism. They exerted some influence upon early Ukrainian culture.

The economic and cultural development of the early Ukrainians was greatly aided by the main commercial routes crossing Ukraine from north to south and east to west (see p. 580). Kiev, the capital of Kievan *Rus'*, was situated at the crossroads of two of these routes. After the formerly peaceful boundary of the Khazar state on the Volga was broken by the nomads of Asia, a southern drive to the Black Sea and a drive to the west were the natural geopolitical outlets for Ukraine. A similar geopolitical axis of the Belorussian people led to the Baltic

by way of the Dvina; that of the Russian people who had their nucleus on the upper Volga led into the Eurasian continent.

Western Ukraine had its own arterial waterway, the Dniester, which linked it with the Balkans. Because this part of *Rus'* had direct contacts with the west across the Carpathian Mountains, it became alienated to some degree from the central Ukrainian areas as early as the twelfth century. The western Ukrainian lands had their own special mission—they became the defensive base of the Ukrainian people when the steppes were flooded with Asiatic nomads who cut the Dnieper trade route. Temporarily the capital of Ukraine shifted then from Kiev on the Dnieper to Halych on the Dniester, or to Lviv which was on the continental route to the west.

The Primary Chronicle mentions the existence of a Kievan political center in the first half of the ninth century under Kievan princes, probably of Slavic origin, who were supposed to have been the later successors of Kii's dynasty. The Arab writer, Ibn-Khurdadhbih, identifies the Kievan Slavs with the name *Rus'* even before the coming of the Varangians; on the other hand, many historians (the Norman school) link the appearance of the name *Rus'* with the arrival of the Varangians. The Normans (Varangians) put an end to the slight dependency of the eastern Ukrainian tribes on the Khazars. The Varangians came along the Dnieper to Kiev from Novgorod. They hastened the consolidation of the tribal states of the Antes into a single large power—Kievan *Rus'*. Their leader Oleh of the Rurik (or Riurik) dynasty gave the new state its first dynasty, the Rurikides.

Under the name of Normans, the Varangians are well known in the history of western Europe. They conquered northern France (Normandy) and later England. They founded their own state in southern Italy, colonized Iceland, and were the first to reach America. Their

commercial and military raids led them by the water routes of the Don to the Sea of Azov, and by the Dnieper to Byzantium, where they served in the Byzantine army.

In eastern Europe the Normans established their first base on the territory of the Slovenians (Slovenes) in Novgorod. It is not known whether the Normans went to Kiev of their own accord or were invited by Kievan *Rus'* to free it from the Khazars. In any case, in the middle of the ninth century two Norman princes, Askold and Dir, took over the power from the local tribal princes who were unable to protect the land from the Khazars.

The Varangian government once established ruled peaceably, more by assistance than by conquest, so that from the beginning the role of the Varangians in Kievan *Rus'* was significant. They were regarded as natives and were not separated from the leading group of the "better people" of Kievan *Rus'*; rather, they were assimilated. Out of the Varangian and Slav warriors the ruling class of boyars was quickly formed.

Askold and Dir were not the only Varangian leaders who replaced the local Slavic princes. In the opinion of some historians, Bravlin, the ruler-prince of Tmutorokan *Rus'* (located on the Taman Peninsula and the eastern Crimea [Taurida]) mentioned by Arabic geographer Mas'udi, was also a Varangian chieftain. He attacked the Byzantine settlements in the Crimea (Sugdæa or Surozh, now Sudak). After organizing its military forces, Tmutorokan *Rus'* attacked Constantinople during the reign of Emperor Michael III, about 860. A later Homily of Patriarch Photius, a contemporary of Michael III, described this attack as of unprecedented ferocity. But peace was soon established between Kievan *Rus'* and Byzantium. Under the new Emperor, Basil I the Macedonian, the new Patriarch, Ignatius, sent the first Christian mission to *Rus'* in 867; it was regarded as successful. The Christian

faith also spread in Kiev. A church was built in Kiev on the grave of Askold, and the assumption is that he probably had become a Christian. Thus the year 867 marks the introduction of Christianity into the land of *Rus'*. At the same time a Christian Bulgarian state was taking shape across the Danube, and on the southwestern borders of Ukraine the Great Moravian State was expanding—both these states were Christian of the Eastern Slavic Rite.

Oleh the Seer and the Formation of the Kievan Realm

According to the Chronicle, the rule of Askold and Dir in Kiev was ended by Oleh (Oleg), a relative of Rurik, the founder of the Varangian dynasty in Novgorod. He appeared in Kiev about 878 to promote the dynastic rights of Rurik's son (or



FIGURE 389. GREEKS BRINGING GIFTS TO OLEH (FROM A CHRONICLE)

grandson), Ihor (Igor). According to popular tradition, Oleh was held in high esteem as a hero and was given the name of *Vishchyi* (Seer). In the legend, Oleh was a fearless knight who overcame all obstacles to attain his goal—the formation, on the wide expanses of eastern Europe, of an empire centered in Kiev, with a free water route from the Baltic to the Black Sea, "the road from the Varangians to the Greeks." This commercial route, Novgorod-Kiev-Byzantium, was to be the artery for a thriving reciprocal trade in the products of the forested north (furs, honey, wax) and of the steppes (grain), and in the wares of Byzantine industry.

The Chronicle tells many legends about Oleh: how he made a victorious attack on Constantinople by bringing his ships, on wheels, up to the walls of the imperial capital; how he nailed his shield on the city gate as a sign of victory; and how he met his death, as a soothsayer had predicted, by the bite of a snake which crawled out of the skull of his beloved horse.

Oleh (878–912), after becoming ruler of Kiev, made his first task that of unifying the tribes of the Antian group of Slavs into one state, Kievan *Rus'*, which extended to the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. He also annexed to Kievan *Rus'* the non-Ukrainian lands to the north (the lands along the upper Dnieper and its tributaries), since the water route from the Varangians to the Greeks passed through them. He tried to make the Black Sea the *Rus'* Sea. In this way Kievan *Rus'* came to include the Slavic lands of the Belorussian group—the lands of the Radimichians, Polochanians, and Krivichians—as well as the lands of the Slavs of the Russian group—the Viaticians and the Novgorod Slovenians. The Kievan prince also ruled the Finnic tribes of Ves and Muroma. Thus Kievan *Rus'* controlled the cities of Novgorod, Polotsk, Smolensk, and Rostov. It is not known how far to the west Oleh's state extended. There are some indications that the region of the river Sian (San) was the border with the Belocroatian state and later, along with the region of Cracow, passed into the Czech state under the rule of the Premyslides (the name of the city of Peremyshl).

The unification of the Antian Slavs was no easy task. The Derevlians resisted strongly (880). For the lands of the Ulychians (Uhlichians) and the Tivertsians (Tivertsi), Oleh had to wage a long war with the Magyars who, before their entrance into the Hungarian plain, lived in what is now Bessarabia and Wallachia, and controlled the lands of the Ulychians and the Tivertsians. In 882, the Siverianians (Severians), with-

out resistance, shifted their allegiance from the Khazars to Kiev. But the non-Ukrainian Radimichians and Viaticians were held only by force; some decades later Sviatoslav had to reconquer them. Azov (Tmutorokan) *Rus'*, which had its own prince, also acknowledged the supremacy of Kiev.

At the end of the ninth century part of the horde of Pechenegs (Patzinaks), a Turkish people, appeared in the steppes north of the Black Sea. We do not know how they broke through the Volga and the Khazar state. The pressure of the Pechenegs in the east forced the Magyars under Arpad, the celebrated hero of Hungary, to cross the Carpathians (one group through the Transylvanian Alps, another through the Galician Carpathians) into the Hungarian plain, and to put an end to the Great Moravian State (898). The Pechenegs retired to the lower Don, but later, reinforced by a new group of their own people from Asia, became a menace to Kievan *Rus'*.

The invasion of the Magyars into the Hungarian plain affected those ancestors of the Carpathian Ukrainians who lived south of the Carpathians, in the valley of the upper Tysa (Tisza) River and its tributaries. The occupation of this part of the Ukrainian land by the Magyars is reflected in tales about the heroic struggle of the local tribal prince, Laborets, who was killed in a battle with the Magyars for the castle of Mak.

The existence of Oleh's great state, composed of so many different tribes, was possible only because he permitted the tribal Slav princes and their administrations a degree of local autonomy. The financial system of the state was based principally on direct taxes in kind (known as *poliudie*), collected yearly by the local prince and his retinue. This meant that good markets were required for the products of Kievan *Rus'*: furs, honey, wax, grain, and slaves. Access to the markets of the civilized Mohammedan countries on the Caspian Sea was in

the hands of the Khazars. Consequently, the economic prosperity of Kievan Rus' depended upon the maintenance of the Byzantine market.

The Byzantine government, understanding the serious position of its northern neighbor, tried to reduce the profits of the merchants from Rus' by various means. This led to an armed conflict with the Byzantine empire in 907. Oleh, with the aid of the tribal princes and Varangian detachments, organized a great expedition against the imperial capital with two thousand boats, each carrying forty men. The land forces marched along the western shores of the Black Sea. The combined Rus' military and naval forces approached Constantinople and broke the chains which barred the entrance to the harbor. The victory of Oleh was complete, and Byzantium could only sue for peace. An armistice was concluded under the walls of the capital, and a permanent peace treaty was signed four years later (911). The text of this treaty is preserved in the Chronicle. It is the well-known First Treaty of Rus' with the Greeks. The Byzantines paid Rus' a large tribute, which was divided among the participants in the expedition. The merchants from Rus' obtained preferential status in Byzantium: they paid no duties on their goods, and while they were in Byzantium, they were assigned a special portion of the city to reside in.

The First Treaty of Rus' with the Greeks, which established the commercial relations between Kievan Rus' and Byzantium, was effective until 944. Soon after its signing Oleh died, and the throne of the new empire passed to Ihor (Igor), either the son or the grandson of Rurik.

Rus' and the "Realm of Rus'" under Ihor and Olha

Prince Ihor (912-45) did not win the sympathy of the author of the Chronicle, as Oleh did. He is described as an unchivalrous individual, treacherous and

greedy. A valuable picture of the administrative and economic system of Kievan Rus' during the reign of Ihor's, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in his work *De Administrando Imperio*. According to this work, the core of the Kievan Realm is Rus' proper (*Rossia*)—that is, Kiev and its surrounding countryside. All the other parts of the Kievan Realm were the annexed regions, *Exo Rossia*, which consisted of the tribes that paid tribute to the prince of Kiev and were bound to supply him with troops when called upon to do so. The remarks of Constantine Porphyrogenitus describing ethnic Rus' (*Rus'* proper) and political Rus' (later called the "Realm [or Land] of Rus'" [*Ruskaia Zemlia*]) hold true for the

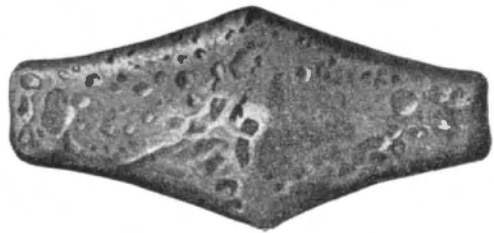


FIGURE 390. KIEVAN SILVER COIN, *hryvnia*

ethnic character of the Kievan Realm even in the first half of the tenth century. The non-Ukrainian lands of present-day Belorussia and Russia were not, at this time, considered part of Rus' proper, but rather parts of the Kievan Realm dominated by Rus'.

The taxes from this great area, at that time and even later, had to be collected each year by the prince's retinue. This is described in some detail by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Late in autumn, he writes, the prince's *druzhynnyky* (men-at-arms), accompanied by fiscal agents, went around to collect the taxes. During the winter the local population was under obligation to build small boats, usually out of a single tree trunk. In April the boats were launched on the

nearest stream flowing into the Dnieper, laden with goods, and floated downstream to Kiev where the goods were sorted and prepared for export to Byzantium. Here, foreign merchants joined the prince's agents. The flotilla stopped at the Dnieper cataracts, where the boats and the goods were portaged to a spot near the island of St. Gregory (now Khortytzia). From there they went to the mouth of the Dnieper, stopping only at the island of St. Aetherius (now Berezan). There, sails were placed on the boats which then sailed along the western shore of the Black Sea to the city of Mesembria near Constantinople. Accounts show that the yearly export of the *Rus'* state to Byzantium was about 5,000 to 10,000 metric tons. This was an enormous trade for the time if it is considered that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, only 1,250 metric tons per year passed through the St. Gotthard Pass, the chief trade route from the Mediterranean Sea and Italy to Germany.

The Arab writer, Ibn-Miskawaih, describing the campaign of Ihor to the Caspian lands in 943, writes that Ihor wanted to secure firm control of Azerbaijan in order to have a commercial base for exports to the then flourishing Caliphate of the Abbassides (Arabian empire). It would seem that the exports from *Rus'* to Byzantium were meeting with serious difficulties or were threatened with total stoppage; the Greeks no longer were willing to respect the treaty of 911 with its advantages to *Rus'*. A new war began between Kiev and Constantinople which turned out badly for *Rus'*. The terms of the Second Treaty of *Rus'* with the Greeks of 944 are far less favorable to the Kievan state. The treaty abolished the preferential status of the merchants from *Rus'* in Byzantium.

The text of this treaty, preserved in the Chronicle, lists among the envoys of the Kievan prince many with Slavic names, showing that the prince's retinue, originally Varangian, already included quite a number of Slavic boyars. Among

the envoys with names of Varangian and Khazar origin were many Christians who took the oath on the cross in the Kievan Church of St. Elias; the others swore by the Slavic god Perun and on their swords.

At this time the centralization of Kievan *Rus'* was proceeding rapidly. In the treaty little is said of the local tribal princes, but much of the princes and princesses of the family of Rurik. Peace was made in the name of "Prince Ihor and all the boyars and all the people of the Realm of *Rus'*." The expression "Realm of *Rus'*" (*Strana Ruskaia*) is used here for the first time in the broad political sense of the Kievan Realm, composed of *Rus'* in its ethnic sense plus the non-*Rus'* lands under its control.

The centralizing policy of Kiev caused a reaction among the subjugated tribes.

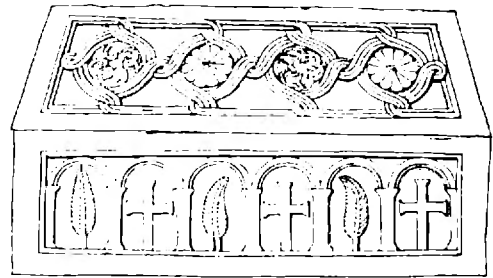


FIGURE 391. SARCOPHAGUS OF PRINCESS OLHA IN THE CHURCH OF THE TITHES (DESIATYNNA)

The Derevlians revolted twice. In 945 they prepared an ambush for Ihor who fell into it and was killed. He left a widow, Olha (Olga), a Slavic woman from Pskov, and a three-year-old son, Sviatoslav.

In the name of her young son, Princess Olha assumed the regency of the state (945-64). She is praised by the Chronicle as the wisest of all the women of *Rus'*. After the revolt of the Derevlians was put down and their land incorporated in the centralized system of the state, her regency was peaceful, for the Kievan Realm was now stabilized. Olha continued the centralization of the taxes. Instead of the former impractical

and unpopular system of having taxes collected by the princes' men-at-arms, she introduced a more orderly collection through state and local agents in the tax districts (*pohosty*, sing. *pohost*) on the pattern of the system already used in *Rus'* proper.

Olha won the special sympathy of the author of the Chronicle because she was the first of the Rurikides to be baptized. She probably was baptized in Kiev about 955, but Christians apparently were in the minority and she did not attempt to introduce Christianity officially. Opposition was particularly strong in the military circles (*druzhyňa*), for the Christian faith did not harmonize with the ideals of the Varangian soldiers. Olha's son, Sviatoslav, resisted his mother's efforts to turn him to Christianity, saying: "The *druzhyňa* will laugh at me."

To clear up political and possibly ecclesiastical relations, Olha went on a diplomatic mission to Byzantium in 957. Her reception there is described by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in his work *De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*. Two years after her visit to Byzantium, she sent an ambassador to the German King Otto I the Great (crowned emperor at Rome in 962) and asked him to send western missionaries to *Rus'* (see "Church").

Sviatoslav the Conqueror

In 964 Sviatoslav (964-72), the twenty-two-year-old son of Olha, began to reign in his own right. He was a true knight, bold and accustomed to the hard military life and to honorable battle. The great state needed a prudent statesman, an organizer, and a political realist; but the young Sviatoslav thought only of distant campaigns.

A new threat appeared in the steppes of the Black Sea—the reinforced horde of the Pechenegs. The Khazar state was too weak to check the invading horde and asked for support from the Kievan Realm. But instead of aiding the Khazars, Sviatoslav, in 963, entered into

conflict with them in defense of the Crimean *Rus'* and the Gothic tribes. His first campaign against the Khazars ended with his capture of Sarkel, their fortress on the Don, and the assurance of the control by the Kievan state of Tmutorkan *Rus'* and nearby eastern Crimea.

In the next year Sviatoslav, after putting down a revolt of the Viaticians, turned against the Volga Bulgars and defeated them. He planned to seize the entire line of the Volga to secure the approach to the Eurasian continent. But his plan was a short-sighted one. Only a strong state established in the Volga valley could dominate the line of the Volga permanently. The destruction of the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars opened the gates to the Turkic tribes who dwelt in the depths of Asia and who, since they lived from their herds, looked covetously toward the abundant pasturage of the Ukrainian steppes.

Sviatoslav did not have the opportunity to deal a death blow to the Khazars immediately, for he was led to the Balkans by the prospect of new conquests in alliance with the Byzantine state. Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas gave Sviatoslav great financial assistance through Kalokyras, his vicegerent in Kherson, to come to the Balkans to fight the Bulgars. Kalokyras, for his part, was a secret enemy of the Emperor and dreamed of seizing the Byzantine throne with the aid of Sviatoslav. In 967 Sviatoslav led a large army to Bulgaria and occupied its eastern part, including the city of Preslav, where he planned to establish his capital permanently. The Bulgarians called the Pechenegs to their aid. The latter received reinforcements which had crossed the Volga with the permission of the Khazars to harass the lands of *Rus'*. The Pechenegs besieged Kiev, where Olha was acting as the representative of her son. Summoned by his mother, Sviatoslav left a strong garrison in Preslav, hurried to the defense of Kiev, and defeated the Pechenegs (968). Probably because of the Pecheneg epi-

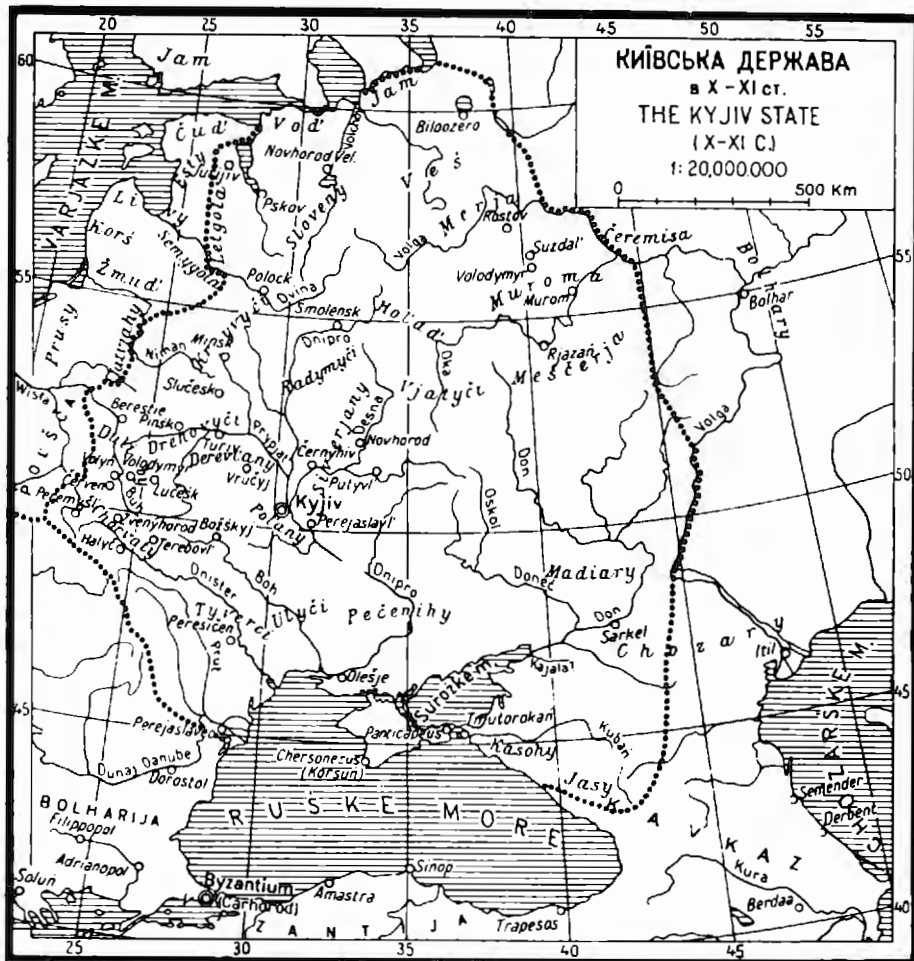


FIGURE 392. THE KIEVAN REALM IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES

sode, Sviatoslav decided to put an end to the Khazar state. Its capital Itil, on the lower Volga, and the city of Samandar, further south near the Caspian shore, were captured by Rus' between 968 and 969.

When Olha died in 969, Sviatoslav returned to the Balkans, where the situation had completely changed. As a result of the intrigues of Kalokyras a palace revolution had deposed Nicephorus Phocas; but it was a general, John I Tzimisces, not Kalokyras, who won the throne and the heart of the wife of his predecessor. Tzimisces made peace with the Bulgarians and moved with them

against Sviatoslav. In 971, the defeated Sviatoslav signed the Third Treaty of Rus' with the Greeks, a treaty solely to end the war and containing no commercial clauses. Sviatoslav moved up the Dnieper, but near the Dnieper rapids he was ambushed by the Pechenegs at the instigation of the Greeks. He was killed in the battle (972).

The reign of Sviatoslav ends the first period of the history of medieval Ukraine, the period of the expansion of Kievan Rus'. The failures of Sviatoslav showed that the strength of the Realm of Rus' was insufficient for further expansion; internal consolidation was

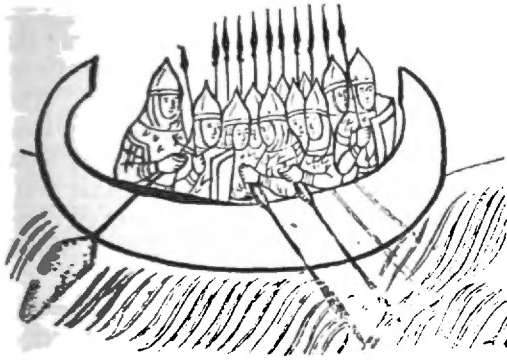


FIGURE 393. TRAVEL BY WATER (FROM THE LIVES OF BORYS AND HLIB)

needed through improved administration and the establishment of spiritual bonds—a common religion and culture.

THE BLOSSOMING OF THE KIEVAN REALM

Volodymyr the Great and the Coming of Christianity

Since prehistoric times there had existed in the territory of the Kievan state not only ethnic and linguistic differences, but also deep cultural and religious differences.

The Antian group of Slavs, the forefathers of the Ukrainians, were settled on the steppe and the forest-steppe belt; they had engaged in agriculture since the times of the Trypilian culture, and consequently their outlook and religion were connected with an agricultural civilization. Furthermore, as recent excavations on the territories of the Greek colonies along the Black Sea have shown, the contacts of the Greek colonies with the steppe population were much closer than had previously been supposed. The natives of the Ukrainian steppes constantly went to the Greek cities and took part not only in the material but also in the spiritual life of the Greek colonies.

Yet while the life of the ancestors of the Ukrainians was associated with the agricultural civilization of the steppes, the life of the tribes who were to father the Russian people was that of a forest

population concerned with hunting, fishing, and also with trade—especially among the Novgorod Slovenians. The culture of the tribes of the Belorussian group likewise was influenced by the special geographical features of Belorussia.

In the face of such religio-cultural divergences within its realm, the need of Rus' was to attempt to establish some sense of unity by securing one higher religion for all its parts. During the regency of Olha, Christianity had made great strides, especially in the cities on the trade routes where the local people came in contact with foreign Christians. The sojourn of Sviatoslav in the Balkans and the almost continuous regency of Olha gave her the opportunity to rear the sons of Sviatoslav, Yaropolk and Oleh, who were at her court in the



FIGURE 394. GRAND PRINCE VOLODYMYR (FROM THE LIVES OF BORYS AND HLIB)

Christian faith. The third son of Sviatoslav, Volodymyr (by a court lady Malusha), was brought up outside the influence of Olha in paganism by his uncle Dobrynia. Thus a religious division between Christians and pagans occurred even within the princely family.

After the death of Sviatoslav the older son Yaropolk began to reign in Kiev (972), while the younger Oleh ruled in the land of the Derevlians; Volodymyr (Vladimir) governed Novgorod under the guardianship of Dobrynia. Kiev, under Yaropolk, assumed a definitely Christian character. The old idols rotted away and fell, and no one repaired them. Paganism was coming to an end in *Rus'*.

The internal situation of the Kievan state was difficult. The remnants of the Varangian forces had returned from the Balkan adventures of Sviatoslav disillusioned and dissatisfied. Among these dissatisfied soldiers was the voivode of Sviatoslav, Sveneld, a veteran of the Balkan campaign. He decided to try to secure for himself the governorship of the land of the Derevlians, then ruled by Oleh. The inexperienced Yaropolk allowed himself to be drawn into Sveneld's intrigue and waged a campaign against Oleh. Oleh perished in a battle.

The death of Oleh seemed to Volodymyr to be a threat to himself. He retired to Scandinavia, where he made friends with the Varangian king, Olaf I Trygvessön, and obtained assistance from him. With the Slovenians and Varangians, Volodymyr marched on Kiev. Yaropolk was betrayed by his adjutant, the Varangian Blut (perhaps a pagan); failing to heed the warnings of Variashko, a Christian, Yaropolk went to a meeting with Volodymyr where he was murdered by the latter's agents. That year, 980, Volodymyr became the sole ruler of the entire Realm of *Rus'*. Variashko and the Christian partisans of Yaropolk fled to the Pechenegs.

Volodymyr the Great (980–1015) thus

became master of the Kievan state with the aid of the Varangians. This was the last important act of Varangian interference in the Realm of *Rus'*. The Varangian dynasty, the Rurikides, soon came to be considered the only legal dynasty of *Rus'*, and the Varangian warriors who remained in *Rus'* were completely assimilated into the Slavic population.

Volodymyr the Great entered Kiev at the head of a victorious pagan faction and at once restored the pagan character of the city. But his talent as a statesman was shown in the fact that he soon realized that the forces which had seated him on his father's throne were already past their prime; they could not give stability to the state nor insure the permanency of his own rule.

Volodymyr's first task was to strengthen the shaky state. The reinforced horde of the Pechenegs seriously threatened the vital commercial route along the Dnieper to the south; Volodymyr had to find other safe commercial routes to the west. This was perhaps the reason why he attacked Poland and added to *Rus'* the territory in the triangle between the Buh (Bug), Vistula, and Wisłoka—the so-called Cherven cities (981). Soon the ecclesiastical organization of the Kievan metropolitanate united this area culturally with the main body of Ukraine.



FIGURE 395. GOLD COIN OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT

The acquisition of the Cherven territory by the Kievan state established the boundary between Poland and Ukraine for four hundred years. It ran from the Carpathians along the river Wisłoka to that river's entrance into the Vistula, then north to the valley of the river Vepr

(Wieprz), west of the Buh. The cities of Riashiv (Rzeszów) and Perevorsk (Przeworsk) were border fortresses on the west of *Rus'*.

After the death of Sviatoslav, the always restless northern part of the state, which was inhabited by tribes of the Russian and Belorussian groups (the Viatichians and the Radimichians), withdrew from the *Rus'* state; in two campaigns, in 982 and 984, Volodymyr brought them back under the rule of Kiev.

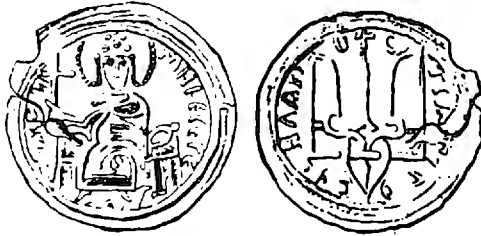


FIGURE 396. SILVER COIN OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT

After restoring the political unity of the realm, Volodymyr turned toward cementing this unity with a single spiritual bond—a religion common to all the ethnic groups of the realm. In the east, south, and west, the neighbors of Kievan *Rus'* were all followers of monotheistic religions: the Khazars practised Judaism; on the Caspian Sea and in the North Caucasian area were the Mohammedans of the Khorezmian empire; in the south was the Greek Christianity of Byzantium and Bulgaria; and in the west there was Latin Christianity.

It was not an easy task to decide on any one of these religions, for the adoption of the religion and culture of a strong neighbor might also involve Kiev in political dependence upon it. The continuing struggle of Eastern Christian Byzantium with Eastern Christian Bulgaria made Volodymyr cautious. His hesitation is reflected in the legend in the Chronicle about the envoys he sent out to investigate various forms of religion and his final decision to adopt Greek Christianity.

Volodymyr's baptism, his marriage to the sister of Byzantine Emperor Basil II, and the baptism of the population of Kiev in 990 helped to establish Ukraine's adherence to the Eastern Christian world. After the people of Kiev were baptized, the task of converting the entire state was begun.

The relations between Volodymyr and Emperor Basil II, known in history as Bulgaroctonus ("Slayer of the Bulgars"), were never close despite Volodymyr's marriage. In fact, *Rus'* relied chiefly on missionary help from the Bulgarians, until Bulgaria fell victim to brutal Byzantine attack, massacre, and enslavement (1018). Under Volodymyr the Great, Bulgarian influences on the church in *Rus'* were predominant. Distrust of Byzantium also made it possible for Christian influences from the west to penetrate into *Rus'*. These were seen chiefly in the legal position of the church in *Rus'* which was regulated by the Church Statute of Volodymyr the Great. Contrary to the Byzantine pattern, the church in the Kievan Realm was not subservient to the state.

The baptism of Volodymyr changed his previously strong, warlike nature. He abolished capital punishment and replaced it with fines called *vyra* (blood-wite, German *Wergeld*) and *prodazha* (a fine payable to the prince) in the *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus'* Law). Volodymyr spread education by establishing schools attached to the churches and insisting that the children of the boyars be taken there, by force if necessary.

His relations with his neighbors, Bolesław the Brave of Poland, Stephen the Saint of Hungary, and Oldřich of Bohemia, were peaceful. The Pechenegs caused *Rus'* the most trouble, and Volodymyr waged campaigns against them in 992, 995, and 997. As a defense against them he constructed fortified lines on the northern banks of the steppe rivers—the Stuhna, the Sula, the Trubezh, the Desna, and the Oster. The city of Pereiaslav became the defensive center



FIGURE 397. BORYS AND HLIB, FROM A KIEVAN ENGRAVING OF 1638

against the nomads of the steppes. He administered his wide realm with the aid of his sons who were appointed viceroys: Yaroslav in Novgorod, Sviatopolk in Turiv, Borys in Rostov, Hlib (Gleb) in Murom, Sviatoslav in the land of the Derevlians, Iziaslav in Polotsk, and Mstyslav in Tmutorokan.

The end of Volodymyr's life was clouded by the revolt of Novgorod against Kiev—a revolt in which Yaroslav was involved. Novgorod had often shown a tendency to be a rival of Kiev. There were several reasons for this. First there was the ethnic difference: the Novgorodians did not belong to the Antian (proto-Ukrainian) group of Slavs, and so they regarded the Kiev rule as alien. Secondly there was the religious difference: while the Ukrainian south was ready to accept Christianity, Novgorod chose to remain chiefly pagan. Thirdly, Novgorod was an economic rival of Kiev; it was beginning to orient its trade toward the Baltic and to encourage exports from the northern part of the state. Volodymyr died in 1015, at the

age of 55, amid preparations for a campaign against Novgorod and Yaroslav.

Volodymyr's plan to bind together the population of the realm by a single religion and to eliminate the tribal and ethnic differences was begun successfully. Yet the centrifugal forces in the Kievan Realm were very strong and could not be fully eliminated. They were aided by the seniority order of succession in the ruling dynasty: all its members were entitled to rule parts of the state, and the Kievan throne devolved upon the oldest member of the princely clan of the Rurikides. This opened the way for the division of the empire into a number of principalities, and allowed the separate parts of the realm to develop along the lines of their own ethnic, economic, and cultural characteristics into separate nations. The Christian church was too weak to combat this trend.

The First Crisis of the Kievan Realm

Volodymyr the Great died quite unexpectedly. His son Borys was governor of the northeastern territory of Rostov and, during Volodymyr's last illness, had been sent from Kiev on a campaign against the Pechenegs. When he had reached the Alta River on his victorious return to Kiev, he learned of his father's death and the seizure of Kiev by his half-brother Sviatopolk, prince of nearby Turiv, who was married to a daughter of King Bolesław the Brave of Poland. Sviatopolk sent agents to murder Borys; he also sent men to kill two other sons of Volodymyr, Hlib and Sviatoslav. Called in Old Ukrainian literature *Okaiany* (the Damned), the fratricidal Sviatopolk commenced to rule the southern part of the realm. He did not control the other lands which were in the hands of the three surviving sons of Volodymyr: the land of Novgorod under Yaroslav, Polotsk under Iziaslav, and Tmutorokan under Mstyslav.

This conflict between the members of the Rurikide dynasty made clear the importance of the local ambitions and



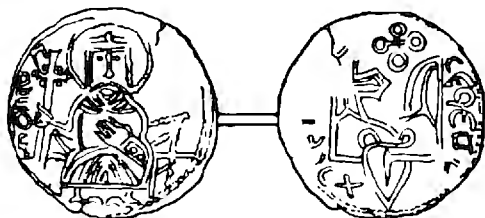


FIGURE 398. COIN OF SVIATOPOLK

ethnic differences of the lands which were always trying to break away from Kiev, especially Polotsk, the core of the future Belorussian people. Novgorod in its revolts against Kiev did not wish so much to break away from Kiev as to dominate it.

A four-year war (1015–19) broke out between Yaroslav and Sviatopolk, and both sides mobilized their military and material resources. Yaroslav, following long-standing custom, went overseas to hire Varangian assistance with the money of commercial Novgorod. Sviatopolk assured himself the aid of the Pechenegs. Defeated, Sviatopolk fled to Poland and with Polish reinforcements returned to Ukraine. The battle on the Buh (1018) ended with the defeat of Yaroslav, who returned to Novgorod. Sviatopolk with the help of the Poles dominated Kiev; Bolesław the Brave secured payment for his aid by again annexing to Poland the Cherven land which Volodymyr had incorporated into *Rus'* in 981.

The presence of his Polish allies in Kiev soon became burdensome to Sviatopolk. He felt himself strong enough to begin to drive the Polish garrisons from Ukrainian towns. However, he broke with Poland inopportunely, for just at that time Yaroslav was moving on Kiev with a new Varangian force. Yaroslav took Kiev in 1019 and the defeated Sviatopolk fled west and died somewhere in Silesia.

The occupation of Kiev did not give Yaroslav control of the entire state. His brother Mstyslav, Prince of Tmutorokan, who had remained neutral in the fighting

between Yaroslav and Sviatopolk, refused to allow him to control the area east of the Dnieper. Mstyslav, enjoying a free hand during the war between Kiev and Novgorod, strengthened his control over the Sea of Azov and the north Caucasian area. Well-established in the south, he moved northward and seized Chernihiv (1024). The decisive battle between Yaroslav and Mstyslav was fought at Listven near Chernihiv in 1024. The defeated Yaroslav had to agree to a partition of the state with the Dnieper as the boundary. Kiev ceased to be the capital of the *Rus'* state until Mstyslav's death in 1036. Novgorod, Yaroslav's capital, controlled the water route from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

After the death of Mstyslav, Yaroslav reunited the Realm of *Rus'*, and Kiev again became the capital of the *Rus'* state. Yaroslav had to pay for moving his capital to the south by granting special privileges to Novgorod which grew to be merely formally, rather than actually, dependent on Kiev. Novgorod secured from Yaroslav a special charter unlike that awarded to any other principality in the *Rus'* state. It secured as bishop a native son, Luka Zhidiata. Later Novgorod saw to it that its bishop received the title of archbishop, thus making him partially independent of the metropolitan of Kiev. Thus a separate body politic of a democratic-republican character was organized; it existed until the late fifteenth century when it was fully absorbed and politically assimilated by the autocratic Muscovite state.

The Belorussian land of Polotsk also broke away from Kiev, and founded its own dynasty of Rohvolod (Rogvolod)—the father of Volodymyr's wife Rohnida (Rogneda) and the grandfather of Iziaslav, founder of a new Polotsk dynasty.

The Age of Yaroslav the Wise

Yaroslav the Wise achieved the unification of the Kievan realm for a short, but brilliant, period. It was a time of

political and economic stabilization within the empire, of an increase in the authority of the Kievan ruler, and of a recognition of the state as a first-class power both within the framework of existing European powers and as a component part of medieval Christian Europe (the *Communitas Christiana*).



FIGURE 399. COIN OF YAROSLAV THE WISE

From his northern capital in Novgorod, Yaroslav had tried to consolidate his part of the state internally by continuing the Christianizing policy of his father. In 1024 a pagan revolt under the leadership of the *volkhvy* (pagan priests) broke out in Suzdal (the center of the future Muscovite state), and Yaroslav was obliged to suppress it by force.

Taking advantage of the weakening of Poland after the death of Bolesław the Brave in 1025, Yaroslav again captured from Poland the Cherven cities, retaken by Bolesław in 1019; in 1031 he incorporated them permanently into the Kievan Realm. On the Sian River, he founded the fortress city of Yaroslav. After reconquering this area, Yaroslav the Wise lived in harmony with the Polish King, Casimir the Restorer, even helping him stop a pagan revolt in Poland by bringing its center, the Mazovian area, under Casimir's rule. The fortress of Yuriev (the Christian name of Yaroslav was Yurii [George]), founded in Estonia in 1030 (the present Tartu), was built to insure the control of the Gulf of Finland by Novgorod.

The death of Mstyslav, who had held the Pechenegs under strict control, gave them the courage to make a last attack upon the thickly settled southeastern

agricultural area of the state—the lands of Pereiaslav and Kiev. The Pechenegs approached Kiev, spreading destruction. Yaroslav routed them completely in 1036. The Pechenegs were scattered in the steppes and ceased to disturb the eastern borders of Rus'. But the destruction of the Pechenegs opened the gates to new Turkic hordes: the weaker Torks and, later, the stronger Polovtsians (Cumans).

The absence of a strong policy by the Kievan government towards the nomads of the steppes was eventually the chief cause of the decline of the Realm of Rus'. Rus' usually fought the nomads only when they attacked. These defensive tactics exposed the inhabited borderlands of the steppes, especially the land of Pereiaslav, to constant devastation. Intriguing princes in their fights with political opponents within Rus' itself made use of the nomads. As a result, the population of the borderlands flowed back into the protective belt of the forests. Yaroslav maintained this traditional policy; as his father did, he built defensive lines in the steppes, usually along the rivers that flowed from the east into the Dnieper. He turned Kiev into a strong fortress and increased the area of the city.

Yaroslav devoted his main efforts to raising the cultural level of the Realm of Rus'. Kiev became an important cultural center. At the newly constructed Cathedral of St. Sophia, Yaroslav founded Ukraine's first institution of learning and research, consisting of a great library and a translation institute. Several dozen copyists and translators worked for a number of years on translating the most valuable works of Greek Christian literature into the Slavonic language, thereby making them accessible to the entire Slavic world of eastern Europe. Other works were copied and also adapted from the Bulgarian church language.

The appellation "the Wise" is linked to Yaroslav's name because of his legis-



FIGURE 400. REPRESENTATION OF THE FAMILY OF YAROSLAV IN THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. SOPHIA IN KIEV

lative activity in particular. He was responsible for the promulgation of the first code of laws in the entire Slavic world: *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus' Law*). Actually he arranged only the oldest part of this famous legal collection.

The reunion of the lands of *Rus'* on both sides of the Dnieper, the transfer of the capital to Kiev, and finally the destruction of the Pechenegs and the clearing of the waterway of the Dnieper opened a period of more lively relations with Byzantium. Commercial and cultural contacts were revived. The first Greek metropolitan, Theopemptos, ap-

peared in Kiev and resided at the Cathedral of St. Sophia. Soon these contacts were hampered by commercial conflicts. In 1043 *Rus'* made its last, and unsuccessful, attack upon Byzantium. In 1045 some degree of reconciliation took place and Yaroslav's son, Vsevolod, was married to the daughter of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus. But good relations did not develop as Yaroslav the Wise resolved to appoint Hilarion (Ilarion), a native of *Rus'*, as the next Metropolitan of Kiev (see "Church").

During the time of Yaroslav the Wise, *Rus'* was oriented politically toward western Europe; this is well illustrated in the relations between the members of Yaroslav's family and almost all the

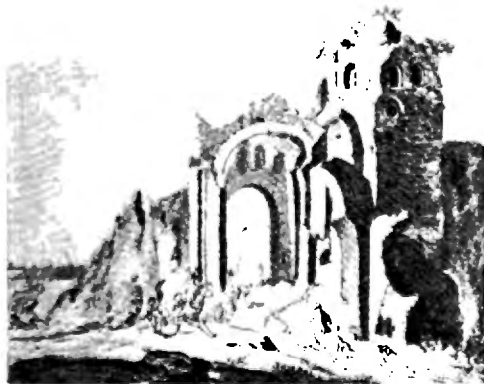


FIGURE 401. RUINS OF THE "GOLDEN GATE" IN KIEV FROM A PAINTING OF 1651

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FIGURE 402. SIGNATURE OF ANNA YAROSLAVNA, QUEEN OF FRANCE

dynasties of western Europe. Yaroslav's wife Irene (Ingegarda) was the daughter of the Swedish King. Yaroslav's daughter Elisabeth married the famous Norwegian knight and King, Harold the Stern; a second daughter, Anna, married the King of France, and after the death of

her husband (Henri I), she was regent of the realm. His oldest son, Iziaslav, married the German princess Gertrud.

In addition to his relationships through marriage, Yaroslav the Wise had friendly relations with the German Emperors Henry II, Conrad II, and Henry III. Kiev grew into a large city, which, according to German chronicler, Dietmar (Thietmar) of Merseburg, had four hundred churches, eight market places, and a large population of various nationalities. Another chronicler, Adam of Bremen, calls Kiev a rival of Byzantium.

With the death of Yaroslav the Wise in 1054 the power of Kievan Rus' came to an end. Yaroslav's statute on the succession to the throne provided that his family was to be the joint sovereign of the whole realm and that the constituent principalities of the state should be apportioned according to their importance to the members of the family in order of their seniority. The oldest in the family was to be Grand Prince of Kiev, and all the younger princes were to obey him in their father's stead. This order of succession relied on the high moral strength of the senior prince and of all the other members of the family; no legal or compulsory means were established for enforcing its enactment.

Like the members of the reigning family, the constituent principalities had their own order of importance. After Kiev came Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Volhynia, Novgorod, Suzdal, and the other lands not in a definite order. The constant transferring of the princes from the lesser to the major principalities tended to keep the state in a continually unsettled condition, even in the rare cases where the statute was carried out with complete justice.

Yaroslav's law of succession had another flaw: it did not take into account the children of a prince who died young without having secured any land. His sons dropped out of the order of seniority completely. These excess princes, de-



FIGURE 403. MARBLE SARCOPHAGUS OF YAROSLAV THE WISE IN ST. SOPHIA CATHEDRAL IN KIEV

prived of domains of their own, began to seek their rights by force. So the seniority statute became a cause for princely conspiracies and fratricidal wars, often conducted with the assistance of nomads of the steppes, and finally brought about the end of the Kievan Realm. The statute reflected the system of feudal relationships of western Europe transferred to east European soil.

The Realm of Rus' under the Heirs of Yaroslav (1054-93)

Yaroslav the Wise had prepared as his successor his oldest son, the energetic Volodymyr Yaroslavych, his viceroy in Novgorod and the leader of the campaign against Byzantium (1043), but Volodymyr Yaroslavych died before his father did. Consequently, Iziaslav Yaroslavych, the second oldest son, became the ruler of Kiev. The younger sons, Sviatoslav, Vsevolod, and Ihor were in Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and Volhynia, respectively. It should be noted that each of Yaroslav's sons received his main

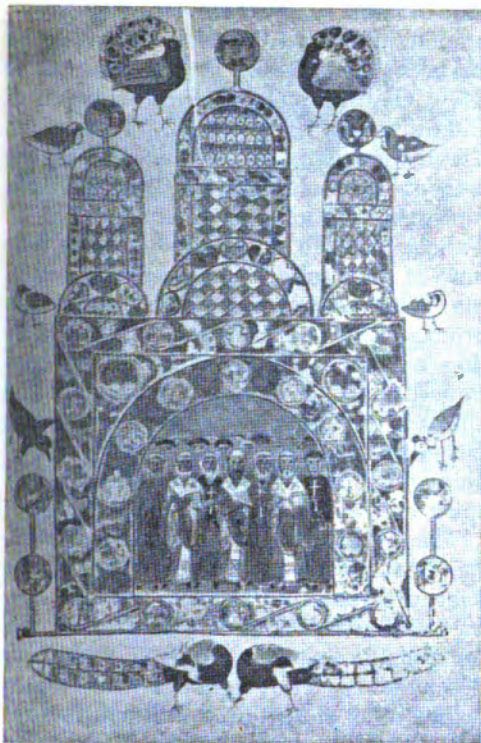


FIGURE 404. MINIATURE FROM THE *Izbornyk* [REFERENCE BOOK] OF SVIATOSLAV, 1073

principality in *Rus'* proper and an additional principality outside Ukraine. In addition to Kiev, Iziaslav received Novgorod; Sviatoslav received Murom and Tmutorokan; and Vsevolod received Rostov. The three older brothers lived in harmony as a triumvirate ruling the Realm of *Rus'*. They not only carried on a common policy, but made common internal reforms; at a joint conference they supplemented the primary *Rus'* Law with the so-called Law (*Pravda*) of Yaroslav's Sons.

The land-owning boyars, an aristocratic element which had acquired wealth in the state service, became important in the whole realm, especially in Ukraine. Although the number of slaves decreased under the influence of Christianity, the position of the free peasants steadily grew more difficult: increasing numbers of them became *zakupy* (indentured laborers). The corrupt ad-

ministration became the cause of social movements of the poorer classes.

The first problem of the new system was that of the princely *izhoi*—the princes without domains. One of these was Rostyslav, son of Volodymyr Yaroslavych. Against the will of the triumvirate he settled in Halych, the domain of Iziaslav of Kiev, in an attempt to establish the claim of his descendants to Galicia (*Halychyna*). When he was driven from Galicia he went to Tmutorokan, the domain of Sviatoslav of Chernihiv, where he won great popularity not only in Tmutorokan but in the Byzantine settlements in the Crimea as well. There he was treacherously poisoned by the Byzantine governor. Later on, three sons, Riuryk, Volodar, and Vasylo, seized Galicia and held it as the dynastic domain—that of the Rostyslavychi (descendants of Rostyslav).

In 1068 a new horde of Cumans settled on the Donets River and began to attack the outlying regions of Pereiaslav and Kiev. The inability of Iziaslav to organize a defense against them brought about a revolution in Kiev. The city's *viche* (assembly) took power. Iziaslav recovered his throne with Polish help, but he did not win back his popularity. So Sviatoslav and Vsevolod conspired against Iziaslav, who was forced to flee to the west for a second time. Sviatoslav reigned for three years in Kiev (1073–6). Meanwhile Iziaslav sought help in Poland, from Emperor Henry IV, and then from Pope Gregory VII. However, only the death of Sviatoslav in 1076 enabled Iziaslav to return to the throne of Kiev. He died in 1078.

The senior throne of Kiev then passed into the hands of Vsevolod (1078–93), who retained Pereiaslav and also took over Chernihiv, although he was a weak ruler and not popular. Soon a sharp struggle for Chernihiv was begun by the sons of Sviatoslav, especially the talented Oleh who considered this principality his patrimonial domain. He settled in Tmutorokan and began to encourage the

Cumans against Vsevolod. It was his intention to win back Chernihiv, where Volodymyr Monomakh, the son of Vsevolod, was ruling. Oleh succeeded only after the death of Vsevolod. Volodymyr Monomakh turned to Pereiaslav and gave Chernihiv to Oleh, who made it the home of his lateral branch of the Rurikides (Olhovychi). After the death of Vsevolod and of the remaining members of the first generation of the descendants of Yaroslav the Wise, a new generation took their place. Sviatopolk II, the son of Iziaslav, took over Kiev; Oleh Sviatoslavych was in Chernihiv; Volodymyr Monomakh Vsevolodovych in Pereiaslav; and David Ihorevych in Volhynia. But there was no trust or solidarity among these men. Oleh of Chernihiv, especially, went his own way. He declared his neutrality toward the Cumans even when they were devastating the lands of Kiev and Pereiaslav.

Oleh's failure to support the common cause of the Realm of *Rus'* provoked two other princes, Sviatopolk of Kiev and Volodymyr of Pereiaslav, into removing him from Chernihiv. After some years of struggle he was permitted to return on the condition that he would demonstrate full solidarity with the other princes in the common interest of the realm.

To introduce a better system of dynastic succession and to organize an effective struggle against the Cumans, the reigning princes met, on the proposal of Volodymyr Monomakh, at Liubech in 1097 in the first Princely *Snem* (Diet). For a while, the Princely assembly was the sole central institution of the Kievan realm, which had been completely broken apart into separate principalities and was now bound into a whole only by the weak bonds of confederation.

The Realm of *Rus'* as a Dynastic Confederation of Principalities: Volodymyr Monomakh

Almost all the important reigning princes in the Realm of *Rus'*—all of them

descendants of Yaroslav the Wise—attended the first Princely assembly in Liubech: Sviatopolk II Iziaslavych of Kiev; Oleh and David Sviatoslavych of Chernihiv; Volodymyr Monomakh Vsevolodovych of Pereiaslav; David, the heir of Ihor of Volhynia; and even a representative of the Rostyslavychi of Galicia, Vasyloko of Terebovlia. The purpose of the Liubech Diet is explained in the Chronicle which tells how the princes said, one after the other: "Why do we ruin the land of *Rus'* by our continued strife against one another? The Cumans harass our country in diverse fashions and rejoice that war is waged among us. Let us rather be united in spirit and watch over the land of *Rus'*."

The agreement in Liubech annulled the seniority order of succession to the Kievan throne, but it fixed the domains on the basis of the status quo for the heirs of the first generation of Yaroslav's descendants. The right of the senior prince, the oldest in the Rurikide dynasty, to the throne of Kiev was discontinued. In the future Kiev was to remain forever in the family of Iziaslav, Chernihiv in that of Sviatoslav, Pereiaslav in that of Vsevolod, Volhynia in that of Ihor. The right of the descendants of Rostyslav to Galicia was also acknowledged.

Thus the Realm of *Rus'*, which had previously been at least formally under the rule of the grand prince in Kiev, ceased to exist. In place of a unified state under the reign of the oldest prince in the dynasty of Yaroslav the Wise, a confederation of principalities—each one the home of a different branch of the dynasty—was now established. This confederation of separate princely dominions was linked together only by dynastic ties and the need for protection against a common enemy—the Cumans. The Princely diets, which were held when necessary, became the governing organ of the confederation. After the Liubech reconciliation a struggle occurred during which Vasyloko of Tere-

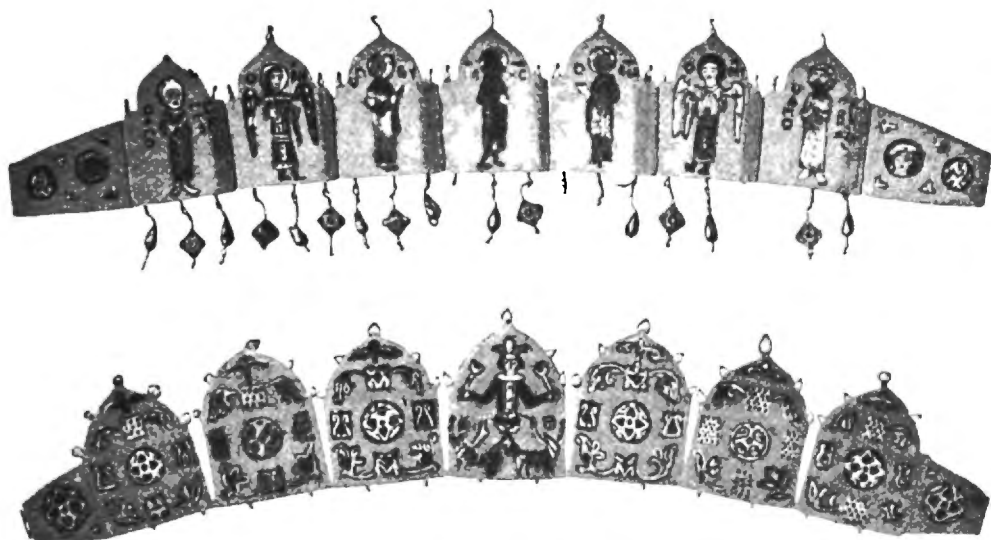


FIGURE 405. CROWNS OF KIEVAN PRINCESSES, ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

bovlia was blinded by David of Volhynia. The fact that the crime was punished (David was deprived of the throne of Volhynia) was a sign of the efficacy of the diet in Liubech and of the new order.

The new confederation was directly responsible for the waging of a struggle against the Cumans from the years 1110 to 1113, which successfully broke their power for fifty years. Prince Volodymyr Monomakh was the hero of this struggle. Rus' again was in contact with the Black Sea, although this was not as safe and secure a trade route as it had been in the days of Yaroslav the Wise. The city of Oleshe (Oleshie), an important commercial link between the Balkan countries of Byzantium and Rus', was re-established at the mouth of the Dnieper. However, amidst the hurricane of the Cuman incursions of the first decade of the twelfth century, the Realm of Rus' lost its Subcaucasian outpost—Tmutorokan Rus'. Meanwhile, the Galician princes, the Rostyslavychi, developed their own important water routes along the Dnieper and the Prut to the mouth of the Danube and the Black Sea from which they had contact with the first Black Sea colonies of Genoa and Venice.

In Kiev, the corrupt administration of Sviatopolk II mercilessly exploited the population. Great discontent was aroused by the exorbitant prices resulting from the monopoly of salt which had to be imported from Galicia. The depredations of the Cumans affected the rural people most severely. In debt to the rich people of the cities, these impoverished peasants fell into the ranks of the semi-free (indentured) laborers with no hope of ever being able to repay their debts and thus regain their liberty.

The death of Sviatopolk II in 1113 was the signal for a revolution in Kiev. First the city assembly (*viche*), under the leadership of the Metropolitan Nicephorus, decided to invite the popular prince of Pereiaslav, Volodymyr Monomakh, to the Kievan throne. Volodymyr was hesitant about accepting for fear that the other princes would consider such a move a breach of the decisions of Liubech. Then the riots started. The palace of the Kievan chiliarch (*tysiatskyi* [from *tysiacha*—thousand], governor and commander of the city militia) was plundered. A new delegation warned the prince that it was dangerous to hesitate, that not only the

rich but the monasteries and even the palace of the prince's widow might be attacked during the disturbances. Volodymyr Monomakh accepted the invitation and became Prince of Kiev (1113-25). He retained his rule of Pereiaslav and in addition included in his sovereignty the entire center of the Kievan state on both sides of the upper Dnieper River, Novgorod, Smolensk, and the northeastern lands of Suzdalia. The Kievan Realm was again unified for the last time.

The first problem that Volodymyr had to deal with was the enactment of the social reforms necessary to pacify the rebellious masses. Kiev received a new chiliarch; then Volodymyr called a conference of the chiliarchs from the cities of the Kievan and of the Pereiaslav lands. Oleh of Chernihiv also sent a representative. As a result of their deliberations, new regulations regarding the interest on long- and short-term loans and concerning the liberation of the indentured laborers were adopted. The new ordinances, later known as the Statute of Volodymyr Monomakh, were incorporated in a new expanded version of the *Rus'* Law. During Volodymyr's reign the Cumans did not venture any new attacks, and agriculture advanced considerably into the steppes. Volodymyr's authority was such that even the individualist Oleh of Chernihiv, the founder of the house of the Olhovychi, respected and cooperated with him.

Like Yaroslav the Wise, Volodymyr Monomakh was related through marriage to many of the ruling families of western Europe. His wife Gyda was of the Saxon dynasty of England, a daughter of the last Anglo-Saxon king, Harold II; his children were married to members of the ruling families of Scandinavia. His relations with Byzantium were friendly. Some historians say that Volodymyr's partiality to the Greeks caused Greek influences to increase in the Church of *Rus'* during his reign.

The feudal system which resulted in the division of the state into smaller and smaller units was by now so powerful a trend that even Volodymyr Monomakh could not resist it, and on his death he divided the Realm of *Rus'*, which he had united with such difficulty, among his sons. The largest part of his holdings was inherited by his talented son Mstyslav, until then Prince of Novgorod, who took over the Kievan throne without any difficulties. Mstyslav also kept Novgorod and Smolensk, placing his son Vsevolod in Novgorod. Suzdal and the northeastern lands, the cradle of the Muscovite state, went to George, called Dolgoruky, the youngest son of Volodymyr Monomakh. Yaropolk Monomakhovich obtained Pereiaslav, Viacheslav inherited Turiv, and Andrew was given Volhynia. Thus sons of Volodymyr Monomakh (Monomakhovychi) ruled throughout the entire Kievan Realm except in Chernihiv, the home of the Olhovychi, and in Galicia, the home of the Rostyslavychi.

KIEVAN RUS', 1132-1240

The Monomakhovychi and the Disintegration of the Realm of *Rus'*

Mstyslav I Monomakhovich (1125-32) was the last Kievan prince to have the authority to intervene in the affairs of other principalities. Under his successor, Yaropolk II (1132-9), the final disintegration of the Realm of *Rus'* began.

The disintegration of the Kievan Realm was not the result of difficulties created by the restless Olhovychi and Rostyslavychi, but rather the fault of the Monomakhovychi themselves, especially George of Suzdal. Although superficially the work of dynastic ambitions, what actually occurred was a separation of the realm into its natural parts which were basically unrelated ethnically and economically.

Two northern centers, Novgorod and Suzdal, began the rebellion against the rule of Kiev. In 1136 a revolt broke out

in Novgorod against Vsevolod Mstyslavych, who was put under arrest and then exiled. After his death the people of Novgorod accepted a new prince proposed by George of Suzdal. Novgorod gradually changed from a principality into a republic, with the city assembly (*viche*, in Russian—*veche*) developing into the legislative body and the mayor (*posadnyk*, *posadnik*) into the executive. In the second half of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries Novgorod still had princes of the southern (Ukrainian) branch of the Monomakhovych dynasty, but politically it was completely independent.

In Suzdal the changes that took place were in the direction of autocracy. George Monomakhovych took part in the struggle for the Kievan throne. However, his son Andrew Bogoliubsky, who was born and reared in Suzdal, considered the Ukrainian lands a foreign country.

Thus the dynasty of the Rurikides split into four main branches: the Kievan (Mstyslavychi), the Chernihivian (Olhovychi), the Galician (Rostyslavychi), and the Suzdalian (the House of George Dolgoruky). The first three were rulers of the lands of *Rus'* proper—that is, present-day Ukraine; the Suzdalian Rurikides ruled the northern dominions of the *Rus'* state.

In the twelfth century, Galicia, ruled by the Rostyslavychi, held aloof from the other parts of the *Rus'* state, but during the thirteenth century a new Galician branch of the Rurikides, the Romanovychi, took an active and leading part in the affairs of the realm.

As a result of the disintegration of the Realm of *Rus'* there had emerged a group of virtually independent states. However there were three factors which still bound together the separated lands to some degree. The first was the tradition of the former unity of the Realm of *Rus'*. In critical moments and in response to threats of invasion, an appeal was made to patriotism based on this

former political unity (for example, in *The Tale of Ihor's Armament*) but usually without success.

The second factor was the unity of the Kievan metropolitanate—that is, the ecclesiastical unity. However, this ecclesiastical unity was greatly damaged by both Ukraine and Suzdalia during the twelfth century. Under Prince George Dolgoruky, Suzdalia tried to secure from Byzantium its own metropolitan, although unsuccessfully at the time. The Synod of Kiev in 1147 showed clearly a great divergence of opinions between the bishops of Ukraine or the "*Rus'* region" (term used in the *First Chronicle* of Novgorod, 1149) and the bishops from the other regions. The bishops of the "*Rus'* region" (that is, of Bilhorod, Yuriev, Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, and Volodymyr Volynsky) appointed a Ukrainian theologian, Clement Smoliatych, to be Metropolitan of Kiev, without the approval of the Byzantine Patriarch. On the other hand, the bishops from outside the "*Rus'* region" (of Novgorod, Smolensk, etc.) insisted that only the Byzantine Patriarch could appoint a metropolitan.

The third factor reminding the separate states of their former unity was the dynasty of Rurik which, even though it had divided into several branches, still shared a common ancestry.

But more factors divided the lands of the old *Rus'* realm than bound them together during the middle of the twelfth century.

The ethnic differences between the old Ukrainian tribes and the other populations had become so clearly pronounced by this time that three distinct east European peoples had emerged. These differences had existed from the very beginning of the Kievan state. Despite the leveling influence of Christianity, they had not diminished but rather increased—especially those between the inhabitants of the Ukrainian group of lands and the inhabitants of the lands of Suzdalia-Muscovy. It is also note-

worthy that the differences between the people of Ukraine and the people of the lands which later on were organized into the Muscovite state were growing, while the differences inside both the Ukrainian and the Russian groups were disappearing. Galicia, which early in the twelfth century was not considered part of ethnic *Rus'*, was regarded as such by the end of the twelfth and during the thirteenth centuries.

There were important differences of a socio-political order between the lands of Ukraine, Muscovy, and Belorussia. The characteristic feature of the Ukrainian lands at the time was their domination by the boyar class. The characteristic feature of the Belorussian lands (Polotsk) was their republican system. But the characteristic feature of the lands of the Russian people was their system of absolute monarchy (except in Novgorod and Pskov).

The reason for the development of autocracy in Suzdalia was perhaps the fact that it was not originally a Slavic land. In the Slavic lands the princes, being surrounded by a homogeneous Slavic population, had to share power in large measure with the leading local men. In Ukraine, Belorussia, and the city-states of Novgorod and Pskov, this practice gradually had resulted in the development of an aristocratic council of boyars or an urban assembly. In Suzdalia the majority of the population was Finno-Ugrian; the prince, who came from Kiev as administrator with a mili-

tary force (*druzhyna*) and an administrative corps, did not find it necessary to try to induce these people of a different language and culture to cooperate with him. The boyars, both indigenous and non-indigenous, were weak and the prince emerged successful from his struggle with them.

There existed also conspicuous differences between the regions in regard to their particular economic interests. The Kievan Realm needed markets for the products of Ukrainian agriculture and for those of the Muscovite and Belorussian forests. The only markets for the united *Rus'* state were Byzantium and the Near East. Yet one condition essential for trade with Byzantium was the safety of the Dnieper waterway, which became increasingly insecure during the second half of the eleventh and in the twelfth centuries. Moreover, after the end of the eleventh century, Venice and later Genoa controlled the Black Sea trade, and the state's connection with the oriental market was severed by the loss of Tmutorokan *Rus'*. Thus the basis for economic unity within the Kievan Realm was broken in the second half of the twelfth century, and each area had to find its own economic solution. The central *Rus'* (Dnieper) area still tried its best to make use of the trading station of Oleshe on the Black Sea, and also to develop trade with the West through Volhynia, Galicia, and Poland. The lands of Polotsk and Smolensk tried to find markets by going by way of the Dvina to the Baltic. The region of Novgorod and Pskov developed trade with the Baltic in north European products. Suzdalia was economically linked with Novgorod on the west; on the southeast it tried to control the Volga water route as an outlet to the Orient.

All this shows that about one hundred years before the invasion of the Tatars into eastern Europe, the old Kievan Realm had split into several major areas which thought differently, managed their state life differently, and organized their



FIGURE 406. MEDALLIONS FROM KIEVAN *barmy*
(SHOULDER ADORNMENTS)

economic interests differently. We can already see the definite outlines of the three East Slavic nations. The views of some Russian historians that the Tatar raid into eastern Europe and the Polish control of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands caused the division of the originally monolithic Russian nation into three separate nations is not justified by the history of pre-Tatar times.

Sectional Struggles in the Context of International Politics

The period from the death of Mstyslav I Monomakhovych of Kiev (1132) to the Tatar invasion of eastern Europe was a relatively peaceful one. The expansion of the Cumans had been stopped, although at times they were used by some Rurikides—especially those of Suzdalia—in their own quarrels. Mstyslav I was succeeded by his brother Yaropolk II (1132–9).

After the death of the latter, Vsevolod of the Chernihiv Olhovychi, profiting by the quarrel between the Kievan and Suzdalian branches of the Monomakhovychi, seized the Kievan throne and held it peaceably until his death (1146).

The struggle for Kiev was then resumed by Iziaslav II, son of Mstyslav I, and George of Suzdal. The Kievan *viche* declared for Iziaslav II and, despite several attacks by George of Suzdal and his ally Volodymyrko of Galicia, Iziaslav reigned in Kiev until his death in 1154. Shortly after he assumed the throne, Iziaslav II quarreled with the Byzantine Patriarch because he wanted the metropolitan throne to be held by a native prelate. With Iziaslav's support, the six bishops of Ukraine—a majority present—elected as Metropolitan of Kiev the learned theologian, Clement Smoliatych.

At that time their economic interests drew the separate areas of the former Kievan Realm into the sphere of the political struggles among Byzantium, the Holy Roman Empire, Hungary, Poland, and later the new power on the Baltic, the Teutonic Order. Volodymyrko Volodare-

vych, Prince of Galicia, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperor, and his son Yaroslav Osmomysl took part in the coronation of the Byzantine ally, Frederic Barbarossa, as the Holy Roman Emperor. George of Suzdal also supported this alliance. On the other hand, Iziaslav II of Kiev joined an alliance against Byzantium, and so against its allies, the Hohenstaufen dynasty, and took his stand with the Welfs, Hungary, and the Pope.

The death of Iziaslav II gave George of Suzdal his chance to occupy the Kievan throne which he did for two years. His arrival in Kiev ended the metropolitanate of Clement Smoliatych, who was again replaced with a Greek by the Patriarch. George was unpopular in Kiev; his death in 1157 precipitated a massacre of the Suzdalians living in that area. Later on, Kiev invited to its throne Prince Rostyslav I, ruler of Smolensk and brother of Iziaslav II, who reigned from 1159 to 1167.

Meanwhile the international situation had changed. The alliance of Byzantium and the Holy Roman Empire broke up when Byzantium made peace with the Norman Kingdom of Sicily. The relations between the Byzantine Emperor and Frederic Barbarossa deteriorated. Soon after, Frederic made peace with the Pope. The long commercial relations between Byzantium and Venice almost came to a stop. As a result of these changes a Byzantine envoy appeared in Kiev to arrange for a renewal of the interrupted commercial traffic down the Dnieper. Indeed, Kiev did renew trade with Byzantium, and the city of Oleshe (near the present Kherson) again played an important role in it.

After the death of Rostyslav I, the war for Kiev was resumed between the Kievan and Suzdalian descendants of Volodymyr Monomakh. The son of George of Suzdal—Andrew (Andrei), called Bogoliubsky—attacked Kiev with troops collected in Suzdalia. On capturing the city

in 1169, he devastated it frightfully. The Chronicle says of this: "There was no mercy anywhere. The churches were burned, Christians were killed and taken into slavery." The Cathedral of St. Sophia and other churches were plundered and their icons, books, and other valuables destroyed or taken away. Kiev had been pillaged previously only by pagans and foreigners; this devastation by the Suzdalians aroused the national feelings of all three branches of the Rurikides of Ukraine: the Galician Rostyslavychi, the Chernihiv Olhovychi, and the Kievan Mstyslavychi. Sviatoslav of Chernihiv and Yaroslav Osmomysl of Galicia undertook the liberation of Kiev, and Sviatoslav of Chernihiv (as Sviatoslav III) became Prince of Kiev (1176-94).

During the next forty years, before the Tatar invasion, the princes of Kiev were usually Mstyslavychi, the senior line of the Monomakhovychi, although they were replaced occasionally by princes of the Chernihiv Olhovychi. Kiev, however, did not regain its former importance. In 1203 the city was plundered again during an outbreak of inter-princely wars.

The period of relative peace was broken by the first appearance of the Tatars in 1223. In 1206, at the *kurultai* (assembly) of the Mongolian tribes, the Mongols—called Tatars in Ukraine—had organized themselves into a great empire. Temuchin, one of the tribal leaders, was proclaimed emperor under the name Genghis Khan. After seizing China (Peking fell in 1215), Genghis Khan turned to the west. In 1219 he personally led his army against Khorezm and destroyed that state. He conquered Turkestan, and then sent a force of cavalry under two generals, Jebe and Subuday (Subutai), to scout west of the Caspian Sea. The Tatar army went around the south of the Caspian Sea, through Georgia and Azerbaijan, and crossed the lower Don in the territory of the Cumans. The Khan of the Cumans, Kotian,

appealed to his son-in-law, Mstyslav the Daring, Prince of Galicia. On the advice of Mstyslav, the princes of Kiev and Chernihiv decided to assist the Cumans. The Ukrainian-Cuman forces met the Tatars at the river Kalka which flows into the Sea of Azov; their army was totally defeated and the princes of Kiev and of Chernihiv, along with many others, were killed. But the Tatars advanced no further.

After the catastrophe on the Kalka, the throne of Kiev was occupied by Volodymyr III (1223-36), a representative of the traditional Kievan dynasty of the Mstyslavychi (descendants of Mstyslav I); Prince Michael of Chernihiv (St. Michael), a member of the Chernihiv Olhovychi, reigned in that land. Both cooperated with Prince Mstyslav the Daring of Galicia and Daniel Romanovych of Volhynia. Even Kotian, the Khan of the Cumans, supported this Ukrainian alliance on the eve of a new invasion of the Tatars. The northeastern (Russian) lands of the old Kievan Realm formed a body politic of their own under the Suzdalian leadership.

GALICIA AND VOLHYNIA; THE TATAR INVASION

The Rise of Galicia and Volhynia

With Kiev's decline after the sackings of 1169 and 1203, Volhynia became the most important principality of the old *Rus'* realm. In 1199, the able Prince Roman Mstyslavych of the Ukrainian (Kievan) branch of the Monomakhovychi, then in Volhynia, united it with Galicia.

Galicia, which had at first been only an annex to the Kievan principality, had formed itself into a separate principality under the Galician branch of the Rurikides (the Rostyslavychi) during the second half of the eleventh century. The three sons of Rostyslav (and great-grandsons of Yaroslav the Wise)—Riuryk (Rurik), Volodar, and Vasylo—ruled in Galicia from 1084 with the approval of

Grand Prince Vsevolod of Kiev, Riuryk was in Zvenyhorod, Volodar in Pere-myshl, and Vasylo in Terebovlia. Only Volodar left an heir, Volodymyrko (1124-53), who united all three Galician lands. He established a new capital—Halych (also known as Galich)—which gave its name to the principality. To protect his land from Hungary, Volodymyrko made himself a vassal of Byzantium at the time of the alliance of the Byzantine and Holy Roman empires.

Halych became an active commercial center for trade down the Dniester to the Black Sea lands. To the east, Galicia developed a lively trade in salt with the Dnieper areas after the import of salt from the Black Sea was stopped by the cutting of the Dnieper line. Galicia was also on the trade route to Poland.

The son and successor of Volodymyrko, Yaroslav Osmomysl (1153-87), guided his state to the period of its greatest power. He expanded his principality far to the south, to the mouth of the Danube. (Either he or his relative Ivan Rostyslavych Berladnyk, who was driven from Galicia, founded "little" Halych [now Galați] on the Danube.) Yaroslav, too, maintained close relations with Byzantium; for a while, Andronicus Comnenus, later to become Byzantine Emperor Andronicus I (1183-5), was in Galicia. Yaroslav also was on good terms with the court of the German Hohenstaufen dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire.

Galicia lived in peace, and the upper classes acquired great wealth and, consequently, power. The boyars tried to control the prince's administration and even his private life. Yaroslav died in 1187, leaving as his successor his son Volodymyr (1187-99). Volodymyr was less able than his father to curb the power of the boyars, who expelled him from the principality. The Hungarian King Andrew took this opportunity to seize Galicia and assumed the title of King of Galicia and Lodomeria (from Volodymyr, capital of Volhynia), a title

retained by the kings of Hungary until the fall of the Habsburgs. (This gave Austria an excuse to seize Galicia in the eighteenth century after the first partition of Poland.)

The dynasty of the Rostyslavychi (i.e., the first Galician branch of the Rurikides) died out with Volodymyr. Prince Roman Mstyslavych (1199-1205) of Volhynia then merged Volhynia and Galicia into a single state. From his base on Volhynian territory, where the boyars had less power than they had in Galicia, Roman put down the Galician boyars and compelled them to obey him. After that, the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle calls him "Autocrat of all Rus'." He took part in the affairs of Kiev and fought successfully against the Cumans. He married a Polish princess, a relative of Leszek the White, Prince of Cracow. Roman maintained close relations with Germany, especially with the imperial house of Hohenstaufen. (There is a record in Erfurt of a generous gift presented by him to one of the local monasteries.)

When Roman was moving to aid the Hohenstaufens and to join their ally, the Bohemian King, his way was barred near Zawichost on the Vistula by Leszek the White, a partisan of the Pope and the Welfs. Roman fell in the battle that ensued (1205). His death was a great catastrophe for his state. He left his widow and two sons—Daniel (Danylo), five years old, and Vasylo, three. His death was the signal for the Galician boyars to expel his family. Prince Roman's widow put herself under the protection of Leszek the White and hid in Volhynia, guarded by the loyal Volhynian boyars who supported the young sons of Roman in their struggle to recover their patrimony. The Galician boyars decided to invite as their rulers weak princes with whom they could deal easily. They chose the three sons of Ihor Sviatoslavych, Prince of Novhorod Siversky. The brothers accepted but soon came into conflict with the Galician

boyars. They killed many boyars and in retaliation the boyars seized and hanged two of the brothers. The third brother escaped. Then the boyars put one of their own leaders, the boyar Volodyslav Kormylchych, on the Galician throne (1213). This act was unprecedented in Ukrainian history, for it was believed that only princes of the dynasty of Rurik could rule in *Rus'*. Poland and Hungary took advantage of this; in 1214 they expelled Volodyslav Kormylchych, seized Galicia, and put on the throne Koloman, the son of King Andrew II of Hungary, whom they married to Salome, the daughter of Leszek the White.

The Hungarian rule was cruel and unjust, and marked particularly by religious intolerance. A revolt soon broke out in Halych against the Hungarians. In addition, King Andrew quarreled with Leszek the White, who called upon Mstyslav the Daring, Prince of Novgorod (of the Kievian branch of the Monomakhovychi dynasty) to intervene in the affairs of Galicia. The arrival of Mstyslav the Daring in Halych in 1219 ended the disorders. Mstyslav assumed the Galician throne; however Poland took possession of the lands west of the river Buh.

Meanwhile Daniel had married Anna, the daughter of Mstyslav. Mstyslav promised to restore Galicia to Daniel after his own death. They lived together harmoniously and both took part in the disastrous battle on the river Kalka. During Mstyslav's lifetime Daniel reunited the separated parts of Volhynia. When Mstyslav died in 1228, the Hungarians again took possession of Halych with the support of the boyars who favored them. In order to win back Galicia, Daniel had to rely upon the help of the common people and the urban population who "flocked to him as bees to a queen" (*Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*). In addition to the Hungarians and the boyars, Daniel had a third opponent. Galicia was such a valuable principality that Michael, Prince of Chernihiv and Kiev, decided to acquire it for his son,

Rostyslav, who was married to the daughter of the King of Hungary. The Hungarian and Chernihiv forces supported Rostyslav. But Daniel triumphed; in 1237 he became the master of Galicia and Volhynia, again united. The great state of Roman was restored although it was still not secure, for Rostyslav had gone to Hungary to gather an army for a final settlement with Daniel.

The battle near the walls of Yaroslav in 1245 ended Daniel's forty-year fight for his patrimony. However, his victory came about under unusual circumstances; the whole of Ukraine had been devastated by the Tatar invasion, and the Galician-Volhynian state was reduced to a position of Tatar vassalage.

The Invasion of Ukraine by the Tatars: Daniel Romanovych

The continuing struggle for the throne of Kiev, which had changed its ruler seven times between 1223 and 1240,



FIGURE 407. MITRE OF THE BISHOP OF PERE-MYSHL, ACCORDING TO TRADITION FASHIONED FROM THE CROWN OF KING DANIEL

showed that the Ukrainian princes were dangerously unaware of the seriousness of the Tatar menace.

The Tatars struck again in 1237 in the lands of the Suzdalian princes. Their first victims were the Volga Bulgars. The next year they conquered the lands of the Vladimir-Suzdal state. In 1239 they were at the eastern borders of Ukraine, and in 1240 they besieged Kiev. Dmytro, a voivode of Prince Daniel, led the town's defense, but the Tatars took Kiev by siege and completely devastated it. When an Italian traveler, Plano Carpini, passed through it five years later, he found a small, completely ruined, and almost depopulated town.

After taking Kiev, the Tatars moved west. They destroyed fortified cities along the great trade routes which might become centers of resistance to them in the future, but their devastation did not extend to cities and villages located at some distance from important routes. One group of Tatars went through the Carpathian passes of Galicia into Hungary; another went to Poland where in Silesia near Lignica (Liegnitz) the Polish and German knights barred their way (1241). Though victorious, the Tatars turned and went back through the Ukrainian steppes to Asia. In Sarai on the lower Volga they established the capital of the western regional khanate of the Mongolian empire (later known as the Golden Horde) which was to control eastern Europe.

The Tatars did not enter the Belorussian lands or Novgorod. In the Vladimir on the Kliazma Suzdal lands—the eastern lands of the Russian people and the Ukrainian lands east of the Dnieper—they issued charters (*yarlyks*, confirmations by the khan of their princely authority) to the local princes who declared their loyalty to the khan. They permitted these princes to continue to rule under Tatar suzerainty, with Tatar financial and military officials (called *baskaks*) present to supervise the exercise of their authority. In the lands west

of the Dnieper—the entire territory of the Galician-Volhynian state—the princes were forced to acknowledge their vassalage to the Mongolian empire; however, no Tatar officials were stationed in these areas.

After the Tatar withdrawal, Kiev passed into the hands of Prince Michael of Chernihiv whom the Tatars later ordered to report to Sarai. Some sources say that the Tatars demanded that he revere their gods and that they tortured him when he refused. It is more probable that the Tatars had heard rumors of Michael's relations with the Pope. Since he was a political opponent of Prince Michael's son Rostyslav, Daniel was called to the Horde and, although accorded a friendly reception, was requested to pay homage to the khan. The Tatars confirmed him as ruler of the Galician-Volhynian state (1245).

The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle states that Daniel felt humiliated by his experience at the khan's capital. On his return, he determined to organize an alliance against the Tatars. In 1246, in response to the action of Kievan Metropolitan Peter in Lyon (see "Church"), Pope Innocent IV sent a delegation under Plano Carpini through Ukraine to Mongolia with instructions to establish closer relations with Daniel on its way. At the same time Daniel actively began to organize a defense against the Tatars at home and abroad. In his own land, following the example of western Europe, he commenced to fortify the cities to make it safer for them to develop into centers of commerce and manufacture. At this time he also founded the new cities of Kholm and Lviv. The strong urban population which emerged made Daniel independent of the boyars.

In confirming Daniel as prince, the Tatars tried to restrict his authority by permitting the so-called "Tatar people" living along the rivers Sluch and Horyn to by-pass allegiance to the prince and to recognize Tatar authority directly. By raids against these people, Daniel com-

pelled them to acknowledge his princely authority.

Daniel developed especially wide diplomatic contacts with his neighbors in order to protect his flanks in his planned campaign against the Tatars. He made peace with the Hungarians and married his oldest son Leo (Lev) to Constance, the daughter of Bela IV. His policy toward Poland was to prevent it from growing stronger through the union of small principalities; consequently, he supported the Mazovian princes against those of Cracow. He also sided with the Teutonic Order against the Lithuanians, and defeated the Lithuanian Yatvingians (Yatviagians) who lived on the northwestern boundary of his state, thus extending his realm into Podlachia on the north.

Daniel felt himself strong enough to enter the greater affairs of European politics. He tried to compete with the Bohemian king, Premysl Otakar II, for the control of Austria, where the dynasty of the Babenbergs had died out. Supported by the King of Hungary and the Pope, opponents of the Hohenstaufens, against Otakar, an ally of the Hohenstaufens, Daniel married his son Roman to Margaret, the heiress to Austria, with the object of founding a new Austrian branch of the dynasty of the Rurikides. His plan did not succeed, however, for Hungary abandoned Roman.

Daniel's actions did not escape the notice of the Tatars who directed him to tear down the new fortifications he had erected and to break off his relations with the Pope. To make sure this was done, Tatar troops were dispatched to Galicia under the command of Kuremsa. After Kuremsa's departure, Daniel returned to his old policy, but more cautiously. He re-established ties with the Pope which led to his coronation as King of Rus' in 1253, making him a full-fledged monarch in the medieval conception of international order. The coronation was held in the quiet town of Dorohychyn on the northeastern border

of the state. A new attack by Tatar forces under Burundai compelled Daniel to again break off his ties with the Pope and to discontinue forming alliances with western monarchs. Since his efforts to build cities were severely limited by the Tatars, Daniel concentrated on attempts to strengthen his position by reaching an understanding with Lithuania. Finally, broken by his failure to win full independence from the Mongolian empire, Daniel died in 1264 in Kholm where he was buried.

Daniel Romanovych was one of the most outstanding figures in Ukrainian history. Popular with the masses, both the townspeople and the peasantry, he also represented the orientation of Ukraine toward Europe.

Alongside Daniel, but somewhat in the shadow, was his brother Vasylo, who was two years younger and his loyal associate. The two are a rare example of the friendly cooperation of dynastic brothers. Toward the end of Daniel's life, and especially after his death when Leo Danylovych (1264-1301) took over the throne, Vasylo busied himself with the administration of the Volhynian section of the realm. After Vasylo's death in 1270, his son Volodymyr Vasylovych (1270-89) became Prince of Volhynia. Prince Volodymyr was the best representative of the educated Ukrainian of his time; he knew several languages, and loved books and art. As Prince of Volhynia, he built new towns, adorned the old ones with new churches, and was a good administrator of his land.

Leo I Danylovych

Unlike his father Daniel, Leo Danylovych (1264-1301) lived at peace with the Tatars; he often joined them in their campaigns, and was helped by them when he requested aid. He carried on an active and somewhat aggressive policy toward Poland. His son George, who was then living in Kholm, took advantage of the weakness of Poland and occupied the

adjacent Lublin area (ca. 1293), thereby advancing the western boundary of the state to the Vistula. Leo also carried on successfully an aggressive policy toward Lithuania. For a short time, he even succeeded in placing his brother Shvarno on the Lithuanian throne, foreshadowing the eventual union of Lithuania with the Galician-Volhynian state (1267-8). Leo I maintained good relations with Hungary, intervening with arms in 1299 to aid the Hungarian King Andrew III against his rebellious nobles. He also kept peace with the Teutonic Order and increased his state's trade with the Baltic ports in the Teutonic lands. He made Lviv his capital.

Prince Leo was popular in Galicia. The last years of his reign and the date of his death are uncertain, for the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle breaks off at 1289 and there are no other local chronicles for the later years of the Galician-Volhynian state. It is generally assumed that Leo died in 1301.

The Last Rulers of Galicia and Volhynia

Leo's successor was George I (1301-15), the son of Leo and the Hungarian princess Constance. There is evidence that George I was crowned king; his seal preserved on documents reads "Georgius Rex Rusiae."

Some scholars try to connect George's coronation with the formation of a Galician ecclesiastical metropolitanate in 1303; but this would have meant a crown from Byzantium. There is not a single case in the history of the Byzantine empire showing that Byzantium practised the granting of crowns to neighboring rulers. However, it was customary during the Middle Ages for the Pope to crown secular rulers. One can only conclude, therefore, that in the first year of his reign George I had established some kind of ecclesiastical union with Rome or had himself at least acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope. At that time, the Church of Ukraine was without its own metropolitan, for the seat of the metropolitanate had been transferred from Kiev to Vladimir-on-the-Kliazma, in Suzdalia. Thus it is likely that in about 1301 some effort was made for union with Rome, but that this was opposed by the local clergy. As a consequence, George attempted to secure from Byzantium a special metropolitan for the lands of Ukraine, which he accomplished in 1303 when the first Galician metropolitanate was established.

George I must have initiated a negative policy toward the Tatars, for the possession of a royal crown was incom-



FIGURE 408. SEAL OF KING GEORGE I, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

patible with a position as a vassal. It is uncertain when George died or ended his rule. Modern historians accept the date 1315, although in the past the date was considered to be 1308 in accordance with the statements of Długosz (Długosz).

Andrew and Leo II (1315-23), George I's sons, probably were joint rulers of the Galician-Volhynian state. Their anti-Tatarian policy caused the Tatars, led by Khan Uzbek, to attack the state. The first attack occurred about 1316, the second about 1323. It would seem that both princes were killed while attempting to drive back the second attack of the Tatars. Their deaths are mentioned in a letter from the Polish King, Władysław Lokietek, to Pope John XXII in 1323. He wrote that "the two last princes of the Ruthenians (*duo ultimi principes Ruthenorum*), a schismatic people, whom we consider directly as an unconquerable shield (*pro scuto inexpugnabili*) against the cruel people of the Tatars, have departed from this world."

The anti-Tatarian policy of Andrew and Leo consisted largely of the establishment of close ties with their western and northern neighbors. The relations of the Galician-Volhynian state with the Teutonic Order were especially close and friendly. The many commercial treaties and privileges extended to the merchants of Toruń, Cracow, etc.—all written in Latin—show that the trade of Western Ukraine was then directed toward the Baltic and to the west through Poland. The city of Volodymyr Volynsky was the capital of the state. With the deaths of Andrew and Leo II, the male line of the House of Roman (i.e., the second Galician branch of the Rurikides) was extinguished. Of the entire family there remained only their sister Maria, who was married to the Polish Prince Trojden of Mazovia. Her son Bolesław was the only candidate for the throne. The great obstacle was his Roman Catholic faith, but at the urging of the boyars he embraced the faith of

the Eastern Church and assumed the throne under the name of George II (1323-40). He was constantly suspected of Catholicism, however, especially since he surrounded himself with foreigners. Politically he oriented himself, in the tradition of the Galician-Volhynian state, toward the Teutonic Order; Poland and Hungary formed a coalition against him.

In the pattern of western Europe, George II began to introduce the Magdeburg Law (a German model of a municipal legal system and self-government) into the cities. The city of Sianik (Sanok) was the first in the Ukrainian lands to receive this privilege. The boyars, displeased by George II's policy of aiding the cities and protecting foreigners, also distrusted the good faith of his adherence to the Eastern Orthodox Church. They formed a conspiracy in 1340 and poisoned him in Volodymyr Volynsky.

The position of the Galician-Volhynian state at this time was precarious. In the east, the Tatars still had not given up their claim to this part of Ukraine as their dependency; in the west, Poland had become united and strong under Casimir the Great; in the south, Hungary, under the Anjou dynasty, could count on the support of the Pope. The Polish King, Casimir the Great, profiting by the weak position of the Galician-Volhynian state, attacked Lviv in 1340, captured the castle, and plundered it. Poland's attack on the Ukrainian lands created a reaction among the local boyars. They rose against the Polish invaders and expelled them. The government passed into the hands of the voivode of Peremyshl, Dmytro Dedko. It is unknown whether he was a boyar or of a princely family.

The extinction of the dynasty and the provisional character of the rule of Dmytro Dedko gave neighboring countries the impetus to advance claims to parts of the Galician-Volhynian state. The Mazovians claimed the western part of Podlachia, and, sometime after 1344,

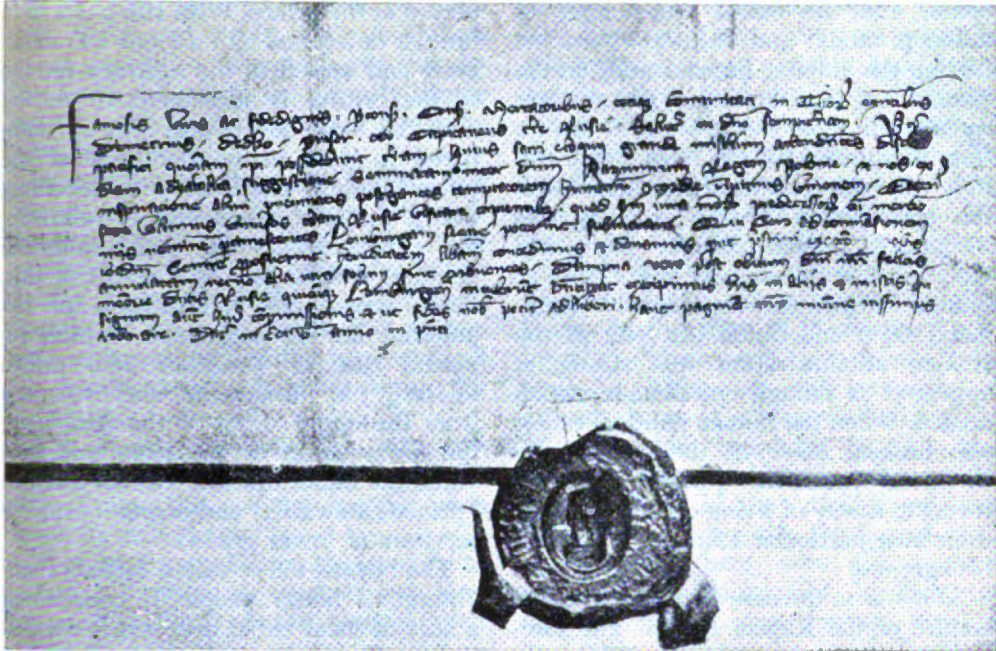


FIGURE 409. LETTER OF VOIVODE DEDKO IN LATIN TO THE COMMUNITY OF TORUŃ, FOURTEENTH CENTURY

Volhynia passed into the hands of the Lithuanian Prince Liubart. Only Galicia, the Kholm area, and the rest of Podlachia remained under the administration of Dmytro Dedko.

In 1349, both Hungary and Poland, taking advantage of the death of Dmytro Dedko, laid claim to Galicia. A Polish-Hungarian agreement and the occupation of Galicia and the Kholm area by Poland put an end to the existence of the last independent state of the Ukrainian people of the Middle Ages. The occupation of Volhynia by Liubart, son of Grand Duke of Lithuania Gedimin, brought Volhynia into the sphere of the Lithuanian Federation (where the lands of central and eastern Ukraine soon found themselves after the breaking of the power of the Tatars in the 1360's).

For a full century, during the most severe periods of the Tatar invasion, the Galician-Volhynian state preserved itself as an independent state of the Ukrainian people. In consequence of the geopoliti-

cal structure of the Ukrainian territory, the center of the political and cultural life of Ukraine passed from Kiev on the Dnieper to the Western Ukrainian cities of Halych on the Dniester, Volodymyr, and Lviv—that is, to the defensive rear of the Ukrainian national territory. The reason for this was the refusal of Ukraine to accept passively the Tatar domination. The Suzdalian-Muscovite lands cooperated with the Tatars; the Ukrainians fought them from their new center and paid for it by losing their own independent political life for centuries.

The Muscovite state, created on the northern borderlands of the Realm of Rus', accepted many elements of the Kievan civilization, but all these elements were substantially modified by the Suzdalian-Muscovite people to fit better into its own way of life.

The relation of ancient Rus' to the Muscovite-Russian people is similar to that of Rome to its provinces in the time of the Roman empire. Gaul,

Spain, and the others were lands of different ethnic and cultural character. During the empire, Romanization in the form of language, literature, and customs spread throughout the entire empire from its cultural base in Italy. Rome and Italy were the creators of Roman culture; the contribution of the colonies was secondary. Roman culture, then, and especially the Roman way of life—that is, Roman civilization—superficially dominated Gaul and Spain. As long as the Roman administration was strong, it appeared as though one Roman nation existed. When the Roman political center was broken, however, the superficially Latinized provinces quickly began to revert to a way of living developed from their own particular ethnic and cultural background.

So it was in the case of the multi-tribal empire of the Kievan Realm. The forefathers of the present-day Ukrainian people—the true *Rus'*, the ethnic *Rus'*—created the political framework of the far-reaching Kievan Realm. The Ukrainian people, known then under the name of *Rus'*, also were the main creators of the culture of Kievan *Rus'*; Novgorod, Suzdal, and the other non-*Rus'* areas of the realm contributed only slightly.

The culture of Kievan *Rus'*, as the product of the spirit of the Ukrainian people even after the final fall of the medieval Ukrainian state, was the chief factor in preserving the national individuality of the Ukrainian people during the centuries that followed.

N. Chubaty

SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE UKRAINIAN PRINCELY STATE

During the five hundred years of the existence of the Ukrainian Princely state, Ukraine experienced substantial changes in its social system.

The *druzhyna*, the prince's retinue, was composed at the outset of Varangians and was closely connected with the

person of the prince. With the passage of time, it developed into a local Ukrainian body and served as the military retinue of the prince. It succeeded in mixing with the local boyars and shortly numbered a great many members of the boyar families. The *druzhyna*, becoming tied to the land, was averse to following the prince from one principality to another; and, largely as a result of this, there ensued the stabilization of the paternal law of succession, which replaced that of Yaroslav. The prince selected his vicegerents and voivodes from the upper strata of the *druzhyna*; the lower ranks of the *druzhyna* provided the minor officials, known as *tiuns* (prince's stewards) and *otroks* (princely servitors of lower grade).

The boyars, the so-called *luchshi liudy* (literally, "better people"), constituted a sort of local tribal aristocracy, which soon was transformed into a class of great landowners and became part of the *druzhyna*. The boyars of Ukraine, unlike the nobles of western Europe, were not a caste in themselves; entry into this group was open to other members of society, even to the children of priests and the *smerds* (peasants). True, in the upper ranks of the boyars there were pseudo-dynasties, in which tenure of certain offices was passed down from generation to generation. Among these were the well-known Vyshata and Putiata families in Kiev and the Bernatovyches and Molybohovyches in Galicia. In *Ruskata Pravda* (*Rus' Law*) more severe penalties were prescribed for destroying the life or honor of a boyar than for destroying that of an ordinary citizen. In particular, the boyars of Galicia had acquired privileges which the boyars of other lands of the Kievan Realm did not have. This is explained by the close relations of Galicia with Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia, and also by the weakness of the princely authority at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In Galicia, the boyars possessed their own fortified castles, their own

retinue (*druzhyna*), and their own officials, *tiuns* and *otroks*. Only in Galicia was it possible to elevate boyar Volodyslav Kormylchych to the princely throne and to have, in fact, a boyar oligarchy (Dmytro Dedko).

In addition to the tribal boyars, the princes, especially in Galicia, began to create a special class of princely boyar servitors to whom they leased land, thus making them economically dependent. During the reign of Daniel and his son, such servitors fulfilled the commands of the prince and provided leadership for his troops.

The free population fell into two categories: the urban, and the rural. In early times, the common people were generally called *smerds*.

The rural population, the *smerds* or peasants, lived either on their own land or on the land of the prince; their primary occupations were agriculture and cattle-raising. They paid taxes to the prince and provided horses for his troops. They also provided men for the troops during any emergency. The *smerds* performed many other chores including the building of fortifications, bridges, canals, and the like. Although the *smerds* were free men, *Rus'* Law provided less drastic punishment for the taking of their lives than for the taking of those of the boyars. The *smerds* had their own self-governing communities known as *vervs*.

In the course of the Princely era, however, the status of the *smerds* changed considerably. The raids of the nomadic tribes and the intraprincely struggles undermined the agricultural economy. On the other hand, the boyars attempted to subdue the *smerds* in their domains; and the princes frequently had to go to their defense inasmuch as they valued the *smerds* as a convenient military reservoir.

The urban population went through another phase of evolution. At the beginning of the Princely era, they did not differ much from the rural population

in their social status and rights. Gradually, however, they underwent a sort of differentiation; and a richer and "better people" class soon emerged, including merchants and tradesmen engaged in domestic and foreign commerce. The *hrechnyks* were those merchants who traded with Byzantium, while the *surozhans* traded with the Crimea (Surozh-Sudak). The less affluent stratum of the urban population was known as the *chern'* (or *chernye liudy*, literally, "black men," "men of lower classes"). This class was composed of artisans, some of whom worked for the prince in his workshops in Kiev and others of whom sold their wares at the market place. In the cities, there were large furnaces for the forging of steel and copper; there were also potters, jewelers, and blacksmiths. In Kiev, for instance, to this very day are districts known as *Kozhemiaky* (The Tanners) and *Hanchari* (The Potters). During the Tatar invasions many highly skilled artisans were killed or forced into slavery. Many others escaped to the western part of Ukraine, especially to the city of Kholm, to which, as the chronicler reported, there came in 1259, "saddlers, bowmakers, smiths of steel, copper, and silver; and there was life, and the courts were filled, and so were the cities, the fields, and villages."

The cities also provided the prince with warriors. The urban population of Galicia was organized into strong communities which often supported the prince in his struggle against the boyar oligarchy. This process, analogous to that known in western Europe—France, Italy, and Germany, had not attained full development in Ukraine, partly because of the policy of the princes and partly because it operated only in the western part of Ukraine.

During the tenth century, there were many foreigners in the cities of Ukraine who came on matters of commerce or who resided there permanently. Catholic churches and monasteries were built for

them in Kiev before the Tatar invasions. In particular, there were many Germans in Galicia and Volhynia, where they were received hospitably by Yaroslav Osmomysl, Daniel, and George II.

Great developments took place in the field of trade. Domestic trade, based mostly on the local market and bazaar, experienced little change. The produce of the agricultural, cattle-raising, tanning, and weaving industries was sold there. The *Pateryk Percherskyi* (Patericon of Pechersk) makes it clear that such items as vegetables, bread, salt, clothes, and shoes were sold at the markets. Hosiery manufactured by monks was also marketed there. Salt was a very important article of trade. Originally it was brought from the Black Sea; when the Cumans (Polovtsians) took over the steppes, the salt mines of Galicia became the principal source of salt. The main trade arteries from the ninth to the eleventh century connected Kiev with the Black Sea and Byzantium, but in the twelfth century these were cut off by the Cumans. Frequently, the princes had to dispatch troops to protect the trade caravans. The trade with western Europe grew in importance; many trade routes developed connecting it with the Kievan Realm. The most important ones were the one from Kiev southwest to Vasyliv and Halych, and another from Kiev northwest through Bilhorod, Zviahel, Volodymyr, and Kholm. Several trade routes led from Galicia to Hungary. The Ukrainian lands participated in trade with Cracow, Prague, Regensburg, Augsburg, and the cities on the Rhine, and with Flanders, Holland, France, and Italy. Many west European trade agreements refer to Ukraine (Kievan *Rus'*). Furthermore, there is evidence that merchants from many lands visited *Rus'*, including Turks, Greeks, and Armenians. In 1289, the death of Volodymyr Vasylykovich was mourned by the Jewish, German, and Surozh (Crimean) merchants.

In medieval Ukraine, there were half-

free men who were called *zakupy* (indentured laborers). These were people who, because of indebtedness or some other reason, were temporarily deprived of liberty without losing their right to regain the status of free men. For the offense of calumny or the crime of murder committed against an indentured laborer, his master was liable before the law. These half-free subjects could also sue or appear as witnesses. With the development of economic differentiation, the number of such *zakupy*, especially among the free peasants, increased, while the possibilities of emancipation from the status of *zakup* decreased.

The lowest category of the population embraced the serfs, the *kholops*, who were known originally as *cheliad*. They were deprived of all rights and were wholly the property of their owner. An owner was not liable for murdering a *kholop*; if the latter were slain by a stranger, the stranger reimbursed the owner as he would have been required to do had he killed cattle.

War was a primary source of serfs. Prisoners of war became the property of the victor and served as objects of trade for export. During the intraprincely struggles, a prince would abduct the people of the enemy and settle them as serfs in his own domain. Indebtedness and the impossibility of liquidating debts was a second reason for the existence of serfs. A third group of serfs consisted of the children born of slave parents.

As the wealth of the boyars and princes increased, the peasants were pauperized, and the number of half-free men and serfs increased considerably. The church advocated humane treatment of serfs and stood for their complete emancipation and for leniency, scoring the harsh treatment of serfs by their masters. On the other hand, some monasteries maintained dependent peasants.

There was still another category of freedmen known as the *izhoi*. These were people who had lost their original

social status and, subsequently, had no definite place in the social system of the society. Roughly, the class of *izhoi* consisted of three general groups: (1) sons of priests who failed to learn to read and write; (2) *kholops* who bought their freedom; and (3) merchants who went bankrupt and became impoverished.

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE UKRAINIAN MEDIEVAL REALM

The decline of the Kievan Realm was gradual and it was brought about by a variety of causes. The first of these was the vast expanse of the empire, perhaps the largest in Europe. To rule it from Kiev was not an easy task. The system of appointment of voivodes, and, frequently, their replacement by the sons of the Grand Princes of Kiev, proved to be inadequate; yet there was no other means to rule the empire. The attempt of Yaroslav the Wise to divide the empire into constituent principalities which would be ruled by the Rurikide princes and united by the senior prince—Grand Prince of Kiev—although it preserved the ideal of unity, also proved to be insufficient. Indeed, this system suffered a devastating blow during the first generation of Yaroslav's successors. The problem was greatly aggravated by the inability of Yaroslav's sons to rule the empire. The division of the empire into separate principalities seriously impaired the status of the Grand Prince of Kiev. His authority dwindled rapidly; and he had neither the economic means which would allow the maintenance of his army, nor any executive power which would compel the various princes to obey his will. In reality, those princes who had concrete strength enjoyed authority and respect; among such powerful princes were Volodymyr Monomakh and Mstyslav I who succeeded in gaining control over a considerable territory. As a rule, this merely transformed the Grand Prince into a powerful ruler of Kiev, and

not a ruler of the entire empire, as Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise had been. As the capital of the empire, Kiev gradually lost its importance, although many princes fought for its possession. The princes who were realistic statesmen, however, entertained no desire to live in Kiev. Andrew Bogoliubsky ruined it, but did not remain in it; Roman Mstyslavych did the same thing in 1203, and then left only his viceroy there. Both of them began to erect new state centers away from Kiev. The members of the Rurikide dynasty lost their feeling of solidarity and, through their strife and struggle, contributed to the weakness of the empire.

More important in the decline of the Kievan Realm was the economic factor. The richness and splendor of Kiev was based in great measure on international trade, the east European center of which was Kiev. The domination of the steppe by nomadic hordes, in particular the Cumans, severed the trade routes to the Black Sea and compelled Kievan trade to turn westward. The crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries resulted in the discovery of a simpler route from Europe to Asia which linked Italy directly with the Near East. Kiev was by-passed by world trade, and this situation was soon reflected in its diminished wealth and in the less secure condition of the princes, who had derived great benefits from the trade. Although it is true that the trade of Kiev with western Europe did not cease, it lost much of its original impetus.

The domination of the Ukrainian steppes by the nomads contributed substantially to the downfall of the Principality of Kiev and that of Pereiaslav. The nomads gradually cut off the southern lands of these principalities and compelled the population to seek more secure settlements in the Principalities of Chernihiv, Volhynia, and Vladimir-in-Suzdalia. Kiev, once the center of the empire, was transformed into a frontier city and became the primary target of

the frequent Cuman raids. The pauperization of the urban and rural population as a result of these raids, the ruination of the cities and villages, the abduction of the population as slaves—all these things contributed to the decimation of the population.

It is true that these developments which befell the Kievan Realm were not unique for an empire; they were typical of the history of Poland, Germany, and France, which, at that time, witnessed the fall of their great imperial organizations and the weakening of supreme central authority. Somehow, these other countries slowly emerged from the crisis and created new state systems based on new principles. Perhaps the Kievan Realm also would have found strength for a rebirth with a new center in the western part of Ukraine—in Volodymyr Volynsky, or in Halych. This was forestalled by the unprecedented invasions of Ukraine by the Tatars.

The great Tatar invasions of the thirteenth century precipitated the fall of the Kievan Realm. Kiev was ruined, and the greater part of the population escaped to safer lands. The transfer of the metropolitanate to Vladimir-in-Suzdalia (1299) had great significance also. Although the metropolitan maintained the title of the "Kievan Metropolitan and of all Rus'" in the Vladimir-Suzdal Principality, none the less, Kiev lost its significance as a religious center and as a symbol of the unity of Rus'. The Tatar invasions, however, had far greater significance for the Ukrainian medieval state than the ruin of Kiev itself; the Tatars impeded the consolidation of the Galician-Volhynian state, and the campaign in 1259 of Burundai against Galicia was a new catastrophe in the history of medieval Ukraine. The struggle against the Tatars took up many years of the lives of the successors of Daniel, whose great-grandchildren, Andrew and Leo II, perished in the struggle. These continual raids of the Tatars and the

struggle of the Ukrainian princes against them, devastating conflicts from which the rest of Europe was spared, concluded the process of decline in the Ukrainian medieval realm, as embodied in the Kievan and Galician centers.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRINCELY ERA IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE

The five hundred years of the Princely era were of great importance not only in the history of Ukraine, but in that of all eastern Europe as well. During this period, the separate Ukrainian tribes created a powerful empire, welding it into one nation. Situated at the crossroads of cultural and trade routes which connected the Pacific and Atlantic oceans, Scandinavia and Byzantium, medieval Ukraine was subjected to various influences; however, it succeeded in creating its own distinctive national culture, in which it was difficult to distinguish the various elements out of which it was composed. During this time in the Kievan Realm, high spiritual values had been created: literary works, chronicles, sermons—among which the most outstanding are the Word about the Law and Grace of Metropolitan Hilarion, *Ruskata Pravda* (Rus' Law), and The Tale of Ihor's Armament. Various art forms—architecture, miniatures, gems—flourished as well. These artistic accomplishments were equal to and concurrent with the development of culture and art in the whole of Europe.

In contrast to the northeastern Principality of Vladimir-Suzdal, the center of the Kievan Realm had always remained a part of the European family of nations. In addition to political, economic, and cultural interests, the Kievan Realm was linked to Europe by numerous marriages that were made between the ruling dynasties of Ukraine-Rus' and royalty from the courts of Europe. Naturally, these alliances strengthened the connections between Ukraine-Rus' and western Europe.

All the political developments in Kiev had severe repercussions in western Europe; Kiev frequently was the center of attention of the western European countries.

All these relations were deeply imbued with religious tolerance. "Go to the Hungarian King," King Daniel advised his Metropolitan Cyril and his former chancellor, "You are both Christians." This tolerance also found expression in relation to the Crusades, when the chronicler wrote that those who died in the struggle for the liberation of the Holy Land would be counted as holy martyrs. Medieval Ukraine, living a common life with the whole of Europe, was an integral part of it.

For five hundred years, Ukraine, maintaining a constant struggle against the nomads of Asia, served as a fortress for Europe. In doing so, it saved Europe; and weakened and exhausted, it finally fell in the unequal struggle.

N. Polonska-Vasylenko

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5. AT THE DAWN OF THE MODERN AGE: UKRAINE UNDER LITHUANIAN AND POLISH DOMINATION

UKRAINE IN THE LITHUANIAN-RUTHENIAN STATE

The Beginnings of the Lithuanian State

The Lithuanian people appeared late on the historical scene. At the end of the tenth century, Volodymyr the Great was involved in a war with the Yatvingians (Yatviagians), the chief Lithuanian tribe. In the twelfth century, Roman of Volhynia and Galicia conquered the Yatvingians and took many prisoners: at that time the Lithuanians had no state organization and each tribe lived independently. In the thirteenth century the Lithuanians were confronted with the dangers of German colonization through the Teutonic Order, who settled at the mouth of the Vistula in 1230. The aggressive policy of the Germans brought about the union of the Lithuanians.

Mendogv

Mendogv in the first half of the thirteenth century united the greater part of the Lithuanian tribes and began the struggle with the Order. He also brought under his control part of Belorussia (the Principality of Polotsk) and Black Rus' (Novhorodok). His aggressive policy produced a tripartite coalition of Daniel of Halych, Mazovia, and the Order. But Mendogv won the Order to his side; he was baptized in 1253, and was crowned king of Lithuania in 1254. Mendogv made peace with Daniel return-

ing to him Black Rus' and permitting his daughter to marry Daniel's son Shvarno.

After the death of Mendogv in 1263 quarrels began among his heirs. In 1266 the Lithuanian throne was taken by Shvarno Danylovych, who created a great state, uniting Lithuania with the Belorussian lands. After his death in 1269 the state fell apart.

Gedimin (1316-41)

The fratricidal struggle for the throne began again and ceased only in 1316, when Gedimin united Lithuania and began an assault on Belorussia and Ukraine. Gedimin occupied the Berestia (later known as Brest-Litovsk) region, Volhynia, the areas of Turiv and Pynsk, and the northern part of the province of Kiev. He called himself "King of Lithuania and Rus'." His capital was Vylno (Vilnius). Gedimin remained a pagan, but he married his children to Orthodox princes and princesses: his son Liubart was married to the daughter of the Prince of Volhynia, thus securing for his family rights to these lands; another daughter was married to George II Bolesław.

During his reign, Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belorussian) culture spread in Lithuania. In the struggle for Galicia, which began after the death of George II Bolesław, Liubart and the other Lithuanian princes headed the Ukrainian forces against Casimir of Poland and

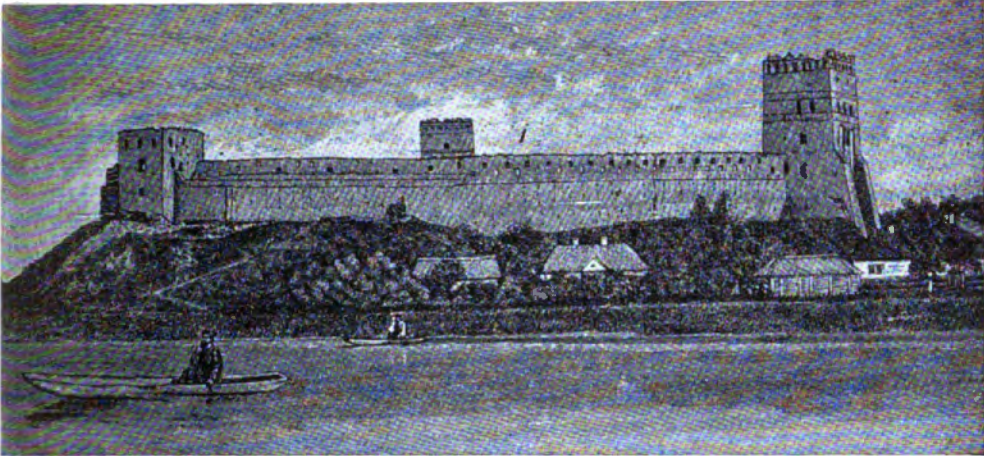


FIGURE 410. CASTLE OF LIUBART IN LUTSK

Louis of Hungary. This struggle ended in 1377 with the loss of Galicia and the Kholm area by the Lithuanian-Rus' state to Poland; only Volhynia remained under Liubart's rule.

Olgerd (1345-77)

Olgerd, son of Gedimin, added to his state the regions of Chernihiv and Siveria, and a number of cities—among them Chernihiv, Novhorod Siversky, and Starodub. About 1362, Olgerd occupied Kiev and installed his son Volodymyr as prince. He soon took control of the Pereiaslav area and united it with Kiev. This action aroused the Tatars. At Syni Vody (Syniukha) they were defeated in 1363. After this Olgerd extended his domain to include Podilia, governing it through his nephews, the Koriatovychi. The Ukrainian population submitted to the Lithuanians without resistance, for the new government gave them security from the Tatars. Nine-tenths of the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania consisted of Ukrainian and Belorussian lands. The Ukrainian and Belorussian princes formed the higher class of the population: they assembled in the Council of Nobility (the *pany-rada*), served in the army, and held the higher offices. The Rus' (Ruthenian) language

became the state language; Slavic customs also prevailed in the order of administration, courts, law, and religion. Of Olgerd's twelve sons, ten were of the Orthodox religion.

Jagiello (1377-92) and the Union of Lithuania and Poland

The war among Olgerd's heirs which began after his death was ended finally by Olgerd's youngest son, Jagiello (Yahailo), who united the Lithuanian principality. The Teutonic Order took advantage of the weakening of the princely power during this period to annex parts of the territory controlled by Lithuania. On the east the danger was increasing from the Principality of Moscow, which was becoming more powerful. These circumstances compelled Lithuania to seek a union with Poland. After its break with Hungary in 1382 Poland also wanted the alliance, in order to take the mouth of the Vistula from the Teutonic Order and to secure Galicia for itself. The union of the two states was signed in Krevo in 1385. Jagiello married Queen Hedwig of Poland and was crowned King of Poland, although retaining his title of Grand Prince of Lithuania. At the same time he accepted Roman Catholicism.

In 1387 Hedwig added Galicia to Poland. During the same year Moldavia came under Polish-Lithuanian domination and in 1389 Wallachia concluded an alliance with Poland. The strengthening of the Polish-Catholic influence created dissatisfaction in Belorussia and Ukraine; Vytovt, son of Olgerd's brother Keistut who had been killed by Jagiello, took advantage of this dissatisfaction and raised a revolt against Jagiello in 1392. Jagiello yielded to him the Principality of Lithuania, but this did not destroy the union with Poland. Vylno became Vytovt's capital.

Vytovt (1392-1430)

Vytovt broadened the boundaries of the state and built fortifications, especially on the Black Sea (Chornohorod and Bilhorod Dnistrovsky [Akkerman]). Khadzhybei (known later as Odessa) became a port for the export of grain. The area controlled by Vytovt extended to the Black Sea in the south, and to the headwaters of the Samara and Donets in the southeast. However he suffered a great defeat from the Tatars on the river Vorskla in 1399, which checked the advance of Lithuania to the south and east.

Vytovt had more success in the west. Together with Jagiello, he shattered the Teutonic Knights at Grünwald in 1440. This victory gave peace to the Lithuanian principality from the Germans for a certain time, and strengthened the union of Lithuania and Poland. In 1413, in Horodlo, a new union of Poland and Lithuania was agreed upon. This marked the introduction into the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state of limitations of the rights of the Orthodox who lived in Poland. Only Roman Catholics could take part in the Grand Prince's Council and hold state offices. Catholic sees were established in Lutsk and in Kamianets Podilsky. In order to detach the Orthodox from the Kievan metropolitanate (which had been transferred to Moscow after 1325 and actually had

become Muscovite), Vytovt tried, unsuccessfully, to establish a Lithuanian Orthodox metropolitanate.

Vytovt favored the spreading of trade and crafts; he encouraged German merchants and artisans to settle in the cities and permitted the cities to govern themselves by their own (Magdeburg) law. He strengthened the governmental power of the Grand Prince and laid the basis for the development of a feudal system. He removed Volodymyr Olgerdovych from the rule of Kiev, Theodore Liubartovych from Volhynia, the Korybutovychi from Chernihiv, and the Koriiatovychi from Podilia replacing them with his own viceregents. But he left some degree of self-government in these areas by means of "land constitutional letters" which confirmed the rights of the church, the people, and the local courts. These letters specifically upheld the administrative powers of the *viche* and guaranteed the safety of the individual. Vytovt's policies, as well as the increase of Polish influence after the union of Horodlo, provoked discontent in Ukraine and Belorussia. The conservative Ruthenian faction found a leader in Jagiello's brother, Svidrigailo, who turned for help to the Teutonic Order; the conspiracy was discovered, however, and many of the conspirators were executed.

Svidrigailo (1430-5)

After the death of Vytovt, Svidrigailo became Grand Prince of Lithuania. Unlike his predecessor, he relied on the Ukrainians and Belorussians and gave them the important positions in government. This created discontent among the Lithuanians, who began to turn toward Poland. The Polish party advanced the candidacy of Vytovt's brother, Sigismund. The Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund, the Teutonic Order, and Moldavia supported Svidrigailo. In a battle on the river Sviata, Svidrigailo suffered a great defeat; many Ruthenian princes were killed and forty-two were captured.

Sigismund became Grand Duke of Lithuania.

Sigismund (1435–40)

The rule of Sigismund further embittered the Ruthenians in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state. As a result of the increase of Polish influence in Lithuania, many princes with their lands accepted the rule of the Grand Prince of Muscovy in place of that of Lithuania. A conspiracy was formed among the Ruthenian princes which resulted in Sigismund's death in 1440.

Casimir (1440–92)

Lithuania chose the younger son of Jagiello, Casimir, as Grand Prince. His older brother, Władysław, held the throne of Poland. After the death of Władysław in 1444, Casimir was elected King of Poland, against the will of Lithuania which preferred a ruler separate from that of Poland. At first Casimir attempted to pacify the Ukrainian princes. He placed Svidrigailo in Volhynia and Alexander (Olelko), the son of Volodymyr Olgerdovych, in Kiev as feudal princes. In 1447 he issued privileges to the Belorussian and Ukrainian nobility which made their rights equal to those of the Polish nobility. The Ukrainian and Belorussian nobles received the right to try their peasants (the estate court), and the peasants were forbidden to leave the estates. In 1468 he issued a new general code of laws (*Sudebnyk*).

After Casimir became King of Poland, he changed his policy toward Ukraine and seemed bent on destroying its local autonomy. In 1470, for example, he abolished the Principality of Volhynia and Kiev, which became an ordinary province of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. In reaction to these measures a conspiracy, headed by the Ukrainian feudal princes—among them Michael Olelkovych—was organized but it was discovered, and in 1481 Olelkovych and many other conspirators were executed.

At this time the Crimean Tatar Horde

became a menace to Ukraine. In 1482, at the request of Ivan III, the Grand Prince of Moscow, Khan Mengli-Girei attacked Kiev and sacked it. From that time on the Tatars attacked Ukraine almost every year, ruining the Kiev region, Volhynia, and Podilia, robbing and carrying off prisoners. Lithuania was unable to defeat the Tatar attacks and the shores of the Black Sea were lost for good.

Alexander (1492–1506)

After the death of Casimir, Poland and Lithuania again had separate rulers, both of them sons of Casimir: in Poland, John Olbracht; in Lithuania, Alexander. Alexander was married to the Muscovite princess Helena, daughter of Ivan III, but this did not stop the advance of Moscow, which wanted to seize the Ruthenian lands from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After the campaigns of 1492 and 1494, Moscow secured control of much of the area of Chernihiv and Siveria. In 1500 Ivan III again attacked Lithuania and took prisoner the Lithuanian hetman, Prince Constantine Ostrozky. Seventy districts and three hundred and nineteen towns, including the whole of Chernihiv and Siveria (except Oster), were added to Moscow. The danger from Moscow again pushed Lithuania toward Poland. In 1501, after the death of John Olbracht, Alexander was elected King of Poland; an edict issued in Piotrków that same year announced that Poland and Lithuania would be joined forever, and that the Polish King also would be the Grand Prince of Lithuania.

Sigismund I (1506–48)

The war between Lithuania and Moscow continued under Alexander's brother, Sigismund, who succeeded Alexander as King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. Relying on the support of Moscow, the Belorussian and Ukrainian princes renewed their struggle against Polish and Lithuanian domination. In

1508 a revolt intended to separate Ukraine from Lithuania broke out. Headed by the Ukrainian princes, the Hlynski, the rebels were defeated, and the Hlynski fled to Moscow. This was the last revolt attempted by Ukrainian princes against the Polish-Lithuanian state. At the urging of the Hlynski, the Moscow Grand Prince Basil III attacked Lithuania. At Orsha in 1514 Constantine Ostrozky defeated the Muscovite army, but Moscow retained Smolensk.

Thus at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Ukrainian lands were divided among its neighboring states as follows: Lithuania—Volhynia, eastern Podilia, the Kiev area, the southern Left Bank; Poland—Galicia, the Kholm area, western Podilia; Muscovy—Chernihiv-

Siveria; Hungary—Transcarpathian Ukraine; Moldavia—Bukovina, Galician Pokutia. The coast of the Black Sea between the Dnieper and the Dniester was occupied by the Turks and the Tatars (see Fig. 411).

The long rule of Sigismund I deepened Polish influences in Lithuania.

Sigismund II August (1548–72)

Sigismund II August carried on a serious war with Muscovy for Livonia; the whole burden of the war fell on the Belorussian lands. The lesser nobility of Belorussia wanted to establish a closer union with Poland. The lesser Ukrainian nobles also were favorable to a closer union, for they were suffering seriously from Tatar attacks. The lesser Polish

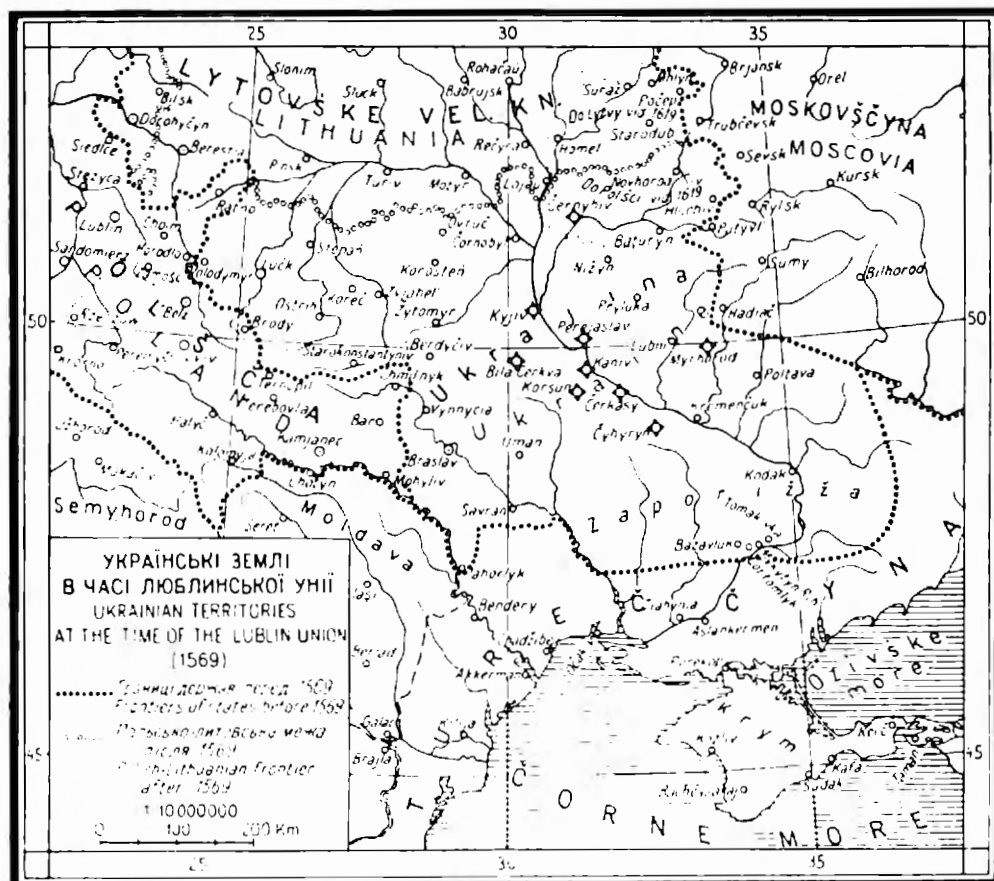


FIGURE 411. UKRAINIAN LANDS AT THE TIME OF THE UNION OF LUBLIN

nobles, whose rights in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were limited, constantly strove to strengthen the union which had been established at Krevo. The lesser Lithuanian nobles were attracted by the privileged position of the lesser nobles in Poland. On the other hand the Lithuanian and Ruthenian princes and higher nobles were opposed to the union, for they feared the loss of their privileges and did not want to be placed on the same level as the Polish lesser nobles.

The Union of Lublin

In January, 1569, a diet in Lublin raised the question of a real union of Poland and Lithuania. Despite the opposition of the Lithuanian nobles the act of union was signed on July 1, 1569. Poland and Lithuania became a united state—the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. There was to be a joint diet and a monarch, the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, who would be elected by the joint diet. Diplomatic relations and the conclusion of treaties were to be carried on jointly. There was to be one currency. The subjects of either state were to have equal rights with regard to holding property in the other. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania kept its autonomy; it had its own government, courts, laws, finances, and army. But the territory of the Grand Duchy was much reduced; Lithuania retained, in addition to the Lithuanian lands, only Belorussia and the areas of Berestia and Pynsk. The greater part of the Ukrainian lands—Podlachia, Volhynia, Podilia, the regions of Bratslav and Kiev, and the Lower Left Bank of the Dnieper passed to Poland (see Fig. 411).

The Western Ukrainian Lands under Poland in the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries

Prior to the Union of Lublin, Galicia and the Kholm region had been under Polish rule for a long time (see "Medieval History"). Casimir the Great had

tried to turn Galicia into a Polish province. He gave lands liberally to Poles and Hungarians, binding them to military service in exchange. German colonists settled in the cities, and the Magdeburg Law spread. Under the protection of the king Roman Catholic missions, particularly Franciscan and Dominican ones, went to Galicia. In 1375 a Roman Catholic archbishop's see was established in Halych (but it was soon transferred to Lviv). Galicia became still more closely connected with Poland after 1387. The Polish occupation of the Ukrainian lands became more repressive. While the Polish officials and settlers tried to increase their power in Western Ukraine, the Polish nobility sought to use the Ukrainian lands for colonization. They now acquired the great landholdings which formerly had belonged to the Ukrainian boyars. The Tarnowskis acquired Yaroslav and the Buczackis, Podilia. Many lesser Polish nobles entered the country. Polish burghers strove to dominate trade, and in the cities only Roman Catholics could enjoy the Magdeburg Law. The Ukrainian burghers lost their position in the trade. The Polish Catholic Church spread to the east. In 1442 Jagiello gave to the Roman Catholics the old Orthodox cathedral in Pere-myshl. In 1434 Ukrainian law was abolished in Galicia, and Polish law, offices, and courts were introduced.

The State System of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania

The state system of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania resembled that of the old Kievan Realm. At the head was the Grand Duke of the family Gedimin, who considered himself the heir of the old *Rus'* princes. The state was divided into constituent principalities where princes, chiefly of the house of Gedimin, ruled. In the fifteenth century, the ruling (feudal) princes in the Lithuanian—Ruthenian lands disappeared and the government was centralized. The Grand Duke was assisted by a council, the

Council of Nobility (*pany-rada*), consisting of the princes, provincial viceregents, Roman Catholic bishops, and higher judicial and administrative officials. In the sixteenth century, the Council developed into a powerful governmental institution, which greatly limited the power of the Grand Duke. He could not issue laws without its approval (privilege of 1506). The council also had the right to carry on diplomatic negotiations and to share in the administration of justice.

In the sixteenth century, all the laws of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state were codified. The code was based upon the *Ruskaia Pravda* (*Rus' Law*). In 1529, the

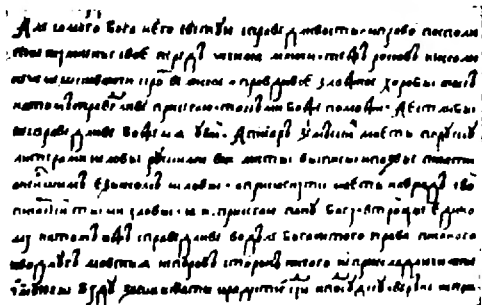


FIGURE 412. EXCERPT FROM THE LITHUANIAN STATUTE

first edition of the Lithuanian Statute was issued. Later, in 1566, a second edition was published; and in 1588, the third and final edition. The first edition of the Lithuanian Statute reflected to a great extent the old Ukrainian (*Rus'*) Law and the Ukrainian population, both then and later, considered this as their national law.

In addition to the Council of Nobility, another representative institution, the *Soim* (Diet, 1401, 1413), appeared. In 1440, the first great diet met to elect the Grand Duke Casimir. In the fifteenth century, the initiative in calling the great diet belonged to the Council of Nobility; its responsibility in the government was not great. The diet was composed of deputies representing the no-

bility. The chief functions of the diet were military and financial, the approval of taxes for maintaining the army, for example. At first all the nobility met in the diet, but after the middle of the sixteenth century, they elected representatives to the diets.

The executive power was divided between the central government and its subordinate provincial and local agencies. The officials of the central government were the land marshal and the court marshal (minister of the court), the chancellor (the chief of the chancellery of the Grand Duke and the minister of foreign affairs) and the under-chancellor, the land treasurer (the minister of finance) and the court treasurer, and two chief military commanders, the land (later called "great") hetman (minister of war and commander in chief) and the field hetman.

The provincial government was well organized. After the removal of the feudal princes, they were replaced by the Grand Duke's provincial viceregents. Their power, chiefly financial and judicial, was great. In smaller districts there were Grand Duke's *tyvuny*.

The rural community was administered by the village chief (*otaman*); he, with the village elders, put the taxes to use and administered the court called *kopnyi sud*—local peasant court.

The Social System of Ukraine in the Fourteenth to Sixteenth Centuries

The highest class was the princes (the so-called *kniazhata*) and the lords (*paniata*). There were many princely and lordly families in Ukraine, especially in Volhynia: the Ostrozkys, Sanhushkos, Chartoryiskys, Zbarazkys, Vyshnevetskys, Chetvertynskys, Ruzhynskys—all descendants of the feudal Ruthenian and Lithuanian princes, the Bohovytnys, Semashkos, and other old families. They held the great landed possessions as well as influence in the Council of Nobility and the central and local administrations. They enjoyed great privileges; they could

be tried only by the court of the Grand Duke and went to war under their own banners and at the head of their own forces.

Below this class was the nobility (*shliakhtha*) which consisted of the descendants of the less rich old boyar families.



FIGURE 413. PRINCE
BASIL CONSTANTINE
OSTROZKY

Their chief duty was military service. Still lower were the boyars (or serving gentry) and the retainers (*sluhy putni*). They had their own small properties and served in the castles, on the frontiers, and in the courier or postal service. There were many boyars, especially in Podilia, the Bratslav area, Kievan (eastern) Polisia, and the Chernihiv region.

The situation was different in Galicia. There the Ukrainian *shliakhtha* (*szlachta*—in Polish) had partially merged with the masses of the people. Many of them migrated to Volhynia.

At the end of the thirteenth century in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state, the burgher estate was formed as a separate group. At first these were German settlers who had been granted municipal self-government under the Magdeburg Law, with many personal privileges and their own courts. At the end of the four-

teenth century most of the Lithuanian princes granted the Magdeburg Law to all the cities; in 1374, Kamianets Podilsky received it and in 1390, Berestia. The city government was elected by popular vote and consisted of: the burgo-master, the city council (for administrative matters), the *viiit* (city or village head, mayor), and a board of magistrates (for judicial matters). In the cities, guilds were organized to unite the artisans according to their craft. These guilds saw to it that their members carefully fulfilled their obligations and protected them from the competition of outside persons. The guilds were bound by strict discipline and had a powerful organization.

The position of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population in the cities became more difficult, mainly in Galicia (especially Lviv) and the Kholm region. All rights of municipal government in Lviv slowly passed to the Poles and Germans, and the Ukrainians were forced out of the city administration. They were limited even in their right to trade and to live in the better sections of the city. The Orthodox population was united in church brotherhoods which were organized in a manner similar to the guilds. At first, their activities were limited to giving material aid to the churches: providing all that was needed for the divine service (wine, candles), caring for the external order in the churches, and helping the sick and orphans. The first known brotherhood was established in 1463 in Lviv at the Church of the Assumption; the second at the Church of the Elevation of the Cross in Lutsk in 1483.



FIGURE 414. MEDALLION WITH THE PORTRAIT
AND COAT OF ARMS OF PRINCE B. C. OSTROZKY

The peasants in the Lithuanian period of Ukrainian history, as earlier, belonged to three categories: free peasants; semi-free peasants, which were bound to the land (the former *zakupy*); and the slaves. This last category disappeared entirely in the sixteenth century. There existed three groups of free peasants: peasant-landowners (*pokhozhi*), rural

craftsmen and free village laborers, and village lessees or land tenants. The land-owning peasants (formerly *smerds*) were the most numerous group; they lived on their own land, paid state taxes, and performed various obligations. They lived in villages consisting of several groups of farms (*khutirs*). The craftsmen and free village laborers lived mostly around the castles. Finally, the peasant tenants lived in villages and paid rent for their own land.

As well as the free land-owning peasants there was a constantly increasing group of peasants (*liudy nepokhozhi*) who were deprived of the right to freely choose their place of residence. This indicates that in the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state the peasants were gradually being enslaved, for binding them to the land constituted the first step toward serfdom. In the mid-sixteenth century this process advanced rapidly, hastened by the introduction of the agrarian (peasant) law of 1557. To carry through a uniform taxing system, the land was measured and the peasants were limited as to the size of farm they could hold, the *voloka* (about 21 hectares). Farm land above the prescribed amount was taken from the peasants. All the peasants had to pay rent and to work for the noble landlords, at first one or two days a week. The new system of peasant land use virtually destroyed the old village community and regimented the work of the peasants. In Ukraine this reform was introduced in Volhynia and in the Berestie and Pynsk areas.

In the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, the new settlers (Germans or Poles), by paying a definite sum to the government or great landowners, were permitted to establish new village communities under German law; their leaders were made hereditary village *vitty* with broad administrative and judicial powers. The village settlers possessed their own homes, had individual holdings, and paid rent to the landowner. But in the sixteenth century, the

difference between the peasant living under Ruthenian (old Ukrainian) and German Law disappeared. There were also villages under Wallachian Law (first known in Galicia in 1378). The chief difference between the German and Wallachian villages was that the Wallachian settlers were primarily interested in cattle-raising and had more self-government. However in the sixteenth century, the Wallachian Law also disappeared.

The position of the peasants was worst in Galicia. There, after the Polish system, serfdom was introduced earlier than in the other lands of Ukraine. The oppression by the lords caused the first peasant uprisings. Among those on a large scale was the rising under Dmytro Mukha (1490) which spread from Pokutia to Halych and Rohatyn and was put down by the Polish government only with the aid of foreign mercenaries.

UKRAINE AFTER THE POLISH-LITHUANIAN UNION OF LUBLIN

Social Changes

The Ukrainian lands in the so-called Polish Crown (Polish part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) were divided into several *voievodstvos* (provinces): the older ones of Lviv, Belz, and Podilia; and the new ones of Volhynia, Bratslav, Kiev, and, in 1618, Chernihiv (see map, Fig. 411). The new provinces annexed to the Polish Crown at Lublin followed the Lithuanian Statute, the courts of the preceding period, and retained Ukrainian (Ruthenian) as the official language, although efforts were slowly made to introduce Polish and Latin. The self-government promised to the Ukrainian lands annexed to Poland in 1569 was not granted. The special Volhynian Tribunal, established under King Batory in Lutsk, was abolished after a few years.

After the Union of Lublin, great changes occurred in the social structure

of the Ukrainian lands. Legally the highest stratum of the population, the lords, lost their privileged position and were made the equals of the nobility. Actually, with their enormous properties and wealth, they kept their position. The Princes Ostrozky, for example, owned a considerable part of Volhynia and controlled some 1,000 towns and villages. In general, in Volhynia there were still many great Ukrainian noble families, Zaslavskys, Zbarazkys, Chetvertynskys, Vyshnevetskys, and others. The representatives of these distinguished families obtained posts as provincial governors and castellans (with the right to sit in Polish Senate), and as county heads.

The Ukrainian nobility was equal with the Polish. With the death of King Sigismund August, the dynasty of the Jagiellons ended and the kings were elected at the special election diet. During the election of a new king, the nobles imposed the power of the king to the advantage of the nobles. They were exempt from all taxes and obligations, except for general mobilization which was called in times of great danger. The nobles met at provincial dietines where they chose deputies for the state diet and judges for the land (provincial) courts.

As a result of the Union of Lublin, the nobles of the two states, Poland and Lithuania, were granted the right to have lands in any area of the entire commonwealth. This was very important for the Polish nobles who quickly began to penetrate into Ukraine. The Polish nobles were granted royal letters for the so-called "empty" lands. A survey was made of all empty lands in the provinces of Volhynia, Bratslav, and Podilia. Much land was distributed by King Sigismund III Vasa (1583-1632) in appreciation for his election to the Polish throne. Enormous landed estates were set up in Ukraine: for example, Kalinowski, the county sheriff of Vinnytsia, secured the "waste" of the Uman area, almost the whole southern area of the provinces of

Kiev. The Zamojskis, Potockis, and Seniawskis secured lands in the province of Bratslav; the Tyshkevyches in Berdychiv; the Zbarazkys, the land from the river Ros to the Boh. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Vyshnevetskys secured enormous properties on the Left-Bank Ukraine. These landed estates acquired more importance because of the great changes in the European economic system. Trade and industry developed in western Europe in the sixteenth century, the cities grew, and the economy of whole countries changed. As a result the increase in the non-agricultural population increased the demand and the price of agricultural products. Ukraine became one of the main suppliers of grain for western Europe. The export of wheat through Gdańsk (Danzig), which, at the end of the fifteenth century, was at most 10,000 sacks a year, rose in 1583 to 50,000. By 1618 it had increased to 116,000 and in 1648 it reached 129,000 sacks. Agriculture in Ukraine became more and more profitable.

Under the influence of Poland, the life of the nobles changed. The stern, semi-military way of life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was changed into a life of luxury; great palaces were built; splendid banquets were held in them; Polish clothing, Polish customs, and the Polish language spread. The upper strata of the Ukrainian population were rapidly denationalized. This development was aided by marriages. The middle nobility followed the noble magnates. Polonization was also aided by the schools which were in the hands of the Catholic clergy, especially the Jesuits.

Polish Catholic influence spread in Ukraine. Even the two sons of that defender of the Orthodox Church, Prince Basil Constantine Ostrozky, accepted Catholicism. The Ukrainian and Belorussian nobles and magnates, the Slutskys, Tyshkevyches, Sapihas, Khodkevyches, Volovyches, and many others turned to Catholicism.

The introduction into Ukraine of Polish ways led to a worsening of the position of the burghers. (In Poland, the burghers were outside political life.) In Lviv, the Ukrainians did not even have the right to pass in ecclesiastical processions through the streets outside of their own sections, that is, where the Poles and Germans lived.

The Union of Lublin bore down most heavily upon the peasants. In Poland, they had long since lost the right to own their land or to move freely from one place to another. Because of the increase in the demand for grain, the nobles tried to increase the productivity of their properties at the expense of the peasant laborer. Labor service (*panshchyna*) increased; there were added payments; and the peasants were obligated to do more work for the nobles. During the sixteenth century in Galicia, the labor service was increased six times; in Volhynia in 1570 it reached as many as 3 days a week in numerous places.

The situation was different in southeastern Ukraine. There, the great landed estates of the magnates suffered from a lack of laborers. As a result the peasants were given freedom—exemption from labor obligations and responsibilities for 10 to 20 years—so as to attract more people. Fleeing from the labor obligations in quite densely populated Galicia, Volhynia, and the northern province of Kiev, the people went to the "freedoms." The land became populated rapidly. Hundreds and thousands of new villages, towns, and cities grew up. But the years of exemption passed and the peasants had to undertake labor obligations and to fulfil various duties. The populating of the free settlements (*slobodas*) began immediately after the Union of Lublin and the first limitations of the freedoms began in the 1580's. The establishment of obligations caused discontent among the people who had become accustomed to liberty and they resented *panshchyna*, even though it was less burdensome than it had been at home. In 1618, when the

years of exemption on the landed estates of the Princes Vyshnevetsky on the Left Bank ended, almost half of the peasants went to the so-called "Wild Field" (the future *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*). In other places, they began moving to the south, beyond the Dnieper rapids. At the end of the sixteenth century a series of peasant revolts broke out against the Polish nobles and the inhabitants of the *slobodas* took an active part in them.

The National Opposition to Poland

There were many reasons for the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian population. The Polish government and the Polish *szlachta* became steadily more ill disposed to the Ukrainian people. Only a small group of the Ukrainian nobles did not betray the Ukrainian culture; among these, the most prominent was Prince Basil Constantine Ostrozky. He turned the city of Ostroh into an outstanding center of Ukrainian culture and founded a college (ca. 1580) with a printing press. Here gathered the leading intellectuals of Ukraine, and here also was published, in 1581, a complete text of the Bible in Slavic. Prince Ostrozky also founded schools in Turiv (1572) and Volodymyr (1577). Ostrozky was not alone in his efforts. Gregory Khodkevych also did much to raise his native culture; he founded a press in Zabludov. Prince George Slutsky founded a school and a press in the 1560's in Slutsk. Contacts with western European scholarship were maintained by journeys abroad, and the young men studied in the universities of Padua, Ingolstadt, Heidelberg, and Wittenberg (see "Culture").

As in Poland and Lithuania, the teachings of various Protestant movements, Lutheran, Calvinist, and Socinian, spread in Ukraine. Several noble families (Chaplych-Shpanovskys, Seniutas, Nemyryches, Hoiskys, and others) accepted Protestantism and aided the foundation of Protestant schools (in Kyselyn, Hoshcha, and other towns); but Protestantism did not affect the mass of the people.

The leading role in the defense of the Orthodox church was assumed by the Ukrainian burghers; isolated from the Poles and limited in their rights, the Orthodox burghers paid more and more attention to the church brotherhoods. The number of brotherhoods increased, and the range of their activities widened. The brotherhood schools began to compete with those of the Catholics and Protestants and tried to give an equal education but in a national Orthodox spirit. The Lviv brotherhood school became the model for the others. The school of the Epiphany brotherhood in Kiev, founded later, became famous throughout all Ukraine. The brotherhoods assumed control of the Orthodox clergy and aimed to make them worthy of their calling in their lives and culture.

The importance of the brotherhoods increased at the end of the sixteenth century when ecclesiastical and religious causes were added to the social and national causes for the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian people in the Polish commonwealth. The denial to the Orthodox of those rights which the Catholics had, and the oppression of the Orthodox clergy by the Polish government, created a storm in Ukraine. Under such conditions, the attempt to unite the Orthodox and Catholic churches, proclaimed at the synod of Berestia in 1596, did not give the desired results. Despite the fact that almost all the Orthodox hierarchy accepted the union with the Roman Catholic church, the greater part of the Ukrainian people did not. The Orthodox opposition was headed by Prince Basil Constantine Ostrozky. Vigorous polemics ensued, and this increased the bitterness still more. The Orthodox brotherhoods then took upon themselves the defence of the Church.

But the burghers did not lead the struggle to gain the national demands of the Ukrainian people and the rebirth of its state. That could be done only by representatives of all classes of the Ukrainian people and of all parts of

Ukraine. These representatives were the Kozaks.

THE KOZAKS

The Beginning of the Kozaks

The Ukrainian Kozaks appeared on the south Ukrainian steppes not later than the fifteenth century. Kozak life was started by adroit men who went into the steppes to hunt wild animals, to fish, to collect the honey of wild bees, and who, in winter, returned home to Cherkasy, Kaniv, and Kiev.

Life in the steppes was dangerous; though the Tatars threatened them at every moment, they enjoyed full freedom. These men grouped in bands, learned the methods of fighting in the steppes which were natural to the Tatars, and became the Tatars' most dangerous foe. In time more and more of these huntsmen of the steppes became permanent defenders of Ukraine against the Tatars, and attacked Tatar detachments and took away their booty. By the end of the fifteenth century, these bold armed men had developed a separate social estate in the population; they began to be called Kozaks. (Kozak is a Turkish word, first found in a dictionary of the Polovtsian (Cuman) language, the so-called Codex Cumanicus of 1303; it was there applied to an outpost, a guard; the Tatars called free, lightly armed men who busied themselves with war and robbery "kozaks".) In 1492, this word was applied to Ukrainians for the first time; as a result of the complaints of the Crimean khan against the Kievans and the men of Cherkasy, who had destroyed Turkish ships near Tiahynia, the Grand Duke of Lithuania was ordered to pacify the Kozaks. At the end of the fifteenth century, the Kozaks began to help the county *starostas* of Cherkasy and Kaniv in their defense against the Tatars.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Kozaks became very popular. The free life in the steppes, and the

struggle with the Tatars, attracted daring men, and the Kozaks were joined by peasants, burghers, sons of nobles. A Kozak in the minds of the people began to mean a handsome, bold, knightly, young man. Not only Ukrainians but also foreigners joined the Kozaks. Among the organizers of the Kozaks were Ostap Dashkovych (*starosta* [county head] of Cherkasy), Predslav Lanckoroński (county head of Khmelnyk), Bernard Pretvych (county head of Bar), Semen Polozovych (county head of Cherkasy); they included sons of such noble magnates as the Princes Koretsky, Ruzhynsky, and others.

The most famous was Prince Dmytro Vyshnevetsky, called Baida, who in the



FIGURE 415. PRINCE D. VYSHNEVETSKY, POPULARLY KNOWN AS "KOZAK BAIDA"

1540's united the scattered groups of Kozaks and founded on the island of Khortytsia a Kozak center, the Sich, and began the military organization of the Kozaks. Vyshnevetsky, through his bold raids on the Crimea, made the Kozaks famous throughout Europe, and the Kozaks came to consider themselves an independent military-political force. They began to carry on a policy independent of Poland, and made agreements with Muscovy, the Crimea, Turkey, and Moldavia. The Kozaks carried on their own wars and in 1577 seized Moldavia and placed on the Moldavian throne their own leader, Ivan Pidkova.

The head of the Zaporozhian Kozaks (Zaporozhe or Zaporizhia—land south of Dnieper's rapids) was a chief or hetman, who was elected by the Kozaks and held extensive power. The Kozaks lived in the Sich in stern simplicity, without wives or families, under military conditions. The Sich, with its 38 *kurens*, was an armed camp. At first the *kurens* were

military organizations which united men of the same area; later, however, the *kurens* accepted, as members, Kozaks from areas other than their own.

The fame of the Kozak raids made them an important factor in European politics. In preparing for war with Turkey, Emperor Rudolf II in 1594 sent a legation to the Sich with a proposal for a joint campaign; Pope Clement VIII sent a legate with a similar appeal. These negotiations were carried on independently of the Polish government by the Kozaks.

The first attempts of the Polish government to put the Kozak power under its own control began in the 1560's. In 1568, for the first time, the Polish government formed a Kozak detachment of 300 men, who were enrolled in a "register"; these Kozaks were excluded from the jurisdiction of the county heads and served directly under the crown hetman (Polish commander-in-chief). In 1578, under King Stephen Batory (1575–86), the Polish government, preparing for war with Muscovy, made a new register of 500 Kozaks who were to receive a yearly salary from the state. The head of this unit was the "elder" or "hetman," a Polish noble, Jan Oryszowski. The registered Kozaks had their own self-government and were exempt from taxes. The center of the registered Kozaks was the city of Terekhtemyriv (on the Dnieper) where the Kozak arsenal and hospital were located.

The Polish government made similar attempts later and increased the number of registered Kozaks to 600, and later to 1,000. But the government did not succeed in putting the Kozaks under its control. The actual number of Kozaks was much greater than that determined by the register. On the other hand, the introduction of registers caused the growth of a class consciousness. There began to be a differentiation among the Kozaks; the rich and stable Kozaks, who had their families, houses, and properties in the Bratslav and Kiev areas, were

called city (*horodovi*) Kozaks. From these, the registered Kozaks were usually selected. As a group they represented the conservative section of the Kozaks. "Below" (*na nyzu*), beyond the Dnieper rapids, was the revolutionary, military element—Kozaks who went on military raids, were closely connected with the peasantry, and reacted sharply to the hard conditions of its life.

The First Kozak and Peasant Uprising

At the end of the sixteenth century, Kozak and peasant uprisings against the Polish lords began. The economic, social, and national elements were fused. The revolts were headed by Kozaks, who provided organization as well as military leadership.



FIGURE 416. CAMP OF THE ZAPOROZHIAN KOZAKS

The first Kozak revolt under Kryshtof Kosynsky broke out in 1591 in the Kiev area; Kosynsky was joined by the peasants and the revolt covered the provinces of the Kiev area and Volhynia. For a long time, the nobles could not stem the revolt, and the rebellions were broken finally only in 1593 at Piatka near Zhytomyr.

Still more important was the revolt led by Severyn Nalyvaiko. In 1594, he marched with a detachment of Kozaks against the Turks in Moldavia, on the basis of a treaty of the Kozaks with Rudolf II; but, at the end of the military operations in 1595, he entered Ukraine to fight the Poles. Nalyvaiko was supported by the Bratslav burghers and with their aid, especially the peasants who joined

his forces, he took Bratslav. He entered Volhynia, took Lutsk, then continued into Belorussia where he captured Slutsk and Mohyliv. In 1596, Kozaks went from Zaporizhia under the leadership of Hetman Gregory Loboda and Colonel Shaula. The joint forces of the rebels defeated the Crown Hetman, Zólkiewski, the celebrated Polish commander, at Hostry Kamen, but they were later defeated at Solonytsia. Although the Poles achieved the victory, they could not destroy the Kozaks.

Hetman Peter Konashevych Sahaidachnyi

The political conditions at the beginning of the seventeenth century put the Kozaks in an exceptionally favorable position. Poland wanted Kozak help both in Moldavia and in the war against Sweden. Hetman Samiilo Kishka (1600–2) used this situation to secure the legalization of the Kozaks and the renewal of parts of their rights. "The Time of Troubles" in Moscow drew Poland into the whirlpool of Muscovite developments. The Kozaks took part in the army with which a pretender, the so-called False Dimitri, set out to win the Muscovite throne. The army of Sigismund III, with which he moved on



FIGURE 417. SAHAIDACHNYI CAPTURES KAFFA IN THE CRIMEA (FROM AN ENGRAVING OF 1622)

Moscow, contained about 30,000 Kozaks, not including the detachments which acted independently. The Kozaks led by Hetman Peter Konashevych Sahaidachnyi saved Crown Prince Władysław from being captured near Moscow in 1618. They used the political situation and again adopted an independent policy toward the Tatars and the Turks; Kozak sea-raiders threatened the shores of the Crimea and Asia Minor. In these wars, Hetman Peter Sahaidachnyi won great glory.

Sahaidachnyi moved the seat of the hetmans to Kiev, the old capital of Ukraine, and his name is connected with the new cultural revival of Kiev. The brotherhood schools, founded in 1615, attracted scholars from all over Ukraine to Kiev. Similar in nature was the work of Yelysei Pletenetsky, the archimandrite of the famous Kievan Cave Monastery, who founded a printing press in Kiev.

Almost 20 years after the council of Berestie, Peter Sahaidachnyi placed the Kozaks in the service of the Orthodox camp in the religious struggle which was then raging in Ukraine and Belorussia. Upon the initiative and under the protection of the Kozaks, the Orthodox

hierarchy was renewed in Kiev with the consecration of a metropolitan and five bishops in 1620. Kiev became the spiritual and ecclesiastical center of Ukraine and the Zaporozhian Kozaks came into contact with the Ukrainian educated circles. Sahaidachnyi, an accomplished commander and a clever diplomat, tried to secure an appropriate place for the Ukrainian people in the commonwealth. After the Poles were defeated by the Turks at Tsetsora, Sahaidachnyi came to their help, securing the promise of the Polish King that the Orthodox religious demands would be satisfied. For the second time Sahaidachnyi saved Crown Prince Władysław (at Khotyn, 1621) and dealt a destructive blow to the Turks. In 1622, Sahaidachnyi died from wounds received at Khotyn. The Polish government did not keep its promises. After the defeat of the Turks, the Poles did not need the help of the Kozaks and began to limit their rights; they reduced the register and those who were excluded from it had to return to the rule of the lords.

The Struggle of the Kozaks against Poland in the 1620's and 1630's

The Kozaks had another period of prominence under Hetman Michael Doroshenko (1623-8). The bulk of the Kozaks, who were to be demobilized by order of the Polish government, Doroshenko sent to Zaporizhia, from where they made raids on the Crimea and Turkey. A struggle was going on in the Crimea between two claimants to the throne of the khan; one party wanted independence from Turkey and the Kozaks made an alliance with this one. Three times the Kozaks reached Constantinople, ravaged its environs, and returned with enormous booty. In 1624 Khan Shagin-Girei made an alliance with the Kozaks as a separate political body. The Polish government, disturbed by the Kozak disobedience, forbade the Kozaks to put to sea, but the Kozaks again attacked and pillaged Trapezund.



FIGURE 418. PORTRAIT OF HETMAN PETER KONASHEVYCH SAHAIDACHNYI (FROM THE *Verses* OF K. SAKOVYCH, 1622)

In 1625, a Polish army entered Ukraine under Hetman Koniecpolski and after several battles, the Kurukivsky Treaty (from the name of a lake near the town of Kremenchuk), was arranged. The Polish government proclaimed an amnesty; the register was set at 6,000 with pay from the Polish government. The Kozaks had no right to put to sea and had to burn their ships.

In 1628, the Kozaks interfered again in the Crimean civil war and marched to Bakhchysarai, where Hetman Doroshenko was killed in a battle. The Tatars, making peace among themselves, attacked the Kozaks and forced them to leave the Crimea.

A new revolt of the Kozaks under Hetman Taras Fedorovych was only temporarily successful. The Kozaks defeated Polish forces near Pereiaslav, but later the revolt was crushed, after great exertions by Hetman Koniecpolski, and in 1630 peace was made in Pereiaslav. The register was increased to 8,000 and the participants of the revolt were pardoned.

In 1632 Sigismund III died. At the dietines called in Volhynia, Bratslav, and Kiev to elect deputies to the Polish electoral diet, the question was put as to the right of the Orthodox gentry and the Orthodox church. The Kozaks, for the first time, advanced the demand to be treated as a special knightly class. This demand was not fulfilled. But at the electoral diet of 1632 a compromise was reached; both Ukrainian churches were recognized, the churches and church properties were divided between them, and the Orthodox hierarchy was recognized. In 1633, the prominent ecclesiastic and archimandrite of the of the Kievan Cave Monastery, Peter Mohyla, was elected to the see of the Kievan metropolitanate.

The period for which he held the throne of the Kievan metropolitanate was one of new cultural development in Kiev. He reorganized the brotherhood school as a college which was on the

level of the European universities; he brought prominent scholars to it. Mohyla, at his own expense, restored many ruined churches in Kiev, including St. Sophia and he carried on a great deal of editorial and publishing activity.

The new king, Władysław IV (1632-48), needed Kozak support in a war against Muscovy. (He wanted to secure the throne which had been offered him by some of the Muscovite boyars.) But despite the help of the Kozaks, Władysław IV was forced to sign a compromise peace at the river Polianivka in 1634; Poland kept the Chernihiv-Siveria lands which it had secured during the "Time of Troubles" but Władysław relinquished his claims to the throne of Moscow. The Kozaks were not compensated for their help to the King; they did not even receive pay for the war, and the register was reduced to 6,000. To stop the flight of the Kozaks to Zaporizhia, the Polish government built a fortress in Kodak, on the lower Dnieper, in 1635. The Kozaks plundered it and in retaliation the Poles executed Hetman Ivan Sulyma and his associates.

Dissatisfaction arose in Kozak circles. In 1637, a revolt broke out under Paul But (Pavliuk). After a stubborn battle near Kumeiky, the Kozaks were defeated by the overwhelming numbers of the Poles. At a Kozak council in Borovytsia, the Crown Hetman, Nicholas Potocki, compelled the Kozaks to accept the officers assigned to them.

A Polish army entered Ukraine. But soon, in the spring of 1638, a new revolt broke out in Left-Bank Ukraine, under the leadership of Dmytro Hunia and Jacob Ostrianyn. Despite the great power of the rebels, the Polish army won. Ostrianyn, with his regiment of 900 Kozaks, moved to the Muscovite frontier and settled near Chuhuiev. The larger division under Hunia, after a heroic struggle, was compelled to surrender at Starets. In 1638, the Polish government issued an ordinance; the number of Kozaks was set at 6,000 and the elective

officers were abolished; the Polish government was to appoint those in the major posts and the higher officers were of the Polish nobility; the Kozaks had the right to live only in the counties of Cherkasy, Chyhyryn, and Korsun; a large Polish army was stationed in Ukraine to prevent new uprisings; the Zaporozhian Kozaks were declared outlaws; the fortress of Kodak was rebuilt.

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6. THE REBIRTH OF THE STATE: UKRAINE UNDER THE RULE OF THE HETMANS

THE PERIOD OF KHMELNYTSKY

Beginnings of the Uprising

During the so-called golden peace (1638-48) in Poland, there were no significant changes in Ukrainian-Polish relations and the anti-Ukrainian trend of the government continued.

In the first half of the seventeenth century the Polish noblemen rapidly extended their landholdings in the areas of

Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper: the Poltava region alone became in a short time an outpost for colonization conducted by Polish nobles under Prince Jeremiah Vshnevetsky (Wiśniowiecki). The Ukrainian population, which had come from the northwestern and western Ukrainian areas, greatly resented the imposition of corvée (*panshchyna*). The actions of the petty Polish gentry and the stewards and leaseholders (often

Jews) of the noblemen's properties enraged the peasants. The Polish oppression weighed not only upon the peasantry, however, but upon the middle strata as well, especially upon the petty Ukrainian gentry. The policy of the Polish nobility toward the Kozaks was particularly arrogant and overbearing after the Ordinance of 1638. At this time the free Kozaks—the *vypyshchyky* (those written off the official Kozak register)—settled in the Zaporozhian steppes, at the Dnieper rapids, and on the border of the Don region; these Kozaks were the greatest threat to the Polish kingdom.

The "golden peace" was only a lull; the revolution was approaching, but its outbreak depended upon the appearance of a leader who would take the initiative. The man who emerged to lead the Ukrainians against Poland was Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

Bohdan Khmelnytsky, born about 1595, was the son of a petty Ukrainian nobleman, a county bailiff of Chyhyryn. After studying in Lviv, Bohdan served



FIGURE 419. HETMAN BOHDAN KHMELNYTSKY, FROM THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY

in the Kozak registered army, where he held responsible posts, including that of army secretary. After the Ordinance of 1638, he became a captain in the Chyhyryn regiment. The revolt started in the spring of 1647 when a new county bailiff of Chyhyryn, a Pole named Czaplinski, forcibly seized Khmelnytsky's Subotiv estate. Khmelnytsky's appeals to Polish courts, the Polish administration, and even the Polish king were to no avail.

At the end of 1647 Khmelnytsky fled to the lower Dnieper region, then a sparsely inhabited rural area, where his first supporters were the free, non-registered Kozaks. With their help he succeeded, at the end of January, 1648, in taking over the Sich fortress and in attracting to his side the registered Kozaks stationed there. Soon the entire territory of the Sich was in his hands; he was proclaimed hetman by the Sich (1648-57), and his forces grew daily in size.

Khmelnytsky boldly and systematically carried through his plans for an uprising against Poland. He made an alliance with the khan of the Crimea, who was at odds with the Polish government, and from him obtained the help of a Tatar force headed by the Murza of Perekop, Tuhai-bey. Through agents, Khmelnytsky carried on revolutionary agitation among the Ukrainian people.

The First Victories

The crown hetman, Nicholas Potocki, Polish commander-in-chief, understood the danger that threatened Poland from the south and decided to stifle the revolt in its cradle, at the Sich. In the spring of 1648 he sent ahead an advance guard under the command of his son, Stefan Potocki, and he himself slowly followed with the main army. On May 16 (N.S.) the Polish advance guard was completely destroyed near Zhovti Vody, not far from the fortress of Kodak, and Stefan Potocki was killed in the battle. On May 26 (N.S.) Khmelnytsky shattered the main Polish army at Korsun and took prisoner both Polish hetmans—Potocki and the field hetman, Kalinowski. Thus Poland lost both its hetmans and its army.

The news of the destruction of the Polish army quickly spread through the country. An uprising broke out during which the Kozak Colonel Maksym Kryvonis became a popular hero. At that time Khmelnytsky was in Bila Tserkva, not pursuing his military operations,



FIGURE 420. LVIV FROM A PICTURE OF 1617.

perhaps because the sudden sweep of the popular revolution was as unexpected to him as it was to the Poles. He had no long-range plans, and he was faced with the pressing problems connected with restoring order in the country, the formation of a new administrative and financial machine, and the organization of a regular army. Khmelnytsky's diplomatic policy was devised to gain time. He acted with restraint toward the Polish government, talked of his loyalty to the king and his readiness for negotiations, but first demanded the increase of the Kozak register to twelve thousand men.

For a while, an armistice seemed possible, but not for long. There were too many points of conflict between the Poles and the Ukrainians. The rebellious Kozak and peasant masses did not want to hear of peace or compromise; the Poles could not be reconciled to the idea that Khmelnytsky should rule over a Kozak-controlled Ukraine. Both sides began to prepare for war.

The Campaign in the Western Ukrainian Lands

In the summer of 1648 Khmelnytsky

set out on his campaign. The first battle took place on the border of Volhynia and Podolia, near Pyliavtsi. It ended with the destruction, on Sept. 23 (N.S.), of the Polish army which, seized by panic, fled from the battlefield, abandoning its arms and its enormous supply train. Khmelnytsky then entered Galicia, where he besieged Lviv and claimed from the city a small ransom; from there he went on to the Polish town of Zamość, where the remnants of the Polish army, under Prince Vyshnevetsky, were in hiding. He besieged this fortress at a time when Poland had no army, no important means of defense, and was in a state of anarchy which had followed the death of King Władysław in the spring of 1648. The road to Warsaw was now open, but Khmelnytsky was prevented from marching on to the Polish capital by the lateness of the season and the difficulties of a winter campaign; moreover, he had not planned to carry the conflict with Poland that far. Actually, as soon as John Casimir—Władysław's brother whose candidacy Khmelnytsky had supported—was elected king, Khmelnytsky lifted the siege of Zamość and the Kozak army returned to Ukraine.

A noticeable change occurred in Bohdan Khmelnytsky after his return from the campaign. Perhaps it was brought about by the patriotic atmosphere that greeted the Hetman in Kiev, where he was received formally not only by the Metropolitan, Sylvester Kosiv, and a distinguished guest, Paisios, Patriarch of Jerusalem, but by the entire Ukrainian educated class, all of whom welcomed him with enthusiasm as the "God-given liberator from Polish slavery." Khmelnytsky now became aware of the extraordinary responsibility that fate had bestowed upon him. He conceived the idea of a united and independent Ukraine separated from Poland. He called himself "Autocrat of *Rus'* by the grace of God," and expressed the idea of liberating the whole of the *Rus'* people from Poland up to Lublin and Cracow. Consequently the negotiations he conducted with a Polish peace delegation, headed by Adam Kysil, were unsuccessful.

The Peace of Zboriv

War began again in the spring of 1649. Khmelnytsky and his Kozak army, together with the khan of the Crimea and his forces, besieged the fortress of Zbarazh, which was stubbornly defended by Vyshnevetsky who was waiting for reinforcements from the king. In fact, John Casimir, with an army of twenty-five thousand men, was slowly approaching the theater of war. Khmelnytsky learned of this and, leaving the smaller part of the Kozak army to continue the siege, hurried to meet the King. Near Zboriv the Kozaks and Tatars surrounded the King's army and threatened it with complete annihilation.

The Crimean khan, fearing a greater strengthening of Ukraine, saved the Poles from their hopeless situation by agreeing to peace terms. This forced Khmelnytsky to compromise.

The Peace of Zboriv, concluded in August, 1649, gave Ukraine a Kozak army of forty thousand men, headed by Hetman Khmelnytsky, which was to be

stationed in the Ukrainian provinces of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv. The Kozak army became the decisive political factor there, for the Polish army no longer maintained its garrisons in this territory. The administration was to consist only of Ukrainian gentry of the Orthodox faith. Jews and Jesuits were forbidden to live in the area. The Uniate Church was to be dissolved, and the Orthodox metropolitan in Kiev was to receive a seat in the Polish Senate.

Actually the Peace of Zboriv was not a peace but an armistice. Although the Polish diet confirmed it, the Poles were reluctant to accept the idea of the existence of an independent Kozak Ukraine. For Khmelnytsky, it was difficult to reorganize his original army of several hundred thousand men into a Kozak register of forty thousand soldiers. Moreover, many peasants were to be returned to the control of the Polish lords. In addition, the Tatars had seized rich booty from the Ukrainian lands on their way home. Disorder broke out in the Sich.

The Organization of the State

Under these trying conditions, Hetman Khmelnytsky commenced to organize the Ukrainian Kozak state. Ukraine, within the boundaries set by the Treaty of Zboriv, was divided into regiments (approximately twenty) and hundreds (*sotnias*) which functioned both as administrative and as military units; a Kozak administration was set up in each unit. For his residence, Khmelnytsky chose Chyhyryn, which was approximately in the center of Kozak Ukraine; but Kiev, with its Academy, continued to be the cultural and ecclesiastical capital. Besides an *oboznyi* (quartermaster) general, a judge general, and two *osauls* (adjutants) general, Khmelnytsky's closest adviser was the *pysar* (secretary) general, Ivan Vyhovsky, who became first chancellor of the state. The general *rada* (council), which was the highest popular representative body to share with the hetman the legislative and



FIGURE 421. PLAN OF KIEV, 1638, FROM THE *Teraturgema* OF ATHANASIOS KALNOFOISKY

executive powers of the state, was composed primarily of Kozaks and was important only during the first years of Khmelnytsky's rule.

From Chyhyryn, Khmelnytsky carried on wide diplomatic activity. In 1648 he established relations with Turkey; at the beginning of 1651, he concluded a treaty

of alliance with the Sultan and recognized Turkish protection. It was not easy to come to an understanding with the khan of the Crimea, who demanded from Khmelnytsky a joint war against Muscovy. Khmelnytsky intended to maintain good relations with Muscovy, for he looked upon Muscovy as a source of aid should Ukraine ever need such assistance. To distract the attention of the khan from Muscovy, Khmelnytsky proposed a joint campaign into Moldavia which was carried out successfully in September, 1650. The Moldavian *hospodar* (ruling prince), Basil Lupul, was compelled to make an alliance with Ukraine and to betroth his daughter Rosanda to Timothy, Khmelnytsky's elder son. Basil Lupul's elder daughter was married to Prince Janusz Radziwill, the hetman of Lithuania; through this family connection, Khmelnytsky hoped to secure the future neutrality of Lithuania.

The Pact of Bila Tserkva

In the spring of 1651, hostilities were resumed against Poland. The chief battle took place in the summer near the city of Berestechko in Volhynia, where the Kozak regiments met a well-organized and disciplined Polish army in which German regular troops played a considerable role. The Germans were some twenty thousand in number and were recruited from among veterans of the Thirty Years' War. The Ukrainian forces suffered a defeat and retreated to Bila Tserkva. At the same time Kiev was occupied by the Lithuanian forces under Prince Radziwill who advanced from the north. At this decisive moment, when the Polish and Lithuanian armies united against Khmelnytsky, the population of Ukraine threw itself into the struggle: they carried on savage guerrilla warfare, burning the houses and the grain supplies of the Polish nobility.

A peace agreement was reached in September, 1651, under the name of the Pact of Bila Tserkva. By it the Kozak army was reduced to twenty thousand

men; the Kozaks were allowed only the province of Kiev and were permitted to live only on the royal domains; and the provinces of Bratslav and Chernihiv were turned over to Polish administration.

The Pact of Bila Tserkva put Khmelnytsky in a very difficult position. He was now forced to allow the Polish nobles to return to their estates—a situation that he had tried to prevent after Zboriv, for he had kept that part of the treaty secret from the people. The submissiveness of the Ukrainian government was interpreted by the Polish nobles as a sign of the weakness of Ukraine. The nobles undertook punitive expeditions and executed many of their Ukrainian serfs. The local population, disturbed by the Tatars as well as by the return of their old masters, lost hope for better times. They began to abandon their homes on the Right Bank and migrated to the northeastern frontiers (*Slobids'ka Ukraina*, which was included in the Muscovite state). Popular resentment against Khmelnytsky grew.

Plans for a Coalition

Khmelnytsky felt himself losing ground, for much of the national strength had been exhausted. He definitely needed the help of major allies. His foreign policy veered in this direction; since the Polish diet did not ratify the terms of the Pact of Bila Tserkva, the Hetman was not bound by the terms of the treaty. For a while it was necessary to keep the Turko-Tatar orientation, for the Moscovite government, which had little trust in the Kozak power, did not wish a war with Poland and held itself aloof. The orientation toward the Turko-Tatar world became the starting point for Khmelnytsky's broad political plans which were based on the Danubian vassals of Turkey. He still thought of a family alliance with Basil Lupul, and wanted to secure a firm position in both Moldavia and Wallachia. His son Timothy, who was to become the son-in-law of Basil Lupul, played a special

role in this strategy; through him, Khmelnytsky hoped to raise the prestige and the importance of his family, and in this way prepare for the recognition of the dynastic rights of the Khmelnytsky family in Ukraine. Relying on Ukraine, the Danubian principalities, and the Turko-Tatar world, the Hetman planned to form a great coalition which would finally solve the Polish problem. This coalition was to be joined by Transylvania (Rakoczy), Lithuania (Radziwill), Brandenburg, and even England (Oliver Cromwell). In place of the old Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth there would then be formed in eastern Europe a new political system—a great union of Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine—which would form a federation on the basis of equality of three constituent self-governing states, headed by a new king (Rakoczy).

It was first necessary to settle the question of Moldavia, for Basil Lupul was beginning to shy away from the establishment of a family alliance with Khmelnytsky. So the Hetman's son Timothy was sent with a considerable Kozak force to Moldavia. The Polish field hetman, Kalinowski, intercepted the party in order to prevent the marriage which was not advantageous to Poland. Khmelnytsky hurried to his son's assistance and, in June, 1652, shattered the Polish army at Batih in a battle in which Kalinowski lost his life. The Kozak army quickly occupied the Moldavian principality, and Timothy married Rosanda. However, the intervention in Moldavia aroused the opposition of the neighboring states of Wallachia and Transylvania, who attacked Basil Lupul and supported George Stefan as the new pretender to the Moldavian throne. Timothy hurried to help his father-in-law and took an active part in the war (1653). For a long time he defended the fortress of Suceava on the Seret River, but eventually he was severely wounded and died a few days later.

This was a great loss both for Khmelnytsky and for Ukraine. Khmelnytsky no

longer had the incentive to form the coalition he had planned. At the same time the Polish King, John Casimir, decided to attack in retaliation for the destruction of the Polish army at Batih. The Polish army met the combined forces of the Kozaks and the Crimean Tatars at Zhvanets in Podilia. Again the king was surrounded as he had been at Zboriv; the Poles were faced with hunger and capitulation. And again the Tatar khan made peace with Poland without the consent of his Ukrainian ally. He dictated the old conditions of peace established by the Zboriv Treaty of 1649, including freedom to plunder Ukraine on the long return trip to the Crimea.

The Alliance with Muscovy

This new Tatar treachery forced the Hetman to a decisive change in his policy. He dropped his orientation toward the Mohammedan world as an ally, and instead he turned toward Muscovy. At this time the Tsar showed more desire to negotiate with Ukraine; the negotiations were carried on in 1653 and ended with an oral agreement in Pereiaslav in January, 1654, and a written treaty in Moscow in March, 1654. Under this treaty Ukraine accepted the protection of the Muscovite tsar, but still remained a separate body politic, preserving its own socio-political and ecclesiastical order, its own central and local governments, its own army, its own financial system, and the right to carry on limited diplomatic relations (except with Poland and Turkey) under the supervision of the tsarist government. The Kozak army was now set at sixty thousand men, and all Kozak liberties and privileges remained in force; the hetman was to be elected by free vote, according to established tradition, and Moscow had only to be informed of the election.

The Treaty of 1654 has engendered a large scholarly literature. The original text of the treaty of eleven points adopted in March, 1654, was not pre-

served, which accounts for the fact that the historical and juridical nature of this act has evoked so many various interpretations. The tendency of some scholars (especially V. Miakotin and I. Rozenfeld) has been to regard it as a more or less complete incorporation of Ukraine into the Muscovite state. Some (especially V. Sergeevich, A. Filippov) characterized it as a "personal" union—that is, the union of Ukraine and Muscovy through the person of a common monarch; others (for example, M. Diakonov) have gone further and called it a "real" union—one not only with a common monarch, but with common higher institutions as well.

All these views (incorporation, personal union, real union) notwithstanding, the emergence of a new Ukrainian state with its own peculiar political order and social structure was a historical fact. The chief trend among modern Ukrainian historiographers is the theory of a vassal state and protectorate (M. Hrushevsky, A. Yakovliv, L. Okinshevich) in which broad frame the diverse contents of the treaty can be included. The fact that Khmelnytsky, even after the Treaty of 1654, actually governed the Ukrainian state as a sovereign has led A. Yakovliv to characterize the relations between Ukraine and Muscovy as those of a nominal vassal dependency. Finally, V. Lypynsky emphasized that the Treaty of Pereiaslav was, first and foremost, a military alliance directed against Poland. On the whole, this last opinion is shared by the majority of contemporary Ukrainian students of the subject.

The Treaty of 1654 was quite vague, which partly explains why it immediately created misunderstandings and conflicts between Ukraine and Muscovy. The Hetman considered himself the independent ruler of Ukraine, and in this sense he still directed Ukrainian policy. The Moscow government wished to secure immediately a firm position in Ukraine with the aid of its residents (military and financial agents of the tsar) and

garrisons there. The disputes began in the summer of 1654 when the Muscovite forces and the Kozak detachments of Colonel Ivan Zolotarenko moved together into Belorussia. The Kozak system was introduced into the localities which the Kozaks captured, and Moscow protested, hoping to annex the whole of Belorussia.

To counterbalance the alliance of Ukraine and Muscovy, the Crimea formed an alliance with Poland. A joint Polish-Tatar army appeared in Podilia in the autumn of 1654, destroying everything it captured. In January, 1655, a united Ukrainian-Muscovite army moved against the Poles and Tatars near Okhmativ; the battle brought no decisive results, although the Poles claimed the victory.

After the battle, the position of Poland grew noticeably worse. The Tsar's army occupied the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius (Wilno), while Khmelnytsky and the Muscovite voivode, B. Sheremetev, carried on operations in Galicia. Its western neighbors now began to take advantage of Poland's weakness. Charles X Gustavus, King of Sweden, declared war on John Casimir in 1655, and soon took Warsaw and Cracow. The Elector of Brandenburg, Frederic William, joined forces with him because of his own interests in Prussia. Lithuania, in the person of Janusz Radziwill, and the majority of the Polish gentry and nobility as well as the Polish hetmans with the army recognized Charles X Gustavus as their king.

An unexpected Polish patriotic reaction, which started in the Polish religious center of Czestochowa, helped John Casimir to regain his power. Moreover, astute Polish diplomats, seeking a final salvation for their country after the death of the childless John Casimir, offered the Polish crown to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich. Under the influence of this proposal and also in fear of its new rival—Sweden—Muscovy not only signed an armistice with Poland at the beginning of November, 1656, in Vilnius, but it

also turned its arms against Sweden. It did not even admit the Ukrainian delegation to the Vilnius negotiations.

Before a New Coalition

After this act by Muscovy, Khmelnytsky again began to develop an independent policy which ignored the tsarist government and its claims, although he did not sever relations with Moscow. First came an alliance between Ukraine and Sweden, for both states were fighting against Poland and had their armies in the theater of war. Then alliances were formed among Sweden, Ukraine, Transylvania, Brandenburg, Lithuania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. These were the same elements that had entered into Khmelnytsky's Moldavian plans; the single difference was that the Mohammedan world (the Crimea, Turkey) had been dropped and its place taken by northern Europe (Sweden, Brandenburg). At last the Hetman had obtained allies with whom he could concentrate his forces against Poland independently of the interests of the Crimea or Moscow. Through the alliance with Sweden, Transylvania, and Brandenburg, Khmelnytsky hoped to achieve his greatest aim—full independence in the entire territory inhabited by the Ukrainian people. When the allies carried on negotiations for the partition of Poland, the Ukrainians demanded the union of the Western Ukrainian lands, as far as the Vistula, with Ukraine. The Swedish and Transylvanian diplomats, although they had laid claim to these territories, were obliged to consent.

Polish diplomacy was not idle. Austria showed special activity in the defense of Poland; under Austrian influence, Denmark soon declared war on Sweden. After a decisive victory over the Poles near Warsaw in July, 1656, Charles X Gustavus turned his armies to the Danish theater of war. The Brandenburg Elector followed him after he had won sovereignty over Prussia as one of the terms of his peace treaty with Poland in September, 1657.

Through these changes the military situation grew worse for Ukraine. After the withdrawal of the Swedish and Brandenburg armies from Poland, only the Transylvanian army of Prince Rakoczy and the expeditionary Ukrainian corps of Colonel Zhdanovych remained. These two men did not agree. Rakoczy, a poor strategist, was compelled to capitulate to Polish forces, and the Kozak army, which had taken possession of the Western Ukrainian lands, retired voluntarily.

The loss of Western Ukraine was a bitter blow for the Hetman. Yet the main task had been accomplished: a Ukrainian state existed, Poland had been greatly weakened; in the near future a return of the Swedish army to the Polish theater of war could be expected, and this would again give hope for the final, decisive confrontation with Poland. But the Hetman himself was the greatest supporter of the new Ukrainian state; consequently his death, on August 6, 1657 (N.S.), was a great misfortune for Ukraine.

THE PERIOD OF RUIN

Ivan Vyhovsky

Khmelnytsky named his youngest son George as his successor, but Ukraine needed a firm hand. After a month, the



FIGURE 422. HETMAN IVAN VYHOVSKY, FROM THE CHRONICLE OF SAMUEL VELYCHKO



sixteen-year-old George returned his power to the Kozaks, who chose as hetman the secretary general, Ivan Vyhovsky (1657-9). This experienced man, Khmelnytsky's closest collaborator, at first followed the same political line Khmelnytsky had followed during the last period of his hetmanate. Basically he aimed at building an independent and territorially united Ukrainian state without breaking with Muscovy; he also tried to win the Tatars away from their orientation toward Poland. He sought a closer alliance with Sweden. In Korsun, in October, 1657, he concluded a formal alliance with Sweden on the basis of which an independent Ukrainian state was to extend to the Vistula. The Swedish King later consented to extend this boundary to the frontiers of Prussia.

At this time Muscovy began to threaten Ukraine. The Tsar not only demanded an important reduction in the Kozak army and the right to keep Muscovite voivodes in many Ukrainian cities, but he also gave support to Martin Pushkar, colonel of Poltava, and to the Zaporozhian *koshovyi otaman* (captain general) Jacob Barabash, who were agitating against Hetman Vyhovsky, claiming that he had violated Kozak liberties and privileges by granting some properties in the Poltava county to the Ukrainian nobleman, George Nemyrych. They headed a revolt of the Sich and the Poltava county regiment against Vyhovsky. But Vyhovsky, with the aid of a large Tatar force, shattered the rebels near Poltava. Pushkar and Barabash paid with their heads.

Muscovy continued to play a double role, outwardly recognizing Vyhovsky and secretly supporting his opponents. Sweden also did not justify the hopes placed upon her; wearied by the long war, she carried on peace negotiations with Poland and Muscovy, compelling Vyhovsky to change his political line sharply. He decided to come to an understanding with Ukraine's old enemy, Poland, which was now ready to make greater concessions than ever before. In September, 1658, at Hadiach, Ukrainian

and Polish delegations signed a treaty by which Ukraine entered the Polish commonwealth as the Grand Rus' principality; it became, along with Poland and Lithuania, a separate body politic, united with these states through the person of the king. The authority of the Ukrainian government was extended over the provinces of Kiev, Bratslav, and Chernihiv (the Ukrainian plan had foreseen a much broader territory for the Grand Rus' principality). The Church Union (with Rome) movement was to be eliminated in all Ukrainian lands, and Orthodoxy established as the state religion; in the cultural field, the Poles promised freedom of the press and state support of two institutions of higher learning (academies).

The Treaty of Hadiach was viewed by Moscow as a declaration of war. A Muscovite army of one hundred thousand men under the command of Prince Trubetskoi invaded Ukraine but was defeated near Konotop on July 8, 1659 (N.S.), by the joint Ukrainian-Polish-Tatar forces. This success, however, did not improve the position of Vyhovsky. The union with Poland was his work and that of the higher Ukrainian officers and nobility; the rank and file of the Kozaks, the peasantry, the burghers, and even part of the officers—all of whom hated the Polish nobles—were not in sympathy with the Treaty of Hadiach. Disturbances again began in the territory on the left bank of the Dnieper. Colonels Timothy Tsiutsiura, Yakym Somko, and Basil Zolotarenko led revolts; they were supported by the captain general of the Sich, Ivan Sirko. Vyhovsky then turned for support to the Kozak general council, but when it met in Hermanivka in the Kiev province in September, 1659, its mood had become so hostile that he had to flee. Thus ended the hetmanate of Vyhovsky.

George Khmelnytsky

George Khmelnytsky was again proclaimed hetman (1659-63). This was a triumph for the anti-Polish party which

approved the alliance with Moscow. However, the Muscovites dictated conditions (the so-called Pereiaslav Articles of 1659) which aroused general dissatisfaction in Ukraine. The Ukrainians were forbidden to elect a hetman without the tsar's consent; Muscovite *voivodes* were admitted into Kiev, Nizhen, Pereiaslav, Bratslav, and Uman, and with them Muscovite garrisons—the maintenance of which was laid upon the population; the right of direct diplomatic relations with foreign countries was abrogated; Ukraine had to give up territorial claims to Belorussia.

The results of the Muscovite demands were not slow in appearing. In the spring of 1660, when the boyar Sheremetev moved with a Muscovite army to the right bank of the Dnieper against the Poles, George Khmelnytsky, who also took part in the campaign, went over to the side of Poland at the decisive moment. The Muscovite army was obliged to surrender near Chudniv. George Khmelnytsky concluded a pact with Poland which was actually a less favorable version of the Treaty of Hadiach: Ukraine retained a hetman and full autonomy, but there was no mention of a Grand *Rus'* principality.

Paul Teteria

The hetmanate of George Khmelnytsky was uneventful. At the beginning of 1663 he resigned a second time and became a monk. He was succeeded by two men: his successor as hetman on the Right Bank was the general secretary Paul Teteria (1663–5), who had Polish support; the Left Bank, under the influence of Moscow, elected as hetman the Zaporozhian *otaman*, Ivan Briukhovetsky. Thus began the partition of Ukraine, and its division into two spheres of influence—Polish and Muscovite. One contributing factor to the weakness of Ukraine—its inner disunity—was the social antagonism which had slowly grown up between the Kozak officers (simultaneously military and civil office-

holders) and the common people. The peasant mass, which had hoped after 1648 for full liberation from social and economic bonds, began to take a hostile attitude toward the Kozak officers who made extensive use of the labor of the peasants (*poslushenstvo*) as recompense for their own services. The rank and file Kozaks, who were closer to the peasants, also looked askance at the growth of the administrative and economic power of the officers. The distrust of their own government created a tendency toward social unrest among the masses. The period became one which was favorable to petty politicians—political adventurers who took advantage of the discontent of the masses and their lack of order to sway them toward Muscovy or Poland. Of course, both countries were happy to have such men in Ukraine.

Ivan Briukhovetsky

Briukhovetsky was probably the most typical figure of the time of the Ruin. He was the candidate of the Zaporozhian Sich which, along with the southern regiments of the Left Bank, determined to take the reins of government into its own hands. He secured the support of Moscow and, by demagogic promises, won over the masses of Left-Bank Ukraine. In 1663 a general assembly in Nizhyn proclaimed Briukhovetsky hetman (1663–8), and the Muscovite representative quickly ratified this choice. Opposition was silenced by force.

War began between Right-Bank and Left-Bank Ukraine. Poland made another attempt to take over the whole of Ukraine. King John Casimir and Hetman Teteria crossed the Dnieper and, in the winter of 1663–4, occupied several cities on the Left Bank. However, Prince Romodanovsky advanced with a Muscovite army and Briukhovetsky appeared with the Left-Bank regiments; at the same time, the Sich *otaman*, Ivan Sirko, made a diversion against the Crimea, compelling Teteria's allies, the Tatars, to hurry back to defend their homes. John

Casimir and Teteria were forced to retreat to the Right Bank.

Left-Bank Ukraine, under Briukhovetsky, experienced hard times. On a visit to Moscow in the autumn of 1665, he laid all the rights and privileges of Ukraine at the feet of the tsar. On the basis of new Articles, Moscow secured extraordinary rights in Ukraine: all Ukrainian taxes, including the revenues from the sale of liquor, were to go to the tsar's treasury; the Muscovite voivodes were to have direct rule not only over Kiev, but also over Chernihiv, Pereiaslav, Nizhyn, Poltava, Novhorod Siversky, Kremenchuk, Kodak, and Oster. Thus the administrative and financial independence of Ukraine became purely illusory, and only the rights and privileges of the Kozak class remained in effect. The appearance of the many Muscovite voivodes and tax officials aroused bitter feelings among all the people on the Left Bank. The Hetman lost all popularity among the masses.

Peter Doroshenko, Demian Mnohorishnyi

Meanwhile, one change followed another on the Right Bank. The population was resolutely opposed to the Polish occupants and their appointee, Hetman Teteria. Teteria was compelled to retire to Poland in the autumn of 1665. Stephen Opara, with Tatar help, succeeded him as hetman for a short time.



FIGURE 423. HETMAN PETER DOROSHENKO FROM AN ITALIAN ENGRAVING

In the same year Peter Doroshenko, colonel of Cherkasy and grandson of Hetman Michael Doroshenko, emerged as a strong political figure. He was a man of broad vision, intelligent, energetic, and patriotic, with a definite political program designed to create an independent, united Ukraine—one which included the Western Ukrainian lands. At the beginning of 1666, at a Kozak general assembly held in Chyhyryn, Peter Doroshenko was elected hetman of Ukraine (1666–76).

The first task Doroshenko set himself was to liberate Right-Bank Ukraine from the Poles. He carried this through successfully, but it only hastened the partition of Ukraine. The Polish government, seeing that it could not dominate the whole Ukraine, made peace with Muscovy, which was ready to come to an understanding for the same reason. At the beginning of 1667, Poland and Muscovy concluded the Treaty of Andrusiv. By this treaty Right-Bank Ukraine fell to Poland and Left-Bank Ukraine to Muscovy. The city of Kiev was granted to Muscovy for two years (this period was later extended). The Zaporozhian Sich was placed under the joint protection of both countries.

Ukraine responded to the Treaty of Andrusiv with an outburst of patriotic indignation. The position of Briukhovetsky became very critical, for the entire population opposed and resented him. Learning of this, Moscow was ready to come to an understanding with Doroshenko who was winning great popularity among all Ukrainians. But Doroshenko demanded the liberation of the Left Bank from the Muscovite voivodes, the participation of Muscovy in the war against Poland, and help in securing from the Poles the Western Ukrainian lands, including the cities of Halych, Lviv, Volodymyr, Peremyshl, and Yaroslav. These demands, in the opinion of the Moscow government, were too great, and the Tsar decided to retain the Andrusiv Treaty with Poland.

At the same time, on the initiative of Briukhovetsky who now hoped to save his position by betraying his Muscovite protectors, Left-Bank Ukraine rose in revolt against the Moscow government. However, Briukhovetsky's days were numbered. As soon as Doroshenko appeared on the Left Bank in the summer of 1668, the whole populace took his side and Briukhovetsky was killed. All Ukraine was again united under one hetman, but not for long. While Doroshenko was celebrating his victory on the Left Bank, a Polish army entered the Right Bank. Doroshenko had to return hurriedly to Chyhyryn to organize its defense. He appointed as acting hetman of the Left Bank the colonel of Chernihiv, Demian Mnohohrishnyi. Moscow took advantage of Doroshenko's return to Chyhyryn and sent an army to the Left Bank under Prince Romodanovsky. The local partisans of Moscow again raised their heads; on their advice, Mnohohrishnyi consented to accept Muscovite protection. He had been left without sufficient reserves and did not dare risk a decisive battle with the Muscovites.

Ukraine remained divided: Demian Mnohohrishnyi (1669-72), elected in March, 1669, in Hlukhiv, became hetman on the Left Bank; Doroshenko continued to control the Right Bank. The treaty made by Muscovy with Mnohohrishnyi showed that the Tsar's government had limited its demands in view of the unpopularity accorded the system it had introduced in Ukraine: its voivodes remained in Kiev, Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Pereiaslav, and Oster, but without the right of interfering in the local administration and courts; taxes now went into the hetman's treasury; and the Kozak army was set at thirty thousand men.

Doroshenko had to agree to the separate hetmanate of Mnohohrishnyi; he even maintained friendly relations with him. He was preoccupied by new hostilities on the Right Bank. The Sich set up

against him a "hetman," Sukhovii (1668-9), who, with the help of the Tatars, gave Doroshenko considerable trouble. When he finally eliminated the pretender, the latter's partisans chose a new hetman, Michael Khanenko (1669-74), colonel of Uman, who succeeded in gaining the recognition of Poland. Under these circumstances, when neither Poland nor Muscovy wished to negotiate the recognition of a unified Ukraine, Doroshenko had no other course than to ally himself very closely with the Turko-Tatar world. In 1668 he acknowledged a Turkish protectorate over the Right Bank and called upon the Turks for a final reckoning with Poland. Early in the summer of 1672, an enormous Turkish army including strong Tatar hordes, led by the Sultan himself, and Doroshenko with twelve thousand Kozaks attacked Poland. Podilia became the theater of war; Kamianets was captured, and the Turko-Tatar and Ukrainian troops advanced to the gates of Lviv. In October, 1672, in the small Podilian city of Buchach, Poland was compelled to sign a peace treaty by which it renounced its rights to Right-Bank Ukraine; the province of Podilia with the fortress of Kamianets passed directly under Turkish sovereignty; Doroshenko, as hetman of Ukraine and a vassal of the Ottoman empire, took over the provinces of Kiev and Bratslav.

At the same time, on the left side of the Dnieper a conspiracy of officers was formed against Mnohohrishnyi, who lacked support among the higher officers and in Moscow. In March, 1672, he was seized in the castle at Baturyn and taken to Moscow; from there he was sent to Siberia. One of the members of the conspiracy, the judge general, Ivan Samoilo-nych, became hetman (1672-87).

Samoilovych was an energetic and ambitious man. He succeeded in persuading Moscow of the necessity of conquering Right-Bank Ukraine. The Muscovite government was disturbed because the Turkish sphere of influence

had advanced to the Dnieper. When Poland renewed the struggle with Turkey in 1673 and carried it on with a certain degree of success, war between Muscovy and Turkey became inevitable. In the beginning of 1674 the Kozak-Muscovite army under Samoilovych and Romodanovsky crossed into Right-Bank Ukraine. Almost all the regiments of the Right Bank went over to Samoilovych. Doroshenko remained in Chyhyryn, where he was besieged by Samoilovych and Romodanovsky that summer. He resisted until he received the promised Turkish help. Now it was the turn of the Left-Bank hetman and the Muscovite leader not only to retreat from Chyhyryn but to leave the entire Right Bank.

The conquerors began to take bloody measures of retaliation against the population, and Doroshenko participated in them. Panic spread among the people, and emigration to Left-Bank Ukraine and to *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* (within the Muscovite state) acquired a mass character. The half-ruined Right Bank became depopulated, and the power and importance of Doroshenko decreased. One after another, his closest collaborators began to leave him. Doroshenko carried on long negotiations with Samoilovych and Moscow; when a Kozak-Muscovite army of thirty thousand surrounded Chyhyryn in September, 1676, he was forced to resign in favor of Samoilovych. He settled in Muscovy where he died in 1698.

Ivan Samoilovych

The struggle for the Right Bank now entered a new phase. Turkey gave George Khmelnytsky, who had been released from his monastic vows, the title of Prince of Ukraine (1677-81), and in 1677 he began the siege of Chyhyryn which was held by Left-Bank Kozaks. Samoilovych and Romodanovsky hurried to the rescue; however, a year later the Turks renewed the siege and finally captured the city despite the stubborn defense of the garrison. The Turkish vic-

tory was due chiefly to the fact that Romodanovsky had secret instructions to carry on the operations very weakly. Muscovy felt that there was no need to defend Right-Bank Ukraine, for the territory was ruined and so had ceased to be dangerous. Samoilovych could not hold Right-Bank Ukraine without the support of Muscovy, and in 1679 he ordered the remaining population to move to the Left Bank. The situation was finally resolved between Muscovy and Turkey in 1681 by the Peace of Bakhchisaray which stated that the central and southern region of the Kiev province was to remain an uninhabited neutral territory between the two states.

Political conditions on the Left Bank began to become stabilized during Samoilovych's rule, for, although dependent on Muscovy, Samoilovych governed the country for fifteen years. In foreign policy, Samoilovych had broad plans for uniting the Left Bank and Right Bank and even *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* into one country. This explains his hostile attitude toward Poland, which barred the realization of a unified Ukraine. Samoilovych was discontented with the "eternal peace" arranged between Muscovy and Poland in 1686, for this peace essentially confirmed and strengthened the partition of Ukraine accomplished by the 1667 Treaty of Andrusiv, in addition to putting Kiev and Zaporizhia (previously a Polish-Muscovite protectorate) under the power of the Muscovite tsar.

When Moscow decided to attack the Crimea to help Poland and the anti-Turkish coalition in general, Samoilovych strongly warned against it, pointing out the danger of war in the southern steppes. In fact, the large Muscovite-Ukrainian army, which was sent in 1687 against the Crimea under Prince Basil Golitsyn and Samoilovych, suffered greatly because the Tatars set the steppes on fire; the expedition ended in complete failure and cost Samoilovych his post as hetman.



FIGURE 424. PORTRAIT OF HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA (An engraving from the journal, *Die europaeische Fama*, 1706).

THE PERIOD OF MAZEPA

Ivan Mazepa

Samoilovych was accused of treason as the result of a conspiracy of the general officers supported by Prince Golitsyn. His successor was the *osaul* (adjutant) general, Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709). A member of an old Orthodox Ukrainian noble family, Mazepa was a true statesman and a distinguished diplomat with a European education, a deep knowledge of people, the ability to

organize and to attract able associates, and a flexibility which enabled him to adapt well to circumstances without losing sight of his own policy.

At the outset Mazepa faced great difficulties—he was forced to put down popular disturbances, and to act against the *starshyna* (officers) who quickly started to oppose the new hetman. The opposition of the Poltava *starshyna* was especially keen; from these circles emerged Peter Ivanenko (Petryk), secretary of the general military chancellery, who fled in 1691 to Zaporizhia. In 1692 Petryk made a treaty of alliance with the khan of the Crimea, on the basis of which Ukraine was to become an independent state with the help of the Crimea. His partisans proclaimed him hetman, but neither the campaign of 1692 nor further campaigns enabled Petryk actually to accede to the hetmanate even though he was supported by large Crimean forces.

Petryk's failure was also a defeat for the *starshyna* who were struggling to protect their own political rights from Mazepa's infringement. But even at this time Mazepa only slowly removed the malcontents dangerous to himself and replaced them with loyal officers.

Under such conditions reliance on Muscovy was essential for Mazepa. Once he had secured Moscow's confidence, however, he carried on his own political line. In the sphere of internal policy this meant stabilizing the existing social order. Mazepa paid much attention to the clergy, richly endowed churches and monasteries, gave large sums of money for schools and cultural needs, and



FIGURE 425. CHURCHES BUILT BY MAZEPA, FROM AN ENGRAVING OF I. MIHURA, 1706

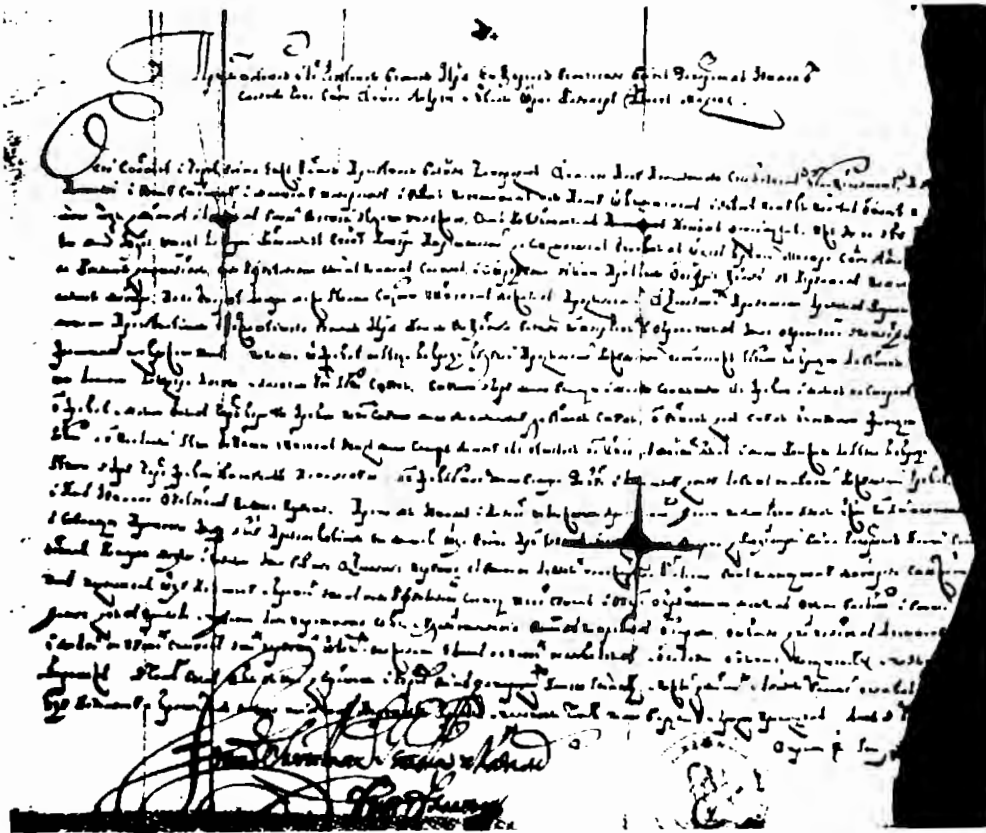


FIGURE 426. Universal of HETMAN MAZEPA TO THE BISHOP OF PEREIASLAV, APRIL 10, 1708

provided for the training of officer and administrative cadres. Mazepa wanted to fix to a certain degree the different strata of the population in the social positions they occupied after the long period of ruin. So, without restoring the gains won by the lower classes of society in 1648, he none the less opposed the more excessive efforts of the *starshyna's* rule to exploit the rank and file Kozaks and the peasants. This is shown by his *Universals* (general edicts establishing principles of law and order) of 1691, 1692, and 1701, whereby he forbade the imposition of *panshchyna* (corvée) on the peasants of more than two days a week, and protected the rank and file Kozaks from the loss of their privileged status.

In his foreign policy Mazepa first of

all sought to unite Right-Bank Ukraine with the Left Bank and to incorporate the Zaporozhian Sich into the Left-Bank state. Despite the alliance of Muscovy and Poland, he cautiously but definitely turned the point of his policy against Poland, hoping to detach the Right Bank from it. His cooperation with Colonel Semen Palii, an outstanding Kozak leader on the Right Bank at this period, was in preparation for the act of union. The Hetman hoped that his activity in the war against the Crimea and Turkey, in which the Left-Bank Kozaks bravely fought shoulder to shoulder with the Kozaks of Palii, would win him Muscovy's support for this goal. Peter I did not agree for a long while. It was only in 1704, during the war between Russia and Sweden, that Mazepa

succeeded in winning the Tsar's consent to move into the Right Bank with his army. This represented the actual union of the two principal parts of Ukraine.

The 1690's were a time of cooperation between Ukraine and Muscovy. The Hetman supported the Tsar in the south, in the war against Turkey and the Crimea, and tried to extend the influence of Ukraine to the Black Sea. But the Northern War, carried on by Russia along with Denmark and the Polish King, August II of Saxony, against Sweden (1700-21), placed heavy burdens on the Ukrainian state. The participation of the Kozaks in the many Russian campaigns in the Baltic area, in Lithuania, in Belorussia, in Galicia, in Poland, and in Saxony, was detrimental to the economy. Ukraine's trade with the West was brought to a stop. The peasants and the Kozaks were overburdened with many new obligations such as providing military supplies for

the armies and building new fortifications. It slowly became clear that in order to use the Ukrainian forces more effectively, Muscovy wanted to reduce Ukraine to the position of an ordinary Russian province and to completely incorporate the Kozak regiments into the Russian military system.

Thus, Mazepa's shift to the side of the Swedish King Charles XII was not accidental. In 1705 he began negotiations with Sweden through Stanisław Leszczyński, the Polish king placed on the throne by the Swedes. Mazepa's relations with Stanisław had begun in 1703.

All of Mazepa's close associates—especially the general officers and the colonels (with a few exceptions)—were in favour of a change in policy. The idea that inspired them was the full independence of Ukraine, although for tactical reasons (Stanisław Leszczyński's Poland was an ally of Sweden) the possibility of a federation with Poland on the model

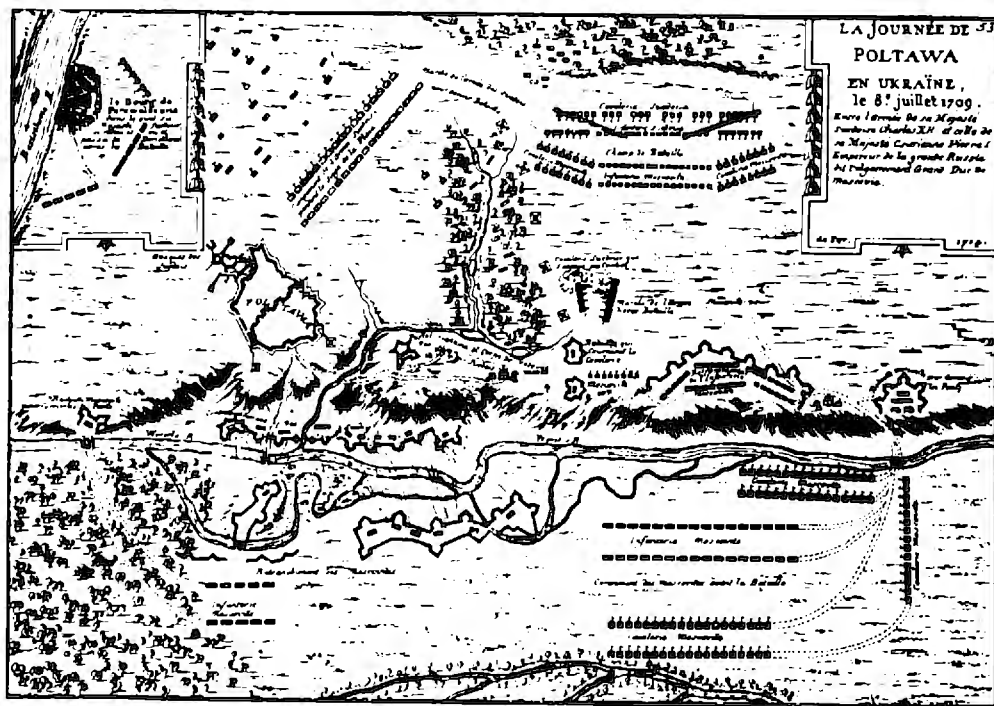


FIGURE 427. PLAN OF THE BATTLE AT POLTAVA, JULY 8, 1709
Published by the French cartographer, de Fer, in 1714.

of the union of Hadiach was raised. The European situation was very favorable to Mazepa and his partisans. The allies of Muscovy—Denmark and August II of Saxony—had been eliminated from the conflict and the other European powers remained neutral or inclined to the side of the Swedish King. Muscovy was isolated, and the Swedish army was the best in Europe—well-armed, rested, and reorganized during the long stay in Saxony. Charles XII was prepared to deliver Muscovy a final blow. It was especially important that—as it was thought in Ukrainian circles—the Swedish King was planning a direct march on Moscow and was sending to Ukraine the corps of General Krassau and the Polish detachments of King Stanisław as reinforcements. Help was expected later from Turkey, from the khan of the Crimea and from the Don Cossacks. Ukraine was to form the south wing of the anti-Russian front. Mazepa's task was to

prevent the scattering of his Kozak forces. He apparently had a free hand and the time to prepare Ukraine for a new political course.

The plan did not succeed. As a result of unfavorable conditions during the march on Moscow (through Smolensk), Charles XII was compelled to turn to Ukraine. Mazepa, unexpectedly placed between the two rivals—the Swedes and the Muscovites—rushed headlong to join Charles XII, taking only small forces with him and leaving a larger army to defend his capital of Baturyn. Baturyn was captured and wantonly destroyed by the Russians under A. Menshikov. Indiscriminate slaughter and other disasters quickly produced a paralyzing impact upon the Ukrainian population and dissipated hopes that additional allies would send aid. Only the Zaporozhian Sich, led by its *otaman* Constantine Hordienko, a stubborn opponent of Muscovy, came to the assistance of Mazepa and the Swedes in March, 1709. A savage winter and other adversities further weakened the Swedes during their stay in Ukraine. The defeat at Poltava on July 8, 1709 (N.S.), put an end to the plans of Charles XII and Mazepa.



FIGURE 428. HETMAN IVAN MAZEPA (BELOW, MIDDLE) AS DEPICTED IN THE ENGRAVING OF I. MIHURA (EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

Philip Orlyk

Mazepa died in exile in the town of Bendery on the Turkish side of the Dniester on October 2, 1709 (N.S.). His lieutenants there elected as his successor Philip Orlyk (1710–42), the secretary general. At the same time they drew up a constitution for the Ukrainian state, the so-called Bendery Constitution, which introduced considerable limitations on the authority of the hetman (to the advantage of the Kozak officers council) and endeavored to transform Ukraine into a new type of state based on the principles of limited government and parliamentary representation. Orlyk, abetted by Sweden, Turkey, the Crimea, and supporters of Stanisław Leszczyński, made a number of attempts to take control of

Right-Bank Ukraine. However, neither the protection of the Swedish King, nor an alliance with the Crimea (1711), nor recognition of him by Turkey as the ruler of Right-Bank Ukraine (1712), nor the support of the Kozaks of the Sich opened the way into Ukraine for Hetman Orlyk.

In 1714 Orlyk went to Sweden, and in 1720 he travelled through central Europe and Poland to Turkey, where for a number of years (until 1734) he lived a secluded life in Salonica. From there, Orlyk made attempts to bring the Ukrainian question to the attention of western Europe. By 1729 his political approach assumed a clear form. Working with his oldest son Gregory, he turned to France, Stanisław Leszczyński, Sweden, Turkey, and the Crimea. He wanted to become the head of the Zaporozhians, who were then under the protection of the Crimea, and sought support for this project from the powers directly interested in stopping Russia. He planned to unite them in a special coalition directed against Muscovy. His plans embraced not only Poland, Sweden, and Turkey as the chief allies of an anti-Moscow coalition, but also the Crimea, the Nogai Tatars of Budjak (later the southern part of Bessarabia), the Zaporozhian Sich, the Hetman State, the Don Kozaks, and even the Astrakhan and Volga Tatars. His basic idea was that for the European balance of power, as well as for the good of the eastern European states and peoples who were threatened by Muscovy, the existence of a strong united, independent Ukraine was needed to serve as a kind of protective wall against Muscovy.

Philip Orlyk and his son Gregory tried to interest the influential leaders of western Europe in the liberation of Ukraine. He maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits in Salonica and embraced Catholicism. Gregory took an active part in placing Stanisław Leszczyński, the father-in-law of the French King Louis XV, on the Polish throne a second time

after the death of August II of Saxony (1733). He established contact with Voltaire and the French Masons in an attempt to interest them in the question of an independent Ukraine. After the death of his father in 1742, Count Gregory Orlyk—who had acquired a title and the rank of lieutenant general in the French army, and was a member of the “*secret du roi*” of King Louis XV—became the leader of the Ukrainian political emigrés (the *Mazepynsi*) until his death in battle in 1759.

THE HETMAN STATE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Ivan Skoropadsky

The catastrophe of Poltava marked a change in the balance of power in eastern Europe. Russia became a great European power and its pressure on Ukraine assumed a distinctly imperialist form. Peter I determined to eliminate the autonomous rights of the Hetman State. At his order Ivan Skoropadsky, colonel of Starodub, was chosen hetman (1708–



FIGURE 429. HETMAN IVAN SKOROPADSKY

22) at Hlukhiv, near the Russian frontier, in November, 1708. In violation of the tradition of hetman elections, no new treaty articles were worked out; Peter I, by an imperial ukase, confirmed the rights and liberties of Ukraine only after Poltava. An important innovation was

the appointment of a tsarist resident general with supervisory rights over the hetman and the administration of Ukraine. The capital of the Hetman State was transferred to Hlukhiv. Peter I began the practice of personally appointing the colonels (the chief military and civil officials in Ukrainian counties), by-passing the hetman and destroying one of

the basic Ukrainian rights and traditions. The old system of election of chief regiment officers and captains (chief officials in hundreds—*sotnias*) was replaced by a new system in which the council of the chief regimental officers and captains was permitted only to propose candidates; the final appointments were made by the hetman after consultation with the Russian resident general. Russians and other foreigners acquired great influence in the Hetman State. Regarded as supporters of Moscow, they were given posts in the regimental (county) administrations—especially in the northern counties. In a short time this foreign element, which behaved arrogantly and with no respect for Ukrainian laws and customs, became deeply resented by the administration and population of U-

kraine. During this era there was also an increase in number of those Ukrainians who were opportunists, bribers, people who had been of service to Moscow during the "Swedish" period and were therefore protected by the Russian government. The Moscow policy toward the lower classes of the Ukrainian population was especially seditious. Peter I ostensibly undertook to defend them against the Ukrainian officers, but in reality he worked hard to inflame the upper and lower classes against each other—to sharpen the internal conflicts in Ukraine thereby weakening it politically.

The economic situation of the Ukrainian population deteriorated greatly under Peter I. The Hetman State was forced to bear the entire cost of maintaining the ten Russian dragoon regi-

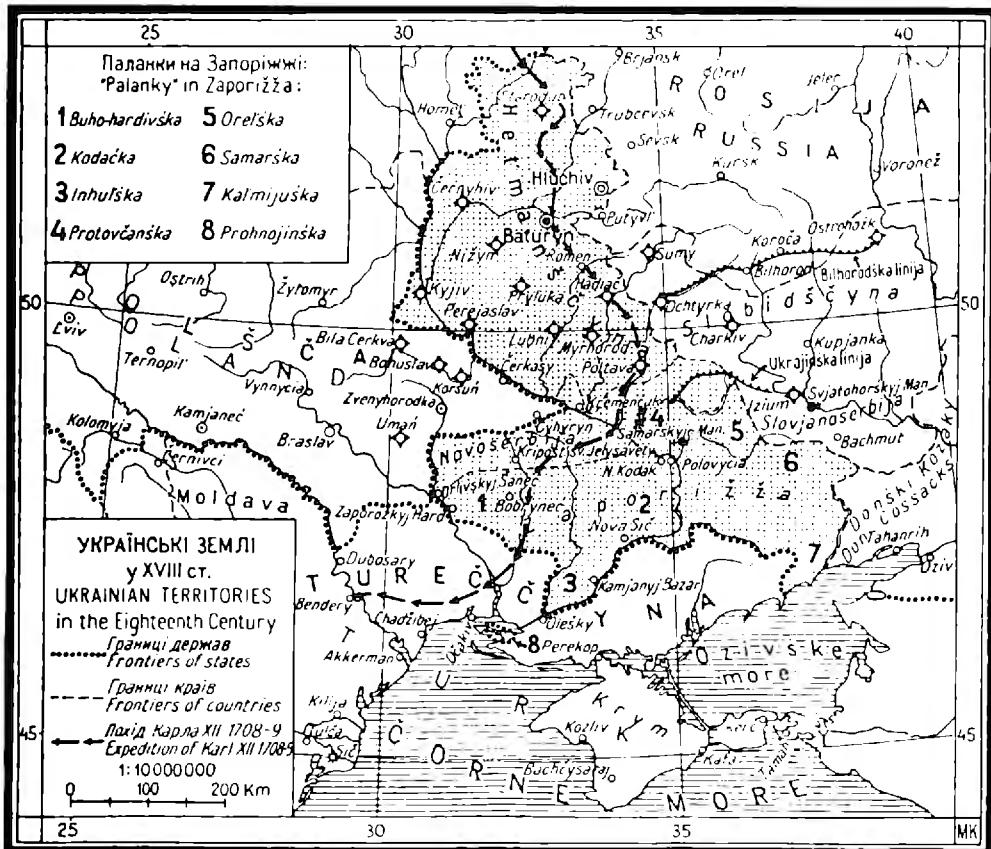


FIGURE 430. THE UKRAINIAN LANDS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ments stationed in its territory. The fate of the Kozaks was much worse, for the Russian government used them not only for military operations, but also for digging canals and for building fortresses and fortifications. The centralizing policy of Peter I was detrimental to Ukrainian commerce and industry. The economy of Ukraine, which had been oriented toward Europe and which, under Mazepa, had been separate from that of Russia, was now dealt a decisive blow. Ukrainian goods destined for export to western Europe usually had to be taken across Russian territory to ports belonging to Russia. The export of many products (for example, grain and wool) was forbidden; the same was true of imports. Both the Russian state and private individuals began speculating in the resale of Ukrainian wares (especially hemp). In addition, the Russian customs policy, with its many customs stations which inspected the merchants and their wares on the Ukrainian border, was costly and highly detrimental to the Ukrainian economy. As a consequence of these conditions the Hetman State slowly lost its existence as an independent economic entity and became a colony of Moscow. The Ukrainian merchant class was impoverished and was superseded by Russian official agents and merchants.

After the Peace of Nystadt with Sweden in 1721, Peter I decided to destroy totally the national self-government of Ukraine. In 1722 he introduced a new governmental institution—the so-called “Little Russian College,” consisting of six staff officers of the Russian regiments stationed in Ukraine with Brigadier General Veliaminov at their head—which had some of the functions of a court of appeals, and assumed certain important rights of control over the administration and the finances of Ukraine. At the same time the conduct of Ukrainian affairs was transferred in the Russian government itself from the College of Foreign Affairs to the administrative Senate, which concerned

itself with the internal affairs of Russia. This meant that, in the eyes of Moscow, Ukraine was no longer a separate body politic. Hetman Skoropadsky, who repeatedly had raised his voice against Moscow's exploitation of Ukraine, now protested again, but the Russian government ignored him. The sick Hetman could not bear this final blow. He died in July, 1722.

Paul Polubotok

Paul Polubotok, colonel of Chernihiv, assumed the post of acting hetman (1722–24) after the death of Skoropadsky, just as Veliaminov arrived in Hlukhiv to organize the Little Russian College. A stubborn struggle for power began at once. The Little Russian College urged the population to make complaints against the administration and the officers. Polubotok, resolutely opposing this broadening of its authority by the College, took measures at the same time to improve the administration of justice in the Hetman State. Despite



FIGURE 431. HETMAN
PAUL POLUBOTOK



FIGURE 432. HETMAN
DANIEL APOSTOL

all his efforts, however, the Ukrainian administration steadily lost ground. Peter I naturally supported Veliaminov and, in April, 1723, granted such rights to the Little Russian College that it became the supreme authority in Ukraine; the provisional Ukrainian government with its chief administrative organ, the general chancellery, was made subordinate to the College. Numerous Ukrainian petitions incorporating the basic Ukrai-

nian demand—the regular election of a new hetman—were rejected by the Tsar.

Polubotok and his chief associates were summoned to Petersburg. There, too, Polubotok continued to guide the opposition in Ukraine until he and his supporters were imprisoned in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul. The era of complete control by the Little Russian College then began.

Daniel Apostol

Peter I died in 1725; his successor, Empress Catherine I, continued her husband's political course, although in a somewhat milder form. Among the Russian officials, only Menshikov, for personal motives (he had great estates in Ukraine), represented a policy of respect for the Ukrainian demands. His policy was put into effect under the young Tsar, Peter II, when the Russian government was preparing for war with Turkey. At that time Ukraine was permitted to elect a new hetman. With the approval of the Russian administration, the aging colonel of Myrhorod, Daniel Apostol, was elected hetman (1727–34). The Little Russian College was abolished.

Apostol did not have the authority Mazepa had had in his time as hetman of Ukraine; in some areas his rights were even more limited than were those of Skoropadsky. In the so-called Authoritative Ordinances, promulgated unilaterally by the Russian government in 1728, there were important restrictions on the prerogatives of the hetman in judicial, financial, and other matters: a special general court composed of three Russians and three Ukrainians, presided over by the hetman, was established, and henceforth the tsar and not the hetman was considered "the chief judge"; a body of special treasurers independent of the hetman was created; and so on.

The seventy-year-old Apostol had many problems. He started to re-establish the administration that had been destroyed by Peter I, beginning with the

central governmental institutions. He succeeded in introducing certain reforms begun by Polubotok in the administration of justice. The agricultural situation also called for reconstruction after the chaos resulting from the Poltava catastrophe; to accomplish this, a "general survey of landholdings" (1729–31) was conducted. The defense of the rights of the cities and their economic interests was close to Apostol's heart. A model landowner and a diligent exporter, he made great efforts to return to the Ukrainian merchants those rights they had possessed under Mazepa. He succeeded in improving internal trade and the trade routes to the West through Poland. He consistently struggled with the Russian and other foreign elements in his administration, although the opposition of the Russian government did not give him any hope of success. In general, Apostol succeeded for a certain time and to a certain degree in checking the process of the subjugation of Ukraine and its transformation into a Russian province.

With the death of Apostol at the beginning of 1734, Empress Anna appointed an interim governing council composed of three Russians and three Ukrainians; the council was headed by Prince Shakhovskoi, who became the actual ruler of Ukraine. The position of the Hetman State during the Russian-Turkish War (1735–9) was especially difficult, for Ukraine was made the supply base for the large Russian army. As a consequence, Ukraine's economy was so damaged that the Kozaks and the peasants were unable to restore it for twenty-five years.

Cyril Rozumovsky

In 1741, Elizabeth, the daughter of Peter I, ascended the throne. She was favorably inclined towards Ukraine because of her friendship with a Ukrainian Kozak, Alexis Rozumovsky, whom she later married. She decided to revive the hetmanate in Ukraine, and in 1747



FIGURE 433. HETMAN
CYRIL ROZUMOVSKY

she nominated for the position the younger brother of Alexis, Count Cyril Rozumovsky. In 1750, the twenty-two-year-old Cyril Rozumovsky was formally elected in Hlukhiv as hetman of Ukraine (1750-64). Again Ukraine secured its autonomous rights, and the Russian institutions were removed from the Hetman State. The young Hetman lived in Hlukhiv as a petty sovereign. His capital took on a western European aspect, with French fashions, Italian opera, and a great park in the English style surrounding the Hetman's palace. But Rozumovsky preferred to be in St. Petersburg. During his long absences Ukraine was governed by the general *starshyna*, and the *starshyna* gradually became the dominant force in Ukraine. They often held congresses, showing a tendency towards transformation into a Ukrainian noble diet. The limitation of the rights of the peasants in 1760 was to the interest of the *starshyna*. In 1763 a court reform introduced a new system of lower courts in towns and counties; henceforth the judges were to be elected from the local nobility. Ukraine was gradually shifting to a socio-political system similar to that in Poland, where local power rested in the hands of the nobles.

At the same time, however, the *stars-hyna* and the Hetman stubbornly defended the autonomy of Ukraine and even strove to broaden it. Cyril Rozumovsky wanted to recover for Ukraine the right of free relations with foreign states, and to release the Ukrainian state from the need to participate in the general wars of the empire and the campaigns and the burdens connected with them. The Russian government opposed this. He did succeed in persuading the Russian government to transfer matters

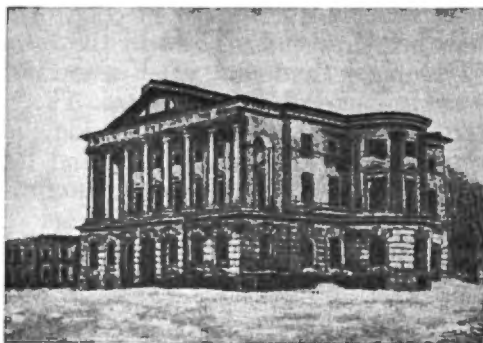


FIGURE 434. PALACE OF HETMAN ROZUMOVSKY
IN BATURYN

of Russo-Ukrainian relations from the administrative Senate (internal affairs) to the College of Foreign Affairs. Kiev and also Zaporizhia were again placed under the hetman's jurisdiction. The abolition in 1754 of Ukrainian import and export duties (the income from this had gone into the Ukrainian treasury) and also in 1755 of the customs control stations between the Ukrainian state and Russia were extremely unfavorable to the Ukrainian economy. However, the Ukrainian army was reorganized and made more effective by the introduction of a single type of arms and uniforms, improvement of the artillery and the introduction of uniform military training into all regiments. Rozumovsky also worked for the establishment of a university in Baturyn, to which the hetman's capital was transferred. Despite all these efforts, however, conditions deteriorated so much that even the hetmanate was on the verge of disappearing.

The End of the Hetman State

In 1762 Empress Catherine II came to the throne. She was a strong believer in the policy of Peter I—a policy of centralization and Russification of all lands acquired by Moscow, including Ukraine. At the moment when some of the Ukrainian officers were preparing to petition the Russian government for hereditary rights to the hetmanate for the Rozumovsky family, the Empress resolved



FIGURE 435. FROM PICTURES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
From left, captain, wife of an officer, burgher lady, colonel.

the question by compelling Cyril Rozumovsky to "voluntarily" resign his post as hetman. In place of the hetmanate she set up a new Little Russian College made up of four Ukrainians and four Russians, with Russian Count Peter Rumiantsev as the president. Count Rumiantsev was given the task of eliminating the Ukrainian rights and liberties gradually and cautiously by means of appropriate propaganda, and of preparing the population for the introduction of the Russian system into Ukraine. The abolition of the hetmanate aroused in Ukraine an opposition which was clearly reflected in the instructions submitted by the Ukrainian representatives to the imperial commission summoned by the Russian government in order to prepare a draft of a new imperial ordinance—*Novoe Ulozhenie*—of 1767. In unequivocal terms these instructions expressed the desire to retain those rights and liberties with which "B. Khmelnytsky and the whole body of the Little Russian nation joined the Great Russian state." Rumiantsev, who administered Ukraine for more than twenty years, kept to the line prescribed by Catherine II—at first taking only preparatory steps (1765–7), then passing on to measures directed toward removing all vestiges of Ukrainian social and political institutions.

The decisive measures were carried through after the Russian-Turkish war of 1769–74, when the Russian government, having achieved victory over the Turks, was free to start on the elimination of the autonomous non-Russian bodies politic within its empire. The Empress hastened to destroy the Zaporozhian Sich in 1775; some years later the same fate befell the Hetman State. In 1781 the regimental administrative system of Ukraine (ten regiment-counties) was abolished. The Hetman State was divided into three *namistnytstvos*—Kiev, Chernihiv, and Novhorod Siversky—under the authority of the Little Russian Governor General. The place of the Little Russian College was taken by the regular Russian administrative and judicial organs. In 1783 the peasants were finally bound to the land when the Russian system of total serfdom was applied to them. In the same year the Kozak army fell a victim to the Russian leveling process. The Kozak regiments were turned into ten carabineer regiments with a six-year term of service. On the basis of the "Imperial Letter" of 1785 (*Zhalovannaia gramota*), the Ukrainian nobility were given the privileges of the Russian nobility together with the right of limited self-rule of their corporative institutions. The secularization of the monastic estates in

1786 dealt a severe blow to the Ukrainian clergy and also to the church-endowed cultural and educational institutions.

The destruction of the autonomy of the Ukrainian Hetman State was now complete. Although its rights and freedoms had been more than once guaranteed by the word of the tsar and by solemn treaties, Ukraine was incorporated into the Russian empire and ceased to exist as a separate body politic.

THE PLACE OF THE KOZAK-HETMAN STATE IN THE HISTORY OF UKRAINE

The Kozak-Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is vitally important in the history of Ukraine. It revived and continued, in new legal and political forms, the tradition of Ukrainian statehood after the Polish-Lithuanian Union of Lublin in 1569. Although the broad plans of Bohdan Khmelnytsky for the revival of the old *Rus'* (Kievan) state—continued in one form or another by Hetmans Ivan Vyhovsky, Peter Doroshenko, Ivan Samoilovych, and Ivan Mazepa—were not carried out because of the severe and constant struggles with Poland, Muscovy, and the Crimea, yet for more than a century a Ukrainian national state existed on a large part of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory. At first it existed under the protection of the Russian tsars, and then (after the Poltava catastrophe of 1709) with less autonomy but with a definite emphasis on its national separateness (even in the Russian documents of the time such terms as “the Little Russian state” and “the Little Russian nation” are constantly used). It was based on three social estates: the legally free peasantry, the burghers of the towns and the cities who enjoyed self-government (usually on the basis of the Magdeburg Law), and the ruling Kozaks (in the eighteenth century a Kozak noble class was formed). Headed by its elected ruler,

the hetman, the Ukrainian Kozak State gradually changed into a state of a European parliamentary type (as emphasized in the Bendery Constitution of 1710). The state had a definite desire to extend its government to all the other ethnic Ukrainian lands (the Zaporozhian Kozak Republic of southern Ukraine, Right-Bank Ukraine, and *Slobids'ka Ukraina*). Although the catastrophe of Poltava opened a broad path into Ukraine for Russian imperialistic centralism, the ideas of Ukrainian national self-government and unity remained dominant among both the Ukrainian political emigrés (Orlyk and his associates), and



FIGURE 436. THE ACADEMY OF KIEV AND ITS STUDENTS, FROM AN ENGRAVING, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

the political and intellectual leaders of the Kozak-Hetman State of the eighteenth century. Thus the tradition of the Ukrainian Kozak State was preserved even after the state itself had been dissolved by the Russian government, and this tradition greatly influenced the further development of Ukrainian political thought.

No less important was the fact that the Left-Bank Ukrainian state of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was an independent economic entity connected with the central and western European markets and those of the Black Sea and the Balkans and separated from Russia until the 1750's by a tariff border.

In the realm of Ukrainian cultural life, the Kozak-Hetman State saw the founding of the Kievan Academy, and the further development of science, literature, art (Kozak Baroque), and philosophy (Skovoroda). The cultural influences of Ukraine traveled far beyond the borders of the Ukrainian ethnic territory; they spread throughout the entire Russian empire, and reached the Danubian and Balkan countries.

Thus the period of the Ukrainian Kozak-Hetman State during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of the most important and fruitful times in the history of Ukraine.

RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Colonization

The efforts of Palii, Mazepa, and Orlyk to save Right-Bank Ukraine for the Kozaks with the intention of uniting it within the framework of the Left-Bank state—a movement in which they had the willing cooperation of the local population—could not change the fate of this part of Ukraine. After the agreement between Poland and Turkey in 1714, Right-Bank Ukraine remained under Poland. But the country was desolate. It had to be recolonized. This

was done by Polish noblemen—the Lubomirskis, Potockis, Jablonowskis, Czartoryskis, Sanguszkos, Tyszkiewiczzes, Branickis, and others, who held the greater part of the land in Right-Bank Ukraine. The ordinary gentry gathered as attendants at the noblemen's courts, or sought to make their living as leaseholders or stewards of the estates of the noblemen. The members of the Jewish communities chiefly worked as innkeepers, artisans, and traders.

The Orthodox clergy were completely dependent upon the Polish Catholic landlords. The Polish administration constantly interfered with the relations between them and their higher church authority who, for the Right Bank, was the Orthodox bishop of Pereiaslav. At the same time, the Catholic clergy became very active on the Right Bank.

The Polish administration was totally unable to deal with the serious problems of Right-Bank Ukraine. It no longer had the Kozak forces (which had been dissolved on the Right Bank by order of the Polish Diet of 1699) to defend the country, and it had at its disposal only the so-called "Ukrainian party" of the Polish army, which scarcely exceeded three thousand men. There was no authority to control the arrogance of the gentry and especially of the landed aristocracy. The king and the state administration had long since ceased to be influential, and the estate of every nobleman was in essence an independent principality with its own administration and its own private militia. The militia in some cases amounted to four or five thousand men recruited from the landlord's serfs and organized in a manner similar to that of the Kozak forces.

The peasants formed the basis of this regime. The fertile, although thoroughly ruined, Right-Bank Ukraine attracted as of old new settlers who came from the northwestern Ukrainian lands at the call of the local landlords in hope of a better life. The settlers obtained freedom for fifteen to twenty years from *panshchyna*

(*corvée*) and payments in kind and money. The subsequent institution of these services was the cause of the hostility between the Ukrainian peasantry and the Polish lords.

The Haidamak Movement

The peasant resistance was passive in character, without organization or capable leaders, although occasionally it burst out in sudden violence. Leadership was assumed by restless, unsettled elements—runaway peasants, manorial servants, or craftsmen who gathered in bands and attacked the estates of the great landowners but did no harm to the poor people. These adventurers became known at the beginning of the eighteenth century as *haidamaky* (*haidamaka*—a word of Turkish origin meaning a restless, rebellious person). The people sympathized with the *haidamaky*, turning to them for help, giving them information, and hiding them when necessary; far from being regarded as ordinary robbers, they were thought of as defenders of the faith and of the Ukrainian people.

The gentry and nobility called for the complete annihilation of the Haidamak bands, but this task was beyond the power of the public administration and even of the most powerful noblemen. The Haidamaks carried on typical guerilla warfare, making clever use of the terrain and employing the tactics of unexpected attack. In moments of danger they found refuge beyond the borders of Polish Ukraine—in the Kievan monasteries, and, still more frequently, in the broad steppes of Zaporizhia. The situation became especially dangerous for the Polish government and nobility when the Haidamak rebel attacks and the peasant disturbances merged into one. The revolts of 1734, 1750, and 1768 were especially severe.

The revolt of 1734 was connected with the war Russia was waging against the partisans of the Polish King, Stanisław Leszczyński, after the death of

August II in 1733. The interference of Russia in Polish affairs, and in particular the participation of Left-Bank Kozaks in the operations and their presence on the Right Bank, made a great impression upon the local people. They imagined that the Russians had come to help them free themselves from the Polish yoke. In the spring of 1734, a movement of revolt started in the Kiev province and soon spread to Podilia and to part of Volhynia. Verlan, a captain of the militia of Prince Lubomirski, assumed the role of leader. He called himself colonel and began to introduce a Kozak organization into the territory he controlled, justifying his uprising by claiming to have received imaginary "golden letters" from Russian Empress Anna, which, he said, ordered him to attack the lords. Among his collaborators was the well-known Haidamak leader, Sava Chalyi. The rebels captured a number of cities including Zhvanets and Brody; their raids reached Lviv.

However, the rebels had a mistaken idea of Russian intentions. As soon as the Russian government came to an understanding with the Polish lords, the Russian army, at the Polish request, scattered the rebels; Verlan and Sava Chalyi had to flee to Moldavia. After the departure of the Russian army, the Haidamak movement flared up again. A Zaporozhian Kozak named Hryva organized a strong Haidamak band which fought for years in the southeastern part of the country.

Another very dangerous revolt broke out in 1750. The Haidamak rebels organized on the Zaporozhian territory crossed the Polish border and began to attack the southern part of the province of Kiev. The weak Polish military forces could not deal with them. Emboldened by this fact, and perhaps by the fact that the settlers' "free" years ended in 1750 in many places, great peasant masses joined the Haidamaks. The rebels took a number of cities and fortified points—among them Uman, Vynnytsia, Liaty-

chiv, and Fastiv—which they destroyed. Almost all Right-Bank Ukraine was in flames. But the rebels did not have the strength for a final reckoning with the Poles. They had no clear plan, no effective organization, and no leaders of sufficient stature. In spite of all their mistakes, however, the suppression of their insurrection cost the Poles dearly.

Koliivshchyna. The revolt of 1768, the *Koliivshchyna*, was the most dangerous for the Poles. It was organized in the southern part of the province of Kiev, in an area colonized only shortly before, where the "free" years of the settlers ended in the 1760's. The peasants there showed an especial aversion to the efforts to force them into serfdom. The spirit of revolt was intensified by the proximity of the area to Zaporizhia with its tempting liberties. There was also a movement hostile to the Uniate Church that was fostered by the Russian government on the Left Bank; it was led by Melchisedec Znachko-Yavorsky of the Motronynsky Monastery near Chyhyryn.

The spark that set off the explosion was the Polish Confederation of Bar in Podilia. This was a movement of the nobles to liberate Poland from Russian control; it was also directed against the Polish King Stanisław August Poniatowski, who was a tool of Russia. To support the helpless Polish King, Catherine II sent General Krechetnikov to Right-Bank Ukraine to expel the Bar Confederates from all the points they had occupied. Anarchy reigned in the rural areas, and the Ukrainian population hoped that this time they would be able to break free from the Polish yoke.

The leaders of the Ukrainian insurgent movement were the Zaporozhian Kozak, Maksym Zalizniak, who at the Motronynsky Monastery was preparing a revolt together with several Haidamak rebels and some men from the Sich, and Ivan Gonta, captain of the local militia of the town of Uman, who joined forces with Zalizniak at the decisive moment. The

rebels captured Zhabotyn, Smila, Cherkasy, Korsun, Kaniv, Bohuslav, Lysianka, and, finally, Uman—the fortress and trading center of the Right Bank. They broke the power of the Polish nobility and its supporters, and immediately began to organize the country, especially the Uman county area, on the Kozak pattern. Zalizniak was proclaimed hetman; Gonta became colonel of Uman. Rebel detachments penetrated Podilia, Volhynia, and Polisia.

Both leaders were convinced that their operations against the Polish nobility were in full accord with the operations of the Russian army against the Bar Confederates. But the Russian government decided to put down the revolt, partly because it feared the restoration of the Kozak power on the Right Bank, and partly because a Haidamak detachment had burned the Turkish frontier town of Balta which it had seized while pursuing Polish fugitives (an act that threatened diplomatic complications with Turkey). The Russian army command, through treachery, arrested about nine hundred Haidamak rebels, including Gonta and Zalizniak. Zalizniak was sent to Siberia. Most of the other rebels, including Gonta, were handed over to the Poles. After 1768 the Haidamak movement lost its strength.

Meanwhile Poland fell into complete internal disorganization and became ripe for partition by its neighbors—Russia, Prussia, and Austria. One of the chief



FIGURE 437.
M. ZALIZNIAK



FIGURE 438.
I. GONTA

causes of the weakening and the fall of Poland was its failure to resolve the Ukrainian question effectively. After the battle of Poltava Poland became a Russian satellite state *de facto*, owing its temporary survival only to the disagreement of its neighbors on how to divide the Polish territory among themselves.

Russia regarded the partition of Poland as the final realization of the re-gathering of the lands of the old Rus' realm to which the tsars of Moscow considered themselves the heirs. So the three partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) enlarged the Russian empire by adding to it those lands of Ukraine (except Galicia) and of Belorussia that had belonged to Poland before 1772.

ZAPORIZHIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The fate of Zaporizhia was also decided in the eighteenth century. The Kozaks of the Sich, whom Khmelnytsky had forced into submission, raised their heads after his death and began to interfere in the affairs of the Hetman State in the name of the popular masses. They had no clear political course, however, and collaborated with various political opportunists (for example, with Sukhovii). A representative of this changeable, unclear orientation of the Sich Kozaks was the *otaman*, Ivan Sirko, a brave fighter but a primitive statesman, who contributed not a little to the further destruction of Ukraine. The Sich had one clearly defined objective. Built on democratic principles, constantly recruiting new members from the discontented elements in Ukraine, and relying for support on the broad masses of the rank and file Kozaks, it demanded maximum social and economic security for the common people. Consequently, it looked askance at the Hetman State where the well-to-do strata of the population—in particular the officer-landowners—dominated state and communal life.

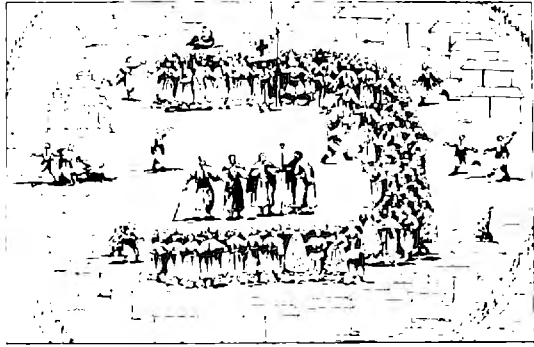


FIGURE 439. ELECTION OF THE *Otaman* BY THE SICH KOZAKS, FROM AN ENGRAVING, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

At the end of the seventeenth century the position of the Sich changed. The period of Ruin, when Zaporizhia had had a free hand, ended; the Hetman State, under the leadership of such dynamic hetmans as Samoilovych and Mazepa, again became a force with which it was necessary to reckon. After the "eternal peace" of 1686, Zaporizhia resumed its traditional dependence upon the hetman government. The alliance under Mazepa of the Hetman State and the tsarist government was regarded by the Zaporozhian republic as a danger to its own free existence; it welcomed the breach between Mazepa and Peter I, and took Mazepa's side in his struggle for the freedom of Ukraine.

After Poltava, the Zaporozhians left the Sich. Later, 1714–34, they settled on the territory of the Crimean khanate, under Tatar sovereignty, with their center in Oleshky. While the *otaman*, Constantine Hordiienko, an irreconcilable foe of Moscow, lived, the partisans of the Turko-Tatar orientation had the upper hand; they also relied upon the emigré hetman, Philip Orlyk. But the complete separation of the Sich from the Hetman State and especially the prohibition of trade between the Sich and the Hetman State proclaimed by the Tsar in 1715, were very harmful to the Zaporozhians. A strong party developed which leaned toward Moscow; this inclination

was strengthened by the fact that the khan of Crimea made heavy demands upon the men of the Sich for military expeditions.

In 1734, after the death of Hordiienko, the Sich again acknowledged the protection of Russia and participated in the Russo-Turkish war of 1735-9. As soon as the war ended, the old Russian policy, begun in the 1680's, of limiting the freedom of the Sich came into force again. The Russian government in 1735 established a number of fortified points on the Zaporozhian territory to control the Zaporozhians; its headquarters were located in Fort Novosichensky near the Sich itself. Also, a new drive to colonize Zaporizhia began. The first settlers came chiefly from the counties of Myrhorod and Poltava. From 1751 on, the Russian government continued to establish large Serb colonies within the borders of Zaporizhia: Novo-Serbia on the northwest frontier, with its center at the fortress of Yelisavetgrad; and Sloviano-Serbia in the northeast corner of Zaporizhia, with its center in Bakhmut. These settlements were directly under Russian administration and were exempt from the control of the Zaporozhian government. From then on, more and more people—Ukrainians and foreigners—moved into the Zaporozhian steppes with or without the permission of the Russian government. In 1764, Catherine II issued orders for the formation in these territories of a separate *Novorossiiskaia guberniia* (New Russian province).

The Sich republic stubbornly opposed these incursions. It sent numerous delegations to Petersburg in an attempt to establish clearly defined boundaries with its neighbors; it carried on a somewhat concealed, but stubborn and bitter, struggle with the Serb colonists; it became involved in conflicts with the administration of the *Novorossiiskata* province. The Zaporozhians traditionally engaged in cattle-raising, fishing, hunting, and trade, rather than in farming.

Under the circumstances they began to feel that the defense of their extensive, rich, and unsettled lands, which attracted foreign settlers, demanded both their own efforts and the initiative of the Zaporozhian government in the matter of farm settlements. The last *otaman*, Peter Kalnyshevsky (1765-75), made great efforts to increase the number of Zaporozhian peasants farming the Sich territory and under the control of the local government. Farming was the chief occupation also of the married Zaporozhian Kozaks. Thus, what had originally been exclusively a military organization developed into a two-class society consisting of Kozaks and peasants. The Zaporozhian Kozaks (who were originally required to remain unmarried) became the upper class which held the political power.

Besides the struggle with the foreign elements who, with the aid of the Russian government, kept seizing more and more of the Zaporozhian lands, the various strata of Kozaks were involved in an internal struggle. The men of the Sich were experiencing the process of social and economic differentiation, the class stratification that was already noticeable at the end of the seventeenth century. The Sich developed on lines similar to the Hetman State, but much more slowly. The more prosperous of the Sich Kozaks gradually became more powerful; they began to divide the military and civil positions among themselves and to dominate the life of the Sich. The rank and file opposed this domination and tried to defend its rights and the old democratic system (for example in the riots of 1749, 1756-7, 1768-9, 1770-2, and 1773).

Despite some important setbacks in the 1760's and 1770's, the Sich republic remained a separate body politic, small but capable of surviving, with a fairly numerous peasantry, a developing agriculture, and a flourishing cattle industry. The increasing interest of the Zaporozhian authorities in the promotion of

religion and popular education was manifested in the building of numerous churches and schools. But this singular republic with its free Kozak and peasant classes was a danger to the Russian empire, for it directly hindered the extension of serfdom throughout all of Ukraine. In addition, after the victory over Turkey in the war of 1769–74, Russia had acquired control over wide areas of land north of the Black Sea, and Zaporzhia barred Russian access to them.

For these reasons, Russia decided to destroy the Sich republic. At the end of the Turkish war, during which the Zaporozhians conducted themselves brilliantly in many operations, General Tekely, returning from the war with a Russian army, came to the Sich. A sudden attack on the unsuspecting Zaporozhians compelled them to yield or to flee. *Koshovyi otaman* Kalnyshevsky was exiled to the Solovki Islands, in the Russian north, and the higher officers to Siberia. The Sich ceased to exist (1775), and the Zaporozhian Kozaks were dispersed.

The Sich across the Danube

A considerable number of the Zaporozhians fled to Turkish territory. The Turkish government settled them at the mouth of the Danube, in Dobrudja, but there the Danubian Sich met with other emigrants—the Don Cossacks (the *Nekrasovtsy*), whose ancestors had migrated to the Kuban at the beginning of the eighteenth century and later to the Danube. Misunderstandings between the new settlers and the old developed into bloody clashes. The Turkish government ordered the men of the Sich to move to the area of Silistria and Rushchuk on the south (now the Bulgarian) bank of the Danube. Dissatisfied, the Zaporozhians made an agreement with the Austrian government, and in 1785 eight thousand of them left the mouth of the Danube and crossed to the Banat (between the Tisa and the Danube). There they obtained Austrian citizenship, the right of an elective system of self-govern-

ment, and pay from the emperor. But the tight Austrian control and the bureaucratic imperial regime did not suit them, and in 1811–12 they returned to Dobrudja.

At the junction of the Danube and the Dunaivets the Zaporozhians founded their new autonomous Sich, which existed as before, although in a somewhat simpler form. The basic occupation of the Kozaks in time of peace was fishing (organized on the principle of cooperative labor), agriculture providing only a supplementary source of income. The Sich was obliged to take part in military operations when called upon to do so by the Turkish government.

Sometimes the men of the Sich, who were Christians, were disturbed when they had to take part in wars against their fellow Christians—for example, to aid in the suppression of the revolts of the Serbs, the Bulgars, and the Greeks. Taking advantage of this fact and realizing that these men were a danger to the Russian empire even when they were beyond the boundaries of Ukraine, the Russian government began to induce the Zaporozhians to return. It found an ally in the person of the *otaman*, Joseph Hladkyi. When a Russian-Turkish war began in 1828 and a Russian army appeared on the Danube, Hladkyi joined the Russian forces with thirty-five hundred of his Kozaks. The Danubian Sich ceased to exist. From Hladkyi's Kozaks, the Russian government established the so-called Azov Host, which received land on the shores of the Sea of Azov between Berdiansk and Mariupol; later the Azov Host was removed to the Kuban region.

SLOBIDS'KA UKRAÏNA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Slobids'ka Ukraina, which was on the northeastern Ukrainian frontier territory (later the *guberniya* of Kharkiv and the southern counties of the *guberniyas* of

Kursk and Voronezh), lost its autonomy almost simultaneously with the Hetman State. Well-populated in the Princely period, the land had returned to wilderness as a result of the nomad attacks—especially those of the Tatars during the thirteenth century. In the following centuries it was the frontier between Muscovy and the Tatars; later, Muscovy built its outermost defensive points there in the form of small fortresses. But the fertile land still lay fallow, for Muscovy was not strong enough to colonize it.

In the beginning the Moscow government welcomed the appearance in *Slobids'ka Ukraïna* of Ukrainian colonists who first arrived in the area in 1638 after the unsuccessful revolt against Poland led by Hetman Jacob Ostrianyn. Ostrianyn and his regiment of nine hundred Kozaks settled near Chuhuiv. However, it was not until the middle of the seventeenth century, and especially during the 1670's, that the great colonization of the territory began—the colonists being chiefly Right-Bank Ukrainians.

There were two categories of colonists, Kozaks and peasants. They maintained the same social order in their new settlements. The Kozaks became the first privileged class; the peasants slowly became dependent upon the officers and the wealthy Kozaks. The region was autonomous. Five Kozak regiments were soon formed: Ostrohozk (Rybne), Kharkiv, Sumy, Okhtyrka, and Iziium. Each regiment was a military and administrative unit-county (with a further subdivision into hundreds—*sotnias*). Each was headed by a colonel chosen for life (usually from a respected Kozak family which had played a prominent role during the settlement), and by other officers also chosen for life. But these regiments were not united into a common body politic. The Moscow government, wanting to avoid the evolution of anything resembling the Hetman State in this region, subordinated every Kozak regiment to the Muscovite resident in Bilhorod who was the supreme pro-

vincial agent of the Russian administration.

Slobids'ka Ukraïna had none of the developed institutional forms that existed in the Hetman State (there was no Magdeburg Law, for example, and the burgher class was organized later). In addition, life in this territory was subject to many hardships and demands. The Tatar attacks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did great damage; military service demanded many sacrifices, especially during the days of Peter I and Empress Anna, when it was necessary not only to take part in numerous military operations, but also to work on the building of fortified points and canals—usually far from home, and under unaccustomed and very trying conditions.

On the whole, the relations between the frontier regiments and Russia did not become as strained as those between the Hetman State and Moscow, or Zaporizhia and Moscow. Nevertheless the Russian government, consistently pursuing its policy of centralization, determined to destroy the regimental autonomy. After initial efforts in 1732 and 1748, the Russian government took the last decisive step in 1765 when it abolished the regimental system and, along with it, the autonomy of *Slobids'ka Ukraïna*. In place of the Kozak regiments five Hussar regiments were created, and the territory, although retaining its old name, was reorganized as an ordinary province of the Russian empire.

B. Krupnytsky

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7. UKRAINE IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH AND THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES (1800-1917)

UKRAINE FROM 1800 TO 1861

During the eighteenth century, the Russian government achieved an objective it had pursued since 1654: it deprived Ukraine of its national self-government, virtually turning it into a Russian colony. This was the status of Ukraine at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Settlement of Steppe Ukraine

The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the broadening of Ukrainian ethnographic territory as a result of the rapid settlement of south, or Steppe, Ukraine (which the Russian empire had secured from Turkey after the wars of 1769-1791) and the destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich (1775).

The settlement of Steppe Ukraine is of great importance in Ukrainian history. It was carried out in part by the distribution of hundreds of thousands of acres of land to both Russian and Ukrainian high officials, army officers, and civil servants. Among the officers were many from the old Kozak officer class. The new landowners induced peasants from Left- and Right-Bank Ukraine and *Slobids'ka Ukraina* to settle on their lands by freeing them from all obligations for twenty to thirty years. They also brought in a small number of Russian peasants, and a still smaller number of Germans, Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Rumanians, Italians, Armenians, and Jews. The Jewish settlers were released almost entirely from the special restrictions that governed them in other parts of the Russian empire. New cities sprang up such as Katerynoslav and Kherson on the Dnieper; Mykolaïv, a naval base on the Boh; and Odessa (1794), which later became the first

commercial port on the Black Sea. Bondage was introduced into Steppe Ukraine in 1797.

The Struggle for Autonomy

The powerful urge for autonomy and the desire to defend its national rights did not subside in Ukraine at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The Ukrainian



FIGURE 440. B. KAPNIST

nobility, in defending its own class rights, was defending at the same time the autonomous rights of Ukraine. Ukrainian political leaders had devised plans for accomplishing the separation of

Ukraine from Russia with the assistance of foreign states. Inspired by the victory of the American Revolution, Basil Kapnist, former marshal of the Kievan nobility and a well-known writer of the time—his works, *Ode on Slavery* (1783) and *Yabeda* (1798), were open protests against the centralist policy of Russia in Ukraine—made a trip to Berlin in 1791 to seek international support for this project. The failure to secure such support plus the development of events both in Ukraine and outside its boundaries impelled the Ukrainian people to attend to national and cultural problems and the ideological struggle against Russification.

In 1798 the *Aeneid* of Ivan Kotliarevsky appeared, the first work of modern Ukrainian literature written in the Ukrainian national language. Some of the best representatives of the Ukrainian

nobility began turning their attention to the history of Ukraine: among them were Adrian Chepa, Basil Poletyka, Timothy Kalynsky, Basil Lomykovsky, Alexis Martos, and many others. Arkhyp Khudorba, a former captain of Sheptaky (in the area of Novhorod Siversky), wrote a history of Ukraine in a sharply anti-Russian spirit (a work that unfortunately did not survive). At the beginning of the nineteenth century the well-known History of the Rus' appeared. Imbued with a deep Ukrainian patriotic spirit and permeated with a desire for the independent statehood of Ukraine, this historico-political pamphlet was written by an unknown author (historians are widely divided as to its possible authorship) somewhere in the territory of Novhorod Siversky, probably between 1815 and 1825. It was circulated in manuscript copies until it was finally printed by Joseph Bodiansky in Moscow in 1846. The History of the Rus' had a powerful influence on the development of Ukrainian historiography and literature, as well as on national and political thought.

The Administrative Division

By 1831 there were nine provinces (*guberniyas*) in Ukraine; no substantial changes occurred in this administrative division until 1917. The *guberniyas* of Kiev, Podilia, Volhynia, officially named the Southwestern Land (*Yugozapadnyi Krat*), were under the authority of the governor general in Kiev. On the left bank of the Dnieper were the *guberniyas* of Kharkiv (called *Slobids'ko-Ukrains'ka guberniya* from 1824 to 1835), Poltava, and Chernihiv (the territory of the former Hetman State). Steppe Ukraine, officially named *Novorostia* (New Russia), included the *guberniyas* of Katerynoslav, Kherson, and Tauria. In addition, some Ukrainian lands were included in the *guberniyas* of Kursk, Voronezh, Bessarabia, Black Sea, Stavropol, Lublin, and Siedlce (the Ukrainian sections of the last two have formed a separate *guber-*

niya, Kholm, since 1912); and the Don, Kuban, and Tersk *oblasts* (see also p. 24).

The Social Structure during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

In general, Kozaks were free, with the exception of those who had lost their Kozak rights and had been made serfs; they lived for the most part in their own homesteads (*khutirs*) in the provinces of Chernihiv and Poltava, where certain provisions of the Lithuanian Statute were still preserved. The rest of the Zaporozhian Kozaks (the so-called Black Sea Kozak Host) who were transferred to the northern Subcaucasus in 1792 settled between the Kuban and Yeia rivers. They maintained their Kozak system but with extensive restrictions. In 1860, the Black Sea Kozak Host was increased by the addition of the so-called Frontier Troops and renamed the Kuban Kozak Host (see also p. 789).

The Ukrainian nobility gradually was given the same rights as the Russian nobility. Many Ukrainian nobles went into the service of the Russian government, especially in St. Petersburg. A number of them held the highest posts in the Russian empire. Prince Alexander Bezborodko was imperial chancellor during the reign of Paul I; during the reign of Alexander I, such Ukrainians as Prince Victor Kochubei, Count Peter Zavadovsky, Count Alexis Rozumovsky, and Dmytro Troshchynsky were among his ministers. An even greater number of Ukrainians served in the various Russian institutions, the army and the like. All of this helped to bring about a gradual Russification of the Ukrainian nobility. Intermarriage with Russians, education in Russian schools, and service in the Russian armed forces contributed to the replacement of the Ukrainian language by the Russian language among the members of the Ukrainian upper class. On the other hand, Ukrainian culture powerfully influenced the Russian educational system, science, and literature,

and contributed substantially to their growth and development throughout the empire.

The greater part of the Ukrainian population consisted of peasants who remained serfs until 1861. Serfs had no rights. Landowners could judge their own serfs and even send them to Siberia. Serfs were sold as property, and could be forced or forbidden to marry. They were obliged to work for their masters (*pan-shchyna*—*corvée*) sometimes as much as six days a week. Some serfs, including women and children, worked either part time or permanently in plants and factories owned and operated by their landowners. In this way a class of landless peasants was formed. Each such peasant received a monthly allowance from his master for maintenance (*misachnyky*). In the 1840's 25 per cent of the peasants of Left-Bank Ukraine belonged in this landless category. An important role in the rural colonization process was played by the transfer of peasants by their landowners from North to South Ukraine. In 1843, for example, 145,000 people were transferred from the Poltava province to the south. As a result the population of Steppe Ukraine, which was over one million in 1819, grew to three million in 1856. In Steppe Ukraine serfdom was not as widespread numerically nor as severe in its exploitation of individuals as it was in the other parts of Ukraine; consequently many fugitive peasants wandered there in search of better conditions of life.

In Right-Bank Ukraine the burden of serfdom was especially heavy. In addition to the serfs' other obligations, the *corvée*, usually three days a week elsewhere, reached six days a week



FIGURE 441. USTYM KARMALIUK, LEADER OF REBELLIOUS PEASANTS

here. Contemporaries often referred to the cruelty with which the Right-Bank landowners treated their serfs. As a result, peasant uprisings and random attacks on the landowners in this area were frequent. An especially well-known rebel leader was Ustym Karmaliuk, who was killed in 1835. During the 1820's and 1830's, Karmaliuk led attacks against the landowners, chiefly in Podilia, and distributed their property to the poor peasants.

Economy

The occupation of the shore of the Black Sea and the settlement of the steppes greatly influenced the development of agriculture in Ukraine. The sown area in South Ukraine increased from 2,000,000 acres at the beginning of the nineteenth century to 15,000,000 acres in the 1860's. During the first decades of the nineteenth century the main emphasis was on sheep-raising—the wool of merino sheep was an important item of export. It was only in the middle of the century that the export of wheat to the Mediterranean area and even more to western Europe surpassed in value the export of wool. The cultivation of the sugar beet spread on the Right Bank and the area devoted to it grew to 50,000 acres in the 1840's. (On the Left Bank it was 12,000 acres). These crops provided the raw materials for the distilling and sugar-refining industries owned by the landlords. There were several economic crises brought on by a drop in the price of grain in the 1820's and 30's and by a drop in the price of distilled liquor in the 1840's. These were caused largely either by overproduction, or by the exhaustion of the soil through the use of primitive agricultural methods which at times resulted in poor harvests and, subsequently, famine (the Left Bank at the beginning of the 1830's).

From the 1830's through the 1850's the big cities in Ukraine were extensively Russified on the Left Bank and Polo-

nized on the Right Bank. In Kiev, Ukrainian merchants were moved from the center of the city to the outskirts, and a considerable number of Russian merchants were brought in to replace them. Jewish merchants played a large role in the cities, especially in Right-Bank and Steppe Ukraine.

Industry developed in Ukraine despite many obstacles. The total number of large-scale industrial enterprises increased quite rapidly, as the figures below show:

1813— 367 enterprises

1832— 779 enterprises

1844—1,542 enterprises

1860—2,329 enterprises

Many landowners also owned factories: according to the Statistical Tables of the Russian Empire, prior to 1807 there were 16 factories in the *guberniya* of Katerynoslav, 50 in Kiev, 39 in Podilia, 50 in Poltava, 33 in Kharkiv, 18 in Kherson, and 47 in Chernihiv (estimates of Alexander Ohloblyn). The continental blockade (during the Napoleonic Wars), which temporarily checked the importation of western goods, stimulated the development of local enterprises—at first worked only by serf labor. There were factories for textiles, and workshops that produced iron products, tallow, candles, leatherwork, liquor, soap, and glass—all types of “manufactures.” Later industrial plants were founded by merchants, who also used serfs as the labor force.

The development of the textile industry, which was of major importance in Ukraine, was stopped. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century the Prussians dominated the textile industry. In the 1820's the importation of Prussian textiles into Ukraine almost stopped, for the Russian government's tariff of 1822 made important economic concessions to the Poles which influenced the import of textiles. The Polish-Russian war of 1830–1 weakened Polish control of the Ukrainian textile market, but after the 1850's the Russian government again

created conditions that enabled the Polish textile industry to dominate the entire Right Bank. On the other hand, the import of textile goods manufactured in the Central Russian Industrial *raion* continued. Thus, the Ukrainian textile factories did little more than satisfy the needs of the private estates and were only one segment of the economy of those estates.

The War with France in 1812

The war with Napoleon in 1812 had an effect on Ukraine. The Russian army of General Tormasov was stationed in Volhynia, near Lutsk. Napoleon himself did not enter Ukraine, but the Austrian army of Schwarzenberg was on its frontiers. After several battles, Tormasov had to withdraw, and the Austrian army occupied the counties of Kovel, Lutsk, Volodymyr, and part of Dubno. The Ukrainian nobles were less hostile to Napoleon than the Russian nobles; but they were not informed of the French plans to create an independent Ukrainian state (*Napoleonida*), and, consequently, took the side of the Russians. On the instructions of the Russian government, the Little Russian governor general, Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky, formed fifteen Kozak regiments of Ukrainians, promising them that they would remain as a permanent Kozak force after the war. But the Russian government did not keep its promise. After the war, the Kozak regiments were reorganized into regular troops and some of the soldiers were returned to serfdom.

Military Settlements

After the defeat of Napoleon, so-called military settlements were established in Ukraine. These were patterned on similar settlements that had existed since the seventeenth century in the empire of the Habsburgs in Croatia. These military settlements were established in the Chuhuiv region near Kharkiv and around the cities of Oleksandria, Yelisavethrad (the present Kirovohrad), and Vozne-

sensk in the Kherson area, and later, in 1830, in the Kiev area and in Podilia. The peasants in these settlements were compelled to perform military service as well as to work in the fields. Their entire life was subjected to very stern discipline; even the number of children they were permitted to have was regulated. These regimes provoked a series of peasant rebellions which were suppressed by the government with military force. The most significant were the revolt in 1817 of the Boh Kozaks, whose status had been gradually re-formed into that of a military settlement; and the revolt of the Chuhuiv settlers in 1819, as a consequence of which hundreds of rebels were condemned to death or banishment. Under Tsar Nicholas I, Alexander's successor, the military settlements were abolished.

The Masonic Movement in Ukraine

Early in the nineteenth century a movement of opposition among the liberal nobles connected with the Ukrainian national movement took the form of the establishment of Masonic lodges in Ukraine. In Poltava, then the center of Left-Bank Ukraine, a lodge known as the "Love of Truth" existed in 1818-19, its membership including such well-known figures in the history of the Ukrainian national movement as Ivan Kotliarevsky, Basil Lukashevych, and Basil Kapnist, and Russians such as the Decembrists Paul Pestel, M. Orlov, and Bestuzhev-Riumin. During the governmental investigation, the Decembrist Matvii Muraviev-Apostol revealed that the lodge aimed to draw the Little Russian nobility into political work.

Other well-known lodges were "The Pontus Euxinus" and "Three Realms of Nature" in Odessa. On the Right Bank the lodges belonged to the "Great Polish East" and had no direct connection with the Russian lodges. Among these were "Darkness Dispelled" in Zhytomyr, "Absolute Mystery" in Dubno, "Three Columns" and the "Lodge of the United

Slavs" in Kiev. The Lodge of the United Slavs, founded in 1818, had as its goal the formation of a Slavic federation; in 1821 it had 143 members. From documentary evidence, it appears that the Kiev lodge was not especially interested in Ukrainian questions. The lodges were clubs where the liberals of the day met for discussions, regardless of their class background. On the Right Bank, however, the Polish lodges openly carried on propaganda for an independent Polish state in which they wanted to include Right-Bank Ukraine.

The Decembrists and Ukraine

A number of Russian and Ukrainian officers connected with the Second Army which was quartered on the Right Bank, influenced by the French ideas of the end of the eighteenth century (almost all had served in western Europe during the Napoleonic wars), formed secret societies in Russia and in Ukraine in 1818. Their aim was to organize opposition to the autocratic Russian regime and to serfdom. They received the name of Decembrists as a result of their unsuccessful revolt against Tsar Nicholas I in St. Petersburg on December 14, 1825 (O.S.).

The Southern Society, founded in 1822 in Ukraine, was headed by the Russian Colonel Paul Pestel, author of a draft of a constitution for Russia which he called *Russkaia Pravda* (Russian Law) and in which he showed himself in favor of centralism. According to Pestel, Ukraine and the other nations of the Russian empire "never enjoyed and never could enjoy independence." The Southern Society made an exception in the case of Poland, and in 1823 began negotiations with the Polish Patriotic Society.

Another Decembrist group, the Society of United Slavs, was organized in 1823 in Volhynia by lesser officers, among whom the brothers A. and P. Borisov were prominent. This group aimed at forming a Slavic federation, but did not include Ukraine among the nations

which were to participate in its formation.

Thus the political problem of Ukraine was neglected by the Decembrists, although some Decembrist writers expressed sympathy for Ukraine's past and for the heroic Kozaks, thereby winning the support of the Ukrainian community.

The Decembrist revolt in St. Petersburg had an echo in Ukraine on December 29, 1825 (O.S.). The Chernihiv regiment, which was stationed in Vasylkiv and formed the basis of the Society of United Slavs, under the command of Lieut. Colonel S. Muraviev-Apostol, a descendant of Hetman Apostol, moved toward Kiev in an attempt to occupy the capital of Ukraine. However, this revolt was suppressed.

The Decembrist movement and its ideas, especially those of the Society of United Slavs, had an effect on the later development of Ukraine (the program of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius and the activities of Michael Drahomanov).

The Polish-Russian War of 1830-1

Although Right-Bank Ukraine was incorporated into the Russian empire in 1793-5, the Russian government did not alter the old social order and the peasant serfs gained no relief from the change of government. In 1838 the population of the Right Bank consisted of 4,200,000 Ukrainian peasants and 100,000 Poles: two-thirds of the latter were petty gentry with little land or no land at all, who served on the estates of the great landowners. The Poles occupied almost all the posts in the court system and in the local government. Polish culture was in evidence everywhere among the upper classes. The Lycee of Kremianets, an institution of higher education founded in 1805 in Volhynia, became a center of Polish cultural influence.

In November, 1830, the kingdom of Poland broke its union with the Romanov dynasty and began a war of liberation against the Russian state in an effort to

renew the old Polish-Lithuanian state within the frontiers of 1772. The commander of the Russian army in Right-Bank Ukraine, Field Marshal Saken, in May, 1831, by order of the government, issued an appeal to the Ukrainian peasants to join newly formed Kozak units, promising them a renewal of the Kozak system. The Little Russian governor general, Prince Nicholas Repnin, formed eight mounted regiments consisting of 1,000 men each. The Russian government called upon the peasants on the Right Bank to arrest their Polish lords who were taking part in the war against Russia and to hand them over to the authorities; in return, they were promised they would be freed from subjection to the lords. The peasants responded enthusiastically. But the victorious Russian government renegeed on its promises: six of the Kozak regiments were turned into regular regiments, and the other two were sent to the Caucasus (the Kozaks who protested were punished); and the peasants were again put under the control of the Polish lords.

The Konarski Movement

Soon after the defeat of the Polish forces a Polish revolutionary group, Young Poland, founded in 1834 in Bern, Switzerland, sent one of its leading members, Szymon Konarski, to Ukraine. During 1835-7 Konarski formed a network of conspiratorial centers in Right-Bank Ukraine to carry on propaganda among the Ukrainian peasants. The chief aim was to establish a common link between the lesser Polish nobility and the Ukrainian peasantry. Konarski was executed in 1839, and his centers in Kiev, Berdychiv, Zhytomyr, and Kremianets were destroyed. The University of Kiev which had just been opened, was closed for two months, and 149 students, among them many Ukrainians, were expelled.

The Russification of the Right Bank

After its victory in 1831, the Russian government undertook to Russify Right-

Bank Ukraine. The decision, although directed against the Poles, affected the Ukrainians both indirectly and directly. In 1831-2 use of the Polish language was barred in the administration and in the courts. Polish schools were closed, including the Lycee of Kremianets in Volhynia. Dimitri Bibikov, the governor general of Kiev, introduced a series of anti-Polish measures. Sixty-four thousand petty Polonized nobles were excluded from the nobility and were either reclassified as free peasants or sent to the cities. The most important measures taken by Bibikov to weaken the Polish nobility were the "inventories" of 1847-8. These were intended to itemize the duties to be performed by peasant serfs, who also were granted certain rights to the land they used. Compulsory labor was limited to three days a week. Punishment without trial was forbidden. But the power of the Right-Bank Polish estate owners was so great that the inventories (abolished in 1855) were completely ineffectual, and the pressure on the peasants was never so great in Right-Bank Ukraine as it was at this time. As a consequence, the number of peasant revolts in 1845-8 reached fifty-five. In 1855, during the Crimean War, the quelling of the peasant uprisings in the Kiev area—the so-called movement of the Kiev Kozaks—required military force.

Cultural Life

The cultural life of Ukraine up to 1861 was centered in the two universities



FIGURE 442. UNIVERSITY OF KHARKIV (OLD BUILDING)

(Kharkiv and Kiev), in the Richelieu Lycee in Odessa, and in the College in Nizhyn (founded by Prince Bezborodko). The University of Kharkiv was founded in 1805, and it was supported by the local nobility and the merchant class.

The local leader Basil Karazyn, who in his younger years had been an exponent of the ideas of the French Revolution, was an important figure in the founding of the University. He later organized the Philotechnical Society (1811-16) to introduce modern techniques for large-scale farming on the estates.

The University of Kharkiv, the first modern institution of higher education anywhere in Ukraine (only the University of Lviv in Galicia was founded earlier) and the third in the entire Russian empire, became one of the most important centers of Ukrainian culture.

In 1834, after the Russian victory over the Poles, a university was founded in Kiev, the second modern university in Ukraine. (The Richelieu Lycee in Odessa



FIGURE 443. UNIVERSITY OF KIEV

was raised to university status and became known as the University of Odessa in 1864.) The chief purpose of the University of Kiev was to train the youth in the Russian spirit. Still its role in the history of the national movement in Ukraine was great, comparable to that of the Academy of Kiev (founded in 1631) which was turned into a purely theological institution in 1819.

The University of Kharkiv published the first periodic journals in Ukraine: the *Ukrainskii Vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald), 1816-19, *Kharkovskii Demokrit* (Kharkiv Democrit), 1816, and *Ukrainskii Zhurnal* (Ukrainian Journal), 1824-6. In 1828 the first daily newspaper, *Odesskii Vestnik* (Odessa Herald) began to be printed in Odessa; it continued

until 1892. In 1835 in Kiev the *Kievskiiia ob'iavlenniia* (Kiev Information) appeared and was published from 1835 to 1838, and from 1850 to 1857. In 1838 the Russian government began to publish the official *Gubernskie Vedomosti* (Provincial News) in various cities: in Kiev, Zhytomyr, Kamianets, Kharkiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, Odessa, and Katerynoslav; it was continued until 1917.

The Poltava Cultural Circle. The first city to play a prominent role in the formation of the Ukrainian national movement was Poltava, mainly due to the fact that Ivan Kotliarevsky, the father of modern Ukrainian literature, worked there. Kotliarevsky also performed great services as the director of the Poltava theater and as the author of the first plays written in the national language. These plays marked the beginning of the new Ukrainian drama.

As previously noted, in Poltava there was a group of Ukrainian nobles who were opposed to the Russian government. After 1816 Prince Nicholas Repnin, the former viceroy of Saxony (1813-14) who had married the granddaughter of Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky, was appointed governor general of Little Russia—that is, of Left-Bank Ukraine. Repnin resided in Poltava and worked for the well-being of the entire population of Ukraine. He defended the interests of the serfs and energetically supported those Kozak rights that still existed. As stated earlier, Repnin formed the Kozak regiments in Ukraine during the Russian-Polish war of 1830-1. Although a Russian by birth (his real name was Prince Volkonsky), he felt great sympathy for Ukraine. In St. Petersburg he was accused of "Ukrainian separatism," and in 1834

he was removed from his post. He spent his last years on his estate in Yahotyń. Repnin supported Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky, the author of the first history of Ukraine,—*Istoriia Maloi Rossii* (History of Little Russia), published in 1822; although its point of view was loyalist, it played an important role in the development of Ukrainian national consciousness.

The Kharkiv Circle. A group that developed around the University of Kharkiv in the first half of the nineteenth century did much to revive the Ukrainian national movement. Associated with this group were Gregory Kvitka-Osnovianenko, the creator of Ukrainian prose and the founder of the theater in Kharkiv; Peter Hulak-Artemovsky, a poet; Izmail Sreznevsky, a professor at the university, who in 1833-8, edited the collection *Zaporozhskaia Starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity); Nicholas Kostomarov, a historian and writer; Ambrose Metlynsky, another poet and professor; and a number of other writers and ethnographers. Under the influence of western European Romanticist ideas, they collected folklore material, studied the Ukrainian folk language, and published the first *almanakhs* (literary collections) containing the works of young Ukrainian writers. The predecessors of the publications of the Kharkiv circle in the cultivation of the Ukrainian language and the collection of Ukrainian folklore were three older publications which had been brought out in Russia: the *Grammatika malorossiiskago narechiia* (Grammar of the Little Russian Dialect) of A. Pavlovsky (1818) (see "Language") and the collections of Ukrainian folk songs of Prince N. Tsertelev (1819) and M. Maksymovych (1827) (see "Ethnography"). Later, in 1855, the Kharkiv students founded a secret political organization for the purpose of "overthrowing the government in Russia."

The Ukrainian School in Polish Literature. In the 1830's an interest in Ukraine especially in Ukrainian historical themes,



FIGURE 444. SEAL OF THE BLACK SEA KOZAK HOST

arose among the Polish Romantic writers living in Right-Bank Ukraine: for example, S. Goszczyński, B. Zaleski, A. Malczewski, M. Czajkowski (Sadyk-Pasza), and the critic M. Grabowski (see "Literature"). The Ukrainian school in Polish literature caused the later Ukrainization of some members of the nobility—Poles born in and connected with Right-Bank Ukraine, and certain Polonized Ukrainians. The works of this school, translated into French, popularized the Ukrainian cause abroad.

Shevchenko and the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius

At the beginning of 1840 the works of the poet Taras Shevchenko began to appear in Ukrainian literature, producing an enormous effect upon the current and subsequent Ukrainian national movement. In 1844-5 he wrote some of his most famous poems: *Velykyi tokh* (The Great Vault), *Son* (The Dream), *Kavkaz* (The Caucasus), *Poslanie* (The Epistle), *Yak umru* (When I Die). In these, Shevchenko, unlike other Romanticists, gave a picture of Ukraine's past, contrasting it to the picture of the oppressed Ukraine of his day. He advanced the idea of national independence, human equality, and social justice, and mercilessly condemned the entire system of the Russian empire with its serfdom, despotism, and suppression of other nationalities. Shevchenko's poetry became widely circulated, especially during his constant travels around Ukraine; it achieved great success among the intelligentsia, and was received with special enthusiasm in the circle that took the name of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius.

Polish revolutionary ideology in Paris; the work of the Czech and Slovak promoters of national revival in Prague (J. Kollar, V. Hanka, P. J. Safarik); the works of French socialism (C. H. Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc, C. Fourier); and the Ukrainian national traditions as fostered by the Ukrainian nobles and

interpreted in a revolutionary manner in the works of Shevchenko—all these were discussed fervently by the Ukrainian intelligentsia who gathered in Kiev in the 1840's. This group was particularly fascinated by Shevchenko's poetry, by the *Istoriia Rusov ili Maloi Rossii* (History of the Rus' People or of Little Russia) by an unknown author, and by Michael Maksymovych's collections of Ukrainian folk songs. In the autumn of 1845 they organized themselves into the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius (called in Russian official reports the Ukrainian-Slavic Society). Among the members were Nicholas Kostomarov, who was then full of Kozak romanticism, a great admirer of the *Istoriia Rusov* and of Slavic messianism, the chief ideologist of the Brotherhood, and the author of its statutes; and the writers Panteleimon Kulish, Taras Shevchenko, N. Hulak, N. Savych, G. Andruzky, I. Posiada, V. Bilozersky, O. Markovych, A. Navrotsky, A. Tulub, and others. The society was dissolved in 1847 by the government, following its denunciation to the authorities by an informer, A. Petrov, a student at the University of Kiev. Consequently it had little opportunity to undertake any activities. Yet the significance of the Brotherhood was indisputable, for it was the first political organization in the development of the Ukrainian national movement with a definite program. The program advocated the political unification of all the Slavic peoples in the form of a federation of Slavic nations, each with its own self-government. The Brotherhood considered these peoples to be Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Serbs, Croats, and Bulgarians. The new Slavic union was to be headed by a general Slavic representative assembly. The Brotherhood was opposed to racial and religious hatred, and in favor of the abolishment of serfdom and the establishment of the equality of all citizens.

The most interesting documents from among the printed materials connected with the Brotherhood are the *Knyhy*

bytia ukrains'koho narodu (Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People), written by Nicholas Kostomarov under the influence of the work of Adam Mickiewicz, *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (Books of the Polish People and the Polish Pilgrimage), and also the History of the Rus'. The Books are an example of the Ukrainian democratic consciousness, and a declaration of the rights of Ukraine based on four principles: Christian morality, democracy, Slavic community, and Ukrainian messianism—the last-mentioned, unlike Russian and Polish messianism, preached the equality of all Slavic peoples. The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People are summarized in the concluding words: "And Ukraine will rise from its tomb and again will call to all brother Slavs, and they will hear her cry, and Slavdom will rise, and there will be left no tsar or tsarevich or tsarevna or prince, or count, or duke, or grace, or excellency, no lord, no boyar, no serf, no slave—not in Muscovy, in Poland, in Ukraine, in Bohemia, among the Croatsians, among the Serbs, not among the Bulgarians. And Ukraine will be an independent Commonwealth in the Slavic Union. Then all tongues will say, pointing to that place where Ukraine is painted on the map: 'The stone that the builders rejected has become the cornerstone.' "

When the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius was disbanded, its members were punished by banishment to various cities within the empire (for example, Kulish to Tula, Kostomarov to Saratov). Shevchenko, whose writings were found at the time of his arrest, was punished much more severely than the others. He was banished as a common soldier to the Orsk fortress near Orenburg, and forbidden to write or paint. There and in Novopetrovsk, a fortress on the desolate eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, he spent ten years. The affair of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, and especially the works of Shevchenko

which were circulated despite the fact that they were banned (until 1907 they were published only in incomplete form in the Russian empire) played a tremendous role in the development of Ukrainian national consciousness. The leading ideas of Shevchenko became the banner of Ukraine's struggle for independence.

The Crimean War (1853–6)

The Crimean War against France, England, Sardinia, and Turkey showed the complete disorganization of the Russian state machinery. Totally defeated, Russia was compelled to give up its protectorate rights over the Danubian principalities (now Rumania), to cede southern Bessarabia to Turkey, and to lose her entire Black Sea fleet (Peace of Paris, 1856). But Russia could have lost more. The allies, especially France, threatened to take Right-Bank and southern Ukraine when they bombarded Odessa in 1854. During the war France supported the activities of M. Czajkowski (Sadyk-Pasza) in Turkey (an agent of Prince Adam Czartoryski, the leader of Polish emigration), who had developed a plan for forming an independent Ukrainian state on the Left Bank; a corollary of his plan was that Right-Bank Ukraine become part of a restored Poland. At the same time the Prussian ambassador in London, von Bunzen, proposed to King Frederic William IV that a Kievan kingdom be formed out of part of the Ukrainian lands.

The defeat in the Crimean War brought about a series of reforms that played a considerable part in the later history of Ukraine.

UKRAINE FROM 1861 TO 1905

The Abolition of Serfdom in Ukraine

According to the census of 1853, on the eve of their liberation the serfs made up the following percentages of the total population in the Ukrainian *guberniyas*: Kiev, 57.66 per cent; Volhynia, 56.54 per

cent; Podilia, 59.54 per cent; Chernihiv, 37.61 per cent; Poltava, 37.47 per cent; Kharkiv, 29.77 per cent; Katerynoslav, 31.51 per cent; Kherson, 31.27 per cent; Tauria, 5.97 per cent.

Under the early capitalistic conditions that developed in Ukraine in the 1850's, the work of a free peasant was more profitable to the landowner than was the work of a peasant serf. The first liberals in the matter of peasant serfs in Ukraine were the great landowners—for example, Count Sergius Rumiantsev, who in 1802 proposed to the tsar "to abolish slavery gradually." Two noble landowners from the Chernihiv province, Basil Tarnovsky (Senior) and Gregory Galagan, remembered as patrons of arts and literature in the history of the Ukrainian national movement, participated in the Russian government's advisory board (initiated in 1856 but publicly inducted only in 1858) on the liberation of the serfs. The peasants were liberated from serfdom by the Tsar's manifesto of February 19, 1861 (O.S.).

The abolition of serfdom radically altered the position of the peasants and the nobility. The Tsar's manifesto established these conditions: the great landowners were to keep the right of ownership of all lands belonging to them, but were to cede to the peasants "for perpetual use" their house and garden plots as well as arable land which was assigned on principles indicated in the local allotment regulations. In return for their allotment (7½-12 acres a person), the peasants were bound to pay the landowners either in work or money, as provided in the allotment regulations. They were to pay for the land, over a period of 48 years, according to its value. At the time the title to the land was transferred to the peasant, the value of the land was assessed above its true value, so that the peasants paid for it up to 50 per cent more than it was worth.

Not all peasants received land: the serfs of landowners who had less than 75 dessiatines (202.2 acres), and peasant

laborers—that is, those who worked in the factories, plants, or on the estates of the landowners—did not receive any. The liberated serfs were not given rights equal to those of the other classes of the population; they were placed under the strict supervision of the local state administration, were not permitted to send their children to the secondary schools, and could not leave their village without the permission of the village authorities. They were given a new political organization which lasted until 1917 and which took the form of village and district meetings of peasants, with elective village and district elders (see *infra*, p. 694).

Hardly any peasants understood the allotment and compensation provisions; they found it difficult to believe that they had received freedom without the free use of land and forest resources. Local peasant uprisings broke out again and again in Ukraine in the 1860's and 70's. (The Polish revolt of 1863 was not joined by the Ukrainian peasants, however, for they well remembered the system that had formerly prevailed in Right-Bank Ukraine.) The peasant riots, directed against the government and the landowners, were connected with the so-called Chyhyryn Golden Rescript of 1877 (a letter purported to come from the Tsar urging the peasants "to cast off the yoke of the [Polish] nobles and free themselves from severe oppression") and the activity of the Russian Revolutionary populists (*narodniki*)—among whom were quite a number of Ukrainians, such as A. Zheliabov, N. Kybalchych, J. Stefanovych, V. Mokrievych, D. Lyzohub, and others. The center of populist propaganda in Ukraine was Kiev. The Kiev Commune, organized in 1873 and headed by J. Stefanovych, was known to have circulated the false Golden Rescript; it did not succeed. Populist propaganda throughout Russia ended in failure, and the Russian revolutionists, chiefly the members of the group named the People's Will (*Narodna Volia*), resorted to individual terrorism; in Uk-

raine this was carried on by Ukrainians. Neither the populists nor the People's Will group favored Ukraine's national aspirations. They were part of an all-Russian movement. Their propaganda had no deep effect upon the Ukrainian peasants.

Overpopulation

The reform of 1861 did not solve the agrarian problem. Ukraine suffered from overpopulation. There were many landless peasants. The peasant's allotment of land diminished as time went by, for it was divided among his children. (A law of December 4, 1893, forbade the peasants to sell their allotments.) The following number of *dessiatines* (*dessiatine* = 2.6 acres) were allotted to each male individual:

<i>Guberniyas</i>	1863	1900
Volhynia	4.2	1.7
Poltava	2.5	1.5
Kharkiv	4.1	1.9
Kherson	6.1	2.2

Some of the landless peasants became hired workers for the landowners and the rich peasants, some went to work in the Don and Kuban areas, some moved to the Far East or to central Asia. From 1891 to 1900, 366,000 Ukrainians settled in Siberia, the Kuban region, the Stavropol area, the Don area, and Turkestan. This movement became so sweeping that in 1899 the Russian government undertook to organize it with a special law. The Peasant Bank, founded in 1882, assisted the settlers financially.

Disturbances in the Kharkiv and Poltava provinces in 1902 were evidence of the dissatisfaction of the large number of landless peasants.

Other Reforms of the 1860's

The liberation of the peasants in Ukraine was the first of a series of reforms. On November 20, 1864, the court system was reorganized and popular juries were introduced for criminal cases. A law of 1870 reorganized and stabilized municipal self-government, establishing

a municipal *duma* (council) and a municipal *uprava* (executive board). In 1874 universal military conscription was introduced throughout the empire, and service in the army was reduced from twenty-five years, as it had been under Nicholas I, to from four to five years.

The Zemstvo System

The *zemstvo* institutions were introduced from 1865 to 1869 on the Left Bank and in Steppe Ukraine. This was a form of local self-government in the counties and the provinces that was given control over popular education, health protection, and the local economy (see "Political Institutions"). In Right-Bank Ukraine the *zemstvos* were not introduced until 1911. The *zemstvo* institutions in Ukraine worked to improve conditions for the peasants. Since these institutions were less dependent upon the state administration than were other public institutions, the intelligentsia, including those regarded as "unreliable" by the government, cooperated with them. The Ukrainians A. Rusov, V. Samilenko, B. Hrinchenko, M. Kotsiubynsky, and others aided by conducting economic, geological, and statistical investigations and surveys in Ukraine. The *zemstvos* supported cultural and educational work. Wherever possible, they initiated courses in Ukrainian art; in the twentieth century they strove to introduce the teaching of the Ukrainian language into the elementary schools. The work of the Poltava *zemstvo* was especially important in this connection. As everywhere in the empire, however, the noble landowners were the dominant power in the *zemstvo*. Participation in the elections and the holding of office in the *zemstvo* system depended on a property qualification high enough to exclude the majority of the population. Moreover, the electoral system secured for the land-owning nobility, as a class, a substantial majority in all *zemstvo* deliberative and executive bodies.

The Nobility after the Abolition of Serfdom

Although the liberation of the serfs was carried out under conditions favorable to them, the nobles in Ukraine could not become accustomed to hiring free labor. For one thing, they lacked the necessary capital. Therefore, beginning in the 1870's, they began to sell their properties on a wide scale, mainly to merchants and rich peasants. To help the landowners, the Russian government reorganized the Nobles' Bank (which had existed since 1754 with its headquarters in St. Petersburg). It lent money in return for mortgages on the estates. But the small- and middle-scale landowners were not able to pay the interest due the bank, and their estates were sold. Between 1861 and 1914 the noble landowners of Ukraine sold 25,000,000 acres of land; of this amount 17,000,000 acres were bought by wealthy peasants. The nobles who lost their lands entered the service of various public institutions and held almost all the state posts. The nobility had its own class organization—the provincial and county assemblies of nobility (see *infra*, p. 694). Its position within society was a dominant one. During the increase in the government's repressive measures under Alexander II in the 1870's, and especially during the reign of Alexander III (1881-94) following the assassination of Alexander II by the revolutionists in 1881, the government tried to rely more and more upon the nobility. An indication of this trend was the formation in 1889 of the institution of the land captains (*zemski nachalniki*). These local state officials were appointed by the governors from among the nobles and had broad administrative (police) and judicial power over the peasants.

Economy

Great changes took place in the structure of the economy of Ukraine during the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of the abolition of serf-

dom, the building of railroads, and the development of mining in the south. The cultivation of the steppes continued and reached its height at the end of the century. As a consequence of this and also because of the competition of cheap South American and Australian wool, Ukrainian sheep-raising declined and was replaced almost entirely in the south by the raising of grain crops for export. The chief grain crops were wheat—especially spring wheat—and barley; the use of agricultural machinery made grain production easier. On the Right Bank the cultivation of the sugar beet continued to develop, further intensifying the development of agriculture. Agriculture made less progress on the Left Bank. At the turn of the century Ukraine was the most important exporter of grain in the world—primarily barley and wheat—which went primarily to industrialized western Europe. The export of sugar was chiefly to domestic markets within the Russian empire.

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked also by the development of great industries. Especially important was the sugar industry (sugar beet), primarily in the provinces of Kiev, Podilia, and Kharkiv. Initially controlled by the families of the great landowning nobles (Counts Bobrynsky, Branytsky, Pototsky, and others), it gradually passed into the hands of the *bourgeoisie* (the Yakhnenkos, the Symyrenkos, the Tere-shchenkos, the Kharytonenkos, the Brodskys, and others). In 1863 there were 188 sugar refineries in Ukraine which produced 26,000 tons of sugar; in 1890, 152 sugar refineries produced 320,000 tons of sugar. The decrease in the number of refineries and the increase in production attested to the technical improvements made in the refineries.

Heavy industry began to expand, especially the metallurgical and coal industries. At the beginning of the 1870's the metallurgical industry in Ukraine was barely in existence. The year 1872 marked the opening of Englishman John

Hughes' metallurgical plant in the province of Katerynoslav. Hughes joined the New Russian Society of Coal, Iron and Railroad Industry, an important industrial organization established in 1869. His plant became a great center of the Ukrainian metallurgical industry; the city of Yuzivka (later Stalino, now Donetsk) was built around it.

From then on, the development of the Donets Basin (known as the Donbas) progressed rapidly; in 1880 Ukraine occupied first place in the general coal production of the Russian empire, having produced 43 per cent of the general coal output of the empire. In 1890 there were 269 mines in the Donbas which produced 2.9 million tons of coal. The development of the metallurgical and coal industries in Ukraine was greatly accelerated by the discovery (in 1881) and the exploitation of high-grade iron ore in Kryvyi Rih in the province of Katerynoslav. Many new enterprises sprang up: the Dniprovsky Metallurgical Company in Kamianske, the Bryanske with a plant in Katerynoslav, the Donets Company in Druzhkivka, the Central Donets Company in Almazne, the Providence Russe in Nykopil, Mariyupil, Kerch, the Kharkiv locomotive works, the Luhansky locomotive works, etc. French, Belgian, and English capital played a great part in the development of the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih. In 1902 there were 23 working blast furnaces and 41 working mines in Ukraine, and the production of pig iron was 1.3 million tons.

Railroads began to expand as industry developed. The first railroad in Ukraine—the Balta-Odessa, 137 miles—was built in 1865; then came the Balta-Yelisavethrad, the Kursk-Kharkiv-Azov, the Kursk-Kiev, the Kharkiv-Mykolaiv, and other lines. Before 1880 the railroad network of Ukraine totaled 3,200 miles of the 14,000 in the total imperial network. In 1880 railroads connected Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, Poltava, Vinnytsia, Katerynoslav, Oleksandriivsk, Mykolaiv, Kremen-

chuk, and many industrial towns of the Donbas and Kryvyi Rih regions. The 1890's saw a new period of rapid expansion of railroads in Ukraine which linked the ports of the Black and Baltic Seas and promoted the further development of industry and agriculture in Ukraine.

Colonial exploitation of Ukraine. The second half of the nineteenth century also witnessed an increased colonial exploitation of Ukraine by Russia. The basic objective of Russian policy in Ukraine was to perpetuate Ukraine as an agricultural area of the empire, as a provider of raw materials for the Russian industries, and as a market for Russia's manufactured products. As a result of this policy, Ukraine was permitted to develop only those branches of industry that had no natural base in Russia (for example, the sugar industry), or those that provided raw materials or half-products for Russian industry (metallurgy, coal, etc.). On the other hand, the ancient Ukrainian textile industry was artificially retarded in its development, and some of its related industries, such as the cotton industry, could not exist in Ukraine at all because of the various duty and tariff policies of the Russian government.

These tendencies of the Russian economic policy were also noticeable in railroad construction. The Russian government, for the most part, constructed, or favored the construction of, only those main railroad lines that connected the Ukrainian territories with the Russian economic centers. In addition, railroad construction was closely connected with the strategic plans of the empire—plans that frequently ran counter to the interests and needs of Ukraine.

Similarly in the field of finance, the interests of Ukraine suffered. More often than not, Ukraine gave to the Russian treasury more than it received: before World War I, Ukraine provided over 26 per cent of all the state income of the

empire; almost half of this 28 per cent went for the needs of other parts of the empire. As a result, the economic development of Ukraine was seriously impeded. Only the influx of foreign capital at the end of the nineteenth century contributed to the development of Ukrainian industry, especially that in the Donbas and in Kryvyi Rih.

Labor. The development of industry and transportation increased the number of workers. Subject to the arbitrary rules of their employers (for there was no protective labor legislation), torn from their family surroundings, and set down with foreigners, the Ukrainian workers became Russified. Revolutionary propaganda was carried on by the all-Russian parties which guided the labor movement. In 1874, in Odessa, the South Russian Workers' Union was founded with a trade unionist and semi-political program, but not a national one. In 1879 and 1880, there were strikes in the Kiev railroad workshops; and in 1890, the first Social Democratic groups appeared among the workers in the factories of Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, and Katerynoslav. In 1897 several Unions of Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class were started, as well as the South Russian Workers' Union in Mykolaiv; the latter made not only economic demands but also such political demands as the introduction of a constitutional system throughout the empire.

The Rise of the Ukrainian National Movement

At the beginning of the 1860's, during the short period when the government of Alexander II pursued a liberal policy, Ukrainian *hromady* (*hromada*—a community or society) were formed in all the large cities of Ukraine. These societies fostered Ukrainian culture, and were interested in the history, literature, language, and ethnology of Ukraine. The Ukrainian language was taught in so-

called "Sunday" schools. Ukrainian cultural workers, including such writers as Shevchenko and Kulish, composed primers and grammars for the Ukrainian peasants. In Chernihiv, Leonid Hlibov began a Ukrainian weekly, *Chernihiv's'kyi Lystok* (Chernihiv Leaflet), which he published from 1861 to 1863. The chief role in the history of the Ukrainian national movement in the 1860's, however, was played by the St. Petersburg Ukrainian circle with the journal *Osnova* (The Foundation).

By the end of the 1850's the members of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius were again free, and after lengthy appeals Shevchenko had been allowed to return from exile. Panteleimon Kulish published his *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi* (Notes on South Rus') in St. Petersburg in 1856-7. The Russian government had taken no definite position on the use of the Ukrainian language at the time—some officials even favored its usage to a certain degree—and Kulish, with official permission, translated the manifesto of February 19, 1861, on the liberation of the serfs into Ukrainian. In 1861 he began to publish a monthly in both the Ukrainian and the Russian languages, *Osnova* (twelve issues in 1861, and nine in 1862). Kulish was the editor of the magazine, and Basil Bilozersky was on record as being responsible for the publication. *Osnova* was a journal of Ukrainian culture, both past and present; it commented on, and creatively influenced, various aspects of Ukrainian life and belles-lettres. In it, Nicholas Kostomarov published his famous critical articles which placed the Ukrainians on a level with the Muscovites and the Poles, causing "a complete change in the historical thinking of the Eastern Slavs" (M. Hrushevsky). *Osnova* brought together all the Ukrainian cultural resources of the time. Kulish also organized a publishing house for popular books in St. Petersburg which published Ukrainian belles-lettres. Kostomarov gave public

lectures on the value of Ukrainian language books for the peasants.

The Khlopoman Movement

At the end of the 1850's and the beginning of the 1860's in Right-Bank Ukraine a small group of young Poles, mostly descendants of the old Ukrainian noble families who had been Polonized a long time ago, aroused by the cause of the Ukrainian peasants, openly asserted that the Right Bank was not a Polish but a Ukrainian land. This movement, which had grown out of the Ukrainian school of Polish literature and adopted the principles of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, was headed by Volodymyr Antonovych (later a well-known historian of Ukraine and a professor at Kiev University), who published in *Osnova his Spovid'* (Confession), in which he described in detail his spiritual journey from the world of the Polish nobility to that of the Ukrainian peasantry. Other members of the group were Constantine Mykhalchuk, Borys Poznansky, and Thaddeus Rylsky. The Polish nobility called the members of the movement the *khlopomany* (peasant lovers); they attacked the movement and began to denounce the members to the Russian government, painting them as dangerous revolutionaries.

The Russian Government's Drive against Ukrainian Culture

The progressive section of the Russian community included some persons who were favorable to the fostering of Ukrainian culture, such as Alexander Herzen, Nicholas Dobroliubov, and Nicholas Chernyshevsky, but the great majority of the Russian press and society was opposed to it. Beginning with the summer of 1862, the Russian government began to receive from its provincial administration reports of Ukrainian propaganda aimed "at the separation of Ukraine from Russia." The governor general of Kiev suggested to the Minister of Internal Affairs that, in order "to main-

tain social order, the government must apply broad measures to check it [this evil] in its bud."

With the beginning of the Polish uprising of 1863, the well-known Russian publicist, Michael Katkov, opened a campaign in the press against the Ukrainians, asserting that the Ukrainian question was "a Polish intrigue." This campaign ended with an edict of the Minister of the Interior, Count Peter Valuev, on June 8, 1863 (O.S.). In it, he asserted: "The majority of the Little Russians themselves thoroughly prove that there has not been, is not, and never can be any Little Russian language, and that their dialect, used by the common people, is the same Russian language, but corrupted by the influence upon it of Poland; that the general Russian language is comprehensible to the Little Russians and even more understandable than the so-called Ukrainian language now being formed for them by some Little Russians, and especially by Poles; the circle of those persons who try to prove the opposite are accused by the majority of the Little Russians themselves of having separatist plans, hostile to Russia and disastrous for Little Russia." Therefore, Valuev ordered the censors "to allow to be printed in the Little Russian language only such works as belong in the realm of belles-lettres; and to ban the publication of books in the Little Russian language, both religious and educational, and books generally intended for elementary reading by the people."

A number of Ukrainian leaders in Kiev, Kharkiv, Poltava, and Chernihiv (S. Nis, Alexander Konysky, P. Chubynsky, and others) were arrested and deported to North Russia. All Ukrainian "Sunday" schools and the *Chernihiv'skyi Lystok* of Hlibov were closed.

The Kiev Hromada

At the beginning of the 1870's Kiev again became the center of the Ukrainian national movement. The Stara Hromada



FIGURE 445. KIEV HROMADA: GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE HROMADA OF KIEV

Seated in the front row (from the left): Voliansky, Kistenko, unknown, Matviiiv, Komaretsky, I. Zhytetsky, A. Rusov, Bilenky, L. Ilnytsky, Diakonenko (a little higher), N. Levchenko; in the second row (from the left): O. Levytsky, Lonachevsky, I. Rudchenko (Bilyk), T. Vovk, I. Nechui-Levytsky, P. Chubynsky, M. Starytsky, V. Rubinshtein, N. Lysenko, P. Zhytetsky, E. Trehubov, C. Voblyi; standing (from the left): Favorsky, M. Drahomanov, N. Kovalevsky, Bilousov, Verbytsky, Andriievsky, V. Berenshtam, Antepovych.

(Old Society) of Kiev—so called probably to distinguish it from the Young Society, the student group—included Antonovych, T. Vovk, Michael Drahomanov, Paul Zhytetsky, Nicholas Ziber, Nicholas Lysenko, C. Mykhalchuk, Ivan Nechui-Levytsky, T. Rylsky, A. Rusov, Michael Starytsky, P. Chubynsky (who had returned from exile), and others. The Society at first avoided direct political work, studying Ukrainian history, ethnography, and language instead, for it considered such work to be the most conducive to the Ukrainian national interests under the prevailing conditions. In 1873 a southwestern branch of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society was founded in Kiev. It soon became a Ukrainian research center of great importance, working in close cooperation with the Old Hromada (see "Ethnography").

The Hromada of Kiev had no fixed form of organization and no specific political purposes; in the middle of the

1870's, however, it began to pay more attention to social and economic questions. In 1874 the Hromada organized an archaeological congress which was held in Kiev; this was a scholarly manifestation of a Ukrainian cultural revival. In 1875 the Hromada became the owner of a newspaper, the *Kievskii Telegraf*, which, though printed in Russian, was Ukrainian in content. The Old Hromada entered into close relations with other *hromada* associations formed in various cities of Ukraine: Kharkiv, Poltava, Chernihiv, and Odessa. The Odessa Hromada, largely as a result of the activities of V. Maliovan and L. Smolensky, played a considerable role in the history of the Ukrainian national movement.

But continued repression forced the Ukrainian writers and scholars to find new outlets for their work. Some writers (Kulish, Konysky, Nechui-Levytsky, and others) began to publish in the Galician journals—*Meta* (The Goal), *Pravda*

(The Truth), *Zoria* (The Star). They were followed by the scholars. In 1873, on the initiative of several Ukrainians in Russia—especially Elizabeth Skoropadsky-Myloradovych (1832–1890), Drahomanov, A. Konysky, D. Pylchykiv, and others—the Shevchenko Society, later to become the center of Ukrainian studies, was founded in Lviv. The fact that the cultural work of the Ukrainians in Russia was transferred to Galicia altered the development of the entire Ukrainian national movement. The Austrian system of government made it possible to carry on political work in Galicia, and the Ukrainians there did so with a view toward gaining the independence of Ukraine.

The Ems Ukase of 1876

The growth of the Ukrainian national movement despite the edict of Minister Valuev of June 8, 1863, called forth new repressions from the Russian government. On June 18, 1876, in Ems, Germany (where he was taking a cure), Tsar Alexander II signed a secret ukase, of which the real author was Michael Yuzefovich, deputy superintendent of the Kiev school district. The ukase forbade the printing in the Ukrainian language of anything except historical documents in the orthography of the original, and belles-lettres in the Russian alphabet; it also forbade the importation from abroad of Ukrainian publications, and theatrical or musical performances in Ukrainian. At the same time the *Kievskii Telegraf* and the southwestern branch of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society were closed, and Professor Drahomanov was expelled from the University of Kiev. The Ems ukase completed the work of a commission set up to inquire into "Ukrainophile propaganda in the southern provinces of Russia." Formed in 1875 and made up of representatives of the Ministries of the Interior and of Public Education, the procurator (tsar's representative and supervisor) of the Synod

of the Russian Church, the Chief of the gendarmes, and Yuzefovich, who played the leading role in the inquiry, the commission proposed, among other measures, to give financial support to the Moscophile newspaper *Slovo* (Word), which was published in Lviv, to forbid teaching in the Ukrainian language in elementary schools, to exclude Ukrainian books from school libraries, to remove suspicious teachers, and henceforth to assign more Russian officials and teachers to Ukraine.

The Ems ukase, and the active Russification which was its purpose, lasted for two generations in Ukraine; it resulted in an increase in Ukraine of the number of illiterates to 80 per cent. The ukase and the resolutions of the Commission were reinforced by many additions and explanatory "instructions." For example, the censors everywhere eliminated the word "Ukraine" and replaced it with "Little Russia." Ukrainian manuscripts, unlike manuscripts in other languages, were censored twice: locally and in St. Petersburg. It reached a point where Ukrainian composers were compelled to write the text to their melodies in French.

The Russian government did not make a formal proclamation of the Ems ukase; when, from time to time, voices abroad were raised against the barbarous actions stemming from its directives, the tsarist government kept silent.

The Hromada in the 1880's and 1890's

From 1876 to the end of the 1890's, the Old Hromada of Kiev, which was at the head of the Ukrainian national movement, could not carry on any political work because of the severe restrictions; instead it devoted its energies to cultural work. In 1882 a monthly journal in Russian, *Kievskaiia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity) began to appear in Kiev, and became the chief organ of Ukrainian studies until it ceased publication in 1907. At the same time active work was done in Kiev on dictionaries and chrestomathies, and this work served as the basis for the

dictionaries of the Ukrainian language compiled by Borys Hrinchenko, Michael Komar (M. Umanets), and others. A prominent role in these circles was played by Olha Drahomanov-Kosach (Olena Pchilka), Hrinchenko, Komar, Volodymyr Samiilenko, Michael Kotsiubynsky, and Lesia Ukrainka; Volodymyr Antonovych was the unofficial but acknowledged leader of the group.

Another field of activity was the Ukrainian theater, which was again permitted by the government in 1881, although with a series of restrictions as to the places of its activity and its repertoire. Later, some theatrical troupes composed of prominent actors toured Ukraine, and by their performances aided in the awakening and preservation of a national consciousness. In 1888, on the occasion of the dedication in Kiev of a monument to Bohdan Khmelnytsky, attended by many foreigners, a proclamation in the French language was circulated in the name of the secret National Committee for the Rehabilitation of Great Ukraine. This proclamation declared *inter alia*: "The union of the Ukrainian people with the Russians was not an act of submission by our country. It was rather a federation of free peoples. The whips of brutal Russification have cost our poor Ukraine many tears. We are forbidden, in our own land, to print books or to speak in our own language. The Ukrainians are perishing in the torture chambers and barracks of Siberia. The twenty-five millions of the Ukrainian people hope that the humane peoples, who have liberated the Balkan Slavs from Mohammedan slavery, will help them to throw off the yoke of the Orthodox Tatars, who call themselves 'Great Russians'."

An important event of this period was the establishment of a chair of Ukrainian and eastern European history at the University of Lviv; Antonovych, who was offered the chair in 1894, suggested it be offered to Michael Hrushevsky instead.

Hrushevsky accepted the professorship and also assumed the presidency of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (it was reorganized at the time into a scientific society). From then on, Hrushevsky became the leader of the Ukrainian emancipation movement in the eyes of both Ukrainians and foreigners, and for twenty years helped to develop Ukrainian historical science.

Drahomanov and the Geneva Circle

In the 1880's, Michael Drahomanov (1841-95) worked in Geneva. He was a Ukrainian scholar, folklorist, historian, and social and political leader. After he was removed from his post as professor of the University of Kiev and denied the chance of being offered any other chair in Ukraine, the Kiev Hromada sent him abroad to publish a free Ukrainian journal—impossible to do then at home in Ukraine. Drahomanov lived in Geneva from 1876 to 1889,



FIGURE 446. MICHAEL DRAHOMANOV

when he was offered a professorship at the University of Sofia in Bulgaria. From 1876 to 1882, he edited the journal *Hromada* and published a number of his works: *Chudats'ki dumky pro ukrains'ku natsionalnu spravu* (Strange Thoughts on the Ukrainian National Question), 1891, *Lysty na Naddniprovs'ku Ukrainu* (Letters to Dnieper Ukraine), 1890-94, *Istoriicheskata Polsha i Velikorusskaia demokratia* (Historic Poland and Great Russian Democracy), 1881-2, and others. Drahomanov's social ideas were based upon democracy, the positivism of Auguste Comte, the socialism of Pierre Proudhon (which turned into anarchism), and federalism. Drahomanov conceived of federation as a free union of communities: the tsarist empire

was to be transformed into a federative republic composed of twenty states, four of which would constitute Ukraine. While abroad, he continually and publicly defended the rights of Ukrainian culture and of the Ukrainian nation. He constantly maintained his contacts with Ukraine, especially with Galicia, where his influence stimulated political activities and was especially important in the formation of the Radical party.

The National Congress of 1897 and the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party

In 1897, on the initiative of V. Antonovych and A. Konysky, an illegal congress of the representatives of all the *hromada* associations in Ukraine met in Kiev. At this congress, the General Ukrainian Democratic Organization was founded to coordinate the activities of the Ukrainian social groups and community leaders. The organization was composed of the liberal elements of Ukrainian society and acquired a political character; it was reorganized in 1904 into the Ukrainian Democratic party. Later it became the Democratic Radical party (UDRP), but it did not assume a mass character.

The Kharkiv student group, founded in 1897 on the initiative of Dmytro Antonovych (son of the historian), Lev Matsiuevych, and Michael Rusov, was changed in 1900 into the Revolutionary Ukrainian party (RUP). It established party groups in the cities, and tried to influence the workers and, even more, the Ukrainian peasants. The RUP issued appeals, broadsheets, newspapers, and pamphlets, which were printed in Galicia and Bukovina and brought illegally into Russian Ukraine. In 1900 the RUP published a pamphlet, *Samostiina Ukraïna* (Independent Ukraine), written by the Kharkiv lawyer, Nicholas Mikhnovsky, which presented a program for a united, independent Ukraine. The pamphlet stated, in part: "The Ukrainian intelligentsia is fighting for its people in a merciless and bloody struggle. . . . It

inscribes on its banner these words: One, single, indivisible, free, independent Ukraine from the Carpathians to the Caucasus. . . . We are bound to point out the goal that we have nearest before our eyes. This goal is the return to us of the rights outlined in the Pereiaslav constitution of 1654, with their application throughout the entire territory of the Ukrainian people in Russia. . . ."

This resolute language had a great effect upon Ukraine, but it did not receive the approval of the entire RUP, and Mikhnovsky was forced to leave the party. In 1902, he formed a National Ukrainian group, which later became the National Ukrainian party (NUP).

In 1899 the Russian government forbade lectures in the Ukrainian language at the archaeological congress in Kiev. This aroused the protest of the Ukrainian leaders. In addition to supporting this protest, the *zemstvo* and other organizations (the *zemstvo* of the *guberniyas* of Poltava and Chernihiv, the Odessa and Poltava city councils, the Poltava craftsmen's union) appealed to the Russian government to permit teaching in Ukrainian in the elementary schools. They were strongly backed by the population.



FIGURE 447. MONUMENT OF I. KOTLIAREVSKY IN POLTAVA

The dedication of a monument to Ivan Kotliarevsky in Poltava on July 30, 1903, became the occasion for a tremendous Ukrainian demonstration which was attended not only by the most prominent Ukrainian civic leaders in Russia, but also by Western Ukrainian delegates from Galicia and Bukovina.

A prelude to the demonstration was the fact that Ukrainians from Russia were officially barred from making speeches in Ukrainian;

the guests from Western Ukraine were allowed to use the Ukrainian language.

UKRAINE FROM 1905 TO 1914

The unsuccessful war between Russia and Japan (1904-5) ended with the revolution of 1905, which also enveloped Ukraine. The peasant uprisings of 1902 in the provinces of Poltava and Kharkiv and on the Right Bank were repeated in Ukraine in the summer of 1905. The peasants demanded that the landowners reduce rents; they seized the meadows, forests, and crops of the great landowners, and in some places they plundered and burned their country mansions. There were strikes and demonstrations in the cities, and these led to armed clashes with the police (in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa, Katerynoslav, and other cities); in October, 1905 (O.S.), a wave of strikes spread throughout the entire empire. On October 17 (O.S.), Tsar Nicholas II was compelled to issue a manifesto in which he agreed to permit the election of a state duma and to guarantee the protection of fundamental civil liberties.

The Ukrainian national movement was intensified by the revolution of 1905. The infamous ukase of 1876, though not revoked formally by any new legislative act, was virtually annulled through deliberate lack of enforcement. In 1905 the first Ukrainian language newspaper, the *Khliborob* (Farmer), appeared in the Russian empire, in Lubny. It was soon followed by the *Ridnyi Krai* (Native Land) in Poltava, the *Hromads'ka Dumka* (Community Thought) and then the daily *Rada* (Council) in Kiev. Clubs of the Ukrainian *Prosvita* (Society of Enlightenment) were started throughout Ukraine. In 1907 the first complete edition in Russia of Shevchenko's collection of poems, *Kobzar*, was brought out in St. Petersburg. N. Sumtsov at the University of Kharkiv and A. Hrushevsky at the University of Odessa began to lecture in Ukrainian. In 1907, on the

initiative of Michael Hrushevsky, a Ukrainian Scientific Society was founded in Kiev. Another important act was the transfer of the publication of the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald) from Lviv to Kiev (1907). The activity of the political parties increased. In 1905 the RUP, which adopted a Marxist point of view, was reorganized into the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labor party (USDRP). In 1904 a group under M. Melenevsky and A. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky broke away from the RUP and formed the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Union; the RUP (later USDRP) in principle stood for the independence of Ukraine, but for tactical reasons, it included in its program a demand for Ukrainian autonomy within the Russian state. The Ukrainian Social Democratic Union did not support this demand, and in 1908 it affiliated itself with the Russian Social-Democratic Labor party (RSDRP).

The Russian government, which had agreed upon concessions under pressure of the revolution of 1905, soon returned to its repressive policy with pogroms and court martials. The first State Duma, elected in 1906 with 98 members from Ukraine, was soon dissolved because it took up the agrarian question. The second State Duma (1907), still more opposed to the government, was also soon dissolved. A new electoral law limited the rights of the peasants and workers. Reaction set in throughout the empire.

A series of reforms instituted by Peter Stolypin, the Minister of Interior (later chairman of the cabinet), were very important for the life of the Ukrainian village between 1905 and 1915. To form a class of wealthy peasants, the government gave the peasants the right to leave the land "communes" (the collective coordinating and supervising bodies of peasant land-use—that is, the *obshchina* system) and to secure land in private ownership. Since this reform coincided to a considerable extent with traditional

Ukrainian peasant land usage, the wealthy peasants gladly accepted it. During the years 1907 to 1911 more than 226,500 peasant owners withdrew their landholdings from the land communes in the amount of 1,800,000 dessiatines of land; the number of privately owned farmsteads in the steppe provinces increased with great rapidity. But the Stolypin reform gave no relief to the poorer peasants, for they had no implements with which to cultivate their lands themselves and consequently were compelled to sell them.

A Ukrainian bloc of forty members was formed in the first State Duma under the leadership of Illia Shrah, a delegate from Chernihiv; other leaders were Volodymyr Shemet and Paul Chyhevsky. St. Petersburg again became a key point of Ukrainian cultural and political activity. Professor M. Hrushevsky, who settled in St. Petersburg for a while, founded there a Ukrainian journal in the Russian language—*Ukrainskii Vestnik* (Ukrainian Herald). In the second State Duma, 47 delegates composed the Ukrainian bloc; this group published its own organ in Ukrainian—*Ridna Sprava* (Native Cause). The Ukrainian deputies in the second Duma demanded the national autonomy of Ukraine—that is, self-government within the framework of the empire. The dissolution of the second Duma and the change in the electoral law on June 3, 1907, resulted in a third Duma in which there was almost no popular Ukrainian representation.

The Russian government's new reactionary measures had their effect on the Ukrainian national movement. The activities of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Labor party, the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Union, and the groups of Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries were brought to a complete stop. In 1908, the Ukrainian groups which stood for a constitutional and parliamentary system as well as the autonomy of Ukraine, formed a secret Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP) on the initiative of the

Democratic Radical party. Until the revolution of 1917, the TUP, headed by M. Hrushevsky, E. Chykalenko, and S. Yefremov, guided the national political life in Ukraine during the constantly sharpening attack of the Russian government.

Persecution of the only remaining Ukrainian daily, *Rada*, began. In 1910 Stolypin issued an administrative order in which he gave instructions not to permit new "alien" (including Ukrainian) societies to be established, and "to investigate carefully" the activity of those already existing and "in appropriate cases raise the question of their closing." This order actually destroyed all the branches of the Society for Enlightenment (*Prosvita*) in Ukraine. Ukrainian publishing houses and state employees who were members of Ukrainian societies or subscribers to Ukrainian publications also were persecuted. The USDRP was forced to transfer part of its publications to Lviv; Ukrainian lectures were banned in the universities. The Russian government considered every Ukrainian movement as "separatism," in accordance with Stolypin's declaration in the Duma when he banned public use of the Ukrainian language.

The pro-government press supported the reactionary activities of the Russian nationalistic organizations such as the Union of the Russian People and the Union of the Archangel Michael; on the whole, the Russian progressive press did not oppose these chauvinistic organizations. Yet the liberal deputies in the third and fourth State Dumas occasionally supported some of the cultural demands of the Ukrainians. Among these deputies were T. Rodichev and A. Shingarev. Paul Miliukov gave a long speech on the Ukrainian movement in 1914 in which he supported the Ukrainian cultural demands but expressed himself strongly opposed to the autonomy of Ukraine as harmful to the Russian state. In general the representatives of the Russian opposition groups (like the well-known

Peter Struve) adopted a hostile attitude toward the Ukrainian movement, and in this way gave support to the reactionary policies of the government.

When all Ukraine began preparations in 1914 for the jubilee commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Taras Shevchenko, the Russian papers—press organs of the Russian ethnic minority and officialdom in Ukraine—the nationalistic *Kievlianin* (Kievan) and the outright reactionary *Kiev* intensified their anti-Ukrainian campaign and accused Shevchenko of separatism and “blasphemy.” Russian official institutions including the Church’s Holy Synod, and the superintendent of the Kiev school district and other officials forbade the jubilee; as a consequence, a huge street demonstration was staged in Kiev. Despite the prohibition, celebrations took place in Kharkiv, Odessa, Poltava, and other cities of Ukraine; a number of villages held meetings dedicated to Shevchenko. Shevchenko’s jubilee was celebrated also by the Ukrainian colonies in the large cities throughout the empire.

UKRAINE DURING WORLD WAR I

At the beginning of 1914 the Russian government began to prepare new repressive measures to be directed against the Ukrainian national movement, but these were put into effect only after the declaration of war in July, 1914. The entire Ukrainian press was shut down at once. The activity of *Prosvita* was banned, and Ukrainian cultural and educational work was stopped. Despite their declarations of loyalty, outstanding Ukrainian leaders, especially members of the TUP, were arrested. Michael Hrushevsky was exiled by the government to Simbirsk (now Ulianovsk) on the Volga River.

Widespread dissatisfaction in Ukraine became even greater when, in the first months of the war, the Russian forces of occupation in Austrian Ukraine (Galicia and Bukovina) began a merci-

less destruction of the various manifestations of Ukrainian national life there. Later western territories in Russian Ukraine became an actual theater of war and experienced devastation. The Ukrainian community, especially in the large cities, was active in its efforts to aid war refugees—the deportees brought from Galicia and the wounded. They established hospitals, hostels, and schools for orphans.

Ukrainian efforts to obtain permission to renew the publication of periodicals were fruitless, but illegal publications gradually began to appear—for example, the Socialist Revolutionary *Borot’ba* (Struggle) in Kiev. The Ukrainian revolutionary parties, especially the USDRP, although illegal, were very much alive; here and there efforts were made to revive Ukrainian cultural work legally (for example, the theater). Dissatisfaction with the war was continually increasing. The villages experienced great difficulties because of the lack of farmhands. The dislocation of the national economy caused by the war was felt particularly keenly in the cities. Prices rose, supplies were short—including goods of prime necessity. The hostility to the government and to the existing social order finally found its outlet in the February revolution of 1917.

E. Borschak

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS*

Incorporation into Russian Empire

Toward the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the regime of the Russian empire destroyed almost all the self-government of Ukraine, turning it into a Russian pro-

*It is impossible to give a true picture of the historical development which took place in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries in Ukraine without a knowledge of the political system of the Russian empire which strongly and negatively influenced the development of Ukrainian life. Therefore this supplementary section on the political institutions of the Russian empire in Ukraine is included.

vince and Russianizing its political institutions. First, the Little Russian College was set up as a central administrative agency to govern Ukraine (imperial act "on the establishment in Little Russia of the Little Russian College, in place of the Hetman Government"—November 10, 1764). In 1781 the Russian administrative provincial system was introduced. In 1831–5 the municipal government and legal system founded under the Magdeburg Law was abolished in the cities of Ukraine, including the long-established self-government of the city of Kiev. The *povits* (counties) were renamed *uezds*, and the departments of the General Court were turned into civil and criminal chambers. In 1842 judicial proceedings under the country's law (Lithuanian Statute) were abolished, and only a few norms of the old civil law to be applied in the provinces of Chernihiv and Poltava were incorporated into the all-Russian civil law.

The territory of Ukraine within the framework of the Russian empire in the nineteenth century had no administrative unity. It was divided into a number of provinces (*guberniyas*) (see p. 25). The *guberniyas* were divided into counties (county: in Ukrainian, *povit*; in Russian, *uezd*) which were divided into cities and rural collective communities (*volosts*); these, in turn—the landed estates excluded—consisted of a number of villages. The cities of Odessa, Mykolaïv, and Tahanrih were excluded from the provinces, and their administrations were responsible directly to the central government. There was also a division into special areas: military (Kiev, Odessa), educational (Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv), judicial, railways, customs, post-and-telegraph, etc.; this division coincided with the boundaries of the provinces in only a few cases.

Political Structure

Until 1905 the Russian empire was an absolute hereditary monarchy. The

entire supreme power was vested in the emperor, the tsar. Only in 1905, under the pressure of internal and external circumstances, did the Russian empire enter upon a constitutional path. On October 17, 1905 (O.S.), Emperor Nicholas II issued a manifesto on the formation of a constitutional government. In this document he promised "to grant to the population the firm foundations of civil liberty on the basis of personal inviolability, the freedom of conscience, speech, assembly, and associations" (Article 1), and "to establish as a firm rule that no law should be promulgated without the consent of the State Duma, and that the possibility of an efficient participation in the supervision on the legality of the acts of the governmental bodies should be secured to the persons elected by the people" (Article 3). On April 23, 1906, a constitution ("The Fundamental State Laws") was granted, and on April 27, 1906, the first State Duma was summoned.

But Russia still did not become a constitutional state and the regime changed very little. The civil liberties, while constitutionally recognized, were not properly guaranteed; the state administration used its old methods and means (punitive expeditions and administrative exile) to hold down the population. The parliament (first State Duma, April 27–July 10, 1906; second State Duma, March 20–June 3, 1907), with a relatively progressive majority, was prevented from carrying out its tasks and was twice dissolved. A new electoral law of June 3, 1907, promulgated by the tsar in violation of the explicit constitutional provision (Article 86)—i.e. without the participation of the Duma—secured in the third Duma a predominance of the great landowners and severely limited the participation of other classes of the population.

Central Institutions

During the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, until the

revolution of 1917, the central administration of imperial Russia was run by ministers and other principal administrative officials personally appointed by the tsar.

The ministries, initiated in 1802 and finally instituted in 1811, replaced the administrative colleges founded by Peter I (1718-20) as the directing agencies of the different branches of the state administration. The ministries controlled the work of all local political institutions principally through the governors, who were appointed by the tsar and were the supreme authority in the provinces. The reformatory laws of Alexander II of the 1860's and 70's on the *zemstvo* and municipal self-government, and the creation of the State Duma in 1906 did not substantially alter this system of control. The number of ministries fluctuated. At the end of the nineteenth century there were ten ministries plus several administrative agencies on the ministerial level. At the head of each ministry was a minister, with one or two associates, responsible only to the tsar. The ministries were composed of departments and also of several "offices," "administrations," or "chief administrations." The suppression of the Ukrainian national movement was conducted largely by the "chief administration on matters of the press."

The most important questions until 1906 were referred by the ministers to the Committee of Ministers which, under Alexander I, became an important institution. The Committee considered not only administrative, but also legislative and judicial questions. It functioned as a collegiate body and was composed of the ministers, the heads of other governmental agencies on the ministerial level, heads of the departments of the State Council, and other members specially appointed by the tsar. All its resolutions required confirmation by the tsar.

The Council of Ministers was initiated in 1857 and instituted in 1861 to consider, by the tsar's order, general ques-

tions of foreign and domestic policy. It actually met rarely and consisted of ministers and specially appointed persons under the presidency of the tsar.

The State Council, established in 1801 and finally instituted in 1810, was composed, until 1906, of some eighty members consisting of the ministers and other officials appointed by the tsar (usually from former ministers, high administrative and judicial officials, and high army officers). The Council had advisory functions and carried out preliminary considerations of proposed legislation and the state budget. The resolutions of the State Council meeting as a general assembly acquired validity only with the approval of the tsar.

The Senate, formed by Peter I, lost its original character as the chief controlling agency of the internal administration. In the nineteenth century it consisted of three administrative and three judicial departments. Although in title not only the supreme judicial but also the administrative agency, it kept for itself very few functions of active administration (for example, the publication of laws, some matters of a financial character and the issuing of patents of nobility).

In some periods of the nineteenth century the tsar's Chancery played an important role. Under Nicholas I its five sections almost equalled the ministries in importance. The third section was especially important, for it had direct control of censorship and of the political police who carried out the reactionary policies for which the regime of Nicholas I was notorious.

Legislature after 1906

After 1906 a new structural division of government into three branches under the supreme power of the tsar was established. These consisted of the legislative (in which the people participated)—the State Council and the State Duma; the executive—the Council of Ministers coordinating the work of ministries and chief administrations (i.e. governmental

agencies on the ministerial level); and the judicial—the Ruling Senate.

Law-making was exercised by the tsar "in union with the State Council and the State Duma." The legislative initiative belonged to the tsar and the two legislative chambers. A law approved by the State Duma and the State Council had to be sanctioned by the tsar.

The State Council consisted of 98 members (in 1910, two Finnish representatives were added), half of whom were appointed by the tsar and the other half elected (law of April 24, 1906). The Orthodox clergy elected six members, the assemblies of the provincial *zemstvo* each one, the nobility eighteen, the Imperial Academy of Sciences and the universities six, the principal trading and industrial institutions each six. The tsar appointed the chairman of the Council.

The State Duma, with a chairman elected for a year, consisted in 1907 of 442 members (in 1910 four Finnish representatives were added) elected by provincial electoral conventions or, exceptionally, by municipal direct elections—e.g. in Kiev and Odessa. Under the electoral law of 1907 the provincial electoral conventions consisted of electors chosen by the several county electoral assemblies: (1) the assembly of large landowners and delegates of smaller landowners (not peasants) chosen at the preceding electoral meeting; (2) the first assembly of urban voters (owners of considerable real-estate property and of commercial and industrial enterprises); (3) the second assembly of urban voters (smaller owners of property and commercial and industrial enterprises, artisans, employees of the state, of the local government, of communal and railroad institutions); (4) the assembly of peasant delegates of *volosts*, elected previously at district meetings, two from each *volost*. In addition, labor electors chosen at the provincial election assemblies of the delegates of labor from the larger industrial and mining enterprises

and railroad shops participated in some electoral conventions. However, the voters were divided into two groups, each electing one member of the State Duma: (1) the larger owners of real estate and of commercial and industrial enterprises, and (2) the smaller owners and also craftsmen and employees of political and railroad institutions.

In the provincial electoral conventions the overwhelming preponderance of the nobility was assured, for the county electoral assemblies of large landowners sent to them more electors than did all the other groups of the voting population combined. Thus in the nine Ukrainian provincial electoral conventions in 1907, 1,191 electors elected (as a rule by a majority of votes cast) 98 members of the State Duma. Of these 1,191 electors, there were: 656 great landowners (55 per cent); 266 urban electors—151 represented the owners of the large real properties and enterprises and 115 small owners and state and municipal employees—(22 per cent); 244 peasants (21 per cent); 25 workers (2 per cent). Under the election law of 1906 the class representation percentage was different: there were 38 per cent great landowners, 26 per cent urban electors, 33½ per cent peasants, and 2½ per cent workers. The electoral law provided that in each provincial electoral convention one or two Duma members from each of the groups represented—landowners, townspeople, peasants, and workers (workers only in the provinces of Katerynoslav and Khar-kiv)—should be first elected by a majority of votes cast or by the greatest number of votes received. This was the only guarantee that, notwithstanding the predominance of the great landowners, some representatives of the other classes (but still only persons more acceptable to the landowners) would be elected to the State Duma. Apart from this, the cities of Kiev and Odessa elected two members each to the Duma.

It is obvious that the composition of the provincial electoral conventions and,

consistently, of the members of the State Duma completely failed to correspond to the actual structure of society.

Courts

The separation of the judiciary from the administrative system was brought about by the judicial reform of Alexander II (November 20, 1864). The courts, headed by the Ruling Senate, were divided into:

(1) General judicial institutions: circuit courts, usually in the seats of provincial governments (with a jury in criminal cases); judicial chambers as appellate courts (Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv).

(2) Local judicial institutions (for minor offenses): justices of the peace, and assemblies possessing appellate jurisdiction.

(3) Special courts: peasant, commercial, ecclesiastical, and military.

Also, after 1889, local government officials—the land captains—had, in addition to their duties of supervision of the administration of the rural districts, judicial power over the peasants.

The Local Administration

Government in the provinces and counties consisted of agencies of the central government and those of the local self-government. The form of the local agencies of the central government remained basically the same after the division of Ukraine into provinces on a Russian pattern. Each province was headed by a governor with an assistant vice-governor. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were two governors general, one on the left bank of the Dnieper and one on the right bank, to whom the governors of the different provinces were responsible. Later, there was only one governor general in Kiev with very wide powers for the Right Bank only. Under the direct supervision of the governor were: (1) the provincial board of administration, and (2) several other provincial administrative agencies such as the statis-

tical committee, agricultural office, etc. The governor also exercised control over other provincial agencies of the central government, such as the provincial chamber of state finances (including the provincial treasury), the provincial excise office, and the management of the state properties. After the reforms of the 1860's and 70's the political institutions of the provinces were considerably complicated by the establishment of several permanent boards dealing with military, peasant, municipal, industrial, roads, and other matters. These boards, headed by the provincial governor, were collegiate bodies and included the provincial leader of nobility, the vice-governor, the director of the chamber of state finances, the presiding judge of the circuit court, the head of the provincial *zemstvo*, the mayor of the principal city, and other officials.

The county government offices were: a captain-inspector, later the county police chief—elected by the nobility until 1862, and after that appointed by the governor; the county excise office; a county assembly of the land captains, which exercised supervision over the peasants' affairs; a county military, and several other, permanent collegiate boards and councils (for example, educational) headed by the county nobility leader.

The direction of the state police in the provinces belonged to the governor and the provincial board of administration. In addition to the state police there was a provincial headquarters of the gendarmerie (political police). In the counties there were county police headquarters under the direction of the county police chief, and in the larger cities, city police headquarters under the police master. Under the county police chief were the district police chiefs, each of whom headed the state police force in one of the police districts into which the county was subdivided and supervised the elected rural (peasant) police officers. In cities detached from the prov-

inces (Odessa, Mykolaïv) the functions of the governor, especially those of police control, were performed by the city governor, who reported directly to the central government.

The functions of the police of the imperial administration were extraordinarily broad. Thus, even in the times of Alexander II, the right of ordering the arrest of politically suspect persons was extended to all officers of the gendarmerie, city police chiefs, and county police chiefs. Participation in street disorders and meetings was punishable by banishment to eastern Siberia, and for resistance during search or arrest, the accused was handed over to a military court.

Self-Government

A restricted participation of the population in local government was realized by the establishment of institutions of the class, municipal, county, and provincial self-government. The class self-government of the nobility took the following shape. Leaders of the nobility in the provinces and counties were elected for three years by the provincial and county assemblies of nobility (the provincial leader required confirmation by the tsar, the county leader by the governor) to represent the interests and to fulfil the obligations of the corporate nobility. They were influential members of the collegiate boards of the local government, where they either ranked second to the governor in the provincial boards or acted as heads of the county institutions. Until the 1860's the corporations of the nobility had the right, through elections, to fill a considerable number of judicial and administrative posts. However, the nobility elections, especially in the time of Nicholas I, were so influenced by the governor that the elected officials rarely differed from the appointed ones. Actually at that time these elections represented the duty of the nobility to provide for the needs of the state administration a certain num-

ber of officials who were then often endowed with broad authority and influence. Later this system was changed, but the nobility soon acquired a dominant position in the newly organized *zemstvo* institutions.

The class organization of the peasants, standardized in the empire after the reforms of the 1860's applied only within the limits of the rural district. It took place on two levels: the village and the rural district. In the village there were village meetings of all heads of households and the elected village elder (*starosta*); in the *volosts* there were *volost* meetings of delegates elected by the peasants (one for each ten households) and all the *volost* and village officers, a *volost* elder, and a *volost* board of administration (including the *volost* elder, the village elders, and the tax collectors). A peasant *volost* court, which consisted of four to twelve persons, considered the smaller civil and criminal cases, deciding them according to the court's moral beliefs, often using Ukrainian common law as the basis for its decisions.

The peasant self-government was very limited and was supervised by the state administration. Prior to 1874 that supervision was performed by the local state officials, called peace arbitrators; then, until 1889, by the county boards for peasant affairs; after 1889, by the land captains—state local administrative and judicial officials with very broad powers. The peasants and other members of the lower classes in village localities were completely dependent upon the land captain, who had the right to punish them without any judicial proceedings. The governor appointed land captains only from the hereditary nobles. The supervising and coordinating agencies for the land captains were the county assembly, under the chairmanship of the county leader of the nobility, and the provincial board for peasant affairs.

Another section of the population, the townsmen, were divided into several groups: the honorable citizens (who had

no class organizations), the tradespeople, and the lower burgher class (which included artisans). Before the reform of the municipal self-government (Municipal Act of June 16, 1870) the corporate organizations of these classes had more importance. This was true even though actual municipal self-government (a "general city дума [council]" and its executive organ, "the дума of six"), due to continuous interference by state officials (especially by the city police chiefs appointed from above whose relations with the dumas were not firmly regulated) was in a serious decline. Later, participation in municipal self-government rested on very high property qualifications—on the ownership of considerable real properties and commercial and industrial enterprises. The municipal self-government, according to the Newer Municipal Act of June 11, 1892, consisted of the city дума, elected for four years, and the municipal board, also elected for four years, made up of the city mayor and two or three (in Kiev and Odessa six) members in charge of various administrative offices. The members of the municipal council (20-60 members; in Kiev, Odessa, and Kharkiv 80) were elected by direct vote in municipal elections, with the participation, however, only of the owners of the large real properties and commercial and industrial enterprises (often less than 10 per cent of the population). The number of Jewish members of the council could not exceed one-tenth of the total membership. Supervision of the

municipal self-government and the right of veto or approval of the more important decisions belonged to the governor, the provincial board for municipal affairs, and the minister of internal affairs.

In small towns a simplified form of municipal self-government was introduced, with meetings of town representatives (15 to 20 persons) and the town mayor (elected for four years by the heads of households).

The Zemstvo

The land institutions (i.e. the provincial and county self-government) were created by the *Zemstvo* Act of January 1, 1864, presumably as representative of all the population, but actually dominated by a great preponderance of the land-owning nobility (see p. 678). The jurisdiction of these land institutions extended only to local matters ("local benefits and needs," as the law put it) concerned with the control and assistance of charitable institutions, medical help to the population, sanitation, fire prevention and insurance, popular education to a large degree—especially elementary and trade schools, construction and upkeep of local roads, the improvement of agricultural methods and stockbreeding, the support of craft workshops, the establishment of cooperatives, the gathering of statistical data, and the enactment of general regulations binding in all these fields.

These land institutions were established on county and provincial levels. There were county land assemblies and county land administration boards; provincial land assemblies and provincial land administration boards. The electoral system was based on the principles of class representation and property qualification. The elections in counties were carried on in two stages: in the first, the land electoral meeting, the smaller landowners (not peasants), divided into two groups—nobles and other owners—elected delegates to the county land electoral convention; in the

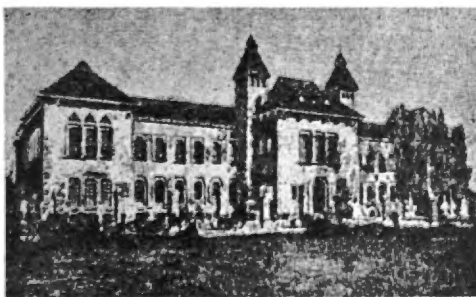


FIGURE 448. BUILDING OF THE POLTAVA *zemstvo*

second, the land electoral convention, the larger landowners and the above-mentioned delegates, also divided into groups of nobles and other owners, elected the land deputies—that is, the members of the county land assembly. (The number of nobles elected was usually two to five times greater than the number of non-nobles.) The peasant class was represented by land deputies, one for each *volost*, selected by the governor from among candidates proposed (according to the Second *Zemstvo* Act of June 12, 1890) by a *volost* meeting. After 1906 these meetings elected their land deputies themselves.

This electoral system secured for the nobility complete superiority in all land institutions (for example, in the Poltava county out of 37 county land deputies, the nobles had 22, other owners four, and the peasants 11). The county land assembly consisted of representatives of the clergy, some state officials, and the mayor of the local city in addition to its elected members.

The provincial land assembly consisted of the provincial land deputies, elected in varying numbers by the county land assemblies (for example, in the Poltava province the counties of Poltava and Zolotonosha were allotted five deputies each, all other counties four each, making a total of 62), and also of all county leaders of the nobility in the province, all heads of county land administration boards, and few other representatives. The provincial land deputies from such cities as Odessa and Kiev were elected by the city councils. The provincial leader of the nobility presided at the provincial land assembly; the county leader of the nobility at the county land assembly.

The land and municipal institutions were to a large degree under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the governors. Originally, the latter had the right to review the decisions of the land institutions only as to their legality; but by a law of June 12, 1890,

this power was enlarged to include the question of the conformity of the decisions to the "general state interests and needs" (Article 87). This last limitation, and also the inclusion of elected land and municipal officials in the general hierarchy of state officials and their subjection to the more severe disciplinary rules of the state, in effect deprived these institutions of the last vestiges of their independence.

T. Ciuciura

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8. THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY, 1772-1918

INTRODUCTION

At the time of the first partition of Poland in 1772, the Austrian Empress, Maria Theresa, laid claim, as Queen of Hungary, to the lands of the medieval Ukrainian Galician-Volhynian state which, for a short period, had been ruled by the kings of Hungary and later was annexed by the Kingdom of Poland. In the first partition of Poland, Austria

secured the *voievodstvo* of Rus' (but without the Kholm land, except the district of Zamostia); the *voievodstvo* of Belz; and small parts of the *voievodstvos* of Podilia, Volhynia, as well as some ethnically Polish areas (the southern parts of the *voievodstvos* of Cracow and Sandomierz). All these territories became a new Austrian province called the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.

In 1774, Austria took advantage of the Russo-Turkish war and occupied Bukovina, the northwestern part of Moldavia. Bukovina was at first annexed to Galicia; but in 1861, it became a separate crown land.

In the third partition of Poland in 1795, Austria annexed the more ethnically Ukrainian lands: Kholm and parts of the *voievodstvos* of Brest and Podlachia. In 1809, however, following an unsuccessful war with Napoleon, Austria was compelled to cede all the territories acquired in 1795 as well as the district of Zamostia (Zamość) and a part of the old province of Belz to the Duchy of Warsaw. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, these were ceded to the "Kingdom of Poland," united by a personal union with the Russian empire.

In addition, the Ukrainian lands south of the Carpathians (Carpatho-Ukraine) were within the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary and, thus, belonged to the Habsburg monarchy.

These three West Ukrainian lands (Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia) formed distinct administrative provinces under Austria-Hungary. Therefore, their history will be discussed separately.

GALICIA

Galicia, 1772-1849

Under Polish rule, Galicia was a culturally and economically backward land. The economic life of the province was predominantly in the hands of the Polish landed aristocracy, agriculture was at a low stage of development, and the peasants lived in serfdom.

Under the "enlightened" monarchs, Maria Theresa (died 1780) and Joseph II (1780-90), the cultural and economic position of the Ukrainian population in Galicia was somewhat improved. To raise the educational level of the clergy and to train officials, the Austrian government founded in Vienna during 1774, *Barbareum*, a theological seminary for the Ukrainian Catholics of the

Eastern rite; in 1784, a University was established in Lviv; and in 1787, the *Studium Ruthenum*, with a philosophical and theological faculty, was established at Lviv University. A new system of education was introduced. In 1805, the University of Lviv (Lemberg) was closed; however, in 1817, it was re-opened as a German-language institution. In 1781-2 the personal bondage of the peasants, as well the *panshchyna*, was limited; the unrestricted powers of the landlords were also curtailed. New methods in agriculture were fostered; the crafts and trades were promoted; a new system of administration was introduced in the cities; and much was done for the development of the cities. The system of "enlightened absolutism" of the Austrian government and the new social, political, and cultural trends from the West influenced the then small group of the Ukrainian intellectuals, mainly clergymen. During the 1820's and 1830's the Peremyshl circle of scholars (Ivan Mohylnytsky, Joseph Levytsky, Joseph Lozynsky, Anthony Dobriansky, Ivan Lavrivsky, and others), with Bishop Ivan Snihursky as its central figure, made efforts to organize schools and publish textbooks.

In general, the clergy played the leading role in the Ukrainian society of Galicia during this period. The centers of ecclesiastical life were Lviv, where the metropolitan see was restored in 1808, and Peremyshl (see "Church"). The clergy formed a consolidated and disciplined class: conservative in outlook, attached to the ecclesiastical traditions, the Church Slavonic language, the old spelling, and opposed to literature in the vernacular. It was only in the 1820's and 1830's, under the influence of the West, that the ideas of Romanticism spread among the younger generation. Three students of the Lviv Seminary—Markian Shashkevych (1811-43), Ivan Vahylevych (1811-66), and Jacob Holovatsky (1814-88)—known as the Ruthenian Trinity—became leaders of the national revival in

Galicia. Under the influence of the literary revival in Dnieper Ukraine, they published *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Nymph of the Dniester) in 1837 in the folk language (see "Literature: Romanticism"). Soon thereafter, the national revival in Galicia passed from the literary to the political field. This development was influenced by the revolution of 1848 (also known as the "Spring of Nations") in the Habsburg empire.

The Revolution of 1848

Soon after the outbreak of the revolution in the Austrian empire, the *corvée* was completely abolished in Galicia (April 16, 1848). The landlords were reimbursed by the state and the population had to repay the state by a special tax within a period of forty years following 1858. As a result of this land reform, about 375,000 free peasant homesteads were set up in Galicia.

On May 2, 1848, the first political organization was established by the Ukrainians in Lviv, the *Holovna Rus'ka Rada*—Supreme Ruthenian Council. Headed first by Bishop Gregory Yakymovych and later by a member of the consistory, Michael Kuzemsky, its manifesto declared that the Galician Ruthenians were part of the great Ukrainian people which had once been independent and had had a glorious past. The manifesto also exhorted the people to fulfil their destiny within the framework of the constitution. The chief political demand of the *Rada* was the partition of

Galicia into a Ukrainian and a Polish province. Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine) was to be united with Ukrainian Galicia. The movement spread throughout Galicia and 34 district councils were formed. The demands of the Ukrainians were strongly opposed by the Poles who wished to transform the whole of Galicia into a Polish province. A Polish effort to break the unity of the Ukrainians by the formation of a rival *Ruskyi Sobor* failed.

In the struggle with the Poles, the Supreme Ruthenian Council sought help from the Austrian administration (the Austrian governor, Count Stadion, recommended that the Viennese government support the Ukrainians). However, the Austrian government did not meet the most important demand of the *Rada*, the partition of Galicia into two provinces. Through the efforts of the *Rada*, a national guard was organized in the country; detachments of the National Self-Defense and a Battalion of the Ruthenian Mountain Riflemen were also formed.

The Ukrainians sent thirty-nine of the ninety-six deputies from Galicia to the first Austrian parliament. In the cultural field, 1848 was marked by such events as a congress of Ruthenian (Ukrainian) intellectuals, *Sobor ruskykh uchenykh* (October 19, 1848), which developed a program for the cultural advancement of the Ukrainian people in Galicia, and the participation of the Ukrainians in the Slavic Congress at Prague in June, 1848 (besides Ukrainian delegates from Galicia, Adolf Dobriansky of Transcarpathia took part in the Prague Congress). A chair of Ukrainian language and literature was established at the University of Lviv, and a literary and educational society was organized. Beginning with May 15, 1848, the first Ukrainian newspaper in Galicia, *Zoria Halytska* (Galician Star), was published.

The idea of semi-sovereignty for the Ukrainian people in Austria in the form of territorial autonomy, advanced by

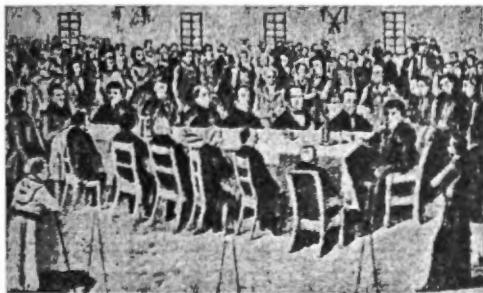


FIGURE 449. MEETING OF THE SUPREME RUTHENIAN COUNCIL, 1848

the Supreme *Rada*, was not abandoned and was regarded as the minimum political program of the Galician Ukrainians until the disintegration of Austria-Hungary in 1918.

A certain substitute for the autonomy of Galicia was to be seen in the Land Statute (provincial constitution) for Galicia of 1850. According to the statute, there were to be three curiae in the Galician diet—the Lviv, the Stanyslaviv, and the Cracow—and the deputies were to be elected by direct vote; this statute, however, was never put into effect. Likewise, a decree of the Austrian government of April 24, 1854, concerning the administrative division of Galicia into two national regions (Ukrainian and Polish) was never carried out. Nevertheless, this decree resulted in the division of Galicia into two circuits of the Higher Land Courts in Lviv and Cracow, a division which existed until the end of the Austrian empire. It was of practical importance for the Ukrainians because the Ukrainian language was used in the circuit courts of the Higher Land Court in Lviv.

Galicia in the 1860's

The "Spring of Nations" did not last long; the government put down the revolutionary movements in all parts of the Habsburg empire, abolished the constitution, and re-established absolutism. The constituent assembly was dissolved in March, 1849, and in 1851, the Supreme Ruthenian *Rada* ceased to exist. The administration of Galicia was actually taken over by the Poles when one of them, Count Agenor Gołuchowski, was made governor general of the undivided province. The Galician Ukrainians became disillusioned and absorbed in an "alphabet war," which began as a result of a plan of the Austrian government to impose the Latin alphabet upon the Galician Ukrainians. Disillusioned because of the failure to secure the achievements of 1848 and threatened by the Polish supremacy in Galicia, a consider-

able part of the older intelligentsia began to look to Russia for salvation. This Russophile (or "Moscophile") movement in Galicia was rooted in the lack of faith in their own strength and in the belief that the Russian emperor would unite and protect all Slavic peoples. The Galician Russophiles were heartily supported by such Slavophile Russian leaders as Pogodin.

After a decade of absolutism, constitutional reforms were introduced in the Habsburg empire: in October of 1860, an imperial decree was published, which set up a central or federal parliament and revived the provincial assemblies. The February (1861) Patent was issued a few months later and it created a bicameral legislature for the entire monarchy. Galicia, like the other Austrian provinces, received its autonomy and its own diet; in 1861, the Galician Ukrainians sent forty-nine out of one-hundred and fifty deputies to the Galician diet. At this first diet, a political struggle between the Ukrainians and Poles began, and this conflict did not cease in the Galician diet until World War I. The Polish majority in the diet constantly rejected the demands of the Ukrainians. At the same time, the Poles tried to intimidate the Austrian government by pointing to the growth of the Russophile movement among the Galician Ukrainians and to the Russian menace. The Ukrainians always formed a minority in the Galician diet; their representation decreased even more after 1873 when the curia system was introduced by a new electoral ordinance. At this time the big Polish landowners gained the predominant position. Despite their numerical majority the Ukrainians had 33 per cent of the seats in the Galician diet and, after the change of the electoral law, not more than 10 per cent. In 1877, they elected fourteen deputies to the diet; in 1883, only eleven. The Ukrainian representation in the Viennese parliament was even less.

The position of the Ukrainians in

Galicia deteriorated when, in 1867, the Poles made an agreement with the Austrian government; Galicia was turned over to the supremacy of the Polish aristocracy. The Polish nobles set themselves to the task of constructing in Galicia a base for a future Polish state; soon the entire provincial administration, the courts, and the self-government of the counties were completely controlled by the Poles. The official language in local administration became Polish instead of German (1867). The University of Lviv was Polonized; the secondary and elementary school system came under the control of the Provincial Board of Education which was also controlled by the Poles; the secondary and technical schools, with a few exceptions, were Polonized. The cities were also subjected to Polonization (see also "Political Institutions in the Ukrainian Lands under Austria and Hungary").

Economic conditions were unfavorable. Despite the abolition of *corvée*, the Polish landlords continued to control the economic life. The size of the large estate was somewhat reduced, but the average peasant holding decreased from 5 hectares in 1859 to 3 hectares in 1880 and 2.5 hectares in 1900. Because of this splitting of peasant holdings, almost half of the peasants could not make a living from their farms; they had to work for the Polish lords and became fully dependent upon them. After the abolition of *panshchyna* in 1848, there remained unsolved for the Ukrainian peasants such important questions as the right of servitudes, that is, the right to use the woods and pastures of the landlord, the question of reimbursement of the landlords for the loss of peasant dues and personal services, as well as for the right to distill alcoholic drinks. Renters and administrators in the service of the lords led the peasants into debt by selling whiskey on credit, then foreclosed their farms and speculated on them. The poverty of the Galician village was especially severe in the 1870's.

During this period, the leadership of the Galician Ukrainians remained largely in the hands of the clergy. After the failure of the revolutionary movement of 1848, they reverted to their conservatism. They opposed the use of the folk language in literature and some of them fell under Russian influence. The conservatives controlled three important institutions: the Stauropygian Institute, the National Home (founded in the 1850's), and an association of intellectuals which was modeled after the Czech *Matice*. This conservative camp for a long while tried to secure support from the Austrian government, but when these hopes failed, it divided into two groups. One of these, the pro-Russian group (B. Didytsky, I. Naumovych), stood for unity with the Russian people. Their political program was published in their publication, *Slovo* (Word), and was presented in the diet (1866). The second group, the populists (Julian Lavrivsky), tried unsuccessfully to come to an understanding with the Poles by relinquishing their demand for a division of Galicia (1869). The Russophile *Ruska Rada* (V. Kovalsky, Fr. Y. Shvedzytsky, Fr. Theophilus Pavlykiv), which claimed to be a revival of the Supreme Ruthenian *Rada* of 1848, failed to contribute anything new to the political life of the time.

The Populists (Narodovtsi)

A change was brought about by the young, so-called populist, movement of the Galician Ukrainians in the 1860's. The young populists entered into close contact with the Ukrainians of the Russian empire. The works of the writers of Dnieper Ukraine won their great enthusiasm. The ideals expressed by Shevchenko became their social and political program. While the conservative and later the openly Russophile *Slovo* (1861-87) was printed in an artificial language based on the old Slavonic Church language with the mixture of local Galician as well as Polish and Rus-

sian elements, the populists published in the 1860's in a pure Ukrainian folk language the journals *Meta* (Goal), *Nyva* (Field), *Vechernytsi* (Evening Readings), and *Rusalka* (Nymph). The contact with Dnieper Ukraine became even closer when some writers such as A. Konytsky, P. Kulish, I. Nechui-Levytsky—as a result of the restrictions imposed on the Ukrainian language in the Russian empire in 1863—began to publish their works in Galicia. Soon, in 1867, in cooperation with and with financial help from the Ukrainians of the Dnieper Ukraine, the literary monthly *Pravda* (Truth) appeared. For a long period, it was the organ of all-Ukrainian unity. At first the Populists were represented by such young writers as Volodymyr Shashkevych, Xenophon Klymkovych, Theodore Zarevych, and Constantine Horbal. They were soon joined by a few prominent leaders of the older generation, for example, the deputies to the diet, Stephen Kachala and Julian Lavrivsky. The populist movement gradually began to take on the more real and concrete form of an organization of the Ukrainian peasantry and it crystallized its social and national-political ideas, especially under the influence of M. Drahomanov. Although the young Galician populists did not agree with all of his conceptions, they were stimulated by the writings of Drahomanov and were forced to self-criticism and became affected by modern social and political ideas.

By the end of the 1860's, the populists freed themselves from their apathy and lack of faith and, seeing that there was no prospect of success in the struggle against the Polish supremacy in the diet, they began to organize the Ukrainian peasantry toward economic self-reliance. The populist movement was supported by secret organizations of high school and university students called *hromady* (societies), after the Kievan Old Society. In Galicia the first *hromada* was organized in Lviv about 1863 (Daniel

Taniachkevych). Similar organizations were formed in the secondary schools in Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, Sambir, and Berezhany. These organizations promoted cultural activities among the younger generation. The constitutional changes in the Austrian empire (the October Decree of 1860 and the February Patent of 1861) made possible the legal formation of societies. In 1861, a social club, *Ruska Besida* (The Ruthenian Club), with a theatre, was founded in Lviv.



FIGURE 450. BUILDING OF *Prosvita* IN LVIV

1868, the populists founded the society, *Prosvita* (Enlightenment), in Lviv to advance the education, the general level of culture, and national consciousness of the Ukrainian peasants through the publication of books. In the 1870's, a movement by Ukrainian clergy to preach temperance spread throughout Galicia and at the same time the formation of organizations of Ukrainian peasants and the middle class began; also, the first scattered attempts to form economic organizations were made.

Somewhat later the populists entered directly into the political field. This happened following the decline of the conservative group, which had been revealed by the drastic outcome of the elections to the Austrian parliament in 1879 when the *Ruska Rada* secured only three seats. Political populist newspapers began to appear. A young populist who later became a prominent Ukrainian leader, Julian Romanchuk, began to publish, in 1879, a popular political weekly, *Bat'kivshchyna* (Fatherland). In 1880, under the leadership of another outstanding populist, Volodymyr Barvinsky, the newspaper *Dilo* (Deed), so named to emphasize the contrast with the Russophile *Slovo* (Word), made its ap-

pearance. Both papers published contributions by the economist Volodymyr Navrotsky, the jurist Alexander Ohonovsky, Ostap Terletsky, Demian Hladylovych, and Volodymyr Barvinsky, as well as other authors. Mass public meetings were organized (the first in Lviv in 1880) at which political, economic, and educational questions were discussed and the program of so-called "organic" work was drafted. At first, the populists did not form a separate political organization, for they sought to cooperate with the *Ruska Rada*. But when it became clear that the old conservative camp had lost contact with the people and had actually entered the Russian service (the trial of Olha Hrabar, 1882), the populists broke with the old camp and in 1885 founded (J. Romanchuk, A. Ohonovsky) their own political organization, the *Narodna Rada* (National Council). Accepting the principles of populism, liberalism, democracy, and progress, it adopted the political platform of the Supreme Ruthenian *Rada* of 1848 on the question of national independence and unity of the Ukrainian people and presented a series of demands to the government—including a demand for the division of Galicia into two parts: Ukrainian in the east, with its own self-government, and Polish in the west.

This movement in Galicia advanced even more rapidly in the 1890's, when a group of new leaders joined the populist movement. This group, composed chiefly of lawyers, included Eugene Olesnytsky, Constantine Levytsky, Eugene Levytsky, Stephen Fedak, Theophilus Kormosh, Demian Savchak, and Volodymyr Okhrymovych. In 1894, the young Kievan historian, Michael Hrushevsky, took over the chair of east European history at the University of Lviv.

In view of the danger of Russian expansion, the government made attempts to reconcile the Ukrainians and the Poles in Galicia but these had no positive results. Just as the first effort of Julian

Lavrivsky had failed in 1869, so did another attempt at reconciliation, the



FIGURE 451.
J. ROMANCHUK

so-called "new era" in 1890. Within a year, it was given up by Julian Romanchuk and the *Narodna Rada*. The policy of the "new era" continued to be supported only by a small group, headed by Alexander Barvinsky and Natal Vakhnianyn. The policy of this group achieved no

substantial results, except a few concessions by the Poles in the cultural field (a Ukrainian chair of history at the University of Lviv, the introduction of bilingualism in the teachers' seminaries, and the permission to open an additional Ukrainian secondary school). From the Polish side, the "new era" was heralded by the governor of Galicia, Count Casimir Badeni. The "new era" was also joined by the Galician metropolitan Sylvester Sembratovych. The supporters of the policy of the "new era" and their organ, *Ruslan*, won no sympathy among the masses of the Ukrainian population because of their opportunism, even though they used their policy to help the national cause.

New Political Parties

In 1891, the Ukrainian Radical party was founded. Prominent positions in this party were held by Ivan Franko and Michael Pavlyk. The organs of the Radical party were the *Narod* (People) and *Khliborob* (Farmer). The party program emphasized the defense of the interests of the peasants (under the influence of the ideas of Michael Draho-manov). The Radical party was based on the principles of socialism, and developed a program clearly opposed to both the government and the Ukrainian populists. At its congress in Lviv in

1895, it issued a call for the political independence of the Ukrainian people.

This was done chiefly through the influence of the political treatise of a young member of the Radical party, Julian Bachynsky, entitled *Ukraina irredenta* (Lviv, 1895), in which the author argued in favor of the establishment of a separate Ukrainian state which should include all the ethnically Ukrainian lands. Bachynsky's work greatly influenced the Ukrainian national movement and soon all three Ukrainian political parties in Galicia accepted the thesis formulated by Bachynsky as their ultimate goal. This happened at the time when the slogan of independence was raised by the Revolutionary Ukrainian party in Dnieper Ukraine under the tsarist regime. In Galicia, the Ukrainian students in Lviv publicly adopted a resolution in the same spirit (L. Tsehelsky, demonstration at Vysokyi Zamok, 1898).

When the populist group under Julian Romanchuk abandoned the attempt to cooperate with the government and entered the opposition (1894), only the "new era" group of Alexander Barvinsky continued to support the government. The government resorted to repression (the elections to the Austrian parliament in 1897 known as the Badeni elections were accompanied by government terror which resulted in bloody clashes) but this did not undermine the strength of the opposition. After unsuccessful attempts to reach an understanding between the populists and the Rusophiles, the populist group was reorganized; and, in 1899, the National Democratic party was formed. It was composed of the most active members of the populist group and the right wing of the Radicals. On January 5, 1900, the National Committee of this party (headed by Julian Romanchuk, and later by Constantine Levytsky) proclaimed as its ultimate goal the establishment of an independent Ukraine "where all parts of our nation would unite in one modern cultural state," and, as an immediate

aim, the securing of a separate Ukrainian province in Austria with its own administration and diet. From this time on, leadership in the organization of the Galician Ukrainians in their struggle for national and political rights was primarily in the hands of the National Democratic party. It set up district and local committees in Galicia and organized the economic and cultural life. In 1900, the Ukrainian Social Democratic party (N. Hankevych, R. Yarosevych, and others) was formed from the left wing of the Radicals. The party strove to free the Ukrainian socialist movement from the Polish leadership and acted to organize the Ukrainian workers.

Galicia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

On the threshold of the twentieth century, the Ukrainian people in Galicia had shown great progress in making the masses nationally conscious and in organizing their social life. Both the clergy who, under the leadership of Metropolitan Count Andrew Sheptytsky, had finally adopted the Ukrainian national position, and the young lay intelligentsia (chiefly lawyers), who had taken over the political leadership, intensified their work among the masses of the Ukrainian population in Galicia and secured support in the political struggle. The number of Ukrainian deputies in the Galician diet and in the Austrian parliament steadily increased. The chief demands for which they stubbornly fought were: the division of Galicia into two provinces, one Ukrainian and one Polish, that is, national territorial autonomy; the division of the Land Board of Education; the equality of the Ukrainian language in public institutions



FIGURE 452. METROPOLITAN ANDREW SHEPTYTSKY

and schools; the establishment of a Ukrainian university; universal suffrage; and the removal of social inequalities. To secure these rights, frequent appeals were made in both the diet and the parliament, mass meetings were organized in the country, the Galician diet was obstructed (1901-3), and a secession of the Ukrainian deputies from the Galician diet was carried out. In 1902, six hundred Ukrainian students announced their withdrawal from the Lviv University and went to universities in Vienna, Cracow, and Prague as a sign of protest against Polish chauvinism at the state University of Lviv.

The peasants engaged in a series of social movements caused by the intensive proletarianization of the Galician peasantry who became increasingly dependent upon the large landowners on whose estates alone they could find supplementary work. In 1902, eastern Galicia was swept by an agricultural strike against the extremely low pay on the estates of the nobility and against the interference by the Polish administration of Galicia in the emigration of peasants and workers to America and Prussia. This strike, one of history's largest agricultural strikes, had a political as well as an economic aspect—a protest against the Polish supremacy in Galicia. The strikes, which involved some 200,000 peasants and illustrated their extraordinary solidarity, were successful; wages were raised and seasonal emigration, especially to Germany, assumed organized form. Young Ukrainian intellectuals went to the new world to help the emigrants in the countries of their settlement. As a result of the successful strikes among the seasonal migrant workers, the large landowners, fearing ruin, began to parcel out their estates among the peasants (some 140,000 hectares in ten years), although the land went chiefly to Poles.

The first parliamentary election after the franchise reform of 1907, on the basis of universal manhood suffrage, gave the Galician Ukrainians twenty-seven seats

(including five Russophiles) in the Austrian parliament. In addition, five Ukrainian deputies from neighboring Bukovina joined the Ukrainian club in the Austrian parliament. At once, they proclaimed their opposition to any government which would not meet the demands of the representatives of the Ukrainian people. The situation in the Galician diet was different. The Galician diet continued to be elected on the basis of the old curia system; and, as a result, the Poles maintained their supremacy there. Under the leadership of the Polish governor of Galicia, Count Andrew Potocki, the Poles resumed an intensive support of the Russophile movement. During the diet election of 1908, the Polish administration of Galicia committed many corrupt acts in order to secure the election of a number of Russophiles. In retaliation for the killing of Ukrainian peasants during the election, Governor Potocki was assassinated (April 12, 1908) by a Ukrainian student, Myroslav Sichynsky. New disorders and fights between Polish and Ukrainian students broke out at Lviv University and resulted in the killing of a Ukrainian student, Adam Kotsko (1910).

Under the influence of these events and as a result of the increasing tension in the relations between Austria-Hungary and Russia, especially in 1912, the government tried to reach a compromise with the Galician Ukrainians. It sent instructions to the administration of Galicia urging the equal treatment of both nationalities, began the study of the question of the language of the land and the language of instruction at Lviv University, increased its grants for Ukrainian cultural and economic organizations, and acknowledged the legal status of the agricultural association of Ukrainian peasants, *Sil's'kyt Hospodar* (Village Farmer), headed by the prominent Ukrainian political and economic leader, Eugene Olesnytsky. Julian Romanchuk became one of the vice-presidents of parliament. In the Galician diet, the

Ukrainian deputies repeated their obstruction and even prevented the approval of the land budget (1909 and 1912). Because of the opposition of the Polish majority in the diet, the old curia system remained unchanged. The government attempted to bring about an understanding between the Poles and Ukrainians (the unsuccessful effort of Governor Bobrzyński and Minister Leon Biliński).

New elections to the diet in 1913, after the dissolution of the former diet, gave the Ukrainians thirty deputies while the Russophiles secured only one seat. (In 1908 twelve Ukrainians and eight Russophiles had been elected to the diet.) At the beginning of 1914, a new Land Statute and electoral law were approved in the diet; although the curia system was preserved, direct franchise was introduced for the curia of rural communities, and a new curia of general voters was added.

As a result of the political struggle and self-organizing efforts and work, the Galician Ukrainians had, before World War I, over three thousand elementary schools, six state gymnasia, and fifteen private secondary schools (see "Education"), 2,944 local branches of the Society for Enlightenment (*Prosvita*), a network of gymnastic associations, *Siches* (after 1900) and *Sokils* (after 1898), local circles of the agricultural association, *Sil's'kyi Hospodar*, and more than 500 cooperatives and mutual credit associations with their central land associations and institutions, such as the Land Cooperatives Association (1904), the Land Dairy Association (1907), Land Credit Union (1898), National Trade Association (1883), Land Union of Economic and Trade Associations, union for the breeding and cooperative marketing of cattle, the insurance company *Dnister* (1892), the previously mentioned *Sil's'kyi Hospodar* (1898), and the Land Loan Bank in Lviv (1909).

Cultural progress manifested itself in

the establishment of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, which was formed by the joint efforts of Ukrainians from both Galicia and Dnieper Ukraine.



FIGURE 453. BUILDING OF THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN LVIV

The increasingly close relations of the representatives of the Galician and Dnieper Ukrainian societies in the final decade before the war contributed to the coordination of the national work on both sides of the frontier. The common Ukrainian political ideology became crystallized: to take advantage of any change in international *status quo* in order to secure the political independence of Ukraine. Ukrainian leaders from the Dnieper Ukraine, who were persecuted by the autocratic Russian regime, especially those from the younger generation, found conditions in Galicia favorable for their political activities. As a result, the ties between the Ukrainians of Galicia and of the Dnieper Ukraine continued to be strengthened.

While the Ukrainian national movement was rapidly growing in Galicia, the Ukrainians under the rule of Russia experienced new restrictions and persecutions in the period of reaction following the Revolution of 1905. As international tensions increased in Europe, the Russian policy of expansion threatened to destroy all the achievements won by the Ukrainians through the constitutional channels in Austria. These circumstances influenced the political attitude of the Galician Ukrainians on the eve of World

War I. On December 7, 1912, the representatives of the Ukrainian political parties in Galicia at a secret meeting decided unanimously that "with a view to the welfare and future of the Ukrainian nation on both sides of the border, in case of war between Austria and Russia, the entire Ukrainian people will unanimously and resolutely stand on the side of Austria against the Russian empire, as the greatest enemy of Ukraine."

E. Vytanovych

BUKOVINA

Before the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

In the tenth century, Bukovina became a part of the Kievan Realm and shared in its development and decline in the tenth and eleventh centuries. With the rise of the Galician-Volhynian state toward the end of the eleventh century, Bukovina remained within its framework during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Some of the known settlements in Bukovina from the Princely era are: Vasyliv, Kuchelemin, Onut, and later, Horodok (now Vyzhnytsia), Seret, Suchava, and the fortresses of Tsetsyn and Shypyntsi. Archaeological finds show that Bukovina was densely populated (sites in Hlyboka, Hlynnytsia, Karapchiv, and elsewhere). The Tatar invasion in 1241 weakened the ties between Bukovina and the Galician-Volhynian state. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the part of northern Bukovina known as the Shypyntsi land became a separate territory and acknowledged the Tatar supremacy. Bukovina remained under the Tatar domination until the 1340's. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Bukovina was annexed by the principality of Moldavia, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century it had come with it under the overlordship of the Ottoman empire. In September of 1774, the Aus-

trian armies, taking advantage of the Russo-Turkish war, occupied Bukovina with the cities of Chernivtsi, Seret (Siret), Radivtsi (Rădăuți), and Suchava (Suceava), in order to establish a clear-cut boundary between Transylvania and Galicia, annexed by Austria in 1772. Both Turkey and the Moldavian voivode, Ghica, finally accepted the *fait accompli*. The population of Bukovina numbered 70,000 at the time.

In the first years after the Austrian occupation, Bukovina was under military rule. On February 1, 1787, Joseph II incorporated it into Galicia as a district with a district governor in Chernivtsi, who was subordinate to the governor general of Galicia. Bukovina shared the fate of Galicia until 1849.

Under Turkish domination Bukovina was an undeveloped land. The ruling class were the boyars, the owner of great estates, from among whom the voivodes chose the higher officials. The mass of the peasants were serfs; and although *panshchyna* was not as oppressive here as it was in neighboring Poland, the peasants were burdened by heavy taxes. Bukovina was inhabited in the north and west by Ukrainians and in the south by Moldavians (Rumanians). Both the Ukrainian and Rumanian population were Orthodox and had their own separate metropolitan see, first in Suchava and later in Jassy. The clergy were very numerous but uneducated. The official language after the middle of the seventeenth century was Rumanian. Education and economic life were on a very low level.

The Austrian government made the same reforms in Bukovina as in Galicia. In 1781, the serfs were partially emancipated; and, in 1787, the land of subject peasants was declared their hereditary property. Many Germans settled in Bukovina, especially in its capital, Chernivtsi, which assumed the appearance of a German city.

The annexation of Bukovina to Gali-

cia, the transfer of the elementary schools to the control of the Roman Catholic Polish bishop, the gradual Germanization of public life, the deterioration of the condition of the peasants by the increase of the *pan-shchyna*, and the introduction of compulsory military service (1831): all created intense dissatisfaction in all classes of the population. Led by Lucian Kobylitsia, strong peasant uprisings occurred in the Hutsul area of Bukovina in 1842-5 and particularly in 1848-9. The Ukrainians were fighting for social and political rights. The struggle for administrative autonomy (1848-61) was successful, and in 1861 Bukovina became a separate crown land within Austria. Thus, the life of the Bukovinian Ukrainians developed in a different way than that of Ukrainians in Galicia. However, all efforts of the Bukovinian Rumanians to unite Bukovina with the predominantly Rumanian Transylvania failed.

The National Revival in Bukovina

The national revival among the Ukrainians of Bukovina began under the influence of the literature of Dnieper Ukraine and through relations with Galicia as early as the 1860's (see "Literature"), although at first the movement did not have a great impact on the masses. In this period, the first Bukovinian Ukrainian societies were organized, such as the *Ruskaia Besida* (Enlightenment, 1869) in Chernivtsi, headed by B. Prodan; and, in 1870, the first political society, *Ruskaia Rada* (Ruthenian Council), which took over the defense of the national interests against the government and the Rumanian Orthodox consistory. This group contributed to the revival of the traditions of the Galician-Volhynian state of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The publications of the *Besida* were printed in an artificial language based on the Old Slavonic with the mixture of local Ukrainian as well as other elements. (An almanac, *Bukovynskaia Zoria*—Bukovin-

ian Star). This group was indifferent to the political question of the day and only paid attention to preserving the national traits of the people. As a result, the Ukrainians took no part in the struggle between the conservatives (the Rumanian boyars, and after the death of Metropolitan Hakman, the leading circles of the Orthodox Church) and the liberals (the German centralists). The Ukrainian peasants of Bukovina fell under the leadership of the then dominant national leaders of the province, while the intelligentsia were increasingly Germanized or Rumanianized, and those intellectuals who remained faithful to their people became for the most part Russophiles.

The situation began to change in the 1880's mainly when the Ukrainian national revival in Bukovina spread throughout the country, under the influence of the Galician populist movement. In 1884, the *Ruskaia Besida*, which for a long time had been under the influence of the Russophiles, and, in 1885, the *Ruskaia Rada* passed into the hands of the populists (E. Pihuliak, I. Tyminsky, O. Popovych). Also, such Galician Ukrainian leaders as Vynnytsky and Okunevsky helped the Ukrainian national movement in the neighboring Bukovina. At the same time, in 1885, the prominent Bukovinian writer Joseph Fedkovych began to edit the journal *Bukovyna* (Bukovina), in the Ukrainian folk language. The national movement was greatly strengthened with the arrival in Bukovina of a talented and energetic leader, Stephen Smal-Stotsky, who became a professor at the University of Chernivtsi, which had been established in 1875. The political, economic, and cultural development of the Bukovinian Ukrainians was closely connected with his activities until World War I.

The attitude of the government toward the Ukrainian national movement in Bukovina became more favorable when, after the union of Moldavia and Wallachia into an independent Rumanian state, a separatist movement developed

among the Rumanians of Bukovina, and consequently, the relations between the Bukovinian Rumanians and the Austrian government became increasingly strained. In 1890 after the change of the electoral system, Ukrainian populists succeeded in electing three deputies (E. Pihuliak, V. Volan, I. Tyminsky) to the Bukovina diet. Among the Ukrainian deputies elected later were Prof. S. Smal-Stotsky and Baron Nicholas Vasylo. The Ukrainian movement in Bukovina grew rapidly and a long political struggle developed against Rumanian supremacy in the diet and the consistory. The slogans in this struggle were: national cultural autonomy in Bukovina and the division of the Bukovinian Orthodox Church into two dioceses, Rumanian and Ukrainian. At the same time, the Ukrainian populists fought the Russophile movement under Kupchanko's leadership.

At the turn of the century the Bukovinian Ukrainians already were politically strong, having their deputies in the diet and other elective institutions: the Bukovinian Orthodox consistory and the Viennese parliament. In the Bukovinian diet, the Ukrainians helped in forming (1903) a democratic liberal coalition which also included democratic Rumanian (Aurel Onciul), Jewish (Dr. Straucher), and German deputies, and, thus began to break the supremacy of the conservative boyars and the Rumanian hierarchy. Subsequently the diet approved national cultural autonomy for all the nationalities of Bukovina (national curiae in the diet and land institutions). One of the vice-presidents in the diet was a Ukrainian (Stephen Smal-Stotsky, 1904-10, later, the Rev. Theophilus Drachynsky, 1910-18). The political activities of the populists were supported by the majority of the Ukrainian population of Bukovina, organized in populist organizations (Societies for Enlightenment, cooperatives, gymnastic associations) and directed by young patriotic teachers. The Bukovinian popu-



FIGURE 454.
S. SMAL-STOTSKY

lists favored the concept of the transformation of the Austrian empire into a federation of national autonomous territories. They expected that in the event of a successful war between Austria and Russia, the provinces of Volhynia and Podilia would

be united with the Ukrainian parts of Galicia and Bukovina and the old Galician-Volhynian state would be revived under the rule of the Habsburgs. This Austro-Ukrainian conception was represented especially by Nicholas Vasylo, a deputy to the Bukovinian diet and the Austrian parliament. From the 1890's on, he increasingly influenced the cultural and political life of the Bukovinian Ukrainians, and worked closely with Prof. Stephen Smal-Stotsky. This cooperation brought important achievements in the field of education and in church and political life of the Ukrainians of Bukovina. But the predominance of these two leaders aroused opposition; the intellectuals of the younger generation, particularly young teachers, founded their own political center (headed by Omelian Ivanytsky), and in their press organs (*Promin'* [Sunray] and *Kameniari* [Stone Cutters]) they adopted a critical position.

In 1906, a group of Bukovina radicals (N. Biharii, T. Halip, H. Hordyi, I. Popovych) split away from the populist camp. They found support in Sich societies and published (1907-9) their own newspaper (*Narodna Sprava* [People's Cause], later *Hromadianyn* [Citizen]). But these divergences of opinions were not insurmountable; and, in the diet election of 1911, the entire Ukrainian national camp, with but a few exceptions, joined forces in the electoral campaign and secured fifteen seats. The

Social Democratic party (headed by Joseph Bezpalko), which was in strong opposition to the policy of the populists, acted independently.

The local Austrian authorities were disturbed by the union of the Ukrainian national forces. They began to persecute the Ukrainian organizations (especially the Sich Union) and contributed to the decline of the association of Ukrainian cooperatives, *Selians'ka Kasa*.

In proportion to its Ukrainian population (300,000), little Bukovina accomplished much in various aspects of national life. Although Bukovina was not divided into separate Rumanian and Ukrainian parts, the Ukrainians had a much larger share in the administration of the province than in Galicia; of all the Ukrainian lands on the eve of World War I, it was the one with the greatest number of Ukrainian schools and cultural-educational institutions. Due to favorable political conditions and the successful policy of the Bukovinian leaders, this was accomplished in the span of but one generation. Also, the influences from Galicia were of importance for Bukovina—especially the influx of Galician intelligentsia. But the lack of an intensive national struggle and accomplishments through compromise made the Ukrainian national group weaker than it was in Galicia. In particular, the excessive influence of the German administration and culture was noticeable in Bukovina.*

TRANSCARPATHIA (CARPATHO-UKRAINE)

Transcarpathia, for centuries, was part of the Hungarian state. After the death of Volodymyr the Great in 1015, the Hungarian king, Stephen I, taking advantage of the quarrels which erupted in the Kievan Realm, incorporated Transcarpathia into his state; his son Emerich even assumed the title of "Duke of the Ruthenians." The Hun-

*The article on Bukovina is based on articles by M. Korduba, T. Halip, and A. Zhukovsky.

garians erected a belt of fortifications throughout Transcarpathia which consisted of forts and defensive moats, as well as armed garrisons, the troops of which were recruited from the local population. At that time Transcarpathia was known as *Marchia Ruthenorum*.

Subsequently the royal domain of Mukachiv was given to two sons-in-law of Béla IV (1235–70)—Prince Rostyslav Mykhailovych of Chernihiv and Prince Leo Danylovych of Galicia. In 1315–20 a group of nobles of northern Hungary who opposed the Anjou dynasty endeavored, without success, to put on the Hungarian throne Prince Andrew Yuriiovych or Prince Leo Yuriiovych of Galicia, who on their maternal side were descended from the Arpad dynasty. In 1393–1414 Prince Theodore Koriiatovych, descendant of a Ukrainianized Lithuanian family, became lord of the Mukachiv domain and governor of the Berehiv county. Local people saw in Prince Koriiatovych a proponent of Ukrainian self-rule in Transcarpathia. In the first half of the fifteenth century the Mukachiv domain was under the rule of the Serbian Princes ("despots"), Stephen Lazarović and George Branković. Subsequently the Slav and Orthodox element disappeared among the dominant aristocracy in Transcarpathia; the autochthonous Ukrainian population was reduced to serfdom; besides the peasantry, the Ukrainian element included small groups of petty gentry and clergy.

In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Transcarpathia suffered a great deal from being the battleground in the frequent wars between the Habsburgs and the Princes of Transylvania. Ukrainian mountaineers played a conspicuous role among the supporters of Francis II Rakoczi, the leader of the great anti-Habsburg revolt (1703–11). These political struggles were also reflected in the internal affairs of the Carpatho-Ukrainian people. A group of Ukrainian Orthodox clergymen accepted the primacy of the Pope, on condition

that their traditional Eastern Rite ("Union of Uzhhorod," 1646) be preserved. However, this was opposed by those who preferred to remain loyal to the "Old Faith." The partisans of Orthodoxy found a refuge in the eastern section of Transcarpathia which was at that time attached to Protestant Transylvania. The Union prevailed only in the early eighteenth century after the entire territory of Transcarpathia had come under the effective control of the Habsburgs.

During the reigns of Maria Theresa (1740-80) and Joseph II (1780-90), Transcarpathia felt the impact of Austrian "enlightened absolutism." The government undertook to raise the educational standards and the social status of the Uniate (Greek Catholic) clergy, who were now put on an equal footing with the Catholic clergy of the Latin rite. The Greek Catholic See of Mukachiv, which was previously under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Eger, was elevated to the rank of an independent diocese (1771); subsequently, the see was transferred from Mukachiv to Uzhhorod (1780), and in 1816 the western part of the diocese separated and organized into a new diocese of Priashiv (Prešov). The policies of "enlightened absolutism" were directed towards the protection of the peasantry from unlimited exploitation by the noble landowners. The *Urbarium* Law of Maria Theresa (1766) regulated the obligations of the peasants to the landowners. Joseph II went further; he attempted to abolish serfdom altogether (1785), but his well-intended reforms failed in the face of the fierce resistance of the Hungarian nobility. But the foundations were laid for the strong monarchist sentiments of the Carpatho-Ukrainian clergy and peasantry, which found expression during the Revolution of 1848.

Despite its political isolation, Transcarpathia's ties with other Ukrainian lands were close: for instance, church books printed in Kiev or Lviv were used in Transcarpathia. During the seven-

teenth and eighteenth centuries a local religious literature developed in Transcarpathia which, with slight Slovak and Hungarian influences, was part of Ukrainian Baroque literature.

At the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries Transcarpathia had a number of highly trained intellectuals who had been graduated from foreign universities but who had failed to find suitable positions in Transcarpathia and were compelled to seek them in Galicia and Russia (for example, P. Lodi and I. A. Zemanchyk, who were professors at Lviv's *Studium Ruthenum*; M. Baludiansky, I. Orlai, G. Hutsa-Venelyn, K. Pavlovych, M. Bilevych, and others, who achieved high governmental and academic positions in Russia including Ukraine). In contrast to the previous century, Transcarpathian literature had changed and had assumed a distinctly scholastic character. Latin and the Church Slavonic language, which differed considerably from the people's vernacular, dominated the literature. Among the literary leaders of this period were A. Kotsak, author of a grammar; I. Bazylovych, a historian; I. Fogarashii-Berezhany, a philologist; and V. Dovhovych, a poet. But the most outstanding among them was M. Luchkai-Pop (1789-1843), philologist, historian, and church leader.

1848-1918

The revolutionary events of 1848-9 had a great impact upon Transcarpathia. A number of young intellectuals were impressed with the slogans of the Hungarian revolution. But the chauvinistic character that the revolution assumed alienated the Slavic peoples, who began gravitating toward an alliance with Vienna. Among the Ukrainians hostile to the Hungarian revolution were some of the most outstanding figures of nineteenth-century Transcarpathia, such as Rev. A. Dukhnovych (1803-65), a writer and educator, and A. Dobriansky (1817-1901), an energetic popular writer and

political leader. Under the influence of Dobriansky, the Slovak participants at the Slavic Congress in Prague advocated the establishment of an autonomous Slovak-Ruthenian province within Hungary. In April, 1849, A. Dobriansky proposed to the Supreme Ruthenian *Rada*



FIGURE 455.
A. DOBRIANSKY

in Lviv the creation of a crown land to consist of Galicia and Transcarpathia as a part of the Habsburg monarchy. Subsequently he headed a delegation of Carpatho-Ukrainians who submitted a proposal in Vienna to Emperor Franz Joseph I for the creation of a "Ruthenian province" with territorial and cultural autonomy within Hungary.

Despite the collapse of the Hungarian revolution, the Habsburg government failed to fulfill the demand to grant autonomy to Transcarpathia, although a number of Carpatho-Ukrainian leaders, among them A. Dobriansky, were given high administrative posts in Transcarpathia. The Carpatho-Ukrainian intelligentsia failed to take advantage of this temporarily favorable situation to gain control of local affairs; subsequent political conditions in Hungary and Transcarpathia did not permit political organization by Carpatho-Ukrainians. As a result of the strengthening of absolutism in Austria, and with the new upsurge of Hungarian nationalism, some members of the Transcarpathian intelligentsia yielded to the influence of Magyarization, while others turned to Russophilism—in particular a group under the leadership of the Rev. I. Rakovsky—for protection against their Hungarian oppressors.

The victory of Tsar Nicholas I over the Hungarian revolution in 1849 made a deep impression upon the people of Transcarpathia. At its inception Russophilism in Transcarpathia did not con-

flict with loyalty to the Habsburgs, but in time it became more and more a political orientation toward Russia. In contrast to Galicia, Transcarpathia for a long time lacked a populist movement to serve as a counterbalance, and the Russophile trend dominated the political life of the country. This trend also caused the estrangement between the intelligentsia and the peasantry; consequently the intelligentsia could not resist the ever-increasing Hungarian pressure.

The agreement between Austria and Hungary in 1867 and the subsequent creation of the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy left the national minorities at the mercy of the Hungarian oligarchy. The modest positions which the Carpatho-Ukrainians had gained in the 1850's were soon lost. The Greek Catholic Church as the unique national institution of the Carpatho-Ukrainians and their national representation slowly became a docile instrument of the denationalizing policy of Budapest. The Hungarian government had a decisive voice in the nomination of the Transcarpathian bishops and, beginning with S. Pankevych (1866–74), who was branded a renegade by the people, Transcarpathia had only pro-Hungarian bishops. Ukrainian parochial schools were slowly disappearing, as were Ukrainian newspapers (*Svit*, 1867–71; *Novyi Svit*, 1871–73; *Karpat'*, 1873–86; *Lystok*, 1885–1903): such cultural organizations as the Society of St. Basil the Great, began losing their influence, and the isolation of Transcarpathia from Galicia deepened. Transcarpathian writers in the second half of the nineteenth century (A. Pavlovych, A. Kralytsky, I. Sylvai, E. Fentsyk, A. Mytrak, J. Stavrovsky-Popradov, and others) wrote in a mixture of Russian, Church Slavonic, and Ukrainian words. This literature did not reflect the interests and feelings of the common people of Transcarpathia.

The economic situation in Transcarpathia was very poor, particularly in the late nineteenth century. Despite the

fact that serfdom was abolished in 1848, the peasants were still socially and economically dependent upon the great landowners whose huge estates remained intact. The increase of population and the consequent parcelling of the land, plus the slow progress of urbanization and industrialization contributed to the continuance of a general hunger for land among the peasantry. The villagers were burdened with other problems as well: poor harvests in the 1890's, alcoholism, and usury—all of which helped to create chronic famine among the population. In 1898-1902 the Hungarian government, upon the request of Bishop G. Firtsak, initiated the so-called "Action in the Highlands" (*Verkhovyns'ka aktsiia*)—a series of social and economic reforms aimed at ameliorating the conditions of the peasants; practical results remained insignificant, however. The severe privations provided a strong impetus for emigration to the United States. In the 1880's the emigration movement took on a mass character, especially in the western counties of Transcarpathia (Sharysh, Zemplyn, Ung). The natural increase of the population was more than offset by the mass emigration; in 1905-7 the number of emigrants reached as high as 200 per cent of the natural increase. In no other Slav territory has such a high percentage of the local population emigrated to America.

The period between 1900-14 was marked by three important processes in Transcarpathia: increased Hungarian oppression, a new wave of Russophilism, and the emergence of a new Ukrainian populist movement.

The school laws of 1902 and 1907 (the so-called Apponyi laws) provided for the introduction of the Hungarian language into the parochial schools, which resulted in the Magyarization of all schools. In the area of church policies, a new diocese of Haydudorog was established in 1912; it consisted of the parts of the Mukachiv and Priashiv (Prešov) eparchies in which Hungarian was in-

troduced as the church language. Moreover, Bishop S. Novak of Priashiv introduced the Gregorian calendar into his diocese, and in 1916 the Ministry of Education imposed the Latin alphabet with Hungarian spelling upon Ukrainian publications.

Beginning in 1900 Russian Pan Slavist circles in St. Petersburg and the Russophiles of Galicia displayed a more active interest in the fate of Transcarpathia. With the support of the Pan-Slavic leader, Count V. Bobrinsky, in St. Petersburg, fervent agitation for conversion to Orthodoxy was begun in Transcarpathia which was helped by the oppressive measures of the Hungarian government. At a mass trial in Marmarosh Sziget (December, 1913-March, 1914) several dozen peasant converts to Orthodoxy were sentenced to imprisonment.

The decline in the cultural development of the Carpatho-Ukrainians in contrast to the powerful national rebirth taking place in Galicia induced a group of the younger Transcarpathian intellectuals and ecclesiastics to work for the improvement of the social and cultural standards of the peasants. This was the so-called populist movement which subsequently, under the Czechoslovak regime, contributed decisively to the Ukrainian national rebirth of Transcarpathia.

Among the first modern Ukrainian political thinkers to become concerned about the fate of the Carpatho-Ukrainians was Michael Drahomanov; in 1875-6 he visited Transcarpathia twice and studied the conditions of the people. In the 1890's Transcarpathia was studied by several Galician Ukrainian writers and men of letters, including I. Franko (history of literature), V. Hnatiuk (ethnography), I. Verkhratsky (dialectology), S. Tomashivsky (history and statistics), and others. Anthropological research in Transcarpathia was conducted by T. Vovk. Under their influence some Carpatho-Ukrainian writers collaborated

with and contributed to publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv—for example, G. Zhatkovych (historian) and H. Strypsky (literary critic). L. Chopei, author of the Ruthenian-Hungarian Dictionary (1883), began the populist trend in literature and linguistics.

An outstanding leader in the first half of the twentieth century was the Rev. Augustine Voloshyn, author of the Grammar of the Little Russian Language (in the Hungarian language, 1907) which became the standard reference for some time to come. He also edited the review *Nauka* (Learning), and wrote a series of textbooks and popular books.

The Ukrainian national movement in Transcarpathia, although not strong prior to World War I, none the less had deep roots among the people. When in 1918 Hungary collapsed, this movement was capable of formulating a set of definite political objectives.

I. L. Rudnytsky

WESTERN UKRAINE DURING WORLD WAR I

On August 1, 1914, the Supreme Ukrainian Council (*Holovna Ukraïns'ka Rada*)—composed of representatives of the three chief Ukrainian political parties in Austria—was formed under the leadership of Constantine Levytsky. On August 3, 1914, this *Rada* issued a manifesto to the Ukrainian people appealing for a united stand against the tsarist empire. The *Rada* united the commands of the Ukrainian volunteers in the Ukrainian Military Administration (*Ukraïns'ka Boiova Uprava*), which became the chief organ of the Ukrainian military formation known as the *Ukraïns'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi* (Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich) (see below). On August 4, 1914, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (*Soiuz Vyzvolennia Ukraïny*) was organized under Andrew Zhuk as a non-partisan political representation of the Ukrainians of the Russian empire.



FIGURE 456. PRESIDUM OF THE UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE

Left to right: A. Zhuk, V. Doroshenko, A. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky, M. Melenevsky.

Its aim was to take advantage of the war in order to promote the idea of the independence of Ukraine.

When the Russian armies began their invasion of Galicia, the Poles, who had supported the Russophile movement among the Ukrainians in Galicia before the war, now raised the cry of "Russian treason" on the part of the Galician Ukrainians. They aroused the retreating Hungarian units against the innocent Ukrainian peasants and clergymen. Hundreds of them were shot and hanged by military courts, often without the benefit of a trial. A great number of the Galician Ukrainian peasants and



FIGURE 457. MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN SICH RIFLEMEN

Seated (from the left): V. Starosolsky, T. Kormosh, C. Trylovsky, S. Tomashivsky, D. Kata-mai; standing (from the left): I. Bobersky, V. Temnytsky, L. Tsehelsky.

intellectuals, including some prominent leaders, were confined in Austrian internment camps (Talerhof and others).

From the early autumn of 1914 to the late spring of 1915, Galicia was under Russian occupation. Ukrainian organizations had to cease their activity, while the Russian authorities carried on searches and closed Ukrainian institutions. Arrests began; Metropolitan Count Andrew Sheptytsky and many other prominent Ukrainian leaders who remained in Galicia (Constantine Pankivsky, Stephen Fedak, Nicholas Zaiachkivsky, Mme. Constantine Malytska, and others) were deported to the East.

Some Ukrainian political leaders and intellectuals moved to Vienna before the Russian armies began to occupy eastern Galicia. The Ukrainian cause in Vienna was represented first by a group of deputies: Constantine Levytsky, Eugene Olesnytsky, and Nicholas Vasylo, who tried to protect the interests of the Ukrainian people before the Austrian government. They acted to alleviate the plight of the Ukrainian evacuees in the Austrian camps (the biggest was the camp in Gmünd, Upper Austria) and of the émigrés.

On May 5, 1915, the General Ukrainian Council (*Zahaľna Ukraïns'ka Rada*) was founded in Vienna—representing Ukrainian nationals in Austria during the war—composed of the representatives of the Galician and Bukovinian parties; it acted in close understanding with the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. The basic political aims of the General Ukrainian *Rada* were: a free, independent Ukrainian state in the Russian Ukraine and territorial national autonomy for the Ukrainian people within the borders of Austria. On behalf of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, many Galician and Bukovinian intellectuals began activities which aimed at making the Ukrainian prisoners of war nationally conscious. These were soldiers of the Russian army in Austrian and German

camps, of whom part were later organized into the "gray" and "blue" divisions of the Ukrainian army. The General Ukrainian *Rada*, in addition to its political activities, occupied itself with relief work for the Ukrainian refugees from Galicia and Volhynia; after the retreat of the Russian army from Lviv (June, 1915) and from the greater part of Galicia, it organized protection and help for the Ukrainian population during the difficult times of the war.

The General Ukrainian *Rada* repeatedly urged the Austrian government to create a separate administrative unit out of the Ukrainian part of Galicia, but these demands had brought no results. It also asked that the Ukrainian military units of the Riflemen of the Sich should replace the Polish legions in the Ukrainian districts taken from Russia. The Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich (Captain Dmytro Vitovsky and Lieutenant N. Saievych) were allowed to enter only the northwestern Ukrainian districts and there they engaged in vigorous cultural and political activities, in particular, setting up a network of Ukrainian schools. This was done despite the opposition from the Poles and Austrian military authorities.

In November, 1916, Germany and Austria jointly proclaimed the independence of Poland which was to be formed from the lands taken from Russia. At the same time, a broad autonomy for Galicia was announced by Austrian Emperor Francis Joseph. Galicia was not to be divided, as Ukrainians had hoped, into separate Ukrainian and Polish provinces but to be governed as a unit which in practice meant that it would be ruled by the Poles. The General Ukrainian *Rada* made a vigorous protest against this decision and discontinued its activities. Ukrainian members of Austrian parliament, under the leadership of Julian Romanchuk, publicly announced on November 7, 1916, that the Ukrainian people would never recognize the placing of Galicia under Polish rule; nor

would they ever give up their fight for either the national autonomy of the Ukrainian lands in Austria or the formation of a separate Ukrainian crown land in Austria. Shortly thereafter, on November 21, 1916, Emperor Francis Joseph died and the new Emperor Charles I assured the Ukrainian parliamentary representatives that after the war everything, including the question of a separate Ukrainian Galician province, would be settled favorably to the interests of the Ukrainian people. However, the leaders of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (*Ukrains'ka Parliamentarna Reprerentatsiia*) insisted upon the settlement of the Ukrainian question in Austria before the end of the war. In contrast to the extremely conciliatory policy toward the Austrian government of the leaders of the General Ukrainian *Rada*, the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation—under the leadership of Dr. Eugene Petrushevych—assumed a more uncompromising attitude. The new policy was especially supported in the ranks of the Ukrainian military units of the Riflemen of the Sich. When the Austrian parliament finally reconvened in May, 1917, after the period of wartime absolutism, Eugene Petrushevych declared on behalf of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, on May 30, 1917, that the territories of the former Kingdom of Halych and Volhynia were Ukrainian lands which could not be merged with the Polish lands, and that any effort in that direction would be considered by the Ukrainians as a violation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples. In an effort to appease the Galician Ukrainians, a Ukrainian was included for the first time in the Austrian cabinet and Professor Ivan Horbachevsky became Minister of Health.

The outbreak of the revolution in the Russian empire in March, 1917, and the establishment of a Ukrainian government in Kiev evoked great enthusiasm among the Austrian Ukrainians. After

the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic by the Ukrainian Central *Rada* in November, 1917, the National Committee in Galicia, at the end of December, 1917, sent greetings to the Ukrainian Republic in Kiev, explaining at the same time the policy of the Austrian Ukrainians: they would strive for the union of the Ukrainian lands of Austria-Hungary into one autonomous state; if this demand were not met by the Austrian government, they would openly seek a union with the Ukrainian Republic.

On February 9, 1918, the peace treaty of Brest-Litovsk was concluded between the Ukrainian Republic and the Central Powers. In Galicia, the news was greeted by Ukrainian public demonstrations in Lviv on February 10, which subsequently spread throughout the country. The peace treaty included a secret agreement by which the Ukrainian part of Galicia and Bukovina were to be organized as a separate crown land.

At a session of the lower house of the Austrian parliament on February 20, 1918, Dr. Constantine Levytsky made a declaration on behalf of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation and demanded the division of Galicia into a Ukrainian and a Polish part with separate administrative organs for both parts; if the Austrian government would not agree to this, the Austrian Ukrainians



FIGURE 458.
C. LEVYTSKY

would demand to be united with the Ukrainian Republic. Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky made a similar declaration in the upper house of the Austrian parliament. To prevent any threat to the Ukrainian cause in

Austria, a non-partisan organization of national defense, the Inter-party Council (*Mizhpartiina Rada*), was formed in March, 1918.

When several months later the end of the Austro-Hungarian empire was rapidly approaching, the presidium of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation called a meeting in Lviv of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly composed of the Ukrainian bishops, the deputies of the parliament and of the diets of Galicia and Bukovina, and representatives of the Ukrainian political parties. This assembly convened on October 18, 1918, and decided to proclaim a Ukrainian state on the territory of the Ukrainian area of Galicia, northwestern Bukovina, and Ukrainian Transcarpathia. The Constituent Assembly assumed the name of the Ukrainian National Council (*Ukrains'ka Natsionalna Rada*). On October 19, 1918, the decisions of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly were proclaimed in the hall of the Ukrainian National Home in Lviv. On November 1, 1918, the Ukrainian National *Rada* took over the government in the capital of Galicia, Lviv, and in the entire country. It thus preceded the action of the Polish Liquidation Commission, which aimed at uniting the whole of Galicia with Poland.

The war years were even more difficult for Bukovina than for Galicia, for Bukovina was occupied time and again by the armies of the belligerent powers. It was only in the summer of 1917 that Bukovina was finally retaken by the Austrian army. During the war, the Ukrainian leaders of Bukovina cooperated with those of Galicia.

Before the dissolution of the Austrian empire, a Ukrainian Land Committee was formed in Chernivtsi under the leadership of Omelian Popovych on October 25, 1918. It constituted a section of the Ukrainian National *Rada* in Lviv and it was making preparations to take over the government in Bukovina.

The war years were critical ones for Transcarpathia. Taking advantage of the war, the Hungarian government intensified its policy of Magyarization. The Ukrainians were to become Hungarians

of the Greek Catholic rite. The Julian calendar was replaced by the Gregorian and the Cyrillic script was replaced by the Latin alphabet in both the schools and the church.

The Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich

The *Ukrains'ki Sichovi Stril'tsi*, known also as USS (or *Usususy*) and after 1916 officially as the Ukrainian Legion in the Austrian army, were limited as a result of the restrictions of the Austrian authorities to two battalions with their own reserve units. They were considered by the Austrian Ukrainians not so much a manifestation of loyalty to Austria as a precautionary measure of the Ukrainian leaders in their efforts to protect the rights of the Ukrainian people during the war as well as a nucleus of an independent military force to be used in case of any political changes which the World War might bring about.



FIGURE 459. THE COMMANDER OF THE CAVALRY OF THE UKRAINIAN SICH RIFLEMEN

R. Kaminsky giving orders to the officers (May, 1916).

Thus, the Ukrainian Riflemen of the Sich were, as they regarded themselves, a military unit organized for political purposes. They were composed of young volunteers, chiefly students and nationally conscious peasants and workers. Aware of their assignment, they distinguished themselves in their battles with the units of the Russian army on Mount Makivka in the Carpathian Mountains in May, 1915, at Halych and

on the Strypa, 1915–16, at Berezhany and Potutory, on the hill Lysonia in 1916, and at Koniukhy during General Brusilov's offensive in 1917. After a long interval, they were the first military organization which revived and took over the Ukrainian military tradition. Their ranks produced the first nationally conscious formations for the officers of the later Ukrainian armies, and their military spirit also influenced the mass of Ukrainians who were serving in the units of the regular Austrian army. With the outbreak of the revolution of 1917 in the Russian empire, they at once established contact with the nationally conscious groups of Ukrainian soldiers serving in the Russian army. Their initiative contributed to the formation of the Corps of Kievan Riflemen of the Sich under Colonel Eugene Konovalets.

The Riflemen of the Sich actively promoted the idea of the independence and unity of all Ukrainian lands. Their pressure on the Ukrainian Political Representation in Austria resulted in an intensification of the demands on the Austrian government in the interests of the Ukrainian people. It was the Riflemen of the Sich who, after the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917 in the Russian empire, pressed for a complete break of negotiations with the Austrian government and for the preparations aimed at the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state.

E. Vytanovych

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Introduction

Within the framework of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the territory of Western Ukraine had no administrative unity. In Austria there existed two predominantly Ukrainian lands—Galicia and Bukovina. The Transcarpathian Ukrainian counties were incorporated into the

Kingdom of Hungary. After the annexation of Galicia and Bukovina to Austria, Maria Theresa and Joseph II soon introduced the Austrian administrative provincial system. The political structure of the Austrian state was based on the absolute power of the monarch and its social order on the strict class (estates) system. There were no parliamentary institutions in Austria; in Hungary, the rudiments of such institutions had long been limited to the nobles and the higher clergy. In the provinces of Austria, there were the so-called landed estates, institutions of nobles with the addition of representatives of the higher clergy and the burghers of the chief cities. These land estates were introduced into Galicia by a patent of Maria Theresa on June 13, 1775, and later into Bukovina.

The period of absolutism seemed to end in Austria with the emperor's proclamation of a constitution (April 25, 1848) and with the summoning of a parliament to reform the political structure of the state and the internal political and administrative relations. This was to solve the problem of the autonomy of the provinces and the division of Galicia into two parts: Ukrainian Galicia and Polish province of Cracow. But the parliament was dissolved on March 4, 1849, and new constitutions were proclaimed by the emperor—the imperial as well as Galician (the latter, September 29, 1850). Galicia remained undivided. However, the new constitutions were annulled by imperial patent (December 31, 1851) and absolutism remained in Austria until 1860.

Following the unsuccessful wars (1859, 1866), the Habsburg empire was changed into a dual monarchy, composed of two equal states—the empire of Austria and the kingdom of Hungary—united by the monarch and some joint institutions. The new constitutional system (including the central parliament) of the whole empire was arranged by the fundamental imperial laws in December, 1867; they remained in force until the fall of Austria.

Special constitutional laws providing for the provincial parliaments, the land diets, were issued along with electoral laws. The constitutional relations of Hungary were settled by the fundamental laws of 1868.

As a result of this arrangement, the Western Ukrainians found themselves in diversified conditions. In centralized Hungary, there were no rights for non-Hungarian nationalities; in Austria, the provinces enjoyed broad autonomy.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, 1868-1918

The official name Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was first introduced by imperial decree on November 14, 1868, and remained until its dissolution in November, 1918. Austria-Hungary was composed of two parts with equal rights: the empire of Austria composed of kingdoms and lands, represented in the Imperial Council, and the kingdom of Hungary (the Crown of St. Stephen). Each had its own bicameral system of parliament, a separate government, and a judiciary.

They were united by the monarch who had the title of emperor in Austria and king in Hungary. The monarch enjoyed the privileges recognized by the constitutions of both parties, such as: the foreign representation of the monarchy; the designation or appointment of the government for each part, that is, the council of ministers as well as their dismissal was at the will of the monarch; confirmation of measures passed by the parliaments and land diets without which no law was valid; the monarch was the supreme commander of the armed forces and declared war (the conclusion of peace treaties and international agreements required the ratification of both parliaments); the monarch had the right of appointing the higher state officials, judges, and representatives of the monarchy in foreign countries, as well as the commission of army and navy officers; he had the

right of amnesty; he had the right to issue decrees in Austria with the force of law, when parliament was not in session (*Notverordnung*), and he used this right very frequently. The monarch was above the law and was not responsible for his actions before parliament or any other institution.

There was a separate imperial (royal) court chancellery for each of the two parts. To carry on matters common to the entire monarchy, there were three permanent joint ministries, (1) foreign affairs, (2) war, and (3) common finances, as well as the so-called joint delegations of the Austrian and Hungarian parliaments, elected by each parliament for one year and meeting alternately in Vienna and Budapest.

The Austrian Political Structure

The Austrian constitution consisted of the series of fundamental imperial laws of December 21, 1867. Among these was law Number 142 on the rights and obligations of citizens, which included an article (19) on the equality of all the peoples in multinational Austria, the guaranty of their free national development, and the right to use their own language in community life, in public schools, institutions, and courts. This article was of declaratory rather than practical importance, for there were no laws enforcing these expressed guarantees. However, this article secured the basic personal rights of citizens. The constitution drew a rather sharp distinction between the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, and the last was to a considerable extent independent of the first two.

The legislative power was exercised by the bicameral parliament (*Reichsrat*, Imperial Council) which consisted of the house of lords (*Herrenhaus*) and the house of deputies (*Abgeordnetenhaus*).

In Austria, there was no one legally established language; however, German was used most often by the various nationalities in inter-province relations.

The house of lords was composed of adult members of the ruling dynasty, the representatives of the nobility, the Catholic archbishops, and prince-bishops (including the Galician Ukrainian Catholic metropolitan), and certain members appointed for life by the monarch.

The Austrian house of deputies was composed first of the delegates of the various land (provincial) diets. Later on an electoral law of April 2, 1873, introduced direct elections to the all-Austrian house of deputies (353 members) which was elected for six years by the male population, divided into four groups (*curias*)—great landowners; commercial and industrial chambers; cities; and rural communities. Persons who paid the lowest taxes or none had no electoral rights.

Voting in the first three categories was direct, but was indirect in the peasant curia. In this curia, the preliminary election of peasant representatives—electors who were to participate in the election of deputies—and the actual election were by oral, hence, open vote. This opened for the Polish political administration in Galicia the possibility of wide electoral abuses, a factor which made the election of Ukrainian candidates difficult and even impossible. The Ukrainian representation in the Austrian house of deputies was insignificant for many years. The Ukrainians began to play a more noticeable role in the Austrian parliament only after 1907, when the curial system of elections was abolished and general, equal, direct, and secret voting was introduced—but still only men were permitted to vote. In the first general elections, in May, 1907, out of 516 deputies in the Austrian parliament, 32 Ukrainian deputies were elected from Galicia and Bukovina.

There was no full-fledged parliamentary system in Austria, as the Austrian house of deputies did not form the state's government. However, deputies had the right of legislative initiative; parliament supervised the activity of the

government and had the right to impeach its ministers before the imperial tribunal.

The executive power belonged to the imperial government. From the administrative point of view, the Austrian state consisted of fourteen provinces. The larger provinces (some, like Galicia, called "kingdoms") were headed by governors general (*Statthalter*) and the small by governors (presidents of the land). Galicia had a *Statthalter*, Bukovina a president of the land. The provincial governors were not responsible to the land (provincial) diets. The provinces were divided into counties (*starostvos*, *Bezirke*) which were the lowest units in the political state administration. In some larger cities, which had their own statutes (old charters) the power of the *starostvo* was carried on by the *magistrat*, that is, city government (Lviv and Cracow in Galicia, Chernivtsi in Bukovina). The task of public security in the provinces was carried on by the state gendarmerie directed by the provincial command of the gendarmerie, organized on military lines, subject to the army penal code, and supervised by the ministry of land defense. In the large cities, there was a separately organized state police commanded by a police director subject to the provincial governor (Lviv, Cracow, Chernivtsi); in local communities, there was a local police—municipal and rural.

The actual control of the state institutions in Galicia after 1867 was in Polish hands and Polish was the official language. Poles were governors of the land and were replaced only in 1915 by Austro-German generals. The county chief officials, appointed by the government, were exclusively Polish. In Bukovina, the control of the state institutions was in the hands of the Austro-Germans, although on a smaller scale, and the official language was German.

The army and navy were united for the entire monarchy and were under a joint ministry of war and a single general staff. Yet in both parts of the

monarchy, there were special military formations (in Austria, the so-called land defense and in Hungary, the *Honveds*), with separate ministries. The official language of command in the joint army and the Austrian land defense was German, of the *Honveds*, Hungarian. The army was organized on a territorial system; there were not only Austro-German defense units, but also Ukrainian, Czech, and Polish regiments, in which a supplementary language, that is, the "regimental language," was that of the nationality, for example, in the Ukrainian regiments, Ukrainian. By a law of December 5, 1868, universal military service was introduced into the entire monarchy, and each year the number of recruits was prescribed by the draft law. The term of active military service was two to three years.

The judiciary in Austria was to a great extent independent of the political administration; judges could not be transferred from their posts without their consent. In Vienna, there was, for the whole of Austria, a Supreme Court of Cassation for civil and criminal cases. The Ukrainian part of Galicia and the administratively separate Bukovina had their own Higher Land Court in Lviv. Lower courts were the circuit and county courts.

The Autonomy of Galicia

By the provincial constitution (land statute of 1861 for Galicia), the legislative functions (the provincial self-government) were exercised by the provincial parliament or Land Diet (*Sejm, Soim*), the administrative by the Land Executive Board set up by the Land Diet and the subordinated organs of provincial self-government. Within the competence of the land's autonomy were the administration of its own property, internal organization of communities and counties, care for popular education, especially management of elementary and trade schools, the improvement (e.g., draining, sewerage),

use, and rent of farming lands, construction and upkeep of provincial roads and railroads, and some fields of social legislation, hospitals, and so forth. All other questions not enumerated in the land's statute belonged to the legislative and executive function of the state. The

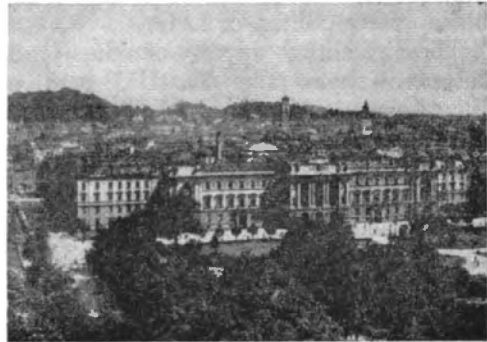


FIGURE 460. THE BUILDING OF THE GALICIAN DIET IN LVIV, NOW IVAN FRANKO UNIVERSITY

legislative initiative in matters of the land's autonomy belonged to the Land Executive Board, the Governor General, and the members of the Land Diet.

The Land Diet was unicameral. In addition to the elected deputies, it included a few *ex officio* members, that is, ruling archbishops and bishops of the three Catholic rites (four Roman Catholic, one Armenian Catholic, and three Greek Catholic), and the rectors of the universities in Lviv and Cracow. The deputies were elected in four curias, as in the elections to the Austrian house of deputies, on the basis of the electoral law of 1873.

The largest representation was that of the curia of peasant communities, but it did not possess an absolute majority in the diet. The Ukrainians could elect the diet's deputies only to the curia of village communities; even this was made difficult not only because the elections were indirect, but also as a result of electoral abuses. The Poles had a safe and overwhelming majority in the diet. They were guided by the representatives of the land-owning nobility—whose class

interests in Ukrainian Galicia were almost identical with those of the Poles. The deputies were elected for six years. The presidium of the diet, the marshal and vice-marshal, were appointed by the emperor for the full six-year term. The vice-marshal of the diet was usually a Ukrainian, most frequently the archbishop-metropolitan of Lviv.

The executive organ of the land autonomy was the Land Executive Board. It consisted of the presiding officer—the land marshal—and six members of the diet, chosen by the diet for its full term. Only one of these six was a Ukrainian deputy. The Land Executive Board as a collegiate body decided the most important questions provided by the autonomy statute of the land and reviewed the decisions of local community and county councils and their executive organs. Also, it executed the commissions of the Land Diet and prepared legislative drafts for it. The members of the Land Executive Board had separate fields assigned to them, for which they were responsible to the board and to the diet. Members of the Land Diet, like those of the Imperial Council, had the immunity of deputies. The official language of the diet and of the Land Executive Board was Polish; however, the Ukrainian members of the diet had the right to speak and make motions either orally or in writing in Ukrainian. The diet approved a land budget each year, whose income depended chiefly upon additions to the direct state taxes, which were approved by the diet. Laws enacted by the diet required imperial approval.

Local provincial self-government in communities (rural and urban) and counties rested upon special community laws approved in the diet and also upon the law on county representation. There were two categories of powers of community administration boards and *magistrats* (city governments): their autonomous power was based upon the laws for internal provincial self-government

and their delegated power was carried out on the orders of the state administrative authorities; in delegated matters they were under the supervision of the county chief official (*starosta*) and in the autonomous affairs under the County Executive Board.

By an electoral law for communities in 1866, all taxpayers participated in the communal elections—including legal persons, women and minors, represented by their legal agents. The voters, who were taxpayers, were divided into three electoral groups, each of which chose the same number of communal councillors and their alternates. The groups were formed according to the amount of taxes paid. As an exception, persons of high scholarly standing and those holding some public offices (local pastors, school principals, etc.) were enrolled in the first (smallest) group. In Lviv and Cracow, there was no division into electoral groups. As the community councils decided the language of administration, in Ukrainian communities this was most frequently Ukrainian. In general the Ukrainians in their dealings with the authorities and in the courts used Ukrainian orally and in writing, and all public state or municipal institutions and courts were obliged to answer in Ukrainian.

The great landowners, mostly Poles, were enrolled in the land books at the circuit courts and were dissociated from the local village communities. In their landed estates, which were excluded from the jurisdiction of communal authorities, their bailiffs or they themselves exercised the local administrative and police powers.

The county councils and the county executive boards acted in individual counties on the basis of the land law of 1866 regarding county representation and the electoral law then in effect. The county council was composed of twenty members, elected in the curias of the great landowners and highest taxpayers, towns, and rural communities. The county council chose, from its mem-

bership, an executive organ—a county executive board composed of six members and a presiding officer, the county marshal. The term of office of the council and board, like that of the lower communal organizations, was six years. The powers (autonomous and delegated) of the county councils and the county executive boards were quite broad. But in consequence of the electoral provisions favoring Polish land-owning nobility, Ukrainians had no absolute majority in any county's self-governing organizations. The heads of the county councils were usually Polish noble landowners; as a rare exception a Ukrainian, usually a priest, held this office. The official language of the county councils and executive boards was Polish; the county executive boards, staffed by Polish administrators were hated by the Ukrainians, as they were the most active spreaders of Polonization.

In 1866, the Land Diet in Lviv passed a law on elementary schools and the language of instruction in the secondary schools. The language of instruction in the public elementary schools was to be decided by the local community councils; consequently the Ukrainian communities introduced Ukrainian. But these were usually schools of the lowest type with only four or less grades. The larger elementary schools as well as the communal (junior) high schools in the cities were almost never in Ukrainian hands. Likewise, the public trade schools in Galicia were exclusively Polish. By the school law of 1866, the language of instruction in all state academic secondary schools (*gymnasiums*) (except in the so-called Academic Gymnasium in Lviv) was Polish; seminaries for teachers were bilingual—Polish and Ukrainian. State-controlled secondary schools with a non-Polish language of instruction could be founded in Galicia only with the approval of the land diet and after hearing the opinion of the corresponding county council. It was hard to secure such an approval from the Polish majority in the

diet, and there was a long struggle for every new Ukrainian state gymnasium in Galicia.

The land law of 1866 on the Land Board of Education standardized the question of the organization of school systems and the school authorities. At the Board's head was the governor general, but the actual chief was his assistant, the vice-president of the Land Board of Education. The more important questions were decided by the entire group. This collegiate body, in addition to the appointed professional school inspectors, was composed of the representatives of the religious faiths, the Land Executive Board, and the city councils of Lviv and Cracow. As the Ukrainians had a very small number of members in the Land Board of Education this organization carried on a systematic policy of Polonization. The affairs of the elementary schools in the counties were controlled by a county school board under the presidency of the county *starosta* (governor) aided by his professional representative—the county school inspector. The county school board was composed of representatives of the county council, the clergy, and the teachers. In this institution, too, Ukrainians formed a minority.

In the rural and urban communities, there were community school boards with representatives of the teachers, clergy, communities, and the landed estates. The range of their activity was small and was usually limited to the material care of the school.

When the Galician diet, controlled by the Polish landed nobility, approved laws and acted in the economic, agrarian, and social fields, it was guided primarily by the Polish nationality's interests as well as the interests of the great landowners' class. Its decisions, which became laws with the approval of the emperor, were often far from satisfying the needs of the great masses of the population, especially the peasantry.

As a result, the Ukrainians constantly advocated the demand that Galicia be

divided into two crown lands (Ukrainian Galicia and the Polish province of Cracow); that, at least, the Land Board of Education be divided into Polish and Ukrainian sections; and that the undemocratic method of election to the Galician diet favoring great landowners be reformed. Just prior to World War I, the electoral law for the diet was changed, and two curias or separate chambers of the diet, Polish and Ukrainian, were to be set up. The outbreak of World War I prevented the realization of this Ukrainian demand.

Bukovina

In 1861, Bukovina was granted its own land statute (provincial constitution), a land diet, and a land executive board. The construction of the constitution and the diet was similar to the Galician; however, in Bukovina, the intermediate system of county councils and county executive boards was not introduced. All local communities were directly under the Land Executive Board in Chernivtsi. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ukrainians of Bukovina acquired a stronger control of the lands' officers, especially after a change in the electoral law some years before World War I which permitted them to elect an important group (16) to the Land Diet. Until the end of the Austrian rule, German remained the official language in Bukovina.

S. Baran

Transcarpathia

Hungary (of which Transcarpathia was a part) concluded a compromise with the Habsburgs in 1867 and won the restoration of its constitutional liberties. The constitution granted Hungary full sovereignty in internal affairs. Legislative power was vested in a bicameral parliament, consisting of the National Assembly and the House of Lords, executive power in the king and the government, judicial power in a system of

courts. Members of the National Assembly were elected by direct, open ballot, but eligible voters were limited by the 1874 Electoral Law to less than 10 per cent of the population. Members of the House of Lords were the magnates by right of birth, the bishops (among them Transcarpathian bishops), the lord lieutenants, and other high officials and persons appointed by the government. In the nine parliamentary elections between 1867 and 1918 all the seats from Transcarpathia went to Magyars, three of whom were of Ruthenian descent (in 1861 A. Dobriansky was elected to the Budapest parliament). Hungary was divided into *zhupas* or *komitats* (in Hungarian, *megye*—counties), cities with municipal autonomy, and *povits* (*járás*, districts), the latter consisting of smaller and larger villages. All were governed by officials appointed by the government. The village chairman was appointed by the *notar* (*jegyző*, village clerk), the village clerk by the administrator of the district, the administrator of the district by the *zhupan* (*főispán*, lord lieutenant who was chief of the county), and the lord lieutenant by the minister of interior. The County Assembly, which functioned as an advisory body to the lord lieutenant, was partly elected (one-half of the members) and partly appointed. This assembly elected from 3 candidates submitted by the lord lieutenant the second highest official of the county, the deputy lieutenant. The same procedure was used in assemblies governing cities with municipal autonomy. These elections were practically governmental appointments and the seats were always held by Magyars. The ruling Hungarian caste, feudal and arrogant in its ways, was not very concerned about the rights and living conditions of the lower classes of its own race, much less those of the "second and third rank minorities." Pre-World War I Hungary was one of the most reactionary states in Europe.

A. Stefan

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9. THE RENASCENCE OF UKRAINE: THE UKRAINIAN STATE, 1917-20

THE PERIOD OF THE CENTRAL RADA (COUNCIL)

Ukraine and the Russian Revolution

The rebirth of the Ukrainian state in 1917 had its own deep internal causes, but it came about when it did largely as a result of the fall of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires, both of which controlled Ukrainian territory.

Nineteen hundred and seventeen was the third year of World War I, the war that had demonstrated the strength of national states such as France, England,

and Germany, and the weakness of conglomerate empires such as Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman empire, and Russia. World War I largely determined the course of events in Ukraine, which was a theater of important military operations.

The Ukrainian state was reborn against the background of the great social revolution in Russia. Several factors were basically responsible for this revolution. Chief among them were the disintegration of the social forces on which the tsarist regime depended (the higher

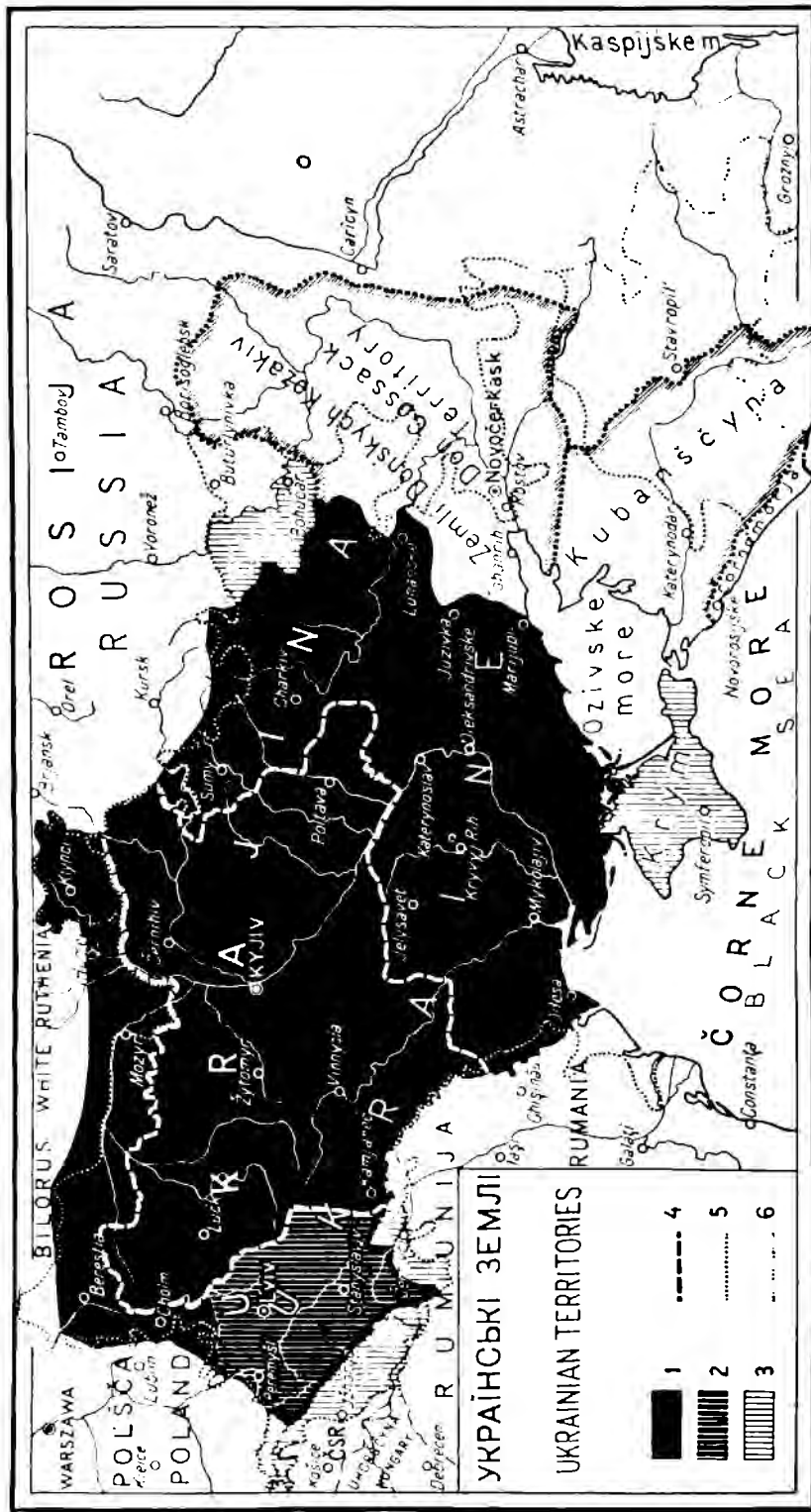


FIGURE 461. THE UKRAINIAN LANDS IN 1914-20

(1) the Ukrainian State in 1918-20; (2) the Western Ukrainian National Republic; (3) territories temporarily incorporated in the Ukrainian state in 1917-19; (4) the boundaries of autonomous Ukraine in August, 1917; (5) the boundaries of the compact Ukrainian ethnic territory; (6) the Ukrainian ethnic territory including the area of mixed population.

aristocracy, the bureaucracy, and the church), and the failure of the government to alleviate the wretched conditions of the workers and of the small land-holding peasants, and to reconcile the sharp social and national antagonisms that existed within the empire. Defeats at the front and food shortages were the immediate causes. The Revolutionary leadership was first assumed by the liberal intelligentsia, who thought that now that "the treason of the ministers" was destroyed they would be able to lead Russia to victory in the war. But it soon became clear that the Russian peasants were not interested in the war and that the soldiers' only concerns were to go home and to acquire a piece of land. Amid the general disorder the Provisional Government gradually lost its prestige and the Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies acquired power. The country passed into a state of complete anarchy which extended into all parts of Russia. After seven months the Provisional Government was overthrown by a Bolshevik coup d'état.

In the non-Russian areas of the empire the Revolution was of a different character. Here the struggle was not only to attain social freedom, but also independence from any foreign government, including a Russian one, and to stop the anarchy which was spreading in these regions.

In Ukraine the Revolution at once took on an essentially national character. Ukrainians in all corners of the empire—at the front, in the garrisons of Russian cities—formed groups which put forward demands concerning use of the national language, the creation of Ukrainian schools, the organization of Ukrainian military units, national self-government within the framework of the Russian state, and even the complete independence of Ukraine. The Ukrainian masses created a powerful movement which led to the emergence of the Ukrainian National Republic. It became obvious that Ukrainian national spirit was very much alive and

deeply rooted in the people, and that at any moment a great Ukrainian national movement could become an important factor in the life of eastern Europe.

The revolution began on March 8, when a strike broke out in the great Putilov factory in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) and the people went out into the streets. Many Ukrainians were in the guards in Petrograd, especially in the Volhynian regiment. A secret Social Democratic Ukrainian organization existed among them which received directives from Volodymyr Vynnychenko, who lived in Moscow illegally and traveled to Petrograd in secret. These Ukrainian guard members were active in the events of the Revolution in the tsarist capital. After the outbreak of the Revolution, Petrograd Ukrainian circles—two branches of the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP), with the participation of other groups—immediately organized a national committee under Alexander Lototsky. Ukrainian soldiers and workmen formed an important faction, headed by Alexander Shulhyn, in the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies of Petrograd, which at once began to compete for power with the Provisional Government.

The Organization of Ukrainian National Forces

The Revolution quickly spread to the most distant areas. In Kiev on March 17 the Central *Rada* (Council) was set up as an all-Ukrainian representative institution. The Central *Rada* soon became the center of the Ukrainian liberation movement. At the end of March, Professor Michael Hrushevsky arrived in Kiev from exile in Russia and became its president. His articles in the daily *Nova Rada* (New Council), which began to appear at the end of March, presented the major demands of the national movement at the time and found wide readership. During the first months of the Revolution, Hrushevsky was the undisputed leader of Ukraine.

Early in April a great demonstration was held in Kiev. Tens of thousands of peasants came to the city; about 100,000 took part in it including several thousand



FIGURE 462.
M. HRUSHEVSKY

armed Ukrainian soldiers. In the Square of St. Sophia in Kiev, Hrushevsky delivered his first great speech with the well-known words "Ukrainian People! the centuries-old fetters have fallen, the hour of your freedom has come."

He administered to his listeners an oath of loyalty to Ukraine. This was the period of the formation of the Ukrainian mass movement for national liberation.

Various congresses were held in Kiev; old parties were reorganized, and new ones formed. On April 7 a national congress of the Society of Ukrainian Progressives (TUP) was held in Kiev under the leadership of Hrushevsky. This organization had worked illegally until 1917; its aims were non-factional and directed toward the political emancipation of the Ukrainian people. Established in 1908, it had directed most Ukrainian political activities until 1917. Its members included almost all Ukrainian Radical Democrats as well as a number of Social Democrats and non-party people. Its center was in Kiev; its leadership included M. Hrushevsky, Eugene Chykalenko, Elias Shrah, Serhii Yefremov, Theodore Matushevsky, Volodymyr Leontovych, Viacheslav Prokopovych, Dmytro Doroshenko. The organization had several branches in Kiev, a large number throughout Ukraine, a branch in Moscow, and two in Petrograd. These latter two played the role of intermediaries with the Duma opposition and so were especially important. There were more than sixty branches in all. The congress of the Progressives had great weight in this stormy period. Its

resolutions were moderate: in order to secure the maximum of national rights for the Ukrainian people, the steering committee recommended that autonomy for Ukraine, gradually and as far as possible legally, be TUP's aim in view of the still weak organization of the masses and the circumstances of revolution and war. Although Hrushevsky himself already was inclined toward a stronger policy, the proposals of the steering committee were adopted almost unanimously and determined Ukrainian policy until October, 1917. This was the last important appearance of the TUP. It continued to exist under the new name of the Union of Ukrainian Autonomists-Federalists, but it displayed no activity and its place was taken by various parties.

On April 19-21 the Central *Rada* called an All-Ukrainian National Congress in which 1,500 delegates from the



FIGURE 463. THE PEDAGOGICAL MUSEUM IN KIEV
WHERE THE CENTRAL COUNCIL MET

organizations of all Ukraine took part. Peasants and soldiers predominated. Hrushevsky was chosen honorary president; the active president was S. Erastov of Kuban, the oldest delegate; and the vice-presidents were S. Yefremov and V. Vynnychenko, whose popularity at the time was second only to that of Hrushevsky. Although in its resolutions the congress recognized the supreme authority of the Russian constitutional assembly which was to be called soon in order to set up a new political order in the former Russian empire, the demand for the participation of Ukraine in an inter-

national peace congress showed that it already considered Ukraine a separate body politic.

The National Congress turned into a great celebration for the entire Ukrainian population. Although several new parties had already been formed, strong national unity was manifested. Social questions, which later played such a great role and at times even evoked internal hostility, had not yet been placed on the order of the day.

The congress elected the Central *Rada* as the standing Ukrainian representative assembly. The *Rada* was joined by representatives of all parties, of professional and cultural organizations, and also by representatives of the provinces, who were considered provisional delegates only, for provincial congresses were to be called later to re-elect their delegates. The Central *Rada* had one hundred and fifty members in all at that time.

With the outbreak of the Revolution all barriers erected to hinder the development of Ukrainian culture disappeared. The Ukrainian press reappeared; old publishing houses were revived and new ones were established to meet the tremendous demand for Ukrainian books. Educational committees were organized to put together new textbooks in the Ukrainian language. In Kiev and in the provinces courses for the retraining of teachers were set up. This intensive educational reorganization took place not only throughout Ukraine but also in cities outside of Ukraine with a large Ukrainian population.

Political Parties and Other Organizations

In political life this was a period of reorganization of old parties and the establishment of new ones. The old Democratic Radical party, which had begun its existence among the followers of Drahomanov but had ceased its activity in favor of the TUP, was regenerated. At its congress in June, 1917, on the initiative of S. Yefremov, it took the

name of the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists (UPSF); but its socialism was moderate, in the spirit of the cooperative movement. The party understood federalism not as an obligatory federal link between Ukraine and Russia but as world-wide and internal federalism, for it was against a centralized Ukraine. At its head was S. Yefremov; his deputy was A. Nikovsky; other prominent members at this time were D. Doroshenko (who later left the party), E. Shrah, A. Lototsky, P. Stebnytsky, A. Viazlov, I. and Z. Myrnyi, and, of the younger men, M. Kushnir and A. Shulhyn. Another member was the well-known economist, Professor Michael Tuhon-Baranovsky. M. Hrushevsky, also a member of the TUP, later left it and joined the UPSR.

The Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Labor party (USDRP) had developed from the old Revolutionary Ukrainian party; it had worked underground since 1907 after a series of arrests. At its head at this time was V. Vynnychenko. Simon Petliura had long been a member, and important roles were played by D. Antonovych, M. Tkachenko, and N. Porsh. Other leading members were V. Sadovsky, A. Livytsky, I. Mazepa, L. Chykalenko, V. Chekhivsky and M. Yermiiv.

The Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries (UPSR) had not existed before the Revolution except in the form of several separate groups. The program of this party called for radical agrarian reform with state ownership of the large estates. Later this land was to be distributed among the peasants with the land under the supervision of self-governing bodies within the communities, counties, and provinces, rather than the state. The radical program of the UPSR was attractive to the Ukrainian masses. This party soon won an absolute majority at the elections, not only over the UPSF with its moderate program of social-economic reforms but also over the USDRP. At the head of UPSR were such young men as N. Kovalevsky, A. Sevriuk,

P. Khrystiuk, N. Shrah; the older members—M. Shapoval, N. Zalizniak, and others—did not play leading roles at the time. This party had M. Hrushevsky's strongest support.

Both the Ukrainian Peasant Union, which was formed in May and figured significantly in the organization of the peasantry, and the cooperative movement, which had existed legally before the Revolution, were important political groups at this time. The USDRP and non-party people directed the cooperative movement, but the Peasant Union was dominated by the Social Revolutionaries.

In addition to the three major parties (UPSF, USDRP, and UPSR), a number of minor political parties existed also. The Ukrainian Labor party, headed by T. Kryzhanivsky, was close to the UPSR. It had representatives in the Central *Rada*, but was unimportant and soon ceased to exist. The Ukrainian Party of *Samostiinyky-Socialists** was composed chiefly of military men and was headed by N. Mikhnovsky, I. Lypa, P. Makenko, A. Andriievsky, A. Stepanenko, and I. Lutsenko. The Ukrainian Democratic Farmers party, which began in Lubni in Poltava province, was headed by M. Boiarsky, S. Shemet, and V. Shkliar. Its program was written by V. Lypynsky and it was the forerunner of the Hetman movement. Together with the *Samostiinyky-Socialists*, it called for an immediate declaration of independence, but played no other important political role.

The Ukrainian Federative-Democratic party, unlike the two preceding parties, was against independence in principle and sought a moderate social program. At its head were prominent persons who, in the past, were members of the old *Hromada* of Kiev (V. Naumenko, I. Luchytsky, V. Ihnatovych, and I. Kviatkovsky, among others). It was almost without influence.

Beside these purely political organiza-

**Samostiinyky* (pl.) means Independents.

tions, other organizations and their congresses played significant roles in Ukraine at the time. The most important of these were congresses of the soldiers, peasants, and workers. All the congresses fully supported the Central *Rada* and sent delegates to it. The military congresses (see below) took place on May 18 and June 18 and sent 130 delegates to the Central *Rada*.

The peasant congress, which was held in Kiev in June, sent 133 delegates to the Central *Rada*. This congress was attended by about 2200 deputies—1,500 of them representing 1,000 *volosts*. Later, on July 6, the Ukrainian workers' congress also sent its delegates to the Central *Rada*, which by July already had 822 members. Because of this the Central *Rada* formed a Standing Steering Committee called the Little *Rada*, which contained representatives of the different groups in the plenum—altogether about forty persons. The full council met not more than once a month.

The Ukrainian Military Movement

With the March Revolution the discipline in the Russian army both at the front and in the interior disintegrated. The General Headquarters at Mohyliv, the command of the army and navy, and the commands of the military districts were under the Ministry of War of the Russian Provisional Government. It relied chiefly upon the officer corps, the loyal combat troops, and Don Cossack units. But in the lower ranks among the soldiers, the Soviets of Soldiers' Deputies of the different units constantly gained greater popularity. Their function at first was general control over non-operational activities. Later, however, the military commanders of units had no power other than to fulfil the decisions of the soviets of the units.

Alongside these general military soviets in units in which Ukrainians were serving, Ukrainian military councils began to emerge (behind the front lines, military clubs, societies, and committees).

They frequently disagreed with the decisions of the Russian soldiers' soviets, which later passed under the control of the Bolsheviks. The military councils of the different units and fronts began to call their own meetings and to develop (especially from June, 1917, on) a lively Ukrainian press which was initiated by the lower officers and soldiers who had been teachers and students. In the cities, both in Ukraine and Russia, a series of Ukrainian demonstrations were held in which thousands of the Ukrainian soldiers garrisoned there participated. All the Russian groupings without exception adopted a hostile attitude to the activity of the Ukrainian military councils and committees.

The Ukrainian military organizations first advanced the demand that military units quartered in Ukraine should in future be recruited only from among Ukrainians, and also that the units of



FIGURE 464. MANIFESTATION OF UKRAINIAN SOLDIERS IN KIEV IN THE SPRING OF 1917

the Russian army composed mostly of Ukrainians should be transferred to the southwestern front. The initiative for creating separate Ukrainian units came from the Hetman P. Polubotok Military Club (founded by Nicholas Mikhnovsky on March 29, 1917, in Kiev) and from the Ukrainian Military Organizational Committee, which organized on April 1, 1917, the First Ukrainian Regiment of B. Khmelnytsky under the command of

Lieutenant Colonel G. Kapkan from some of the Ukrainian soldiers temporarily stationed in Kiev.

The Ukrainian Military Organizational Committee called the First All-Ukrainian Military Congress in Kiev on May 18, 1917, in which about 700 delegates from the Ukrainian military groups, front line units, navy, and rear echelons took part. Fully supporting the Central *Rada*, the congress demanded national autonomy for Ukraine, and the Ukrainization and separation of the Ukrainian units of the Russian army and of the Black Sea fleet. The congress created the Ukrainian General Military Committee as its permanent leadership with Simon Petliura as the president.

Despite the prohibition by the Russian Minister of War, A. Kerensky, the Second All-Ukrainian Military Congress was held in Kiev on June 18-23, 1917, with 2,500 delegates representing almost 2,000,000 soldiers. It concerned itself



FIGURE 465. THE UKRAINIAN GENERAL MILITARY COMMITTEE

Among the members, first from the left: General M. Ivaniv, Lieut. Colonel V. Pavlenko; fifth: Seaman S. Pysmennyi; sixth: S. Petliura; eleventh: Colonel A. Pylyevych.

with the Free Kozaks—militia formations which had been organized voluntarily in Ukraine since April, 1917. It elected a Provisional Military Council of 130 men which entered the Central *Rada* as the representatives of the Ukrainian soldiers.

Ukrainian-Russian Relations before the First Universal

During the first months of the Revolution the Ukrainian people increased and

mobilized their forces for the struggle for the gradual realization of their goal of national self-government.

This struggle had first to be carried on against the Revolutionary elements of the local Russian minority who considered themselves the heirs of the tsarist regime. The Provisional Government removed the old imperial governors in Ukraine and in their place appointed the chairmen of the provincial *zemstvo* (self-government) as the governmental commissioners in the provinces. These institutions were not as hostile to the Ukrainian national aspirations as the social organizations and the political parties of the non-Ukrainian population, for example, the Russian Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies which sprang up simultaneously in Kiev and in the other cities of Ukraine as local organs of the revolutionary government. Many Ukrainian workers were denationalized and army garrisons in Ukraine were always composed of non-Ukrainians. Gatherings of the different non-Ukrainian political organizations opposed Ukrainian demands for autonomy. On the eve of the Ukrainian National Congress, the head of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies in Kiev (the Russian, P. Nezlobin) made an open and characteristic declaration that the Ukrainian demand for autonomy was "a stab in the back of the Revolution" and that "democracy would answer with bayonets" all efforts to realize such autonomy.

The Russians in the large cities were quite well organized and much richer than the Ukrainians. They had a number of professionally trained people and a well-established press. *Kievskata Mysl'* (Kievan Thought), their chief organ, was circulated throughout the whole of Ukraine. They also had close connections in Petrograd which they used to influence the Provisional Government in a direction hostile toward the Ukrainian demands.

The main struggle of the Central *Rada* for the rights of Ukraine was

carried on with the Provisional Government. In March 1917, a delegation of the Petrograd Ukrainian National Committee had demanded from the first head of the Provisional Government, Prince G. Lvov, the creation in the government of an office for Ukrainian affairs, the appointment of Ukrainians to the posts of provincial commissioners in Ukraine, the introduction of the Ukrainian language into public administration, the courts, schools and churches, and the restoration of the former rights of the Ukrainians in part of Galicia and in Bukovina then occupied by the Russian army.



FIGURE 466.
V. VYNNYCHENKO

Prince Lvov did not deny these demands. The Provisional Government appointed D. Doroshenko as governor general for Galicia and Bukovina, I. Kraskovsky as governor of Galicia and A. Lototsky as governor of Bukovina. The county administration similarly was transferred to Ukrainians. Later some Ukrainians were appointed provincial commissioners (A. Livytsky in Poltava and D. Doroshenko in Chernihiv).

At the end of May, 1917, an official delegation of the Central *Rada* headed by V. Vynnychenko, S. Yefremov, and N. Kovalevsky went to Petrograd. The delegation demanded that the Provisional Government express in principle its favorable attitude toward the autonomy of Ukraine within a federative Russian state, that at the future international peace conference representatives of the Ukrainian people be admitted, that a special commissioner be designated for Ukrainian affairs in the Provisional Government, and that a special high commissioner of the government be appointed in Ukraine and with him a special representative council. The

delegation also demanded the Ukrainization of the army, of governmental agencies, and of schools of all kinds in Ukraine, and the release of those Galician Ukrainians who were under arrest.

The Provisional Government received the delegation and appointed a special committee to consider the demands. The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies adopted outright a hostile attitude. A negative answer from the Provisional Government was sent to Kiev, which was announced by Hrushevsky at the great Peasant Congress. He added: "The feast of the Revolution is over, the threatening hour is coming! Ukraine must be organized. Only the Ukrainian people should decide their own destiny." The ban by Kerensky, the Russian Minister of War, against a second Military Congress was announced at this time but the congress was held, despite the ban, on June 18-23, 1917.

From the First to the Second Universal

The prevailing atmosphere was one of great exaltation. The Central *Rada* solemnly answered the Russian Provincial Government's rejection of its demands with the First Universal, approved June 23, and written by Vynnychenko. In making clear the impossibility of collaboration with the Russian government, the Universal stated: "Therefore we, the Ukrainian Central *Rada*, issue this Universal to all our people and we declare that from now on we shall create our own lives." The members of the Military Congress stood up when the Universal was read to them. Then the delegates went out into the Square of St. Sophia, where they were met by the clergy who held a special service which concluded with the singing of *Mnohata Lita* (Ad Multos Annos) for the Ukrainian people, their government, and their military forces. The Central *Rada* received congratulations from all over the country and assurances of support from all sides. Without finances, without an organized force, it had back of it only moral pres-

tige, but this was great and truly national.

The next task for the Central *Rada* was the organization of a provisional Ukrainian government. On the proposal of the UPSR which, especially after the Peasant Congress, was beginning to play a leading role, a General Secretariat was formed on June 28, 1917, composed of the following: Head and General Secretary for Internal Affairs, V. Vynnychenko (USDRP); State Secretary, Paul Khrystiuk (UPSR); General Secretary of Finance, Christopher Baranovsky (co-operative movement); Nationality Affairs, S. Yefremov (Socialist-Federalist); Military Affairs, S. Petliura (USDRP); Agrarian Affairs, Borys Martos (USDRP, co-operative worker); Judicial Affairs, Valentine Sadovsky (USDRP); Education, Ivan Steshenko (Independent Social Democrat); Food, N. Stasiuk (UPSR). The USDRP had the majority in this coalition.

The program of the General Secretariat, approved by the Central *Rada*, was quite moderate, but it was clear that the Secretariat assumed the task not only of preparing for autonomy but of governing the country when that time came. A plan was worked out for a Ukrainian Constituent Assembly independent of the planned Russian Constituent Assembly. It was decided also to call in Kiev a congress of the subjugated peoples of the Russian empire (this took place in September).

Neither the non-Ukrainian minorities in Ukraine nor the Russian Provisional Government could ignore the Central *Rada* any longer. The Jewish and Russian Revolutionary elements of Kiev called the attention of the Provisional Government to the necessity of reaching an understanding with the Ukrainians. Under the pressure of events the Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies in Petrograd approved in June a resolution in which the Provisional Government was requested to come to an understanding with the Ukrainians

and to establish a higher governing agency in Ukraine. The Provisional Government at first issued an appeal directly to the Ukrainian people, bypassing the Central *Rada*; it recognized the right of Ukraine to autonomy in the future but asked that the matter be postponed until the meeting of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly which was soon to be convoked. To this the Peasant Congress in Kiev replied that an understanding with the Provisional Government was possible only if it recognized the Central *Rada* as an autonomous organ.

The Provisional Government had to retreat somewhat before the determination of the Ukrainian national movement. Kerensky, the Minister of War, M. Tershchenko, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and I. Tsereteli, the Minister of Post and Telegraph, came to Kiev on July 11 for negotiations with the General Secretariat and the Central *Rada*. Negotiators for the Ukrainians were Hrushchewsky and Vynnychenko, and on military matters, Petliura. Kerensky was ready to agree to the formation of separate Ukrainian military units on the condition that it did not destroy the unity of the Russian army; but he categorically refused to permit the existence of a Ukrainian General Secretariat for Military Affairs.

The ministers recognized the Central *Rada* and the General Secretariat as governing agencies of Ukraine and promised to deal with them and not directly with the provincial and county administrative agencies in Ukraine. The Central *Rada*, for its part, promised not to take any secret steps to bring about autonomy. It was agreed that the Russian Provisional Government would issue a declaration simultaneously with the issuing of a Second Universal by the Central *Rada*.

The Second Universal was written in less solemn and more businesslike tones. The Central *Rada* declared that, in accordance with the understanding

reached with the Russian Provisional Government, it recognized the All-Russian Constituent Assembly which would set up the autonomy of Ukraine, and that Ukraine had no intention of separating itself from Russia.

From the Second to the Third Universal

Also in accordance with its agreement with the Russian Provisional Government, the Central *Rada* was enlarged by representatives of the national minorities. As a result it became not only an organ of the Ukrainian people, but also the representative assembly of the whole population of Ukraine.

The Central *Rada* allotted 30 per cent of its membership to the representatives of the national minorities, and the Little Council added eighteen members from the minorities to its forty Ukrainian members. The minorities thus received more seats than the number to which their ratio to the Ukrainian population entitled them (not more than 20 per cent). But the Central *Rada*, which wished to bring its opponents in on general national questions, did not oppose the disproportion of their representation. Two Russians, two Jews, and one Pole entered the General Secretariat, which on July 20 underwent a slight reconstruction. The understanding with the Russian Provisional Government and all the changes connected with it were to be formulated in a Statute of the Higher Government of Ukraine. But the Russian Provisional Government (headed at this time by Kerensky) did not confirm this Statute. In its place it issued, on August 17, a "Temporary Instruction" to the General Secretariat. This Instruction was very different from the proposed Statute. The General Secretariat was to be an organ not of the Central *Rada* but of the Provisional Government, its members to be appointed by the latter on the basis of nominations made by the Central *Rada*; legislative powers were not granted to the Central *Rada*. Instead of four-

teen secretaries, the Instruction granted only seven—internal affairs, finance, agriculture, popular education, commerce and industry, labor, minority affairs—and a state secretary. Moreover, the Provisional Government acknowledged under the Kievan administration only five *guberniyas*—those of Kiev, Volhynia, Podilia, Poltava, and Chernihiv (without the northern districts). The Instruction made provisions for the other Ukrainian areas to unite with autonomous Ukraine should their provincial *zemstvos* express their desire to do so. In view of the conditions of the time, the Central *Rada* accepted these terms realizing that, although they were less than expected, they were still a substantial gain for Ukraine and would provide the basis for a future struggle for additional rights. Most important was the fact that the Russian Provisional Government officially, in the juridical terms of the time, recognized parts of Ukraine as a distinct body politic and the Central *Rada* as the representative assembly of Ukraine.

After accepting the Instruction, the General Secretariat resigned. The name of D. Doroshenko was put forward to head the General Secretariat, but he declined at the last moment; V. Vynnychenko was again called to form a cabinet. It consisted of the following: Head of the General Secretariat and Secretary of Internal Affairs, V. Vynnychenko (USDRP); finance, M. Tuhan-Baranovsky (UPSF); nationality affairs (which came to include foreign affairs) A. Shulhyn (UPSF), with deputy-secretaries M. Zilberfarb (Jewish affairs) and V. Mickiewicz (Polish affairs); education, I. Steshenko (Independent Socialist); agrarian affairs, M. Savchenko-Bilsky (UPSR); General Secretary, A. Lototsky (UPSF); General Controller, A. Zarubin (Russian SR); and Commissioner of Ukraine with the Provisional Government, Peter Stebnytsky (UPSF). The cabinet, which was to be supplemented by two secretaries without port-

folios, was not confirmed by the Provisional Government until September 14.

In the autumn of 1917 Ukraine became the vanguard of the newly established national republics set up within the former Russian empire. On September 21-28 a congress of the peoples of the former Russian empire was held in Kiev on the initiative of the Central *Rada* which adopted a resolution for a quick transformation of the centralized Russian state into a federation of free states. At the time Ukraine was the leader among the non-Russian peoples in the struggle for national liberation, and the tactics it employed in dealing with the Russian Provisional Government were followed by the other republics. Later all these had permanent representatives in Kiev.

The Provisional Government violated parts of the Instruction and hindered the Central *Rada* in the efficient reorganization of the governmental apparatus in Ukraine. Moreover, when the Central *Rada* decided, at the end of September, to call a Constituent Assembly of Ukraine, the Provisional Government began a court procedure against the Central *Rada*. The position of the General Secretariat became extremely difficult. The old administrative apparatus of the Provisional Government in Ukraine almost ceased to function and a new one had to be organized, but there was a lack of financial means. Petrograd placed obstacles in the way of the Ukrainization of the army, and at the same time the army was disintegrating under the influence of Bolshevik agitation. The General Secretariat came out with more or less constructive programs for removing these difficulties, but it had neither the power nor the time to carry this into effect, since other events were occurring at a very rapid pace.

November, 1917, and the Third Universal

On November 7, 1917, the Provisional Government fell and the Bolsheviks, under V. Lenin, seized power in Russia.

The Bolshevik Revolution established itself firmly in Russia proper but not in Ukraine, Kuban, and on the Don. The situation in Ukraine, especially in Kiev, was then extremely complicated. There were three forces: the Central *Rada* and the General Secretariat, the Bolsheviks, and the forces of the Kievan military district under General Kvetsinsky which continued to support the Provisional Government. The Central *Rada* relied upon the Ukrainized army units, the Ukrainian military councils of the various fronts, and also on the formation of the Free Kozaks in the villages. The Bolsheviks at first were weak in Ukraine, but by their agitation for an immediate peace they gained greater influence among the Russian military units on the southwestern and Rumanian fronts, and in the garrisons of Ukraine.

On learning of the downfall of the Russian Provisional Government and faced with the threat of an outbreak of the Russian rightist circles in Kiev, the Central *Rada*, together with socialist groups of the national minorities, immediately organized a Committee for the Defense of the Revolution. On November 8 the Bolsheviks withdrew from the committee, for the Central *Rada* condemned the uprising of the Petrograd Bolsheviks and expressed itself against the transfer of the Russian government into the hands of the Soviets. The staff of the Kievan military district also opposed the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution and, with the aid of units of the Kievan garrison, some Don Cossack detachments, and a Czechoslovak battalion, decided to destroy first the Kievan Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies dominated by the Bolsheviks and then the Central *Rada*. The arrest of the members of the Kievan soviet on November 10 produced a strike of the workers and an armed uprising against Russian units and the Russian military staff in Kiev; some Ukrainian military units joined the uprising. The staff was

defeated, and on November 11 it departed for the Don, the control over the armed forces passing into the hands of the Central *Rada*. The Bolsheviks, who as yet did not feel themselves sufficiently strong, refrained from making any armed moves against the Central *Rada*.

During this period, November 2-12, three thousand delegates met in Kiev in the Third All-Ukrainian Military Congress. The support of the soldiers' delegates, provisionally formed into a "Congress Regiment," decisively aided in the victory of the Central *Rada*. The resolutions of the Congress formed the basis of the Third Universal.

The fall of the Russian Provisional Government left Ukraine with completely disorganized administrative, judicial, political, and economic systems. The chaos was increased by the fact that the demobilizing Russian military units in Ukraine and on the Ukrainian fronts robbed and did violence to the peaceful population of Ukraine. Affairs grew worse because the Bolsheviks began to agitate against the "bourgeois" Central *Rada* (J. Stalin called it "a government by the traitors to socialism, a bourgeois government which struggles against the peace in alliance with the Anglo-French capitalists"—*Pravda*, no. 215, 1917) and, whenever possible, tried by force to take the local government into their own hands.

These were the conditions under which the Central *Rada* began the organization of an administration in Ukraine. On November 13, 1917, it approved a law which included all the Ukrainian lands in the territory of Ukraine's body politic and called upon the population to preserve order. On November 16 the General Secretariat proclaimed to the population that it had taken upon itself all power in Ukraine and that it would proceed to prepare a series of laws on the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly, on land reform, on the reorganization of the western front (in the war against the Central Powers), on

governmental reconstruction, and so forth.

Then on November 20, 1917, the Central *Rada* announced, in its Third Universal, the creation of the Ukrainian National Republic (*Ukrains'ka Narodnia Respublika*—UNR).^{*} It was declared that the territory of the republic included the *guberniyas* of Kiev, Podilia, Volhynia, Chernihiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kherson, and Taurida. The incorporation into the republic of those parts of Kholm, Kursk, Voronezh, and other *guberniyas* and *oblasts* where the



FIGURE 467. PROCLAMATION OF THE THIRD UNIVERSAL, NOVEMBER 20, 1917, IN KIEV IN THE SQUARE OF ST. SOPHIA

In the center are M. Hrushevsky and S. Petliura.

majority of the population was Ukrainian was made dependent upon "the expression of the organized will of the people." Despite the fact that the Universal contains the phrase "without breaking federative relations with Russia," this was a formal act creating a new Ukrainian state. It should be pointed out that the Central *Rada* owed its victory solely to a skillful policy of balance; it could not ignore Kiev and the other large cities with their non-Ukrainian

^{*}The official name of the Ukrainian state in 1917-20, *Ukrains'ka Narodnia Respublika*, is translated throughout this volume as Ukrainian National Republic in accordance with all English-language publications published or sponsored by the Ukrainian National Association. However, the Ukrainian term *narodnia* (or *narodna*) can be translated either as "national" or as "people's" and therefore in some publications the translation, Ukrainian People's Republic, is also used.

majority. Besides, the term "federation" had no real meaning at this time; there was no one in Moscow or Petrograd with whom to federate, for Ukraine did not recognize the Russian Bolshevik regime.

The Third Universal proclaimed democratic principles: freedom of speech, of the press, of religion, of assembly; freedom for unions to organize and strike; the security of the individual and his property; the right of non-Ukrainians to use their own language in relations with state institutions; abolition of the death penalty, and amnesty for all political prisoners; and the proper administration of the courts. It abolished the right of private ownership of land and recognized the land as belonging to the entire people. It established an eight-hour working day, acknowledged the right of the government and the workers to the control of industry, and the right of national minorities (i.e., the citizens of Russian, Jewish, Polish, and other descent) to manage their national and cultural affairs by means of their own representative and administrative institutions. It also proclaimed a reform of local self-government.

The principles proclaimed in the Third Universal were later developed and enacted in separate laws. Thus at the beginning of December, 1917, a number of laws were passed for the reorganization of the courts, and a law was passed on national and cultural autonomy for the minority groups. With the passing of these laws, Russian laws on the supreme state authority, courts, and local administration were abrogated.

On November 12, 1917, even before the proclamation of the Third Universal, the Central *Rada* increased the General Secretariat by adding secretaries: Military Affairs, S. Petliura; Food, Nicholas Kovalevsky (UPSR); Labor, Nicholas Porsh (USDRP); Commerce and Industry, Vsevolod Holubovych (UPSR); Justice, Michael Tkachenko (Left-USDRP); Roads, V. Yeshchenko; Post and Telegraph, A. Zarubin (Russian

SR). The more moderate members, such as M. Tuhan-Baranovsky, and A. Lototsky left the General Secretariat. In December S. Petliura also left as a result of disagreement with the general policy of the cabinet and especially with its military policy. Army affairs were entrusted to the Secretary for Labor, N. Porsh.

The General Secretariat was faced with colossal tasks. It had to organize a new state apparatus to carry through social and economic reforms which the people were demanding immediately, to regulate military matters, and to arrange a peace.

The Central *Rada* had the support of the majority of the population. This was shown by the elections to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly at the end of November, 1917, when in Ukraine the Bolshevik party received only 10 per cent of the votes and the Ukrainian parties (UPSR, USDRP, and the Peasant Union), 75 per cent. Full confidence in the Central *Rada* was expressed by the Third Peasant Congress of Ukraine. The All-Ukrainian Congress of Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils was called in Kiev on December 17, 1917, by the local Bolsheviks, with the objective of taking power in Ukraine. But of the 2,500 delegates, the Bolshevik faction had scarcely sixty. "The opening of the Congress," writes a Bolshevik historian, M. Maiorov, "turned into a complete demonstration against the Bolsheviks. Ministers of the Ukrainian Central *Rada* were elected as presiding officers of the Congress, and the audience welcomed them with tremendous applause." It is no wonder then that a noted Bolshevik party historian, N. Popov, acknowledged (1930) that "the successor of the Provisional Government in Ukraine was not the Soviet Government but the Government of the Central Ukrainian *Rada*."

The agitation of the Bolsheviks against the Central *Rada* continued and was made easier by the latter's irresolution

on two basic problems: agrarian reform, and the dual one involving peace negotiations and handling of the army. The land law was only approved at the end of January, 1918, when Kiev was being bombarded by Bolshevik artillery; (the Bolsheviks had issued an agrarian law that strongly appealed to the peasants immediately after the seizure of power in Petrograd).

The Organization of the Ukrainian Army

From the beginning of the Revolution the Central *Rada* and the soldiers had raised the demand for military units having a majority of Ukrainians to be formed into Ukrainian military units. The realization of this project was not easy because of both the interference of the Russian Provisional Government and the hostile attitude of the Russian command on the fronts and in the interior. Moreover, the units composed largely of Ukrainians were scattered on all the fronts, whereas on Ukrainian territory (the so-called southwestern and Rumanian fronts) non-Ukrainian units predominated.

As a consequence of these conditions Ukrainization was carried on mainly spontaneously by the Ukrainian military councils and committees. In units with a mixed composition the Ukrainians separated themselves into their own formations. When this led to better discipline and an increased fighting capacity in the Ukrainian units, and when it meant that the Ukrainians were removed from Bolshevik propaganda urging speedy demobilization, the Russian higher command approved the separate units. The number of Ukrainians in the Russian armies in 1917 was about 4,000,000; Ukrainization encompassed scarcely 1,500,000 of them.

The first large Ukrainized unit was the 34th Corps commanded by General Paul Skoropadsky on the southwestern front, which was renamed, in August, 1917, the First Ukrainian Corps, and which later was remanned with volun-

teers and companies of the Free Kozaks. There were also some Ukrainized units in the rear, both in Ukraine and outside of it. Under the influence of Bolshevik agitation, the self-demobilization of various units increased.

The military policy of the Central *Rada* was unclear, especially after the resignation of S. Petliura from the General Secretariat (December, 1917). The idea of a regular army was not popular among the major parties which composed the Central *Rada*; some saw in it a militaristic threat to the Revolution, others did not believe in the necessity of military power for the maintenance of the Ukrainian state. The conception of a military system of armed forces in the form of Free Kozak and other volunteer units finally prevailed over the traditional idea of a standing army composed of trained and seasoned troops.

The Free Kozaks were first formed on a volunteer basis in Right-Bank Ukraine by the local population as a means of defending themselves against bands of deserters who attacked and robbed the villagers. After the general congress of the Free Kozaks in Chyhyryn (October 16-20, 1917) where they organized their command—the General Council of the Free Kozaks in Chyhyryn—the units in the rural districts were placed under the authority of the General Secretariat of the Interior; after January, 1918, they were subject to the Secretary of Military Affairs.

Of the volunteer units that were formed in response to the Bolshevik threat in December, 1917, and in January, 1918, the important ones were: the two-battalion group called *Haidamats'kyi Kish Slobids'koï Ukraïny*, led by Otaman S. Petliura, which became famous for its defense of Kiev; the Auxiliary Student Battalion, commanded by Captain Omelchenko, which was wiped out at Kruty; the Galician Battalion of *Sichovi Stril'tsi* (Sich Riflemen) formed in November, 1917, from West Ukrainian prisoners of

war formerly in the Austrian army; and small units of the Kievan garrison.

The Policy toward the Western Powers

In the summer of 1917 official representatives of France, England, the United States, Rumania, and also T. G. Masaryk, the head of the Czech Committee, were sent to Kiev. In August, 1917, A. Shulhyn in Petrograd had the first direct contact with Noulens, the French ambassador to Russia; in the autumn General Niessel, the chief of the French military mission in Russia came to Kiev, and a member of his staff, General Tabouis, remained in Kiev with instructions to maintain constant contact with the General Secretariat of Ukraine. To organize resistance against the Central Powers, Tabouis and the representative of England, John Picton Bagge, who was then Consul General in Odessa, proposed to organize financial and technical aid for Ukraine. As a condition for accepting this aid, the Ukrainian government demanded the recognition of Ukraine as an autonomous state by France and England.

But at this moment the delegation of the Russian Bolshevik government was already in Berestia (Brest-Litovsk) to conclude peace with the Central Powers. Promises of help from the Entente were not realized; the Entente could send neither troops nor matériel to support Ukraine's efforts to hold the front against the central powers. The Black Sea was blocked by Turkey and Murmansk by Soviet Russia. It was dangerous to leave the situation at Berestia solely in the hands of the Bolsheviks. The Ukrainian government decided to send its own delegation, at first only for "observation and information." On December 24, 1917, the Ukrainian government sent a note to all the warring states, urging them to conclude peace on democratic principles "without annexations and indemnities," and declaring that the Ukrainian National Republic "was acting independently in international affairs headed by

its own government." This note angered the two representatives of the Entente in Kiev, but the explanations of the General Secretary for Foreign Affairs and his remarks in the Central *Rada* on December 25 mollified them. General Tabouis understood that Ukraine had to have its delegate in Berestia. In the French Chamber, on January 5, 1918, Pichon, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, declared that the French government was entering into diplomatic relations with Ukraine; the accredited representative of the French Republic to the government of the Ukrainian Republic, General Tabouis, was received by the head of the Ukrainian government on January 5, 1918, in the presence of several ministers. At the same time the government of Great Britain appointed J. Picton Bagge as its accredited representative in Ukraine. This was a great diplomatic success for the young Ukrainian state. Masaryk was one of the more impressive of the many other official representatives of various states, and an agreement was made with him on the basis of which Ukraine furnished arms to the Czech legions. These arms played an important role in the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The War of Soviet Russia against Ukraine

The Bolsheviks began to prepare for a military conquest of Ukraine. The first stage was to be an armed uprising of the forces in Ukraine who were under their influence—the Russianized city workers and the soldiers in the Russian garrisons and front units. But the attempt at an armed uprising in Kiev, prepared for December 13, 1917, did not succeed, for during the preceding night Ukrainians arrested the leaders of the uprising, disarmed the Russian units in Kiev, and deported them at once in echelons beyond the frontiers of Ukraine into Russia. Near Zhmerynka the First Ukrainian Corps of General Skoropadsky, together with some of the Free Cossaks, disarmed units of the Second Guard

Corps which was under the leadership of the Bolshevik leader Eugenia Bosh, and which was moving from the front to aid the uprising in Kiev. These troops too were sent back to Russia through Belorussia.

On December 17, the Soviet Russian government in Petrograd sent the Ukrainian government an official note. The note stated that the Russian government recognized the right of Ukraine to independence as well as the creation of the Ukrainian National Republic, but delivered an ultimatum to the following effect, with a threat of war as a consequence should it be ignored: the Bolsheviks demanded that Ukraine prevent passage through its territory of the Don Cossacks who were returning from the front to the Don (and with whom the Bolsheviks were already fighting); that it should cease disarming Soviet Russian military units on Ukrainian territory; and that it should return the weapons to those units it had already disarmed. It became clear that this was only a pretext for aggression against Ukraine. The Ukrainian government rejected the ultimatum, and the Russian-Ukrainian war began (although formally Russia carried on the war not in the name of the Russian government but in the name of a puppet Ukrainian Soviet government which was set up in Kharkiv after that province had been occupied by Soviet Russian forces (see "History of Soviet Ukraine," *infra*, 796).

On December 25, 1917, a well-armed Soviet Russian army of 30,000 men under V. Antonov-Ovsienko invaded Ukraine in four groups from Homel and Briansk, and moved in the directions of Kharkiv-Poltava-Lozova, Konotop-Vorozhba, and Chernihiv-Bakhmach.

The Ukrainian armed forces were insignificant. The small Ukrainized military units of the garrisons in Ukraine easily disintegrated: they demobilized under the influence of Bolshevik agitation and often proclaimed themselves neutral in the struggle with the Bolsheviks. The

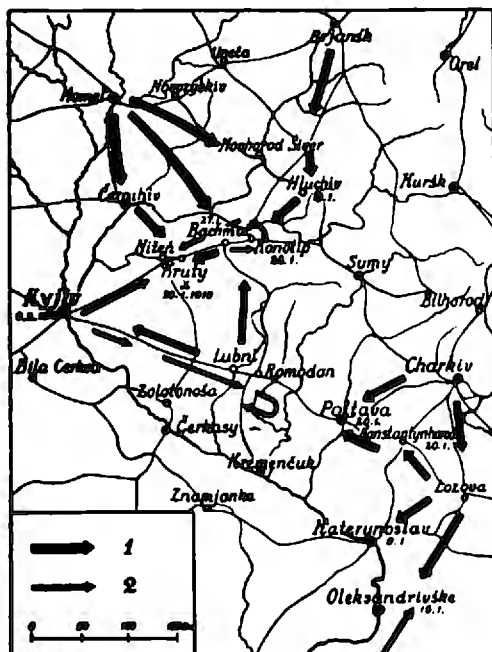


FIGURE 468. THE ATTACK OF THE BOLSHEVIKS ON THE LEFT BANK IN JANUARY, 1918

(1) Bolshevik forces, (2) Ukrainian forces.

Ukrainian front units on their way back from the western fronts to Kiev rarely, and only with great losses, succeeded in breaking through territory occupied by Bolsheviks. The Free Kozaks in Right-Bank Ukraine took part in the battles with the Bolsheviks only when the war moved into their territory in February, 1918. The only reliable forces at the disposal of the Central Rada in Kiev at the beginning of this war were the volunteer units described above and the Kievan workers' battalions of the Free Kozaks led by M. Kovenko.

The invading Soviet Russian forces enjoyed military superiority from the start of war. Also their advance into Ukraine was accompanied by armed actions of the Bolsheviks in the rear of the Ukrainian defense. In addition to some of the Russian detachments on the western (anti-German) front and some reserve regiments in the cities, the Bolsheviks had at their disposal in Ukraine

armed units of the Red Guard formed of workers from Kharkiv and the Donets regions, where the Russian minority was much larger than it was in other areas of Ukraine.

On December 26, 1917, Antonov's troops took Kharkiv; then, attacking toward the southwest, they occupied Lozova, Katerynoslav (January 9, 1918), Oleksandrivske (January 15), and Poltava (January 20). The Briansk group led by Znamensky occupied Hlukhiv (January 19) and Konotop (January 26). Meanwhile a group led by M. Muraviev moved from Poltava and attacked Romodan and Bakhmach (January 27). Here these three Russian groups combined and, under the command of Muraviev, moved on Kiev.

Ukrainian forces were sent from Kiev toward Poltava and Bakhmach in defense of their capital. On January 30, 1918, the Ukrainian units, including the battalion of the First Officer Candidates school and the untrained Auxiliary Student Battalion were destroyed in a battle at Kruty. The bravery and heroic death of these youths—while a minor episode from a military standpoint—became a symbol of the whole future struggle. On the night of January 29 at the moment of the attack of the Soviet Russian forces on Kiev, armed local Bolsheviks tried to seize the city; they succeeded in capturing a number of important strategic points.

The main Ukrainian force in the battles for Kiev consisted of the detachments of the Galician Battalion of the Sich Riflemen and units of the Free Kozaks. On February 4, 1918, with the help of other units recalled from the western front, and after savage battles, they succeeded in checking the Bolshevik fifth column; but the advance of the Soviet Russian units from the Left Bank forced the Ukrainian troops (ca. 3,000 men) to evacuate Kiev on February 8-9 and to retire to Zhytomyr. On February 9 Muraviev's troops occupied Kiev and began mass execution of the Uk-

rainian population. According to the report of representatives of the Red Cross, made after the liberation of Kiev from the Bolshevik occupation, over 5,000 Ukrainians were executed in Kiev alone. Mass executions of Ukrainians were carried out by the Bolsheviks in all parts of occupied Ukraine according to a preconceived plan. From Kiev the main Bolshevik forces struck southward, fighting on the Right Bank with detachments of the Free Kozaks.

In Volhynia Ukrainian forces fought stubborn battles with units of the old Russian Seventh Army who had occupied Proskuriv, Zhmerynka, Koziatyn, Berdychiv, Rivne, and Shepetivka. The Ukrainian units succeeded in controlling the railroad line Zhytomyr-Korosten-Sarny.

The military situation changed entirely when a peace treaty was concluded on February 9, 1918, between the Ukrainian National Republic and the Central Powers (see below), and when the latter gave a positive answer to the request of the Ukrainian government on February 12 for military assistance. On February 19, 1918, German units moved into Ukraine, followed on February 27 by Austro-Hungarian units. The German units entered the northern area, the Austro-Hungarians along the line Zhmerynka-Odessa-Oleksandrivske. A regiment of the West Ukrainian (Galician) Sich Riflemen was with the Austro-Hungarians. The Ukrainian forces under General C. Prysovsky and *Otaman* Petliura gained an influx of volunteers. With the help of German and Austrian units, they cleared the northern Right Bank of Bolshevik detachments. After successful battles near Zhytomyr, Berdychiv, Koziatyn, and Bucha, they entered Kiev on March 1, a few days before the Germans.

The liberation of Left-Bank Ukraine from the Bolsheviks during the second half of March and April, 1918, was accomplished by German units and the Zaporozhian Division of General Natiiv.

The detachments of Colonels P. Bolbochan and V. Sikevych simultaneously liberated the Crimea and the Donets areas, and reached the frontiers of the Don Kozak region. The detachment led by Colonel V. Petriv occupied Konstantynohrad (now Krasnohrad) and Lozova. At the demand of the Germans, the Crimea, which was not recognized as territory of the Ukrainian Republic, was to be cleared of the Ukrainian troops. The joint counteroffensive of the Ukrainian army and the armies of the Central Powers was launched; the Ukrainian units formed the front line against the Soviet Russian forces invading Ukraine.

Battles of this Bolshevik-Ukrainian war, as well as of the following one, were fought chiefly for the main railway centers by armored trains and with the aid of cavalry. The rapid maneuvering of even insignificant army reserves and the seizure of convenient railroad lines determined all operations. The transfer of the focus of battles to the large cities, where the Ukrainian soldiers, usually peasant in origin, felt insecure, and where large sections of Russianized urban Ukrainians actively helped the Bolsheviks, had a bad effect upon Ukrainian operations until well-armed German and Austro-Hungarian divisions came to Ukraine. By the second half of August, 1918, there were about thirty-five German and Austro-Hungarian divisions in Ukraine.

The Fourth Universal and Other Legislative Acts

Ukraine's only means of salvation during the war with the Bolsheviks was to make peace with the Central Powers and to obtain their cooperation in the organization of the country's defense against Soviet Russia. To chart a completely independent international policy, the independence of Ukraine had to be definitely proclaimed. This was done on January 22, 1918, by the proclamation of the Fourth Universal by the Central *Rada*, which contained the words:

"From now on the Ukrainian National Republic becomes the independent, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people." The Fourth Universal only confirmed an already established fact; as a consequence of the war that the Bolshevik government of Russia had forced upon Ukraine, the political bond between the two countries was abrogated.

The Fourth Universal renamed the General Secretariat the Council of People's Ministers; replaced the regular army with a militia; ordered the holding of elections to the people's councils in *volosts*, counties, and cities; established state control of domestic and foreign trade; took control of banks and large industrial enterprises; and decided that the Constituent Assembly be summoned in a few weeks. In the second half of January, 1918, the Central *Rada* passed a land law intended to carry out the promises of the Third Universal—to nationalize the land and to establish rules for its use by the peasants. A little later it passed the law establishing an eight-hour working day. The bombardment and later the capture of Kiev by Soviet Russian forces did not halt the legislative work of the Central *Rada*. It retired to Zhytomyr, where it passed laws introducing the new (Gregorian) style of calendar in Ukraine on February 12, 1918, a new currency on March 1 (special Ukrainian bills of credit had been printed since December, 1917), the coat of arms of the Ukrainian National Republic (the Trident) on March 1, 1918, Ukrainian citizenship on March 2, and, on the same day, an administrative division of Ukraine into thirty "lands" (this law was not put into effect).

On January 24, 1918, the Ukrainian Central *Rada* passed a law regarding the national and personal autonomy of minority groups—the first of its kind in modern history. According to this law every national minority was entitled to deal with its own cultural affairs through elective bodies and was to receive the necessary money for this purpose from

the state. This positive policy with regard to national minorities, particularly the Jews, was also followed in the Ukrainian National Republic by the Directory under which there were separate ministries for the Russian, Jewish, and Polish minorities, as well as for a number of others.

Even during this stormy period the cultural work, which was developing at the beginning of the political renaissance of Ukraine continued successfully. Ukrainian secondary schools were founded in cities and towns, as were the Ukrainian National University in Kiev (in addition to the St. Volodymyr University), the Ukrainian Academy of Fine Arts, and the Ukrainian Academy of Pedagogics. The school system was gradually Ukrainianized.

After the resignation of the cabinet of Vynnychenko a week after the proclamation of the Fourth Universal, the government passed into the hands of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries. V. Holubovych (UPSR) became President of the Council of Ministers and, later, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk

One of the primary tasks of the Ukrainian government was to conduct further negotiations in Brest-Litovsk. The



FIGURE 469. PEACE DELEGATION OF THE CENTRAL *Rada* SIGNING THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK
From the left: N. Levytsky, A. Sevriuk, N. Liubynsky.

delegates of Ukraine were Alexander Sevriuk, N. Liubynsky, N. Levytsky, and S. Ostapenko. The Soviet Russian delegation was headed by L. Trotsky, who at a session of the peace conference on January 10, 1918, recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and agreed to the participation in the peace conference of the delegation of the Ukrainian Central *Rada*. Later, however, he tried to discredit the delegation, even sent for delegates from the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Government of Kharkiv and tried to prove to the Germans that the government of the Central *Rada* no longer existed. But the position of Austria-Hungary was especially critical. The Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count O. Czernin, needed a peace treaty at any cost in order to secure grain to alleviate the catastrophic food shortage in Vienna. Knowing this, the Ukrainian delegation acted firmly and calmly, at first even attempting to obtain the union of the Kholm region, Galicia, and Bukovina with Ukraine. Count Czernin categorically opposed this last demand; in the end he agreed to make a supplemental secret treaty separating the Western Ukrainian lands under Austria-Hungary into a special crown land. The delegation's first demand was the recognition of Ukraine by the four Central Powers. Recognition was obtained during the plenary session of the Peace Conference with the approval of the Soviet Russian delegation. The peace was signed on February 9, 1918.

The peace treaty provided for the establishment of frontiers between the Ukrainian state and Austria-Hungary along the prewar frontiers of Russia and Austria-Hungary. Further to the north the frontier of the Ukrainian state was to run, starting at Tarnohrad, along the line Bilhorai-Shchebreshyn-Krasnostav-Puhachiv - Razyn - Mezhyrichia - Sarnyky with a proviso that a mixed commission, including Poles, should have the right to change this line "on the

basis of ethnic conditions and the wishes of the (local) population." Both sides renounced the payment of the costs of the war and of reparations for war damages. The treaty regulated mutual exchange of agricultural and industrial surplus, established the principles for customs, for legal, diplomatic, and consular relations, for the exchange of war prisoners, etc.

It was now necessary for Ukraine to request Austro-Hungarian and German aid against the Bolshevik invasion. At first the Ukrainian government asked only for the Western Ukrainian (Galician) units in the Austrian army and special volunteer (*Syniezhupannyky*, "Blue Coats") units formed in Germany from Ukrainian war prisoners. But this plan had to be abandoned, for it was very complicated; instead regular German and Austrian forces were dispatched into Ukraine. On March 1 the Ukrainian army liberated Kiev, which had gone through three weeks of Bolshevik terror. By the end of April Ukraine was cleared of Bolsheviks.

The Conflict between the Central Rada and the Germans

On returning to Kiev, the government of Holubovych was reconstructed and some representatives of the moderate circles (Socialists-Federalists) returned to it. Nevertheless the Central *Rada* moved still further to the left and was chiefly composed of members of the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries.

At this time the political situation changed completely. The Germans and Austrians were in Ukraine. The Council of People's Ministers and the Central *Rada* announced to the people that the forces of the Central Powers would not interfere in internal Ukrainian affairs and would soon leave the country. It is probable that this was the real intention of the Germans and Austrians. But their diplomats saw the disorder in Ukraine and began to doubt the ability of the

Ukrainian government to control the situation. Their unfriendliness to official Ukrainian circles was increased as a result of their close relations with bourgeois and aristocratic circles, mostly non-Ukrainian, who were hostile to the Ukrainian Republic, to the social and revolutionary ideology of the Central *Rada* in particular. The German government, needing grain and doubting the ability of the Ukrainian government to fulfil its obligations to supply it, began to interfere in Ukrainian affairs. On April 6 the commander-in-chief of the German army, Field Marshal H. Eichhorn, issued an order which compelled the peasants to sow all their arable land. The same requirement was made of the great landowners, and the land committees were bound to supply them with needed labor. Severe punishment was provided for all misappropriation or destruction of crops. This order evoked great dissatisfaction in the Central *Rada*. It was evident that the "friendly" foreign forces were becoming an army of occupation.

The Ukrainian government was in a difficult position: on the one hand the presence of the German army in Ukraine gave the government the opportunity to organize the administration and the economy of the country; on the other hand, the government felt its obligation to protect the sovereignty of Ukraine from a foreign force.

Even before this, public opinion among Ukrainians had turned against the Holubovych government. Taking a critical attitude toward it, the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists decided to recall its ministers—Prokopovych, Lototsky, Shelukhyn, and Feshchenko-Chopivsky. Both the owners of large landed estates and the richer peasants were especially hostile toward the leftist policies of the government.

Meanwhile the interference of the Germans in Ukrainian affairs rapidly increased. On April 25 Eichhorn issued an order making Ukrainians subject to German military courts for offenses against

German interests. On April 26-27 the Germans disarmed the First Ukrainian Division of "Blue Coats" volunteers. Finally on April 28 at a session of the Central *Rada* while a number of speakers were strongly criticizing the actions of the Germans, a detachment of German soldiers entered the building, arrested two ministers, and searched other persons present. The incident aroused indignation not only in the Central *Rada* but throughout the country. On April 29 the Central *Rada* approved the Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic and also an important change in the land law by which it was possible to privately own up to thirty dessiatines (81 acres) of land. Professor Michael Hrushevsky was elected President of the Republic. But this was the last day of the existence of the Central *Rada*. As the result of a coup d'état, on the same day General Paul Skoropadsky was proclaimed Hetman of Ukraine.

Evaluation of the Central *Rada*

Because the Central *Rada* was not able to stabilize the social, political, and economic life in the new state of Ukraine, it later was severely criticized. Most of the criticism does not make sufficient allowance for the general conditions of the time—a time when a profound social revolution and a great world war were in progress. The Central *Rada* and its leaders showed great skill in balancing the various forces in the country during the struggle with the Russian Provisional Government. It should be noted that the great acts of the Ukrainian political renaissance, especially the proclamations of the Universals, were made by the Central *Rada*. That the Central *Rada* reflected the mood of the Ukrainian people at that time is evident from the results of the truly free general elections (by direct, equal, and secret ballot) held in Ukraine in 1917. In the democratic elections for the provincial and county

self-government—*zemstvo*—at the end of 1917, the Ukrainian political parties received 80 per cent of the votes. These were almost the same results as in the elections from Ukraine to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly in November, 1917; even higher percentages were achieved in the elections to the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in January 9 and 22, 1918. Although neither of these Constituent Assemblies ever functioned, the important fact is that elected to them—the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries and in part the Ukrainian Social Democrats—were the same parties and the same people who sat in the Central *Rada*. And if the moderate Ukrainian parties (among them the Socialists-Federalists) met defeat in these stormy times, so did not only the moderate but also the leftist Russian parties. The Central *Rada's* proclamation of independence truly manifested the actual will of the people of Ukraine.

A. Shulhyn

THE PERIOD OF THE HETMANATE

The Organization of the Hetman Coup

About a month before the coup d'état that overthrew the Central *Rada*, a secret Ukrainian National Society was formed on the initiative of General Paul Skoropadsky. Among its most active members were N. Sakhno-Ustymovych, V. Kochubei, N. Liubynsky, M. Hizhytsky, and M. Voronovych. The society was in contact with the Ukrainian Democratic Farmers party headed by the brothers V. and S. Shemet, and by N. Mikhnovsky and V. Lypynsky, but in agreement with only some of its members on certain questions. Paul Skoropadsky, a descendant of the brother of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky and a Russian army combat general, Ukrainianized the corps he commanded in 1917. He also was the head of the Free Kozaks. He had supported the Central *Rada*, but after some differences of opinions with its leaders he gave up this activity.

The conspiracy was planned very carefully; finally, the German commandant, General Wilhelm Groener, was approached. General Groener, who handled all the military and political affairs of the Central Powers in Ukraine, decided to accept Skoropadsky's plans on these conditions: the acceptance of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk; the dissolution of the Central *Rada*; the prohibition of meetings of the first Ukrainian Constituent Assembly which had been elected in January. Future elections for the legislative institutions of Ukraine were to be held in cooperation with the German high command after the "pacification" of the country. All attacks on the German or Austro-Hungarian armies were to be punished by German military courts. "Unreliable" elements were to be removed from the government, and the local land committees were to be abolished. Private ownership of land was to be restored, and the peasants were to pay for any lands that had been allotted to them; landed estates "within the limits of the law" could be retained by their owners. The military aid of the Germans was to be paid for by Ukraine.



FIGURE 470.
P. SKOROPADSKY

On April 29, 1918, a Farmers Congress arranged by the Alliance of Landowners in Ukraine proclaimed General Paul Skoropadsky as Hetman of Ukraine. Because the German army stood by to support it, the coup was almost bloodless; only the Sich Riflemen tried to defend the Central *Rada*.

The Establishment of the Hetman State

On the day of the coup Skoropadsky issued a "*Hramota* (manifesto) to the whole Ukrainian people," in which he proclaimed himself Hetman of all Uk-

rairie and declared that his action was motivated by the inability of the Central *Rada* to bring order and peace. Along with the *Hramota*, he decreed "Laws for the provisional state structure of Ukraine." These laws were to serve as a provisional constitution; a new constitution of Ukraine was to be drawn up by a future Ukrainian diet. But this diet was never formed. "The Laws on the provisional state structure of Ukraine" placed all legislative and executive powers into the hands of the hetman; he was also the "supreme voivode" of the army and navy. A General Court was created to supervise the courts and to determine the constitutionality of the laws. The state system established by the laws of April 29 was in sharp contrast to that of the previous Ukrainian government—to a large extent it followed the example of tsarist Russia. The laws enacted by the Central *Rada* were annulled. The name of the Ukrainian State was substituted for that of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the reorganization of the ministries was made on the old Russian pattern and the old administrative division into *guberniyas*, counties, and *volosts* was restored. Other legislation was in the same spirit. Thus a law of August 9 turned the country and urban police into a "state guard" which was then placed under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Municipal and *zemstvo* self-governing institutions were disbanded and replaced by city councils and land assemblies consisting of persons elected in the pre-Revolutionary era. On September 5 a decree was issued with regard to the elections to the *zemstvo* institutions which were based on the old high property qualifications. On September 23 the rules for elections to the municipal councils were published, also based on the old, undemocratic principles. A law of July 2, which replaced the corresponding Central *Rada* law of March 2, 1918, made it simpler for Russians and other non-Ukrainians to acquire Ukrainian citizenship. A pro-

visional law of June 14 permitted the free sale and purchase of land to an extent of 25 dessiatines (67 acres) per person—more with the permission of the Ministry of Agriculture. By a law of July 15 land commissions were formed on the old Russian pattern; on August 23 a State Land Bank was opened to help finance the distribution of parts of the large landed properties. These laws re-established the right of the great landowners to their land and made it possible for these landowners to receive payment for their property at the expense of the state treasury. The old pre-Revolutionary judicial system was also restored.

The provisional constitution of April 29, 1918, was signed by the Hetman and confirmed by the Premier of the Council of Ministers, N. Sakhno-Ustymovych. Ustymovych wanted to form the Council of Ministers from the leading figures of the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists. When they refused, he resigned and was replaced temporarily by Nicholas Vasylenko, a well-known historian of Ukraine and a former member of the Russian Constitutional Democratic party; the post of premier then passed to the former leader of the Poltava *zemstvo* Theodore Lyzohub. The first Hetman cabinet contained only one active Ukrainian leader, D. Doroshenko, who was Minister of Foreign Affairs (he had left the party of Socialists-Federalists); the other members had not been active in Ukrainian national life, although some, like M. Chubynsky (the son of a well-known Ukrainian ethnographer), and N. Vasylenko (Minister of Education) were involved in Ukrainian cultural affairs. The members of the cabinet also included individuals hostile to Ukrainian national independence. The Hetman's ministers for the most part were technically prepared by training and experience for their duties, but they lacked an understanding of the social and national Ukrainian temper of the times. However, in many cases the old cadres of the ministries, organized under the Central

Rada, remained at their posts: for example, Peter Kholodnyi, a Deputy Minister of Education and almost all the officials of this ministry.

The position of the Hetman and his government was very complicated, both in foreign and domestic policy. It is true that the frontiers of Ukraine after the expulsion of the Bolsheviks were protected mainly by the German army, but the organization of the Ukrainian army was hindered by the Germans, and peace was not made with Soviet Russia. As during the last period of the existence of the Central *Rada*, so in the state of Hetman Skoropadsky there were really two governments side by side: the Ukrainian and the German (or Austro-Hungarian). Although it was officially declared that the German and Austro-Hungarian armies were not occupying forces but allied armies in Ukraine by invitation of the Ukrainian government, yet in fact a foreign military government was in existence in Ukraine, headed by the German commander-in-chief, General Hermann Eichhorn (who was killed in July by a Russian Social Revolutionary terrorist) and his chief of staff, General W. Groener. German troops were stationed throughout Ukraine, and Austro-Hungarians in the south—altogether about 400,000 men; the supervision of the local administration was in the hands of their garrisons and local commandants. The Central Powers, especially the Germans, interfered not only in Ukraine's foreign policy but in its internal affairs as well.

On the other hand, the policy of the Hetman, based upon Russian elements hostile to Ukraine—that is, the local Russian minority and refugees from Soviet Russia—aroused the opposition of almost the whole Ukrainian population from the very beginning. By May, 1918, attacks on the Hetman's policies were made by the Second All-Ukrainian Peasant Congress which met illegally on May 8-10 in the Holosiivsky Forest near Kiev, by the Second All-Ukrainian

Workers' Congress, the congress of the UPSR, and the congress of the USDRP, all of which also convened illegally. At the same time the congresses of the Russian Constitutional Democrats (Cadets) meeting officially and with the participation of members of the Hetman's administration, included among their demands the introduction of Russian along with Ukrainian as an official language. A congress of industrialists, bankers, and landowners, which later formed the Union of Representatives of Industry, Commerce, Finance, and Agriculture (*Protovis*), along with other similar congresses, supported the government and the plans of the Hetman; in their resolutions they consistently called for a restoration of the pre-Revolutionary way of life.

Foreign Policy

In the field of foreign policy the government of the Ukrainian State had the task of both preserving friendly relations with Germany and of freeing itself as rapidly as possible from being dependent upon that nation. It also had to deal with the issues of making peace with Soviet Russia, joining to Ukraine its borderlands (that is, Bessarabia, the Crimea, the regions of Kuban, Kholm, and Podlachia), and opening diplomatic relations with the neutral countries and the countries of the Entente.

Germany was the first to ratify the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Ukraine (on July 24); they had already exchanged envoys. But the Germans not only intruded into internal affairs, they also increased Ukraine's difficulties in the area of foreign policy—especially with relation to its union with its border areas. Ukrainian-German relations improved somewhat after the Hetman's visit to Germany in September and his reception by Kaiser Wilhelm II. Austria-Hungary postponed ratifying the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk because of the secret clause calling for the separation of Galicia and Bukovina into a separate crown land.

The most important foreign policy problem concerned peace negotiations with the Russian Soviet Republic which, by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Central Powers, had bound itself to make peace quickly with Ukraine. Upon the proposal of the Hetman's government the Soviet Russian government sent a delegation headed by C. Rakovsky and D. Manuisky to Kiev. S. Shelukhyn was appointed head of the Ukrainian delegation with I. Kistiakovsky as his deputy. As a result of their labors an official armistice was signed on June 12, 1918, containing a recognition of the Ukrainian State and agreement as to an exchange of consular representatives; but the formal peace treaty itself was not signed. Foreseeing the speedy defeat of Germany, the Bolsheviks began to stall during the peace negotiations. The negotiations reached a stalemate in the autumn of 1918 and were suspended in October. At the same time, the Soviet Russian delegation, profiting by its stay in Kiev, carried on propaganda in the interest of the Soviets and also conducted secret negotiations with the Ukrainian socialist groups (Vynnychenko).

There was no solution to the problem of the incorporation of the border areas into Ukraine. Rumania occupied Bessarabia. After a secret agreement with Germany in March, 1918, the Hetman's government did not recognize this occupation but had to confine itself to mere protests. The question of the Crimea also was complicated; at first a Tatar Council (the *kurultai*, headed by Dzhafer Seydamet) was formed there, and then a government of Russians, headed by General Sulkevich. The Crimea claimed independence; the Hetman's government did not consent to this and closed the frontier at Perekop. The Crimea, thereby placed in a difficult economic position, made concessions, but the question was still not resolved.

Relying on the sympathy of the Kuban Kozaks, the Ukrainian government prepared to send the division of General

Natiiv to the Kuban area to drive out the Bolsheviks. But the Germans hampered the implementation of this operation until Katerynodar was seized by White Russian forces. Later, the Kuban land, although controlled by the White Russian army, exchanged consular representatives with Ukraine, and on November 16 a treaty was signed between the two countries.

Still more complicated were the relations with the Don land in view of territorial differences (the Donets Basin) and the definitely Russophile policy of Don leader P. Krasnov. But on August 7, 1918, a Ukrainian-Don treaty was signed in Kiev concerning mutual recognition and the delineation of the border between the two states. The border ran along the pre-Revolutionary western border of the Don Cossack Host region. A number of commercial treaties were signed in August.

The Kholm area and Podlachia, according to the Brest-Litovsk treaty, were recognized as Ukrainian lands temporarily occupied by the Central Powers. The provincial commissioner there (after the Hetman coup called the *starosta*), A. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky, who was appointed by the Ukrainian government on March 1, 1918, could only function in the German-occupied zone (Podlachia including the city of Berestia); he was not recognized by the Austrian military administration, which supported the Poles in the Kholm area in every way and who objected to the Western Ukrainian frontiers defined in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

The diplomatic relations of Ukraine with the Entente had been discontinued as soon as the government of the Ukrainian National Republic had concluded peace with the Central Powers. After the conclusion of this peace, a diplomatic mission was established in Berlin (A. Sevriuk), in Vienna (A. Yakovliv), and in Constantinople (N. Levytsky); the envoys of these states to Ukraine were Baron A. Mumm von Schwarzenstein

(Germany), Count J. Forgacs (Austria-Hungary), Akhmed Mukhtar-Bey (Turkey), and I. Shishmanov (Bulgaria). Envoys from the Kozak republics (Kuban and Don) and from the Crimea also came to Kiev. After the Hetman coup there were changes of personnel: Baron T. von Steingel was sent to Berlin, V. Lypynsky to Vienna, and M. Sukovkyn to Constantinople. Representatives were sent also to Bulgaria, Finland, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, the Don, Poland, Georgia, and Rumania. Consular relations were established with all these states and with Soviet Russia. There were diplomatic representatives in Kiev from the four Central Powers and also from Finland, Poland, Georgia, Kuban, Azerbaijan, and the Don; all of these countries as well as a number of others including the Baltic and Scandinavian countries, Belorussia, Italy, Greece, and Persia had consulates in Ukraine.

Internal Policy

The Ministry of Education continued the work in the field of education and culture begun during the period of the Central *Rada*. The new Ukrainian National University in Kiev was converted into a state institution. Another new Ukrainian university was opened in Kamianets Podilsky, and a Historical and Philological College in Poltava. In the old universities in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa, in the new university in Katerynoslav, in the Kiev Theological Academy, and in the Historical and Philological Institute in Nizhyn several chairs of Ukrainian history, law, language, and literature were established. A Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a National Gallery, a National Museum, the Ukrainian State Archives, and a National Chorus were founded. During the summer of 1918 more than fifty new secondary schools were organized or Ukrainianized. University scholarships were established for the more capable

Ukrainian students. Under the leadership of S. Rusova a system of adult education was organized on a large scale. A law was passed to establish a Central Library of the Ukrainian State, and a Ukrainian State Theater and a State Dramatic School were founded in Kiev. The Council of Ministers assigned a large fund to the Ministry of Education for the publication of textbooks, which were brought out in hundreds of thousands of copies. In general, an unprecedented number of books and periodicals were published in Ukraine during 1918.

To settle the question of the Church, the government proclaimed the Church of Ukraine autocephalous at an All-Ukrainian Church Synod; in view of the opposition of the Russified hierarchy, however, it temporarily accepted as a transitional stage toward full ecclesiastical independence the limited autonomy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the leadership of Metropolitan Antonius Khrapovitsky. In financial matters the government introduced order and the maintenance of a balanced budget. The government also succeeded in restoring the transport system, which had been ruined by the Bolshevik invasion.

But these political and economic successes were not founded on a firm basis. The Hetman's conservative regime was being undermined both by left revolutionary elements and by the increasing power of the Russian local and refugee anti-Ukrainian elements. Industrialists who were united in the organization, *Protosis*, abused the rights of the workers, thus creating considerable dissatisfaction among them.

The entrance of the Germans and Austrians was the signal for the beginning of a reactionary agrarian policy which continued throughout the entire period of the hetmanate. In answer to the wide destruction inflicted on the great landed properties by the peasants during 1917 and at the beginning of 1918, the noble landowners revenged themselves, with the aid of the German and Austrian

forces, by confiscating the peasants' property and punishing them severely. These reprisals, in turn, brought on mass peasant uprisings in many places, especially in the Kiev area and in Zaporizhia, which were quelled by the German army.

In striving to introduce "order," the Hetman government dismissed county and provincial commissioners appointed by the Central *Rada* and appointed new provincial and county heads. In the great majority of cases the choices were men who had belonged to the old tsarist administration or to the large land-owning circles. While they were often experienced administrators, these men were hostile to democratic ideas and to everything connected with the revolution; in many cases they were indifferent, even openly hostile, to the Ukrainian national movement. Their methods contradicted the official declaration of May 10, 1918, which denied "the venomous rumors" that the Hetman would re-introduce those socio-political arrangements that had existed under the tsars, and that the new regime was on the path of reaction and would take from the people all the political and social liberties they had won. The declaration emphasized that the present government had a provisional character; it had promised a new electoral law and a just land reform. But the commission selected to draft the land laws sabotaged the land reform, and a land law which might have satisfied a large number of the peasants did not appear until November, just before the end of the hetmanate.

Since the anti-Ukrainian elements were in the administration itself, the great forces of the Russian restoration movement who conducted a campaign in many newspapers for the re-establishment of the "one and indivisible Russia" (especially the *Russkii Sotuz* [Russian Union] with its center in Kiev) and for the return of the old social order rallied around it. The many Russian officers'

organizations openly recruited for the White Russian forces. The Hetman's government tolerated this anti-Ukrainian campaign, but arrested a number of members of the Ukrainian opposition, especially Social Revolutionaries, who often disseminated revolutionary propaganda against the Hetman government itself.

The Ukrainian Armed Forces under the Hetmanate

The Defense Ministry of the Ukrainian Central *Rada* in March, 1918, had given up its efforts to form a militia system of armed forces and in April had worked out a plan for a regular army, to be formed from voluntary recruits and to consist of eight corps of infantry and four and a half divisions of cavalry.

Under the hetmanate, the Germans formed the main obstacle to the integration and extension of a Ukrainian army, for they regarded a Ukrainian armed force as a threat to their position. In addition, the higher military commanders assigned by the government of the Hetman were usually Russian in origin. Hostile to everything Ukrainian, they often expelled Ukrainians from army units on the pretext that they lacked professional training, and replaced them with their own countrymen who had fled to Ukraine to save themselves from the Bolsheviks. This policy influenced the character of the Ukrainian armed forces. Of the Ukrainian units of the preceding period the Germans had disarmed and demobilized the First Kozak Volunteer ("Blue Coats") Division, which had been formed in the German prisoner camps and moved to Kiev at the request of the Ukrainian delegation at Brest-Litovsk, and they did not permit another armed unit among the prisoners of war to be formed. They also had disarmed the West Ukrainian (Galician) regiment of the Sich Riflemen, and they demobilized the Ukrainian Volunteer ("Gray Coats") Division which had been formed by the Austrians from Ukrainian

prisoners of war and turned over to the Ukrainian State. Of the units of the period of the Central *Rada* only the Special Zaporozhian Division, which guarded the northeastern frontier of Ukraine, and small detachments—the Zaporozhian *Kish* (Detachment) in Mohyliv and the *Chornomorskyi Kish* (Black Sea Detachment) in Berdychiv—remained. Not until September, 1918, did the Hetman obtain German permission for the renewed formation of a Special Detachment of the Sich Riflemen in Bila Tserkva.

In July, 1918, the Hetman's Serdiuk Division (about 5,000 men, under the command of Colonel Klymenko) was formed from volunteers and from well-to-do peasants who were drafted, on the pattern of the Russian guard regiments.

On July 24, 1918, the Council of Ministers decreed general military conscription and approved a plan for the re-organization of the armed forces prepared by the General Staff similar to that drawn up by the Ukrainian Central *Rada*. In the autumn of 1918, officer and non-commissioned officer cadres of the corps and cavalry divisions were formed, but of individuals who were indifferent or hostile to the Ukrainian national movement. In October, 1918, a beginning was made in the formation of the so-called Special Corps from among the White Russian officers in Ukraine and from the Russian volunteer groups in the large cities; both groups were to be part of the Ukrainian army. The Russian character of the armed forces under the hetmanate was also strengthened by state police (called the "state guard"), which in composition was a continuation of the tsarist police, and by the county commandant's security detachments, which were used for punitive expeditions.

In October, 1918, the Hetman issued a Universal which re-established the old Kozak organization. But this effort to create a privileged class of Kozaks from the propertied peasantry did not succeed, for an uprising against the Hetman soon broke out.

The Fate of the Black Sea Fleet

After the March Revolution of 1917 the Ukrainian military movement soon spread to many units of the Black Sea fleet, 80 per cent of which was manned by Ukrainians; Ukrainian sailors' and soldiers' councils were set up on some ships, and these supported the Central *Rada*. A Special Black Sea Battalion played a prominent part in the battles with the Bolsheviks in Kiev in January, 1918. On January 14, 1918, by a provisional ordinance, the Central *Rada* of the Ukrainian National Republic announced that it had assumed control of the Black Sea fleet of the former Russian empire. However, not until the advance of the group of Colonel Peter Bolbochan on the Crimea at the end of April, 1918, did the Black Sea fleet raise the Ukrainian flag (April 29, 1918). At the same time the commander of the fleet appealed to the Germans not to occupy the naval base of Sevastopol. Hoping to take over the fleet, the Germans refused and advanced on Sevastopol by land. Part of the fleet sailed to Novorossiisk on April 30 and raised the Russian flag of St. Andrew. On the demand of the Germans, some of the ships returned to Sevastopol where their crews were interned by the Germans. The remainder, under the influence of the Bolsheviks and the partisans of the Entente were sunk in Novorossiisk. The Germans returned the Sevastopol part of the Black Sea fleet to Ukraine on November 11, 1918, and the Mozyr (Prypiat) river flotilla on November 23. After the retreat of the Germans, the Entente powers divided the Black Sea fleet among themselves as war booty.

The Opposition to the Regime

Immediately after the coup of April 29, 1918, dissatisfaction with the national, land, and social policies of the Hetman's government began to be manifested. In May a formal union of the opposition was established—*Ukrains'kyi Natsional'no-Derzhavnyi Soiuz* (Ukrainian National State Alliance)—which was joined by the Ukrainian Party of Samo-

stiinyky-Socialists, the Ukrainian Labor party, the Ukrainian Democratic Farmers party, the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists, the Council of the Railroad Trade Unions of Ukraine, and the Council of the All-Ukrainian Post and Telegraph Association. In July the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor party and the Peasant Union—a part of the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries—also joined the alliance which now changed its name to *Ukrains'kyi Natsionalnyi Soiuz* (Ukrainian National Alliance). In the meantime the Farmers party seceded. A. Nikovsky was the first head of the alliance; he was replaced on September 18 by V. Vynnychenko. A second large opposition group also emerged: *Vseukraïns'kyi Soiuz Zemstv* (All-Ukrainian Alliance of *Zemstvos*). S. Petliura was elected president of the All-Ukrainian Alliance of *Zemstvos*.

The End of the Hetmanate

World War I was approaching the end, and the coming defeat of the Central Powers was imminent by September, 1918. In October its effects on the members of the Hetman's Council of Ministers were evident as they began to veer toward the Entente and called for the restoration of the Russian empire (ten ministers submitted a memorandum to the Hetman requesting this). Not approving of it, the Hetman began negotiations with Vynnychenko in order to reorganize the cabinet in an attempt to satisfy the demands of the national opposition. The Ukrainian National Alliance did not obtain full satisfaction, but the new cabinet of T. Lyzohub took in some socialists-federalists (A. Lototsky, P. Stebnytsky, A. Viazlov, and M. Slavynsky) and the independent, V. Leontovych. On October 29, the Hetman proclaimed that he would act in the interests of strengthening the independence of Ukraine, and promised to introduce the land reform and to call a diet.

In a short time the new ministers carried through various measures that

previously had been delayed. The first to be approved was a land reform, the basis of which was the redistribution of large landed estates (with compensation to the previous owners) to the landless peasants and other small farmers on the principle of not more than 25 dessiatines (67 acres) per peasant's allotment. Work was also begun on a law for elections to the state diet.

The new cabinet did not find sympathy among the more leftist Ukrainian circles, and the approaching fall of the Germans made it possible to visualize a complete change of the regime. The Hetman did not trust the Ukrainian National Alliance which he suspected was plotting against him. Both Vynnychenko and Petliura had been arrested at various times. The atmosphere in Kiev, where so many Russian leaders of all parties and many Russian officers (chiefly refugees from Soviet Russia) were gathered, was tense. The fall of Germany and the possible withdrawal of its armies confronted Ukraine with the danger of a new Bolshevik occupation.

It was necessary to come to an understanding with the Entente; but the leading figures of the Entente did not favor the independence of Ukraine, although they welcomed the union of all anti-Bolshevik forces for a struggle against communism. Under such conditions the Hetman decided upon federation with a future non-Bolshevik Russia. On November 14, 1918, he published a declaration of a federative union with Russia. In place of the cabinet of Lyzohub, a new cabinet was created, composed chiefly of Russian monarchists, and Sergei Gerbel was appointed as the premier; D. Doroshenko was removed and George Afanasiev, a Russian, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs in his place.

This action hastened the outbreak of the mass uprising against the Hetman's regime which the Ukrainian National Alliance had long been preparing. A Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic was formed by the Alliance on November 14 to lead the uprising. Its

leader was V. Vynnychenko, and its members included S. Petliura (also Chief *Otaman*), Theodore Shvets, Andrew Makarenko, and Opanas Andriievsky. On November 15, 1918, the Directory went to Bila Tserkva, where the Sich Riflemen were stationed under Colonel Eugene Konovalets. This was the base of the insurgents. Soon they were joined by thousands of peasants.

The original plan had been for the Sich Riflemen to make an assault on Kiev with the help of other insurgent detachments. The Sich Riflemen under the command of Colonel Konovalets took Bila Tserkva on November 16. On November 17, units of the Sich Riflemen took Fastiv and moved on Kiev. Russian volunteer units under General T. Keller, the newly appointed anti-Ukrainian commander of the Hetman's forces, were sent against them, but these were routed on November 18 in a battle near Motovyliivka and retreated to Kiev. The Ukrainian units of the Hetman's forces joined the insurgents. On November 21, under the command of Colonel Konovalets, the insurgent troops began the siege of Kiev, which was being defended by Russian volunteer units and by German formations. The Directory signed an agreement guaranteeing the Germans a safe return home, and on December 12 the German troops declared their neutrality. On December 14 the Hetman abdicated, handing over his power to his Council of Ministers; they, in turn, yielded it to the Directory. Skoropadsky fled to Germany; some of his ministers were arrested. The Directory had already secured control in the provinces. In some places German troops had actively supported the Hetman's units and armed clashes had occurred—for example, in Vinnytsia and in Koziatyn. The Hetman's units continued to try to hold out in the Chernihiv area and in Volhynia.

On December 19, 1918, the Directory entered Kiev. The Ukrainian National Republic was re-established. The Directory, originating as the revolutionary

leadership, was transformed into the official government of the Republic.

A. Shulhym

THE PERIOD OF THE DIRECTORY

The Initial Stages of the Directory

After the fall of the government of Hetman Skoropadsky, the Directory of the Republic and the Council of Ministers formed by it on December 26, 1918, under the premiership of Volodymyr Chekhivsky (USDRP) faced serious problems both in its foreign and in its domestic policies. In domestic affairs the main tasks were to stabilize the governmental apparatus and the active defense forces; in foreign affairs the major problem was to find a way out of the complicated situation in which Ukraine was placed after the withdrawal of the Austro-German armies and the beginning of war on several fronts.

On November 1, 1918, after the disintegration of Austria-Hungary, the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR) was proclaimed in Galicia and Bukovina; it at once had to defend itself against a Polish invasion. The Western Ukrainian government quickly established contact with the Kievan government. On January 4, 1919, in Stanyslaviv in Galicia, the Ukrainian National *Rada*, as the representative assembly of Western Ukraine, voted to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic. The act of union was proclaimed on January 22, 1919, in the Square of St. Sophia in Kiev and was confirmed by the Ukrainian parliament—the Labor Congress—on January 28, 1919. The name of the Western Ukrainian National Republic was changed to the Western Province (*Oblast*) of the Ukrainian National Republic (ZOUNR). Final integration of the two states was to be worked out by the Constituent Assembly of all Ukraine, with full territorial autonomy being extended to Western Ukraine. Until that time the Ukrainian National Council and

the General Secretariat were to maintain civil and military authority over the territory of the ZOUNR. A common general staff was created for both armies; a common currency was introduced; and a joint diplomatic delegation was sent to the Paris Peace Conference. E. Petrushevych, president of the ZOUNR, was also a member of the Directory.

The systematic organization of the state began immediately after the Directory's government replaced the previous regime in Kiev. It was complicated by the extremely difficult political situation in which Ukraine found itself. In the north the menace of Soviet Russian aggression grew stronger as Bolshevik agitation for a system of workers' and peasants' soviets increased; at the same time the Bolsheviks began a defamatory campaign against the Directory, spreading rumors that it had "sold itself to the capitalists." In the south there was a threat of intervention by the armies of the Entente, which was supporting the efforts of the White Russian army to restore the "one and indivisible" Russia. To combat the Bolsheviks, the Directory decided, at a meeting with the representatives of the political parties in Vinnytsia at the beginning of December, 1918, to accept the so-called labor principle as the basic criterion for the political structure of the republic. Governmental functions were to be carried out by central, provincial, and local labor councils and their executive departments. These councils were to be elected by the workers, peasants, and the working intelligentsia. The predominance in the government of great landowners, industrialists, and merchants, who were non-Ukrainian for the most part and in general hostile to Ukrainian national independence, was thereby to be eliminated. The central authority was to be formed by the national constituent assembly—the Labor Congress. This decision of the Directory gave the Polish and White Russian circles who exerted influence on the Entente representatives in Odessa the

pretext of asserting that the Ukrainian liberation movement was "Bolshevistic."

By a declaration of December 26, 1918, the Directory restored the laws of the republic and decreed a new law which distributed the land of the large estates to the peasants.

The Labor (Trudovyi) Congress

The Directory and the Council of Ministers yielded their powers to the Labor Congress or Working People's Congress, a parliamentary assembly, convened on January 23, 1919. The Labor Congress sanctioned, for the future, the principle of general democratic elections to the parliament of united Ukraine and to the organs of local self-government. On January 28, 1919, the congress invested the Directory, supplemented by a representative of Western Ukraine, with broad emergency powers; in particular, it conferred on the Directory the right to enact laws and to defend the state until the next session of the congress was convened. It gave executive authority to the Council of Ministers. The congress interrupted its session on January 28 because of the Soviet Russian frontal advance on Kiev. It was prevented from meeting again because of the greater difficulties caused by the war; only its standing committees continued their work.

Disagreements as to the form the government should take resulted in splits within the political parties. In the USDRP "the faction of independent Social Democrats" demanded a *rada* system (council of working people); in the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries, the so-called "middle of the road" group called for a government of "labor councils."

The Foreign Policy of the Directory

At the beginning of December, 1918, the Ukrainian National Republic was surrounded by hostile forces. In the west, as a result of the Polish invasion, there was a Polish front. In the north and northeast, the Russian Bolsheviks were

attacking. In the northern Caucasus, where the remainder of the White Russian forces which had supported the regime of the Hetman had retreated, the so-called Volunteer Army of General Anthony Denikin was growing in strength. The Franco-Greek forces of the Entente and a White Russian unit were threatening Odessa and Mykolaïv. On the southwest, on the right bank of the Dniester were Rumanian units which in March, 1918, had occupied Bessarabia, and in November, 1918, Bukovina (see below). Against each of these forces it was necessary to establish an armed defense (see Fig. 471). The Russian Bolshevik and the Polish fronts were the most important, and all attention was focused on them.

In the November 11, 1918, armistice with Germany the victorious states of the Entente had bound the Germans to maintain anti-Bolshevik military garrisons in eastern Europe until these garrisons could be replaced by the Entente, whose forces were being moved there for the purpose of overthrowing Bolshevism and restoring the former Russian empire. But the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian empire in October, 1918, and the revolution in Germany of November 9 brought about the evacuation of the German-Austrian armies from Ukraine before the Entente forces arrived in sufficient numbers.

Foreign intervention was not popular in Ukraine, particularly after its experience with the Germans. Efforts of Chekhivsky's cabinet to effect an understanding with Moscow in January, 1919, were unsuccessful. There were two conflicting points of view even among the members of the government and the political parties. One was to join with the Bolsheviks against the intervention of the Entente, the other to join with the Entente against the Bolsheviks. The spokesman for the first was Vynnychenko; for the second, Petliura. When it finally accepted the anti-Bolshevik approach, the Directory sought to

achieve an understanding with the representatives of the Entente.

The Soviet Russian Invasion

As it had in 1917, Moscow again adopted the tactic of "help to the Soviet government of Ukraine"—a new Soviet Ukrainian government composed chiefly of Russian Bolsheviks, which was formed in Moscow on November 17, 1918, by a decision of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party (Bolsheviks). At the same time a command for the anti-Ukrainian front was organized in Moscow with V. Antonov, J. Stalin, and V. Zatonsky at its head. In the beginning of December, 1918, without formally declaring war, it directed military operations from Kursk—a Russian city near the Russo-Ukrainian border—against the Ukrainian government. After a series of unsuccessful notes from the Ukrainian government to the Soviet Russian government in Moscow on December 31, 1918, and January 3, 4, and 9, 1919, the Directory was compelled to declare that a state of war existed between Russia and Ukraine.

The Ukrainian military forces at the time were in the process of organization. Except for a few regular formations left over from the preceding period of the Hetman government that had joined the side of the Directory, the Ukrainian troops primarily were undisciplined insurgent detachments. They were commanded by politically immature and only slightly nationally conscious *otamans* (chiefs). They willingly entered the struggle against Hetman Skoropadsky, but in the course of events they often yielded to Bolshevik propaganda, proclaimed their neutrality, and at critical moments even went over to the Bolshevik side. The guerrilla detachments became reliable forces in the warfare with the Bolsheviks only during the last period of the anti-Bolshevik war, after the Ukrainian peasants of whom they consisted had experienced Bolshevik practices. Usually these guerrilla

detachments were closely connected with certain localities and did not go beyond them, fighting at some distance from the important railroad junctions which were the chief military targets.

Among the most important revolutionary detachments during the second Russian-Ukrainian war were those under the leadership of the anarchist Nestor Makhno in the Katerynoslav region (Huliai-Pole), under M. Hryhoriiv in the region of Kherson, Anhel in that of Chernihiv, Zeleny (D. Terpylo) in the northern part of the Kiev area, and J. Shepel in the region of Lityn (Podilia). The Directory relied chiefly on the Zaporozhian Corps, which had come over to the side of the Directory during the uprising, and on the Special Detachment (after December 3, 1918, Corps) of the Sich Riflemen.

Until June, 1919, the Russian Bolsheviks held the initiative in the military operations, while the Ukrainian forces were limited to defensive actions. The Bolsheviks aimed their chief blow at Left-Bank Ukraine in the second half of December, 1918; their activity in the north pinned down part of the Ukrainian forces in Polisia, in the area of Mozyr and Lunynets. Through December, 1918, and January, 1919, by the tactic of revolts in the rear combined with frontal attacks, the Bolsheviks succeeded in occupying the Left Bank and in approaching Kiev. In these operations the Bolsheviks were greatly helped by the insurgent *otamans*: in the heat of the battles on the Left Bank, Makhno attacked the forces of the Directory from the south and occupied Katerynoslav; Zeleny in the southern Kiev area cut off the northern wing of the Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik front from the southern wing. As a result of these developments the Ukrainian government left Kiev on February 5, 1919.

In the middle of December, 1918, a French expeditionary force landed in Odessa under the command of General Borius, who demanded that the Ukrai-

nians surrender the city to White Russian forces. A month later a new French landing (the divisions of General d'Anselme) called upon the Ukrainian units to evacuate the southern Ukrainian areas along the line Tyraspil-Birzula-Voznesenske-Mykolaïv-Kherson. Fully occupied with fighting the Bolsheviks, the Directory complied in order to avoid increasing the tension between itself and the representatives of the Entente.

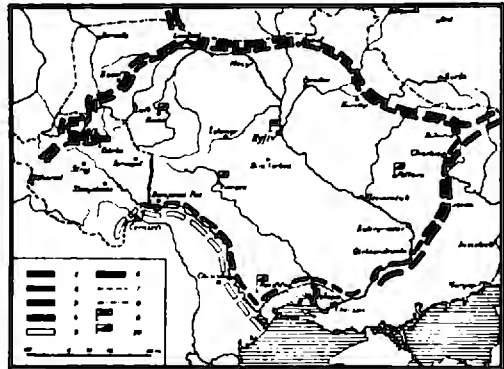


FIGURE 471. LOCATION OF MILITARY FORCES IN UKRAINE AT THE BEGINNING OF DECEMBER, 1918 (1) Ukrainian forces; (2) Polish forces; (3) Bolshevik forces; (4) White Russian army; (5) Rumanian forces; (6) territory occupied by the Entente; (7) borders of the Western Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR); (8) borders of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR); (9) General Staff of the UNR Army and the Supreme Command of the Galician army; (10) commands of the fronts.

The dissatisfaction of the masses with the Directory's action in yielding thus to the White Russian guards who were actually behind the French army was demonstrated in the uprising led by *otaman* Hryhoriiv. Hryhoriiv resented the Directory's acquiescence to the Entente landings and their union with Denikin's forces in the south. Consequently, during the battles of the Directory's forces with the Bolsheviks at the crossing of the Dnieper, Hryhoriiv, with the approval of the *Borot'bisty* (the Ukrainian non-Bolshevik Communists), subordinated his detachments to the command of the Red Army. He then attacked the Directory's

units north of Znamianka as well as the landing force of the Entente in the south.

The Battles in Right-Bank Ukraine

Taking advantage of the situation, Red Army detachments made a sharp attack from the north along the line Mozyr-Korosten and Lunynets-Sarny-Rivne in February, 1919, to separate the troops of the Directory from the West Ukrainian (Galician) Army, and from the southeast from the region of Katerynoslav-Kremenchuk through Znamianka to Birzula-Zhmerynka, to cut off the Ukrainian forces from Odessa and from the Entente troops that had landed there.

Almost simultaneously a strong Bolshevik force attacked from Kiev toward Berdychiv-Koziatyn-Zhmerynka to prevent the northern flank of the Ukrainian forces from being able to unite with the southern flank.

In March, 1919, the Ukrainian forces made a concentric attack from the north and south on the Bolshevik troops in the region of Berdychiv-Koziatyn-Zhytomyr. They won some successes and approached Kiev on the north. As a result of the advance of Ukrainian forces, the Bolshevik command was unable to begin its drive through Rumania to give military help to the Hungarian Communist government and turned its entire strength against the army of the Directory. Although the Ukrainian forces were victorious in the central sector, their southern flank was left in a serious position, for under the blows of Hryhoriiv the landing force of the Entente left the Black Sea coast and Odessa on April 6, exposing the right flank of the southern group of the Ukrainian army. The Bolshevik counterattack on the central sector in the direction of Zhmerynka cut off the southern Ukrainian group from their main forces. Contrary to orders to drive back the Bolshevik breakthrough at Zhmerynka by an attack from the south, the commander of the Zaporozhian Corps, Omelian Volokh, opened negotiations with the Bolsheviks. On

April 16 the southern group was compelled to retreat beyond the Dniester, where the Rumanians disarmed it. Only at the end of April, 1919, could it make its way through eastern Galicia to Volhynia and to the anti-Bolshevik front.

After the destruction of the southern wing of the Ukrainian army, the Bolshevik attacks were directed at the northern group. The revolt of its commander, V. Oskilko, weakened the former vigorous opposition of the northern group to the Bolsheviks. Oskilko planned a coup d'état (see below), and on April 29 withdrew some troops from the front to Rivne; this aided the Bolsheviks in driving the Ukrainian troops from eastern Volhynia to the Western Ukrainian border.

The Ostapenko Government and the Efforts to Come to an Understanding with the Entente Powers

Even when the Ukrainian troops were in retreat before the Soviet Russian forces, leading Ukrainian circles still hoped for supplies from France, which had sent French troops to fight the Bolsheviks in the south of Ukraine. To facilitate Ukraine's negotiations with the representatives of France, the USDRP and the UPSR withdrew their members from the government. On February 13 a new cabinet was formed in Vinnytsia with Serhii Ostapenko (without party affiliation) as premier and with moderates as ministers who chiefly belonged to the Ukrainian Party of Socialists-Federalists. After the formation of the new cabinet, Vynnychenko, President of the Directory, resigned and left the country and was replaced by Petliura, who had resigned from the USDRP. But the efforts of Ostapenko and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Constantine Matsiievych, to come to an understanding with the French representatives in Ukraine did not achieve the desired results. The French mission was ignorant of Ukrainian national interests and tactless in its dealings with the Ukrainian government: thus,

for example, the French army commanders demanded that the Ukrainian army become part of the White Russian army in the fight with the Bolsheviks. The Ostapenko government, which predicated its plans on being able to reach an understanding with France, neglected the organization of Ukraine's own forces. The resignation from the government of the representatives of the socialist parties, which had mass support at the time, made the people wary of the supposedly "bourgeois" government. The weakening of the front and of the state apparatus put the Ukrainian government on the brink of an abyss. After the Bolshevik forces cut off the Ukrainian units in the south from those of the north, Ostapenko's cabinet could no longer function properly: some ministers were in Odessa, negotiating with the French; others were in Stanyslaviv, Kamianets Podilsky, and Husiatyn. Some army leaders tried to counteract the influence of Bolshevik propaganda among the Ukrainian soldiery and population by adopting some of their slogans. After the defeat administered to the forces of the Entente by the units of Hryhoriiv, the government of Ostapenko lost the basis for its existence. Its ministries, which were at the time in Kamianets Podilsky, were cut off from contact with their ministers. The Committee for the Defense of the Republic, which was formed at a critical time in Kamianets, on March 22, 1919, succeeded with great difficulty in saving that city from anarchy (V. Chekhivsky, I. Mazepa, and others).

An additional goal of this southern Bolshevik force was to break through Rumania into Hungary to help the Hungarian Communist government of Béla Kun.

The Government under the Socialists

News of a change of mood of the Ukrainian masses toward the Soviet government came from the regions of Ukraine occupied by the Bolsheviks. Even the pro-Bolshevik Ukrainian groups

now turned against the Bolshevik government. In the regions occupied by the Russian Red Army an anti-Bolshevik uprising began. At this time the Directory formed a new cabinet led by the socialists, hoping that the new government would have more support from the Ukrainian masses.

On April 9 the new Council of Ministers was formed in Rivne in Volhynia. It was headed by Borys Martos (USDRP), and included members of the USDRP and UPSR as well as representatives of Western Ukraine. In its appeal to the people on April 12, 1919, the new government proclaimed that it "would not call to its aid foreign armed forces from any country whatsoever." The government was to take its own measures to strengthen the democratic regime and to combat all antisocial elements.

The new government hoped for the aid of the Ukrainian guerrillas who were operating in the rear of the Bolshevik front. The Ukrainian masses at this time were against the Bolsheviks more solidly than before. Despite the holding of the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets (March 10, 1919) and the proclamation of the Constitution of the formally independent "Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic" in Kharkiv, the whole state machinery and the composition of the army were predominantly Russian and hostile to the Ukrainians. Russian was the official language. The severe requisitioning of food created indignation among the peasants and led to 328 mass uprisings during the period April-June, 1919, according to information given by the head of the Kharkiv government, Christian Rakovsky. Even those groups that supported the Soviet platform (for example, the Independent Ukrainian Social Democratic party) participated in these uprisings. In agreement with Zeleny, the Social Democratic "independents" formed their own All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee under the leadership of A. Rychytsky, M. Avdiienko, A. Drahomyretsky, and others. This

committee called upon the people to fight against the Russian Bolsheviks for an "independent Ukrainian Soviet republic." Some of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries also wanted to establish an independent Ukrainian Soviet Republic free of the Russian Bolsheviks.

Some successes of the Directory's forces on the front (see above) were nullified by an attempt at a coup d'état on the part of a group who belonged to the *Samostiinyky*-Socialists or to the Ukrainian National Republican party (E. Arkhypenko). In Rivne, the provisional seat of the Ukrainian government, on April 29, 1919, these groups made use of front group commander Oskilko; he arrested the members of the government and proclaimed himself commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian army. This attempted coup was without bloodshed and was defeated within twenty-four hours by the loyal military units, also without bloodshed. Oskilko fled to Poland. But, as a result of the attempted coup, the Ukrainian defenses against the Bolsheviks were disrupted. In the beginning of May, the government had to leave Rivne and go into the territory of Galicia. The almost simultaneous attack of the Polish forces on western Volhynia was a heavy blow for the Directory.

Immediately after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the Poles had occupied the Kholm area; shortly afterwards, in southwestern Volhynia, the Austrian military commandants, before their departure, handed the administration over to the civic committees of the local Polish minority (Volodymyr Volynsky, Kovel). During November and December, 1918, the Poles also occupied Podlachia and western Polisia.

A rapidly organized defense led by General M. Osetsky stopped the further advance of the Polish forces in western Volhynia, but the Ukrainians could not drive the Poles back across the Buh (Bug). The fate of this front, like that of the Polish-Ukrainian front in Galicia,

was decided by the attack of the divisions of General Joseph Haller in the direction of Chortoryisk-Lutsk-Brody in the first half of May, 1919. On May 15 Polish units occupied Lutsk, threatening the rear of the northern group of the Ukrainian forces which was holding the anti-Bolshevik front north and east of Sarny and east of Rivne and Kremianets. The position was made worse by the simultaneous attack from the north and southeast of the Bolsheviks who occupied Rivne, Shepetivka, Proskuriv, and Kamianets Podilsky. As a result of the concentric attacks of the Poles from the west and the Russian Bolsheviks from the east, by the end of May, 1919, the remnants of the Ukrainian army were confined to a strip 30-40 miles wide in southwest Volhynia in the region Dubno-Brody. In the south, in Galicia, the units of the Ukrainian Galician Army were withdrawing under Polish attacks to the southeast into the triangle between the Zbruch and the Dniester (see below).

In this serious situation the command of the army of the Ukrainian Republic made an armistice with the Poles. After re-forming its forces into groups (the Sich Riflemen, the Zaporozhian, the Volhynian, and the four southeastern combat groups—altogether about 15,000 soldiers) in the beginning of June, 1919, by a skillful maneuver, it turned its offensive to the southeast against the Bolsheviks to free the way for the Ukrainian Galician Army in its retreat from the Poles across the Zbruch. Despite the numerical superiority of the Bolshevik force this operation was successful; by attacks from west of the Zbruch and from the northwest, the forces of the Directory drove the Bolsheviks out of southwestern Podilia by the middle of June, 1919.

As a result of these successful operations the Ukrainian government was able to establish itself in June in Kamianets Podilsky as a temporary capital. The short time during which the Bolshevik

authorities were in control in Podilia and Volhynia influenced the attitude of the population. It awoke from its former indifference and passivity and came to the help of the Ukrainian government. The army was reinforced by drafted men and volunteers, and the attack against the Bolsheviks developed successfully.

But in the second half of June and the first half of July, the Bolsheviks succeeded in driving the Directory's forces out of the northern part of the territory they had recently regained. They took Proskuriv on July 5 and approached Kamianets itself. At this critical moment, *Otaman* George Tiutiunyk, with a detachment of about 3,500 insurgents from the former Hryhoriiv guerrillas, began to break through from the southeast in order to join the forces of the Directory, thereby threatening the southern wing of the Bolshevik force. On July 16, 1919, the Ukrainian Galician Army crossed the Zbruch to take part in the struggle against the Bolsheviks. In July members of the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee (the independent Social Democrats)—Richytsky, Mazurenko, and others—arrived at Kamianets. These new circumstances strengthened the Ukrainian forces; by July 17 they succeeded in driving the Bolsheviks behind the line Horodok-Yarmolyntsi-Dunaivtsi-Nova Ushytsia-Vapniarka.

The Kamianets Period

From July to mid-November, 1919, Kamianets Podilsky was the seat of both the Directory and the Western Ukrainian government. The government of Western Ukraine was in the hands of Eugene Petrushevych, president of the Ukrainian (Galician—that is, West Ukrainian) National Council, which had invested him with all its powers as a "dictator" on June 9, 1919. Active in the Directory at this time were Petliura, Shvets, and Makarenko; Petrushevych, formally a member of the Directory, actually took no part in its work and

guided the affairs of Galicia independently of it. In August, Isaac Mazepa replaced Martos as the prime minister of the Ukrainian National Republic.

After the crossing of the Zbruch by the UHA (Ukrainian Galician Army) and its regrouping in August, the united armies began military operations against the Bolsheviks. Their advance against the Bolsheviks was conducted without being coordinated with the simultaneous White Russian offensive of General Denikin in Left-Bank Ukraine. To establish security in the west, a Ukrainian delegation under Colonel Lypko was sent to Lviv on July 20 for negotiations with the Poles. After long discussions it achieved the cessation of hostilities through the mediation of the representatives of the Entente; on September 1 an armistice was signed. The line of demarcation with the Polish-controlled Ukrainian territory ran northward along the river Zbruch to its source and beyond. There were two plans for the Ukrainian attack. While Galician Army Headquarters wished to proceed seawards in the direction of Odessa, thus establishing a direct contact by sea with the Entente states, the General Staff of the UNR army believed that it would be politically more effective to march on the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. Finally on August 2 the General Staff decided to commence offensives simultaneously towards Kiev (east) and Odessa (south), covering the advance of the central group with a weaker attack northward on Korosten. For the better coordination of the military operations of the two armies a united high command was formed, headed by General N. Yunakiv and General V. Kurmanovych. The united forces contained 85,000 combat troops. They were aided by about 15,000 guerrilla fighters in the rear of the Bolsheviks.

Units of the UNR, with the aid of some Galician units, fought with determination in the directions of Shepetivka, Zhmerynka, and Vinnytsia. On August

12, units of the First Corps of the Ukrainian Galician Army (the group of General A. Kraus) took Vinnytsia in the central sector of the front, and on August 14, Khmelnyk, Yaniv, and Kalynivka; on August 13 the group of General A. Wolf (Second Galician Corps and the Sich Riflemen) began an attack on the southern sector. They occupied Starokonstantyniv on August 14. An unexpected Polish attack toward Dubno-Rivne on August 15 halted further attacks on the northern sector; General Wolf's troops were thrown to the northeast, where they took Berdychiv on August 19 and Zhytomyr on August 21. At the same time, in the southeast, units of Colonel A. Udovychenko attacked Birzula. On August 31, Ukrainian units fighting the Bolsheviks on the central sector entered Kiev. However, at the same time units of the 7th White Russian Army of General N. Brediv on the left bank of the Dnieper converged on Kiev. They approached the city and attacked the parading Ukrainian units on the Square of St. Sophia. To avoid armed conflict and a fight on three fronts (in the north and south against the Bolsheviks, and on the east against the White Russian forces of Denikin), General Kraus agreed to the demand of the White Russian command that he withdraw the Ukrainian units from Kiev to the southwest, to the line Ruzhyn-Olhopil-Vchoraishe-Samhorodok. This enabled units of the Bolshevik 14th Army, which were cut off from the west by the Ukrainians and from the south by Denikin, to pass easily from the region of Katerynoslav-Olviopil through Skvyra to the north of Zhytomyr.

Relations between the Two Ukrainian Governments

A difference existed between the two Ukrainian governments—the government of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Western Ukrainian (Galician) government—over their attitude toward General Denikin, the leader of the White Russian army. The Galician Ukrainians

still considered Poland their chief enemy and some of them were ready to make an alliance with White Russian forces in the hope that this alliance would make it possible to free Galicia from Polish occupation. The Kievan government, to obtain material aid from the Entente, inclined to an alliance with Poland rather than with General Denikin after he showed his extremely hostile attitude toward Ukraine.

At this time the nations of the Entente, especially Great Britain, actively supported the White Russian army of General Denikin and were unfavorable to the struggle of the Ukrainians for national



FIGURE 472.
S. PETLIURA



FIGURE 473.
E. PETRUSHEVYCH

independence. The Ukrainian territory, as well as the territory of Soviet Russia was blockaded by the Entente. Ukraine could obtain from abroad neither arms nor medical supplies needed by the army and the civilian population. Only a small amount was secured from Rumania by exchange (chiefly of sugar) or illegally, but it was insufficient.

During August and September, 1919, in the regions of Ukraine occupied by the White Russian forces, mass uprisings broke out against the White Russian army. These were a consequence of the reactionary policies of Denikin who was restoring the land to the great owners and striking at every manifestation of Ukrainian national consciousness (executing Ukrainian patriots, banning the press and the schools, burning Ukrainian books, etc.). In the struggle against

Denikin a prominent part was played by guerrilla leaders—Makhno (the Katerynoslav area), Zeleny, and T. Hladky. The Ukrainian government, and the army command headed by Petliura, thought that the Ukrainian regular armed forces should go to the aid of the insurgent movement against Denikin; but the Western Ukrainian government postponed a decision, hoping that the governments of the Entente would compel the White Russian army to come to an understanding with the Ukrainian government and to withdraw from Ukraine. Not until September 24, 1919, did Petrushevych, head of the Western Ukrainian government, consent to sign an appeal to the Ukrainian people to struggle against the White Russian army.

The Struggle with General Denikin

The Denikin attack on the Ukrainian forces in September, 1919, stopped their advance in central Ukraine and forced them to the line Koziatyn-Berdychiv-Zhytomyr. The Ukrainian authorities finally agreed on common action against Denikin, but the weather unexpectedly turned cold and typhus broke out in the Ukrainian forces and among the civilian population. The blockade by the Entente states prevented the Ukrainian government from being able to obtain drugs from abroad. Thousands of Ukrainians died. Weakened by previous fighting, and having lost seventy per cent of their soldiers in the epidemic, the Ukrainian units could not withstand the attacks of Denikin's well-nourished troops. Fighting stubbornly, they began to retreat to the northwest. In order to save the rest of the men, the High Command of the Ukrainian Galician Army signed a pact with General Denikin in Ziatkivtsi on November 6 on the basis of which the army became a part of the "Armed Forces of the South of Russia" (the official name of Denikin's White Russian army). Petrushevych refused to acknowledge this treaty; he submitted the matter to a military court, which, however,

exonerated the Galician commanding general, M. Tarnavsky, and his chief of staff, Colonel A. Schamanek. Their successors, General O. Mykytka and General H. Ziritz, on November 17 reaffirmed this treaty by their delegation in Odessa. On November 16 Petrushevych left Kamianets for Vienna, via Rumania, in the hope that from that city he could defend the interests of Galicia by diplomatic means. This left the Galician Army without political leadership. Both commanders, General M. Tarnavsky and General O. Mykytka, felt that they should sign this treaty because most of their army were suffering from typhus and they had no medical supplies to arrest the epidemic. Consequently, resistance by the army at this time was not possible.

The Disintegration of the Front

As a consequence of the Galician units' withdrawal from the struggle against the White Russian forces, Kamianets Podilsky, the provisional seat of the Directory, was in danger from Denikin's troops.

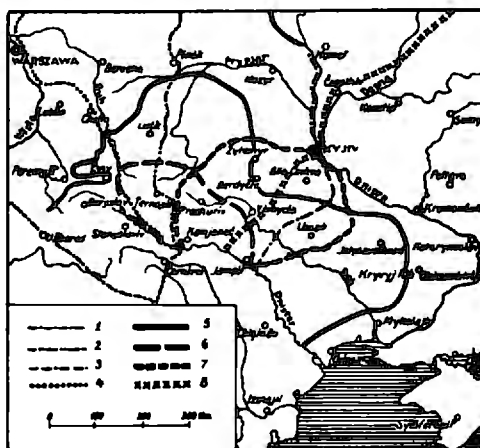


FIGURE 474. MILITARY FRONTS IN 1914-20

(1) westernmost front of the Russian army in 1914-15; (2) easternmost front of the Austro-German armies, 1915-18; (3) easternmost front of the Polish armies, May, 1920; (4) westernmost front of the Bolshevik army, August, 1920; (5-7) Ukrainian defense lines (March 5, 1919, July 6, 1919, August 7, 1919); (8) north-western invasion front of Denikin's White Russian army.

The head of the Directory, Petliura, and the Ukrainian governmental agencies were compelled to leave Kamianets and to go with the army to the north. On November 15, 1919, the members of the Directory passed a resolution transferring all powers of the Directory to its head, S. Petliura, during the mission abroad of the other members, Shvets and Makarenko.

The army of the UNR continued to retreat to the northwest. At the end of November it was in the region of Chorotoryia and was surrounded by enemies: on the west by the Poles, on the northeast by the Russian Bolsheviks, on the south and southeast by the White Russian forces. Under the circumstances it was impossible to continue the fighting in the form of a regular front. The members of the government and the commanders of the army units on December 4 decided to continue the fight in the form of guerrilla warfare in the rear of



FIGURE 475. COMMANDERS OF THE UKRAINIAN GALICIAN ARMY

M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko and M. Tarnavsky.

the Denikin forces and the Bolsheviks. On December 6 a task force under General Michael Omelianovych-Pavlenko and G. Tiutiunyk moved to the southeast to carry on the "Winter Campaign" far in the rear of the Denikin forces. The President of the Directory, S. Petliura, went to Warsaw, where there had been a Ukrainian diplomatic mission since October headed by the Minister of Foreign

Affairs, A. Livytsky. The other members of the government headed by I. Mazepa remained in Ukraine to maintain contact with the fighting men.

The emergency pact of the Galician Army with Denikin took place when Denikin's army itself was beginning to disintegrate and could not even hold the occupied Ukrainian territory. Under the attacks of the Bolshevik armies in Left-Bank Ukraine and in eastern Volhynia, and also as a result of the uprisings in the rear of his army, General Denikin was compelled during November and December, 1919, to retreat to his base on the Black Sea coast. By this time the Ukrainian front was disorganized and the Red Army again occupied central and eastern Ukraine. At the beginning of December, 1919, the Bolsheviks took Kiev, and in the first month of 1920 the entire territory of Ukraine except for Volhynia and western Podilia including Kamianets which were then occupied by the Polish army.

The Ukrainian National Republic and Poland

In October, 1919, with the agreement of both Ukrainian governments, a Ukrainian diplomatic mission headed by Andrew Livytsky (Western Ukraine was represented by S. Vytvytsky) was sent to Poland. Its objective was to arrange commercial relations with Poland, in particular to secure supplies for the Ukrainian front against the White Russian army.

In the beginning of December the Ukrainians demanded that the so-called Berthélemy line be the basis for negotiations on the demarcation of the Polish-Ukrainian border. But with the fall of the Ukrainian regular front the Poles increased their demands on the Ukrainian mission. The news of the catastrophic state at the front and the tragic situation of the Ukrainian forces after the Ukrainian Galician Army joined Denikin led the mission to attempt, without governmental sanction, to save the army

from complete annihilation by securing help from Poland. The mission made a declaration to the Polish government on December 22 which provided that the boundary between Ukraine and Poland should run along the line of the Zbruch and then along northwestern Volhynia. The declaration also left the decision of land redistribution in Ukraine to the future Ukrainian parliament. The Galician members of the mission opposed the declaration and withdrew from the mission in protest (see below).

The declaration of December 2, 1919, did not change the policy of the Poles in the parts of Volhynia and Podilia that they held. The Polish army command meddled in Ukrainian internal affairs and made communication between the Ukrainian ministers, headed by Ivan Obiienko, and the head of the Directory almost impossible. In the first months the Poles also interned Ukrainian soldiers and seized property of the Ukrainian army that they found in their campaign to the east. The great Polish landowners, returning to Volhynia and Podilia under the protection of the Polish army, imposed indemnities upon the Ukrainian peasants for the land divided during the revolution. The protest against these Polish activities presented to J. Piłsudski, the chief of the Polish state, by Petliura and Livytsky was unsuccessful.

Most members of the UNR government, including Mazepa, were in Polish-occupied Podilia. Their task was to maintain contact with the army, which had gone on the Winter Campaign, and with the head of the Directory, who was in Warsaw.

The Winter Campaign and the Fate of the Galician Army

On December 6, 1919, the Ukrainian task force under M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko began the Winter Campaign against White Russian, as well as Soviet Russian, invaders. Its first move was to the area between Koziatyn and Kalynivka, toward Lypovets, where the Galic-

ian units were stationed. When the two Ukrainian forces met, their representatives signed an agreement calling for the renewal of their common struggle. But the serious condition of the Galician troops, who were suffering from an epidemic of spotted typhus, made it impossible for them to join the UNR army in the campaign.

At first the UNR task force stayed in the Yelysavet area between the Bolshevik forces and those of Denikin. After the White Russian forces were beaten by the Red Army in the south, the task force, not heeding the appeals of the Ukrainian Communists to cease the anti-Bolshevik struggle, continued its march, from January through March, 1920, in the rear of the Bolshevik southern front in the regions of Olhopil, Znamianka, and across the Dnieper, in Zolotonosha. At the end of March, 1920, it received orders from Chief *Otaman* Petliura to break through to the west to reach the united Polish and Ukrainian forces near Yampol. This was done on May 6, 1920.

As a result of the retreat of the White Russian army, Bolshevik units on November 19, 1919, reached the area of the garrisons of the Ukrainian Galician units near Vinnytsia. The Galician High Command ordered the troops to abandon sick soldiers and to move to Odessa where the army of General Denikin had retreated. To protect thousands of sick soldiers from hostile treatment by the Bolsheviks a Galician Revolutionary Committee was formed in Vinnytsia under N. Hirniak. It refused to obey the orders of the Galician High Command and began negotiations with the Red Army for the inclusion in it of the Galician units. The epidemic and the bad conditions of the roads slowed the movement of the Galician units to the south; by the beginning of February, 1920, they had reached only the area of Bershad-Chechelnik-Balta, where they were encircled by Bolshevik armies on the north and east. When the Rumanians refused to allow the Galicians to cross

the Dniester, the Galician Revolutionary Committee on January 12, 1920 made an agreement with the command of the Soviet Twelfth Army, by which the Galician forces became a component part of the Red Army as the Red Galician Ukrainian Army (Red UHA). Bolshevik authorities arrested Generals Mykytka and Ziritz and tried to destroy the national character of the Galician units; they did not succeed in this, however, despite intensive propaganda among the soldiers. The opportunistic nature of the agreement with the Bolsheviks and the sharp dissatisfaction of the Galician troops was revealed when the Galician units of the Red UHA encountered the forces of the UNR in April, 1920. Then the Galician Second Cavalry Brigade commanded by George Sheparovych and the Third Brigade joined the UNR forces. But the Poles disarmed both brigades and interned them in Polish camps. The First Brigade of the Galician Sich Riflemen, surrounded by Poles in Pykivka near Koziatyn, laid down its arms. The officers and men who succeeded in escaping internment entered the Sixth Kherson Division of the UNR. When Polish-Ukrainian forces retreated again to the west, these men, headed by General Kraus, broke through Galicia and entered Czechoslovakia, where they were interned in Liberec. After some Galician units went over to the UNR forces, the Bolsheviks punished or deported many of the remaining Galician soldiers.

The Warsaw Treaty

After the reopening of negotiations between the Poles and the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Warsaw, the Poles advanced still greater demands. The Poles had two different attitudes toward Ukraine: the socialists and some center groups were favorably inclined to Ukrainian statehood, for they feared the rebirth of Russian imperialism; the majority of the Polish politicians, especially the nationalistic and authoritarian National

Democrats, were more hostile, for they believed that a revived Russian empire would be more tolerant to the annexation of the Western Ukrainian lands by Poland than would an independent Ukraine. In January, 1920, while preparing for war with the Soviet republics, the Polish government agreed to the reformation of only two Ukrainian infantry divisions: the Sixth Division under the command of Colonel M. Bezruchko in Berestia, and the Second Division of Colonel A. Udovychenko near Mohyliv on the Dniester. These divisions were included in the Polish Third and Sixth Armies in which they operated during the entire Polish-Ukrainian war with the Bolsheviks.

Although the policies of the Poles were unfavorable to the Ukrainians, it was impossible to continue a regular struggle with the Bolsheviks without a treaty with Poland. There were hopes among Ukrainians that an alliance with Poland might also secure for Ukraine the aid of the Entente for a further armed struggle against the Bolsheviks.

The so-called Warsaw Treaty, signed on April 22, 1920, for Ukraine by A. Livytsky, contained a recognition by Poland of the Directory of Ukraine, headed by the Chief *Otaman* S. Petliura, as "the supreme government of the Ukrainian National Republic." The Ukrainian-Polish border was designated in the treaty as the Zbruch River, continuing along the old Russian-Austrian border to Vyshhorodok, through the Kremianets hills east of Zdolbuniv, along the eastern border of Rivne county, north along the administrative frontier of Minsk *guberniya* to the Prypiat River, and continuing along the Prypiat to its mouth. The Poles recognized as belonging to the Ukrainian state the central Ukrainian territory up to the eastern frontiers of Poland before 1772. The question of the Ukrainian-Russian border was not included in the treaty. The Polish government bound itself not to make any international treaties aimed against Ukraine.

The same degree of national cultural rights was guaranteed for the Poles in Ukraine and for the Ukrainians in Poland. Included in the treaty also was a Polish demand for special treatment of the great landowners of Polish nationality in Ukraine. A military convention, concluded at the same time as the Warsaw Treaty, granted wide powers to the Poles with regard to the army, finances, administration, and railroads of Ukraine. A few days after the signing of the treaty Polish-Ukrainian forces attacked the Soviet Russian army in Ukraine.

The provisions of the Warsaw Treaty, especially the incorporation of the Western Ukrainian territories into the Polish state, led to great political dissension among the Ukrainians. The exiled government of Western Ukraine (now using the name Western Ukrainian National Republic again) in Vienna protested sharply. The population of Galicia was unanimously opposed to the treaty. The Galician members of the Warsaw mission protested to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Many prominent political figures who were émigrés in Vienna, such as M. Hrushevsky, M. Shapoval, S. Vityk, and V. Vynnychenko, added their voices to the opposition. In January, 1920, Vynnychenko adopted a Soviet orientation having confidence in the assurances, expressed in the declaration of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist party (Bolsheviks) of November 6, 1919, and in a letter from L. Trotsky, People's Commissar of Military Affairs, that henceforth Soviet Russia would fully respect the political independence of the Ukrainian Soviet state. In the spring of 1920 he returned to Ukraine, where he joined the Communist party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and was appointed deputy chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Ukraine. However, he soon withdrew from the Soviet-Ukrainian government and went abroad.

The new situation created by the Warsaw Treaty, which sanctioned Polish

interference in internal Ukrainian affairs, led to the resignation of the cabinet of Mazepa. A new government was formed by Viacheslav Prokopovych, Socialist-Federalist (UPSF).

The Polish-Ukrainian War against the Bolsheviks

On April 25 the Poles advanced toward Bobruisk in Belorussia, and toward Kiev, making use of the two Ukrainian divisions incorporated in the Polish army and the task force which had returned from the Winter Campaign. They did not use the Galician units which had come over to the side of the Polish-Ukrainian forces; rather, they disarmed and interned them (see above). The division of Colonel Udovychenko in the Polish army occupied Mohyliv on April 27, and the division of Colonel Bezruchko, together with Polish units, entered Kiev on May 7, 1920.

After the early successes of the Polish-Ukrainian forces, the Bolsheviks brought in the First Cavalry Army of S. Budenny from the northern Caucasus. On June 5, 1920, this army broke through the Ukrainian-Polish front southeast of Koziatyn and, by means of a deep raid in the rear compelled the Polish-Ukrainian forces to retreat. The Polish units withdrew to the line Zbruch-Styr, and the Ukrainians, on the southern flank, retreated to the west until, on July 13, they also recrossed the Zbruch River. Under the blows of the Bolshevik forces, the Polish front in July and August retreated westward to Warsaw, Zamostia (Zamość), and Lviv. In connection with the general retreat, Colonel Udovychenko's division, after a month of battles on the Zbruch, crossed the Dniester on August 10. Colonel Bezruchko's division, together with the Polish Third Army, retreated through northern Volhynia to the Kholm area where, on August 29-30, they beat back a Bolshevik attack on Zamostia. In great part this defeat of the Bolsheviks contributed to the defeat of the Bolshevik army at Warsaw on September 15, 1920.

The Poles and Ukrainians attacked again on the southern flank; Ukrainian units again crossed the Dniester, defeated the Bolshevik Fourteenth Army, and on September 18 controlled the left bank of the Zbruch. During the next month of battles the Directory forces moved east to the line Yaruha on the Dniester-Sharhorod-Bar-Lityn. When the Polish government agreed to a Soviet proposal of October 18 and made an armistice with the Bolsheviks, thereby violating the Warsaw Treaty, the Ukrainian troops were in a very serious situation: their left wing was exposed to attack from the north.

The Last Phase of the Bolshevik-Ukrainian War

On their northern flanks the forces of the UNR cooperated with the Russian anti-Bolshevik units of General Peremykin, and the Mounted Cossack Brigade of Captain Yakovlev (formed by the Russian Political Committee of B. Savinkov in Poland which recognized the independence of Ukraine). The Ukrainian forces at this time numbered about 23,000 soldiers and the White Russian and Cossack units about 5,000. The Red Army, having conquered the remains of the White Russian army of General P. Vrangl in the Crimea, had an enormous numerical superiority. Yet the Directory decided upon a general anti-Bolshevik offensive for November 11. On November 10, however, the Bolsheviks attacked the southern flank of the Ukrainian forces and shattered it; the Ukrainian units, after severe battles on November 11-21, retreated to the west. Shortly afterwards, the Ukrainian forces were compelled to recross the Zbruch into the territory then incorporated into the Polish state, where they were interned.

Armed struggle with the Bolsheviks continued only in the form of guerrilla warfare conducted by separate detachments in Ukraine and guided by the Guerrilla Command of General George

Tiutiunnyk from Poland. The organized forces in Ukraine at the end of 1920 amounted to some 40,000 insurgents. They operated chiefly in Podilia (the county of Lityn), and the areas of Kiev (environs of Radomyshl, Cherkasy, Zvenyhorod), Katerynoslav, and Poltava. Some detachments continued the struggle until 1924.

In concluding an armistice with Soviet Russia, the Polish government broke off relations with the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic and, by the Treaty of Riga (March 18, 1921), recognized the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic. The UNR government protested in vain against this treaty. The Treaty of Riga gave Poland the Ukrainian lands of the Kholm area and Podlachia, western Volhynia, and western Polisia. The fate of Galicia was as yet undetermined (see below).

At this time the exiled Ukrainian government had its seat on Polish territory at Tarnów. Earlier, on November 12, during this period, while still on Ukrainian territory, the Directory promulgated a constitutional law on the provisional government, the legislative process, and the national representative council of the Ukrainian National Republic. The Council of the Republic, which consisted of representatives of the major political parties (with I. Feshchenko-Chopivsky as head), issued a proclamation to the Ukrainian people on February 3, 1921, from Tarnów in which it outlined the political, social, and economic policy of the Directory. The Council also expressed its position toward the insurgent movement in Ukraine, warning against unorganized uprisings.

The Second Winter Campaign of 1921

Despite the destruction of the Ukrainian regular front, the insurgent movement in Ukraine continued. Reports from the insurgent groups to the Ukrainian government-in-exile brought news of growing dissatisfaction among the Uk-

rainian people with the Bolshevik regime. In view of the unfriendly attitude of the western nations to the Soviet republics this gave hope of the possibility of the overthrow of the Bolshevik regime by a mass insurgent movement under the leadership of the UNR government. The preparations for such an uprising were entrusted to George Tiutiunyk. But the plans of the uprising were discovered by Bolshevik agents and, during the summer of 1921, the Bolsheviks succeeded in destroying many insurgent groups in Ukraine. In the autumn of 1921 the Guerrilla Command, with about 1,500 volunteers from former Ukrainian soldiers interned in Poland, began guerrilla raids on Right-Bank Ukraine. Two groups began operations: the Podilian group of Colonel M. Pali and the Volhynian group of General Tiutiunyk. The Podilian group, which started out on October 25, fought successfully through the regions of Proskuriv and Liatyshiv, and reached Malyn in Kievan Polisia. Later it turned west past Radomyshl, moved through the eastern Polisian forests, and on November 29 recrossed the Polish border, where it was again interned by the Poles. The Volhynian group, which began operations on November 4, moved on Korosten, seized it, and captured large military stores (November 7). But on November 17 Bolshevik cavalry surrounded the group in the neighborhood of Bazar and shattered it. Part of the group broke through to Poland and some died in battle but the majority were captured by the Bolsheviks who executed 359 soldiers in Bazar on November 21.

The Non-military Activities of the Directory

The work of the Directory was conducted under severely abnormal conditions. With the exception of the first two months of its existence, the territory actually under the control of the Directory consisted of only a small part of Ukraine. This area constantly shifted, as

did the provisional seat of the government: from Vinnytsia, to Rivne, to Kamianets. Administration of the territory under the control of the Directory was not fully organized, consequently the activities of the government were concentrated primarily on military affairs, on foreign policy, and on finance. The government was unable to balance its budget and was forced to meet state needs by the issuance of paper money—the over-issuance of which caused inflation. With the broadening of the government-controlled territory in 1919, plans were formulated to exchange supplies of sugar and spirits from nationalized enterprises for arms from Rumania. The collapse of the Ukrainian front in 1919 prevented these plans from being carried out.

After the fall of the Hetman government, the Directory kept some of the previous diplomatic representatives and also appointed others. New missions were sent to England, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Belgium and Holland, Greece, the Vatican, Estonia, and Latvia. The Ukrainian legations and missions in foreign lands informed the western world of the situation in Ukraine, and worked to secure the recognition of Ukraine as an independent state. In the nations where there were Ukrainian prisoners negotiations were carried on for their release; the missions in Berlin, Vienna, and Rome organized agencies to deal with problems pertaining to the prisoners.

The delegation sent by the Ukrainian government to the Peace Conference in Paris played an especially important role. At the beginning of 1919 it was headed by G. Sydorenko; in July, 1919, he was succeeded by M. Tyshkevych (formerly the representative at the Vatican), who remained in that post until March, 1921, when the delegation was dissolved. The delegation members were B. Paneiko (deputy chief), A. Margolin, A. Shulhyn, M. Lozynsky, and A. Halip. In December, Paneiko together with S. Tomashivsky

formed a special delegation of Western Ukraine, despite the sharp protest of Sydorenko who insisted there should be a united delegation. The delegation sent many notes and memoranda to the Council of Four (Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Sonnino); it was received by Clemenceau and the other ministers. In May, 1919, the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued an appeal to the Council of Four to help Ukraine against the Bolsheviks, but without results. In March, 1921, the Ukrainian government-in-exile abolished the delegation and appointed in its place an extraordinary mission to France, headed by A. Shulhyn.

The Fate of the Army and the Ukrainian Government-in-Exile

After the conclusion of peace with Soviet Russia, the Polish government gave the representatives of the Soviet mission in Warsaw permission to visit the camps of the interned Ukrainian soldiers to urge them to request voluntary repatriation. The Soviet government promised amnesty to those who wished to be repatriated. Because of the difficult conditions of camp life, some soldiers and civilian officials accepted the offer and returned to Soviet Ukraine, but the vast majority chose to remain as émigrés.

At the head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile in 1920-2 were V. Prokopovych, P. Pylypchuk, and A. Livytsky (who, in September 1922, left the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor party). Because of the lack of financial resources and the recognition of the government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic by various nations the diplomatic missions of the exiled government had to cease their activities. The Polish government, which was in the hands of the National Democrats who opposed the independence of Ukraine, tried to prevent the work of the Ukrainian government-in-exile. Then in 1924 Chief *Otaman* Petliura left Warsaw and went

to Paris where, on May 25, 1926, he was assassinated by a Bolshevik agent, S. Schwartzbard. On the basis of a law of November 12, 1920, Andrew Livytsky, then prime minister, succeeded Petliura as president of the Directory; he appointed V. Prokopovych prime minister and a new cabinet under him which continued until 1939 with no major changes.

After 1926 some of the members of the government were with A. Livytsky in Warsaw, some with V. Prokopovych in Paris, and some in Prague. The activities of the government were concerned with the problem of military preparations (General V. Salsky), with various matters pertaining to emigration and with efforts to preserve unity; however their most important activities were their diplomatic efforts. These consisted of lodging numerous protests against the occupation of Ukraine, particularly before the League of Nations (A. Shulhyn, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was the Ukrainian representative there) and in disseminating propaganda abroad in behalf of Ukrainian national aspirations (see also "Ukrainian Emigration between the Two World Wars"). An important task was the establishment of links with groups from other nations enslaved by Soviet Russia. In connection with this the Promethean Club was founded in Warsaw by representatives of the enslaved nations of the USSR, headed by Roman Smal-Stocki; a Committee of Friendship of the Caucasus, Turkestan, and Ukraine was established in Paris.

*P. Fedenko**

THE WESTERN UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC (ZUNR-ZOUNR), 1918-23

Before November, 1918

The capitulation of Bulgaria in September, 1918, indicated that the collapse of the Central Powers was imminent. In

*Note: The survey of military operations was prepared by O. Horbach.

order to prepare for the seizure of power in Galicia, at the end of September, 1918, the Central Military Committee was organized in Lviv by a group of Ukrainian officers of the Austrian army. After the transfer of the *Sichovi Striltsi* (Sich Riflemen) from the area of Katerynoslav in Ukraine to Bukovina, the Military Committee could rely on their help. Dmytro Vitovsky, captain of a Sich Riflemen unit, arrived in Lviv on October 30 and took over the leadership of the Committee. As for political action, beginning in October, 1918, trusted persons were chosen from among prominent members of the Ukrainian political parties to seize the administrative and political control and the security organs in various counties of the country at the appointed time.

The Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation called a meeting in Lviv of the Ukrainian bishops, all the Ukrainian members of both houses of the Austrian parliament and of the Galician and Bukovinian diets, and three delegates from each of the Ukrainian political parties in Galicia and Bukovina. The assembly convened on October 18, 1918, under the presidency of Eugene Petrushevych, head of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in Austria, and constituted itself the Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council), a body representative of the Ukrainian population of Austria-Hungary. Delegates from Transcarpathia were not able to participate in the proceedings. However, the desire of the then Hungarian Ukraine to be united with Ukrainian Galicia was expressed in a written declaration.

The Act of November 1, 1918, and the Beginning of the ZUNR

When, on October 31, 1918, the Austrian Governor, Karl Huyn, refused to hand over the power to the Ukrainian National *Rada*, it was decided to resort to force. The military execution of this decision was entrusted to Captain Vitovsky. In the early hours of November 1,

1918, the Central Military Committee, commanding 60 officers and about 1,200 men, disarmed the soldiers of non-Ukrainian nationality and occupied the principal government buildings in Lviv. At the same time the political power was taken over in the name of the Ukrainian National *Rada* in all of eastern Galicia. Governor Huyn and the Austrian commander of the city, General Pfeffer, were interned and in the following days the German and Hungarian troops left Galicia. On November 1 the Ukrainian National *Rada* named Colonel N. Marynovych commandant of Lviv and Captain Vitovsky, now promoted to colonel, commander-in-chief of the army.

Also on November 1 the Ukrainian National *Rada* issued a proclamation announcing that as the supreme authority of the Ukrainian state it had seized the power and urged the people of the country to maintain peace and order. A similar appeal was made by the Ukrainian command of the city of Lviv. On November 9 the first ministry, called the Provisional State Secretariat, was set up. It consisted of Constantine Levytsky, President of the Council of State Secretaries and Secretary of the Treasury, Longin Tsehelsky (Internal Affairs), Basil Paneiko (Foreign Affairs), Dmytro Vitovsky (Defense), Ivan Myron (Transport), Alexander Barvinsky (Education and Religious Affairs), Yaroslav Lytvynovych (Trade and Industry), Alexander Pisetsky (Post and Telegraph), Stephen Baran (Agriculture), Sydir Holubovych (Justice), Ivan Makukh (Public Works), Anthony Chernetsky (Labor and Welfare), and Ivan Kurovets (Public Health). The State Secretariat also included the Department of Food Administration, headed by Stephen Fedak. Stephen Vytvytsky was appointed Secretary of the Ukrainian National *Rada*.

The first government of Western Ukraine included members of all the major Ukrainian political parties of the country. D. Vitovsky and I. Makukh belonged

to the Radical party, A. Chernetsky to the Social Democratic, A. Barvinsky to the Christian Social, while the rest were National Democrats. On November 10 the oldest member of the *Rada*, Julian Romanchuk, administered the oath of office to the state secretaries in the presence of members of the *Rada* and representatives of the army. On November 13 the name the Western Ukrainian National Republic was accepted for the new state by the Ukrainian National *Rada*.

Throughout the country the Ukrainians took over the administration almost without resistance. Only the westernmost counties of Ukrainian Galicia, including the cities of Yaroslav (Jarosl w) and Peremyshl (Przemys l), fell to the Poles. Transcarpathia remained under Hungary, while Bukovina was occupied by Rumanian troops in the first half of November, 1918.

The new state was to comprise, together with Bukovina and Transcarpathia, an area of about 70,000 sq. km. and a population of 6,000,000 (71 per cent of which were Ukrainians, 13 per cent Poles, 13 per cent Jews, and 3 per cent others). By religion, 64 per cent were Catholics of Eastern rite, 18 per cent Roman Catholic, 4 per cent Orthodox, and 13 per cent of the Jewish faith. The Ukrainian National *Rada* announced personal autonomy for the minorities, with the right of representation in the government, and on November 18, 1918, it decided to include in the cabinet state secretaries for Polish, Jewish, and German affairs. In actuality the government of Western Ukraine controlled an area of about 45,000 sq. km. with about 4,000,000 inhabitants (comprising 74 per cent Ukrainians, 12 per cent Poles, 12 per cent Jews, and 2 per cent others). Of the national minorities only the Poles were hostile to the new government. The Jewish population was loyal. Their allegiance was declared as early as November 1 by a Jewish delegation in Lviv, and was confirmed by the participation

of Jews in the administration of the country and by the commissioning of Jewish officers and the enlistment of non-commissioned officers in the Ukrainian Galician Army. The representatives of the German population were no less loyal to the new government.

At the time of Austria-Hungary's disintegration the Poles formed in Lviv strong military underground organizations which, after November 1, 1918, began an armed uprising, under the command of Captain M czy ski, against the Ukrainians. Their armed action became possible because of the failure of the Ukrainian authorities to arrest the leading members of the Polish military organizations immediately after the Ukrainians took power in Lviv. The fighting in Lviv lasted until the Ukrainian troops were compelled to leave the city during the night of November 21-22 (see below).

Along with the army, the government of the Western Ukrainian Republic and the members of the Ukrainian National *Rada* left Lviv and moved to Ternopil, which became the provisional capital.

Thus the Ukrainian-Polish war started. The young Western Ukrainian Republic at once faced great tasks: to organize an administration and army, to carry on a war with Poland, to organize its economic life, to provide for its recognition by other states, to establish political and economic relations with them, and to achieve union with the Ukrainian National Republic. On the successful solution of these problems depended the existence of the republic of Western Ukraine.

Events to July, 1919

The war with Poland continued with varying fortune. The Poles retained Lviv and also, except for a short time, a corridor linking the city with the Polish hinterland by the Lviv-Peremyshl railroad. The Poles also held, entirely or in part, several counties in the north and west of the Ukrainian part of Galicia. Up

to the end of March, 1919, the front lines ran from the Carpathian Mountains in the south through the area of Balyhorod northeastward toward Khyriv, then northward toward Peremyshl and in a semicircle around Lviv, turning to the north toward Liubachiv, and continuing northeastward through the area of Rava Ruska-Belz-Variash to the river Buh (see Fig. 477).

At the end of December, 1918, the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the State Secretariat moved from Ternopil to Stanyslaviv, where the *Rada*, increased to 150 members, convened. The sessions of the *Rada* continued until the middle of April, 1919. On January 4, 1919, an Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National *Rada* was formed, consisting of 10 members who were to carry on collectively the functions of the head of state. The State Secretariat resigned, and a new ministry was set up with Sydir Holubovych as President of the Council of State Secretaries and Secretary of the Treasury, Trade, and Industry. Also included were Ivan Makukh (Internal Affairs), Basil Paneiko (Foreign Affairs), Dmytro Vitovsky (Defense), Agenor Artymovych (Education and Religious Affairs), Joseph Burachynsky (Justice), Ivan Myron (Transport, Post and Telegraph), Michael Martynets (Agriculture), Marian Kozanevych (Public Works), and Longin Tsehelsky (Secretary without portfolio and Director of the Secretariat of Foreign Affairs). In February, D. Vitovsky and L. Tsehelsky resigned, and Colonel Victor Kurmanovych became Secretary of Defense. In March Michael Lozynsky was appointed Assistant Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

As early as November 10, 1918, the State Secretariat was authorized by the Ukrainian National *Rada* to take all necessary measures to unite all the Ukrainian lands into one state. On December 1, 1918, a preliminary agreement on the union was concluded between the Ukrainian National Republic and the republic of Western Ukraine in Fastiv.

On January 3, 1919, in Stanyslaviv the Ukrainian National *Rada* enacted into law the union of the Western Ukrainian Republic with the Ukrainian National Republic.

Finally, on January 22, 1919, at a great national manifestation on historic Saint Sophia Square in Kiev it was proclaimed: "From this day on the centuries-separated parts of Ukraine—Galicia, Bukovina, Transcarpathia, and Dnieper Ukraine—are merging together into one Great Ukraine. . . ."

Subsequently, the name Western Province of the Ukrainian National Republic (ZOUNR) was applied to the republic of Western Ukraine. The structure and organization of the government of the Western Ukrainian Republic, however, did not change. The actual unification could not be carried out in time of war.

But there were deeper reasons for this. The Western Ukrainian government took the position that in the interests of unification of the newly established Ukrainian State it was necessary to preserve the greatest possible autonomy for the new Galician state, chiefly because, from the national and political points of view, this was the most developed area and the one which could furnish a well disciplined military force in the near future. Also, the government of the ZUNR considered Galicia as the hinterland in the struggle against the Bolsheviks, as a reservoir of economic resources on which central and eastern Ukraine could always count, as a necessary political and economic bridge with the West. Behind demands for the independence of the Western Ukrainian National Republic was the manifesto of the Austrian emperor, Charles I, which acknowledged the right to autonomy for every national territory within the former Austrian State. There were also considerations of international law: the Peace Conference considered the Galician question an international problem, and there were indications that it might have a positive solution

for the Ukrainians, if they appeared to be a de facto force. A favorable solution of this question could have been the starting point in the creation of a united Ukrainian state. The government of the Ukrainian National Republic counted on the help of Poland in the building of the Ukrainian state, especially in the war with the Bolsheviks. It also sought reconciliation with Poland, even considering the possibility of ceding Galicia to it.

However, the Ukrainian National *Rada* carried on important legislative work. The legislation included the enactments of November 13, 1918, on the independence of the Western Ukrainian Republic, its territory, government, and the state emblem and flag; of November 16, 1918, on the provisional administration; of November 21, 1918, on the provisional organization of the courts; of January 3, 1919, on the union with Great Ukraine; of January 4, 1919, on the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National *Rada*, and of February 13 on the school system; of February 15 on the official language of the state; of April 8 on the citizenship of the Western Ukrainian Republic; of April 14 on land reform; and of April 15, 1919, on the election and convening of parliament.

The diplomatic activity of the government of the Western Ukrainian Republic had as its main objectives recognition by the Paris Peace Conference as well as by other states, and the termination of the war with Poland. Diplomatic legations of the Western Ukrainian government existed in Austria (officially), and in Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Yugoslavia, and the Vatican. Special missions were opened in countries with the larger groups of Ukrainian emigrants from Galicia—Canada, the United States, and Brazil. These missions continued to operate after the unification of the two Ukrainian states. The legations and missions also carried on information work.

The government of the Western Ukrainian Republic sent a delegation to

the Peace Conference in Paris which at first was included in the delegation of the Ukrainian National Republic. In December, 1919, the delegates of the republic of Western Ukraine withdrew from the joint delegation and formed a separate Western Ukrainian delegation.

At the beginning of February, 1919, an Inter-Allied Commission was sent to Poland with an authorization to bring the hostilities between the Poles and their neighbors to an end. When a Ukrainian offensive in the middle of February threatened the Polish forces in Lviv with complete isolation and annihilation, the Inter-Allied Mission to Poland decided to intervene by sending a mission to eastern Galicia headed by French General G. Berthélemy and composed of English, French, Italian, and American members. The mission demanded an immediate cessation of military operations during the negotiations, and on February 28 proposed an armistice by which the Ukrainian army had to withdraw on the entire front to the so-called Berthélemy line of demarcation. This line ran from the northern boundary of Galicia along the Buh River to Kaminka Strumyl'ova, thence southwards to Bibrka leaving Lviv on the Polish side, then turning westward toward Mykolaïv on the Dniester River leaving Mykolaïv on the Ukrainian side, and continuing to the south of the Dniester along the eastern boundaries of the counties of Drohobych and Turka leaving Drohobych and Boryslav on the Polish side and Stryi on the Ukrainian. Thus the Poles would have been allowed to occupy a third of the ethnically Ukrainian territory of Galicia, including the capital (Lviv) and the Drohobych-Boryslav oil fields (see Fig. 478). However, the Poles were obliged to supply to the Ukrainians a fixed amount of oil and oil products. The government of the Western Ukrainian Republic would have received full assistance from the Entente in the reorganization, training, and arming of the Galician Army which, together

with the Poles, would establish a united anti-Bolshevik front. The Galician state within these borders (up to the river Zbruch in the east) was to be given de facto recognition by the Entente.

The government of the Western Ukrainian Republic did not accept the armistice proposal of the Berthélemy mission, and hostilities were resumed. The new Ukrainian military successes in the battle around Lviv caused uneasiness in Paris. On March 19 the Supreme Council sent notes signed by President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando, to General M. Omelianovych-Pavlenko, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Galician army, and to General Rozwadowski, the Polish commander in Lviv, requesting that hostilities cease. The two armies were to retain their positions and the Supreme Council was to hear both sides and mediate an armistice. The government of Western Ukraine decided to accept the appeal of the Council of Four but the Poles did not answer a Ukrainian offer to cease fire. Only through the mediation of and under pressure from the United States did they send a delegation to negotiate with the Ukrainians at Khyriv. However, when the Polish delegates demanded that the terms of Berthélemy's armistice be accepted, the negotiations were broken off. The Ukrainian delegates at the Peace Conference informed the Supreme Council on April 7, 1919, of the Polish refusal to cease hostilities as proposed by the Council of Four (i.e., without any change in the positions of both armies). Subsequently a special Inter-Allied Commission "to arrange an armistice between Poland and Ukraine" was set up under the chairmanship of General Louis Botha. The new armistice proposal worked out by the Botha Commission was more favorable both territorially and economically to the Ukrainians, for it left the district of Drohobych with the Boryslav oil fields on the Ukrainian side. The Ukrainian delegation accepted the proposal on May 13, 1919.

In the meantime, in April, 1919, the well-trained and fully equipped army of General Haller arrived in Poland from France. It was to be used exclusively in the war against the Russian Bolsheviks. In spite of the Polish promise not to send it against the Ukrainians, the Haller army was used on the Ukrainian front. While refusing to accept the armistice proposal of the Botha Commission, the Poles launched, instead, a general offensive against the Ukrainian army on May 15, 1919, on the pretext that the Ukrainians had attacked first.

The Polish offensive quickly gained ground as a result of the numerical and material superiority of Haller's army and other Polish units. It was aided by the intervention of Rumania, which on May 23 issued an ultimatum to the government of Western Ukraine demanding the evacuation by the Ukrainians of the southeasternmost part of eastern Galicia up to the Dniester-Nyzhniv-Nadvirna-Vorokhta line. The next day the Rumanian armies began occupying the southeastern strip of Galicia. As a result of an appeal by the Ukrainian delegation in Paris, the Ukrainian-Polish conflict was discussed at a meeting of the Council of Four on May 21. Poland continued its offensive however and by the beginning of June the Poles occupied the whole of Galicia except for the triangle between the Dniester and the Zbruch.

At the beginning of June two important events occurred in the life of the Western Ukrainian Republic. Because of the emergency on June 9 the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the State Secretariat invested Eugene Petrushevych, the president of the *Rada*, with dictatorial powers. Petrushevych formed a Council of Plenipotentiaries consisting of Sydir Holubovych (plenipotentiary for Internal Affairs), Stephen Vytvytsky (Foreign Affairs), Victor Kurmanovych (Defense), and Ivan Myron (Transport). General Omelianovych-Pavlenko was removed from the command of the army and in his

place General Alexander Hrekov was appointed commander-in-chief.

The second important event was the start of the so-called Chortkiv offensive by the Ukrainian Galician Army on June 7. In two weeks the Ukrainian army took almost half of the territory that had been occupied by the Poles since the middle of May, approximately up to the Brody-Krasne - Peremyshliany-Dniester line. A proposal to cease hostilities on the basis of the so-called Delwig line of demarcation (see Fig. 478) was not accepted by the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Galician Army. The successes of the Chortkiv offensive (see "Polish-Ukrainian War") aroused the enthusiasm of the army and the people. However, the June offensive was halted at the end of the month because of an acute shortage of ammunition. At the beginning of July, 1919, the Ukrainian Galician Army again retreated to the triangle between the Dniester and the Zbruch.

In the meantime the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference decided on June 25, 1919, to authorize the forces of the Polish Republic to pursue their operations as far as the river Zbruch. Poland was empowered to establish a civil administration in eastern Galicia. This was to be done after the Poles signed an agreement with the Allied and Associated Powers providing for the broadest possible autonomy of the country and for political, religious, and personal liberties. The inhabitants of eastern Galicia were to exercise their right of self-determination after the expiration of a period of time, the length of which was to be determined at a later date.

In view of the decision of the Supreme Council and because of the shortage of ammunition, the Ukrainian Galician Army and the government of the Western Ukrainian Republic retired across the Zbruch River. After completion of this operation (July 16-18), all eastern Galicia was occupied by the Poles.

The cause of the military defeat must be sought first in the scarcity of high-ranking commanders, since there were few officers with advanced military training, and in the lack of military equipment. The government tried to overcome the first problem by assigning former officers of the old Austrian army to staff posts, but there were too few of them. There were not enough arms, ammunition, and uniforms for the army. As a consequence the government could not conscript all the young men able to bear arms. It was difficult to secure the necessary military equipment, for the centers of Austria's military industry were outside of Galicia. There was not much munition left in Galicia after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary and the amount was further reduced after the seizure of Lviv and Peremyshl by the Poles. Nor was it easy to obtain military equipment from the outside. On the other hand, the Polish state had access to the western world. It had established diplomatic relations and possessed rich material resources, it was aided by the powers of the Entente, and it was in possession of the modern 110,000-man Haller army and of other military units amply supplied with manpower and arms.

The Internal Policy and Work of the State Secretariat

After November 1, 1918, all Western Ukrainian political parties were united in an effort to defend the country. The solidarity of the whole nation was so strong that even Galician Russophiles took part in the life of the new state and served in the army. There were no violent party controversies and no class struggle. The opposition of the Social Democratic representative in the Ukrainian National *Rada*, S. Vityk, was limited mostly to criticism concerning the relations between the government of Western and Great Ukraine. Bolshevik propaganda evoked almost no response. Although the peasantry, which showed

at that time keen patriotism, needed land reform, it did not demand an immediate partition of the big estates.

Through its individual members and delegates, and especially through the national county councils, the Ukrainian National *Rada* maintained constant contact with the entire country. The county councils often met as consultative bodies to hear the reports of the government representatives and discussed questions not only of local but also of general importance, expressing their views without fear. Freedom of thought, speech, and religion were fully respected.

Despite the war and an often acute shortage of trained personnel, civil and military administration on the whole was efficient. Peace and order prevailed throughout the country, the administrative offices and the courts functioned regularly, and recruitment and training of the army went on. Economic life was geared chiefly to the needs of the army. The war and especially the Polish occupation of Lviv, the center of Ukrainian intellectual life, were not favorable to the development of the arts and sciences.

The boundaries of counties and communities in eastern Galicia remained the same as under Austrian rule. The old administrative framework was also retained. All the organs of administration were placed, by the enactment on November 16, 1918, of the Ukrainian National *Rada*, under the State Secretariat of Internal Affairs, to which also the state gendarmerie was subordinated. The county administration was headed by the county state commissar (in place of the Austrian county chairman—*starosta*), who was responsible directly to the State Secretary of Internal Affairs and was appointed or removed by him.

The state language was Ukrainian (law of the Ukrainian National *Rada* of February 15, 1919). According to this law the national minorities had the right to communicate with the state authorities in their own language. By the elec-

toral law of April 15, 1919, the national minorities were to elect 66 deputies to a unicameral diet consisting of 226 deputies. The old Austrian laws relating to the position of the Catholic Church and the other religions within the state were left in force.

The judicial branch of the government was set up under the law of the Ukrainian National *Rada* of November 21, 1918, dealing with the provisional organization of the courts and administration of justice. The county, regional, and the supreme state courts, as well as state prosecutors, attorneys and public notaries, functioned regularly and applied the former Austrian laws, which remained temporarily in force.

Financial affairs and tax administration were carried on by the State Secretariat of the Treasury, which was also in charge of customhouses, treasury agents and offices of weights and measures. The former tax system of Austria was preserved. Revenue from taxes was inconsiderable; the population had become impoverished as a result of war losses. In addition, the internal revenue apparatus was insufficiently developed. The main sources of government revenue were the proceeds from the sale of oil products and salt. The currency used was at first the Austrian *Kronen*, but after the union of Western Ukraine with the Ukrainian National Republic, the *hryvni*, which were on a par value with the *Kronen*, were substituted.

The State Secretariat of Trade concentrated its efforts upon negotiating commercial agreements with neighboring states, and especially upon arranging the exchange of oil for manufactured goods and articles of war.

The Secretariat of Agriculture dealt with questions concerning farming and fisheries, state forests, and supplies of foodstuffs. One of the most pressing problems was that of land reform. By the law of April 14, 1919, big estates were expropriated, their lands becoming a

land fund of the Western Ukrainian Republic, from which, after the end of the war, allotments were to be made to landless peasants and small-holders. The principle of private property was retained, although forests were to become the property of the state.

On November 15, 1918, the State Secretariat of Defense issued an order on the territorial organization of the army, dividing the country into three military regions and 12 military districts. Each military district included several political counties and was placed under a district military commander whose most important task was to carry out conscription and to provide the frontline units with trained replacements.

The Kamianets Period

The Ukrainian Galician Army crossed the Zbruch hoping that together with the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic they would first defeat the Bolsheviks and then free Galicia. Their slogan was "through Kiev to Lviv." The struggle for eastern Galicia was carried on at the same time by diplomatic means.

The seat of the government of Western Ukraine was Kamianets Podilsky for four months (from July to November, 1919). However, there was no close cooperation between the government of the Ukrainian National Republic and President Petrushevych. The Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic took a negative attitude toward the establishment of a new Galician government. As a countermove, a so-called Galician Ministry was added to the Directory cabinet early in July, which was to be an agency for all the official relations with Galicia. Semen Vityk was appointed the minister. Petrushevych, however, supported by the majority of the Galician politicians (only the leaders of the Social Democrats were in opposition) and by the army circles, carried on all the state affairs of Galicia during the entire period

of his stay in Kamianets. The chief tasks of the Galician government during this period were the preservation of the well-disciplined Ukrainian Galician Army (whose strength after the crossing of the Zbruch was about 45,000 men), the defense of the Galician cause in the international forum, and assistance to the area occupied by the Poles.

There were also differences between the two governments in their attitude towards General Denikin and towards Poland (see p. 763). The Directory aimed at an understanding with Poland and Rumania, so that with the aid of those countries it might continue the struggle against Denikin and the Bolsheviks. The leading Galician statesmen and the Galician delegate in Paris, B. Paneiko, leaned toward an understanding with Denikin. The stand was supported by the responsible representatives of the Entente powers. Several weeks after the attack of the Denikin forces on the Ukrainian armies, however, the two governments agreed to carry on a joint struggle against the Russian Volunteer Army, issuing a joint declaration to that effect on September 24, 1919.

A lack of arms, ammunition, supplies, clothing, and footwear and, above all, the spread of typhus reduced the fighting strength of the Ukrainian Galician Army and resulted in its going over to Denikin in the latter part of November, 1919.

The collapse of the Ukrainian Galician Army, the occupation of almost the entire Ukrainian territory by its enemies, and the approach of the Poles to Kamianets, compelled Petrushevych to leave Kamianets on November 16, 1919 for Vienna, via Rumania.

The Government of the Republic of Western Ukraine in Exile

The chief task of Petrushevych's government-in-exile in Vienna was diplomatic action in behalf of Galicia. Certain decisions and proposals of the Peace

Conference, the still unstabilized international situation, the favorable attitude of British policy toward the Galician question, and the unsettled Polish-Soviet relations were factors sustaining hopes for a solution, which, if not fully, at least in part would realize the state aspirations of Galician Ukrainians.

In October, 1919, a Ukrainian mission under Andrew Livytsky left for Warsaw to negotiate with the Polish government. It included Western Ukraine's representatives Stephen Vytvytsky, Anthony Horbachevsky, and Michael Novakovsky, whose task was to defend the principle of Ukrainian statehood for Galicia in future negotiations with the Polish government and to alleviate the plight of the Ukrainian population under the Polish occupation.

After the conclusion of a preliminary treaty with Poland on December 2, 1919, by the delegate of the Directory, who issued a declaration acquiescing to the Polish seizure of eastern Galicia, Western Ukraine's delegates to the mission protested to the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and withdrew from the Warsaw mission. Efforts to help the Ukrainian population in Galicia were continued by Stephen Vytvytsky, and were partially successful (e.g., the dissolution of the concentration camps by order of Piłsudski).

The government-in-exile of the Republic of Western Ukraine had the support of the Western Ukrainian political emigration, of the military units of the Galician army interned in Bohemia, and of Ukrainians overseas, who helped financially. It also enjoyed the full support of the occupied country. Meanwhile, Poland, without waiting for a definitive solution of the Galician problem by international decision, followed a policy of *fait accompli*, abolishing, for instance, the old administrative system in Galicia and introducing speedy administrative unification with the rest of Poland. But the Ukrainian population

in Galicia refused to recognize the Polish state, boycotting, for example, the Polish census and the elections in 1922 to the Polish diet and senate.

There were no great changes in the structure of the government-in-exile. Petrushevych continued to act as the head of government, using all the powers with which he had been invested. There were some changes of personnel among his plenipotentiaries. From August 1, 1920, to February 1, 1921, S. Vytvytsky was Plenipotentiary for Foreign Affairs; after February, 1921, C. Levytsky. A difficult task was assigned to the Paris mission, headed first by B. Paneiko and later (February, 1921 to March 14, 1923) by S. Vytvytsky. The mission of the Western Ukrainian Republic in Paris carried on diplomatic activity in France and in Great Britain, at the Conference of Ambassadors, and before the League of Nations.

After the occupation of eastern Galicia by the Polish forces, a draft constitution for the country was prepared by the Commission of the Council of Ambassadors on Polish Affairs and submitted to the heads of the delegations of the five great powers on September 19, 1919. Eastern Galicia was to become a separate autonomous province with its own diet and governor. In its original form the draft constitution ensured a considerable measure of autonomy and provided for an ultimate plebiscite. Subsequently it was amended radically and the provision on autonomy was limited considerably. This notwithstanding, the proposed constitution was not accepted by Poland and was dropped by the council of the heads of delegations on December 22, 1919.

The war with Poland was lost by the Bolsheviks and ended with the preliminary peace treaty signed in Riga on October 12, 1920. The Galician government of Petrushevych sent a delegation headed by Constantine Levytsky and including Joseph Nazaruk, Luke Myshu-

ha, and Ernest Breiter, the only Polish deputy who cooperated with the government of Western Ukraine, to observe the course of events at the Riga negotiations. The Treaty of Riga, signed on March 18, 1921, provided that eastern Galicia be left to Poland. The Western Ukrainian delegation protested any consideration of the Galician question undertaken without its participation and any disposal of the territory of eastern Galicia without the consent of the Ukrainian National *Rada*.

In view of the decisions of the Treaty of Riga, a new authoritative international statement was needed to assure that Galicia not become a Polish province. As a result of the efforts of the Western Ukrainian mission in Paris, the Council of the League of Nations declared at a meeting held in Paris on February 23, 1921, that (1) the conclusions of the peace treaty on the rights of national minorities could not be applied to Galicia, for it lay outside the frontiers of Poland; (2) the resolutions on the mandates and the control of the League of Nations over the mandating power, could not be applied to Galicia, for Poland had not received a mandate to establish an administration in that country; (3) the principles of the Hague Convention could not be applied in this case either, for at the time that convention was concluded, Poland as a state did not exist; (4) Poland was merely the actual military occupant of Galicia, the sovereign of which was the Allied and Associated Powers (Article 91 of the Treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria). As a consequence the Council of the League of Nations decided to submit the question of Galicia to the Council of Ambassadors.

In September, 1921, the question of Galicia was discussed at a meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations. As a result, a resolution was adopted on September 27 requesting the clarification of the legal situation of eastern Galicia in the near future.

The Galician question was also the

subject of discussion at the international Conference of Genoa in the spring of 1922. The negotiations there were broken off and the question was again referred to the Council of Ambassadors. However, the Galician question continued to be discussed at international conclaves. It was raised by the representatives of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile at the International Congress of the Friends of the League of Nations in Prague in July, 1922, and at the Congress of Peace in London in the same year. Both congresses passed resolutions supporting the Ukrainian requests. In September, 1922, the League of Nations in Geneva again called for an international decision on the legal position of Galicia.

The diplomatic activity of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile, and of its representatives in Paris and London in 1922, was greatly abetted by Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky.

The Western Ukrainian government-in-exile defended the rights of the Ukrainians of Galicia to live in their own free state. All the proposals that aimed by direct Polish-Ukrainian negotiations to reduce the question of Galicia to an internal Polish problem were rejected (i.e., the offer of the Polish representative Count Loś). Guided by the same considerations, the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile decided against participation by Ukrainians in the Polish elections of 1922.

In the meantime the international situation changed. With the consolidation of the internal situation in Poland, the stabilization of the Soviet regime, and the replacement of Lloyd George's coalition government by Bonar Law's Conservative ministry in Great Britain, chances diminished that the question of eastern Galicia would be solved in favor of the Ukrainians. On March 14, 1923, the Council of Ambassadors declared for the incorporation of eastern Galicia into Poland. "In view of the fact that in Article 91 of the Peace Treaty of St.

Germain, Austria had renounced to the benefit of the Allied and Associated Powers, all rights and titles to those territories which had previously belonged to the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and lie beyond the new frontiers of Austria as defined in Article 27 of this Treaty, and which have not yet been assigned to anyone; and taking into consideration the fact that Poland has recognized that in regard to the eastern part of Galicia ethnographic conditions fully deserve its autonomous status, the Council of Ambassadors has decided to recognize as the frontier between Poland and Russia the line marked and established by these two states on their own responsibility on November 23, 1922." The next day, March 15, 1923, the Western Ukrainian government made a public protest against this decision to the Council of Ambassadors and to the governments involved.

After the decision of the Council of Ambassadors, the government-in-exile of Western Ukraine was dissolved.

S. Vytvytsky and S. Baran

THE UKRAINIAN-POLISH WAR IN GALICIA

This war originated as an uprising of the Polish national minority in Galicia against the Western Ukrainian National Republic and soon developed into a war of the new Polish state against Ukraine.

The Ukrainian-Polish hostilities in Galicia began on November 1, 1918, when Polish underground organizations in Lviv under the command of Captain Mączyński rose up against the Ukrainian government. Similar uprisings of a local character were undertaken by Polish nationalist groups in the cities of Sambir, Boryslav, and Peremyshl and in the Lemkian area; these groups took advantage of the favorable attitude of the commanders of the Austro-Hungarian garrisons, remaining there after the fall of the Habsburg monarchy. With

the exception of the Lemkian area, these Polish uprisings were completely put down at the beginning of November, 1918, by local and neighboring Ukrainian military units.

Active military support of this uprising by the Polish Warsaw government in early November, 1918, led to the beginning of the war between Poland and Western Ukraine. Up to the end of 1918, military aid to the Polish insurgents came chiefly from Polish western Galicia, but after January, 1919, from the entire Polish state; the divisions of General Joseph Haller, which had been outfitted in France for war with the Bolsheviks, but which were deployed in this war, had the decisive effect on the outcome of the conflict.

The Fighting in Lviv (November 1-21, 1918)

The Central Military Committee was formed in Lviv (see p. 771) with Captain Dmytro Vitovsky as leader and had about 60 officers and 1,200 men—Ukrainians from Austrian units stationed in the city. The operation was headed by the Ukrainian General Command (renamed on November 18, 1918, the High Command). These original forces of the Central Military Committee generally were poorly prepared for combat. Consequently, the Ukrainian General Command tried quickly to transfer the Battalion of the Ukrainian Sich Riflemen to Lviv from Bukovina with reinforcements from other localities of Galicia. The late arrival of the Riflemen and the slow influx of reinforcements from the provinces influenced the failure of the Western Ukrainians in the battle in Lviv.

In Lviv, the Polish uprising started at noon on November 1, 1918, in the southern section of the city, the so-called *Novyi Svit* (New World); an attack from there by the Poles on November 2 resulted in the capture of the freight station with the weapons and munitions reserves. On the nights of November 2-3, the Poles occupied the main station

which had been left by its Ukrainian garrison and attacked other Ukrainian positions. The Ukrainian forces were too small to energetically oppose the Polish attack. The Sich Riflemen aid did not arrive and a crisis in the Ukrainian command resulted. Colonel (formerly Captain) Vitovsky was replaced by Colonel N. Marynovych. Further indecision and the lack of counterattacks by the Ukrainians encouraged the Poles to new attacks and allowed them to secure further territory in the western and central parts of the city. The arrival of the first detachments of the Sich Riflemen on November 3 did not change this situation, and they made several unsuccessful attacks on the Polish positions from the south.

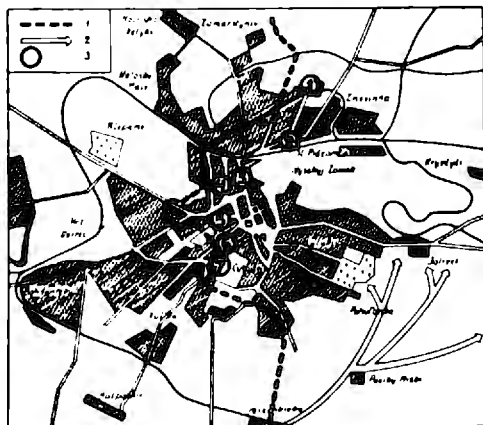


FIGURE 476. UKRAINIAN-POLISH BATTLE IN LVIV, NOVEMBER, 1918

(1) Ukrainian-Polish front on November 21; (2) direction of Polish attack on November 21; (3) most important Ukrainian points of defense (1, city abattoir; 2, railroad station of Pizsamche; 3, police headquarters; 4, Ferdinand barracks; 5, building of the Diet; 6, main post office; 7, citadel).

On November 5, Colonel Gregory Kosak became the chief commander. With reinforcements hastily brought from the country, he tried unsuccessfully to force the enemy from the center of the city. Until the end of the Lviv operations (November 22), the front was stabilized, with slight local changes, on a line from the north to the south of the city,

with the western part of Lviv in Polish hands (see map).

On November 9, Colonel Hnat Stefaniv took over the high command and made a series of attacks on the northern and southern sections of the city (Zamarstyniv, the Cadet School). Only the operations in the north (at Zamarstyniv) were successful, and this section was cleared of armed civilian bands. The Gonta Detachment from central Ukraine under *Otaman* A. Dolud cooperated in this operation. At last Ukrainian successes undermined the self-confidence of the enemy who began to ask for help from Warsaw. On the other hand, the Poles proposed new conferences and an armistice (November 18–21) to gain time to secure strength in numbers. In the second ten days of fighting in Lviv, the Poles had about 660 officers and about 4,000 men. The new battle (November 21) began with signs of complete Polish superiority in numbers; on November 20, they had received help from Peremyshl under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Tokarzewski (140 officers, 1,250 soldiers and 8 cannon). By the evening of November 21, the south wing of the Polish forces had broken through to the eastern outskirts of the city (the Lychakiv railroad station). Colonel Stefaniv, afraid of being surrounded, ordered the Ukrainian units to leave the city on the night of the 21–22, despite the desire of the Ukrainian garrison to fight to the last man.

The Fighting on the Northwestern Frontiers of Western Ukraine at the Beginning of November, 1918

Beyond Lviv, the battles with the Poles extended to the western frontiers. In this area, the Poles occupied Peremyshl and Yaroslav on November 1. With the aid of Ukrainians gathered from the villages, Peremyshl was liberated on November 4, but under further pressure from the Poles the city was lost again on November 11, this time for good. The loss of Peremyshl was the first definite and important victory of the foe,

for the possession of this city allowed the Galician Polish minority to keep a direct connection with Cracow and to receive reinforcements in Lviv.

Polish resistance in Lviv was the beginning of military actions in which the entire Polish state later took part. Beside the detachments of Tokarzewski and General B. Roja, who came to Lviv from Cracow (November 20), two Polish groups entered the Western Ukrainian territory: one from Nowy Sącz, which occupied Khyriv on November 20, and one from Lublin, which occupied Rava Ruska on November 27. Their further advance was stopped by Ukrainian units. Both of these railroad centers, Khyriv and Rava Ruska, like Lviv and the Horodok Yahailonsky, were the chief objects of the Ukrainian-Polish efforts, up to February, 1919. The task of the High Command of the UHA (Ukrainian Galician Army) was to expel the foe beyond the Ukrainian ethnic boundaries and to make the state frontiers secure. Up to February, 1919, it tried to concentrate its frontal attacks on Lviv which was occupied by Poles and at the same time neglected to cut their railroad connection through Peremyshl with Poland. This gave the enemy the opportunity to throw new forces from other fronts into threatened Lviv. The Polish operations until the end of November, 1918, were led by the *Dowództwo Wschód*—Eastern Command of the Polish army under General Rozwadowski.

The Organization of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA)

The first months after the withdrawal from Lviv were used by the High Command of the Western Ukrainian forces (which had gone to Berezhany and then to Khodoriv) to reorganize its units first into fighting groups and in January, 1919, into three corps. In the first months of the Polish-Ukrainian war, the Western Ukrainian forces were composed only of volunteer units such as the Sich Riflemen, other Ukrainian soldiers from the

Austrian army, and irregular guerrilla units of local peasants who placed themselves at the disposal of the Western Ukrainian government. Later on, the newly organized Ukrainian Galician Army was reinforced by mobilized men of the military districts, into which Western Ukraine was divided. Staff and higher officers was a pressing need of the UHA; they were secured chiefly from former officers of the Austro-Hungarian army, who were primarily German, Hungarian, and Czech by nationality. At the request of the government of Western Ukraine, some of the eastern Ukrainian higher officers (that is, of the Ukrainian National Republic) were sent to the UHA (especially General Michael Omelianovych-Pavlenko, Commanding General of the UHA from December 10, 1918, and General Alexander Hrekov, who commanded the UHA from June 9, 1919, to July 5, 1919, and others).

In the later phase of the war, the UHA had difficulty in securing weapons and ammunition. In Galicia, there were only relatively few war supplies and these chiefly fell into Polish hands after the loss of Lviv and Peremyshl. The Galician forces could count on supplies of munitions only from neutral, but friendly, Czechoslovakia. The Polish offensive in May, 1919, which closed this line of communication, caused the defeat of the UHA in June, 1919.

The Fighting for Lviv

From November 22 to the end of December, 1918, a series of local operations were carried on by both sides near Lviv and particularly in the northern sector of the Ukrainian front (Rava Ruska, Liubachiv, Chesaniv, Yaroslav, etc.) and in the south (Khyriv, Peremyshl). The Ukrainians took the initiative in the operations, which were chiefly carried on to secure cities and frontier stretches held by the Poles. However, these Ukrainian operations did not have a systematic or sustained character; they were mostly fought by separate groups

without close operative liaison. This permitted the Poles, who had very good communications, to throw their reinforcements in to the threatened sectors of the front and even to win further territory.

In December, 1918, Polish numerical superiority was more evident on the entire front. Yet the command of the UHA decided upon a general concentric attack on Lviv as a prelude to further action on the entire front. However, the plan for this first offensive on Lviv did not succeed, for prior to the start of the operation the enemy shattered the chief Ukrainian striking force (the Koziatyn Shock Brigade) which was concentrated to the southwest of the city (villages Navariia and Oboroshyn). After battles near Lviv on December 27, 1918–January 2, 1919, there was a short pause at the front. During December, 1918, both hostile forces occupied permanent positions and divided their armed forces more or less equally on all fronts (for the course of the front line, see the map). On January 5, 1919, the command of the operations of the Polish forces in Western Ukraine was taken over by the General Command located in Warsaw. The very weak opposition of the German forces in the Poznan area and the armistice on the Czech front in Silesia allowed the Poles to throw the majority of their forces against the Western Ukrainians. On January 8, the Poles took the offensive with the object of clearing Ukrainian troops from the area between the railroad lines Lviv-Peremyshl and Lviv-Rava Ruska-Yaroslav; but their only success was the breakthrough of the strong Polish detachment of General J. Romer from Rava Ruska through Zhovkva to Lviv (January 10–11, 1919). At the same time the Ukrainians tried to recapture Lviv. As of January, the force of this attack lay to the south of the city. A number of villages near Lviv were occupied, but further advance was stopped by strongly fortified Polish positions on the outskirts of the city. On

the other hand, the Polish attack, begun on January 13, brought no significant change in the fighting line except for slight local gains to the southwest of Lviv. After this, the sector near Lviv became quiet again for a month. The active sectors were those of the First Ukrainian Galician Corps; here at the end of January, 1919, the Poles captured Uhniv and Belz (January 28). The latter place, which they strongly fortified, became their base of operations in further campaigns to the east and north. The Ukrainians attacked Belz and Rava Ruska. On the front line of the Third Corps, the Poles began, on February 4, new scouting attacks in the region of Khyriv, but these ended with their defeat.

The Vovchukhiv Operation

After the two unsuccessful attempts to recapture Lviv, the High Command of the UHA saw that the decisive point of the Ukrainian offensive should be executed from west of the city and decided to cut the railroad between Lviv and Peremyshl, throwing a ring around Lviv and linking the front of the First and Second Corps to the west. The plan of this operation foresaw the capture of the line on the sector Horodok-Sudova Vyshnia by coordinated actions from the north and south (the so-called Vovchukhiv operation) with a new attack on Lviv. On February 15, Ukrainian units captured a number of villages near the railroad Horodok-Sudova Vyshnia. The road in this sector was in range of Ukrainian machine gun fire, and the movement first of ordinary trains and then, on February 20, of armored trains was stopped. At the same time, Lviv was attacked from the north, from Holosko and Zboiska. The further development of this attack was halted by the arrival of the military mission of the Entente under French General Berthélemy (see p. 774); military operations began again on March 2. The efforts of the Poles were directed at throwing back the Ukrainian

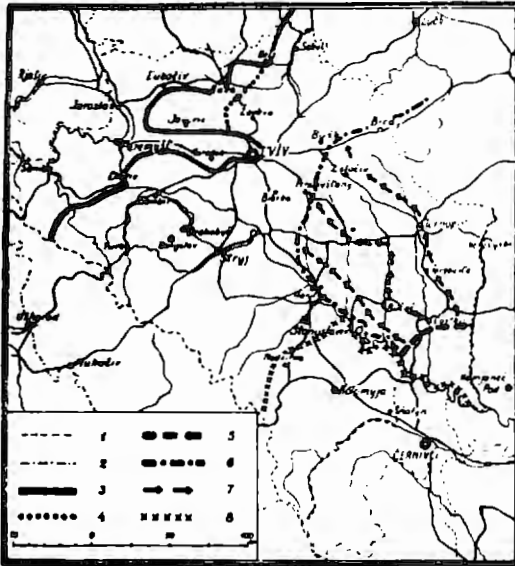


FIGURE 477. MILITARY OPERATIONS IN WESTERN UKRAINE IN 1918-19

(1) state boundaries of the Western Ukrainian National Republic; (2) ethnic frontiers of the Ukrainian lands; (3) Polish-Ukrainian front at the end of 1918 and the beginning of 1919; (4) front of the First Galician Corps, end of March and the beginning of April, 1919; (5) front at the beginning of June, 1919; (6) front on June 24-28, 1919; (7) offensive of the Ukrainian Galician Army; (8) boundary of the Rumanian occupation.

troops from the Lviv-Peremyshl railroad line near the village of Vovchukhiv (March 7), but were unsuccessful. At the beginning of March, 1919, new Polish forces reached Peremyshl from central and western Poland. They launched a successful counterattack toward Horodok (March 12), and, on March 19, the Polish units succeeded in gaining control of the Lviv-Peremyshl line again and also in throwing the Ukrainian units beyond the line Mageriv-Nemyriv in the north. The proposal of the Council of Four of the Entente on March 19 to stop hostilities (see p. 775) was accepted by the Galician Army Command, but the Poles did not reply and made new attacks, especially on the front of the First Galician Corps in the northern sector. There, by the end of March, the Poles had taken Krakovets and Yavoriv, and had reached the line Yaniv-Mageriv.

The Polish Offensive of General Haller

Despite the promise not to use the Polish divisions of General Haller, which were recruited and trained in France for strengthening Polish defense against Russian Bolsheviki, against the Ukrainians, the Polish government sent them to the anti-Ukrainian front. On April 19, these units successfully attacked the Ukrainian positions southwest of Lviv, on April 20, they broke through the Ukrainian front south of the city, and, on April 29, they threw the Ukrainian forces from their positions on the north and east of the city, thus placing Lviv beyond the range of Ukrainian artillery bombardment. Severe battles also took place on the front of the First Galician Corps. The proposals of the High Command of the Ukrainian Galician forces on May 1 and May 9 for an armistice were unanswered by the Poles. The plan for a line of demarcation, drawn up by the South African General L. Botha in the name of the Entente's Council of Four in order to arrange an armistice, was accepted by the Western Ukrainian government (May 13, 1919) but was rejected by the Poles. The Polish delegation to the international peace conference, headed by R. Dmowski, asserted that there were "Bolshevik elements" within the Ukrainian Galician Army. In the middle of May, 1919, the Poles launched a general attack on the Ukrainian positions in Galicia and southern Volhynia. The chief blows of General Haller's divisions were aimed at Sambir (defended by Third Galician Corps) and on Volhynia (Lutsk) against the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic. On May 15, four Polish divisions broke through the southern sector of the Ukrainian front (groups Krukenychi-Volchyschovychi-Husakiv) toward Sambir. From there, the Ukrainian units (Khyriv group and the Mountain Brigade) which were cut off from the main Galician forces retreated south through the Carpathians to Czechoslovakia, where they were disarmed and interned. By a simul-

taneous attack in the north and on the central sector, the enemy took Lutsk (May 16), Krystynopil, Mosty Velyki, Zhovkva, Rudky, Komarno, and Sambir. The front of the Third Galician Corps, disorganized and unsupported, retreated to the east. As a result of these attacks in Volhynia and on the south sector, the First and Third Ukrainian Galician Corps were forced to retreat to the southeast. By May 24, Polish units had reached the line Bolekhiv-Khodoriv-Bibrka-Buzk. The intention of the Galician High Command to stop the Polish units at the Zolota Lypa River and to begin a counteroffensive was abandoned because of the attack by Rumania in the south, which after the ultimatum of May 23, occupied the southeastern part of Western Ukraine (see p. 775). Since an active attack by the Rumanian army could threaten the rear of the Western Ukrainian forces, the Ukrainian units were moved into the triangle formed by the rivers Zbruch-Dniester and the railroad line Husiatyn-Chortkiv-Zalishchyky.

The Chortkiv Offensive and the Retreat from Western Ukraine

After a short rest and reorganization, the Ukrainian units on June 7 began an attack by two brigades, the so-called June offensive, or the offensive of General Hrekov, who was Commanding General of Galician forces. At that time, the Galician forces had about 25,000 men (about 45 battalions of infantry, 40 batteries and a few hundred cavalry). After successful attacks on Yaholnytsia-Chortkiv-Kopychynsi, there were skillful maneuvers on Buchach and Terebovlia, and an attack developed along the left bank of the Dniester towards Halych. The Polish forces were thrown back from the line Ternopil-Terebovlia, resistance was broken near Yazlivets, and in the second half of June the leading Galician units reached the line Dniester-Hnyla Lypa-Peremyshliany-Pidkamin (see map, Fig. 477).

After these successes the army and the

people were filled with enthusiasm; all who were able to fight voluntarily joined the ranks of the Army. But the lack of arms and munitions nullified the value of this victory; from among the 90,000 volunteers at the recruiting stations, only 15,000 could be taken. In the May retreat, the Galician Army had been compelled to leave large supplies of munitions behind, and their lack was now keenly felt. Moreover, the army did not have the strength to open a Carpathian road to the Czechoslovak border where the transportation of munitions had been arranged near Lavochno. So the territorial successes of this campaign lost all importance. At the height of its military success, the Ukrainian Galician High Command refused to accept the armistice terms and the demarcation line (the so-called Delvig line—see Fig. 478), which the mission of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian Galician Army signed with the Poles in Lviv on June 10.

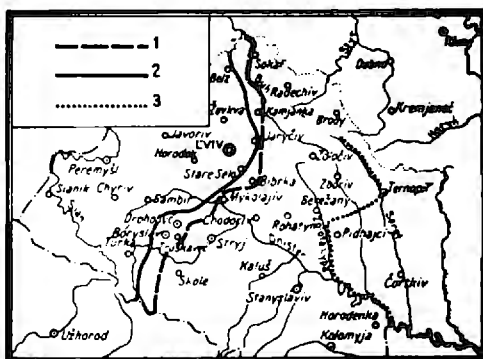


FIGURE 478. DEMARCATION LINES

(1) Gen. Barthélemy's; (2) Gen. L. Botha's; (3) Gen. S. Delvig's.

New troops, hurriedly assembled by the Poles on June 25, forced the Galician forces, which suffered from a total lack of munitions, to retreat to its starting point in the triangle between the Zbruch and the Dniester. The extreme lack of shells did not allow the infantry to stop the enemy, and the withdrawal was chiefly protected by the artillery. Only

the weak pressure of the Polish units and the skilled planning of the retreat kept the Ukrainian Galician Army from annihilation.

Since further struggle with the invading Polish army of approximately 110,000 men which France had equipped with all modern military and technical means was hopeless, the Galician units on July 16-18, 1919, crossed the Zbruch into central Ukraine to help the Ukrainian National Republic in its struggle against the Russian Bolsheviks who invaded Ukraine from the northeast.

O. Horbač

BUKOVINA

The Ukrainian National *Rada's* first meeting, which took place in Lviv on October 18, 1918, also was attended by delegates from Bukovina. On October 25, 1918, a Ukrainian Land Committee (as the Bukovinian representation on the Ukrainian National *Rada*) was set up in Chernivtsi, headed by Omelian Popovich. The Ukrainians of Bukovina demanded that the province be divided into a Ukrainian and a Rumanian part, but the Rumanians objected because they wanted to annex the whole of Bukovina to Rumania. When it became obvious that an armed conflict could not be avoided, the representatives of the Land Committee began to organize Ukrainian military units from among the Ukrainian soldiers of the Austrian troops in Chernivtsi. Many soldiers went home, however, before action began, and a detachment of the Ukrainian *Sichovi Stril'tsi* (Sich Riflemen), which on October 9, 1918, had arrived in Bukovina from central Ukraine, had to leave for Lviv at the beginning of November. Thus, except for a small number of volunteers, the Ukrainian Land Committee had no troops at its command. This notwithstanding, at a Ukrainian mass manifestation on November 3, 1918, attended by about 10,000 people, a resolution was

unanimously adopted to unite the Ukrainian part of Bukovina with Ukraine. On November 6, 1918, the Ukrainian Land Committee took over the power and occupied all government buildings in Chernivtsi and in other cities of the Ukrainian part of Bukovina. Omelian Popovych, who was proclaimed President of Ukrainian Bukovina, came to an understanding with the representatives of the moderate Rumanians regarding division of the province into a Ukrainian and a Rumanian part, with the provision that Chernivtsi be placed under joint Ukrainian-Rumanian administration. This agreement, however, was not kept. Irreconcilable Rumanian elements called in the army from the Kingdom of Rumania. The members of the Ukrainian Land Committee and a group of army volunteers had to leave Chernivtsi on November 10. On November 11 the Rumanian army occupied the capital of the province and soon the rest of Bukovina as well. The Ukrainians of Bukovina continued to be represented in the Ukrainian National *Rada* in Stanyslaviv, and two of them held posts in the State Secretariat. A battalion composed of volunteers from Bukovina fought on the side of the Ukrainian Galician Army and the army of the Ukrainian National Republic. By the treaty of peace between the Allied Powers and Austria, signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye on September 10, 1919, Bukovina was ceded to Rumania.

M. Korduba*

TRANSCARPATHIA, 1918-19

As World War I drew to a close the population of Transcarpathia turned to the question of the future of their land. Since the Ukrainians (Ruthenians) had been deprived under Hungarian rule of the freedom to express their political aspirations, the Carpatho-Ukrainian im-

*According to the article in the *Ukrains'ka Zaha'na Entsykl'opediia*.

migrants in the United States (a large group of some 200,000 people) chose, as before, to speak on behalf of their oppressed brothers. At a congress in Homestead, Pennsylvania, on July 23, 1918, the Ruthenian National Council of America was established, and it decided conditionally on the future of Carpatho-Ukraine: if it was not possible for their brothers to secure full independence, they should unite with Galicia; if this were impossible to attain, they should secure autonomy. A few months later, when the leaders of the Council found out that the Allied Powers did not favor either alternative, Gregory Zhatkovych, President of the Ruthenian Council, together with Thomas G. Masaryk, a Czech leader in exile, initiated steps toward the incorporation of Carpatho-Ukraine in the new Czechoslovak Republic. As a result of Masaryk's activity among Carpatho-Ukrainians in America, a new resolution was adopted by the Council at Scranton, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1918: that Carpatho-Ukraine should join Czechoslovakia on a federative basis but with a large degree of autonomy. This decision was approved by a referendum among religious, cultural, and civic communities and organizations of American Carpatho-Ukrainians—the result: 732 voted for incorporation with Czechoslovakia, 310 for union with Ukraine, 28 for an independent state, 10 for union with Russia, 9 for union with Hungary.

In Carpatho-Ukraine itself, there were two movements originally, one favoring the Ukrainian solution, that is, the incorporation of this region into the Ukrainian Republic (the Rev. Augustine Voloshyn, Augustine Stefan, Michael and Julian Brashchaiko, and others), and the other, led by the conservative clergy, desirous of securing some degree of autonomy within a democratic Hungary.

On November 9, 1918, a Ruthenian National *Rada* was organized in Uzhhorod under the chairmanship of the Rev. S. Szabo. The *Rada* favored the Hun-

garian solution, and consequently M. Karolyi's Hungarian republican government granted autonomy to the Ruthenians in Hungary by Law No. X, issued on December 21, 1918. A minister for Ruthenian affairs in Budapest was named, and in Mukachiv, capital of the autonomous *Rus'ka Kraïna* (Ruthenian Land), regional administration was established. Also a short-lived Ruthenian National Assembly was called. This autonomy was recognized subsequently by the Hungarian Communist government under Béla Kun, who established a People's Commissariat of *Rus'ka Kraïna*. However, the Communist regime existed for only a few months and only on the central territory of Carpatho-Ukraine since the western part was occupied by the Czechs, and the eastern part by the Rumanians.

Meanwhile the pro-Ukrainian movement grew stronger among the people. National *radas* were founded throughout the country. On November 8, 1918, the National *Rada* in Lyubovnia on the Spish under the Rev. Omelian Nevytsky became the first to declare itself for the union with Ukraine. It was followed by the National *Rada* in Svaliava under Michael Komarnytsky on December 8, 1918, and on December 18, 1918, by the *Rada* of Marmarosh in Syhit (Szighet) under M. Brashchaiko. Following these resolutions, the Ukrainian National *Rada* in Stanyslaviv declared on January 3, 1919, the union of Transcarpathia with Western Ukraine (Article 2 of Fundamental Law). Under orders to fight neither the Rumanians nor the Hungarians, the Galician units and local volunteers entered Mukachiv, but withdrew after attacks by Rumanian forces. At this time, a Central Ruthenian (Ukrainian) National *Rada* was elected at the All-National Congress of Ukrainians in Hungary, held in Khust, January 21, 1919 (420 delegates), and it was decided to unite Transcarpathia and Ukraine without any reservations. But the Czechoslovak Army had already occupied the Priashiv area and on

January 12, 1919, it besieged Uzhhorod. On January 21, 1919, the Rumanians occupied Syhit and the entire Marmarosh area, except Yasinia, where the Hutsul Republic continued for almost five months. The Mukachiv and Svaliava areas were still under the rule of Hungary.

In these circumstances, a third, Czechoslovak solution had better prospects for realization: Masaryk secured the support of the American Carpatho-Ukrainians; the Allied Powers at the Paris Conference also favored this solution; and finally, the Czechoslovak units were already in the western part of the region, having occupied it under Allied orders. The Ukrainian solution was no longer applicable as the military situation had deteriorated rapidly in Ukraine itself. When hopes for joining Ukraine became unrealizable, the *radas* of Uzhhorod, Khust, and Priashiv (the latter had favored the Czechoslovak solution since January, 1919), united into a Central Ruthenian National *Rada* in Uzhhorod (May 7, 1919) and on May 8 proclaimed the union of Transcarpathia with Czechoslovakia. A delegation of 199 members under the Rev. A. Voloshyn reported this decision to President Masaryk in Prague. Later, G. Zhatkovych, the representative of the American Council, and Anthony Beskyd, head of the *rada* in Uzhhorod, announced the decision to the Peace Conference in Paris.

Consequently, at the Peace Conference the Allies, by the Treaty of St. Germain, September 19, 1919, united Transcarpathia with Czechoslovakia, with the proviso that the Czechoslovak government would give the widest possible autonomy to the region. It was to have its own diet of 40 members with authority over questions of language, education, religion, and local self-government. The administration was to be headed by a governor appointed by the president of the Czechoslovak Republic. The officials of Transcarpathia were to be drawn as much as possible from the local popula-

tion. Carpatho-Ukraine was to be proportionally represented in the Prague Chamber of Deputies and Senate (articles 10-13 of the St. Germain treaty). These clauses also were inserted in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic of February 29, 1920. However, the most important points, the time of the introduction of autonomy and the territorial delimitation of autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine, were not specified in the constitution. The struggle to achieve this autonomy constituted the main issue of the political life of Carpatho-Ukrainians for the next 20 years.

A. Stefan

KUBAN

Before the Revolution of 1917

After Russia occupied Kuban, the remains of the Zaporozhian Kozaks (called the Black Sea Kozak Host) were settled there in 1792. At the beginning of the 1860's, the Black Sea Host was united with some of the frontier troops to form the Kuban Kozak Host. In 1896 the coastal strip of the Black Sea was detached from Kuban and called the Black Sea *guberniya*; administratively it was still under the Kuban *otaman* (chief military and civil officer).

Up to 1917, it was the territory officially called the Kuban *oblast* (province). Along with the Black Sea and Stavropil *guberniyas*, Terek *oblast*, and other provinces, the Kuban was subordinated to the Caucasian *namisnytstvo*. Until 1917, the population of Kuban consisted of 42.9 per cent Kozaks and 57.1 per cent non-Kozaks (Ukrainians, Russians, and Caucasian Mountain peoples of the Mohammedan faith (9 per cent)). Seventy-eight per cent of the land was owned by Kozaks, 7 per cent by mountaineers, 6 per cent by the state, and only 9 per cent by the non-Kozak population. The non-Kozak population was primarily Ukrainian and they were called *horodovyks* (in Russian, *inohorodnye*). They

were divided into the *korinni* (old settlers) who lived in separate villages or on land bought from the lords and the *nekorinni* (new settlers). The first group totaled 257,000 and the other 1,389,000.

The old settlers had village self-government. The new settlers were under the Kozak local administrations but had no representation in them. Their rights were very limited as compared with the Kozaks. The new settlers rented the land from the landlords or Kozaks, or worked as servants.

In Kuban, the Russian government consistently carried on Russification of the administration. The old elective system of public and military offices brought by the Zaporozhians from southern Ukraine was abolished. After 1794, it was forbidden to call a General Kozak Council (*Rada*). The *otamans*, appointed by the Russian government after 1855, were primarily Russian generals from the regular army. Only the last *otaman* before the Revolution, General M. Babich, was a Russianized Kuban Kozak. The language in the schools and administrative institutions was Russian; all officials in state and social institutions were Russian or of the Russianized local population. The Ukrainians in Kuban lived only on the memories of their Ukrainian national past. They had almost no close connection with central Ukraine up to 1900.

Only after the emergence of the Revolutionary Ukrainian party (RUP, see p. 686), were some relations established with central Ukraine. A local branch of the RUP, headed by S. Erastiv, was founded in Katerynodar. The national consciousness was supported and broadened by Ukrainians who came from the central lands, such as I. Rotar, S. Petliura, P. Poniatenko, B. Martos, A. Kucheriavenko, P. Suliatytsky, I. Ivasiuk, M. Bilynsky. The Ukrainian national movement was still very weak, and the revolution of 1905 hardly passed beyond the bounds of a general social upheaval in the Russian empire.

After the Revolution of 1917

The weak national consciousness in the population of the Kuban was shown in the Revolution of 1917. There was no national leadership and the people fell under the control of the Kozak class. Economic relations, chiefly land-holding, at once divided the population into two hostile camps, Kozaks and *horodovyks*.

In the first days of the Revolution, the *horodovyks* established a local revolutionary government in Kuban—the Provincial Soviet and the Provincial Executive Committee with a purely Russian leadership. Along with this and almost at the same time the exclusively Kozak organs appeared—the Council of the Host (*Rada*) and the Host government. Originally, the Kozaks formed institutions to protect their social interests. Soon these institutions became concerned with general national interests. In October, 1917, the *Rada* proclaimed itself the Land Council, that is, the Kuban Constituent Assembly. Kuban became a republic—the Kuban land in the framework of the Russian Federative Republic. This Land Council (*Kraieva Rada*) elected a Host *otaman* (president and military commander), formed a parliament—the Legislative Council (*Zakonodavcha Rada*), and established the first Kuban autonomous government. A Ukrainian, Lucas Bych, headed this first administration. The first Host *otaman* was A. Filimonov, a Russophile and member of the frontier troops.

When the Russian Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd, the Kuban organs took over full control “until the restoration of a legal Russian government,” and the Legislative *Rada* proclaimed the Kuban National Republic. This led to fighting with Bolsheviks in which the majority of the non-Kozak settlers and some Kozaks took the side of the Bolsheviks. Because of the superior numbers of Bolshevik local followers along with the invading forces from central Russia as well as the demobilized units of the Caucasian army, the Legislative *Rada*,

the *otaman*, and other governmental agencies with the army of volunteers left Katerynodar at the beginning of March, 1918.

At the Kozak *stanytsia* of Novodmitrivska, under the control of General L. Kornilov, the leader of the Russian Voluntary Army, the Kuban government on March 17, 1918, formed a plan for a joint struggle against the Bolsheviks by which the Kuban military units were placed under the command of the Russian Voluntary Army. When Kornilov was killed on March 31, 1918, he was replaced by General A. Denikin who continued to command the Kuban units without a formal Kuban agreement. In June, a delegation from the Kuban government arrived in Kiev with the object of forming a federative union with Ukraine. But the delegation could not come to an understanding with Hetman Paul Skoropadsky, and Kuban remained under the over-all control of General Denikin.

On August 2, 1918, Katerynodar was liberated from the Bolsheviks and at the end of October the whole Kuban. After this, Denikin attempted to strengthen his personal dictatorship over Kuban. He did this because after the defeat of the Central Powers the representatives of the Entente, who came from the West, insisted upon the concept of the restoration of "one indivisible" Russian state and handed over all aid (arms, medicines, and clothing) only to Denikin.

The political, national, and social slogans of the Russian Voluntary Army were hostile to the Kuban population. Here the evidence of two tendencies definitely appeared. The opponents of the dictatorship of Denikin—Ukrainians who stood for the independence of Kuban and an alliance with Ukraine, agitated in the *radas* and in the government for the complete liberation of Kuban from the power of the Russian Voluntary Army and the formation of an alliance of Kozak lands with Ukraine and the Caucasian countries. On the other hand, the Russophile current, headed by the *otaman* A.

Filimonov and the premier T. Sushkov (after December, 1918) and supported by Denikin, put forward the idea of uniting only the Don, Kuban, and Terek Kozak (Cossack) lands. They tried to make the Kozak lands the base for a struggle for the restoration of the Russian empire. This faction (DKT) succeeded in July, 1919, in calling a conference of the Don, Kuban, and Terek lands in Rostov-on-Don. The Kuban delegation at this conference was headed by the leader of the Land *Rada*—a Kuban Ukrainian, N. Riabovol. At the first session, he delivered a keynote address, appealing for the union of all who were fighting against the Bolsheviks and not to limit themselves to the defense of the Kozak social rights. The next night Riabovol was secretly murdered by the Russian imperialists.

Then, on the initiative of the Don Cossacks, the conference of the DKT was turned into a "South Russian" conference with the participation of representatives of the Russian Voluntary Army, in addition to the three named hosts (Don, Kuban, and Terek). According to the Russophiles, this conference was to create in the south of the old Russian empire a regional Russian government, which at first would include the Kozak (Cossack) lands and Ukraine and later the Caucasus.

The Kubans, relying on their Legislative *Rada* and the new pro-Ukrainian cabinet of P. Kurhansky, who had replaced Sushkov, began to sabotage the South Russian conference. Seeking a way out of the situation, Denikin decided to stage a coup d'état in Kuban. He used a treaty of friendship, made in July, 1919, in Paris between the Kuban delegation (headed by L. Bych) and a delegation of the Republic of the Mountain Peoples of the North Caucasus, as an excuse. The Kuban delegation was handed over to a field court martial. General Vranghel was ordered to make the changes in Kuban which Denikin had desired. Vranghel, with the aid of

otaman Filimonov and the former Kuban minister General V. Naumenko, in whom the Legislative *Rada* had expressed distrust, exercised violence on the *Rada*. On November 6, 1919, one of Vran-gel's lieutenants, General V. Pokrovsky, surrounded the Land *Rada* with troops and arrested P. Kalabukhov, a member of the Kuban delegation, who had returned from Paris, and 10 other members of the *Rada*. By a decision of the field court martial, P. Kalabukhov was publicly hanged in Katerynodar "for treason to Russia and the Kozaks." The changes which Denikin demanded were made in the Kuban constitution, and the Kuban *Otaman*, A. Filimonov, and the cabinet of Kurhansky resigned. A staff general, M. Uspensky, was elected as the new *otaman*, and the power passed again to the Russophile Sushkov.

In answer to the murder of N. Riabovol and the violence to the Land *Rada*, the Kuban Kozaks left the anti-Bolshevik front. The Russian Voluntary Army could not hold the front when attacks by large masses of the Bolshevik cavalry developed and when simultaneously uprisings occurred throughout Ukraine. The Russian Voluntary Army was disintegrating morally because of its petulant officers and soldiers and their constant plundering and pogroms.

At the end of 1919, the population of Kuban became more hostile toward the Russian Voluntary Army. In December, 1919, after the death of *Otaman* Uspensky, a Land *Rada* restored the constitution and elected M. Bukretov to the post of *otaman*. He was opposed to the Russian Voluntary Army and on April 1, 1920, he entrusted B. Ivanys, a Ukrainian, with the formation of a new cabinet.

The new government considered its first task to be the breaking away from the Russian Voluntary Army and the carrying on of the struggle against advancing Soviet Russian forces in alliance with Ukraine and the Caucasus. But the front moved to the south so quickly that

it was impossible to carry out the plan. At the same time (January, 1920) T. Sushkov's former government initiated a new Kozak alliance (the so-called Supreme *Krug* [assembly] of the Don, Kuban, and Terek lands) which proclaimed itself the sole government of these lands. The proclamation was of little significance, since the only one of these lands still free from the Bolsheviks was Kuban and the Kuban government refused to recognize this new alliance. Early in March General A. Denikin went to Crimea and the command of the remaining units of the Russian Voluntary Army was turned over to General P. Vran-gel.

With the departure of the main body of the Russian Voluntary Army to Novorossiisk, the territory of the Kuban Land was teeming with demoralized units of the army and refugees. There was no one to protect the Kuban Land from the advancing Soviet Russian forces. The Kuban government, the *otaman*, and the Legislative *Rada* with 45,000 Kozaks (of which only 5,000 to 6,000 were combat ready) were forced to retreat to the Black Sea coast. Soon there was a lack of munitions. The food situation became very critical. The area had no grain, and the flour and other products sent by railroads and by sea had mostly fallen into the hands of Bolsheviks. When Georgia refused to intern the Kuban forces, about 15,000 of the army's men were transported from there to the Crimea and put under the command of General Vran-gel and the majority capitulated to the Soviet Russian forces. On May 19, 1920, the Legislative *Rada* of Kuban, at a session in the Black Sea port of Adler voted that "the *otaman* and the government must preserve the Kuban institutions and carry on the struggle for the liberation of the Kuban to the end." It adjourned its session until an undecided date and allowed each deputy to decide on his own course. After the resignation of General Bukretov (May 27, 1920, in

Tiflis), the duties of the military *otaman* were taken over by B. Ivanys, in accordance with the constitution.

B. Ivanys

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10. UKRAINE BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

HISTORY OF THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, 1917-41

Introduction

The Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Ukrainian SSR)—a state dependent upon Russia and imposed upon the Ukrainian people by the occupation of their country—was proclaimed in January, 1919, only after the defeat of the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic (see "The Renaissance of Ukraine: The Ukrainian State in 1917-20"). It included the Ukrainian lands which earlier had been part of the tsarist Russian empire:

the *guberniyas* (provinces) of Kiev, Poltava, Podilia, Kharkiv, Kherson, Katerinoslav, Chernihiv (without the four northern counties), Volhynia (without its western part which was annexed by Poland), Tavrida (without the Crimean peninsula—first included in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR]; reunited with Ukrainian SSR in 1954), and also part of the region of the Don Cossack Host. Some Ukrainian ethnic territories were included in the Belorussian SSR (small southern strip of the Minsk province) and in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (the northern part of the Chernihiv

guberniya, southern parts of the *guberniyas* of Kursk and Voronezh inhabited by Ukrainians, small parts of the region of the Don Cossack Host, the whole Kuban land, the Black Sea province, and parts of the Stavropol and Tersk *oblasts* settled by Ukrainians). Later, in 1924, the *okruha* of Tahanrih (Taganrog) was taken from the Ukrainian SSR and added to the RSFSR and the Putyvl county of Kursk was taken from the RSFSR and added to the Ukrainian SSR. Until World War II Western Ukrainian lands remained under the rule of Poland (Galicia, Volhynia, etc.), Rumania (Bukovina, Bessarabia), and Czechoslovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine). Galicia and Volhynia were made parts of the Ukrainian SSR in 1939, sections of Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1940, and Carpatho-Ukraine in 1945.

The history of Ukraine under the Soviets can be divided into the following periods. (1) The period of the armed struggle of Ukraine with the Russian invaders—both Bolshevik and White Russian—when the occupation of larger or smaller parts of the Ukrainian territory was of a temporary nature (1917–20). During this period of transition the Ukrainian SSR was being formed to replace the Ukrainian National Republic. (2) The period of consolidation of the Soviet regime in Ukraine (1920–4). During this period the so-called New Economic Policy was being initiated. (3) The period of the so-called Ukrainization and the drive for economic change (1924–33). (4) The period of industrialization, collectivization, and terror (1933–40). (5) The period of war and German occupation (1941–5). (6) The postwar period of recovery and adjustment under Stalin (1945–53). (7) The post-Stalinist period.

The Formation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

The Revolution of 1917 in Ukraine took place under complex circumstances

and in an unusually mixed society. By 1914 the territory of Ukraine within the Russian empire comprised 179,614 sq. m., in which 28,014,900 inhabitants lived. More than 80 per cent of these were Ukrainians, about 10 per cent Russians, and 6 per cent Jews. In the villages and towns the Ukrainians were predominant, but in the large cities not more than 30 per cent of the inhabitants used Ukrainian. Of 650,000 industrial workers only 31 per cent and of 395,000 industrialists, merchants, and big landowners only 26 per cent spoke Ukrainian in their homes. This, then, leads to the conclusion that on the eve of the Revolution the Ukrainian nation was a nation of peasantry and people from small towns while the workers and the bourgeoisie who comprised the majority of the population in the large cities were of Russian stock and/or culture. In Ukraine, to the degree that the Revolution of 1917 was both bourgeois and proletarian, it was a Russian revolution; to the degree that it was agrarian and national in character, it was a Ukrainian revolution. The fact that ought to be emphasized, however, is that the Revolution in Ukraine had all these aspects simultaneously, that this was the nature of its complexity and what distinguished it from the Revolution in Russia.

After the downfall of tsarism on March 1–3, 1917 (N.S.), the Bolsheviks emerged from underground. In Ukraine they belonged to the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (of Bolsheviks)—RSDRP(b), but were organized in two separate organizations: the southwestern, centered in Kiev; and the Donets-Kryvyi Rih basins, including Katerynoslav, centered in Kharkiv. The former had about 5,000 members, the latter 15,300. The Ukrainians constituted only 17 per cent of the total membership of the RSDRP(b) in Ukraine at that time.

The Bolsheviks in Russia were the only Russian party that openly (even if merely tactically) supported the right

of Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations to secede from the Russian empire. However, they were against any such secession from Soviet Russia. In their attitudes towards the Ukrainian national revolution, the Bolsheviks in Ukraine were divided into three groups. In the Donets-Kryvyi Rih organization (led by T. Artem-Sergeev, E. Kvirring, and J. Yakovlev), where the Russians were an absolute majority, they stood for the complete integration of Ukraine with Russia—or at least for the separation of the Donets-Kryvyi Rih basins from Ukraine and their annexation to Russia. In the Kiev organization, most of the leaders (A. Horowitz, I. Kreisberg, E. Bosh, G. Piatakov) advocated nihilistic attitudes towards Ukraine, but at least they were not Russian chauvinists. The Ukrainian Bolsheviks (led by V. Zaton-sky, B. Shakhrai, G. Lapchynsky), who also belonged to the southwestern organization, advocated the recognition of the Ukrainian national liberation movement and called upon the Bolsheviks to support it and to assume the leadership of it.

The Bolshevik October Revolution did not spread to Ukraine immediately. The Bolshevik insurrection in Kiev on November 11–13, 1917, against the Kievan representatives of the Kerensky government was abortive because a third force—the Ukrainian Central *Rada*—moved its troops in and took over power in the city. Similar, though less bloody, events occurred in Kharkiv on November 23, 1917. During November and December, 1917, the Bolshevik Soviets were able to establish their power only in Luhanske, Yuzivka, Horlivka, Kramatorsk, Myktyivka, and Bakhmut, that is, in the Donbas.

The victorious Bolsheviks in the Russian Republic (RSFSR) decided to seize power in the Ukrainian National Republic as well, and the Commissar of Nationalities of the RSFSR, J. Stalin, was put in charge of this operation. From what followed later, it is possible that

he conceived the following plan: that (a) the Bolsheviks call an All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in Kiev in which they invite the Central *Rada* of Ukraine to participate, but see to it that the majority of delegates be pro-Bolshevik; (b) at the opening of the Congress, the Bolshevik government of the RSFSR and Lenin personally suddenly accuse the Central *Rada* of counter-revolutionary activity and threaten war upon it; (c) the Bolsheviks at the Congress then take this opportunity to demand the dissolution of the *Rada* in order to take over power in Ukraine; (d) if needed, Soviet Russian troops come to the aid of the Bolsheviks in Ukraine. The only miscalculation in this plan appears to have been Stalin's under-estimation of the popularity of the Central *Rada*. The *Rada* received the support of about 89 per cent of 1,200 voting delegates to the First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets.

The congress met in Kiev on December 16–18, 1917. On the very first day Lenin sent an ultimatum to the Central *Rada*, which was read at the congress, accusing the Central *Rada* of supporting the Don Cossacks and threatening war upon it. The congress indignantly rejected the ultimatum. Having thus been defeated, 124 Bolshevik delegates (11 per cent of the total number of delegates present) walked out of the congress.

A week, later, on December 23, 1917, the Tenth Congress of Soviets of the Donets and Kryvyi Rih basins convened in Kharkiv which had just been occupied by Soviet Russian forces. The Kharkiv congress was a routine meeting, with the delegates from only 46 of the 140 Soviets in the area attending. About a quarter of the delegates walked out in protest against an illegal minority assembly. On the next day, however, orders came from Petrograd to permit a group of Bolsheviks who had left the Kiev congress with instructions to proceed to Kharkiv to join the assembly. The Kharkiv congress voted 43 to 11 in

favor of this order. With the Kiev delegates in, on December 24, 1917, the congress voted to call itself the "true" First All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. The congress consisted of only 199 delegates, about 76 per cent of whom were Russian Bolsheviks and 21 per cent Russian Left SRs. In accordance with Stalin's instructions, the congress, on December 25, 1917, proclaimed the Central Council (*Rada*) of Ukraine "deposed." A Central Executive Committee (CEC) was elected which five days later formed the first Soviet government of Ukraine. The well-known Soviet party historian, Nicholas Popov, admits that this government was created "with the energetic participation, and partly by the direct initiative, of the military units . . . transported here mainly from the Moscow and Petrograd garrisons" (1930).

The new government was called the People's Secretariat of the Ukrainian National Republic. Its head was G. Kotsiubynsky, the son of a famous novelist; it included eleven Secretaries: N. Skrypnyk, B. Shakhrai, V. Zatonsky, G. Lapchynsky, E. Medvediv, G. Martianov, E. Bosh, S. Bakinski, V. Aussem, V. Luksemburg, and E. Luhanovsky. Five of the Secretaries were Ukrainians in an obvious attempt to give the new government as much of a national Ukrainian appearance as possible so that it would be better able to compete with the government of the Central *Rada*.

After the outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian war and the subsequent fall of Kiev on February 8, 1918, a detachment of the invading Soviet Russian forces, commanded by M. Muraviov, a tsarist colonel, was renamed the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic and nominally subordinated to the Kharkiv government. When the Ukrainian Bolsheviks in the government, taking this nomination seriously, attempted to command "their" army, they were prevented from doing so by Muraviov, whose troops meanwhile were robbing and plundering the Ukrainian countryside. In addition,

as soon as the government moved from Kharkiv to Kiev, on February 12, 1918, the Russian Bolsheviks in Kharkiv, led by T. Artem-Sergeev, with the explicit approval of the Soviet Russian government, proclaimed the secession of the "Donets-Kryvyi Rih Soviet Republic" from Ukraine. Similarly, on January 30, 1918, the "Soviet Odessa Republic" proclaimed its independence.

The situation led to a sharp conflict inside the Soviet Ukrainian government, and on February 24, 1918, most of its members resigned. Basil Shakhrai went into opposition, criticizing the Russian Bolsheviks and Lenin personally for their hypocritical attitudes towards Soviet Ukraine. He later became the founder of Ukrainian "national communism," which in all its subsequent forms consistently advocated a communist, but an independent, Ukraine—one that would be completely sovereign and equal with Russia. George Kotsiubynsky, Eugenia Bosh, and others enlisted in the army. However, the center group of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks decided to remain in the government and formed a new cabinet headed by Nicholas Skrypnyk.

On March 7, 1918, Skrypnyk's government unilaterally proclaimed the restoration of the Donets-Kryvyi Rih, Odessa, and Don republics to Soviet Ukraine "within the boundaries established by the Third and Fourth Universals" of the Central *Rada*. On March 17-19, 1918, the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets assembled in Katerynoslav. This congress was more representative than the first one, with strong Ukrainian Social Democratic and Social Revolutionary groups participating. On the proposal of the left-wing Bolsheviks



FIGURE 479.
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and SRs—both of whom were opposed to the Soviet Russian government's peace with the Germans and wanted to continue the revolutionary war against them—the congress declared the secession of Soviet Ukraine from Russia. The Soviet Russian government immediately recognized the independence of Soviet Ukraine.

Meanwhile, the Austro-German-Ukrainian forces had overrun nearly all the country by the end of March. The Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), on March 15, 1918, ordered the flooding of the Donbas mines and the blowing up of Ukrainian industry before the approaching Germans.

On April 19–20, 1918, while retreating from Ukraine, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks assembled for a party conference in Tahanrih (Taganrog). There—on Skrypynyk's proposal but against the bitter opposition of the Russian Bolsheviks, led by E. Kviring—they founded the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (KP[b]U) as a wholly independent Ukrainian party, having relations with the RKP(b) only via the Communist International. At the same time, a group of Ukrainian Left SDs, led by P. Slynko and O. Butsenko, merged with the KP(b)U. The First Congress of the KP(b)U, however, which met in Moscow on July 5–12, 1918, annulled the decisions of the Tahanrih conference. Under the pressure of Lenin and the Russian majority of the KP(b)U membership, the congress declared the KP(b)U an integral part and a provincial organization of the RKP(b).

The German betrayal of the Central Rada of Ukraine and the restorationist policies of Hetman Paul Skoropadsky produced a swing to the left among the Ukrainian people which led, in turn, to peasant uprisings and guerrilla activities. But the Bolsheviks, being mainly Russian rather than Ukrainian, were unable to assume leadership of the Ukrainian peasantry and so could

not utilize this situation. Their only revolt in the Chernihiv area in August was abortive. However in May, the *Borot'bisty* (Borotbists), an influential leftist group of Ukrainian background who had split from the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries and on February 23, 1918, had begun to publish their own journal—*Borot'ba* (Struggle), edited by Basil Blakytnyi—organized themselves into a party advocating a Soviet but independent Ukraine. Their influence among the peasants grew steadily.

When the news of the revolution in Germany and the Directory's insurrection against the Hetman arrived, the Soviet Russian government, on November 11, 1918, ordered the formation of a new expeditionary force, composed of two Russian and two Ukrainian divisions, "to go to the assistance of the proletariat of Ukraine." On November 13, 1918, the RSFSR revoked the Brest-Litovsk treaty, and on December 6, 1918, moved its forces into Ukraine. Its army was under the command of the Revolutionary Council which consisted of J. Stalin, G. Piatakov, and V. Zatonsky; at the same time, a provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine was formed with Piatakov as chairman. In January, 1919, the regular Soviet Russian forces—the Western Army and the Eighth Army—moved into Ukraine. On February 5, 1919, the Russians took Kiev, and by the end of March they had occupied nearly the whole of Ukraine.

The Borotbists attempted, although without success, to form their own Ukrainian Red Army from guerrilla forces and to set up a government that would be able to negotiate with the Bolsheviks. In Kiev and other cities a new Marxist Ukrainian group arose, the left Ukrainian Social Democratic party (called the Independents), that advocated "national communism" and an independent Soviet Ukraine. The KP(b)U took a hostile position towards these Ukrainian forces.

The Ukrainian Bolsheviks in the Piatakov government pressed for the

upholding of the declaration of the Second All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets on the formation of a fully sovereign Ukrainian state. They maintained that this was the only feasible way of gaining the support of the Ukrainian masses and winning them over from the Borotbists and the nationalists. But Piatakov did not share these views, and on January 26, 1919, the government was reorganized, with Christian Rakovsky appointed as its chairman. A little earlier, on January 14, 1919, the government had adopted a new name for its state—the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (at present, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic). On January 28, 1919, it issued an invitation to “all countries” to recognize it *de jure* and to establish diplomatic relations with Soviet Ukraine. On January 26, 1919, it ordered the formation of a regular Ukrainian Red Army from draftees and volunteers; as a result of the mobilization, the government had at its disposal two armies of about 50,000 men each by the summer of 1919. During January-April, 1919, the government nationalized all banks, railroads, and several big enterprises, installing in them its own administrations. It also established formal trade relations with Soviet Russia and customs offices on the Russian frontier.

On March 6–10, 1919, the Third All-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets convened in Kharkiv. Though the Bolshevik delegates predominated, there were many Borotbists and other non-Bolshevik delegates. This congress adopted the first constitution of the independent Ukrainian SSR.

In May, 1919, however, Lenin instructed all the Communist organizations in the former Russian dependencies to introduce in the governments of their republics a resolution demanding the formation of a military alliance of all Soviet republics, with simultaneous subordination of their armies, war industries, labor conscription services, railroads, and finances to the appropriate commissariats

of the Soviet Russian government. On May 18, 1919, the Bolsheviks in the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR, led by Piatakov, carried through this resolution, over the opposition of the Borotbists. On June 1, 1919, a defense treaty was signed in Moscow which permitted the Soviet Russian government to take over a significant portion of the governmental powers of the government of the Ukrainian SSR. A little later the Ukrainian Red Army was disbanded and its soldiers dispersed among Russian units. The Ukrainian commissariats of defense, railroads, and labor were abolished; that of finance, and the Supreme Council of National Economy were merged with their corresponding agencies in the government of the RSFSR.

Opposition of the Borotbists

In 1919 the government of the Ukrainian SSR had little connection with the Ukrainian people, not only because its makeup was largely alien in character, but also because of its ultra-leftist economic policies, particularly its agrarian ones. In accordance with the program of “war communism,” which was intended to bring about the immediate construction of a communist society, the Bolsheviks attempted to preserve from partition the estates of the former landed aristocracy, transforming them instead into state farms and agricultural communes. But the peasants were longing for land. As a result, about 75 per cent of such designated state farms were forcibly taken over and partitioned by the peasants. An even more serious struggle between the regime and the Ukrainian peasantry developed over the grain collections. On February 11, 1919, the government ordered the requisitioning without payment of all grain surplus above the consumption quota of 130 kg. (286 lb.) per capita. Armed Russian worker detachments were dispatched from the cities to collect the grain. As a consequence there were 93 peasant up-

risings in April; by the first fortnight of June the number had increased to 207. Guerrilla bands were assassinating the Soviet government representatives. Instead of a projected 2,317,000 metric tons (one metric ton—2204.6 lb.), the government was able to collect only 423,000 metric tons of grain in Ukraine in 1919.

On the eve of Denikin's offensive, in order to bridge the abyss between the government of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ukrainian people, Moscow instructed the KP(b)U to drop its isolationist policy and to invite the Borotbists into the government. The Borotbists agreed to the coalition with the Bolsheviks; they hoped that through their participation they would be able to influence the government so that eventually it would become a genuine national Ukrainian government. Thus, in the middle of May, 1919, Alexander Shumsky, Nicholas Poloz, Nicholas Panchenko, and six other Borotbists joined the government of the Ukrainian SSR.

Most of the left SD Independents supported the Borotbists' position; since the Bolsheviks had not changed their hostile attitude towards them, the Independents decided to merge with the Borotbists. On August 6, 1919, nearly all the Ukrainian "national communist" currents outside the KP(b)U formed a new organization that called itself the Ukrainian Communist Party (of the Borotbists, UKP[b]); at the time its membership was about 15,000 as compared to about 16,500 in the KP(b)U.

The Borotbists' participation in the coalition government of the Ukrainian SSR was short-lived, however; by August, 1919, all of Ukraine was occupied by the Denikin army advancing from the south and the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic moving in from the west. Most of the Bolsheviks escaped to Soviet Russia while the Borotbists went underground.

The failure of the Bolsheviks to win over the Ukrainian masses to their cause, the competitive pressure of the Borot-

bists, the limitation of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR by the defense treaty with Russia, and other factors produced in 1919 the second "national communist" deviation—this time within the KP(b)U itself. The so-called "federalist" group, led by George Lapchynsky, accepted Ukraine's confederation with Soviet Russia as inevitable under the conditions of the current hostile environment, but insisted that Russia accept the Ukrainian Republic as its equal partner, tolerate its language and culture, and permit its government to be composed of native Ukrainian Communists rather than Russians. Lapchynsky also urged that the KP(b)U merge with the UKP(b), so that together they would become a national Ukrainian party entirely independent of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks). Other Ukrainian members of the KP(b)U (D. Manuilsky, V. Zatonsky, G. Kotsiubynsky), although not belonging to the "federalists," also wanted Soviet Ukraine to be more Ukrainian in appearance and character. As a consequence, on October 2, 1919, the Russians ordered the Central Committee of the KP(b)U and the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian SSR to disband. This produced even greater antagonism among the Ukrainian Bolsheviks. By the end of November, 1919, the opposition had gathered for a conference in Homel (Gomel) in Belorussia, despite the RKP(b)'s announced disapproval of such a meeting. The conference was divided: Lapchynsky's group wanted to protest strongly to Moscow, while Manuilsky's group, which was in the majority, still hoped to be able to convince the Russians to reconsider their actions against the Ukrainians. The conference adopted Manuilsky's resolution requesting the restoration of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, of the government of the independent Ukrainian SSR, and of the Ukrainian Red Army, and the admission of the Borotbists into the KP(b)U.

The Homel conference had a sobering effect on the RKP(b); on December 2-4, 1919, at Lenin's insistence, the Eighth Conference of the RKP(b) adopted new tactics in the "Ukrainian question": this was to accept the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for national freedom, for the use of their own language, and for the further development of their own culture, but to insist that the realization of these aspirations must be channeled through the KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian SSR. In turn, the KP(b)U and the Ukrainian SSR were requested to remain firmly attached to the RKP(b) and the Russian Soviet Republic. Accordingly, the KP(b)U changed tactics with regard to its relation to the UKP(b): rather than compete with it, the KP(b)U decided to absorb the UKP(b). In Moscow, on December 17, 1919, both parties signed a declaration on the renewal of their collaboration in the government of the Ukrainian SSR. A provisional government, called the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee, headed by Gregory Petrovsky, subsequently was formed.

The third and final occupation of Ukraine by the Soviet Russian armies began in December, 1919. On November 21, 1919, the Eighth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth armies, commanded by A. Yegorov, started to advance on Left-Bank Ukraine, while the Twelfth Army moved on Kiev. This time not a single Ukrainian army unit participated in the operations of the 170,000 man-strong Red Army in Ukraine, although there were Latvian, Estonian, and Chinese units. However, a very powerful Ukrainian guerrilla movement in Denikin's rear, led by the Borotbists and Nestor Makhno, facilitated the advance of the Soviet Russian forces. By March, 1920, all the territory of Ukraine had again fallen into Bolshevik hands.

Poland's intervention, which began on April 25, 1920, was not lasting or dangerous to the Bolsheviks.

Buttressing the Soviet Regime

On their return to Ukraine in 1920, the Bolsheviks took measures to correct their mistakes of 1919. All the land in Ukraine had been nationalized by the Ukrainian Central *Rada* as far back as 1918. The land laws of the Ukrainian SSR of January 22, 1920, February 5, 1920, and March 2, 1921, now accepted the old, and legalized a new partitioning of land among the peasants, guaranteeing their rights to it for nine years. By 1922, 12.1 million desiatines or 32.7 million acres (83.5 per cent) of all the land belonging to the former landed estates had been distributed among the peasants; the remainder had been taken over by various governmental institutions and the State Reserve Fund. Altogether, about 60 per cent of peasant households received some of the newly distributed land.

However, the compulsory requisitions of grain continued, and private trade in grain was prohibited by the government. The government deliberately fomented class struggle in the countryside. To win over the poor peasantry, on May 9, 1920, the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR issued a law establishing the so-called Committees of Poor Peasants (*Komnezamy*), which actually were local subsidiary governmental agencies with broad administrative powers. For their services, committee members were given priority in land allotments, were freed from taxation and given from 10 to 25 per cent of everything they collected for their aid in the grain-requisitioning program.

The most important task of the *Komnezamy* was the collection of grain and taxes from the rich peasants. On the instruction of the KP(b)U, on October 18, 1920, the First Congress of the Committees of Poor Peasants passed a resolution declaring that all rich peasants possessing more than 12 desiatines (32½ acres) of land and employing labor must be eliminated as the former landlords had been.

The agrarian and national policies of

the Bolsheviks instigated some of the peasantry to revolt. Guerrilla activities became especially widespread in 1921: during the second half of 1920 alone, 152 chairmen of the Committees of Poor Peasants were assassinated, as well as hundreds of rank and file members. The rural class struggle greatly hampered grain requisitions and the agricultural economy in general. In 1920, the government was able to collect only 670,000 metric tons of grain as compared to a planned 2,670,000 metric tons; in 1921 it collected 1,170,000 as compared to a planned 1,905,000 metric tons. In addition, drought destroyed 50 per cent of the crops in Ukraine in 1921; as a consequence the grain harvest totaled only 4,500,000 metric tons, or 25 per cent of the pre-Revolutionary level. Famine resulted, and there were many deaths from starvation.

The introduction of the New Economic Policy (NEP) which began with the abolition of grain requisitioning and the introduction of taxes in kind on March 21, 1921, did not succeed immediately in resolving the conflicts in the countryside. However, the substitution of taxes for requisitions had a stimulating impact upon the economy, for the peasants could now sell their surplus on the open market.

The Revolution and the Civil War brought the industry of Ukraine almost to a complete standstill: at the beginning of 1920, the iron and steel industry was producing only 5 per cent of its 1913 output, and the coal mines only 4 per cent. The economic system of "war communism," with its compulsory labor army, total centralization of production planning and management, remuneration of labor in kind rather than in wages, and such, hampered rather than stimulated reconstruction. It was J. Stalin who, at the Fourth Congress of the KP(b)U in Kharkiv, March 16-23, 1920, introduced the program of "war communism" into the Ukrainian SSR on behalf of the RKP(b).

At this Fourth Congress, a powerful "Workers' Opposition" consisting of Russian and Ukrainian workers from Kharkiv and the Donbas (led by T. Saprnov, T. Kharechko, J. Drobnis, Hanzei, T. Pylypenko, and V. Kosior) appeared for the first time in the history of the RKP(b). Taking the socialist slogans too literally, it demanded that all enterprises be managed by Workers' Committees, that the state become a truly democratic institution of workers, managed by the workers themselves and free of party bureaucracy. By abolishing "war communism" and introducing the decentralization of industrial management on February 6, 1922, the Bolsheviks yielded slightly to the "Workers' Opposition" demands, but in 1923 all members of the "Workers' Opposition" in the KP(b)U were expelled, and in the thirties all were shot or exiled.

The Bolsheviks also set about to correct some of their earlier mistakes in the sphere of nationality relations when they returned to Ukraine in 1920. First of all, they decided to purge the KP(b)U of the followers of G. Lapchynsky. In January, 1920, D. Manuisky and V. Zatonky were instructed to initiate an intra-party campaign against them. On June 6, 1920, Lapchynsky, P. Slynko, P. Popov, S. Kyrychenko, E. Kasianenko, and a score of other prominent "federalists" were expelled from the KP(b)U on charges of Ukrainian nationalism. The Volhynian organizations of the KP(b)U were the stronghold of the "federalist" opposition. They continued their resistance well into 1921, accusing the majority of the KP(b)U membership of promoting pro-Russian "colonialist policies" in Ukraine.

Next came the move to subdue the Borotbists. In August, 1919, when it was formed, the UKP(b) made a request to the Comintern that it be recognized as the only true Ukrainian Communist party, the KP(b)U being a Russian party in Ukraine. In January, 1920, the Borotbists repeated their appeal to the

Comintern. At the same time, they began to publish a newspaper in Russian in an attempt to win over to the cause of Soviet Ukrainian independence the Russian workers of Ukrainian descent in the Donbas and in other industrial centers. On February 29, 1920, on Lenin's instructions, the Comintern rejected the Borotbists' request, accused them of Ukrainian nationalism, and demanded that, if they really considered themselves devoted communists, they merge with the KP(b)U. Seeing no realistic alternative, the Borotbists capitulated; in Kharkiv at their second congress on March 10, 1920, they decided to dissolve the UKP(b) and to join the KP(b)U hoping to work for the Ukrainian cause within it. In the latter part of March, 1920, the Fourth Congress of the KP(b)U voted to admit to membership some 4,000 Borotbists, including such leaders as Basil Blakytyni, Alexander Shumsky, Gregory Hrynko, Panas Liubchenko, Michael Poloz, and others.

The dissolution of the UKP(b) was a major victory for the Bolsheviks, even though the former Borotbists continued to trouble them inside the KP(b)U. At the Fifth Congress of the KP(b)U, November 17-20, 1920, Blakytyni declared that the KP(b)U was composed of aliens in Ukraine and needed to purge itself of the urban Russian petty bourgeoisie who filled its ranks. Under the Borotbists' pressure, a purge did take place, and 22.5 per cent of the KP(b)U members were expelled. However, the total membership of the KP(b)U almost doubled by the end of 1921, and the new members again were mostly of Russian nationality. The former Borotbists then switched their tactics: instead of trying to expel the Russians, they brought in more and more Ukrainians in order to Ukrainize it from within. By the summer of 1923, as a result of their efforts, Ukrainians made up 24 per cent of the KP(b)U members. In 1923-5, while Emmanuel Kvirring was the first secre-

tary of the KP(b)U, the Russian majority became disturbed by the influx of Ukrainians into the party and began to hinder their admission.

Not all the Borotbists joined the KP(b)U in 1920; some simply ceased to be politically active, while many joined those left SD Independents who had refused to merge with the UKP(b) in 1919. The ranks of the dissident Independents had grown in the meantime, and on January 22, 1920, they formed a new Ukrainian Communist party (UKP) from which their name, Ukapists (*Ukapisty*), was derived. The UKP, though small in number, was an active legal opposition party in Soviet Ukraine. A Marxist party, but standing firmly on the position of Ukrainian independence from Russia, the UKP poignantly criticized the policies of the KP(b)U in its publications (e.g., the newspaper *Chervonyi Prapor*—Red Banner). On March 3, 1925, in exactly the same way as it had done with the UKP(b) in 1920, the Comintern compelled the UKP to disband and to merge with the KP(b)U. Some of the leaders of the Ukapists were Andrew Richytsky, Michael Avdiienko, George Mazurenko, Anthony Drahomyretsky, George Lapchynsky (who joined the UKP after being expelled from the KP[b]U), and Ivan Zernytsky.

Organizations corresponding to the Ukrainian Communist party among the Ukrainians abroad entered the Communist parties in Germany and Austria as Ukrainian sections. However, after the journey of Vynnychenko to Ukraine and Moscow in 1920, these groups changed their pro-Soviet attitude and appealed, in vain, to all the Communist parties of Europe to investigate the anti-internationalist and occupational policies of Moscow in Ukraine.

Since all the other Ukrainian political parties were uncompromisingly anti-Soviet, none of them were legal in the Ukrainian SSR during the early twenties. Some of the Ukrainian SR, SD, and

SF groups and individuals continued to exist illegally, however, maintaining a liaison with the guerrilla forces, and even leading and inspiring peasant uprisings. The loyalty of a part of the population to the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic (called "Petliurovism" by the Bolsheviks) was based on their belief that it represented the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for independence. Simultaneously this loyalty was kept alive by Bolshevik policies in the Ukrainian SSR, although the Bolsheviks did everything in their power to combat and discredit it.

The Extraordinary Committee (*Cheka*)—political police—appeared first in Ukraine in 1918 as a branch of the Russian *Cheka*, but early in 1919 it was reorganized into a formally independent agency of the Ukrainian SSR. Headed by M. Latsis, it acted on the basis of political instructions rather than laws. In 1921, all judges in Ukraine were explicitly allowed to rely upon their own "revolutionary consciousness" rather than upon laws as the means of reaching their verdicts; this system continued until 1924. The "Red Terror," as the *Cheka* was officially called, was aimed against the representatives of former dominant social classes: landowners, industrialists, merchants, high government and police officials, army officers, and high-ranking members of the clergy—often with their families, and regardless of whether or not they were or had been active in attempting to combat the Bolshevik regime. The terror was also directed against the leaders of the anti-Soviet political parties, anti-government guerrillas, etc. During the years 1919–21 not less than 100,000 members and supporters of these groups in Ukraine were annihilated. The excesses of the *Cheka* in Ukraine were the subject of a special KP(b)U investigation conducted by D. Manuilsky and F. Kon.

On February 6, 1922, the *Cheka* was reorganized into the State Political Administration, known as the GPU, which

was subordinated to the government of the Ukrainian SSR until 1923 when, after the formation of the USSR, the GPU agencies of all Soviet republics were united into the OGPU and taken over by the Soviet Union's government. With the abolition of the *Cheka*, mass terror ceased; the GPU began to employ undercover methods. During August to October, 1923, for the first time, secret agents were recruited from among the population by the OGPU and organized into an efficient network all over Ukraine.

Against this portentous background a tug of war, with the fate of Soviet Ukrainian statehood in the balance, developed between the Russian and Ukrainian communist political forces in the period between 1920 and 1924.

Lenin wrote (in his famous letter of December 28, 1919, addressed "to the workers and peasants of Ukraine on the occasion of the victory over Denikin") that it still remained an open question whether Ukraine should become a separate Soviet republic in a federation with Russia, or whether it should cease to exist and become a part of Russia. These indeed were the only realizable alternatives for Ukraine under the conditions of the third Russian occupation. The alternative of being completely independent of Russia was no longer a possibility. After its victory over the Ukrainian National Republic, Russia was not inclined to tolerate an independent Ukraine, even if it were a communist state. Faced with the dilemma described above, the Ukrainian communist political forces (the Ukrainian Bolsheviks, the Borotbists, and the Ukapists) exerted maximum efforts to preserve the Ukrainian state, at least in the form of the Ukrainian SSR.

When on December 11, 1919, the Soviet Russian government agreed to the restoration of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, it demanded a high price for this concession: the Ukrainian SSR was to continue being a party to the defense treaty of June 1, 1919. On Janu-

ary 27, 1920, Petrovsky signed a declaration to this effect. Accordingly, when on February 19, 1920, the All-Ukrainian Revolutionary Committee was reorganized into the regular government of the Ukrainian SSR (this time headed by Christian Rakovsky), the government consisted only of seven People's Commissariats (internal affairs, agriculture, education, food, labor and social welfare, health, and justice); the rest were transferred to the Soviet Russian government "in the interest of mutual defense."

Differences between the Ukrainian Communists and Moscow

The Ukrainian Communists continued to show their disaffection with the enforcement of the defense treaty in peacetime. Skrypnyk and Rakovsky approached Moscow on the matter, demanding the restoration to the Ukrainian sovereignty of all government powers apart from those directly related to the military. The Ukrainian Bolsheviks, as devoted communists, strove to win over the Ukrainian people to the cause of communism; they considered this to be possible only if communism were presented to them in indigenous terms and in the form of a national communist state. Consequently they demanded that, in accordance with its sovereign constitution, the Ukrainian SSR be allowed to conduct its own diplomatic relations with foreign countries, its own foreign trade, finance, cultural programs, and have some control over the Soviet army stationed within its borders.

Not trusting the Ukrainian comrades, however, and above all wishing to incorporate Ukraine into the Soviet Russian Republic, the RKP(b) attempted to postpone its final decision on the status of the Ukrainian SSR until the meeting of the Fourth Congress of Soviets of Ukraine.

On May 20, 1920, after a long debate, and despite strong pressure from the Russian members of the Kharkiv and Donbas Soviets, the Fourth Congress of

Soviets of Ukraine adopted a compromise resolution "On State Relations Between the Ukrainian SSR and the RSFSR." The resolution defended the preservation of the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian SSR: it reasserted the Ukrainian allegiance to the treaty of June 1, 1919, but interpreted the treaty as being concerned purely with military matters. In addition, it demanded that all the commissariats dealing with defense become joint agencies of all the Soviet republics rather than solely agencies of the RSFSR. The resolution further requested that thirty representatives from the Ukrainian SSR be permanently seated in the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR with full voting rights in order to safeguard the interests of the Ukrainian Republic.

In the meantime, the RKP(b) was exerting heavy pressure upon Ukraine. The Fifth Congress of the KP(b)U, held November 17-20, 1920, heard the representative of the Central Committee of the RKP(b), Gregory Zinovev, denounce the "Ukrainian question" in the most chauvinistic terms: he argued that it was exaggerated by the Ukrainian petty bourgeois intellectuals, and declared that the "more cultured Russian language" inevitably would triumph in Ukraine over the Ukrainian "peasant language." In the resolution on Zinovev's report, however, the KP(b)U congress stated that the "national question in Ukraine is a most important and burning problem."

The Ukrainian-Russian tug of war finally resulted in a new treaty of December 29, 1920, called "The Workers' and Peasants' Union Treaty between the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR." This treaty declared that both partners were separate and entirely sovereign states, forming a partial federation for purposes of mutual defense and peaceful economic development. In the treaty, the Russians yielded to almost all the major demands of the Fourth Ukrainian Congress of Soviets. The number of the

People's Commissariats in the government of the Ukrainian SSR was increased to 16—foreign affairs, internal affairs, justice, social welfare, education, agriculture, food, state control, health, army and navy, labor, post and telegraph, finance, transport, trade, and the Supreme Council of National Economy—of which the first nine were independent Ukrainian commissariats, while the last seven were joined with corresponding commissariats of the RSFSR. Thirty Ukrainian representatives were included in the CEC of the RSFSR.

Yet animosities continued, and the Tenth Congress of the RKP(b), which met in Moscow March 8–16, 1921, had to include on its agenda a debate on the national question. At the congress, Volodymyr Zatonsky, representing the KP(b)U, was critical of Stalin's nationality policies which, he argued, lacked clarity and constructiveness. He called upon the party to work towards the formation of a supranational "East European Federation." On the other hand, some Russian delegates to the congress accused the party of "inventing" such nationalities as Ukrainian or Belorussian. In its final resolution, however, on Lenin's insistence, the Tenth Congress of the RKP(b) declared that the party must combat Russian chauvinism as the main enemy of the establishment of equality and friendship among the nationalities.

On October 10, 1921, the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR had to prohibit the joint Commissariats within the RSFSR from interfering directly in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian SSR over the heads of the latter's government; it ruled that the joint commissariats within the RSFSR could deal only with the corresponding commissariats of the Ukrainian government, with the latter retaining a limited veto power over the decisions of the former concerning Ukraine. Such relations continued to exist until the formation of the Soviet Union.

The People's Commissariats, which remained independent of the government of the RSFSR, developed the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR in their fields to the utmost, however. The Commissariats of Agriculture, Justice, and Social Welfare elaborated and introduced legislation suitable to Ukrainian conditions and different from that put into practice in the RSFSR. Of special significance was the legislation of the People's Commissariat of Education.

Prior to the Revolution, schools employing the Ukrainian language in instruction were almost non-existent. The government of the Ukrainian National Republic introduced the principle of the Ukrainization of education, but it did not have enough time to put it into effect. In March, 1920, a former Borotbist, Gregory Hrynko, then Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR, introduced a new organization of education in the Ukrainian SSR which differed substantially from the system established in the RSFSR. Hrynko's educational system lasted until 1930, when it was brought into line with that of the USSR as a whole. One of the basic features in the Hrynko system was a gradual but persistent introduction into the schools at all levels of Ukrainian as the language of instruction. In August, 1920, the head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, Rakovsky, explicitly supported the Ukrainization of education with all his authority, reversing his attitude of a year earlier. Finally, on March 2, 1921, the Fifth Congress of Soviets of Ukraine resolved that Ukrainian must be the language of instruction in all schools attended by Ukrainians. As a result, by 1923, 50 per cent of the public schools embracing 69 per cent of the pupils, were using the Ukrainian language in instruction.

Under the pressure of the former Borotbists, the Bolsheviks also made some concessions in the military field. Although there was no regular Ukrainian Red Army, the former Borotbists

worked towards the establishment of one. In March, 1920, in Kharkiv, Sumy, and later in Kiev, schools for army officers were opened which employed the Ukrainian language in instruction. For the Polish campaign, the Corps of the Red Cossacks was transferred from the Baltic to Right-Bank Ukraine: the language of its command, political instruction, and press became Ukrainian. Beginning in December, 1920, Michael Frunze, the People's Commissar of Defense of the Ukrainian SSR and commander-in-chief of all military forces in Ukraine, began gradually to introduce the Ukrainian language of command into all army units composed of Ukrainians. This Ukrainization was strengthened when in March, 1924, Frunze became the Chief of Staff and the Commissar of Defense of the USSR, and reorganized the army on the basis of territorial divisions. In Ukraine, Frunze's place as Chief of Staff was taken over by Jonah Yakir who, until his arrest in 1937, also was disposed towards the Ukrainization of the Ukrainian territorial army.

From the legal standpoint, the Ukrainian SSR became a sovereign state, subject to international law; its relations with Soviet Russia were only those of a partial federation. As a consequence of its sovereignty in the field of foreign relations, the Ukrainian SSR concluded 48 bilateral and multilateral international treaties and agreements with foreign countries between 1920 and 1923. The Ukrainian SSR was recognized *de jure* as a sovereign state by Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Turkey, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia; *de facto* by England, Bulgaria, Rumania, and the League of Nations. The Ukrainian SSR had diplomatic representatives stationed in at least six foreign countries, and was a party to several international conventions of the League of Nations.

However, when on February 13, 1922, France and England invited Soviet Russia alone to attend the economic conference at Genoa in order to discuss

the settlements of its debts and to conclude trade agreements, the Russians (George Chicherin), seeing the possible advantages to be derived from the situation created by the invitation, proposed to the Ukrainian SSR and to all the other similarly independent Soviet republics that they conclude a formal agreement empowering the RSFSR to represent their interests at Genoa. Such an agreement was signed in Moscow on February 22, 1922. A joint delegation, headed by G. Chicherin and C. Rakovsky, went to Genoa under the official title of the Delegation of the Soviet Russian Federation.

Subsequently, Moscow made it clear that it wanted to perpetuate the basic idea of the agreement of February 22, 1922. The Soviet Russian Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Chicherin, began to negotiate alone in The Hague with England and France as if the other Soviet republics were nonexistent.

The Politburo of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U discussed these developments at a meeting late in March, 1922, and formed a special commission to raise the problem before the Central Committee of the RKP(b). On May 11, 1922, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RKP(b) heard the complaint of the Ukrainian commission and adopted a resolution which emphasized that nothing had changed in the relations between the RSFRS and the Ukrainian SSR as a result of the temporary agreement concerning the Genoa conference; the resolution also prohibited the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Russian government from speaking in the name of the Ukrainian SSR without the latter's permission.

The situation, however, was becoming increasingly strained. When on April 17, 1922, under Soviet Ukrainian pressure, the government of the RSFSR agreed to conduct all its relations with the Ukrainian SSR only through a plenipotentiary representative of the Ukrainian SSR in

Moscow (Felix Kon at the time), and when, on July 13, 1922, Ukrainian representatives were seated with voting power in the collegium of the People's Commissariat of Nationalities of the RSFSR with an explicit right to protect the interests and to foster the development of the culture of the Ukrainian minority in the RSFSR, Russian chauvinists started to write articles and letters insulting the non-Russian peoples and demanding their incorporation into Soviet Russia.

The pressure was heavy; on August 10, 1922, the Politburo of the RKP(b) formed a special commission of the representatives of all national (non-Russian) Communist parties to discuss and decide on future relations among the Soviet republics. The commission was headed by Stalin; the KP(b)U representatives on it were Manuilsky, Frunze, and Skrypnyk. During its session of September 23–24, 1922, the commission heard Stalin's plan on the merger of all the republics with the RSFSR with the maintenance of cultural autonomy of the non-Russian nationalities within the RSFSR. The plan was discussed by the national (non-Russian) party organizations. On September 27, 1922, Lenin, who was already fatally ill at the time, sent the Politburo members a letter that was sharply critical of Stalin's plan and suggested instead the idea of the formation of a "union of equals." On October 3, 1922, the Politburo of the KP(b)U rejected Stalin's project.

On October 6, 1922, the plenum of the Central Committee of the RKP(b) discussed Lenin's proposal concerning the formation of the Soviet Union. The plenum finally agreed to a basic idea of forming a new superstate—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—and announced this idea to be the official party decision binding for all parties, including the KP(b)U.

On October 16, 1922, the third session of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR agreed in principle to the formation of the Soviet Union.

The All-Ukrainian Seventh Congress of Soviets, which convened December 10–14, 1922, having heard and debated the report of M. Frunze on the matter, adopted a resolution declaring that Ukraine was joining the Union in principle, but reserved for itself the right to withdraw from it.

On December 23, 1922, the Tenth Congress of Soviets of the Soviet Russian Republic convened in Moscow; inasmuch as all the non-Russian Soviet republics had agreed to join the Union and had sent their delegations to Moscow in the interim to effect this decision, this congress tried to include the delegates from the other republics into its own ranks, thus making it appear that the republics were entering the RSFSR. This maneuver of the Russian chauvinists was assailed by Michael Kalinin, the president of the RSFSR; he impelled the congress to adopt a resolution obliging the RSFSR to join the new superstate—the USSR—on identical terms and as an equal with all the other Soviet republics. The congress passed this resolution on December 27, 1922.

The First Congress of Soviets of the USSR convened in Moscow on December 30, 1922. It consisted of 1,217 voting delegates of the RSFSR; 354 of the Ukrainian SSR; 73 of the Trans-Caucasian Federation; and 23 of Belorussia.

The Congress adopted two documents: the Declaration on the Formation of the USSR and the Treaty on the Formation of the USSR. The latter was a sort of Union constitution which provided for the formation of a federal government, but at the same time proclaimed the right of the constituent republics to withdraw from the Union. The congress also elected the first Central Executive Committee of the USSR composed of 371 members; among the 88 representatives of the Ukrainian SSR there were only 24 Ukrainians. In his opening speech at the congress, Stalin declared that the date—December 30, 1922—was the "day of triumph of new Russia."

The Congress of Soviets of Ukraine which voted to join the Soviet Union did not represent the majority of the population. Only 23 per cent of the membership of the Bolshevik party in Ukraine, which was the motivating force in the drive for the Union, were Ukrainian in 1922.

Immediately after the Ukrainian SSR had joined the USSR, its government was reduced to six independent People's Commissariats (agriculture, internal affairs, justice, education, health, and social welfare) and five joint ones, that is, subordinated to the corresponding Moscow agencies (finance, food, labor, inspection, and national economy), while the Union government completely took over five other commissariats—foreign affairs, army and navy, transport, foreign trade, and communications.

The Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks), which met in Moscow on April 17–25, 1923, was the last congress at which communist internationalism seemed still to triumph over Russian nationalism. Stalin and Nicholas Bukharin laid down the following principle in their speeches: the party must fight against both Russian and non-Russian nationalism, but Russian nationalism, having been fostered by Russia's imperialist past, was the main danger to the revolution, while non-Russian, "local" nationalism was just a reaction against Russian nationalism. In its resolutions the congress decreed that the national economy and culture must be developed in each of the non-Russian republics of the USSR, that the national language must be introduced into the government administration, army, and educational system of each republic. However, the congress made no decisions on constitutional matters. Skrypnyk and Rakovsky pleaded in vain that the USSR be considered a confederation, rather than a federation, of sovereign republics; that some legal procedure be instituted against any violation of the sovereignty of a republic.

Stalin rejected this demand; a majority of the Central Committee of the RKP(b) supported him for the Russians wanted the RSFSR to dominate the USSR. On July 6, 1923, the Union's Central Executive Committee ratified the constitution of the USSR, and on January 19, 1924, the Eighth Congress of Soviets of Ukraine ratified it also.

Ukrainization

The idea of Ukrainizing the KP(b)U and the governmental apparatus of Soviet Ukraine originated with the Borotbists in 1920 when they merged with the KP(b)U in order to capture it from within. The idea was embraced by N. Skrypnyk in 1922. And it was the one concession that Stalin and the other centralists were willing to make to the national (non-Russian) communists, for it coincided with their own concept of "cultural autonomy." The policy of "rooting" (*korenizatsiia*) the party and state apparatus in Ukraine became the party line at the Twelfth Congress of the RKP(b) and continued to be so in Ukraine until 1933.

The concept of the Ukrainization was as follows: since there were few Ukrainians in the party, the state apparatus of the Ukrainian SSR, and the working class, the Soviet regime did not enjoy much popular support among the Ukrainian people. It was clearly necessary therefore to attempt to bring closer to the Soviet regime as many Ukrainians as possible. The opinions on the ultimate aims of this policy were not uniform, however. Most of the former Borotbists believed that, if Ukrainians predominated in them, the KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian SSR could be used as instruments at some future date for the secession of Ukraine from Russia. Skrypnyk and other middle-of-the-road Ukrainian Bolsheviks advocated that the leadership of the KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian SSR be composed predominantly of Ukrainians in order to further develop

the Ukrainization, but within the framework of the genuine USSR; they were not separatists.

The drive for Ukrainization was formally initiated by Michael Frunze at the Seventh Congress of the KP(b)U held in Kharkiv, April 7–10, 1923. Frunze attacked the remnants of Russian imperialism and chauvinism in Ukraine, and demanded that party members and all government and public institution officials learn to speak Ukrainian, to respect Ukrainian culture, and to permit as many Ukrainians as possible to join their ranks. On August 1, 1923, the government of the Ukrainian SSR (headed since July 16, 1923, by Vlas Chubar, a Ukrainian) issued a decree on the Ukrainization drive. The decree stated that: "The Workers' and Peasants' Government considers it necessary . . . in the next period to concentrate the attention of the state on the spreading of the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The formal equality hitherto between the two languages most widely used in Ukraine—Russian and Ukrainian—is not sufficient. Life, as experience has taught, leads to the actual domination of the Russian language. To remove this inequity the Workers' and Peasants' Government will invoke a series of practical measures which, maintaining the equality of the languages of all nationalities on Ukrainian territory, will secure for the Ukrainian language a place corresponding to the number and importance of the Ukrainian people on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR." The decree obliged all public officials to learn Ukrainian; it also provided that the writing of all documents and correspondence be gradually transferred from Russian to Ukrainian.

The first measures were met with stubborn resistance and were sabotaged by the Russians in the KP(b)U. The first secretary of the KP(b)U, Emmanuel Kviring, a Latvian, who occupied this post from March, 1921, till May, 1925, and the second secretary of

the KP(b)U, D. Lebed, were openly hostile to the Ukrainization policy. It was not until an open revolt by A. Shumsky and N. Khvylovyi occurred that the hold of the Russian elements over the KP(b)U and the Ukrainian SSR as a whole was partially overcome. Full-scale Ukrainization began after the decisions of the April plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U in 1925 and the replacement of Kviring as the first secretary of the KP(b)U by Lazar Kaganovich.

The Ukrainization policy was welcomed by Ukrainians of various political leanings: first, because it was a dramatic change in comparison with the policy of the pre-Revolutionary and the immediate post-Revolutionary periods when the existence of the Ukrainian people as a nation was ignored by those who held the power; and secondly, because few, if any, practical alternatives were left to Ukraine. The western orientation of the Ukrainian non-communist parties had proved to be unsuccessful: the Germans had betrayed the Central *Rada* of Ukraine; the Allies had preferred to support the White Russians; the Poles had exacted Western Ukraine as the heavy price for their support of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic.

The national awakening in the Ukrainian SSR, the awareness of the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic, and the disillusionment with the policies of the western nations engendered a split among the Ukrainian political refugees. Vynnychenko's journey to the Ukrainian SSR in 1920, and his disagreement with Lenin and the KP(b)U on the independence of the Ukrainian SSR, did not halt the growth of pro-Soviet sympathies among the exiles. As a result, some leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic, such as Michael Hrushevsky, Andrew Nikovsky, Nicholas Chechel, Paul Khrystiuk, George Tiutiunyk, and others, returned to the Ukrainian SSR from exile and accepted work in cultural, scientific,

educational, economic, and cooperative institutions of Soviet Ukraine. The Ukrainian national cadres were multiplied and strengthened also by numerous Western Ukrainians who moved to the Ukrainian SSR during the 1920's to escape Polish persecution and oppression in Galicia.

The achievements of Ukrainization were impressive. While Ukrainians constituted 80.1 per cent of 31.4 million inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR (as of January 1, 1931), according to the census of 1926, the urban population was composed of 47.4 per cent Ukrainians, 25.1 per cent Russians, and 22.8 per cent Jews. As a consequence of the migration of rural people into the cities, the proportion of Ukrainians increased between 1923 and 1933: in Kharkiv from 38 to 50 per cent; in Luhansk from 7 to 31 per cent; in Dnipropetrovske from 16 to 48 per cent; in Zaporizhia from 28 to 56 per cent.

The composition of the working class, as measured by an analysis of the labor union membership in Ukraine (which increased from 1.2 to 1.9 million between 1926 and 1931), changed in the following way: in 1926 it was 54.6 per cent Ukrainian, 29.2 per cent Russian, 8.7 per cent Jewish; in 1931, 58.6 per cent Ukrainian, 24.6 per cent Russian, 12.2 per cent Jewish. In 1931, 32.3 per cent of all workers in the Ukrainian SSR spoke Ukrainian in their homes. The number of Ukrainian-speaking workers increased between 1925 and 1931 among metalworkers from 19.1 to 45.9 per cent; among miners—from 19.4 to 65 per cent.

While the proportion of the illiterate within the total population of the Ukrainian SSR above five years of age was 47 per cent in 1926, by 1933 it had decreased to 4 per cent. Literacy in the native language is naturally embraced most easily. Compulsory fourth-grade education for children was decreed in 1925, compulsory seventh-grade education in 1931. The number of pupils studying in the Ukrainian language in the total

school population increased from 75.9 per cent in 1927 to 88.5 per cent in 1933. The number of institutions of higher education with Ukrainian as the language of instruction increased from 19.5 per cent in 1923, to 28.5 per cent in 1926, to 69 per cent in 1929. Prior to the Revolution, no higher education at all was conducted in the Ukrainian language.

Membership in the Communist Youth League (*Komsomol*) of Ukraine increased from 142,310 in 1925 to 1,148,127 in 1932; the proportion of Ukrainians among that membership increased from 58.7 to 72 per cent in those same years.

Changes in the membership and the composition of the KP(b)U were as follows: in 1924, of its 57,016 members 33.3 per cent were Ukrainian, 45.1 per cent Russian, and 14 per cent Jewish; in 1933, of its 468,793 members, 60 per cent were Ukrainian, 23 per cent Russian, and 17 per cent of some other nationality. In spite of this growth, however, the popularity of the Communist party among the Ukrainians remained comparatively low.

Particularly notable were the accomplishments achieved by the Ukrainization policy in the cultural field. In 1922 there was one newspaper published in Ukrainian, while in 1933, 373 newspapers of a total of 426 in Ukraine were published in Ukrainian. In 1924, the total circulation of the Ukrainian newspapers amounted to about 90,000; by 1933, it had increased to 3,600,000, or 89 per cent of the total circulation of newspapers in the Ukrainian SSR. In 1933, 118 magazines were published also, of which 89 were printed in Ukrainian.

Prior to the Revolution, all stationary theaters in Ukraine were Russian; in 1928, 14 of 54 theaters were Ukrainian; in 1931, 66 of 88 theaters were Ukrainian, the remainder being Jewish (12), Russian (9), and German (1).

Political Struggle in the KP(b)U

The process of Ukrainization was accomplished by no means smoothly; it

was marked by incessant political struggle inside and outside the KP(b)U. Following the lead of G. Zinovev, D. Lebed, a secretary of the KP(b)U, coined the slogan "the struggle of two cultures" in his articles in the KP(b)U organ, *Kommunist*, March-April, 1923, in which he described Russian culture as revolutionary, advanced, and urban, and Ukrainian culture as counterrevolutionary, backward, and rural. At the insistence of M. Frunze, the Seventh Congress of the KP(b)U censured Lebed, condemning his ideas for their Russian chauvinism. However, Ukrainian intellectuals accepted the challenge of the struggle between the two cultures, particularly the group called VAPLITE—Free Academy of Proletarian Literature (see "Literature")—inspired by Nicholas Khvylovyi.

Compelled to pay attention to increasing Russian attacks upon the Ukrainization policy, Khvylovyi started to analyze the nature and origin of Russian chauvinism. Under the influence of Leo Trotsky's criticism of the bureaucratization of the Russian Communist party, Khvylovyi concluded that it was these petty officials from the Russified cities, who, "hiding behind Marx's beard," had become the standard-bearers of Russian chauvinism in Ukraine. Realizing that Moscow was fostering Russian culture in the Ukrainian SSR, he created an explosive slogan: "Away from Moscow!" Khvylovyi foresaw the salvation both of the Ukrainian nation and the proletarian revolution—two ideals equally dear to him—by means of the realization of his slogan. Khvylovyiism became another "national communist" deviation in the KP(b)U.

Khvylovyi's struggle in the cultural arena was supported strongly by most of the former Borotbists inside the KP(b)U. Their leaders were Alexander Shumsky, the People's Commissar of Education since 1924, and George Hrynko (Grinko), who had left the Commissariat of Education to become

the Chairman of the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR. The former Borotbists attacked Russian chauvinism and the sabotage of Ukrainization in all party forums. In May, 1925, Hrynko vigorously defended Ukrainization against the denunciation of this policy by George Larin at the Third All-Union Congress of Soviets in Moscow. In December, 1925, Shumsky denounced Russian chauvinism at a session of the Communist International. Early in 1926, Shumsky wrote a letter to Stalin in which he argued that it was necessary for the communist cause that the growing Ukrainian national renaissance be headed by Ukrainian, rather than non-Ukrainian, Communists; he demanded, therefore, that Kaganovich be replaced as the first secretary of the KP(b)U by Vlas Chubar, and that Hrynko be appointed the head of the Ukrainian government. Stalin revealed this demand to Kaganovich and other members of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U in a letter dated April 26, 1926, in which he warned them of the danger should Khvylovyi's slogan—"Away from Moscow!"—find support inside the KP(b)U. Through Kaganovich's maneuvers, the June 1926 plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U condemned the views of Khvylovyi and his followers as nationalistic.

On December 1, 1926, Khvylovyi's recantation was published in the press. At the Central Committee plenum on September 20, 1926, Shumskyists were also accused of nationalist deviation. As punishment, they were to be expelled from Ukraine: Shumsky was ordered to Moscow to work in a teachers' trade union; Hrynko was also transferred to Moscow to head the Five-Year Plan Section of the State Planning Commission of the USSR. Later he became the People's Commissar of Finance of the USSR and co-author of the first Five-Year Plan of the USSR.

A leading role in the destruction of the Shumsky-Khvylovyi opposition in the

KP(b)U was played by Skrypnyk, however, and by other Ukrainian Bolsheviks such as Volodymyr Zatonky and Eugene Hirschak, and by such former Borotbists as Andrew Khvyliia and Panas Liubchenko. Skrypnyk and some of his followers were firm believers in the internationalism of the Moscow Bolsheviks; others, such as Liubchenko, were simply opportunists. In any case, the split among the Ukrainian "national communists" was ultimately to be fatal to them all.

Skrypnyk replaced Shumsky as the People's Commissar of Education of the Ukrainian SSR; he pledged to continue the Ukrainization of the KP(b)U by all possible means. He did so, believing that only in this way could Ukraine freely develop; and that only the Ukrainization of the party could win over the Ukrainian masses to the communist cause.

The Shumsky-Khvylovyi ideas remained alive in the KP(b)U despite their official condemnation. Khvylovyi continued his literary polemics and his discussion of Ukrainian-Russian relations well into 1928. In 1926-7 a small Trotskyite opposition developed in the KP(b)U under the leadership of Dashkovsky, Martynov, and others; the leadership of the KP(b)U waged a special campaign aimed at preventing the Trotskyites and the "national communists" (the Shumsky-Khvylovyi followers) from uniting.

The greatest resistance to Moscow's attack against the "national communists," however, developed in the Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU). In 1926, the leaders of the KPZU—Joseph Vasylykiv, Roman Turiansky, and Charles Maksymovych (a representative of the KPZU in the Central Committee of the KP[b]U)—began to question Moscow's policies in Ukraine especially because of the exile of Shumsky and Hrynko to Moscow. In the spring of 1927 the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine openly condemned Moscow's actions with regard to the "Ukrainian question." Finally, in January,

1928, the Eight Conference of the KPZU openly revolted and declared itself in favor of Shumsky and his program. The March, 1928, plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine condemned the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, calling its leaders "traitors, walking along the path of Polish fascism." A small minority of the KPZU members remained loyal to Moscow and the KP(b)U, but the split was fatal to the party as a whole and contributed to the subsequent growth of an organized Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine.

In January and February, 1928, a new oppositionist phenomenon appeared in the KP(b)U. *Biłshovyk Ukraïny* (Bolshevik of Ukraine), the party's central theoretical organ, published an article by a young economist, Michael Volobuev, in which he argued that the Ukrainian SSR continued to be a colony of Russia in the same manner as it had been before the Revolution. Volobuev's thesis of the colonial exploitation of Ukraine was ridiculed and challenged by Skrypnyk's followers who branded it another manifestation of the nationalist deviation of Shumsky and Khvylovyi.

The struggle against "national communism" in the KP(b)U was concomitant with the growth of the forces of the Russian chauvinists both in Moscow and Ukraine whose basic attitude was, first, a refusal to consider seriously and to tolerate as an equal the ethnic self-determination and the cultural values of the non-Russian peoples, and, secondly, a proclivity to force the non-Russians to accept the "higher" Russian language, culture, and ideals in place of their own. Stalin's victory over Trotsky and the left opposition heralded a victory for the not very cultured but disciplined party bureaucracy. Stalinist centralism and Russian nationalism were destined to be natural allies. The strengthening of overt Russian chauvinism was manifested in the summer of 1927 by an article by Larin in *Pravda* against the policy of Ukrainiza-

tion, by the publication of a book by V. Vaganian advocating the adoption of Russian culture by all the other nations of the USSR, by the publication of an article by D. Lebed in the July, 1928, issue of the central All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) organ, *Bol'shevik*, continuing the attack upon Ukrainization, and by many other publications and pronouncements.

Continued Russian resistance to the Ukrainization policy also contributed to the growth of Ukrainian opposition to the Soviet regime as such. The leaders of this opposition were individuals who had been connected in one way or another with the defeated regime of the Ukrainian National Republic. Collectively called the Petliurovites, they were active among the peasants, in the church, and among the non-communist intellectuals in the cities. In 1928 L. Kaganovich admitted the growth of nationalism among the Ukrainian peasants who now complained that it was Moscow that was exploiting them.

In the early 1920's, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks' fight against the influence of Petliura was a matter of political competition. To compromise their adversaries, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks arranged public trials of various non-Bolshevik leaders. In August, 1920, for example, members of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries—Vsevolod Holubovych, Ivan Lyzaniivsky, Nazar Petrenko, and others—were tried for treasonable activities. During 1921–4, there were several trials of guerrilla leaders. In the majority of cases, the sentences were simply a demand for public recantations. In February, 1924, a trial of the members of the so-called "Action Center" was staged in Kiev; the defendants included academician N. Vasylenko, S. Chebakov, B. Tolpyha, and other conservatives who were accused of maintaining underground contacts with White Russian émigrés in Paris. Most of the defendants were sentenced to exile.

About 1924 the Bolsheviks began to exert pressure against popular, non-political movements. One of their first targets was the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which had been organized at the Kiev Synod, October 11–27, 1921, as an Orthodox church independent of the patriarchate in Moscow. The Autocephalous Church numerically was the largest church in the Ukrainian SSR, having more than 2,800 parishes, 10,657 priests, 35 bishops, several higher theological schools, and many publications. It was headed by Metropolitan Basil Lypkivsky. The Russian Patriarchal Church in Ukraine was substantially smaller. The OGPU began a systematic struggle against the Autocephalous Church in 1924. Although both churches—the Russian and the Ukrainian—were harassed by *Komsomol* youth and anti-religious propaganda, it was the Ukrainian church that was singled out for political denunciation and for police action. (Further information on the Church and cultural life appears in volume II.)

The Drive for Economic Change

Political antagonism in the Ukrainian SSR became increasingly acute with the initiation of what Stalin called the "revolution from above" in the economic sphere. The postwar reconstruction of the economy by means of the NEP was quite successful. In 1926–7 the gross national product of Ukraine totaled 4,070 million prewar rubles, or 99.5 per cent of the 1913 level. The NEP policy was designed to permit an evolutionary transition from capitalism to socialism. The state held in its hands chiefly the "dominant heights" of the economy—heavy industry, transportation, banks, and land. Small indus-



FIGURE 480.
B. LYPKIVSKY

try and retail trade for the most part were left in private hands, chiefly on the basis of leases from the state. Free market and competition reigned everywhere, even in the relations among the state trusts. However, too weak to continue to survive as they were, small private enterprises were compelled to close down or to become absorbed by cooperatives. In 1926 only 144,211 individuals were employers (though usually of not more than 5 workers each); these employers constituted only 0.82 per cent of the rural, and 0.72 per cent of the urban, population. Thus, private capitalism was retreating under the NEP.

Nevertheless, most Bolsheviks were not satisfied with the speed with which capitalism was being eliminated. The Bolsheviks realized that the USSR was economically underdeveloped and dependent to a dangerous degree upon imports from the capitalist countries. The idea arose to transform the USSR into a powerful industrial and military base capable both of defending the Revolution at home and of spreading it abroad. Although this doctrine pursued presumably communist aims, it again fitted perfectly into the aims and ambitions of the self-centred Russian bureaucracy.

The fateful decision to "construct" socialism in the USSR in the shortest period of time was adopted by the fifteenth conference of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on November 3, 1926. Industrialization at a forcibly accelerated rate required the utilization of all possible economic resources and the total centralization of their management. These conditions led to further bureaucratization of the state and to the suspension of all political freedoms including the national rights of the non-Russian nations.

Capital investments in the large-scale industry of the Ukrainian SSR increased from 191.2 million rubles in 1925-6 to 436.6 million rubles in 1928-9 as they did throughout the USSR. In November, 1928, the plenum of the Central Com-

mittee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) realized that the plans of rapid investments could not be fulfilled without an appropriate increase in the marketable and exportable output of agriculture.

Initial Bolshevik efforts to extract surplus produce from the countryside by means of price fixing and taxation misfired. Thus, in 1926 the price index of industrial goods sold by the state to the Ukrainian peasants was inflated to 156 (1913=100), while that of agricultural produce bought by the state was reduced to 77. As a result, peasants refused to sell their produce. In 1926, from 3 to 4 per cent of all peasant households in Ukraine were classified as *kurkul* (Russian, *kulak*—rich peasant) households. They were those having more than 9 dessiatines (24 acres) of land, and/or employing laborers, although 90.6 per cent employed not more than one laborer. The *kurkul* farms carried a heavy tax burden. In 1927, pressed by a shortage of agricultural produce available to the state, the Bolsheviks stiffened their pressure on the *kurkuls*. The *kurkuls* were obliged, in addition to paying the heavy taxes, to sell to the state up to 35 per cent of their produce at very low prices. If they did not fulfil their quota voluntarily, they were harassed by members of the *Komsomol* or by the Committees of Poor Peasants who received as a bonus 25 per cent of the grain taken from the *kurkuls*. In addition, about that time *kurkuls* were deprived of their franchise as all priests, all former policemen, and all members of anti-Soviet political groups had been much earlier. In 1928, 567,674 persons were disfranchised, or 4.4 per cent of the total electorate, according to statistical data of the village soviet elections.

Pressure against the rich farms, instead of increasing the marketable output of agriculture, ruined the most productive farms. The failure to get enough marketable produce from small farms caused the Bolsheviks to turn to

the organization of collective farms.

The idea of the collectivization of agriculture had always been advocated by Communists, although both F. Engels and V. Lenin explicitly stated that such a step, if too rapid and compulsory, would impair rather than enhance productivity. In accordance with this, the first Five-Year Plan of the Ukrainian SSR, adopted in March, 1929, foresaw the growth of the collectivized area under crops between 1927 and 1932 from 1.6 to only 25 per cent. However, by the end of 1929 it became clear that misallocation of capital investments had created such an acute shortage of capital that the whole plan for rapid industrialization was in jeopardy. Stalin then decided on a program of compulsory collectivization of agriculture.

The decision was approved formally by the plenum of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) on November 17, 1929, and Ukraine was selected "to provide an example in the shortest possible time." The plenum instructed the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine to mobilize all its efforts to fulfil this task.

The KP(b)U moved all its forces into the Ukrainian villages. On February 4, 1930, Stanislav Kosior declared that, in accordance with new instructions received from Moscow, *all* of the Ukrainian countryside should be collectivized by the fall of 1930. Collectivization jumped from 1.3 per cent of the land and 2.5 per cent of the peasant households as of June 1, 1929 to 71.5 per cent of the land and 67 per cent of the households as of March 10, 1930. The collective farms formed in this manner could not function properly. Therefore, on March 2, 1930, Stalin wrote his paper called "Dizziness from Success," in which he criticized the overzealousness of the party workers, and ordered them to slow down the collectivization and to allow some peasants to leave the collectives. As a result, the rate of collecti-

vization in Ukraine dropped to 36.4 per cent of the land and 30.4 per cent of the households by July 20, 1930, and remained at this level until December, 1930. Then, upon new instructions from Moscow, the December, 1930, plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U resolved again to double the rate of collectivization during the spring of 1931, and to conclude this "revolution from above" by the end of 1932.

The new push resulted in the collectivization of 61.9 per cent of the land and 58.4 per cent of the households by April 1, 1931, and of 73 per cent of the land and 72 per cent of the households by January 1, 1932. The peasants' resistance is evident from the following official statistics: during 1931 alone, arsons were registered by the police in 24.7 per cent of the newly formed collective farms; the destruction of implements in 9.6 per cent; the poisoning of livestock in 3.8 per cent; and assaults on collective farm leaders in 44 per cent.

On December 27, 1929, Stalin pronounced a new policy: instead of merely limiting the activities of the rich peasants by economic and legal means as before, he proposed to eliminate them "as a class." On February 1, 1930, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR adopted a law dispossessing rich peasants and making it legal to banish them from their villages and to send them into exile. The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Ukrainian SSR did not confirm the new law until August 23, 1930.

Stalin's idea to eliminate the rich peasants physically rather than merely economically as had been suggested by Lenin and Bukharin—and as, indeed, was done in all other communist countries afterwards—was explained later by Stalin's sycophants as having been a wise preventive measure. Many more such "preventive" measures were to follow, however. The elimination of the real *kurkuls*, for the most part, was accom-

plished in 1930; nevertheless the terror continued until new instructions from Stalin and Molotov on May 8, 1933, stopped mass deportations of peasants. During 1930, the peasants previously classified as *kurkuls* were arraigned with their families by the police and sent into exile to northern Russia, Siberia, or central Asia. Those who dared to resist were sentenced to death on the spot, or to imprisonment in concentration camps which were established by a government decree of February 18, 1928. When compulsory collectivization was renewed in 1931, however, everyone who resisted it was classified as a *kurkul* or as a *pidkurkulnyk* (an accomplice of *kurkuls*), and his fate was that of the real *kurkuls* of 1930. Altogether not less than 650,000 men, women, and children were exiled from the Ukrainian countryside, imprisoned, or killed during the campaign; about 350,000 others fled from the villages to hide in the cities, to work in factories or in the Donbas coal mines where, due to the shortage of labor, they were hired without many questions.

Collectivization and the "de-*kurkulization*" program were accompanied by a general stiffening of political pressures in Ukraine. The stiffening atmosphere was further aggravated by shortages in industrial production. During 1927 and 1928, the Ukrainian coal and metallurgical industries failed to fulfil their production quotas. In February, 1928, the OGPU arrested a group of engineers and administrators in the Donbas who were tried in the city of Shakhty. The defendants were branded as saboteurs who had been on the payroll of foreign intelligence services. The evidence had been fabricated, however. After the Shakhty trial, it became customary to suspect and to accuse of sabotage every technician or administrator in whose domain something went wrong. During the first half of the 1929-30 business year, industrial quotas in Ukraine again were underfulfilled, and the OGPU in-

creased its arrests among the professional cadres. In the summer of 1930, a number of employees in the food industry were arrested and accused of sabotaging the supply of food. In the fall of 1930, a group of specialists of the Ukrainian SSR's Commissariat of Agriculture and several of the members of the All-Ukrainian Agronomic Society were arrested and indicted as alleged saboteurs (C. Mankivsky, N. Reznikov, C. Kononenko, etc.). A campaign of public criticism of the non-Marxist scientists was begun. Accusations of being a "bourgeois" scientist had already acquired menacing connotations and most of the scientists had to comply with the new demands to be true "Marxist-Leninists." In April, 1929, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was forced to elect Communist party members for the first time. The new academicians were N. Skrypnyk, V. Zatonsky, M. Yavorsky, and A. Shlikhter. In 1930 the Academy became subject to government supervision, and its work was incorporated into the Five-Year Plan. At the same time the writers' and artists' organizations of Soviet Russia (RSFSR), and the Russian Academy of Sciences were renamed All-Union organizations; this gave them the right to exercise authority and control over the corresponding organizations in the non-Russian Soviet republics. Thus the long-cherished aims of Russian nationalists to identify the USSR with Russia and to control the cultural development of the non-Russian republics were being achieved for the first time.

The first Five-Year Plan period also saw the rapid development of a centralized government in the USSR, with consequent limitations of the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR. The only occasion on which the Union government rendered an account of its work to the Ukrainian Congress for the latter's approval took place in May, 1925, at the Ninth Congress of Soviets of the Ukrainian SSR; it was never repeated again.

The reports of the Central Committee of the VKP(b)* before the Congresses of the KP(b)U were discontinued in 1930 after the Eleventh KP(b)U Congress. Of special significance was the fact that, on December 7, 1929, in the wake of collectivization, the Ukrainian People's Commissariat of Agriculture was subordinated to the newly established Commissariat of Agriculture of the USSR. On January 5, 1932, the Supreme Councils of National Economy of the USSR and of the Ukrainian SSR were abolished without Ukraine's formal consent, and the Union Commissariat of Heavy Industry was established in their place. This change meant that whereas in 1927, for example, the government of the Ukrainian SSR had controlled, directly or indirectly, 81.2 per cent of the industry in Ukraine, in 1932 only 37.5 per cent was under its control while the remainder was directly and completely controlled from Moscow. On August 10, 1934, the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR, the notorious NKVD, was established to include the former OGPU.

The Struggle against Ukrainian Nationalism

The centralization of power and the growth of Russian nationalism brought about new attacks on Ukrainian nationalism. In April, 1929, the OGPU allegedly discovered several small underground organizations including the National Party of Liberation of Ukraine in Vinnytsia province. During the establishment of collectivization, a goodly number of peasant uprisings were suppressed by military units of the OGPU. In 1929 public attacks on academicians M. Hrushevsky and S. Yefremov appeared; along with many other older scientists and writers, both were accused

*In 1925, the RKP(b) had become the VKP(b)—the All-Union Communist party (of Bolsheviks). Since 1952, the party's name is the CPSU—Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

of nationalism. In July, 1929, the OGPU initiated mass arrests of alleged members of the underground organizations—the Union of Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM). According to some accounts, the arrests affected up to 5,000 persons, although only 45 were brought to public trial in Kharkiv, from March 9 through April 19, 1930. The OGPU's basis for arrest often was friendship or acquaintance between those arrested and



FIGURE 481.
S. YEFREMOV

the leaders of these organizations. Most of those arrested were older Ukrainian intellectuals and members of the former anti-Soviet political parties—Socialist-Federalists and Social Democrats. Among them were the academicians S. Yefremov and M. Slabchenko, and distinguished educators, scientists, and writers such as Volodymyr Durdukivsky, Andrew Nikovsky, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, Joseph Hermaize, Liudmyla Starrytska-Cherniakhivska, and Vsevolod Hantsov. According to accusations, the SVU and SUM had branches in all the main cities of Ukraine and were working towards an insurrection which would restore a bourgeois-democratic, independent Ukraine. All the defendants were sentenced to long-term exile in concentration camps in the Solovki Islands and in Siberia.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was also heavily implicated at the trial of the SVU, and it was annihilated subsequently by the OGPU. During 1930–4, 24 of its 34 bishops were known to have been arrested and eight disappeared; only two remained alive when World War II began. The priests also were persecuted. The church ceased to function completely.

In February, 1931, the OGPU made another round of arrests of Ukrainian intellectual leaders who were charged with belonging to an underground Ukrainian National Center. There was no public trial of this fictitious organization, but among those arrested and publicly accused of being members were N. Chechel, N. Shrah, P. Khrystiuk, V. Holubovych, V. Mazurenko, G. Kossak, S. Vikul, I. Lyzaniivsky, N. Levytsky, and other former Social Revolutionaries, Social Democrats, and former officials of the Ukrainian National Republic who had returned from exile or arrived from Galicia in 1924-5 together with M. Hrushevsky. Subsequently, Hrushevsky was charged with being the head of the Ukrainian National Center, but the Bolsheviks did not dare arrest him. He was ordered to move his residence to Moscow in March, 1931. There he was kept under house arrest for some time. He was released later but forbidden to leave the city. For some time, he had to report to the police for interrogation. Hrushevsky died in 1934. The members of the Ukrainian National Center were deported to concentration camps in northern Russia late in 1932.

The Ukrainian Bolsheviks in the KP(b)U had to play a difficult role in this purely anti-Ukrainian terror. Moscow demanded that they find grounds on which to accuse the Ukrainian nationalists of acting against the interests of the Ukrainian people. In turn, however, they endeavored to achieve some balance by accusing some Russian nationalists of acting against the interests of the people. Together with Georgian and Tatar Bolsheviks, they even succeeded, for a while, in convincing Stalin that Russian chauvinism was becoming aggressive. At the Sixteenth Congress of the VKP(b) in July, 1930, Stalin reminded the party that Russian chauvinism was still to be considered the main menace to the cause of communism. However, not a single Russian chauvinist, even from among those publicly

accused, was arrested or put on trial for this offense against communism, although Ukrainian nationalists were sent to Siberia *en masse*.

Ukrainian Bolsheviks also had to continue their provocative attacks upon Ukrainian "national communists." At the fourteenth Kiev provincial party conference, in December, 1928, S. V. Kosior emphasized that "Khvylovyism and Shumskyism were deeply rooted in the country." The next "national communist" deviation in the KP(b)U was personified by the young Marxist historian, Matthew Yavorsky, who had been the head of the Society of Ukrainian Marxist Historians since 1928 and, since 1929, an academician of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Yavorsky was accused by the Russians, at the First All-Union Congress of Historians in December, 1928, in Moscow, of a separatist interpretation of the history of Ukraine. In February, 1930, he was expelled from the KP(b)U, and in 1931 was arrested and exiled to the Solovki Islands. By the end of 1931, other Ukrainian Marxist historians and members of the KP(b)U—A. Richytsky, Z. Hurevych, V. Sukhyno-Khomenko, and M. Rubach, among others—were accused of deviations toward Trotskyism and nationalism. At the same time, in January, 1931, N. Skrypnyk directed an attack upon a group of Ukrainian Marxist theorists who were led by academician Simeon Semkovsky. Semkovsky was accused of being a follower of Nicholas Bukharin in his interpretations of historical materialism. Another leading theorist, academician Volodymyr Yurynets, was accused of revising Marxism so as to justify Ukrainian nationalism. Similar charges were advanced against all other leading Ukrainian Marxist theorists. This was the end of Ukrainian "national communism" in the field of political theory.

In the meantime, Ukrainization continued unabated. On August 30, 1929, one of Skrypnyk's long-standing proposals was realized: on orders from the

VKP(b), the People's Commissariat of Education of the Russian Federation (RSFSR) introduced Ukrainian as the language of instruction in all schools in those regions of the Russian Republic inhabited by a large number of Ukrainians. At that time almost 8,000,000 Ukrainians lived in Russia, the Ukrainian SSR embracing only 74.5 per cent of the total Ukrainian population of the USSR. The Russians did not implement another of Skrypnyk's demands, however: that of uniting with Ukraine the areas of the RSFSR on the borders of the Ukrainian SSR which were inhabited by a Ukrainian majority (in Kuban and the southern portions of Kursk and Voronezh provinces).

The Economic Situation and the Famine of 1932-3

In spite of the state planning, the early development of the Soviet economy was not based on rational calculation. In 1930-1, Ukrainian industries outstripped all the production targets of the original Five-Year Plan, but they fell short of new and unrealistically high Moscow-imposed annual requirements. In October, 1930, V. Molotov arrived in Ukraine from Moscow to criticize the KP(b)U leaders for their failure to attain the industrial output targets. The shortage of capital was most acutely felt. To purchase foreign capital equipment, the USSR had to export more agricultural produce (the alternative was to slow down industrialization); consequently, a new push was ordered in the collectivization.

The obligatory grain delivery quota imposed on non-collectivized farmers in Ukraine was from 5.0 to 7.5 metric tons (5½-8½ short tons) per household, which actually totaled more than 100 per cent of the harvest output; alternatively, the peasants were urged to join the collective farms where the quotas were some three times lower. However, the total quota of grain procurement for

Ukraine as a whole was increased by Moscow to 2.3 times the amount required during the NEP period: in 1928 Ukraine delivered 3.3 million metric tons of grain to the state—that is, 21 per cent of the harvest; in 1930, 7.7 million metric tons were exacted, or 33 per cent of the harvest. Although the Ukrainian harvest comprised only 27 per cent of the total harvest of the USSR in 1930, the Ukrainian delivery quota comprised 38 per cent of the total grain procurements of the USSR.

Having succeeded in eliciting 7.7 million metric tons of grain from Ukraine, Moscow overestimated the capabilities of collective farms and imposed anew an oppressive quota of 7.7 million metric tons of grain on Ukraine for 1931. The success in grain requisitions in 1930, however, was due to the fact that the harvest was above average, and that all previous stocks and reserves, and sometimes even the seeds, had been taken as part of the requisition.

The harvest of 1931 yielded only 18.3 million metric tons instead of the 23 million tons called for by the plan. Collectivization had reached 70 per cent by that time, but farmers, forced to join the collectives, were neither willing nor competent to work collectively. As a result, up to 30 per cent of the crop was lost during harvesting. But Moscow refused to reduce the quota, and severe pressure was put upon the KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian SSR to fulfil it. By the spring of 1932 7.0 million metric tons had been exacted from the Ukrainian countryside; this was only 91 per cent of the plan, although more than one-half of the total harvest. This left an average of only 112 kg. (247 lb.) of grain per capita of the rural population of Ukraine. For peasants whose staple food for centuries was grain, this was a disaster.

By late spring in 1932, famine had broken out and a mass movement had begun to the cities where there were

still some chances of finding work and food. Many Ukrainian peasants traveled to central Russia, where there was no famine. The results of the pressure in 1931-2 were ominous. The plan of the fall plowing in 1931 called for 14 million hectares (34.6 million acres) to be put under cultivation, but only 6.5 million hectares actually were cultivated. The collection of seed for the spring sowing of 1932 produced only 55 per cent of the required amount. In comparison with 1931, the total area under cultivation in Ukraine declined in 1932 by 4.5 per cent.

In 1932, the Donbas failed to fulfil its quota of coal output, and an acute shortage of fuel resulted. Difficulties also arose in the metallurgical industries and in the railroads. The whole economy of Ukraine was in crisis.

Frequent appeals to Moscow to reduce the quotas in order to ease the situation were made by the Ukrainian Bolshevik leaders—Chubar, Skrypnyk, and Stroganov, and somewhat less vigorously by Kosior and Petrovsky. The final battle was fought at the Third All-Ukrainian Conference of the KP(b)U, which convened in Kharkiv on July 6-9, 1932, to consider the situation.

Stalin sent V. Molotov, the head of the government of the USSR, and L. Kaganovich, the head of the agricultural section of the Central Committee of the VKP(b), as his personal representatives to the Third All-Ukrainian Conference of the KP(b)U. The chief item at the conference was a report by Kosior on the state of agriculture. He bluntly declared that there had been "great losses while harvesting" in 1931, and that presently many areas were "seriously short of food." All other speakers also suggested that the new grain delivery quota of 6.6 million metric tons of the 1932 harvest, recently proposed by Moscow, was still too exorbitant. However, Molotov and Kaganovich placed full blame on the leaders of the KP(b)U for the previous year's failure. In their final

words to the conference they requested that the grain procurement plan for 1932 be fulfilled at any cost.

After the conference a life and death struggle for the possession of the 1932 harvest developed between the hungry Ukrainian peasants and the Communist party. The number of party members sent into the battle in the Ukrainian countryside increased from 40,000 in 1930 to 112,000 in 1932. To protect the harvest from the peasants, a virtual reign of terror was instituted with a law of August 7, 1932, passed by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, which granted the OGPU the authority to shoot anyone who attempted to steal the "socialist property" of collective farms. The law was immediately applied throughout Ukraine, sometimes even against peasant children who were glean- ing ears of corn in the fields after the harvesting.

Again, as in the previous year, up to 40 per cent of the harvest of 1932 was lost in the fields during the reaping. This time the reason for such a large loss was not only the inefficiency of peasants un- used to collective work, but also the shortage of manpower and of draft animals, sick from undernourishment. Tractors comprised only 23.8 per cent of the total available draft power in 1932. The total harvest in 1932 amounted to only 14.6 million tons, and even this figure, as was revealed later, represented the harvest estimated at the beginning of the reaping rather than the grain ac- tually gathered.

Since it was apparent that it would be difficult to collect the quota, the VKP(b) abolished proportional quotas for every collective farm at the beginning of August and ordered instead that as much grain as possible be taken from them. As the grain collections began to lag behind schedule, the government of the Ukrainian SSR, on November 20, 1932, upon instructions from Moscow, ordered that all payments of wages in

kind to collective farmers be discontinued, that the grain thus already distributed be reclaimed wherever possible, and that all seed and forage reserves be requisitioned. In addition, on December 17, 1932, the government put a stop to all trade in food and consumer goods in the villages which had not fulfilled their obligations to the state.

However, in spite of all these measures, the government was able to collect only 72 per cent of the planned quota—that is, 4.7 million metric tons of grain—by January, 1933. The famine became increasingly severe during the late fall, the winter, and especially the early spring of 1933. The number of deaths from starvation assumed massive proportions. Unlike 1932, the press was prohibited from reporting anything about the famine in 1933. Actual cases of cannibalism occurred in some villages. To stop the migration of hungry peasants into the cities, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR, on December 27, 1932, introduced an internal passport system and the mandatory registration of individuals in their places of residence; in addition, as of March 17, 1933, collective farmers were forbidden to seek jobs in factories and mines—they were to be drafted for such jobs in the future in an organized manner.

The result of the famine was devastating. The first Five-Year Plan of the Ukrainian SSR anticipated that the population of Ukraine would increase from 30,200,000 on January 1, 1929, to 33,000,000 by January 1, 1933. Actual official estimates of the population were as follows, however: January 1, 1932—31,800,000; November 1, 1932—32,100,000; January 1, 1933—31,900,000; January 1, 1935—30,000,000. Unofficial estimates of the death toll resulting from the famine comprise at least 10 per cent of the population (over 3 million) but if the reduction in the birth rate and the increase in mortality were included, the figures would run, by some accounts,

into 5 to 7 million, when extrapolated to the 1939 census.

The Arrival of Postychev and the Death of Skrypnyk

The frequent appeals from the KP(b)U leaders requesting a reduction of the quotas and begging for aid for rural Ukraine were construed in Moscow as clear manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism on the part of the KP(b)U—a placing of the local needs of Ukraine and the Ukrainian peasantry above the needs of the first Five-Year Plan and the construction of socialism in the USSR. Consequently, on December 14, 1932, the Central Committee of the VKP(b) adopted a resolution that accused the leadership of the KP(b)U of tolerating a Ukrainian nationalist deviation in its ranks. On January 24, 1933, the Central Committee of the VKP(b) passed another resolution that accused the KP(b)U of being unable to cope with the agricultural situation and blamed it for Ukraine's failure to fulfil the grain plan quota. To remedy the shortcomings of the party, the resolution appointed Paul Postyshev to the posts of Second Secretary of the KP(b)U and First Secretary of the metropolitan Kharkiv party provincial committee. Postyshev left Moscow for Ukraine accompanied by Vsevolod Balitsky, who was returning to the Ukrainian SSR as chief of the OGPU there, A. Sarkis, plenipotentiary of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) for grain collections, a large staff of Russian officials, and 1,340 members of the newly created "political departments" of the Machine and Tractor Stations (MTS), all of whom were also officials of the OGPU.

The first result of Postyshev's arrival was the public admission by the plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, on February 3-7, 1933, that the KP(b)U alone was to blame for the breakdown of agriculture in Ukraine and that it had indeed been possible to fulfil all the

grain quotas beginning with 1931. The plenum also capitulated to Postyshev's demand to organize a mass purge of the KP(b)U ranks and also called upon the OGPU to unleash a "merciless blow" upon all enemies. Thus, amidst a devastating famine, a new wave of terror began, one in which the KP(b)U was the first to suffer.

Between June 1, 1932, and October 1, 1933, 75 per cent of the officials of the local soviets and 80 per cent of the secretaries of the local party committees were dismissed and replaced by newcomers. Most of the dismissed were arrested. The total membership of the KP(b)U declined from 520,000 as of June 1, 1932, to 470,000 as of October 1, 1933. Most of those purged were arrested and either shot or exiled to concentration camps.

On March 1, 1933, Postyshev forced through a change in the government of the Ukrainian SSR: Liubchenko was appointed vice-premier; Skrypnyk was replaced by Zatonsky in the Commissariat of Education and appointed to a precarious post as the head of the State Planning Commission; Andrew Khvyliya was made Deputy Commissar of Education. Skrypnyk's downfall became imminent.

During March, April, and May, the OGPU increased its arrests of leading Ukrainian personalities associated with the Ukrainization who had expressed disaffection with Moscow's Ukrainian agricultural policy. It was in this connection that Nicholas Khvylovyyi committed suicide on May 13, 1933.

At the June, 1933, plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, Postyshev for the first time attacked Skrypnyk, who was present, directly and openly. He demanded that Skrypnyk recant and explain how he was "duped by the enemy." On July 4, 1933, at a meeting of Ukrainian Marxist research workers, Shlikhter and Zatonsky accused Skrypnyk of heading a Ukrainian na-

tionalist deviation in the KP(b)U, of the introduction of "compulsory Ukrainization," and of misinterpreting Marxism in his theory of the nationalities problem. On July 7, 1933, a meeting of the Kharkiv party committee was summoned to examine Skrypnyk. However, on the morning of that day Skrypnyk was found dead in his apartment: he had committed suicide. His death meant that an entire epoch had come to an end in Ukraine. With him died all that remained of idealistic native Ukrainian Communism and of the hope that a Ukrainian nation could flourish as an equal in a union with Russia.

With Skrypnyk's death the terror was increased. By October 15, 1933, 27,500 Communists had been expelled from the KP(b)U and immediately arrested. By the end of 1933 the purge had affected 29 per cent of the total membership of the KP(b)U. During 1934, an additional 15 per cent were expelled.

Similarly, Zatonsky ordered a purge in the Commissariat of Education; according to his own figures, some 2,000 teachers and 1,650 instructors in higher educational institutions lost their jobs during the second half of 1933 as a result. Most of these people were accused of Ukrainian nationalism. Similar purges took place in the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, various scientific research institutes, editorial boards of newspapers and magazines, writers' and artists' associations, and so forth.

Arrests reached mass proportions. In March, 1933, a group of officials in the Commissariat of Agriculture, headed by the former leading member of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, T. Komar-Palashchuk, were shot for alleged sabotage. In August, 1933, a group of agricultural economists in the Academy of Agricultural Sciences, headed by the former Borotbist, A. Slipansky, were arrested and charged with an "attempt to organize famine" in Ukraine. Early in 1933, a group of immigrants

from Galicia were arrested and put on trial secretly by the OGPU on charges of belonging to the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) which was active at the time in Western Ukraine and among exiles in Germany. Michael Lozynsky, professor of international law, was the alleged head of the UVO in the Ukrainian SSR. In July, 1933, a group of former Ukapiists, including Anatol Rychytsky, Michael Avdiienko, and Anthony Drahomyretsky, and a group of research workers of the All-Ukrainian Association of Marx-Lenin Institutes (VUAMLIN), including N. Romaniuk, P. Demchuk, and A. Sarvan, were arrested on charges of belonging to the UVO. Some of them were shot; the others were exiled to concentration camps. Also in July, 1933, immediately after Skrypnyk's suicide, most of the members of the former Central Committee of the Borotbists (P. Liubchenko, A. Khvyliia, and a few others who were excepted) were arrested and exiled without trial. Those arrested included A. Shumsky in Moscow, N. Poloz (who, at the time of his arrest, was a member of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U and the Commissar of Finance of the Ukrainian SSR), N. Liubchenko, I. Petrenko, and others. By the end of 1934, the NKVD, which had replaced the OGPU in the meantime, picked up the remaining former Borotbists throughout the country, added to them other Ukrainian "national communists" and those Borotbists exiled in 1933, and charged them all with belonging to a fictitious All-Ukrainian Borotbist Center, which, in turn, allegedly had joined in a bloc with the UVO and the Ukrainian Trotskyite Center.

In addition to those charged with membership in the alleged underground political organizations, the OGPU also imprisoned a number of Ukrainian intellectuals for being Skrypnyk's followers, nationalists, and "enemies of the people" (a new term which was then being introduced in Soviet parlance).

In 1934, preventive political terror became legalized in the USSR. On June 8, 1934, the Central Executive Committee of the USSR passed a decree by which high treason in peacetime was to be punishable by death. The definition of "high treason," included attempts to escape abroad; it also included "attempts at violation of the integrity of the USSR territory," thereby making Article 4 of the Constitution of the USSR, which granted the constituent republics the right to withdraw from the Union, practically meaningless. On July 10, 1934, the "Special Sections" (also known as the "Commissions of Three") were instituted within the NKVD and empowered with the right to administrative trials. Neither the defendant nor his attorney were present at the trial. Standard sentences were shooting or ten years of hard labor in a concentration camp.

The charges made against the Ukrainian intellectual leaders by the OGPU (later NKVD) during the terror of 1930-4 were fabricated in most cases and evidence was falsified. "Ukrainian nationalism" became an offense punishable by death or by confinement to a concentration camp since about 1930, although it has never been defined in any law. However, anyone who expressed his disagreement with Moscow's policies in Ukraine was automatically considered a "nationalist" by the Stalinist police. The terror directed against Ukrainian nationalism bore features which suggested that its real purpose was the systematic and organized extermination of the native leadership in Ukraine. The terror swept Russia also, but proportionately the numbers involved seem to have been smaller, and not a single Russian victim was ever shot or exiled for being a Russian nationalist.

In accordance with the new Moscow policy, P. Postyshev and S. Kosior, at the November 18-22, 1933, plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, announced the following new party line: the Ukrainian SSR is no longer a back-

ward Russian colony but a highly industrialized socialist nation. The Ukrainians are no longer an underprivileged nationality, therefore further efforts to pursue a Ukrainization policy are unnecessary; on the contrary, the Ukrainization was overdone and was being utilized by the nationalist elements who had penetrated into the KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian SSR. Although until now Russian chauvinism has been correctly considered the principal danger in Ukraine, the greatest present threat to the cause of communism in Ukraine is Ukrainian nationalism; any attempts to justify the latter by references to the pre-Revolutionary past or to Russian chauvinism are to be combated as being nationalistic in themselves.

The results of the change in policy soon began to affect noticeably the number of pupils studying in schools where Ukrainian was the language of instruction, for example. Their proportion declined in the Ukrainian SSR as follows: from 88.5 per cent in 1932-3, to 85.5 per cent in 1934-5, to 83 per cent in 1935-6, to 78.2 per cent in 1938-9. The proportion of Ukrainian students in higher educational institutions decreased from 66.7 per cent in 1930-1 to 60.0 per cent in 1934-5, to 54.2 per cent in 1937-8. In the Russian Republic, Ukrainian schools and the Ukrainian press were all closed in 1934.

Until 1930 the history of Ukraine was still being taught in Ukrainian schools, according to the Marxist textbook of M. Yavorsky; after 1930 all such instruction ceased, and students were taught only the history of Russia. Any glorification of Ukrainian national heroes of the past was considered a manifestation of Ukrainian nationalism. Similar glorification of Russian heroes began to be tolerated and finally encouraged.

Collectivization and Industrialization

Postyshev's economic policies in Ukraine, in the final account, though

forcibly imposed, were not without some success. In 1933 the number of tractors in use was substantially increased in Ukraine, and in spite of the famine, the area of land cultivated was increased by 2.1 million hectares as compared to 1932. The Central Executive Committee of the USSR, on January 30, 1933, resolved to apply the law of August 7, 1932, to anyone who failed to appear at his work place in the collective farms.

The grain harvest of 1933 yielded 22.3 million metric tons—a substantial increase over the harvest of 1932. Harvesting losses were reduced to 3.3 million metric tons, according to official data, and Moscow reduced the grain delivery quota for the year to only 5.0 million tons. As a result of the latter measure, the famine was ended by late 1933. In November Postyshev declared that the improvement in the agricultural situation proved that the crisis had been the work of Ukrainian nationalists. The grain harvest of 1934, however, was again very poor, this time because of a drought; it totaled only 12.3 million metric tons, even less than the harvest of 1932. But there was no famine this time because Moscow substantially reduced its grain quota and even supplied 770,000 tons of grain as a loan to Ukraine to be used both for food and for seed. These facts prove that the famine of 1932-3 could have been prevented.

By the end of 1936, 95.2 per cent of the peasant households and 99.6 per cent of the land in the Ukrainian SSR had been collectivized. There were 27,464 collective farms, possessing 20,445,000 hectares (50,519,595 acres) of sown area. The grain delivery quota averaged 6.6 million metric tons per year from 1936 through 1938. The produce was purchased by the USSR government from the collective farms at low, monopolistic prices and resold to consumers in the cities at high, monopolistic prices. The rate of profit approximated 1,000 per cent; this economic operation was one of the main devices used for accu-

mulating the capital needed for industrialization of the USSR.

After the terrible years of famine, the standard of living of the peasantry had risen by 1937 to the extent that every peasant household, on the average, again possessed a cow and a pig. In comparison with the NEP period, however, the standard of living of the Ukrainian peasant was very low.

Collectivized farmers supplied both capital and labor for industrialization. Since 1934, collective farmers regularly had been drafted to work in the cities. During 1925-8, the share of capital accumulation in the national income of the Ukrainian SSR comprised on the average 23 per cent; during the first Five-Year period (1928-32) it increased to over 30 per cent, while consumption decreased correspondingly, both relatively and absolutely, and remained at the 30 per cent level during the second Five-Year Plan (1933-7). During the first Five-Year Plan, the Ukrainian SSR's share in the total capital investments of the USSR ran to 18.5 per cent. During this period, 386 large new industrial projects were completed—among them the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station (cost: 220 million rubles), the steel combine at Zaporizhia (cost: 380 million rubles), and the Kharkiv Tractor Works (cost: 112 million rubles). Industry's contribution to the gross national product of the Ukrainian SSR increased from 50.1 per cent in 1928 to 72.4 per cent in 1932; Ukraine thus became a relatively industrialized nation.

During the second (1933-7) and the third (1938-41) Five-Year Plans, however, the Ukrainian SSR had very low priority in Moscow's industrialization program. Much capital and labor was shifted from Ukraine to construction sites in the Urals, the Kuznets Basin, and the Volga region. The share of the Ukrainian SSR in the total capital investments of the USSR declined from 18.3 per cent in 1933 to 13.5 per cent in 1939. Nevertheless, industrialization of U-

kraine continued. By 1937 the Ukrainian SSR occupied fourth place in the world as a producer of coal, third place as a producer of pig iron, and fifth place as a producer of steel; the Ukrainian SSR was producing more coal than France or Japan, and more pig iron than England, France, or Belgium.

Industrialization in Ukraine was accompanied by a rapid growth of the native working class. The number of workers and employees in the country as a whole increased from 1,900,000 in 1927 to 6,200,000 in 1940. As time went by, the labor policies of the government stiffened. In 1936 the so-called "Stakhanov movement" was fostered in Ukraine, succeeding an identical "Izotov movement" of 1932 which did not catch on at the time of its tryout. Selected shock-workers such as Stakhanov were assisted by the party and the management to greatly overfulfil existing production quotas, causing the production quotas for the rest of the workers to be raised as a consequence. Wide resistance by the workers to this labor speed-up system of "socialist competition" was reported in the Soviet Ukrainian press in 1936-7, but it was described as "Trotskyite sabotage" and severely punished. In March, 1934, a system of piece-work was introduced, followed by the introduction of conveyor belts and similar devices. As of November, 1932, a day of absence from work without a satisfactory reason was punished by dismissal from the job and the loss of ration coupons and housing.

Of great importance for Ukraine was the rapid increase of literacy among the population in the 1930's. By 1939, 94.8 per cent of the men and 76.8 per cent of the women in the Ukrainian SSR had become literate; these proportions were higher than those in Russia. A sample of the Ukrainian collective farmers in 1936 showed that 87.4 per cent of the men and 38.4 per cent of the women used to read newspapers regularly, and 50.6 per cent and 21.0 per cent respectively read books regularly.

In the spring of 1934, Vlas Chubar was forced finally to resign as head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR by Postyshev and was transferred to a government post in Moscow. His place was taken by Panas Liubchenko.

The years 1935-6 were relatively calm. Rationing was abolished, and the economic situation slightly improved. Political activities and interest in ideological problems inside the party declined noticeably. Party conferences became mere business meetings which discussed how to brood pigs or raise corn, for example, rather than the problems of world revolution.

Despite the comparative calmness of the years 1935 and 1936, the terror did not completely stop. In May, 1935, Postyshev suddenly decreed a new purge in the KP(b)U which assumed the formal appearance of a check on party membership cards, presumably for possible counterfeits. During January-April, 1936, the NKVD discovered and arrested the so-called Ukrainian Trotskyite Center, allegedly composed of many persons including George Kotsiubynsky, who had been the head of the Soviet Ukrainian government in 1917 and was a member of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U; other members of the Central Committee also arrested were N. Holubenko, A. Sokolov, and M. Killerog. The Ukrainian Trotskyite Center was charged with plotting the assassination of Postyshev and Kosior, and of belonging to the bloc of Ukrainian Nationalist Organizations, consisting of the Borotbists and the UVO back in 1934. However, there was no public trial of its members. Thus the calm period was over and a new tide of terror arose.

On September 26, 1936, Nicholas Yezhov was appointed chief of the Soviet Union NKVD. Stalin and Zhdanov instructed him to arrest anyone who in any way seemed to be not quite loyal to Stalin's regime. In the Ukrainian SSR, arrests among the high political commissars of the army (M. Amelin, etc.) took

place late in September; in October several executives of the coal trusts and the chemical industry in the Donbas were jailed. Those arrested, for the most part, were charged with being Trotskyites.

From February 25 to March 5, 1937, a plenum of the Central Committee of the VKP(b) met in Moscow to consider, among other matters, the problem of the new wave of terror instigated by Yezhov and the NKVD. Stalin, in his speech before the plenum on March 3, 1937, declared that, as the construction of socialism advanced, the hostility of its enemies increased, and the class struggle became sharper; he opined that the Germans and Japanese were planning an aggression against the Soviet Union, and that the "enemies of the people" who had infiltrated all the echelons of the government and the party apparatus would betray communism in a time of war. At this meeting, Postyshev was bold enough to openly express his doubts about the wisdom of new terror, and especially about the abilities of the NKVD to distinguish innocent people from the latent enemies of the Soviet Union. Subsequently, on March 17, 1937, Stalin ordered the removal of Postyshev from his post in the Ukrainian SSR to an obscure post in Russia. Postyshev was charged with having protected Trotskyites and having aggrandized himself in Ukraine.

Postyshev's post of Second Secretary of the KP(b)U was given to M. Khataevich, who, however, did not acquire the dictatorial powers Postyshev had held; consequently the power of Kosior in the KP(b)U was increased relatively. V. Balytsky was removed from his Ukrainian post and subsequently shot. The Ukrainian NKVD acquired a new chief—I. Leplevsky, a Yezhov man. The NKVD was removed completely from the control of the KP(b)U, for its chief no longer was a member of the Politburo of the KP(b)U as he had been formerly.

Yezhov's Terror in Ukraine

The scope and degree of the NKVD terror initiated by Yezhov were unprecedented. Between October, 1936, and November, 1938, no fewer than 800,000 men and women in the Ukrainian SSR were put into jail, exiled to concentration camps, or shot. The majority of the victims were members of the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia of the new Soviet school—professors, writers, engineers, teachers, agronomists, technicians, government officials, army officers, etc.—many of them members of the KP(b)U. Also included among the victims were many ordinary workers and collective farmers, especially those who had relatives among the arrested intellectuals or abroad. Comparatively few of the arrested in this period were granted ordinary trials: in most cases they were tried and sentenced by the three-member “Special Sections” of the local NKVD. The most common charges were Ukrainian nationalism, Trotskyism, espionage, or sabotage. All legal procedure was done away with during this period. Sentences usually were based upon self-accusations contained in “confessions” elicited by torture. Denunciations of neighbors and co-workers to the NKVD became the means of avoiding one’s own arrest, and were hailed in the press as acts of patriotism and civic duty. (On extermination of writers, see pp. 1058–9).

By the end of May, 1937, only 36 of the 115 members of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U elected to this body three years earlier remained. In Kiev province, 54 per cent of the members of the party apparatus were ousted and arrested; in Chernihiv province, 48 per cent; in Vinnytsia, 46 per cent; and so forth. At the height of the terror, the Thirteenth Congress of the KP(b)U met in Kiev, from May 27 to June 3, 1937. The delegates spent most of the time indulging in heated self-accusations.

After May, 1937, the terror became even more intense. On June 12, 1937,

the entire high command of the Red Army was shot. In Ukraine, army commanders Jonah Yakir, Ivan Dubovyi, and 108 other senior officers and political commissars were arrested and shot, and hundreds more were exiled to concentration camps.

In the last week of August, 1937, according to unofficial reports, Stalin dispatched V. Molotov, N. Yezhov, and N. Khrushchev to Kiev with instructions to purge the leadership of the KP(b)U. On August 28, 1937, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine rejected Molotov’s demand that Kosior and other members of the KP(b)U Politburo be impeached for opposing the party line. Two days later, Kosior and the rest of the Ukrainian Politburo members were invited by Stalin to Moscow for consultation. On the same day (August 30, 1937), P. Liubchenko, head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR and a member of the Politburo, shot his wife and himself. Liubchenko immediately was proclaimed to have been secretly a Ukrainian nationalist, and his past membership in the Ukrainian Communist Party (of Borotbists) was given as evidence. The only remaining former Borotbist in the Ukrainian government—Andrew Khvyliia—was arrested and shot as Liubchenko’s accomplice in an alleged plot; all other surviving Borotbists in the country also were arrested and shot.

Michael Bondarenko, a virtual unknown, became the new head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR. However, he was arrested and disappeared two months later. For the next three months, until January, 1938, the government of the Ukrainian SSR had no official chairman. Many of its commissariats also were without people’s commissars for several months, their respective commissars having been shot or jailed.

It is not known whether the Ukrainian Politburo members went to Moscow to

see Stalin as requested; however, all of them with the exception of S. Kosior, G. Petrovsky, C. Sukhanov, and V. Zatonsky were arrested between September and October, 1937, and subsequently disappeared. Like the government of the Ukrainian SSR, the KP(b)U was beheaded; this state of affairs lasted until the end of January, 1938. The only governing body in Ukraine in the interim was the NKVD.

In an environment of such unprecedented terror, the adoption of the new constitution of the USSR on December 5, 1936, and of the new constitution of the Ukrainian SSR on January 30, 1937, as well as the elections to the new Supreme Soviet of the USSR on December 14, 1937, and to the new Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR on June 26, 1938, were pure mockery. Both constitutions embodied many new democratic liberties such as the substitution of universal suffrage for the dictatorship of the workers in the Soviets, secret ballots, and freedom of speech and assembly. The right of the republics to secede from the Soviet Union formally was preserved.

An analysis of the nominations of candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR from Ukraine, and of the subsequent elections, reveals that 12 per cent of those actually nominated for elections had disappeared by the time the final lists of nominees were published on election eve; this happened during the course of only one month. Of the candidates on the final lists, on the other hand, 27 per cent had never been nominated by the electorate; they appeared on the lists on the basis of the arbitrary decision of some party committee. When the lists of elected deputies were published after the elections had taken place, it turned out that 11 per cent of them had not even been on the final lists of candidates—they had been simply appointed to the Supreme Soviet. All in all, 38 per cent of the deputies from Ukraine to the first Supreme Soviet

of the USSR were not elected in a legally prescribed manner. Finally, in the course of the first three months after the elections, at least 8 per cent of the elected deputies from Ukraine were arrested and shot.

In September, 1937, Gregory Hrynko (Grinko), at the time the People's Commissar of Finance of the USSR and the last surviving former Borotbist, was arrested in connection with Liubchenko's suicide, and accused of Ukrainian nationalism. He was shot, along with N. Bukharin, C. Rakovsky, and others, after the third trial in Moscow of the opposition members, in March, 1938. His post of People's Commissar of Finance was given to another exile from Ukraine—V. Chubar. At the first session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, January 12-19, 1938, Kosior and Chubar were elected deputy heads of the government of the USSR. However, immediately following this session of the Supreme Soviet, they were arrested, along with many others. They were shot without trial sometime later.

Thus, of the entire Politburo and Secretariat of the KP(b)U, only Gregory Petrovsky remained. In March, 1938, he was removed from his posts in Ukraine and exiled to Russia. Of the 62 members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine elected less than a year earlier, only one was left at this time; of the 40 candidate members, only two remained.

Arrival of Khrushchev

To fill the vacancies in the party and the government of the Ukrainian SSR, Stalin dispatched Nikita Khrushchev, the Moscow party secretary, to Ukraine. Since there was no one to elect him to the post, on January 27, 1938, Khrushchev was appointed acting First Secretary of the KP(b)U. Khrushchev was accompanied by the new appointees to the leadership of the KP(b)U. M. Burmistenko, transferred from the Caucasus,

became Second Secretary; A. Shcherbakov, sent from Irkutsk, became the Donbas party secretary; D. Korotchenko, sent from Smolensk, became the Dnipropetrovsk party secretary; many others also arrived with Khrushchev from Russia to take over the provincial KP(b)U secretaryships. On March 29, 1938, the Central Committee of the VKP(b) ordered new elections to be held in the KP(b)U; as a result the KP(b)U soon acquired its new leadership.

In a similar way, new people were appointed to the vacant posts of the government of the Ukrainian SSR. On February 21, 1938, D. Korotchenko was appointed head of the government. The rest of the regular members of the government were appointed only on July 28, 1938, after the elections to the new Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. The post of the head of state—that is, of chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR—which presumably had been vacant since the removal of Petrovsky in March, also was filled on this date by L. Korniiets. On July 28, 1939, Korotchenko was appointed Third Secretary of the KP(b)U and his post as head of government was given to Korniiets. The latter's post of head of state went to M. Hrechukha.

All these new leaders of Ukraine, prior to their appointments, were entirely unknown to the Ukrainian people. Thus, an "anonymous" rule of Ukraine, which still exists to some extent, began after the years of the terror.

The arrival of Khrushchev brought a beginning of overt Russification. On April 24, 1938, the Russian language became an obligatory subject for studies in all Ukrainian schools and universities for the first time. Children were required to start studying Russian in the second grade of the primary school. The proportion of pupils studying in the Ukrainian schools dropped from 82.8 per cent in 1937 to 78.2 per cent in 1938. Immediately after Khrushchev's arrival, many new Russian-language newspapers began

to be published in various cities of Ukraine, and the circulation of the Ukrainian-language newspapers decreased suddenly. In 1938, the Russians comprised not less than 75 per cent of the leading party and government officials, and not less than 60 per cent of the deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. For the first time in the history of the Ukrainian SSR, on July 25, 1938, a Russian deputy in the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR expressed, "on behalf of the Ukrainian people . . . deep gratitude and love to the great Russian people" for everything the latter had been doing for Ukraine. Previous expressions of gratitude had been addressed to the October Revolution, the party, and to Stalin; this time gratitude was expressed to the Russians as a nation.

Khrushchev's role in the final wave of the terror of the 1930's in Ukraine still remains obscure. As of the summer of 1938, mass arrests substantially receded in Ukraine. In August, 1938, N. Yezhov's power began to wane. On December 8, 1938, Yezhov finally was dismissed from the NKVD. The new chief was L. Beria; with his appointment, the period of Yezhov's terror had come to an end.

The Yezhov terror left leading political, military, administrative, technical, scientific, and cultural cadres of the Ukrainian SSR devastated. The openings thus created in Ukraine were filled by Russians who arrived to occupy the most important positions in the republic. Only at the end of 1938, did Khrushchev open the door for Ukrainians to join the party in order to strengthen the foundation of his regime. As a result, membership of the KP(b)U, which was only 306,500 in June, 1938, rose to 637,000 in May, 1940. The Ukrainians who joined the KP(b)U this time were, more often than not, opportunists and job seekers.

By 1940, the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine again comprised (without its Western Ukrainian section) 256 members, but most of them lacked the spirit

needed for true literature. Among the scientific personnel of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, the proportion of Ukrainians was reduced to only 55 per cent by 1939.

The 1933-4 and 1936-8 waves of terror in Ukraine have been explained by contemporary official statements as preventive measures called forth by the impending danger of war with Hitler's Germany. Political developments abroad continued to have a significant impact upon the situation in the Ukrainian SSR. Seeing that Germany was adopting an increasingly belligerent attitude toward Poland, the USSR became afraid of what would happen if, through insurrection or otherwise, Western Ukraine were to be re-established as a Ukrainian state situated on the very border of the Ukrainian SSR. However, the Germans let Moscow know that they would agree to the Soviet occupation of Polish-controlled Western Ukraine and western Belorussia, and that Hitler was not planning to support a Ukrainian or a Belorussian independence movement.

The Incorporation of Western Ukraine

On September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland and World War II began. On September 17, 1939, the Red Army crossed the eastern boundary of Poland.

Western Ukraine was occupied during the course of a twelve-day campaign by troops of the Ukrainian military districts under the command of Marshal S. Timoshenko. The troops were composed chiefly of Ukrainians, and they were greeted sometimes with genuine joy by the Western Ukrainian villagers. Immediately after the Red Army's entrance into Western Ukraine, the commanding general of the Ukrainian front urged the population to form, with the aid of the army commanders, the "provisional administrations" in the cities and "peasant committees" in the countryside, which, assisted by the "workers' guard" and the "people's militia," were to be local administrative agencies. Already on Oc-

tober 4, 1939, these agencies of provisional government were instructed to organize one-list elections to the People's Assembly of Western Ukraine and to appoint the candidates for election. The elections took place on October 22, 1939; 93 per cent of the electorate participated, and 91 per cent voted in favor of the appointed candidates.

The People's Assembly of Western Ukraine, consisting of 1,484 deputies, met in Lviv, October 26-28, 1939. It was headed by Professor Cyril Studynsky. The Assembly was addressed by N. Khrushchev, M. Hrechukha, and other representatives of the Ukrainian SSR. The assembly voted unanimously to send a delegation to Moscow to thank Stalin for liberation and to ask for the inclusion of Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR, on November 1, 1939, voted to incorporate Western Ukraine into the USSR. Similarly, the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, on November 15, 1939, passed a law making Western Ukraine a part of the Ukrainian SSR.

In a like manner, with Germany's consent, on June 26, 1940, Moscow issued an ultimatum to Bucharest, giving it 24 hours in which to cede to the USSR the Ukrainian areas in Rumania. Rumania acquiesced. Thereupon the Red Army marched in, and on August 2, 1940 northern Bukovina and portions of Bessarabia inhabited by Ukrainians also were added to the Ukrainian SSR. As a result of these annexations, the territory of the Ukrainian SSR increased from 172,000 sq. m. in 1938 to 222,600 sq. m. in 1941, and the population increased from 30,960,200 as of January 17, 1939, to about 40,525,000 as of January 1, 1941.

The formal incorporation of Galicia, Volhynia, and Bukovina into the Ukrainian SSR took place smoothly because of the speed with which it occurred. The Western Ukrainians had had no time to organize an effective resistance, for they had been totally unpre-

pared for Soviet occupation. With the approach of the Red Army, numerous West Ukrainian leaders fled into the German-occupied parts of Poland. By the end of September, 1939, many democratic leaders, members of the UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Union), had been arrested; Social Democrats, Socialists-Radicals, and former members of the disbanded Communist Party of Western Ukraine were arrested during 1940. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) attempted to activate its underground network. The NKVD waged a bitter struggle against the nationalist underground and succeeded in arresting a number of its active members.

A civilian administration was established in Western Ukraine at the beginning of December, 1939. All the leading personnel were sent from eastern Ukraine or from Russia. By May, 1940, in all the government echelons, not more than 20 per cent of the employees were drawn from the local population. Nevertheless the changes that came to Western Ukraine at the beginning had some positive value. A land in which almost all Ukrainian schools had been eliminated by the Polish government suddenly was given the right to choose freely in which language instruction was to be undertaken in the state schools. The Russian language, of course, immediately was introduced as an obligatory subject in all schools, but all other subjects were taught in Ukrainian. The Ukrainian language made its way again into the University of Lviv. It also was adopted in government affairs and in the courts. All this made a favorable impression upon the Western Ukrainians. A harsher policy began to appear gradually only in the second half of 1940.

For many Soviet citizens their stay in Western Ukraine, to work in its administration or to serve with the army, was an enlarging experience. In spite of the economic underdevelopment of Western Ukraine in comparison with the

Ukrainian SSR, eastern Ukrainians discovered in Western Ukraine living conditions superior to those in the Soviet Union. The chance to exchange opinions and ideas also produced a significant effect.

At the start, Soviet agrarian policy in Western Ukraine was designed to win the support of the population, but later on it pursued its own goals. In Galicia and Volhynia, 52 per cent of all arable land belonged to Polish landlords; 70 per cent of the Ukrainian peasants possessed less than 2 hectares of land per household. A similar situation existed in Bukovina. When the Red Army came in, all land in both areas was declared nationalized. In 1939, about 45 per cent of the lands not belonging to the peasants were distributed free of charge among the landless. However, in the fall of 1940 the Bolsheviks already had begun to take back the land from the peasants by means of collectivization. By June 1, 1941, 13 per cent of all the peasant households in Western Ukraine had been collectivized. The war prevented further progress in collectivization.

The People's Assembly of Western Ukraine also nationalized 1,998 industrial and 225 financial and commercial enterprises, including the Drohobych oil wells—53 per cent of which were the property of French investors. A well-developed network of Western Ukrainian consumer cooperatives was put under Soviet government control. By the end of 1940 only 30 per cent of retail trade remained in private hands. On February 16, 1940, the government of the Ukrainian SSR decreed a special plan for the industrialization of Western Ukraine.

The revitalization of political and national activities in the Ukrainian SSR as a result of the incorporation of Western Ukraine was continuously marred by preparations for war. The Soviet Union had been developing military preparedness since 1932: the share of the defense budget within the total budget of the USSR increased from 18.7 per cent in

1938 to 32.4 per cent in 1940. Ukraine, with her booming war industries in Dnipropetrovske, Zaporizhia, Dneprodzerzhynsk, and Kharkiv, figured importantly in these preparations.

The Red Army in Ukraine numbered 115,000 men in 1932 and some 455,000 in 1938. Territorial (home guard) formations, which comprised 75 per cent of the units of this army in 1932, were gradually absorbed into the active army; in 1938 the territorial system was abolished. On September 1, 1939, a law on obligatory universal military training was promulgated and a gradual mobilization was begun. Propaganda to the effect that the Red Army was invincible and the best in the world was issued continuously.

The approach of war gave rise to the stiffening of centralization and discipline. On December 20, 1938, workbooks were introduced for all laborers and office workers. On December 29, 1938, and January 9, 1939, laws were promulgated which made tardiness for work of twenty minutes or more, and absenteeism for other than a serious reason, sufficient cause to transfer a worker to a lower paying job or to dismiss him completely. On June 26, 1940, a new law increased the working day from seven to eight hours, prohibited workers from leaving their jobs, and prohibited absenteeism. Punishment for violation of this law was imprisonment and forced labor. Similarly, in agriculture the law of May 27, 1939, introduced a compulsory minimum of work to be performed by every collective farmer during the year.

From 1938 on, the supply of consumer goods for the population had been deteriorating rapidly while the pressure on agriculture had been increasing. In 1939 taxes were increased for collective farmers: as a result, by 1941 only 72.5 per cent of the rural households in Ukraine still possessed a piece of livestock as compared to 100 per cent of the same households in 1938.

A new system devised by Khrushchev for the allocation of the obligatory delivery quota of farm produce was introduced in Ukraine on June 1, 1940. It led to an increase by about 30 per cent of the grain quota in Ukraine in comparison with the quotas of 1935-9.

The strategic importance of the Ukrainian SSR to the USSR on the eve of war was enormous (cf., the table, p. 911). In 1939, with her 11,500 large industrial establishments, Ukraine was producing more coal, metal, and machinery than France or Italy, and was approaching the production totals of England and Germany.

V. Holubnychy

WESTERN UKRAINE UNDER POLAND

Introduction

As a result of the Polish-Ukrainian war (1918-19) and the Polish war with Soviet Russia (1919-21), the Western Ukrainian lands—Galicia, the Kholm area, Podlachia, the western part of Volhynia, and the western part of Polisia—were occupied by Polish forces. In November, 1918, the Poles seized by armed force the Lemkian, Sian, and Kholm regions, Podlachia, and Lviv; in May, 1919, they took western Volhynia, and in July, 1919, the rest of Galicia. The incorporation of Ukraine's northwestern lands into Poland was recognized by the Treaty of Riga between the Russian SSR and the Ukrainian SSR and Poland on March 18, 1921, and the annexation of Galicia by the decision of the Council of Ambassadors on March 15, 1923. The territory of the Western Ukrainian lands thus ceded to the Polish state encompassed 132,000 square kilometers (for statistics on population as a whole and by nationalities, see pp. 210-13). The decision of the Council of Ambassadors was that Galicia was entitled to an autonomous regime. In the Treaty of Riga Poland also bound herself to re-

spect the autonomous and religious rights of all Ukrainians.

However, the basic Polish policy in the Western Ukrainian lands was the denial of the individuality and separateness of the Ukrainian national entity, and all practical methods were used in an attempt to achieve the process of denationalization as soon as possible. A major part of the program designed to implement this policy was the isolation of the northwestern lands from Galicia. Ukrainian newspapers from Galicia were prohibited in the northwestern lands, and relations and cooperation with Galician political and social leaders were considered illegal and were persecuted. Galician social and economic institutions were not permitted to function in these areas—for example, *Prosvita*, the Boy and Girl Scouts (*Plast*), and after 1934, the Audit Union of Cooperatives.

The Poles tried to split the Ukrainians by officially dividing them into "Rusyns," "old Rusyns," Ukrainians, and even into special local tribes; at the same time Ukrainians of the Latin rite (Roman Catholics) were classified as Poles. The division into tribes, in particular the segregation of the Lemkians, Boikians, Hutsuls, and Podlachians, was one of the main devices of this program. The Polonizing of the remnants of local gentry in Galicia and Volhynia was another aspect of the same policy.

This basic line of Polish policy did not alter despite the changes that occurred over a period of time in the social and political life of Poland. Both the National Democratic party, which included most of the bureaucratic and bourgeois intelligentsia and the Polish People's party, which represented the Polish peasantry, supported it continuously. The third major political party, the Polish Socialist party, did not show much hostility toward the Ukrainians, but did practically nothing to oppose the official policy. A new political movement, actually a new Polish government party, was formed after Joseph Pilsudski came to

power (1926)—the BB (Non-partisan Bloc of Cooperation with the Government), later known as the *Obóz Zjednoczenia Narodowego* (Bloc of National Union), which consistently followed the same policy.

In opposition to Polish plans to destroy them as a nation, the Ukrainian people put forward the idea of striving for an independent Ukrainian state. They never recognized the acts of Polish rule as legally or morally binding, but repeatedly demonstrated that they considered the Polish rule as hostile occupation.

From the Beginning of the Polish Occupation to 1923

The legal international position of the Ukrainians on territories under Polish occupation was laid down by the treaty on national minorities concluded at Versailles on June 28, 1919, between the Entente Powers and Poland. This treaty secured for the Ukrainian population equality under the law, the right to maintain their own schools, and the right to use their own language in public life and to teach in it in Ukrainian elementary schools. The League of Nations guaranteed these rights, and they were included in the Polish constitution of March 17, 1921, in Articles 108 and 109. On September 26, 1922, the Polish Diet approved a law on provincial self-government to be introduced into the Galician *voievodstvos* of Lviv, Stanyslaviv, and Ternopil; but this law, as well as the statute regarding the founding of a Ukrainian university, was never acted upon by the Polish government.

Galicia. After the occupation of Galicia by the Polish army, the Polish government initiated a campaign of terror against all manifestations of Ukrainian national life. There were mass arrests and deportations of Ukrainians. The International Red Cross estimated in the autumn of 1919 that there were 23,000 Ukrainians in Polish prisons and concentration camps. Altogether

about 70,000 Ukrainians were imprisoned in the period 1919–20, many of whom died from epidemics resulting from the wretched sanitary conditions in the prison camps. Polish courts carried on mass trials of Ukrainians who had actively participated in the war against Poland, and imposed heavy penalties on them, including death sentences. Polish officials avoided even the use of the name "Ukrainian," substituting for it the older "Ruthenian" (*Rusini*, *Rusiński*, or *Ruski*).

In March, 1920, the name *Wschodnia Małopolska* (Eastern Little Poland) was introduced by the Polish government for Galicia. The Ukrainian Galician press was banned with the exception of the organ of the Ukrainian Social Democratic party, *Vpered* (Forward), which at first was printed partly in Polish and partly in Ukrainian. It was discontinued several times. The *Ukrains'ka Trybuna* (Ukrainian Tribune), published in Warsaw after 1921, was closed on March 1, 1922, for printing articles criticizing the conditions of Ukrainians in Poland. In its place the Polish government supported the journals *Ridnyi Krai* (The Native Land) and *Khlops'ka Pravda* (Peasant Truth), and the weekly publications *Probiti* (Breakthrough), *Obnova* (Revival), and *Nash Holos* (Our Voice); but these all ceased publication after a few months for lack of readers. The daily *Dilo*, suspended after the Polish occupation of Lviv, was allowed to re-appear in 1920 and then only under different names; it was not until September, 1923, that it re-appeared under its old name.

Ukrainian inscriptions were removed from all official buildings and, by a decree of January 30, 1920, the Galician provincial diet and the provincial board of administration established by the Austrian government were abolished. The county self-government institutions were wiped out and their functions transferred to Polish county chairmen (*starosty*) appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Most local (rural and

municipal) councils were dissolved, and governmental commissioners were appointed in their place. On December 3, 1920, the former Austrian crown land of Galicia was divided into four *voievodstvos* (provinces)—Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil, and Cracow. The constitution approved by the Polish Diet on March 17, 1921, established a central legislature and a central government without regard to the autonomous rights of the Ukrainians. All Ukrainian officials of the former Austrian government and of the Western Ukrainian Republic were dismissed unless they swore allegiance to the Polish state. In May, 1921, the old Galician Provincial Bank was closed.

Despite a boycott by the Ukrainian population, a census of the population of Galicia was taken on September 30, 1921. By a decree of January 8, 1921, the autonomous provincial Board of Education was abolished and its place taken by a Superintendent of Schools of the Lviv school district (three administrative provinces). The over-all guidance of Ukrainian schools was assumed by the Polish Ministry of Education. On November 5, 1922, elections were held in Galicia for the lower house of the Polish Diet, and on November 12, 1922, for the Polish Senate. The Ukrainian population boycotted both elections; only the so-called Ukrainian Agricultural party, which was supported by the Polish government, participated in them and, as a result of governmental manipulations, won five seats.

The Ukrainian boycott of the elections provoked the Polish government into new mass repressions. In December, 1922, Ukrainians were drafted into the Polish army for the first time. The University of Lviv, which had been a Polish-Ukrainian institution in the Austrian state, was turned into a purely Polish institution and all Ukrainian chairs were abolished. In protest, Ukrainians founded at Lviv the Underground Ukrainian University.

The Ukrainian population organized

activities directed toward its own national liberation and development. These were initiated by four Ukrainian parties: the Workingmen's (*Trudova*) party (formerly the National Democratic party), the Socialist Radical party, the Social Democratic party, and the Christian Social party. These parties formed an Interparty Council headed by Cyril Studynsky, with Volodymyr Bachynsky as secretary. The Inter-party Council was in close contact with the exiled government of the Western Ukrainian Republic (under Eugene Petrushevych) in Vienna. Meetings of the members of the former (Western) Ukrainian National *Rada* were held, usually under the chairmanship of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, to decide important matters. One of the political actions of the Council was the issuance of a statement by all Ukrainian parties on February 14, 1920, calling for the state independence of Galicia, northwestern Bukovina, and Transcarpathia. In a resolution of November 10, 1920, the National Committee of the Workingmen's party declared its opposition to the Warsaw Treaty of April 22, 1920. On June 3, 1921, the National Committee of the Workingmen's party, and on June 4, 1921, the Ukrainian National *Rada* and the government-in-exile of the Western Ukrainian Republic protested against the Treaty of Riga. After the protest of the Workingmen's party on August 2, 1922, against the rule of the Polish regime over Western Ukrainian lands, the Inter-party Council approved a similar protest on September 3, 1922. On August 28, 1922, it called upon all Ukrainians to boycott the elections to Polish legislative institutions. Meanwhile the Ukrainian Social Democratic party adopted a pro-Soviet orientation (resolution of January 15, 1922) and left the unified front of the Ukrainian Galician parties. After the decision of the Council of Ambassadors in favor of the incorporation of Galicia into the Polish state, the Communists took over the leadership of this party; in

January, 1924, it was banned by the Polish government. In the Russophile camp a pro-government policy continued with the complete support of the Polish government.

Almost from the beginning of the Polish occupation, the Ukrainian people demonstrated their resistance to it by both spontaneous and organized acts of sabotage. The military official of the government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic in exile, Y. Selezinka, coordinated the various resistance groups which were led chiefly by the officers of the former Ukrainian Galician Army. Later these officers founded the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO). Colonel Eugene Konovalts became its head. At the headquarters of UVO a political board was organized from representatives of the Workingmen's and Radical parties.

During 1921-2 Ukrainian revolutionary actions constantly increased. Organized chiefly by the UVO but sometimes occurring spontaneously, these acts of resistance included the burning of the estates of Polish landlords, the destruction of Polish government buildings and of railroad and telegraph installations, the bombings of police stations, attacks on Polish officials, etc. On September 25, 1921, a Ukrainian student, Stephen Fedak, made an assassination attempt on Joseph Pilsudski, the head of the Polish state who had come to Lviv, and on Grabowski, the governor of the *voievodstvo* of Lviv. During the elections on October 15, 1922, Sydir Tverdokhlib—the leader of a Ukrainian group which favored the recognition of Polish rule over Western Ukrainian territories and which participated in the elections—was assassinated in Kamianka Strumyl'ova. These events were followed by new and serious repressive measures, and by the bombings of the Ukrainian cultural institutions in Lviv by the Poles.

The Polish government was not interested in improving economic conditions in Galicia. During the war years, 233,000

farms and 122,000 houses were destroyed, and 3,617 schools and 246 churches were burned. As a result of the destruction of livestock and of material property and because of an insufficient labor force, the production of grain declined and almost 1,300,000 hectares of land lay idle. At the end of 1919 large numbers of the population of Galicia, of the Podilian region in particular, suffered from dysentery and typhus; in 1920 there was famine in the mountain areas—at its worst in the Hutsul area. Attempts of the Ukrainian population to organize self-aid were hampered by the Polish government.

The Citizens' *Horozhans'kyi* Committee, founded in Lviv in November, 1918, and headed by Stephen Fedak, became the center of charitable activity; it received most of its funds from the gifts of American Ukrainians. In October, 1921, it was banned by the Polish government and some of its workers in Lviv and in the provinces were arrested. Later the Ukrainian Diocesan Committee for Protection of War Orphans (founded in 1916) and the Ukrainian Provincial Society for Protection of Children and Youth (founded in 1917) renewed their activities. In 1919 the Polish government closed almost all branches of *Prosvita*, including the greater part of its "reading rooms"; of the 2,879 reading rooms in 1914, only 843 remained in 1923. The Audit Union of Cooperatives in Lviv, which at the end of 1923 had 834 cooperatives as compared to a prewar total of 557, was restored more quickly. New organizations were formed: in 1920 the Ukrainian Fund for War Widows and Orphans, in 1921 the Land Committee for the Care of Soldiers' Graves, in 1922 the publishing fund, under *Prosvita*, called Learn, Brothers of Mine (*Uchitesia Braty Moi*).

The Ukrainians showed their patriotic feelings and the will to defend their national rights at mass celebrations of the eightieth birthday of Julian Romanchuk (February 27, 1921), the sixtieth

anniversary of the death of Taras Shevchenko (March 6, 1921), the fifth anniversary of the death of Ivan Franko (May 29, 1921), the fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian state (January 22, 1923). When the decision of the Council of Ambassadors assigning Galicia to Poland was announced on March 15, 1923, a great popular demonstration was held on the Square of St. George in Lviv at which J. Romanchuk administered an oath of loyalty to the Western Ukrainian state founded by the Act of November 1, 1918.

In the northwestern lands the administrative apparatus of the Ukrainian National Republic functioned to the end of the war. Immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (February 9, 1918), the government of the Ukrainian Republic began to organize the various sections of state administration in western Volhynia, Podlachia, and Polisia. To facilitate the work, the government established a provincial administration board for the Kholm area, western Volhynia, Podlachia, and Polisia, headed by A. Skoropys-Yoltukhovskiy, with its seat in Berestia. This board was active until the occupation of these areas by the Poles. The Polish government arrested almost all its officials as well as most Ukrainian teachers. But the Ukrainian population there never acknowledged the legitimacy of Polish rule on its soil nor the decisions of the Riga treaty; their goal was the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state. The elections there to the Polish Diet on November 12, 1922, were the only elections during the existence of the Polish state that were carried on without violence or falsification by the Poles. The Ukrainians formed an electoral bloc with other national minorities and elected twenty Ukrainian representatives and five Ukrainian senators. In Volhynia the Poles did not win a single seat. At their meeting in Kovel the newly elected Ukrainian members of Parliament prepared a

joint declaration which was read in the Polish Diet on January 23, 1923, by Representative S. Pidhirsky. The declaration affirmed that the Ukrainian people were struggling to restore the independent Ukrainian state but that, in the meantime, the representatives of northwestern Ukraine were ready to cooperate with the Polish people and with the other peoples who were part of the Polish Republic. In return they demanded full and free development of their national life. The leaders in the northwestern lands were A. and P. Vasyunchuk, B. Dmytriuk, S. Kosonotsky, S. Liubarsky, Pasternak, S. Pidhirsky, S. Khrutsky, and M. Cherkavsky.

The years 1920-3 were marked in the northwestern lands by organizational activities, chiefly in the cultural field.

The Years 1923 to 1930

After the decision of the Council of Ambassadors of March 15, 1923, Ukrainian political life in Galicia underwent a series of changes. The most powerful legal political party was the Workingmen's party, which in program and personnel was a continuation of the prewar National Democratic party. It was divided into three groups: the so-called independent group, which rejected any attempts to establish Polish-Ukrainian cooperation and favored closer relations with Soviet Ukraine; the group of the newspaper *Dilo* (Deed), which emphasized the need for constructive work and the securing of autonomy within the Polish state; and finally, the group around the newspaper *Zahrava* (Glow), which rejected the positions of both other groups and concentrated on the development of independent national life. At a meeting on July 11, 1925, all three groups united in the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (*Ukrains'ke Natsionalne Demokratychnе Obiednannia*-UNDO), headed by Dmytro Levytsky. This was really a new name for the old prewar National Democratic party; it had almost the same program and the same person-

nel. However, it was cast in the form of a broad national movement rather than in that of a political party: it had no exact register of members and no membership dues, but some party discipline. UNDO gained domination over central educational and economic institutions in Galicia and developed an influential press centered around the daily *Dilo*. The official party organ was the weakly *Svoboda* (Freedom), UNDO established its own club in the Polish parliament. Some of the more prominent members of UNDO were: S. Baran, V. Bachynsky, I. Blazhkevych, S. Vytvytsky, A. Horbachevsky, M. Halushchynsky, V. Kuzmovych, D. Levytsky, C. Levytsky, I. Kedryn-Rudnytsky, O. Lutsky, L. Makarushka, B. Mudry, V. Okhrymovych, M. Rudnytsky, J. Pavlykovsky, V. Tselevych, and S. Khrutsky.

The Galician Radical party, which united with the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionaries of Volhynia to become the Ukrainian Socialist-Radical party (USRP), entered the Second Socialist International in April, 1931. Its leader was Leo Bachynsky, and, after Bachynsky's death in 1930, Ivan Makukh; its organ was the weekly *Hromads'kyi Holos* (Voice of the Community). This party numbered over 10,000 members. The USRP opposed the recognition of the Polish state on the territory of Galicia, refused to recognize the Soviet authority in Ukraine, and combated communism. The USRP founded its own youth organization, *Kameniarі* (Stonecutters), and the Union of Ukrainian Women's Societies. The representatives of the USRP formed a separate club in the Polish Diet. Its prominent members, in addition to those mentioned above, were: C. Kobersky, D. Ladyka, I. Lysyi, M. Matchak, O. Pavliv, I. Popovych, M. Stakhiv, and S. Zhuk.

The Ukrainian Social Democratic party (USDP), revived in December, 1929, under the leadership of Leo Hankevych, also had a socialist platform. It tried to represent mainly the small Ukrainian urban proletariat, consequently

its influence was limited. Its press (*Vpered*—Forward; *Volia*—Will) had a small circulation and appeared irregularly. Its leading members were S. Vityk, L. Hankevych, I. Kvasnytsia, Y. Ostapchuk, and V. Temnytsky.

The place of the prewar Galician Christian Social party was taken, to some extent, by the Ukrainian Catholic National party (UKNP). Founded in 1930, it was disposed to cooperate with the Polish authorities. Its leaders were Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv and Joseph Nazaruk, and its journal was *Nova Zoria* (New Star). This party did not enjoy much political importance.

The Ukrainian Labor party (*Ukrains'ka Partiiia Pratsi*—UPP), founded in 1927 by Soviet sympathizers from the camp of UNDO under the leadership of Viacheslav Budzynovsky (who published the weekly *Rada* [Council]) was short-lived. It elected one member, M. Zakhidnyi, to the Polish Diet in 1928; after 1930, it ceased to exist.

The members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia sympathetic to the Soviet Union were not confined to the membership of the UPP. Their attitudes may be accounted for, in part, by the shortsightedness of the Polish regime and by the more liberal policies of Soviet Russia during the years 1924–9 toward the non-Russians in the USSR. The Soviet government allowed some development of Ukrainian cultural life in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic—especially in education and literature—and introduced a formal Ukrainization of state institutions. These policies evoked hope in some Ukrainian circles that Ukrainian culture would be permitted to develop freely under the Soviet system and that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic would evolve eventually into a truly Ukrainian national state. This hope was strengthened by Bolshevik propaganda issued by, among others, the consulate of the USSR at Lviv. Pro-Soviet publications began to appear in Western Ukraine (for example, *Novi Shlakhy*—New Ways

—edited by A. Krushelnytsky, and *Vikna*—Windows—edited by B. Bobynsky). Some scholars, journalists, and other well-known persons from Galicia and some emigrés went to live in Soviet Ukraine; among these were M. Lozynsky, S. Rudnytsky, N. Chaikivsky, F. Zamora, M. Havryliv, B. Bobynsky, A. Krushelnytsky, G. and I. Kossak. Later, most of them were shot or deported deep into Russia.

A group of younger men from the old prewar Russophile (“Moscophile”) camp (led by C. Valnytsky and C. Pelekhatyi), connected with the Lviv weekly *Volia Narodu* (People’s Will), accepted a definitely communist program. In October, 1926, they joined with the peasant-socialist pro-Soviet group of the Kholm-Volhynian *Selsoiuz* (Peasant Union) to become the Ukrainian Peasants’ and Workers’ Socialist Union (*Selrob*). But in September, 1927, almost all the members of the *Selsoiuz* and a group of Galicians who stood for the Ukrainian national positions split off from *Selrob* to form the so-called Ukrainian Workers’ and Peasants’ Socialist Union (URSO), which was called the *Selrob*-Right to differentiate it from the older group, the *Selrob*-Left. *Selrob*-Right published a weekly, *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word), in Lviv. In 1928 *Selrob*-Left and some members of *Selrob*-Right united into a new group called *Selrob-Yednist'* (*Selrob* Unity); this group stood for an internationalist platform and was totally dependent on Moscow; it was dissolved by the Polish government in September, 1932.

The Communist Party of Western Ukraine (KPZU) worked underground. It succeeded the Communist Party of Eastern Galicia, which had been a member of the Third International and merged with the Communist Party of Working Poland (KPRP); in 1925 it was renamed the Communist Party of Poland (KPP). Even after the Treaty of Riga and the decision of the Council of Ambassadors regarding the incorporation of East-

ern Galicia into Poland, the KPZU never ceased the struggle for its Ukrainian national character. Inside the KPZU a continuous struggle was waged between the Ukrainians and the Polish and Jewish elements over the Ukrainian character and supremacy of the party. Finally, most of the Ukrainian members of the organization, with Vasylykiv, Turiansky, and Maksymovych, supported the line of Ukrainian communism and expressed their solidarity with the national communist opposition of A. Shumsky in the KP(b)U. As a result, through the joint efforts of the KP(b)U, the KPP, and the Comintern, the Central Committee of the KPZU was dissolved in 1928, and the Vasylykiv-Turiansky group was expelled from the party. The Shumsky faction published the monthly *Kultura* (Culture), later *Nova Kultura* (New Culture) in Lviv. Most of its members were in the northwestern districts. However, all shades of pro-Soviet political opinion as well as the communist movement itself soon began to decline as a consequence of the change of Bolshevik policy and the beginning of a wave of anti-Ukrainian measures in the USSR.

The Polish government gave special attention and support to representatives of the old Russophile elements, which were organized in two weak groups, *Russkaia Selianskaia Partiiia* (RSP—Russian Peasant party) and *Russkaia Agrarnaia Partiiia* (RAP—Russian Agrarian party), which merged in 1931. This group was especially favored by the Polish government, which transferred to it the administration of the *Stavropihiia* Brotherhood and the National Home. Yet the influence of this group was steadily diminishing; most of its adherents joined the Ukrainian national camp, and after a time it disappeared.

In the northwestern lands Ukrainian political life was unable to develop freely. Many of the local leaders became involved in Galician politics and joined UNDO, URSP, etc. Some Ukrainian refugees from central and eastern Soviet

Ukraine who settled in the northwestern districts and became naturalized by the Polish government (for example, A. Kovalevsky, P. Pevnyi, S. Skrypnyk and S. Timoshenko) sought to activate social and political work in cooperation with the Polish regime. In the elections of 1928–30 several of them, with the support of the government party, were elected to the Polish parliament. With their political influence they tried to alleviate the conditions of the Ukrainians of the northwestern lands and obtained some concessions from the voivode of Volhynia, G. Józefski.

At the end of the 1920's a new force arose on the horizon of Ukrainian political life—the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), which emanated from the UVO. A decision was made to broaden UVO into a strictly disciplined, underground, ideological-revolutionary movement. At a congress held in Vienna on January 29, 1929, under the leadership of Colonel Eugene Konovalets, the OUN was formally established. After Konovalets' death (he was murdered in Rotterdam May 23, 1938, by a Bolshevik agent), leadership of the OUN passed to Colonel Andrew Melnyk. Dmytro Dontsov was its most popular political theorist.



FIGURE 482.
E. KONOVALETS

The organizational structure of the OUN was based on the principle of military leadership and complete obedience was demanded from its members. It advocated nationalism and strove to dominate the entire social and political life of all Ukrainians. Its members were characterized by their high idealism, devotion to the organization, and strict discipline. It quickly attracted the majority of students and a large number of peasant youths. Externally the activities

of the underground took the form of terroristic acts against Polish state institutions and representatives of the Polish government, but it also applied terror to Ukrainians (the assassination of Professor I. Babii in Lviv). In the revolutionary struggle against Poland the OUN produced a considerable number of heroic figures; among them D. Danylyshyn was the most prominent. Among the most important members of the OUN in Western Ukraine were: S. Bandera, O. Boidunyk, J. Vasiian, J. Holovinsky, Z. Kossak, B. Kordiuk, B. Kravtsiv, N. Lebed, S. Lenkavsky, S. Okhrymovych, R. Shukhevych, and V. Yaniv.

The first Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Polish Diet, composed of members of the northwestern lands elected in 1922, later fell apart. In March, 1928, the second elections to the Polish Diet were held, in which the Ukrainians took part despite the harassment of the Ukrainian electorate by Polish officials. However, the Ukrainians were divided into several groups. The UNDO formed a coalition with the Belorussian, Lithuanian, German, and Jewish minorities to present common lists of candidates throughout all of Poland. Forty-six Ukrainian deputies were elected to the Diet; of these, twenty-three were from the UNDO, eight from the USRP, three from the *Selrob*, two from *Selrob-Yednist'*, two from *Selsoiuz*, one from the UPP, and five from the list of the Polish government party (BB). In the northwestern lands the Ukrainians elected only twelve deputies (three from the Polish government party list) in contrast to eighteen in 1922, and did not elect a single representative from Kholm or Podlachia (as opposed to four in 1922). Thirteen Ukrainians were elected to the Senate. The deputies and senators of the UNDO formed a Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation (UPR) which had its representative in the presidium of the Diet (Vice Marshal V. Zahaik-

vych) and in the presidium of the Senate (Vice Marshal M. Halushchynsky).

The Ukrainian deputies and senators in the Polish parliament considered their main duty to be the defense of the interests of the Ukrainian population (in 1922-6, for example, they made 841 motions and interpellations regarding matters relevant to Ukrainians, in 1928-30, 553). Because of the hostile position of the Polish parliamentary majority, they were unable to influence policy and legislation,* but they were able to use the parliamentary forum as a means of informing public opinion in Poland and abroad on the condition of the Ukrainian people. Members of the UPR took part in the congresses of the Interparliamentary Union, in the congresses of national minorities, and were in contact with foreign journalists, parliamentarians, and diplomats.

A clear violation of Ukrainian rights was made by the law of July 31, 1924, which excluded the Ukrainian language from use in the governmental and in the self-governing agencies. The most threatening development for Ukrainian interests was the law of 1925 on the parceling of great estates which discriminated against the local Ukrainian peasants and which encouraged Polish peasants to settle on Ukrainian lands.

Despite the fact that Western Ukraine, especially Galicia, was overpopulated, Poland intensively colonized the Ukrainian territories with Poles from ethnic Poland. In 1920-3, so-called military colonization was conducted in Volhynia

*When in September, 1928, the Polish Minister of Education, A. Sujkowski, announced in the Diet the government's intention to found a Ukrainian university, and the Minister of Internal affairs, K. Młodzianowski, formed a committee to formulate a policy for the Ukrainians, the Diet expressed its lack of confidence in these ministers. Afterwards no member of the Polish government ever touched upon these questions. The motion of Polish Socialist deputies of March 13, 1931, on the question of autonomy for the Ukrainians was voted down.

and Polisia (the division without compensation of the great non-Polish properties among former Polish soldiers). The parceling out of great estates (laws of 1920 and 1925) continued throughout the period of approximately twenty years of Polish occupation of Western Ukrainian lands. About 800,000 hectares were distributed, almost entirely to Poles. During the same time about 200,000 Poles moved into the villages and about 100,000 into the cities of Western Ukraine, thus increasing the Polish percentage of the population substantially (see also "Population").

Aware that the school is one of the basic elements in the life and development of a people, Poland embarked upon the complete destruction of Ukrainian schools. In the middle of the 1920's the majority of Ukrainian public schools were transformed into bilingual schools (that is, with Polish and Ukrainian as the languages of instruction, which in practice meant that most subjects were taught in Polish by Polish teachers). Consequently, the number of Ukrainian schools in Galicia dropped from a total of 2,420 in the school year of 1911-12 to 352 in the school year of 1937-8, with a simultaneous growth of Polish schools from 1,590 to 2,127, and the establishment of 2,485 new bilingual schools. In Volhynia there were only 8 schools with Ukrainian as the language of instruction, while at the same time there were 1,459 Polish and 520 bilingual schools. In the Kholm area, as well as in Podlachia and Polisia, there were no Ukrainian schools at all. Polonization of all high schools went even farther and by 1937-8 there were only 24 Ukrainian high schools in Western Ukraine—5 state and 19 private—of a total of 138, and only 5 professional schools—1 state and 4 private—of a total of 91 professional schools in Western Ukraine. Despite administrative pressure and governmental barriers, however, Ukrainian educational and economic activities developed to some extent. Education was fostered in institutions for

adult education. For example, the *Prosvita* Society alone numbered hundreds of thousands of members: in 1914—230,000; 1920—260,000, and in 1935—306,000. The Ukrainian population participated *en masse* in periodic school plebiscites conducted locally in order to determine the language in which instruction was to be conducted. The traditional Ukrainian national holidays were celebrated by great multitudes; festivals and parades commemorated the Acts of November 1, 1918, and January 22, 1919, the Pentecost, Shevchenko, Shashkevych, Franko, Mazepa, and the Sich Riflemen who fell at Makivka. An anti-alcoholic movement emerged (the production and sale of alcohol was a state monopoly) under the leadership of the Society of Rebirth. The Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv broadened its scholarly and publishing activities, and organized a series of scientific conferences. The Audit Union of Cooperatives which had 834 branches with 232,000 members in 1923, had 3,145 branches with 369,000 members in 1930.

Resistance to the Polish regime found its most radical expression in revolutionary acts of the UVO and later of the OUN; for example, the attempted assassination of the President of Poland, S. Wojciechowski, in Lviv on September 5, 1924; the assassination of the Polish school superintendent, S. Sobiński, on October 19, 1926; bombing attacks on Polish government buildings; attacks on post offices in 1929 and 1930; sabotage on the railroads and telegraphs; and mass burnings of large Polish estates.

Pacification

The Polish Diet was dissolved on August 30, 1930, before the end of its term, and new elections were proclaimed. Immediately, by order of Piłsudski, fierce repressions were started, directed partly against his Polish opposition but chiefly against the Ukrainians in Galicia. The so-called pacification was carried on from September 16 to November 30. Detachments of soldiers and

police went through the villages and cities, dragged leading Ukrainian activists, including women, from their homes, and beat them severely (some died from the beatings). Many were arrested, among them thirty of the former Ukrainian members of the Diet. Five of them were sent to the military prison in Brest-Litovsk. At the same time reading rooms and cooperatives were being destroyed; the Ukrainian Scouts were disbanded; private Ukrainian secondary schools in Rohatyn, Drohobych, and the state secondary school in Ternopil were closed. The UNDO, USRP, and USDP, in a joint announcement on September 25, 1930, and the Ukrainian Catholic episcopate, in a joint pastoral letter of October 13, 1930, condemned the terroristic actions and protested against the injustice of the Polish government. Neither these protests, nor the personal intervention of Metropolitan Sheptytsky, the intervention of the Vatican had any result. The motion condemning the measures of the pacification made by the Ukrainian deputies and senators in the Diet on January 26, 1931, was rejected. On January 30, 1932, the League of Nations replied to a petition by the Ukrainian parliamentarians; the reply was, in reality, a reprimand to the Polish government for its mistreatment of the Ukrainians. The Polish government replied that Poland was not carrying on a policy of persecution and violence and that the punishment of some members of the Ukrainian population was the result of Ukrainian revolutionary activities.

The parliamentary elections took place during the pacification amid unprecedented terror, abuse, and falsifications. Pre-electoral meetings were forbidden, and propaganda material for the elections was confiscated. The terror was aimed at least in part at deterring the population from voting for the Ukrainian candidates. The UNDO, USRP and USDP formed a temporary coalition that won 21 seats in the House of

Deputies of the Diet (UNDO, 17; USRP, 3; and Belorussian, 1) and four seats in the Senate (UNDO, 3, and USRP, 1). Only one deputy, S. Khrutsky, was elected from the northwestern lands. In addition, from the Polish government party list, seven Ukrainians were elected from Volhynia to the Diet (including one senator). The parliamentarians of the UNDO formed their own club in the Diet as did the deputies and senator from Volhynia chosen on the Polish list. Two Galician Russophiles were elected to the Diet on the list of the Polish government party.

The 1930's

This Diet provided an added opportunity for the Polish government to conduct a strengthened anti-Ukrainian policy. On March 18, 1933, the Diet approved a law altering the self-government of the rural districts. Rights of the self-governing villages were abolished in Galicia, and were transferred to larger administrative groupings—rural districts encompassing many villages. These had existed before only on territories once occupied by tsarist Russia. The new law invested the county chairmen with the power to confirm the district bailiffs and the town burgomasters, and to direct the administrative boards of county self-government. Only persons who could speak and write Polish could serve as county counsellors, members of city administrations, or county officials. The official language in all organs of local self-government was to be Polish, and use of the Ukrainian language was permitted only in conversation (in the Kholm area and in Podlachia this, too, was forbidden). By a decree of March 22, 1928, some minor violations of the law were placed under administrative control, and by this act the police regime was further strengthened. As a result of the reorganization of the courts in 1931, four-fifths of the Ukrainian judges were removed from service and many were transferred to Poland proper. Ukrainians were rarely

accepted into Polish governmental civil service and then only outside Ukrainian ethnic territories. By a decree of the President of Poland on June 18, 1934, a concentration camp was organized in Bereza Kartuzka and filled mainly with Ukrainians suspected of revolutionary activities. In a declaration of September 13, 1934, Poland denounced the treaty on the protection of national minorities in the League of Nations.

Although the Polish Diet elected in 1930 did not have the required majority of two-fifths needed to change the constitution, a new constitution was adopted on April 24, 1935. It gave wide new powers to the Polish President and to the Council of Ministers and reduced the power of the parliament. An electoral ordinance of July 8, 1935, provided for the reduction of the number of members of parliament to 208, and of the number of senators from 111 to 96, one-third of whom were to be appointed by the president. The right of voting in the Diet elections remained general and secret, but special electoral colleges allotted the candidates, and these colleges were organized in such a way that the government in fact decided upon the admission of the candidates. The right of electing the Senate was limited to the intelligentsia.

After the approval of the new constitution, the old Diet was dissolved. After the death of Piłsudski on May 12, 1935, Ignatius Mościcki, elected in 1925, still remained President of Poland. Piłsudski's place as marshal of the army was taken by Edward Rydz-Śmigły, who enjoyed highest political rights without any legal authority, thus continuing a dualism in the top governmental power. Poland now became a completely authoritarian state. At the same time its attacks against Ukrainian national life again increased.

After 1930 the pressure of Polonization grew, especially in the Lemkian region, Podlachia, and Polisia. Ukrainian teachers were removed from the Lemkian

schools and were replaced by Poles, and the study of the Lemkian dialect was introduced according to a specially prepared Lemkian primer. In the Kholm and Podlachia regions in 1930 the cultural society *Ridna Khata* (Native Home) and all village reading rooms were banned; the Ukrainian cooperatives were subordinated to the Polish cooperative unions; and the publication of Ukrainian newspapers was forbidden. Ukrainian newspapers from Galicia were not permitted to be brought in, and Ukrainian books in general were banned. Parish lands were confiscated from the Orthodox Church and were divided among the Poles; a number of Orthodox churches were seized or closed. The Orthodox clergy were forced to preach their sermons and to teach religion in the schools in the Polish language. In Polisia neither Ukrainians nor Belorussians were recognized by the Polish government; the inhabitants were referred to as "the local people." The Ukrainian language was not recognized at all.

The Society of the Friends of the Hutsuls was founded with the aim of Polonizing the region. Polish military circles, which founded the societies of local "gentry" (*szlachta zagrodowa*) in the Boikian region and in Volhynia, tried to attract to these societies as many Ukrainian members as possible by offering them certain practical advantages.

The 1930's were characterized by the complete collapse of pro-Soviet tendencies in Western Ukraine. All political and other organizations came out decisively against the Soviet Russian policy being practiced in the Ukrainian SSR. The UNDO protested in a declaration of March 25, 1932, against Soviet terror in Ukraine; and on June 25, 1933, as a result of the deliberate famine organized by the Soviet government in Ukraine, a special committee composed of twenty-five Ukrainian organizations was formed in Lviv to attempt to deal with the situation. The Ukrainian Catholic episco-

pate issued a manifesto on August 28, 1933, entitled "Ukraine in the Arms of Death." On September 16, 1933 an anti-Soviet declaration of the Ukrainian Radical Socialist party (URSP) and the Social Democratic Workingmen's party (USDRP) appeared. This declaration was also presented by both parties at the Congress of the Socialist International. On October 21, 1933, N. Lemyk, a member of the OUN, carried out an assassination in the Soviet consulate in Lviv as a manifestation of protest against the Bolshevik genocide of Ukrainian people. On August 3, 1936, Metropolitan Sheptytsky issued a pastoral letter against Bolshevism, and on January 4, 1938, the National Committee of the UNDO published another anti-Soviet resolution. At the beginning of the 1930's the pro-Soviet Labor party (UPP) and *Selrob* disappeared. In 1938 the Comintern itself dissolved the Communist Party of Western Ukraine because of supposed infiltration of nationalistic and Trotskyite elements.

Ukrainian national life was not broken by Polish oppression. It was manifested in mass movements, meetings, and congresses such as on the thirtieth anniversary of the Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives (January 16, 1934), the majestic religious national celebration of the Ukrainian Youth for Christ at which about 50,000 young people gathered in Lviv from all over the Galician countryside, the congress of women in Stanyslaviv in July, 1934, with the participation of 2,000 women, the *Sokil* (a gymnastic organization) with 8,000 participants, and the impressive funeral of the former Ukrainian Galician commander-in-chief, General M. Tarnavsky, on July 2, 1938, which turned into a national demonstration.

The years 1930-4 were marked by the increasing activities of the OUN. It was shown, among other ways, in attacks on the post offices in Truskavets (August 8, 1931), near Pechenizhyn (August 31, 1931), near Bibrka (July 30, 1932), and

in Horodok (November 30, 1932). In June, 1934, the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs, Bronislaw Pieracki, was killed in Warsaw for being responsible for the execution of the pacification. After 1930 the OUN widened its activities and attracted a growing number of peasant youth. However, signs of disaffection later crept into the ranks of the organization. The legal press of various Ukrainian groups, and the pastoral letters of the Ukrainian Catholic episcopate (especially those of Metropolitan Sheptytsky) publicly opposed the activities of the OUN, declaring that the actions of the underground did not undermine the power of the Polish state, but brought new repressions upon the Ukrainian community instead. They asserted that the firm attitude of the Ukrainian community toward Poland and its blamelessness did not need to be supported by a revolutionary underground. During the last years before 1939 the OUN showed more understanding of the need for some legal political organizations.

In 1932 the leadership of the UNDO began discussions on future tactics to be used against the ever-increasing pressure of the Polish regime. Resolutions were approved to request territorial autonomy for the Western Ukrainian lands within the Polish state as a basis for a normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations. The need for such normalization was insisted upon by the leaders of the Ukrainian economic institutions—the Audit Union of Cooperatives (*Reviziinnyi Soiuz Ukrains'kykh Kooperatyv*), the *Tsentrosoiuz* (Central Union), the *Maslo soiuz* (Dairy Union), and the agricultural association *Sił'skyi Hospodar*—who were afraid for their further existence. The cooperative movement and other economic institutions had found ways of improving agricultural techniques which were of vital importance for the impoverished peasantry; in addition, they were joined by a new type of intelligentsia who became indispensable in the

economic and educational development of the villages. The UNDO leaders gave consideration to these factors as well as to the hopelessness of getting Ukrainian representatives into Polish legislative bodies without first reaching an understanding with the government. The general national Ukrainian interests played no small part in these considerations. The position of the Ukrainian people under the Soviet Russian government was becoming more difficult, and international relations indicated the beginnings of a new world crisis.

These were the developments that prompted attempts to bring about some reduction of Polish pressure and to stop, even if only temporarily, the embittered Polish-Ukrainian struggle. Not long before the dissolution of the Polish Diet talks were begun between the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation and the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs with the objective of normalizing Polish-Ukrainian relations. As a result of these negotiations, the Polish government promised that it would stop its anti-Ukrainian policy and would secure the nomination by the electoral colleges of persons whom the UNDO proposed; for its part, the UNDO was to halt its radical anti-governmental opposition. The parties did not formulate their agreement to make these mutual concessions formal. The UNDO regarded the understanding as a tactical step and not as a matter of principle, for it did not give up its opposition to Polish rule. According to the pact, the UNDO proposed its candidates independently and they were later voted on in the electoral colleges. During the election in September, 1935, thirteen deputies and four senators from the UNDO and one deputy and one senator from the Ukrainian Catholic National party were elected from Galicia. The other Ukrainian Galician parties took no part in the election. From Volhynia five Ukrainian deputies and one senator were elected. They formed their own parliamentary club.

At the first session of the Diet the leader of the UNDO, Basil Mudry was elected Vice-Marshal of the Diet. During the parliamentary session, which lasted until the autumn of 1938, the Ukrainian deputies and senators voted for the so-called state needs—that is, the budget and the army laws. After the opening of the first session of the Diet, the Polish government released the majority of Ukrainian prisoners from Bereza Kartuzka and introduced a bill for an amnesty for political prisoners which was approved later with amendments by the Ukrainian members of the Diet. Certain credits were extended to Ukrainian economic institutions. Otherwise, the tactics of this Representation did not differ from those of the preceding ones.

Yet the "normalization" did not bring about any substantial changes in Polish policy. Each *voievoda*, almost every county chairman, and every chief of the county police had his own special policy. The Polish mob continued to attack Ukrainian institutions in Lviv and to carry out pogroms of the Ukrainian population (for example, in the Kholm area and in Podlachia). In the autumn of 1938 special commandos of the Corps of Border Defense (KOP) carried on a second pacification along the Soviet border. Also, armed detachments of *Strzelcy* (Sharpshooters), composed of Polish youth organized on military patterns for the purpose of carrying out police surveillance of the people, attacked the Ukrainian population. Educated Ukrainians, as before, were unable to get appropriate positions. The cities were subjected to an intensive violent Polonization. Ukrainian Catholics were given positions only if they renounced the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite in favor of the Latin rite which in fact meant a renunciation of Ukrainian nationality.

The one institution of a publicly legal character which remained independent as a result of the concordat between the Pope and the Polish Republic of February 10, 1925, was the Ukrainian Catholic Church; its highest official

Metropolitan Sheptytsky, enjoyed the utmost authority in the Ukrainian community. In order to break the spirit of the Ukrainian clergy, the Polish government resorted to police and judicial repressions. Priests, who used the Ukrainian transcription of names in preparing vital records (for example Levytsky instead of Lewicki), were held criminally and legally responsible for falsification of documents and were punished by imprisonment. They were also punished for using Ukrainian in official correspondence concerning birth certificates.

A resolute attack was made by the Polish government on the Orthodox Church. As early as January 30, 1922, by an order of the Polish Minister of Religious Denominations and Public Education, the Orthodox Church was subordinated to government control, especially in matters of organization. Later by the November 18, 1938 decree of President Mościcki, which was confirmed by the Council of Ministers on December 10, 1938, the charter of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church was proclaimed and the church became fully dependent upon the Polish government. The Polish language was imposed consistently in theological education and the administration of the church in Polisia and partly in the Kholm area, and also in religious instruction in the schools and in church sermons. In Volhynia, however, as a result of spontaneous opposition, as well as the organized opposition under the leadership of Archbishop Alexis Hromadsky in Kremianets and the Vicar-Bishop in Lutsk, Polycarp Sikorsky, this Polonization effort was unsuccessful.

In 1938, with the approval of the government, terroristic activity was conducted against the entire Orthodox population. Armed bands of Polish colonists (the so-called *Krakusy*) attacked Ukrainian peasants in the southern Kholm region; they beat them and destroyed their property in an effort to compel them to adopt Roman Catholicism. Of 389 Orthodox churches which had existed in

1914, only 51 remained in 1939; the Polish government gave 149 Orthodox churches to the Roman Catholics and destroyed 189. Both Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitan Sheptytsky and Orthodox Metropolitan Dionysius protested this persecution in pastoral letters, at the same time that the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation and the Ukrainian deputies from Volhynia did so in the Polish Diet. Even the Soviet government, on the basis of the Treaty of Riga, denounced these acts of violence. Only at the beginning of 1939, when the international situation threatened war, did the Polish government issue an order to discontinue the violence against the Orthodox population and the further destruction of Orthodox churches.

On the Eve of World War II

The efforts of the UNDO leadership to normalize Polish-Ukrainian relations were unsuccessful. In 1933 a group of members under Dmytro Paliiv split from the UNDO and founded a new political party called the Front of National Unity (FNY). They were joined by some nationalists who had broken with the theories and practice of the OUN. The new party was essentially nationalistic and authoritarian. It was opposed to terrorism, but held to an uncompromisingly anti-Polish and anti-Bolshevik policy. It was in definite opposition to the OUN. Its organs were the quarterly *Peremoha* (Victory), the weekly *Bat'kivshchyna* (Fatherland), and the daily *Ukrains'ki Visti* (Ukrainian News).

Some young intellectual refugees from central and eastern Ukraine, together with some from the northwestern lands, who were grouped around the quarterly *My* (We) in Warsaw in the latter half of the Thirties, also opposed the OUN. A group of young Galician intellectuals, members of the Catholic organization *Orly* (Eagles), under B. Hlibovytsky, were nationalistically inclined but against OUN tactics. Spiritually close to these two groups was the youth organization *Plast* (Boy and Girl Scouts) which con-

tinued to exist secretly in spite of its formal dissolution by the Polish government in 1930.

Another group of members of the UNDO began to oppose the normalization policy of its leadership within the organization, especially after the dissolution of the Polish Diet in September, 1938, and the UNDO suffered a serious internal crisis. A significant segment of the party leadership which opposed the participation of the party in the new elections and advocated a tougher policy toward the Polish government was grouped around the editors of the *Dilo* (I. Kedryn-Rudnytsky, I. Nimchuk, V. Kuzmowych, D. Levytsky). The majority of the party leadership, however, decided to take part in the elections, in which the Polish government and the UNDO held to the electoral pact worked out in 1935. The UNDO elected the same number of deputies and senators as in 1935; one deputy and one senator of the UKNP were also elected.

The Union of Ukrainian Women, which had been founded in 1917, had become so important a factor in the national life that the Polish government dissolved it in the spring of 1938. In addition to carrying on extensive educational work among women, this organization had also advocated democratic principles and demanded an uncompromising policy toward Poland. Its propagandist activity on the international scene had won it considerable popularity among Ukrainians. At the time of its dissolution the union had 82 county branches, 1,100 local circles, and more than 100,000 members. Shortly after the dissolution of the union the Ukrainian women's movement formed itself into a political party under the name of the Association of Princess Olha, headed by Milena Rudnytsky, the former head of the Union of Ukrainian Women. This new political organization joined the opposition to the UNDO.

For uniformity of Ukrainian policy in general Ukrainian matters and in opposi-

tion to the "normalization policy" of UNDO, in 1937 a co-ordinating committee was established composed of representatives of the opposition faction of UNDO (the so-called group of *Dilo*) as well as representatives of the USRP, USDP, FNY, UKNP, and the Union of Ukrainian Women (later the Association of Princess Olha). The liaison committee was a discussion group rather than a formal organization. At the beginning of 1939 the leadership of the UNDO, led by B. Mudry, also joined it.

The period from mid-1938 to the outbreak of armed conflict was marked by increasing anxiety as to the coming war. The events of 1938-9 in Carpatho-Ukraine won the enthusiastic support and optimistic hopes of the Ukrainian public. Hundreds of young Ukrainians began to cross the Carpathians illegally to join the Carpathian Sich. Poland, trying to secure a common boundary with Hungary, sent armed Polish bands into Carpatho-Ukraine to commit acts of sabotage against the autonomous Carpatho-Ukrainian government. Polish police arrested Ukrainians who had crossed the frontier illegally, and Polish courts punished them severely.

The General Position of the Ukrainians in Poland

The Polish regime set for itself a double task: to reduce the Ukrainian population to pariahs socially and to break its aspirations to freedom and independence. Although Poland, after the Piłsudski coup, became a semi-totalitarian state, and later a totalitarian state, she really lacked a responsible and guiding hand. The Polish government rested on cliques which constantly maneuvered behind the scenes, competing for influence and for government posts. Thus at various periods first one group, then another, played the leading role, only to disappear after a time as a result of the intrigues of its rivals. But the policy of all the Polish governing groups toward the Ukrainians never changed. In 1938-9

Poland was a typical police state. Polish government officials held that the Ukrainian problem in Poland was not a question of politics but rather a question of security (Pieracki). The police interfered in all aspects of the life of the citizens. All persons active in Ukrainian national affairs were under constant surveillance, were searched often, and lived amidst frequent investigations and arrests. Individuals were persecuted for perfectly legal manifestations of their Ukrainian nationality: for example, for subscribing to Ukrainian newspapers, for sending their children to Ukrainian private schools, for belonging to Ukrainian societies, for filling out cards of identity in Ukrainian, or for stating their nationality as Ukrainian. The police had the right to levy financial administrative punishments, and these fines were inflicted on Ukrainian peasants on the slightest pretext. In the villages the police were all-powerful: manifestations of Ukrainian national life depended much less upon the laws than upon the will of the police. One of the most characteristic features of this system was physical terror (internment camps, mass pogroms, beatings, torture of political prisoners) which was carried on either by the order, or with the indulgence of, the highest officials of the Polish government. The official American publication, *Postwar Foreign Policy Preparation, 1939-1945* (Washington, 1949), which was released in February, 1950, described the twenty-year period of Polish rule in Western Ukraine as a "record of bitterness and failure." Under such conditions the Ukrainian and Polish communities lived separate lives, alien and hostile to one another, in the tense atmosphere of a permanent struggle which broke out periodically into general violence. Consequently even friendly private contacts between individuals of the two nationalities were regarded unsympathetically by the Ukrainians.

The chief aim of the economic policy of the Polish government was to deprive

the Ukrainian peasantry of the basis of their existence—the land. The continued subdividing of the already small land holdings in addition to the exclusion of the Ukrainian peasants from the purchase of the partitioned estate lands caused their steady pauperization. The carefully organized Ukrainian cooperative system succeeded in checking the decline of the economic condition of the villages, but it could not assist in altering the basic agricultural problem—the lack of land. Consumers' societies predominated in the cooperative movement.

More and more individuals left the poverty-stricken villages for the cities in search of employment (where they could not secure work without compromising their national loyalties). More and more unemployed Ukrainian youths, who could not find work in the towns and cities after completing their education, returned to the villages; and the problems of the villages became still more complicated. Both villages and cities lacked well-trained Ukrainian artisans and technicians; not until the end of the 1930's was there an increase in the flow of Ukrainian youth into technical and trade schools. The adaption of the Ukrainians to life under the Polish government was reflected in changes in the social structure of the Ukrainian population. Among the Ukrainian intelligentsia the percentage of public officials and teachers decreased, while the number of persons in the free professions—lawyers, physicians, engineers—increased. In the cities the number of Ukrainian tradesmen increased and they organized themselves, for the first time, into a Union of Ukrainian Merchants.

The fact that there was constant, direct contact between the intelligentsia and the peasants was of importance in helping to maintain and strengthen the unity of the Ukrainian people under Polish domination. In each district on Sundays and holidays scores of teachers, representatives of women's organizations, and cooperative workers freely

gave of their knowledge to the peasants. As a result, the cultural level of the Ukrainian peasants rose. This living bond, together with the many popular Ukrainian institutions, made it possible for the Ukrainians in Poland to achieve the feeling of being a state within a state, despite the fact that the actuality of statehood was still denied them.

The life of the Ukrainian people under Polish rule after World War I consisted of an unceasing, desperate, twenty-year struggle, amidst persecutions and extraordinary sacrifices, for an independent state of their own. It was marked by the radically negative attitude of the Ukrainian population to the Polish government, the continued thinking in terms of its own state needs, and the consistent manifestations of its own national character and activities. Above all, there was an unwritten law of loyalty to the ideals of the Ukrainian state which, despite all its efforts, the Polish government could not shake, any more than it could break the Ukrainians' ability to organize themselves to serve their own needs, which seemed to grow stronger during serious trials and struggles.

S. Vytvytsky and S. Baran

TRANSCARPATHIA (CARPATHO-UKRAINE)

Unlike the other Ukrainian lands which had fallen under foreign occupation by force, Transcarpathia was incorporated voluntarily into the Czechoslovak Republic in 1919. Magyarization automatically stopped; affiliation with highly civilized and democratic Czechoslovakia allowed Transcarpathia to develop in almost every field. The chief obstacles to the development of the region were the unfavorable economic position of the people, their unique conservatism, their weak national consciousness and political level, and especially the limited number of educated persons. Some of the intelligentsia, especially the priests, were under both Hungarian and

Russophile influences. As in Galicia fifty years before, one of the chief problems was that of language: the advocates of the acceptance of the Ukrainian literary language in schools and public life opposed the attempts of some groups to elevate the local vernacular to official use and of others to introduce Russian instead.

The province of Transcarpathia (the official name was *Pidkarpats'ka Rus'* [Subcarpathian Ruthenia] and after 1928 *Pidkarpato-rus'kyi Krai* [in Czech, *Podkarpato-ruská zem*—Subcarpatho-Ruthenian Land]) did not include the whole of Transcarpathia. About two dozen villages and the city of Syhit (Sziget, Sighet) fell to Rumania; and the western part, with a Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population of over 200,000 (of whom 80,000 adopted the Slovak language), was under the Slovak administration. The frontier between Subcarpathian Ruthenia and Slovakia was only provisional and was never clearly defined. However, in the Czechoslovak constitution, and according to the Treaty of Saint-Germain the autonomy of Subcarpathian Ruthenia was to be applied to all the ethnic Ruthenian (Ukrainian) territory south of the Carpathians.

From 1920 to 1930

These years can be called the Populist period. During this time even the Ukrainian movement—that is, those groups which advocated the identification of the native population as belonging to the Ukrainian people—did not use the term "Ukrainian" but "Ruthenian"; newspapers, books, and textbooks were printed in the local vernacular, employing the etymological orthography developed by the Galician philologist I. Pankevych in his *Hramatyka rus'koho yazyka* (Grammar of the Ruthenian Language). Politically the period was characterized by confidence in Prague. The Populist Ukrainian movement was opposed by a pro-Russian movement headed by the Galician Russophiles, A.

Gagatko and G. Tsurkanovych who, on October 9, 1919, organized the Central Russian National Council in Uzhhorod and elected Anthony Beskyd as its head. The two movements were in direct conflict.

The first governor of Subcarpathian Ruthenia (after September 1919) was Gregory Zhatkovych, but the provincial administration was in the hands of the Czechs (Administrator Brejcha). Prague made use of the struggle between the pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian movements to postpone putting into practice the promised Transcarpathian autonomy. As a consequence, Zhatkovych resigned on March 17, 1921, and returned to the United States. His duties were assumed provisionally by the vice governor, P. Ehrenfeld, a Czech who favored the Ukrainian movement and who obtained several key positions in the school system for the Ukrainians. When the Czechoslovak government saw that the Ukrainian movement was increasing in influence over the pro-Russian group, it recalled Ehrenfeld at the end of 1923 and appointed the pro-Russian Beskyd as governor in his place, and A. Rozsypal, a Czech centralist, as vice governor.

The struggle between the Populist and the pro-Russian groups was especially sharp with regard to language. The Ukrainians, led by Augustine Voloshyn and the brothers Michael and Julian Brashchaiko, developed lively cultural, educational, and economic activities. They founded a cultural association *Prosvita*, a theater, the Subcarpathian Bank, cooperatives, newspapers, and other educational and economic organizations. Although Zhatkovych favored a Subcarpathian-Ruthenian sectionalism, he did not hinder the work of the Populists; but the Russophiles, supported by the Czechs, tried to hamper every act of the Ukrainians, in part by forming their own counterparts to Ukrainian organizations (for example, the Society of Dukhnovych in opposition to the *Prosvita*, the Russian Bank, etc.)

The Czechs encouraged this struggle within the Subcarpathian-Ruthenian community in order to maintain and strengthen their domination of the region. Their position became stronger as more and more Czech officials, merchants, and artisans moved into Transcarpathia. They soon succeeded in organizing an influential anti-autonomist camp composed of Czechs and large sections of the Jewish and Hungarian residents, as well as of the native Russophiles. The so-called autonomist bloc of *Magyarons* (Ruthenians of pro-Magyar orientation) of Kurtiak, Brody, and Demko actually did not want autonomy within the framework of Czechoslovakia, but rather the return of Transcarpathia to Hungary. They attacked the Ukrainians most strongly, for they saw in them the greatest obstacle to their plan.

The pressure of the Prague government on Transcarpathia became greater after 1928 when the entire Czechoslovak Republic was divided into administrative lands-provinces with provincial presidents at the head. The provincial president of the Subcarpatho-Ruthenian Land was A. Rozsypal. The office of the provincial governor was retained, but the provincial president held the actual power and the governor was merely a visible symbol of provincial autonomy which, although legally guaranteed, was only a fiction. Instead of an autonomous diet, a provincial assembly with limited powers was created. Some of its members were elected by popular vote and some were appointed by the Czechoslovakian government.

In Transcarpathia there were no traditional political organizations. Therefore the Carpatho-Ruthenians did not stand independently in the elections to the parliament in Prague, but on the lists of the general Czechoslovak political parties. In the first elections in 1924 the interests of the Ukrainian-oriented groups were represented by the deputy A. Voloshyn; in the second (1929), by J. Husnai. The provincial branches of the

Czechoslovakian political parties which declared for a Ukrainian orientation were the Christian National party, the Social Democratic party and, after 1934, the Carpatho-Ukrainian faction of the Agrarian party. The Communist party after 1926 also opposed the efforts to introduce the Russian language instead of Ukrainian into public life. In 1936 the nationalistic Ukrainian National Labor party came into being under the leadership of Irene Nevytsky.

The first ten years of Transcarpathia's affiliation with Czechoslovakia ended with positive gains. Despite its centralizing tendency, the Czechoslovak administration governed democratically and tried to improve the cultural and economic conditions of Transcarpathia. It introduced better methods of agriculture, built and repaired roads and bridges, increased the exchange of products, organized a network of medical services, built schools—especially trade schools, and founded village libraries. Although the land reform introduced in Transcarpathia was not carried out as thoroughly as it was in western Czechoslovakia, still about 35,000 small farmers obtained 35,000 hectares (82,000 acres) of land through the increase of plowed land and the parceling out of great estates. The standard of living as compared with that existing during Transcarpathia's dependence upon Hungary increased substantially, and cultural and educational conditions were enormously improved. Ukrainian national consciousness increased among the educated—particularly among the majority of teachers and students. However, with the exception of the Basilian Fathers (the Rev. S. Reshetylo, and the poet, the Rev. S. Sabol [Zoreslav]), the core of the local Catholic clergy (of the Byzantine rite), steeped in Magyarophilism and Russophilism, were of little importance in the national rebirth. Still there were some enlightened priests (for example, A. Voloshyn, B. Hadzhega, V. Zheltvai, B. Lar, and others) who, in 1930, organized

about fifty fellow priests in cultural and educational work. The Orthodox clergy were completely under the influence of the Russian émigrés. (In 1919-20 many of the Ukrainian Catholics of Transcarpathia joined the Orthodox Church which was supported by the Czechoslovak government, chiefly as a sign of protest against the Magyarophilism of the Catholic priests.)

Refugees from Galicia and from central and eastern Ukraine (Soviet Ukraine) took part in the national rebirth of Carpatho-Ukraine. Their influence was especially noticeable in the cultural and educational fields (A. Alyskevych, V. Birchak, Y. Holota, I. and V. Komarynsky, S. Mandzhula, B. Pachovsky, A. Prykhodko, the Rev. S. Reshetylo, D. and R. Stakhura, and many others.

From 1930 to 1938

About 1930 the Populist period of compromise was replaced by a period of Ukrainian consciousness and a sharp struggle for national rights. An important step was taken in 1929, when Ukrainian teachers founded the Ukrainian Teachers Society, which published a monthly *Uchytel'skyi Holos* (The Teacher's Voice) and which gradually became the controlling influence in the schools. By 1931 Ukrainian newspapers appeared using the etymological orthography (e.g., the daily *Rusyn* [Ruthenian], the weeklies *Svoboda* [Freedom], *Vpered* [Forward]); beginning in 1932, the weekly *Ukrains'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), edited by M. Brashchaiko, and other papers were printed in the phonetic orthography.* The *Hramatyka ukrains'koi movy* (Grammar of the Ukrainian Language), by I. Vasko and A. Stefan, was published in 1931.

During this time the pressure of the Czech centralists began to increase

*Etymological orthography: the old-established spelling, often different from current pronunciation. Phonetic orthography: modern Ukrainian spelling based largely on the phonetic structure of the language.

steadily. In Transcarpathia a strong governmental machine was formed, about 80 per cent of its personnel, even in the lower ranks of the service, consisting of Czechs. The number of Czech schools increased although they were attended largely by Jewish children because of the scarcity of Czech children (up to 1919 there were no Czechs at all in Transcarpathia). Governor Beskyd, who had shown no activity and actually had no power, died in 1933; not until two years later did the Prague government appoint as governor the energetic Constantine Hrabar who was not hostile to the Ukrainian movement although he was a partisan of the Transcarpathian-Ruthenian sectionalism.

On May 19, 1935, the third elections to the Prague parliament and the first to the provincial assembly took place. Julian Revay was elected to parliament and several other Ukrainian leaders (T. Revay, S. Klochurak, and M. Dolynai) to the provincial assembly. The number of votes for the Ukrainian candidates as opposed to those for the sectionalists and the followers of conservative Russian and Hungarian orientation was much greater than it had been in the preceding elections.

However, tension in the relations between Prague and the Ukrainians of Transcarpathia increased after the election of E. Beneš as President of the Czechoslovakian Republic, and the taking over of the Subcarpathian School Board by the Czech National Socialists in 1936. Especially irritating to the Ukrainians was the fact that the Russian grammar of E. Sabov was authorized as a school textbook. The reader of Francis Ahii, with Ukrainian orthography, was approved only in 1938. This and similar actions of the Czech officials brought strong protests from the Ukrainian organizations and led to an increase in their activities—especially in the youth organizations (S. Rosokha, I. Rohach, M. Vaida, J. Khiminets). The Ukrainian Scouts, the student circles, and the youth of the

rural enlightenment society (*Prosvita*) took over the lead in the struggle for the national rights of Transcarpathia.

The growth of the Ukrainian organized forces in 1936–8 was manifested by the demonstration sponsored by *Prosvita* in Uzhhorod in which 12,000 participated; the appearance of the Ukrainian daily *Nova Svoboda* (New Freedom) and the foundation of several new educational and economic institutions gave hope that the national self-government of Carpatho-Ukraine would soon be realized. This demand was advanced by the Ukrainian Council in Uzhhorod on May 29, 1938. However, the Czechoslovak government deferred the fulfilment of its obligation to grant self-government to Transcarpathia and put forward, among other terms, the demand that first all major groups in Transcarpathia adopt a single platform for an autonomous government.

Autonomous Carpatho-Ukraine

The realization of autonomy was hastened by the surrender of the German populated Sudetenland on the basis of the Munich agreement of the four powers on September 22, 1938, by the resignation of President Beneš on October 5, 1938, and by the creation of an autonomous Slovak government on October 6, 1938. To satisfy the Czech demand for a single platform, the representatives of all the major groups in Transcarpathia convened at a joint meeting on October 8 and proposed the immediate creation of an autonomous government headed by A. Brody (Brodii) as premier. At the same time Governor Hrabar resigned. On October 11, Prague fulfilled the request and appointed the first Subcarpathian government which consisted of four ministers and two state secretaries. Minister Julian Revay and State Secretary Augustine Voloshyn were the only representatives of the Ukrainian national groups.

The first task of the Brody government was internal consolidation. The Hungarian and Polish governments were

agitating for a common frontier and for the return of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. In addition to paid agents they sent armed bands into Carpatho-Ukraine to create disorder and to furnish a pretext for Hungarian armed intervention. The Ukrainian National *Rada* called upon the population to organize its own defense and soon units of the *Karpats'ka Sich* (Carpathian Sich) began to function throughout Transcarpathia. It became evident by their actions that Brody and Minister Fenczik (Fentsyk) supported the Hungarian demand for the restoration of Carpatho-Ukraine to Hungary. On October 26, Prague authorities arrested Brody (Fenczik fled to Hungary) and named a second government: Premier A. Voloshyn, Ministers J. Revay and E. Bachynsky (a conservative Russophile). But on November 2 the German-Italian arbitration in Vienna gave to Hungary not only the southern strip of Transcarpathia, where many Hungarians lived, particularly in the city of Berehiv, but also Uzhhorod, Mukachiv, and several dozen Ukrainian villages. Railroad connections with Slovakia and Rumania were interrupted. On November 10 the Hungarian army entered the ceded areas. The government of Voloshyn transferred the capital to Khust and a good motor connection was established between Khust and Priashiv in Slovakia. Rumania willingly supplied grain and gasoline to the Carpatho-Ukrainians.

On November 19 and 22, the Prague parliament approved a new constitutional law (Article 328) which changed Czechoslovakia into a federated republic and made Carpatho-Ukraine an autonomous land with its own government to consist of three ministers and a diet; the office of governor was abolished. The church administration was also reorganized. The Pope appointed the Greek Catholic bishop in Yugoslavia, Dionysius Niaradii, as Apostolic Administrator of Carpatho-Ukraine on November 15 (Uzhhorod—the see of Bishop A. Stoika

—was in the territory occupied by the Hungarians). The Ukrainian Orthodox archbishop Savatii assumed the leadership of the Orthodox Church. By a decree of November 30, 1938, the new name, Carpatho-Ukraine, was introduced alongside the old, Subcarpathian Ruthenia.

After the election of the new President of Czechoslovakia, E. Hacha, the Voloshyn government resigned; on December 1 the new president named a third Carpatho-Ukrainian government, which included Voloshyn as premier and Revay as one of the ministers. The third minister, named by Prague on January 17, 1939, was General L. Prchala, a Czech. Prchala was prevented from assuming his position by Ukrainian opposition, but Prague did not withdraw his nomination.

On February 12, 1939, elections to the Carpatho-Ukrainian diet were held under the 1927 electoral law (Article 126). A single list of candidates was presented by the Ukrainian National Union (the UNO, a coalition of the leading Ukrainian parties): ten candidates from the old Christian National party, ten from the Social Democrats, seven from the Ukrainian Agrarians, two from the youth organization, and three from national minorities. The elections gave the UNO a complete victory: 265,000 persons voted—that is, 93.2 per cent of those eligible—and the UNO received 86.1 per cent of the votes. For the first time in history the population of Transcarpathia had the opportunity to express its will, and it showed it in favor of national self-government.

A week after the elections the Carpathian Sich held an organizing congress in Khust in which 5,000 uniformed and 5,000 non-uniformed members took part. Their parade before the government showed that Carpatho-Ukraine already had started to organize its own armed forces.

The Khust government promptly began to take measures to develop and

revitalize all spheres of national life. A network of cooperatives was organized covering the country; food supplies were distributed; and communications were established. Khust doubled its population in two months. Plans were outlined for general reconstruction, for which American Ukrainians proffered liberal aid.

The Carpatho-Ukrainian diet was to be summoned for its first session on March 2, but President Hacha of the Czechoslovak Republic did not convoke it; instead he again sent General Prchala to Khust—not as a minister, but as commander of the Czechoslovakian forces in Carpatho-Ukraine. Prchala demanded from the Carpatho-Ukrainian government the disarming of the Sich; when this was refused, President Hacha named another government on March 8 from which Minister Revay was excluded. This government was to consist of Premier A. Voloshyn, Ministers General L. Prchala and S. Klochurak, State Secretaries M. Dolynai and J. Pervuznyk. By order of General Prchala, the Czechoslovak units attacked the headquarters of the Carpathian Sich in Khust during the night of March 13–14. More than one hundred members of the Carpathian Sich died in the fighting; the rest surrendered only when ordered to do so by Premier Voloshyn.

The Carpatho-Ukrainian State

The fate of the Czechoslovak Republic already had been decided by Hitler, who long before had agreed to the occupation of Carpatho-Ukraine by the Hungarians. The dissolution of Czechoslovakia began with the proclamation of an independent Slovakia by the Slovak Diet on March 14. Only then did President Hacha consent to the convocation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Diet on March 15. At the same time, the Hungarian government issued an ultimatum demanding that the government of Carpatho-Ukraine stop anti-Hungarian

propaganda, release Hungarian political prisoners, and arm the Hungarians residing in Carpatho-Ukraine. The first two demands were without basis in fact: no anti-Hungarian propaganda had been conducted, and there were no Hungarian political prisoners. When the third demand was rejected the Hungarian army invaded the frontiers of Carpatho-Ukraine. The defense of the frontiers depended only on the 5,000 poorly armed men of the Carpathian Sich; the Sich resisted the attack of the regular Hungarian troops in the south between Uzhhorod and Khust on March 14, 15, and 16. After bloody battles the resistance of the Sich was broken.

On the evening of March 14 the government of Carpatho-Ukraine proclaimed the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine. On March 15 the twenty-two members of the Diet present in Khust (out of thirty-two) under A. Stefan ratified this declaration. At the second and third sessions of the Diet, the first law was passed. The main provisions of the law declared that: Carpatho-Ukraine was an independent state; its name was *Karpats'ka Ukraïna* (Carpatho-Ukraine); it was a republic headed by a president elected by a state diet; the official language was Ukrainian; the colors of the state flag were blue (above) and yellow (below); the state coat of arms was the same as the old provincial one—a bear on a red field on the left hand, four blue and three yellow stripes on the right hand, and the Trident of St. Volodymyr with a cross on the central prong (the detailing of this part of the law was handled in a separate special law); the anthem of the state was the Ukrainian national anthem (see "National Anthem"). Augustine Voloshyn was elected President of independent Carpatho-Ukraine. He named the following government: Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. Revay; Minister of Agriculture and Defense, S. Klochurak; Minister of Internal Affairs and Justice, J. Pervuznyk;

Minister of Finance, Communication, and Post, J. Brashchaiko; Minister of Religion, Schools, and National Education, A. Stefan; Minister of Health and Social Welfare, M. Dolynai. On March 15, Vincent Shandor, representative of the Carpatho-Ukrainian government in Prague, notified the embassies of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Rumania of Carpatho-Ukraine's declaration of independence.



FIGURE 483.
A. VOLOSHYN

While the Diet was meeting, battles were being fought only seven miles from Khust. The Hungarian army demanded the capitulation of Carpatho-Ukraine. The government refused, but agreed to send a delegation under Ministers Brashchaiko and Dolynai to Budapest to negotiate. A day later President Voloshyn and part of the government left Carpatho-Ukraine. After battles at Kopania and near Khust the Hungarian army occupied Khust; by March 20 they had occupied most important strategic points in the state. Partisan battles continued in the mountains until mid-April.

The Carpatho-Ukrainian state could not maintain its existence in the difficult and unfavorable international situation prevailing at the time of its establishment. But the fact of the proclamation of statehood and its heroic defense had great significance for all Ukrainians. Its importance lay in the fact that the smallest and, until 1918, the most undeveloped part of Ukraine, for the first time in its history had been able to proclaim its independence and to fight against the Hungarian state which had been its master for many centuries. It was also important, from a Ukrainian point of view, that not only local Ukrainians but also Galicians, men from central Ukraine, and men from

Bukovina took part in its defense. From an international point of view the Carpatho-Ukrainian-Hungarian battles were the first battles of World War II, for the Czechs surrendered their state to the imperialistic policy of Hitler and his allies without firing a shot. The legal government of Carpatho-Ukraine, headed by President A. Voloshyn and including the majority of the members of the Diet, rejected all compromises with the occupying power and went into exile.

A. Stefan

BUKOVINA AND BESSARABIA

As the aftermath of World War I two Ukrainian territories—the areas of Bukovina and Bessarabia—were annexed to Rumania, along with several dozen villages in the Marmarosh area, and also isolated enclaves of Ukrainians in other parts of Bessarabia as well as in Dobrudja, Moldavia, and Banat (see p. 244).

There was a great difference between adjacent Bukovina and Bessarabia. Bukovina had enjoyed a well-developed national life before World War I and as part of the Austro-Hungarian empire had been permitted a greater degree of self-government than had any other Ukrainian land. Bessarabia, however, under Russia, was one of the most undeveloped Ukrainian areas. The history of the Ukrainian people under Rumanian occupation (1919–40) is chiefly concerned with that of the Ukrainians in Bukovina.

The Rumanians occupied Bukovina by force in the second half of November, 1918; the Treaty of Saint-Germain (September 10, 1919) recognized it as Rumanian *de jure*. Bessarabia was occupied by the Rumanians in January, 1918; on October 28, 1920, by the so-called Bessarabian Protocol in Paris, Bessarabia was recognized as Rumanian by France, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. The USSR refused to acknowledge the union of Bessarabia and Rumania, maintaining

that the province was an integral part of the imperial territory under Soviet rule. The fate of Bessarabia remained therefore unresolved.

Under Rumanian occupation the Ukrainian population lived in a state with a strict police regime (political police and gendarmerie), one which employed methods of administration similar to those of the prewar Turkish government (severe beatings, bribery). The Rumanian policy toward its national minorities, especially the Ukrainians, was severely repressive; officially these people were regarded (law on the school system of December 26, 1924) as Rumanians who "had forgotten their native language." Compulsory Rumanianization continued throughout the Rumanian occupation period and was especially severe during the years 1918-26 and 1937-40.

The Rumanians instituted a state of siege when they occupied Bukovina which was continued to the end of 1928 in northern Bukovina. In December, 1918, they arrested 500 persons, chiefly of the intelligentsia, and released them only in April, 1919; during the time of their arrest these people were tortured and beaten. The provincial self-government of Bukovina was abolished, as were the provincial diet, the provincial board of administration, and all county self-governments. Bukovina remained an administrative entity, although a non-self-governing one. For a while, there was a state minister for Bukovina in the Bucharest government. But after 1932 the region was divided into five new large counties, each with a prefect at its head. The local government of communities was placed under the strict control of the county prefects and their agents, the so-called village notaries. All use of the Ukrainian language in public administration or in the courts was abolished; officials and teachers of Ukrainian nationality were forced to swear an oath of loyalty to Rumania as well as to learn the Rumanian language. In time the majority of Ukrainian officials were

either transferred to Rumania proper or dismissed; no new appointments were given to Ukrainians.

The Rumanianization of all schools was carried on steadily and was finally completed in 1927. The Ukrainian language was not even taught as a subject in any of the schools. In the University of Chernivtsi all chairs in the Ukrainian language were abolished. By invoking the state of siege, almost all Ukrainian societies were closed, including the most important one for culture and education—the *Ukrains'ka Besida* (Ukrainian Club).

Rumanian influences began to dominate the Orthodox Church where, up to 1918, the Ukrainians had had full equality with the Rumanians. Rumanian was introduced not only as the official language, but also as the language in which religion was taught in the schools. The new style (Gregorian) calendar was introduced. Later the clergy was ordered to conduct the church services and to preach in Rumanian only. Some Ukrainian priests were transferred to Rumanian villages and were replaced locally by Rumanians. The Ukrainian character of the seventeen Ukrainian parishes of the Greek Catholic Church (Catholic Church of the the Byzantine rite) was maintained because of the Concordat of Rumania with Rome. The Ukrainian Catholics in Bukovina had a general vicariate under Rev. Michael Simovych which was subordinated to the Greek Catholic diocese of Blaj and since 1930 to that of Baia Mare.

At the beginning of the occupation the entire Ukrainian press was banned (only one issue of *Bukovyna* [Bukovina] appeared). The Ukrainian political parties were forbidden to function. Ukrainian political life was completely disorganized, and the Ukrainian masses were left without guidance or a program. Ukrainian political life was revived briefly in connection with the elections to the Rumanian parliament in 1920 and 1926. The Ukrainians could not put up

independent candidates. Some Ukrainians had joined Rumanian political parties and had formed Ukrainian sections in them. The first Ukrainian deputies to be elected were on the lists of these Rumanian political parties (in 1920 the Social Democrats, in 1926 the Popular National party of A. Averescu). The Ukrainian deputies who entered parliament in this way (C. Krakaliia, A. Lukasevych, G. Lysan) defended the Ukrainian cause, but without success.

In 1926 the police regime was somewhat alleviated, and in 1928 the state of siege was abolished. Some revival of Ukrainian political life was permitted and in 1927 the Ukrainian National party (UNP) was founded. Until 1938 it was the only legal Ukrainian political party in Rumania. In the tradition of the pre-war Populist group, the UNP tried to represent the Ukrainian population and to defend its rights—in the Rumanian legislative bodies, at international parliamentary conferences, and before the League of Nations—while continuing to remain loyal to the Rumanian state. The UNP theoretically functioned throughout Rumania but actually was active only in Bukovina. It was most active during the elections; in the supplementary elections of 1929–30, it elected its candidates by a large majority. But because of the complicated electoral law of 1925 which allowed a delegate to be elected only by political parties that had received 2 per cent of all the votes in Rumania, the UNP entered into electoral blocs with other Rumanian parties. The head of the UNP was Volodymyr Zalozetsky, the secretary was G. Serbyniuk, and other leaders were T. Hlynsky, B. Dutchak, L. Kohut, D. Mayer-Mykhal'sky, and O. Shkraba; all these men won seats in parliament at different times. The influence of the UNP extended to the important organs of the press such as the only Ukrainian daily in Rumania—*Chas* (Time), 1928–40 (edited by Serbyniuk, later by Kohut), the weekly *Ridnyi Krai* (Native Land), and the official

organ of the party *Rada* (Council), which was published until 1938.

The pressure of the Rumanians upon Ukrainian life depended in some degree upon the party in power. For example, under the government of the Rumanian National Farmers party in 1928–31, the political regime was not so harsh and the Ukrainians secured some relief in the matter of schools and with regard to the use of the Ukrainian language. When the Liberal party came to power in 1933 the regime became strict again.

The UNP had little influence on the Ukrainian masses; the Ukrainian section of the Rumanian National Farmers party, with C. Krakaliia at its head—its journal was *Khliborobs'ka Pravda* (Farmers' Truth)—had still less. Pro-Soviet feeling which, in the time of Skrypnyk in Soviet Ukraine, appeared chiefly among the Ukrainian Social Democrats (I. Stasiuk, S. Halytsky, S. Kaniuk; the journals, *Hromada* [Community] and *Borot'ba* [Struggle]), died out in 1929.

In the 1930's nationalistic influences increased, starting with the student youth and centered at first in the journal *Samostiina Dumka* (Independent Thought, 1931–7), later in the weekly *Samostiinist'* (Independence, 1934–7) and the student organization, *Zalizniak*. The nationalistic movement began to win the sympathy of the Ukrainian masses. Among its leading figures were I. Hryhorovych, O. Zybachynsky, D. Kvitkovsky (editor of *Samostiinist'*), and S. Nykorovych (editor of *Samostiina Dumka*).

At the end of the 1930's a new period of Rumanian repression began which became stronger with the re-imposition of the state of siege and the transformation of Rumania into a totalitarian system of government. In 1937 the university student society *Zalizniak* was dissolved, publication of the *Samostiina Dumka* and of *Samostiinist'* was halted, and the leaders of the nationalist group were sentenced to prison by military courts. Public use of the Ukrainian lan-

gauge or the wearing of blue and yellow ribbons was sufficient to bring on official persecution. This continued until the occupation of Bukovina and Bessarabia by the Bolsheviks in 1940.

Under the stern conditions of the Rumanian regime, Ukrainian cultural, economic, and social organizations had to cope with tremendous difficulties. The organizations were concentrated in Chernivtsi in the *Narodnyi Dim* (National Home), but although they had no branches, their influence was also widespread in the provinces. Among these cultural and educational organizations were the university student organizations (*Zaporozhia*, *Chornomorja*, *Zalizniak*), the illegal Scouts organization (*Plast*), the Women's Association, the Townspeople's Cultural Association, and the athletic organizations (especially the soccer team *Dovbush*). The local and the Galician press and societies also were nationally significant.

Ukrainian economic life was weak. The old village savings institutions dwindled; two Ukrainian banks—the Northern Bank and the Credit Bank—were important. Cooperatives had no chance to develop. There was little movement from the Ukrainian villages to the city, and the lack of qualified craftsmen and experienced merchants was acute. Among the city intelligentsia the relatively few members of the free professions—that is, lawyers, doctors, etc.—took the place formerly occupied by the Ukrainian state officials. Many Ukrainian intelligentsia could find work only in Rumania proper.

In general the over twenty-year Rumanian occupation did not succeed in denationalizing the Ukrainians; rather, in the struggle to maintain its national identity, the Ukrainian element, unaccustomed to the need to fight to preserve its national character under Austrian rule, grew stronger. The village people, especially the youth, began to think of national emancipation. As time went on, national consciousness began to be mani-

fested in mass movements: the yearly Shevchenko festivals in Chernivtsi, the anti-Bolshevik demonstration in connection with the famine in Ukraine in 1933, and the relief organization for the starving Hutsul area (1930–1) and for the Akkerman region in Bessarabia (1934–5). In connection with the struggle for national self-government in Carpatho-Ukraine, many Bukovinians joined the Carpathian Sich and, after the fall of Carpatho-Ukraine, helped the fugitives. In general the processes of denationalization were ineffective; also unsuccessful were the Rumanian efforts to colonize Ukrainian areas (for example, in the village of Toporivtsi).

The Ukrainian rebirth was felt in part in the little Marmarosh section. But, with only a few exceptions, there was no organized Ukrainian life in Bessarabia.

T. Halip, supplemented by A. Zhukovsky

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL REFUGEES

General Information

The catastrophe which overwhelmed the young Ukrainian state in 1919–20 brought about a political refugee movement of military men and civilians who had been connected with the establishment of the Ukrainian state. There were two separate groups at the time: one from central and eastern Ukraine, the other from Galicia and Bukovina (Western Ukraine). They differed somewhat in character and decidedly in history.

The refugees left the central and eastern lands and Galicia at different periods and went to different countries. Some of them later returned home, others wandered from land to land, depending upon the political situation at home, the situation in the countries to which the refugees had fled, the politics and the economic conditions of the refugees themselves. The number of refugees was great, especially during the first years after the fall of the Ukrainian

Republic. After 1923, still more so after 1925, the flow of refugees decreased substantially.

Some of the refugees found Ukrainians in the countries in which they settled, who had been there before World War I (Austria). The political refugees were joined by students who had left Western Ukraine to attend institutions of higher learning (especially in Czechoslovakia; fewer in Austria, Germany, Belgium). There were also the migratory workers from the Western Ukrainian lands who, for the most part, went to France. Some political refugees settled on the Ukrainian lands of neighboring states: thus some of the refugees admitted to Czechoslovakia settled in Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine), and those from Great Ukraine not only in Poland proper, but also in Volhynia and (fewer) in Galicia.

The first of the political refugees were the units of the Ukrainian Galician Army (the so-called Mountain Brigade) who had been cut off from their army by the Polish breakthrough near Khyriv in Galicia. In May, 1919, they crossed the Carpathians into Czechoslovakia, where they were disarmed and placed in camps in northern Bohemia. As military units of Western Ukraine they were permitted to establish their own administration and their own courts in the neutral but friendly Czechoslovak Republic. The second wave of the Galician refugee movement—this time civilian in character—was that of the officials of the Western Ukrainian government headed by E. Petrushevych who, in November, 1919, went from Kamianets Podilsky through Rumania to Vienna. These two groups of Galician refugees were joined by Ukrainians who were former soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian army and who had been released from prisoner-of-war camps in Italy; some of these men, reluctant to return home, remained outside Ukraine, chiefly in Vienna. The Ukrainian soldiers interned in Czechoslovakia were supplemented by Galician soldiers

who succeeded in escaping from Polish prisoner-of-war camps and, in the summer of 1920, by the last active Ukrainian Galician unit (Kherson division) of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic which, in order to escape internment by the Polish forces, broke through into Czechoslovakia.

The chief wave of refugees from the central and eastern Ukrainian lands were the Ukrainian troops who crossed the Zbruch into Galicia and were interned by the Poles in camps in ethnic Poland after the failure of the armed resistance to the Bolsheviks in November, 1920. The head of the Directory, S. Petliura, remained first in Tarnów and later in Warsaw (1923). Thus at the beginning of 1921 the centers of the Ukrainian political refugee movement were Vienna (the seat of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile) and several cities in Poland (the seat of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic). Some 10,000 Ukrainian Galician soldiers were in Czechoslovakia.

In 1921, and later, there were changes in the dispersion pattern. Czechoslovakia became the main center of the Ukrainian political refugees, chiefly Prague and, to a lesser extent, Poděbrady, because of the transfer from Vienna of the Ukrainian educational and scientific institutions established there by the refugees. The transfer was effected with the material help of the Czechoslovak government and took place because of the difficult economic conditions in Vienna. The Polish center became somewhat less important after the departure of S. Petliura for Paris in 1924; some of the Ukrainian soldiers also left Poland and went to France as manual laborers or to Czechoslovakia to attend the technical schools and universities there. The decision of the Council of Ambassadors on March 15, 1923, to recognize Ukrainian Galicia as part of the Polish state brought about the dissolution of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile. The great majority of Galician refugees returned home;

those who had completed their education in Prague also returned home. In 1924-5, the refugee picture was altered when some of the Galician and the central and eastern refugees, under the influence of the Soviet Ukrainization policy, returned to Soviet Ukraine.

After 1925 the centers of the Ukrainian refugee movement became more or less fixed in importance. Prague held first place, then Warsaw (Vienna had lost its importance); Berlin and Paris had become new centers. Lesser groups of refugees were in Rumania, Bulgaria, Belgium, Switzerland, England, Italy, Turkey, Latvia, and Finland. Numerically, the largest groups were in Poland and France. The number of Ukrainian political refugees which, in 1921, had reached approximately 100,000, had been reduced to about half that figure.

The activities of the refugees were considerably influenced by their legal status and economic position. The majority of them had been granted the right of asylum. In 1922 the position of the refugees from the former Russian empire was settled by the League of Nations which issued to them so-called Nansen passports; these were accepted by all the countries in which the Ukrainian refugees were living. But the refugees as aliens were under various restrictions: for example, in Poland the majority of the refugees from Soviet Ukraine were not permitted to settle permanently in the Western Ukrainian lands. Some of the refugees eventually became citizens of the countries in which they were residing.

The majority of the refugees, especially the intelligentsia, faced serious economic difficulties caused by the inability to obtain appropriate work—or sometimes any kind of work at all—by lack of fluency in the language of the country to which they had fled, and similar problems. The economic depression that began in 1929 hit the refugees with particular severity; they were usually the first to be dismissed from work.

Political Currents among the Refugees

The old organized political parties which had existed in Ukraine in 1917-20 continued to exist among the refugees. New political trends appeared, chiefly in Prague which was the major center of the refugee Ukrainian intelligentsia. Some of the weaker political groups soon disappeared but they were replaced by others; all were active, at least to some degree, in the abnormal conditions of refugee life with its feeling of unreality, sometimes with little understanding of the world around them, and without an opportunity to gauge their actual strength and influence. The political work of the Ukrainian refugees had a noticeable influence on the Ukrainians in the homeland and to a certain measure on the policies of the hostile regimes. The Galician refugees had a lively and direct contact with Western Ukraine. The refugees from the central and eastern lands had contact with their homeland only until 1925, when this connection was interrupted and only the echo of their work was left in the Bolshevik press. The political refugees accomplished a great deal in making the Ukrainian cause known abroad and in further developing Ukrainian culture, particularly scholarship.

Politically and ideologically the Ukrainian refugees were divided into socialists, liberals, monarchists, nationalists, and communists—the last three emerging only after World War I.

The socialist group was separated into two parties: the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor party (USDRP) and the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries (UPSR). The USDRP—the leaders of which were Isaac Mazepa, Panas Fedenko, Olgerd Bochkovsky, Borys Matiushenko, Volodymyr Starosolsky, Nicholas Dobrylovsky, Joseph Bezpalko, and others—had its center in Prague and was an affiliate of the Second Socialist International; through its delegates it took part in several Socialist congresses and conferences. It had connections with

the Ukrainian Social Radical party (USRP) in Western Ukraine. From time to time its press appeared for short periods (*Viĭna Ukraïna*—Free Ukraine, Lviv, to 1923; *Sotsiialistychna Dumka*—Socialist Thought, Lviv, Prague to 1923; *Sotsiialdemokrat*—Social Democrat, Prague, 1925, later Poděbrady).

The UPSR was better known and more active than the USDRP in the first years of the exodus from Soviet Ukraine because of the activities of its leaders M. Shapoval and M. Hrushevsky. This party split into two groups in 1921: Shapoval's in Prague, and Hrushevsky's in Vienna. The latter group was openly sympathetic to the Soviet form of government in Ukraine. They only demanded for Ukraine true independence from Moscow and the preservation of the rights of the Ukrainian peasant majority (its journal, published in Vienna, was called *Boritiesia-poborete*—Fight and You Shall Win). In 1924 Hrushevsky returned to Ukraine, accompanied by a group of refugees.

Shapoval parted from Hrushevsky over a difference of views on the contemporary regime in Ukraine. Hrushevsky stood for legal opposition, Shapoval for a revolutionary struggle. Shapoval gathered the majority of the refugee Social Revolutionaries around himself and began an extensive political and cultural-educational program (see below). Among other activities he established the journal *Nova Ukraïna* (New Ukraine), Prague, 1922–5, edited by himself and V. Vynnychenko. Shapoval's and Vynnychenko's efforts to form a revolutionary democratic union of the Ukrainian refugees was unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards, Vynnychenko retired to private life in France.

The communist and pro-Soviet tendencies were strong among some circles of refugees, especially among the students, some of whom left the Ukrainian refugee student organization to found their own. The group of the Ukapiſts—non-Bolshevik Ukrainian Communists

organized by Vynnychenko—worked in Vienna and Berlin, publishing their weekly *Nova Doba* (New Era, Vienna, 1920) and much propagandist literature. To encourage their sympathetic attitude toward Soviet Ukraine they were aided by the Soviet diplomatic missions in Prague, Vienna, and to some extent in Berlin and Warsaw.

The Ukrainian liberal parties developed no comparable activities. Some, such as the Ukrainian Party of *Samosttynyky*-Socialists (UPSS), the Ukrainian Party of Popular Republicans (UPNR), and the Party of Peasant Socialists, actually ceased to exist. The Radical-Democratic party, which in emigration changed its provisional name of Socialists-Federalists (SF) to its original Radical-Democratic title, was actually the only liberal group to manifest any political activity at all. It contained a group of politically moderate intellectuals, and chiefly furnished members for the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic and its diplomatic missions. The leaders of the Radical Democrats were Volodymyr Prokopovych, Maxim Slavynsky, Alexander Lototsky, Andrew Yakovliv, Constantine Matsiievych, Alexander Shulhyn, and Alexander Salikovsky. The party had little influence on the masses or on the students, but it did have connections with the UNDO party in Galicia. The Radical Democrats almost exclusively represented the ideas of the Ukrainian National Republic abroad and carried on its information and propagandistic work abroad. The party published (irregularly) its *Biuletyn* (Bulletin) in Prague; after 1925 it published a weekly, *Tryzub* (Trident), in Paris.

The monarchical trend among the refugees included the Ukrainian Union of Patriotic Farmers (*Khliboroby-Derzhavnyky*). Established in 1920 (irregular publication, *Khliborob'ska Ukraïna* [Farmers' Ukraine], Berlin, 1920–5), in 1925 it proclaimed the former Hetman Paul Skoropadsky to be hereditary Het-

man of Ukraine. The chief founder and spiritual leader of this monarchist organization was the prominent historian and sociologist, Viacheslav Lypynsky, author of the well-known *Lysty do bratvohliborobiv* (Letters to Brother Farmers). In 1930 Lypynsky parted with Skoropadsky, taking with him a large group of prominent members of the Union including V. Zalozetsky, V. Kuchabsky, and others. The monarchists had some influence on the Ukrainian refugees in Germany, where the former Hetman lived, and had connections with certain important German public figures. They also dominated the social organization the *Ukrains'ka Hromada* (Ukrainian Community) and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin. The monarchists had less influence in Czechoslovakia—especially in Prague, where socialist, liberal, and later on nationalist influences prevailed—and in Poland. In Western Ukraine the monarchist (Hetman) movement had almost no influence, but to some extent it was influential among the Ukrainian emigrants and refugees in the United States and still more so in Canada. Prominent members in addition to those mentioned earlier were A. Skoropys-Yoltukhovsky and S. Shemet.

At the end of the 1920's the nationalist trend as represented by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) began to increase. Unlike the previously mentioned political trends the OUN was not separated from the Ukrainian lands, for it had its base there. Only the leadership under Colonel Eugene Konovalts was abroad. After 1938 the OUN was led by Colonel Andrew Melnyk. The organs of the OUN—*Rozbudova Natsiï* (Expansion of the Nation) and *Surma* (Bugle) and its propagandist literature were published in Prague. Its prominent figures were Dmytro Andriievsky, General Nicholas Kapustiansky, Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, Volodymyr Martynets, Eugene Onatsky, Alexander Senyk-Hrybivsky, Roman Sushko, and Nicholas Stsiborsky, and its influence was felt in the entire

refugee movement—particularly in Czechoslovakia.

Several attempts to form a political and communal union which would unite all the refugee organizations were unsuccessful. Among these was the formation of the All-Ukrainian National *Rada* in Vienna on January 4, 1921, for the defense of general Ukrainian interests; representatives of the political refugee groups from the central, eastern, and western lands participated (it lasted only to the end of March of the same year). Efforts were made by Mykyta Shapoval in Prague to create a Ukrainian National *Rada* to represent Ukrainian national interests abroad, and A. Makarenko and T. Shvets strove to continue the Directory after the death of S. Petliura, without success. In 1934–5 many attempts were made to organize an All-Ukrainian National Congress which would consist of representatives of the political refugees and representatives from the Western Ukrainian lands, but these attempts also came to nought.

However, a number of social organizations of the refugees did arise. There were the Central Ukrainian Refugee Council (Prague, 1929) and the Societies of Ukrainian Veterans in France (headed by General A. Udovychenko), in Poland, and in Czechoslovakia.

Cultural Work

The cultural work of the Ukrainian refugees must be examined from two points of view: first as an effort to satisfy the different educational and vocational needs of the widely dispersed Ukrainian refugee groups, and second in terms of their contribution to the development of Ukrainian culture in general.

The most active and many-sided development of cultural life was that in the internment camps of the Ukrainian Galician soldiers in Czechoslovakia and of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic in Poland in 1922. Various schools and training programs (courses for illiterates, vocational and secondary

schools, rehabilitation centers, etc.), general educational organizations, artistic and theatrical groups, camp and other publications were organized. Athletics flourished in the camps. From them also came Dmytro Kotko's chorus and the choreographic school of Basil Avramenko. When the camps were disbanded and their inhabitants moved to the cities, the educational organizations and, less frequently, the regular schools moved there too.

The many prominent Ukrainian scholars, artists, writers, political and social figures living in the central and western European cities were able to make significant contributions to Ukrainian culture, being helped by their exposure to the centers of western culture and by the freedom of political creation they could enjoy during their stay there. Next to Lviv in Western Ukraine, Prague became the most important cultural center outside the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic; to a lesser degree Berlin, Warsaw, and Poděbrady (in Czechoslovakia) also were important.

Of special importance were the Ukrainian higher institutions of learning and science set up by the refugees. These were the Ukrainian Free University in Prague (founded in 1921 [Vienna]); the Ukrainian Academy of Technology in Poděbrady (founded in 1922; reorganized into the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute—a research institution and correspondence school—in 1935); the Drahomanov Pedagogical Institute in Prague (1923–33); the Ukrainian Scientific Institutes in Berlin (1926) and Warsaw (1930); the Museum of the Struggle for Liberation in Prague (1925); and, to some degree, the Ukrainian Academic Committee and the scientific congresses arranged by it in Prague (1926 and 1932). Many Ukrainian scholars worked and lectured in foreign schools and scientific institutions, and aided in the spread of knowledge of Ukraine.

A large percentage of the Ukrainian refugee youth studied in Prague. There

(later in Vienna) was the central organization of all Ukrainian university students—the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS)—as well as many local student organizations and publications.

Publishing houses founded by the refugees also served Western Ukraine. The absence of censorship made their work much easier. Among the most important were *Ukrains'ka Nakladnia* (The Ukrainian Publishing House) of Jacob Orenstein in Leipzig and Berlin, the *Ukrains'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) in Berlin, *Vernyhora* in Vienna, The Publishing House of George Tyshchenko in Prague, and the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw. The press developed rapidly, especially the organs of the political parties.

There were prominent representatives of belles-lettres and of other art forms among the refugees including many actors. Some, mainly the theatrical artists, settled in the Western Ukrainian lands (see "Literature").

An important field for political work in the Ukrainian refugee movement was the promotion of the Ukrainian cause abroad. This was the main work of the government-in-exile, of its diplomatic missions, press bureaus, and publications. It was also the task undertaken by some general Ukrainian educational institutions, political parties (especially the USDRP), and scholars.

Much political and representational work was done in the League of Nations by two Ukrainian organizations: the Ukrainian Academic Committee and the Society of Friends of the League of Nations. The Ukrainian Academic Committee, founded in Prague, became a member of the International Commission for Intellectual Cooperation with the League of Nations in Geneva. The Ukrainian Society of Friends of the League of Nations (founded in Vienna in 1920) was also accepted as a full member in the International Union of Nations (1933–8; head, A. Shulhyn).

Taking a constant part in the annual assemblies of the International Union and the meetings of its council, the society was able to enter into relations with the most prominent public figures in western Europe, to carry on political propaganda by conversation and letter, and to fight for the rights of the Ukrainians in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania. Bureaus and societies were organized to acquaint non-Ukrainians with Ukrainian questions. There were the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Berlin, the German-Ukrainian Society, the Czech-Ukrainian Society, and the Ukrainian-Bulgarian Society. Jacob Makohin founded a Ukrainian Bureau in London under Volodymyr Kysilevsky. Much was done to acquaint the western European public with Ukrainian affairs, especially by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin. The work of individuals such as Elias Borshchak in Paris and Eugene Onatsky in Italy also was helpful.

The Ukrainian Refugees in Czechoslovakia

The first Ukrainian refugees in Czechoslovakia consisted of the groups of the Galician Army and members of the Ukrainian diplomatic missions in the West. Prague became the center of Ukrainian refugee life in 1921 when the majority of the Ukrainian refugees left Vienna and several Ukrainian schools were organized in Prague (1921-3). The scholarships which the Czechoslovak government gave Ukrainian students brought many students to Prague and to other Czechoslovak educational centers. These were mainly soldiers of the Ukrainian Galician Army, some soldiers from eastern Ukraine, and the Ukrainian high school graduates from Galicia. Then in 1921 the Ukrainian Free University moved from Vienna to Prague. In 1922 the Ukrainian Academy of Technology was opened in Poděbrady, and in 1923 the Drahomanov Pedagogical Institute and the Ukrainian School of Classical Art

in Prague. The influx of scholars and trained professional men to these centers led to the formation of many scientific, cultural, and professional organizations such as the Ukrainian Historical and Philological Society (1923), the Ukrainian Academic Committee (1924), the Ukrainian Institute of Social Science (1924), the Ukrainian Social Publishing Fund (1923), the Union of Ukrainian Physicians (1922), the Ukrainian Law Society (1923), the Ukrainian Pedagogical Society (1925), the Ukrainian Society of Bibliophiles (1927), the Society of Ukrainian Journalists and Writers in Czechoslovakia (1929), the Union of Organizations of Ukrainian Refugee Engineers (1930), the Society of Ukrainian Writers and Journalists Abroad (1932), the Ukrainian Scientific Association in Prague (1932). In 1925 the Museum of the Struggle for Liberation was opened, and in 1931 the Ukrainian Historical Research Cabinet. Some of these institutions published their own research work.

The children of the refugees were able to attend a Ukrainian gymnasium in Prague, which was transferred later to Řevnice and then to Modřany. In 1924, of 2,300 Ukrainian emigré university students, 1,900 were in Czechoslovakia (1,235 in Prague and 382 in Poděbrady). Between the two world wars more than 2,000 received diplomas from the higher schools in Czechoslovakia. The majority of them returned to their homes, chiefly in Western Ukraine. From 1922 to 1939 Prague was second only to Lviv as the most important cultural center of Ukrainian life outside Soviet Ukraine.

Ukrainian refugees in Czechoslovakia accomplished much through social and community work. *Ukrains'kyi Hromads'kyi Komitet* (Committee of the Ukrainian Community), founded by M. Shapoval, was able to carry on broad organizational, cultural, and relief work, largely as a result of the energy of its leader and his connections with the Czechoslovak government. The Committee, through V.

Hirsa, a member of the Czechoslovak government, received a number of scholarships for Ukrainian students; founded the Academy of Technology in Poděbrady, the Ukrainian Sociological Institute and the Ukrainian Pedagogical Institute in Prague, and brought to them students from the internment camps in Poland.

At first all political groups worked harmoniously in the committee; later, disputes arose and some of the members left. The committee worked on until the Czechoslovak government limited its relief work for the Ukrainian refugees, and finally dissolved the committee in August, 1925. Subsequently several other social organizations with cultural and relief aims sprang up. These were the Ukrainian Committee (1926), the Ukrainian Community in Czechoslovakia (1928), and the Ukrainian Union in Czechoslovakia (1928)—all in Prague. In the 1920's a Ukrainian Republican Democratic Club was active (its head was A. Lototsky and later M. Slavynsky).

The greatest developments of Ukrainian refugee life occurred during the years 1922-7. Later, as economic conditions and the problems involved in bringing students from Poland became more difficult, many institutions were barely able to exist. Some closed; of the schools of higher learning only the Ukrainian Free University in Prague remained open; the Ukrainian Academy of Technology became the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute (UTHI), a correspondence school. The publishing movement slackened. Connections with the homeland weakened, and the number of refugees residing in Czechoslovakia diminished.

Prague continued to be the most important center of the Ukrainian political refugee movement, however, for strong spokesmen and centers for the various political groups remained there. From 1922 to 1934 it was the base of the Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS) and the National Council of

Ukrainian Women (led by Sophia Rusova).

Smaller centers of Ukrainian refugees in Czechoslovakia were in Poděbrady, Brno, and Liberec. Some Ukrainian refugees went to Transcarpathia, in particular to Uzhhorod, where they participated in the local educational, cultural, and administrative life, and gave much help to the rebirth of the area.

The Ukrainian Refugees in Poland

After the final catastrophe of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic in the autumn of 1920, about 30,000 Ukrainian refugees, chiefly soldiers, remained in Poland, together with the officials of the Ukrainian government. The Poles interned the soldiers in camps where the facilities and material conditions in general were most inadequate. Yet in the camps a cultural movement was begun (there were camp schools, especially the Shevchenko gymnasium in Kalisz, all kinds of re-training programs and courses, societies, and journals). The difficult conditions of camp life made the men anxious to escape from them. In 1922, several hundred soldiers, influenced by the Soviet mission, returned to the homeland; some, chiefly those who had not finished their education, went to Czechoslovakia to study. More left for France to do manual labor. Some settled in Poland or in Polish-controlled Volhynia. The majority of refugees in Volhynia were admitted to Polish citizenship, and entered the local life there. Others lived as stateless persons—that is, with the Nansen passports issued by the League of Nations. In 1921 the Ukrainian Central Committee (headed by Nicholas Kovalsky) was founded in Warsaw to give material and moral aid to the refugees. This committee continued until 1939, carrying on its activities through branches and agents in the cities. In Warsaw also were the Ukrainian Women's Union, the Society of Ukrainian Veterans, the Society of Friends of the League of Nations, stu-

dent organizations, etc. The Western Ukrainian Society for Help to the Refugees from the Central and Eastern Lands was organized in Lviv in 1921.

The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, which accomplished much work of importance, was organized by the efforts of the Ukrainian refugees (from 1930 to 1938 its head was A. Lototsky; after 1938, A. Yakovliv; its secretary was Roman Smal-Stocki) and was subsidized by the Polish government. The Ukrainian Society of Military History (after 1926) worked on Ukrainian military history. These organizations and institutions were under the influence of the exiled government of the Ukrainian National Republic. Lively popular scientific publications were brought out in Warsaw by Ivan Ohienko (the journals *Nasha Kul'tura* [Our Culture] and *Ridna Mova* [Native Language]). Both the journals and the institutions in Warsaw were all more directly connected with their native land than were the Ukrainian refugee institutions in the Western countries.

The Ukrainian Refugees in Germany

These refugees came in part from the period before 1914. They were joined by a number of former soldiers from the Russian army who did not return from the German prisoner-of-war camps to Ukraine. Also, mainly in Berlin, there were a number of members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian legation, and other Ukrainian missions. These were grouped chiefly around the *Ukraïns'ka Hromada* (Ukrainian Community), founded in 1919, and around the Ukrainian legation, especially during the period of the envoys N. Porsh and, after 1921, R. Smal-Stocki. Another center was the publishing house, *Ukraïns'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), which published a newspaper, and the library *Ukraïns'ke Slovo*. In Berlin at the close of World War I, a German-Ukrainian Society (Prof. J. Rohrbach and A. Schmidt) was organized

which published its own organ, *Die Ukraine*. After World War I the Ukrainian Publishing House of Jacob Orenstein was set up in Berlin (1916-33; editors Zenon Kuzelia, Bohdan Lepkyi, Basil Simovych). After 1921 Ukrainian university students who came to study in Germany had their own organizations. In 1926, the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, which soon became the Ukrainian cultural embassy in Germany, was founded by the efforts of the former Hetman, Paul Skoropadsky.

Throughout the period Berlin was the center of the Ukrainian monarchist (Hetman) and nationalistic movements; it also was the permanent residence of the former Hetman, Skoropadsky; of Eugene Konovalts, the leader of the OUN; and of Eugene Petrushevych, the former President of ZUNR. To protect the political refugees, a special relief committee, recognized by the pre-Hitler German government existed from 1923-30. Under the National Socialist regime protection and supervision of the Ukrainian refugees was supplied by the so-called *Ukrainische Vertrauensstelle* (The Ukrainian Trust Authority). Only two Ukrainian organizations existed with the permission of the government: *Ukraïns'ke Natsional'ne Obiednannia* (Ukrainian National Union [UNO]), which was under the influence of the nationalists (more than 30,000 members); and *Ukraïns'ka Hromada* (Ukrainian Community), which was under the influence of P. Skoropadsky (over 6,000 members). Similar organizations of Ukrainian refugees were set up in Austria and Czechoslovakia after they were occupied by the Germans.

The Ukrainian Refugees in Other Countries

Austria. In the first years after the war the most important center of the Ukrainian political refugees was Austria as a whole and Vienna in particular. There were still some Ukrainian organizations from the prewar and wartime periods: the Ukrainian university student society

Sich, founded in 1868, the workingmen's societies *Rodyna* (Family) and *Postup* (Progress), the Ukrainian Club, the Ukrainian Society of Journalists (which later moved to Prague), the Ukrainian Society of the Friends of Education, and the Ukrainian Women's Committee. There were Ukrainians who had worked before the fall of Austria-Hungary in various Austrian governmental agencies. For a while, the first wave of the refugees from eastern Ukraine remained in Vienna; the refugees from Western Ukraine remained for somewhat longer. At first Vienna was the most lively center of the Ukrainian political refugees because of the presence of the Western Ukrainian government-in-exile, the availability of their own state funds, and the freedom characterizing the young Austrian republic. At one time several Ukrainian newspapers were published: *Ukrains'kyi Prapor* (Ukrainian Banner), organ of Eugene Petrushevych; the weekly *Volia* (Liberty) of V. Pisiachevsky, supporter of the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic but independent; *Borot'ba* (Struggle) of S. Vityk, and *Nova Doba* (New Era) of V. Vynnychenko, inclined toward the Soviet regime. There were about 400 Ukrainian university students in Vienna. After 1923 all but a few individuals returned to Galicia, and Vienna ceased to play an important role in Ukrainian political life abroad.

France. France played an important role in the life of Ukrainian refugees. Paris became the center of official circles in the Ukrainian National Republic because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in exile was established there. It was also the residence of Simon Petliura after he left Poland. In 1925 the official organ of the Ukrainian government-in-exile, the weekly *Tryzub* (Trident), commenced publication; in 1927 the Simon Petliura Library was established in Paris. Ukrainians participated in the publication in French of the monthly *Promethée*, dedicated to the peoples oppressed by the

Bolsheviks. After 1927 the Ukrainian Society of Former Soldiers of the UNR was established in France. The Ukrainian organization *Ukrains'ka Hromada* (Ukrainian Community), was founded in 1924 in France. In 1930 the Ukrainian National Union, which published the weekly *Ukrains'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), was established. The Ukrainian National Union was under the influence of the OUN. The political refugee movement after 1924 was supplemented by migratory workers, mainly agricultural laborers and coal miners from the Western Ukrainian lands under Poland (others came from Transcarpathia and Bukovina). Their number ranged from 20,000 to 50,000.

Great Britain. In Great Britain and other countries of northwestern Europe missions of the UNR existed for a time, but only a few Ukrainian political refugees went there. No special Ukrainian organizations or publishing houses were formed. After 1931 a Ukrainian Bureau under Volodymyr Kysilevsky was set up in London to acquaint the British public with Ukrainian affairs. It issued a press bulletin in English.

Belgium. In Belgium there was a small group of political refugees and a number of Ukrainian university students, mostly in Louvain. There was also a small group of migratory workers from Western Ukraine.

Switzerland. A small group of Ukrainian refugees in Switzerland after World War I cooperated with the emissaries to the League of Nations from the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation in the Polish Diet and emissaries from the Ukrainian refugee groups from various countries to defend Ukrainian interests at the League of Nations in Geneva. Switzerland also was the seat of the Ukrainian Red Cross (Eugene Bachynsky). M. Yermiiev published a bulletin *Ofinor* there, and a Ukrainian Bureau under M. Trotsky functioned there from 1931 to 1933. After 1919 there was a Ukrainian Club which, in 1931,

was renamed the Swiss-Ukrainian Club.

Italy. In Italy, in addition to the Ukrainian diplomatic missions at the Quirinal and the Vatican, special missions led by A. Sevriuk worked for a short time in Rome to seek the release of, and to assist, Ukrainian prisoners of war who had served in the Austrian army and who were in Italian prisoner-of-war camps. Later E. Onatsky and M. Lypovetska worked in Italy for the Ukrainian cause.

Rumania. There was a small group of Ukrainian refugees from central and eastern Ukraine in Bucharest. A Ukrainian Relief Committee was established with branches in the cities of Rumania in which there were groups of Ukrainians. The Ukrainian women were organized into a Ukrainian Women's Association which had connections with similar societies in other countries. The most prominent figures were D. Herodot (D. Ivashyna), P. Matsiievych, G. Porokhivsky, V. Trepke, and others. A number of Ukrainian students from Bukovina and Bessarabia studied at the universities of Bucharest and Jassy.

Bulgaria. In Bulgaria, for a time, a rather large group of Ukrainian political refugees resided, mostly former soldiers of the UNR army. The following Ukrainian organizations were established there: *Ukrains'ka Hromada* (Ukrainian Community) and *Ukrains'ke Obiednannia* (Ukrainian Union); the Association of Ukrainian Organizations in Bulgaria (in 1934); and in 1920 the Bulgarian-Ukrainian Society, headed by Professor I. Shishmanov. The leading figures among the Ukrainian refugees in Bulgaria were the sculptor M. Parashchuk and Colonel V. Fylonovych.

Turkey. After a brief period of activity by the Ukrainian diplomatic mission in Istanbul, V. Mursky, a special Ukrainian envoy, and also N. Zabiello, former Ukrainian consul, developed Ukrainian propaganda among the Turkish public in the 30's.

Yugoslavia. The Ukrainian refugees in

Yugoslavia were less well organized. Their main centers were Belgrade and Zagreb.

China. A rather large group of Ukrainians lived in Manchuria. They had come originally in connection with the construction of the Eastern Chinese Railroad by the Russians. Their biggest center was Harbin, where nearly half of the 30,000 Ukrainians in China lived. In 1917-22, Ukrainians from Manchuria participated actively in the Ukrainian political life of the Far East ("Green Wedge"). After the Bolshevik occupation of the Far East a number of Ukrainians fled to Manchuria. Ukrainian organizations (*Prosvita*, Ukrainian National Home, Gymnasium, and others) and publishing endeavors were concentrated in Harbin. I. Svit was the leading figure in the community. Smaller groups of Ukrainians lived on the territory of China proper—in Shanghai, Tientsin, Tsindao, and elsewhere.

Evaluation of the Work of the Ukrainian Refugees

The Ukrainian political refugee movement between the two wars had two tasks: one was to represent an enslaved and divided homeland, and the other



FIGURE 484.
A. LIVYTSKY

was to develop those cultural and socio-political values which could not be freely fostered in Ukraine. Representing the Ukrainians in the West was the exiled government of the Ukrainian National Republic (under the leadership of A. Livytsky) and, for a while, that of

the ZUNR as well. Here were the centers of the various political parties and organizations which operated in Ukrainian lands; here, Ukrainian culture was freely developed. The refugees maintained

lively contact with Western Ukraine. In the eastern Ukrainian lands under the Soviets the fact that someone was speaking for the Ukrainians other than the puppet government of Soviet Ukraine gave the subjugated Ukrainians moral courage in the struggle for their national rights.

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II. UKRAINE DURING WORLD WAR II

WESTERN UKRAINE TO THE OUTBREAK OF THE GERMAN-SOVIET WAR

The Polish-German War

On September 1, 1939, the Polish-German war broke out and led eventually to the outbreak of World War II. Throughout Poland, pressure was at once put on the Ukrainian population. Mass arrests, especially of the intelligentsia, began, and the prisoners were sent to the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka. In the Polish Diet, Basil Mudry made a declaration of loyalty to the Polish state in the name of the Ukrainian Parliamentary Representation, but it had no effect on the Polish terror.

The advance of the German army developed quickly. In the middle of September, the Germans held Podlachia, the Kholm area, western Volhynia, and the western part of Galicia, approximately along the line Sokal-Lviv-Stryi. Heavy battles were fought near Lviv, but the Germans did not take the city.

A considerable part of the Ukrainian population welcomed the German armies as liberators from the Polish yoke. Then, on the basis of a secret clause of the non-aggression pact of August 23, 1939, between Germany and the USSR (the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact), the USSR attacked Poland on

September 17, 1939, and the Soviet armies occupied Western Ukraine without opposition from the Poles. On September 22, the Bolsheviks occupied Lviv and the German armies withdrew to the line of the Sian-Vistula, as agreed in the pact. With the new treaty signed in Moscow on September 28, 1939, the boundaries between the German and Soviet spheres of influence ran along the line: Sian-Solokiiia-the Buh (see map, Fig. 485). Thus the Western Ukrainian lands under Poland were almost entirely controlled by the USSR. The Germans held only the western border lands: the Lemkian area, the left bank of the Sian River, small parts of northwestern Galicia, the Kholm region, and Podlachia. This was a belt 370 miles in length and about 6,000 sq. m. in area. It contained a population of 1,200,000, including 500,000 Ukrainians and about 200,000 Roman Catholics who spoke Ukrainian (called *Latynnyky* ["Latins"] in northwestern Galicia and *Kalakuty* in the Kholm area and Podlachia, see p. 240).

The German army, entering Western Ukraine from the south, included a Ukrainian detachment of about 600 men under the command of Roman Sushko, a former colonel of the Sich Riflemen. It was formed by the efforts of the OUN partly from former members of the Carpathian Sich, who were political

refugees in exile in Germany. The task of this detachment was primarily liaison between the Ukrainian population and the German army and the organization of a local Ukrainian administration. After the occupation of Western Ukraine by the Bolsheviks, this detachment was disbanded by the Germans.

Western Ukraine under the First Bolshevik Occupation

To give an appearance of legality to the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Bolshevik sphere, S. Timoshenko, commanding general of the Ukrainian front (i.e., the southwestern Soviet army group), ordered elections held on October 22, 1939, for the People's Assembly of Western Ukraine. According to the official figures, of 4,776,000 voters, 4,434,000 voted, and of these, 4,032,000 voted for the prepared list of candidates. The People's Assembly on October 26 adopted a resolution to invite the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to include Western Ukraine in the USSR and sent a delegation of fifty persons to submit this resolution; on November 1 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR approved the request and included Western Ukraine in the Ukrainian SSR. A part of Ukrainian Polisia was annexed to the Belorussian SSR. On June 28, 1940, the USSR compelled Rumania, by threat of war, to surrender the northern part of Bukovina and the northern and southern parts of Bessarabia, which were inhabited by Ukrainians. By a decision of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on August 2, 1940, northern Bukovina and the parts of Bessarabia which were inhabited by Ukrainians were incorporated in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Soviet government quickly introduced new administrative divisions—*oblasts* (six in number) and *raions*. All life was centralized in the *oblast* and *raion* centers. Not only were all political organizations closed, but all associations, whether commercial and industrial or cultural, scientific, and welfare, ceased to

function as well. All were dissolved and their property handed over to the appropriate state institutions. Soviet laws and courts were introduced. The population of Western Ukraine was issued Soviet identification cards (passports). Private schools, all printing houses, and the press were liquidated. After the conclusion of the nationalization of trade and industry and the division of the land among the peasants, establishment of the first state farms as well as collective farms was begun.

The Soviet government gave special attention to schools, the sciences, and the fine arts. Here the Soviet Ukrainianization was most clearly seen. The Ukrainian language became official, although in a small degree Polish was permitted. The schools were Ukrainianized. (Polish schools were provided only for the Polish population.) The institutions of higher education were fully Ukrainianized and broadened. But this was only superficial. It really was the beginning of a spiritual decline, for under the mask of Ukrainian culture came Bolshevization and a gradual Russification.

The Catholic and Orthodox church organizations were generally left untouched, but efforts were made to place the Orthodox church under the Patriarch of Moscow. After a short time, pressure on the church institutions began indirectly. Religious education was removed from the schools, the church land was taken away, and so was the keeping of registers of births, deaths, and marriages (previously administered by the parish pastors). The clergy were given specially marked passports No. 1, which made their life difficult; high payments were demanded for the use of the churches and the dwellings of the priests, designated as "unproductive institutions."

The legal Ukrainian political parties ceased to exist. Only the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) acted underground, and kept in contact with its leadership on the territory of Germany. In the first days of the Bolshevik



FIGURE 485. UKRAINE IN THE YEARS 1939-45

occupation, many Ukrainian leaders were arrested, the most prominent of whom were: National Democrats Constantine Levytsky, Dmytro Levytsky, Ostap Lutsky, and Ivan Nimchuk; Radicals-Socialists Ivan Novodvorsky and Andrew Hryvnač; Social Democrat Volodymyr Starosolsky; and Sylvester Herasymovych of the Front of National Union. In the rural areas, prominent political, cultural, and economic, as well as other leaders were arrested. Many saved themselves by fleeing into German-occupied territory.

The occupation brought great changes in the population of Western Ukraine. Without the support of the government,

the Polish national minority lost its pre-eminence. The Soviet authorities deported to Siberia and other Asiatic areas all the new Polish settlers (of the period 1919-39) as well as many Polish reserve officers and Polish officials (especially former court, police, and administrative officials), abolished many Polish monasteries (Roman Catholic) and great estates, and nationalized the predominantly Jewish trade and industry. The Ukrainian element flocked from the overcrowded villages into the cities.

The incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Ukrainian SSR had far-reaching national and political significance.

But despite the fact that mass terror was not applied to the Ukrainians at first, the entire population was opposed to the Soviet regime.

The Ukrainians in German-occupied Territory

On the western frontiers of Ukraine occupied by the Germans and included in the so-called *Generalgouvernement* (of Poland), besides the local Ukrainians, there were some 20,000 new refugees from Soviet-controlled Western Ukraine, a number of political prisoners freed from Polish prisons and concentration camps, and a number of former political refugees from central and eastern (Soviet) Ukraine. As the pressure of the Bolsheviks increased, so did the number of refugees who illegally crossed the frontier or came semi-legally, mixing with the so-called *Volksdeutsche* (persons of German origin) on the basis of the German-Soviet treaty of September 28, 1939, for mutual exchange of the population. In a similar way, by the summer of 1940, a part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia also came to Germany from Bukovina, just incorporated into the USSR.

The Ukrainian frontier lands west of the Sian and Buh (Bug) rivers were put under the "*Generalgouvernement* for the Occupied Polish Territory," which was set up by a declaration of Hitler on October 12, 1939, for the central part of Poland. Later, it was given the official name of *Generalgouvernement* and was declared a dependency of Germany. Hitler appointed Hans Frank as governor general, with his seat in Cracow. The *Generalgouvernement* was a kind of German colony with a completely totalitarian regime, where the local population had a minimum of rights. The entire government was concentrated in the hands of the governor general who acted on the orders of Hitler and was responsible to him. The local administration had only subsidiary ad-

ministrative functions and its officials were appointed by the authorities of occupation. The police agencies, especially the German political police, had wide powers and were actually, if not formally, the superiors of the German civil administration.

The local Ukrainian population under German occupation was entirely backward in their national culture, largely as a result of the oppressive policies of the Poles. The fugitives from Soviet-controlled Western Ukraine settled partly among it and partly in the larger cities of Poland, chiefly in Cracow. Cracow was the most important center of the Ukrainian political refugees, and, in general, of Ukrainian life under German occupation during 1939-41.

The only political organization to continue its activity was the OUN, which was headed by Roman Sushko in this area; (the leader of the OUN, Colonel Andrew Melnyk, resided in Germany). It was an influential group with many cadres of members and sympathizers; from the first days of the occupation, the members of the OUN took an active part in Ukrainian community life.

In the first weeks of German rule, the Ukrainian masses made an intensive effort to organize. Ukrainian community organizations, bearing various names, appeared in the large centers for the purpose of establishing their cultural and economic life, carrying on relief work for the refugees, and defending the Ukrainian interests before the German authorities. Hundreds of Ukrainian schools sprang up spontaneously; many cultural organizations (*Ridna Khata* in Kholm and *Prosvita* in the Galician areas) were revived; youth organizations were formed; and the local village or municipal administrations passed in part into Ukrainian hands.

To coordinate the work of the various Ukrainian organizations and local committees, an agency was organized in November, 1939. It took definite shape in

Cracow on April 15, 1940, at the first congress of representatives of all the semi-legal existing committees; Professor Volodymyr Kubijovyč was chosen as its head. The German authorities officially recognized this body only as a Ukrainian relief organization with the name of the Ukrainian Central Committee with its headquarters in Cracow.

The occupation administration did not permit the formation of other Ukrainian organizations, but they made an exception for purely economic institutions. Thus all organized, legal and semi-legal Ukrainian life was really concentrated in the Ukrainian Central Committee. Lower units of this organization in the counties were the Ukrainian Relief Committees (UDK) and their local subsidiary agencies.

In the field of social welfare, the Ukrainian Central Committee organized relief for the needy (especially the population of the Lemkian region), the refugees, the unemployed, former prisoners of war, and the student youth, and it defended the interests of the Ukrainian population. In the economic field, it revived the network of trading cooperatives, the agricultural society *Sil'skyi Hospodar*, and the Ukrainian Bank; and it gave help in the organization of small private enterprises.

The Ukrainian areas were covered with a network of all kinds of Ukrainian schools, most of which had not existed previously, and kindergartens. Instead of the *Prosvita* (Enlightenment) cultural societies, the revival of which was banned by the Germans, the Ukrainian Educational Societies (UOT) arose; their work was guided by the cultural work section of the Ukrainian Central Committee. Several youth groups (*Kurení Molodi*) were organized with rest camps and sports facilities. To satisfy the hunger for the printed word (in the Ukrainian frontier lands west of the Sian and Buh there was previously no Ukrainian press or bookstore and almost no libraries), a Ukrainian publishing

house (*Ukrain's'ke Vydavnytstvo*) was established in Cracow.

The Ukrainians also made some outstanding gains in the control of the church, especially the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The German authorities allowed the restoration of the former Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland under Metropolitan Dionysius. Consequently, artificially imposed Polish and Russian influences rapidly disappeared, and the church regained its Ukrainian character, especially with the consecration of two Ukrainian bishops: Professor Ivan Ohienko (later Archbishop Hilarion) for the Kholm diocese, and Archimandrite Palladii (Vydybida-Rudenko) for the Lemkian and Cracow diocese. Under the leadership of Archbishop Hilarion, Kholm was soon established as a center of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In the Greek Catholic Church of the Lemkian administration the Russophile course was also halted after the appointment of the Very Rev. Alexander Malynovsky to the post of Apostolic Administrator, upon the death of his predecessor, Rev. A. Medvetsky.

In spite of the difficulties arising from the war, a national rebirth in the borderlands occurred shortly afterwards. Ukrainian schools and cooperatives were set up in every locality having a Ukrainian population. The Ukrainian Educational Societies worked in 60 per cent of the villages; there were youth groups organized in 50 per cent. In the areas of Kholm and Podlachia, the number of Orthodox parishes tripled, to 140. The local administration passed chiefly into Ukrainian hands, and the so-called Ukrainian auxiliary police were active (in Polish counties this force was Polish). In the local administration and courts, Ukrainians as well as Poles occupied places not reserved for Germans. Some cities and towns took on a Ukrainian character.

Organized Ukrainian life in the Western Ukrainian frontier was greatly affected by the results of the split of the

OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) into two groups in the summer of 1940: the partisans of Colonel Andrew Melnyk and those of Stephen Bandera. The groups fought each other, and this in turn weakened the whole Ukrainian organized life. The struggle between the two groups of the OUN increased in 1941, when clear signs of the approach of the German-Soviet conflict were visible. In April, 1941, the final break occurred in the OUN.

In connection with the tension of the Soviet-German relations and the possibility of war in the East, the Ukrainian political refugees made efforts to unite the Ukrainian national forces. Both nationalist groups tried to seize the initiative for the entire consolidation. The OUN, under the leadership of S. Bandera, organized in June, 1941, a Ukrainian National Committee in Cracow with Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi as president, which Committee united the majority of Ukrainian political groups. But the Committee could not attain full consolidation nor could it gain political significance, inasmuch as the outbreak of the German-Soviet war created an entirely new situation.

V. Kubijovyč

CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE

Before the Beginning of War with the Germans

Despite the non-aggression pact that existed between Germany and the USSR, the USSR was preparing feverishly for war. Under the impact of the short but costly war with Finland, the occupation of the Baltic states, and the annexation of Bessarabia, all in late 1939 and early 1940, Ukraine was put on a war footing. Not only was the munitions industry being intensively developed, but plans for all contemplated construction work were considered only after the military authorities had been consulted. More and more of the big factories were being converted secretly into armament fac-

tories; for example, the reconstructed Kharkiv locomotive factory and a newly built tractor plant were manufacturing tanks. At the same time civilian life was being militarized (workmen were not permitted to leave their jobs, and the civilian population was organized for air-raid defense). Schools, handbooks, literature, the theater, and even children's toys showed the influence of the militarization. In May and June of 1941 the movement of great masses of troops to the West was begun and all civilian railroad travel in Ukraine was greatly reduced.

Other unexpected side effects in Ukraine of the USSR's preparations for war with Germany were a diminishing of the Russification policy, the relaxation of the attacks against Ukrainian nationalism in literature, art, and science, and the adoption of a permissive policy toward the expression of Ukrainian patriotism insofar as it had an anti-Polish or anti-western character. No real concessions were made to the Ukrainian people, but by the devices just described the Soviet government belatedly hoped to correct recent wrongs and gain Ukrainian support in case of an all-out war.

The newly annexed Western Ukrainian lands, especially Galicia, exerted some influence on the Ukrainian population of the pre-1939 Soviet Ukrainian territory. Soldiers in the Soviet army and, later, civilians saw the noticeably higher standard of living in Western Ukraine and, perhaps even more important, became acquainted with the differentiated and freely developed social and political ideas of the Western Ukrainians. Understanding the danger of these influences, the Soviet government hindered contacts with the Western Ukrainian lands as much as possible by barring travel to them without special entry permits from the political police (NKVD).

War Events

Hitler's attack on the USSR on June 22, 1941, revealed the political and mili-

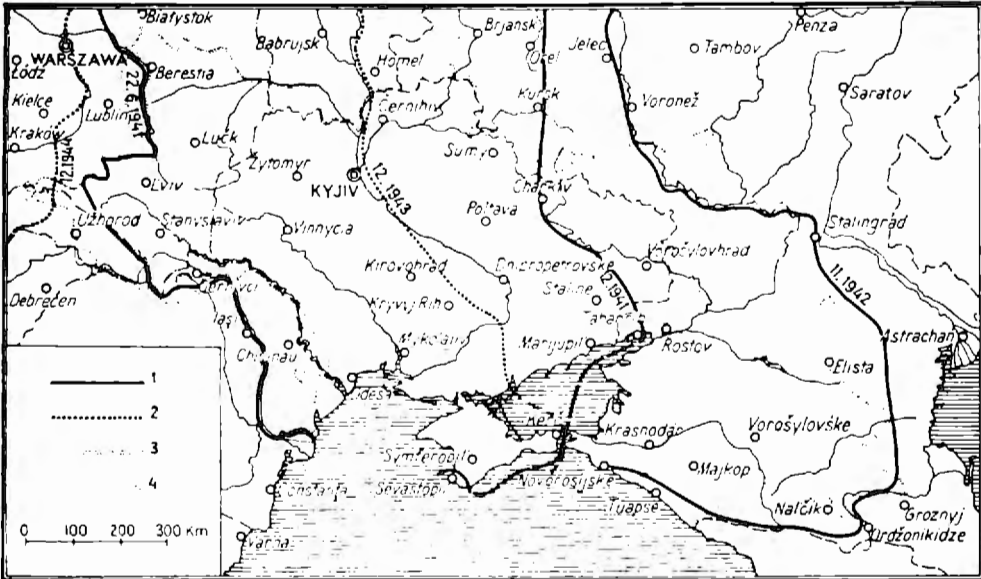


FIGURE 486. UKRAINE DURING THE GERMAN-SOVIET WAR

- (1) German anti-Soviet front; (2) Soviet fronts; (3) boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic territory; (4) boundaries of the Ukrainian ethnic lands with the mixed territories.

tary weaknesses of Soviet Russia. Among the chief causes of the initial success of the Germans were the lack of a strong home front in the USSR and the defeatist and anti-Soviet attitude of a considerable part of the civilian population and of the army, especially among the Ukrainians. Such an attitude was the natural consequence of the preceding years of famine and mass terror and of Moscow's oppressive nationality policies in Ukraine.

An important phenomenon in the first stage of the Soviet-German war was the great number of Soviet prisoners captured by the Germans. Many Soviet soldiers became prisoners only because their armies were defeated, surrounded, and annihilated after having rendered at least some resistance. However, hundreds of thousands of soldiers in Ukraine let themselves be captured voluntarily or deserted whenever possible; in this they were assisted by the population, despite NKVD reprisals.

The government of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the Com-

munist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine made their first appeal to the people of Ukraine to defend their fatherland only on July 14, 1941. The call for the formation of the volunteer people's home guard did not meet with any enthusiastic response in Ukraine. The "Ukrainian question" again became an acute political problem. On June 27, 1941, a mass meeting of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in Kiev was addressed not by party and government leaders, but by Ukrainian writers and cultural leaders who had survived the purges and who were now instructed to play on Ukrainian patriotism in order to mobilize opinion against the Germans. The Russians apparently were fearful both of the position of the Ukrainians with regard to Germany and of Germany's plans with respect to Ukraine.

The Germans launched an attack on the entire eastern front that lasted until the end of autumn, 1941. On June 30, the Germans occupied Lviv, and by the middle of July, all of Galicia, western

Volhynia, Bukovina, and Bessarabia. Breaking the defensive "Stalin line," they drove a wedge into the Soviet rear and, in the first half of July, reached the approaches to Kiev. They then began an encircling movement around the Soviet armies which, pressed by German and Rumanian troops, retreated from Bukovina and Bessarabia. On August 16, the German-Rumanian forces surrounded Odessa; on the same day the Germans occupied Kryvyi Rih. On August 19 almost all of Right-Bank Ukraine was in German hands. On August 22, the Germans occupied Kherson; on August 26, Cherkasy; on August 27, Dnipropetrovsk; on September 19, Kiev and Poltava; on October 9, Berdiansk; on October 16, Odessa; and on October 24, Kharkiv. On October 29, the Germans controlled the entrance to the Crimea and in late autumn they had occupied almost the entire Donbas. By the beginning of November, 1941, some eighteen weeks after the start of the war, the whole territory of the Ukrainian SSR except for Voroshylovhrad and the north-eastern part of the Donbas was under German control.

In carrying out Stalin's directive proclaimed in a radio speech on July 3, 1941—"Make life in the rear of the enemy unbearable"—the Soviet armies and special party detachments, when retreating, destroyed industrial plants, railroads, communal buildings, stores of food, water reservoirs, other resources, and the



FIGURE 487. ONE OF THE CHURCHES IN PECHERSKA LAVRA, DESTROYED BY SOVIET TROOPS DURING THEIR RETREAT FROM KIEV IN 1941

harvest in the field. Because of their hurried retreat at the beginning of the war this destruction did not reach the proportions desired by the Bolsheviks, but advantage was taken of the German halt in August-September, 1941, on the Dnieper to effect great planned destruction in Kiev—the Khreshchatyk (the main artery of the city) and major buildings in other parts of the city were mined to explode some time after the Germans' entrance—and on the Left Bank. The greater part of the mine shafts in the Donbas were flooded and the Dnieper Hydroelectric Works and all of the fifty-four blast furnaces in Ukraine were blown up. Kharkiv also experienced great destruction before the Bolsheviks retreated.

The large-scale evacuation of people and equipment from Ukraine to the Urals and central Asia was carried on without plan and was accompanied by enormous losses.

The people of Ukraine, for the most part, did not want to be evacuated to the East and avoided evacuation. Those evacuated consisted primarily of party and government officials, skilled industrial workers, and specialists of all kinds. Special care was taken to evacuate members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia (scholars, writers, research workers, and actors); the government feared that if the Germans should favor the Ukrainian cause, these people might become politically active if left behind. Altogether about 3.8 million men, women, and children and about 850 large industrial establishments were removed from the Ukrainian SSR to the East.

While the movement to the East was taking place, the NKVD carried out mass arrests and executions, chiefly of Ukrainians—especially those who tried to avoid evacuation. In the jails most prisoners whose period of imprisonment was more than three years were shot; others were evacuated if possible. In several cities the NKVD burned prisons with prisoners in them.

The First Months of the German Occupation

Hitler began his war against the USSR with an announcement of June 22, 1941, which mentioned only vaguely the liberation of peoples from the Bolsheviks, and the granting of freedom of religion and labor: no political commitments were made.

After his first successes, Hitler, on July 27, 1941, formed a Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Areas to govern these territories; A. Rosenberg was at its head. The occupied territories were divided into *Reichskommissariats*. The Ukrainian lands were torn apart. Galicia was included in the *Generalgouvernement* (see p. 874). Northern Podlachia (the Bilsk [Bielsk Podlaski] area) was directly incorporated into Germany. Rumania not only recovered Bessarabia and all of Bukovina, it was given the part of Right-Bank Ukraine between the Dniester and the Boh rivers (called *Transnistria* by the Rumanians) with its capital in Odessa.

By orders of August 20, 1941, Hitler formed the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* from the remains of the Ukrainian lands occupied by the Germans and appointed as *Reichskommissar* (German High Commissioner) the Gauleiter of Eastern Prussia, Eric Koch, whose residence was in Rivne. Because of military operations the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* was not organized until November, 1941.

In the first months of the war, with the establishment of the German military government in the provincial and district centers, local Ukrainians spontaneously took over the civil provincial and district administrations almost everywhere. The peasants collected the harvest under exceptionally difficult conditions, without machines or draught animals. In the industrial and mining regions the workmen started to open the mines and factories on their own. Teachers organized schools and many regular classes were held during the fall of 1941 and the winter of 1942. At the same time church

life was reborn. In many places priests who had managed to survive began to baptize children, and often young adults, in large groups, and to celebrate divine service. Churches were opened and local church councils were formed.

In the rehabilitation efforts Ukrainians from Western Ukraine and returning emigrants played a considerable part. They usually either followed the German army illegally in groups or traveled as translators or workers in German business enterprises. They were predominantly active members of the two rival factions of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Their political role was important because the local non-Bolshevik leadership had been shattered by the Soviet government and was commencing to organize again only slowly and with difficulty.

The Ukrainians vigorously undertook to rebuild their national economy and cultural life. According to incomplete data, 115 non-communist newspapers appeared in Ukraine during the first months of the German occupation. Publishing companies were organized; theatres were formed; scientific, artistic, and professional societies began to function; even some colleges and universities were reopened. This was all done on a local level, however, for the circumstances of the war and the occupation did not permit organization on a nation-wide scale to occur in Ukraine.



FIGURE 488. KIEV IN AUTUMN, 1941
The Khreshchatyk destroyed.

In the middle of July a Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council) was organized in Rivne. It directed Ukrainian life in western Volhynia and devoted its attention chiefly to the question of the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Kiev led the cultural and economic revival in central Ukraine. Some institutes of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences again began to function. The Medical and Polytechnic Institutes resumed classes. A Society of Ukrainian Writers was formed which issued a journal, *Litavry* (Kettle Drums), and was headed by Olena Teliha. Professional unions of artists, musicians, physicians and medical workers, engineers, and such, and a Ukrainian Red Cross, a Polubotok Military Club, and the Sich (a sports association for youth) were organized. In October, 1941, the revived All-Ukrainian Consumer Cooperative Society, headed by Perevertun, began to extend its activities from Kiev to other provinces. Kiev again became the center of the sugar industry. By the beginning of December, 1941, some thirty enterprises had been re-opened in Kiev and new financial institutions such as the Ukrainian Bank, the Prombank (Industrial Bank), and the Agricultural Bank were founded. All these activities were carried on locally and spontaneously through the Kievan municipal and provincial boards of administration and without the explicit approbation of German military authorities. In October, 1941, the OUN group of A. Melnyk participated in the establishment of a Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council) in Kiev, designed to become eventually the central governmental body of Ukraine. The *Rada* was headed by Nicholas Velychkivsky, a local economics professor, as president, and Volodymyr Bahazii, a young Kievan university mathematician, as chief organizer. However, the Germans soon prevented the Council's work and arrested most of its leaders.

Ukrainian life in Kharkiv was directed

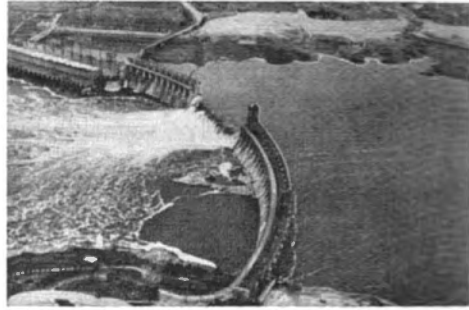


FIGURE 489. DNIEPER HYDRO-ELECTRIC WORKS DESTROYED BY THE RETREATING SOVIET TROOPS

by an unofficial citizens' committee, headed by Volodymyr Dolenko, which sought to guide the life of all of north-eastern Ukraine. The *Prosvita* (Enlightenment Society), headed by Basil Dubrovsky, and the municipal and provincial boards of administration were active. The work of the Kharkiv center lasted longer because of the somewhat laxer—that is, compared to the German civil administration in central Ukraine—military regime that continued throughout the German occupation.

Another important civic organization was the Ukrainian National Committee in Dnipropetrovsk with Borys Andrievsky, professor of medicine, as its head; its chief interest was in the school system.

The German Occupation and the Reichskommissariat Ukraine

Spontaneous revival of Ukrainian national life was mainly fostered by persisting hopes and widespread rumors that the Germans came as true liberators, that they would soon recognize these Ukrainian efforts, and would support the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. Having lived in the USSR in complete isolation from the outside world, and distrusting as just another lie almost everything Soviet propaganda used to say about German Nazism, Ukrainians were grossly misinformed about Hitler's true intentions. Conditions changed greatly when the Germans oc-

cupied almost all the territory of the Ukrainian SSR in late autumn. The *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* (RKU) became a veritable German colony.

The *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* included in the northwest Ukrainian Polisia, which bordered on the *General-kommissariat* of Belorussia (see Fig. 485) as part of the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* (with Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia); in the east it was to extend to the Volga; and in the southeast to the Caucasus. Actually the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* consisted of only Volhynia and Polisia, Right-Bank Ukraine except for Rumanian-occupied *Transnistria*, and part of Poltava province. With the further advance of the German army, Zaporizhia *oblast* and some territory on the Sea of Azov also were included on September 1, 1942. The rest of Left-Bank Ukraine remained under German military government.

The *Reichskommissariat* was divided into *Generalbezirke*, and these into *Gebiete* which united several former rural *raions* as well as cities. In the larger cities there were German commissioners, in the rural *raions* German police stations and the so-called *Landwirtschaftsführer* (agricultural leaders) to supervise agricultural activities. The local Ukrainian administration was composed of a municipal board of administration, headed by the mayor, subordinated to the German city commissioner, the *raion* board of the administration, headed by the so-called "raion chief," and the village *starostas* (elders), who were supervised by the German *Gebietskommissars*. As in the *Generalgouvernement*, a "Ukrainian auxiliary police" was established subordinate to the German police.

The arrival of Eric Koch in Ukraine marked the beginning of a severe regime of occupation. Koch and his administrative and police apparatus demanded work and obedience; Koch's proclamation in December, 1941, guaranteed the population no rights other than freedom

of religion. The brutality of the regime became evident everywhere.

The Germans began the extermination of the population on a mass scale. In the autumn of 1941 the Jewish people who had not escaped to the East were annihilated throughout Ukraine. No less than 850,000 were killed by the SS special commandos. Hundreds of thousands of prisoners of war, especially during the winter of 1941-2, died of hunger in the German camps—a tragedy which had a considerable effect upon the course of the war, for as a consequence Soviet soldiers ceased to surrender to the Germans.

At the end of 1941, the Nazi terror turned against active Ukrainian nationalists, although most of them were not in any way engaged in fighting the Germans as yet. Thus, in the winter of 1941-2, a group of writers including Olena Teliha and Ivan Irlivsky, Ivan Rohach, the chief editor of the daily *Ukrains'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word), Bahazii, the mayor of Kiev, later Dmytro Myron-Orlyk, and several others were suddenly arrested and shot in Kiev. The majority of a group of Bukovinians who had fled to the east after the Rumanian occupation of Bukovina were shot in Kiev and Mykolaiv in the autumn of 1941. In Dnipropetrovske, at the beginning of 1942, the leaders of the relief work of the Ukrainian National Committee were shot. In Kamianets Podilsky several dozen Ukrainian activists including Kibets, the head of the local administration, were executed. In March, 1943, Perevertun, the director of the All-Ukrainian Consumer Cooperative Society, and his wife were shot. In 1942-3 there were shootings and executions in Kharkiv, Zhytomyr, Kremenchuk, Lubni, Shepetivka, Rivne, Kremianets, Brest-Litovsk, and many other places.

When, in the second half of 1942, the conduct of the Germans provoked the population to resistance in the form of guerrilla warfare, the Germans began to apply collective responsibility on a large

scale. This involved the mass shooting of innocent people and the burning of entire villages, especially in the Chernihiv and northern Kiev areas and in Volhynia. For various—even minor—offenses, people were being hanged publicly in every city and village. The numbers of the victims reached hundreds of thousands. The German rulers began systematically to remove the Ukrainians from the local administration by arrests and executions, replacing them with Russians, Poles, and *Volksdeutsche*. The Germans also deliberately set national groups against one another.

Plans existed, devised by H. Goering, for a ruthless colonial exploitation of the economy of Ukraine. At the beginning of 1942, Himmler developed a plan to resettle the Germans from Italy, south Tyrol, and Rumania in southern Ukraine and the Crimea. For this purpose it was decided, in February, 1942, to build a highway from Cracow via Vinnytsia to the Crimea along which German "military villages" (*Wehrbauerndörfer*) were to be erected. In March, 1943, the construction of these villages actually was begun at Zviahel, Vinnytsia, and in the Crimea, but they were never completed.

The southwest part of Ukraine, Transnistria, which was occupied by Rumania after an agreement between Germany and Rumania on August 19, 1941, was in a special position. Economically it was freer than the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* and political terror there was not as severe. But Ukrainian cultural and community life was completely stifled. Rumania's national policy was openly anti-Ukrainian and tended toward being pro-Russian. The official language, besides Rumanian, was Russian, and the press appeared only in these two languages.

German Economic Policy

German economic policy was based upon the ruthless exploitation of all resources of conquered territories for

German consumption regardless of the needs of the local population. A four-year plan was to turn Ukraine into a grain-growing area, the food base of Germany, and a supplier of only certain kinds of raw material such as manganese. The plan did not call for the rebuilding of any industry in Ukraine.

In Ukraine the Germans had found the railroads, industry, and the communal economy completely ruined, and the collective farms economically paralyzed; the Bolsheviks had destroyed the machines and draught animals on their withdrawal, and the peasants in many cases had destroyed the structures and had appropriated cattle and supplies of grain as the front line passed by. The railroads soon were more or less restored for military purposes, but the civilian population was not permitted to use them. Economic life was localized in the small towns. The economic system in Ukraine did not experience any essential change, however. All property nationalized by the Soviet government was proclaimed the property of the German government.

It suited German colonial ends to keep collective and state farms intact. The long-promised agricultural reform law was proclaimed only in February, 1942. Collective farms were to remain for some time, though under the new name of communal farms. Later they were to be transformed into agricultural associations of ten to twenty households each, with individual allotments of land, but with many operations still to be performed collectively due to the shortage of animals and equipment. During the period of occupation, the Germans requisitioned in Ukraine more than 12,000,000 metric tons of agricultural produce, including 9,500,000 tons of grain and flour, 7,600,000 head of cattle, 9,300,000 pigs, 7,800,000 sheep, and 3,300,000 horses.

The policy of the Germans was to destroy the cities as centers of industry

in order to make Ukraine an agricultural country again. Consequently the Germans not only paid no attention to supplying foodstuffs to the urban population, but they also prevented them from being brought in. The police constantly raided the bazaars and seized the products brought into them. The population of the great industrial centers suffered most. In Kharkiv and in the Donbas, bread could not be secured for almost a year. In addition, the majority of the urban population were left without means of making a living, for there was almost no industry operating: for example, in the Donbas the production of coal fell from 226,000 tons in June, 1941, to 10,000 tons in 1942. The Germans removed everything of value from Ukraine. The surviving establishments were used to serve the German army and administration. As a result of all this, the population of the cities, especially the industrial ones, fell off sharply during the German occupation: in March, 1942, there were only 330,000 people living in Kiev where almost one million had lived before the war.

Beginning in 1942 there were mass deportations of the rural and city population, especially of the young people, to forced labor in Germany. As early as November, 1941, recruiting of volunteers for work in Germany had been conducted, but without any success. Then, by force, about 3,000,000 persons were deported from Ukraine to Germany, where they were classified as *Ostarbeiter* (eastern workers), this being the lowest class of alien laborers in Germany. They were given especially poor living and food conditions, were employed in exhausting and dangerous work, were completely deprived of rights, and lived under constant police terror. Many forced laborers died, their health broken by the miserable conditions in which they were compelled to live.

In the winter of 1942-3, a number of Ukrainian state and municipal enter-

prises passed into the possession of German corporations founded in Königsberg, or were purchased by individual Germans at very low prices. Similarly, private German individuals were enabled to buy houses and land in Ukraine from German occupation authorities for almost nothing.

Mention should also be made of such Ukrainian economic institutions as *Vukoopsilka* (All-Ukrainian Cooperative Union) and *Tsukrotsentralia* (Central Sugar Union) which, thanks to Ukrainian officials under the direction of Myron Lutsky, had extended their operations to vast areas of Ukraine immediately after the retreat of the Soviet troops, and despite the German terror, had succeeded in preserving their Ukrainian character, at least partially, and in assuming a general national significance.

Cultural Activities

The cultural activities of the Ukrainian population were stifled no less brutally. The *Prosvita* (rural and urban cultural societies) which had arisen within the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine* were eliminated and their leading members killed. In the first month after the introduction of the German civil government of occupation there were arrests among the editorial staffs of almost all the newly established newspapers. The murdered editors usually were replaced by officials appointed by the Germans. Schools for the Ukrainian population, other than elementary ones, were banned completely. Libraries and museums were closed and their contents stolen by the Hitlerites. The theaters, functioning on a pitifully low artistic level, served the German soldiers first. A steadily larger number of places bore the inscription "for Germans only" (*Nur für Deutsche*).

The only place where any social activities were possible was the church. With the rebirth of church life at the beginning of the German occupation, a struggle

began for the national character of the church. The Autonomous Orthodox Church, headed by Archbishop Alexius who had acknowledged the dependency upon the patriarchate of Moscow, was active in some places. On December 9, 1941, the second *sobor* (synod) of the Autonomous Orthodox Church proclaimed Archbishop Alexius a Metropolitan of Ukraine. This ecclesiastical movement was opposed in Volhynia by the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church under Archbishop Polycarp which later spread its activity further in central Ukraine. The struggle with the partisans of the Russian Orthodox Church became intense; in Dnipropetrovsk, Russians, directed by some former White Russian émigrés, attacked a Ukrainian church.

In the part of eastern Ukraine that was under German military government during the entire German occupation, conditions were generally similar to those in the *Reichskommissariat* Ukraine. However, the police regime was less severe, and there were at least a few possibilities for cultural work. The local municipal and village administrations were under the authority of the German army command.

The Ukrainian Resistance

The inhuman policies of the Germans in occupied Ukraine soon produced a spontaneous growth of popular resistance. It assumed three forms: an organized Ukrainian nationalist movement, which was at the same time anti-Bolshevik; a spontaneous, popular, self-defense movement, clearly anti-German but connected neither with the Bolsheviks nor with the nationalists; and the organized Bolshevik movement.

The first armed Ukrainian nationalist resistance to the Germans appeared in Polisia and Volhynia. In this area, near Olevsk—the so-called Polisian Sich—a unit of Ukrainian guerrillas commanded by Taras Bulba (Borovets) had been

fighting the Bolsheviks from the very beginning of the German-Soviet war. In the summer of 1942 the Sich was reorganized as the UPA, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (also called the UNRA, the Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army). It defended the Ukrainian population from German abuse and at the same time carried on a struggle against the Bolshevik guerrillas.

From 1942 on armed resistance was conducted in Volhynia under the leadership of members of the OUN headed by Bandera (then in a concentration camp in Germany). This movement later adopted the name UPA and encompassed other insurgent organizations. Taras Borovets was arrested by the Germans and placed in a concentration camp. In 1943 the center of the UPA moved south to Galicia, where an armed struggle broke out against the Germans and, later, the Bolsheviks (see p. 889). The spread of the insurgent struggle acquired such strength that at the end of the occupation the Germans were in control nowhere but in the cities of Ukraine and made only daylight raids into the villages.

Underground cells of both factions of the OUN existed in many large cities of Ukraine. They were spreading both anti-German and anti-Soviet propaganda. The OUN groups in the Donbas and the Dnieper industrial centers were composed of local workers and of former *Komsomol* youth. They espoused the idea of an independent Ukrainian state and the slogan "neither Hitler nor Stalin." To defend the population against the terrorist measures of German authorities, the Ukrainian underground successfully concentrated its efforts primarily in obstructing the German policies of economic exploitation and of forcible deportation of Ukrainians to Germany.

It is significant that not a single pro-Russian movement could gain any support among the Ukrainians during the war. Russian "national solidarists" (NTS), who, like the former refugee

OUN nationalists, streamed into the German occupied territories from abroad, were completely unable to form units of their organization in Ukraine.

The spontaneous and politically less partisan groups were formed by the local Ukrainian people as a means of self-defense against the Germans. Such was a guerrilla detachment of 200 men in the Chernihiv area which was active from March, 1942, until October, 1943. Such seems to have been the youth movement in the Donbas, led by O. Koshovyi, which bore the name of The Young Guard; a large underground organization called Ukraine in the area of Vinnytsia; and many others.

The Bolshevik underground consisted of underground cells of the KP(b)U and the *Komsomol*. They usually kept away from the local population for fear of being denounced by them to the Germans. Their tasks were to spy on the Germans and the Ukrainians, to plant their agents in local administrations, and so forth. The party underground was closely interwoven with the NKVD network. The most important part of the Bolshevik resistance to the Germans in Ukraine was carried on by Soviet guerrillas in the forests in the northern parts of the provinces of Kiev, Chernihiv, and Sumy, and on the central Dnieper. This movement relied for manpower chiefly on parachute detachments of specially trained and well-armed men, many of them members of the NKVD, who were sent into Ukraine from behind the Soviet front. The guerrillas were directed and supplied from Moscow where, on June 20, 1942, a special Ukrainian Staff of Guerrilla Movement under the command of T. Strokach was established and attached to the exiled Central Committee of the KP(b)U. Local Ukrainian elements played a completely subordinate role in this Soviet guerrilla movement.

In 1944, at its height, the guerrilla movement in Ukraine numbered over

100,000 men. The leader of the largest Soviet guerrilla detachment in Ukraine was Sydir Kovpak, who led two long-range raids in 1942-4 in northern and western Ukraine, fighting against both the Germans and the Ukrainian nationalist guerrillas.

The Retreat of the Germans

It was not until the beginning of 1943, when the Red Army started to push the Germans back and Ukraine was in a state of insurrection, that the Bolsheviks found it expedient to begin playing on Ukrainian patriotism. The phrase "national sovereign Ukrainian state in the form of the Ukrainian SSR" suddenly began to appear frequently in Soviet newspaper articles and radio broadcasts.

On February 1, 1944, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR adopted the reform of the Constitution to allow the constituent republics of the Union to have republican military formations and direct relations with foreign countries as well as to have ministries of defense and of foreign affairs in their governments. The playwright, Alexander Kornichuk, was appointed foreign minister of the Ukrainian SSR, while the guerrilla leader, General Sydir Kovpak, became minister of defense. Soviet Ukrainians began to speak in public about international politics, about the foreign policy of the Ukrainian SSR after the war, particularly with regard to the problem of future borders with Poland, Rumania, and Hungary. No Ukrainian national formations were established in the Red Army, however. On October 20, 1943, the army groups in Ukraine were renamed the Ukrainian Fronts, but they were Ukrainian in name only.

The Germans' first defeats occurred on Russian territory in the winter of 1941-2. After the Germans in Stalingrad capitulated, on February 2, 1943, the Red Army pushed westward to the borders of Ukraine. On August 23, 1943, the Red Army units took Kharkiv. On

November 6, 1943, General Vatutin entered Kiev.

On retreating from Ukraine, Hitler gave the order to create "a zone of destruction" on Left-Bank Ukraine to delay the advance of the Soviet armies. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1943, the Germans burned an important part of Dnipropetrovske, Poltava, Kremenchuk, and other Left-Bank cities (Kharkiv had been ruined by battles and bombardment in the spring of 1943); they destroyed a large number of villages in a strip 200 kilometers wide along the left bank of the Dnieper. The population received orders to leave their homes and to move west behind the German armies. But the Dnieper stopped the larger part of this flood of people from the east. Hitler did not order the creation of "a zone of destruction" for Right-Bank Ukraine, but often the entire population of towns and villages was driven out and their homes destroyed. The Germans held their position longer in south Ukraine: the Bolsheviks took Odessa only on April 10, 1944, and Sevastopol on May 9, 1944.

By the end of April, 1944, all eastern and central Ukraine was again in Soviet hands. On July 27, 1944, Konev's forces captured Lviv; by the end of August, all Western Ukraine. On October 10, 1944, Transcarpathia was taken. All the Ukrainian territories were again part of the Soviet Union.

V. Holubnychy and H. M.

WESTERN UKRAINE AFTER JUNE 22, 1941

The Summer of 1941

The rapid retreat of the Bolsheviks from Western Ukraine and part of Right-Bank Ukraine did not permit them to carry through mass evacuation or extensive destruction of economic resources, as in the other Ukrainian lands. However, the Bolsheviks succeeded in annihilating some 10,000 political prisoners in Western Ukraine before and after the

outbreak of hostilities (massacres took place in the prisons in Lviv, Zolochiv, Rivne, Dubno, Lutsk, etc.).

The majority of the Western Ukrainian population accepted the beginning of the war with satisfaction, for they hoped formed into a Ukrainian National *Rada* for liberation from the Bolsheviks and, in one form or another, the rebuilding of a free Ukrainian state. The greatest activity was displayed by the groups of the OUN, especially by that of Stephen Bandera. The members of the nationalist organizations, who resided in Germany or in German-occupied Poland, at the very beginning of the war, rushed to the east and established contact with their members and with the Ukrainian masses in Western Ukraine, where they took part in setting up a Ukrainian civil administration. Many of them accompanied the German army, especially as interpreters. There were two Ukrainian companies in the German army composed of the members and sympathizers of the OUN under the leadership of Stephen Bandera; one called the *Nachtigall*, under the command of Roman Shukhevych, entered Lviv with the German forces on June 30. The other, called *Roland*, was on the Rumanian front.

On June 30, the members of the OUN, headed by S. Bandera, who entered Lviv, organized a gathering of the citizens at which they proclaimed the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state, and announced that S. Bandera had appointed Yaroslav Stetsko as the first head of the Provisional Government. In practice, these acts were of little consequence. Shortly after the German police in Lviv arrested Stetsko and several members of his government and deported them to Germany.

A few days after the occupation of Lviv, the Council of Senior Citizens was formed in Lviv under the honorary sponsorship of Metropolitan-Archbishop Andrew Sheptytsky and under the leadership of Constantine Levytsky. It was intended to be the advisory organ of

government and to reconcile the two wings of the OUN. In the second half of July, 1941, when it became known that Hitler was dividing the Ukrainian lands and that Galicia was being incorporated into the *Generalgouvernement*, the Council of Senior Citizens was transformed into a Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council). It increased its original number of 13 members to 30 by coopting members of various former political groups and representatives of all walks of life. The Ukrainian National Council formed its General Secretariat and named Constantine Pankivsky as General Secretary. However, the German administration of the *Generalgouvernement* allowed only the organization of a less representative Ukrainian Land Committee, chiefly for tasks of social welfare, and compelled the Ukrainian National Council to cease its activity.

On August 1, 1941, Galicia became the fifth district (province) of the *Generalgouvernement*, and Bukovina and Bessarabia were given to Rumania.

The Ukrainian Lands in the Generalgouvernement, 1941-4

There were about 4,000,000 Ukrainians in the areas now in the *Generalgouvernement*, not counting about 1,000,000 Roman Catholics who used Ukrainian language but who, for the most part, regarded themselves as Poles. In the district of Galicia, from which the Sian (San) area in the west was separated, the Ukrainians formed about 70 per cent of the population. In Galicia, German government introduced the same system of administration as in the other districts of the *Generalgouvernement*. The German language was made official, and Ukrainian and Polish were regarded as only subsidiary languages. All the higher positions in the administration and economic life were taken by Germans. Property was not returned to the Ukrainian institutions or to the church. The Ukrainian press, which had developed rapidly during the transitional

period (June), was curtailed and the Germans themselves began to publish papers in Ukrainian (e.g., the daily *Lvivski Visti—Lviv News*). A strict police regime was set up. In August many members of the OUN were arrested and a large number were placed in concentration camps. Already in July, 1941, the Germans had arrested Stephen Bandera, and, in 1943, they arrested Colonel Andrew Melnyk. The detachment of Shukhevych was turned into an auxiliary police unit and sent to Belorussia. In Galicia, as elsewhere, the Nazis destroyed the Jewish population.

The only Ukrainian organization which the German district government allowed was the Ukrainian Land Committee in Lviv headed by C. Pankivsky. It took the place of the Secretariat of the banned National Council, which disbanded itself in view of the situation. The Ukrainian Land Committee had the same tasks and structure as the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow, with which it merged in March, 1942; from that time on the Ukrainian Central Committee in Cracow was the only recognized representative of the Ukrainians in the *Generalgouvernement*. V. Kubijovyč continued as president of the committee and his deputy and the acting head of the committee's district branch in Lviv was Pankivsky. The Ukrainian Central Committee absorbed the majority of the Ukrainian organizations and institutions into its structure, which had renewed their activity (after the enforced inactivity during the Soviet occupation in 1939-41) or had been organized in July, 1941.

Ukrainian-German relations after August 1 became very different from what they had been previously. The Germans tried to limit Ukrainian activities as much as possible, although under the wartime conditions they were compelled to make cultural and economic concessions. Still the German occupation regime weighed less heavily on the Ukrainians in the *Generalgouvernement*,

especially after Otto von Wächter became governor of Galicia, than in the other Ukrainian lands, particularly in the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*. The tactics which were applied by the majority of the Western Ukrainian community headed by the Ukrainian Central Committee toward the Germans were to protect the Ukrainian population from persecution by refraining from manifest anti-German activities, to get control of the cities, and to train Ukrainian technicians at a rapid pace. A different policy was adopted by the Ukrainian nationalists, for they wanted to build Ukrainian strength by revolutionary means after the second half of 1943 and often came out openly against the Germans. In the fall of 1943 they occupied extensive areas of the country.

The economic condition of the area was bad. The villages were pressed to make food deliveries and thousands were sent to Germany for forced labor. There was a semi-famine in the cities. The Germans did not return the great landed estates, or industrial and commercial enterprises, which had been nationalized by the Soviet authorities, to private ownership. Still, it was possible to revive numerous cooperative societies, which were again joined in the Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives in Lviv but under a tightened German control; many small businesses and craft enterprises were also started.

The difficult economic situation of the Ukrainian population was alleviated somewhat by the Ukrainian Central Committee which carried on relief work on a still broader scale than in the *Generalgouvernement* before 1941. Among various special efforts, mention should be made of its organization of aid for starving Subcarpathian areas in the spring of 1942 and aid to war prisoners from the Soviet army.

In the field of education, the Ukrainian population secured a satisfactory number of elementary schools, the intensive development of vocational, technical, and

general secondary schools, and the organization of the so-called state professional courses (technical, medical, etc.) in Lviv, which were in fact disguised institutions of higher education, as well as the development of pre-school kindergarten activity, and the accelerated training of teachers. Conditions were very unfavorable for scholarship and scientific research, however.

The work of the *Prosvita* cultural societies was taken over by a section of the cultural work of the Ukrainian Central Committee, located in Lviv, and by numerous branches of the Ukrainian Educational Society. Work went on in the Institute of Folk Arts in Lviv; amateur theatrical groups were organized in towns and villages; a provincial contest of the popular singing groups was arranged in 1942, and so forth. Ukrainian art and especially the theatre developed.

The Ukrainian Publishing House continued its work, but it was subjected to still greater restrictions by the German administration. In fact, the Ukrainians did not secure their own press on the territory of Galicia. However, Ukrainian newspapers published in Cracow and Germany were circulated freely in Galicia, while the underground Ukrainian press, published by the OUN and the UPA, was circulated illegally.

Generally the Germans allowed the Ukrainians to occupy the lower ranks in the civil administration and judicial in-



FIGURE 490. FIRST UKRAINIAN DIVISION, "HALYCHYNIA"

Review of a battery of heavy field howitzers of the artillery regiment.

stitutions and those remnants of local self-government which had direct contact with the people. The higher posts were reserved for Germans.

In April, 1943, the only important regular Ukrainian armed unit during World War II — the Division “*Halychyna*” — was organized. It was formed of Ukrainian volunteers from Galicia and the other Ukrainian lands of the *Generalgouvernement*. Governor Wächter of Galicia had secured permission for this and his efforts were seconded from the Ukrainian side by V. Kubijovyč, the head of the Ukrainian Central Committee, who was supported by a significant part of the veterans and the Ukrainian community. The Germans promised that the division would be used solely for fighting the Bolsheviks, that it would remain a separate unit, that its spiritual needs would be served by Ukrainian chaplains, and that its staff of officers would be composed of Germans and Ukrainians. The Ukrainian community, which supported the formation of this division, considered it the nucleus of a regular national army, which could play a great role if conditions were favorable in the East. The Military Board, composed of former Ukrainian officers and headed by Colonel Alfred Bizanz, was established in Lviv as a subsidiary agency in forming the division and later to satisfy its cultural needs and to help the families of its soldiers.

The formation of this division strengthened the Ukrainian position in Galicia, and also somewhat quieted the Hitlerian terror. Consequently, in the middle of 1943 Galicia was the only relatively peaceful island in the great expanse of eastern Europe conquered by the Germans, and the only place where conditions were close to normal. This was displeasing to the Soviet strategy, and so in July, 1943, the Bolshevik guerrilla leader, Sydir Kovpak, made a raid into Galicia from the Zbruch to the Carpathians. This fact and the retreat of the German army on the Soviet



FIGURE 491. ARTILLERY DETACHMENT OF THE NORTHERN GROUP OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY, DECEMBER, 1943

front showed the weakness of the Germans and aroused the Ukrainian non-Soviet revolutionary forces to direct action. At this moment the main forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were concentrated not in Volhynia but in Galicia and they took over more and more territory. The German repressions assumed a mass character. At the same time, bloody clashes occurred between the Ukrainians and Poles in Galicia, and especially in the southern Kholm area. As a result, Western Ukraine blazed up in a war of all against all. Despite the greatest efforts of the Ukrainian Central Committee, the Ukrainian bishops, and the most influential circles of the Ukrainian community, peace could not be restored.

In the autumn of 1943, after the new occupation of the central and eastern lands by the Bolsheviks, a great wave of Ukrainian refugees moved to Galicia. Through the efforts of the Ukrainian Central Committee, they kept some of them from being sent to compulsory work in Germany and gave them support and work in Western Ukraine. For several months Lviv was Ukraine's most important cultural center.

In March, 1944, the Bolsheviks occupied the easternmost part of Galicia, along the line Kosiv-Kolomyia-Buchach-Ternopil-western Volhynia. The Germans held only the cities. In the regions

far from the cities and German military bases, no regular governmental agencies functioned. The right of the strongest prevailed, usually the Ukrainian guerrillas of the UPA. On July 11–15, 1944, on the initiative of the OUN led by S. Bandera, a Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (*Ukraïns'ka Holovna Vyzvol'na Rada*, UHVR) was organized to be the political leadership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

In the second half of July, the Bolsheviks seized the rest of the Western Ukrainian lands and occupied Lviv on July 27. At this time a new wave of Ukrainian refugees poured west to Germany and Austria, and for a time to Slovakia. The Ukrainian Central Committee worked for a short time in Cracow, and then transferred its headquarters to Germany. During the advance of the Bolsheviks, the Galician Division, which had gone to the front under the command of General Freitag after it had finished its training in 1944, had incurred considerable losses in the battle at Brody. Among the casualties was Captain Dmytro Paliiv who had been the soul of the division and had consistently defended the Ukrainian interests against the German command. It moved to Slovakia and, with its ranks refilled, the division soon became a combat unit again.

Only the failure of the German armies in the east and the total loss of Ukraine (in November, 1944, the Red Army took Transcarpathia) compelled the Germans to reconsider their policy on the Ukrainian question. In the autumn of 1944, the Ukrainian political prisoners were released (including Stephen Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, Andrew Melnyk, and Taras Bulba-Borovets). Then in March, 1945, the German government recognized the newly established Ukrainian National Committee (UNK) as the representative of the Ukrainian political interests. This committee had been formed under General Paul Shandruk (deputies, V. Kubijovyč and Alexander Semenenko). But the change of the Ger-

man policy could have no influence on the course of events. The main action of the UNK was to take control of the Galician Division, which entered the new Ukrainian National Army as the First Ukrainian Division and was then on the anti-Bolshevik front in Styria. General Shandruk took command of the Ukrainian National Army some weeks before the capitulation of Germany. A few days before the end of war, he was able to withdraw the division from the Bolshevik front to the area of military operations of the western allies and later on it was interned in Rimini in Italy.

Bukovina

After the occupation of Bukovina by the Bolsheviks in 1940, part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia went to Rumania; the largest part moved to Germany along with the German settlers who were repatriated on the basis of a special German-Soviet agreement on the exchange of population. These Bukovinians settled partly in Germany and partly in the *Generalgouvernement*.

The Bolsheviks rapidly began to Sovietize Bukovina and Bessarabia. They arrested some local Ukrainian leaders. Instead of the Rumanian language, the Ukrainian and Russian languages were introduced for governmental use.

During the Soviet occupation, the OUN carried on underground work. When the Bolsheviks retreated at the end of June, 1941, the Ukrainian guerrillas went into action and offered armed resistance to the new Rumanian occupation. After the failure of this resistance, some 2,000 Ukrainians, chiefly young men, moved east in the hope that a Ukrainian state would be built there. Some of these were destroyed by the Germans, chiefly in Kiev and Mykolaiv, and the rest scattered.

The second Rumanian occupation from July, 1941, to April, 1944, was marked by absolute terror. Ukrainian life died out entirely. The Rumanians made mass arrests and sent the victims to concentration camps.

TRANSCARPATHIA

The Hungarian Occupation

The Hungarians commenced their rule here with a military dictatorship. They used repression and terror against the active leaders of the Carpatho-Ukrainian state, many of whom were sent to concentration camps in Kryve and Varjulapos. Several hundred were murdered without trial. At the same time they closed all political, social, and cultural institutions which were suspected of having any Ukrainian character.

In June, 1939, the occupation authorities organized a civil administration. The Hungarian government did not grant the national autonomy which it had constantly promised in its campaign against Czechoslovakia and Carpatho-Ukraine. Instead, it formed a territorial administration for "Uhro-Rusyns" (Hungarian Ruthenians), the so-called Subcarpathian Territory (in Hungarian, *Kárpátaljai Terület*). This administrative unit did not even include the whole territory of Transcarpathia subscribed to after the Vienna arbitration; on the other hand, it did exclude several Ukrainian villages and cities in ethnic Hungary (*anya-ország*).

The capital of the Subcarpathian Territory was Uzhhorod; at its head was a High Commissioner of the Regent appointed by the head of the state. Baron Z. Perényi was the first commissioner, followed by M. Kozma, and finally by V. Tomcsányi.

No elections to either local or central representative bodies were held in Transcarpathia for five years. In 1939, ten deputies were called to the lower chamber and one to the upper house in Budapest. Five of the lower house deputies were local Hungarians and five were Russophiles.

Self-government in Transcarpathia differed in comparison with other Hungarian regions only in that the local vernacular became the second official language, although it was called Ruthenian rather than Ukrainian. However, the

linguistic and cultural policy of the Hungarians was not stable. They began by supporting cultural Russophilism, they permitted the local vernacular, and finally even tolerated the Ukrainian literary language. The Populist movement, which had been a reaction against Russophilism, was continued by the Subcarpathian Society of Sciences, under the leadership of Professor Anthony Hodynka. The leader of the Populist movement was Dr. Ivan Haraida, whose grammar book was recognized for school use by the Hungarian government. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop, Alexander Stoika, who was initially a Magyarophile, sympathized with the Populist movement. Despite the progressive permissiveness of the Hungarians, education in the "Ruthenian" language was greatly reduced. At the end of the occupation, only three gymnasias were left out of the seven in existence prior to the occupation. Only ten junior high schools were left out of thirty. About one hundred and eighty Transcarpathian students attended Hungarian universities, but they had no opportunity to become organized.

Despite, or as a result of, the oppressive measures of governmental agencies, the national and political consciousness of the people was preserved and even strengthened. One manifestation of this political activity was the frequent arrest of the Ukrainians. When a revolutionary, underground branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was discovered in 1942, about three hundred people were tried before a military tribunal. Another reaction to the oppressive Hungarian regime was the flight of thirty thousand Ukrainians to Soviet Ukraine, where the Bolsheviks placed them in concentration camps.

The end of the Hungarian domination came with the occupation of Transcarpathia by Soviet troops in October, 1944.

During 1944-5

During the Second World War, a group of little known people functioned

as a Transcarpathian delegation with the Czechoslovak government of E. Beneš in London.

In the USSR 80 per cent of the Czechoslovak brigade of General Svoboda was composed of Ukrainians from Transcarpathia who in 1943 had been released from the concentration camps in which they had been placed after their flight to the USSR in 1940.

When the Soviet armies moved into Transcarpathia they established a Soviet army command post in Uzhhorod, with General Tiulpanov as the political head of the area. When the occupation was completed, a movement was started for union with Soviet Ukraine. On November 26, 1944, a congress of six hundred delegates of the people's committees of Transcarpathia met in Mukachiv, and accepted the so-called "Manifesto for Union." Delegations from the congress were sent to Moscow and Kiev. The result was an agreement of the government of the USSR with the government of the Czechoslovak Republic on June 29, 1945, on the basis of which the Czechs renounced Transcarpathia. A Czechoslovak administration had been partially set up in a few of the eastern districts of the province under Minister-Delegate F. Němec, but he had already ceased to govern in March, 1945. By an order of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on January 22, 1946, Transcarpathia was renamed the *Zakarpats'ka Oblast'* (Transcarpathian Province) of the Ukrainian SSR.

During the transitional period, that is, until the union of Transcarpathia with the Ukrainian SSR, the region was formally controlled by the People's *Rada* (Council) of Carpatho-Ukraine with its seat in Uzhhorod and with a Communist, I. Turianytsia, at its head. Actually the ruling force was the Communist Party of Transcarpathian Ukraine, which executed the orders of Colonel Tiulpanov. The territory of Transcarpathia again received its boundaries of 1938.

V. Markus

THE UKRAINIAN POLITICAL REFUGEES

Ukrainians in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia

In addition to the old political refugees (post-World War I), Germany and Austria (1940) received a new group which had left Western Ukraine before the Soviet occupation, and a number of university students. Later, Ukrainians brought from all the Ukrainian lands for forced labor flowed in and there were hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian soldiers from the Red Army in the German prisoner-of-war camps.

The increase in the number of Ukrainians led to a growth in the activity of the Ukrainian organizations—the Ukrainian National Union and the Ukrainian Community (*Hromada*). The Ukrainian Central Committee represented Ukrainians from the *Generalgouvernement* in Berlin, and, in the last phase of its activity, opened relief stations in German cities where Ukrainians lived in large numbers. For the legal and material assistance of Ukrainian workmen, the German government formed corresponding sections in the German Labor Front (DAF) and in the German Farmers' organization (*Reichsnährstand*). However, the relief work was extended only to Ukrainians from the *Generalgouvernement* who had the same rights as other alien workers in Germany. Newspapers and books in Ukrainian were published for the workers and prisoners. Ukrainian cultural and scholarly institutions in Czechoslovakia and Berlin showed some modest activity.

The number of Ukrainians in Germany grew again in 1944 as a result of events in the Ukrainian lands. Then a certain change in the camps of the eastern workers came. Up to that time the Germans had been silent as to the national difference among the workers from the USSR, and mixed together Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Russians. Now the Germans recognized the national division between these workers.

For the Ukrainian workers from the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, a Central Representation was created in Germany—headed by the former mayor of Kharkiv, A. Semenenko. Some cultural service was also given to the Ukrainian workers.

The Ukrainian Refugees in Other Countries

The Ukrainian émigrés in France were in poor condition. In the first half of 1940, when the Polish exiled government was on French territory, Ukrainians who were Polish citizens (from Western Ukraine) were taken into the Polish army. When Germany occupied France, organized Ukrainian life died out.

After the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, the Polish government-in-exile in London again established diplomatic relations with Moscow. Although there were no negotiations as to the fate of the disputed lands, Western Ukraine and western Belorussia, by a treaty in 1941 the Bolsheviks released Polish citizens arrested in 1939–41, including some Ukrainians. Some of these were drafted into the Polish army which General Władysław Anders was forming, and they all remained in England for some time.*

The Fate of the Ukrainian Government-in-Exile

Since the President of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile, Andrew Livytsky, found himself in German-occupied territory in September, 1939, according to a prior agreement his functions were taken over by Viacheslav Prokopovych, who resided in France; Alexander Shulhyn was appointed premier. The Ukrainian government-in-exile appealed to émigrés for cooperation with the western allies and, during the Finnish-Bolshevik war, it tried to organize a Ukrainian army in Finland. The activities of the government were interrupted by the occupation of France by

*An extensive article on the Ukrainian emigration in European countries is scheduled for the second volume of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*.

the Germans. In 1942, V. Prokopovych died.

V. Kubijovyč

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12. UKRAINE SINCE WORLD WAR II, 1945-62

THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Postwar Reconstruction

German occupation resulted in material losses in Ukraine estimated at 285 billion rubles (in 1941 prices). This comprised about 40 per cent of the national wealth of Ukraine. Seven hundred and fourteen cities and towns and more than 28,000 villages were left in total or partial ruin. Eighty-five per cent of the center of Kiev was demolished; 70 per



FIGURE 492. POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION
Rebuilt building of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

cent of Kharkiv was destroyed. More than 19 million people were left homeless. The war destroyed 16,150 industrial enterprises, which had employed 2.3 million workers. At the end of 1944, only 19 per cent of the prewar enterprises and 17 per cent of their labor force remained intact in Ukraine. As to agriculture, 872 state farms, 1,300 Ma-

chine and Tractor Stations (MTS), and 27,910 collective farms were destroyed.

At the end of 1944, the population of Ukraine (including the Crimea) had been reduced to a mere 29 million. When at the beginning of 1947 the demobilized soldiers, the refugees from the East, and the forced laborers from Germany returned home and the exchange of population with Poland and Czechoslovakia had ended, the population of the Ukrainian Republic increased to only approximately 36 million, a number four and one-half million less than the population figure for 1940 (see page 206).

Revitalization of the Ukrainian economy began immediately upon the return of the Soviet regime. The party and the NKVD (political police) organizations moved into every town immediately after its liberation. Three months after the liberation of the Donbas, its mines were already producing at 18 per cent of their prewar capacity; 40,000 youths, mostly girls, were sent to rebuild the mines. In December, 1943, the first Ukrainian blast furnace resumed producing pig iron. In October, 1945, the Kharkiv Tractor Works produced their first postwar tractors. By this time, the machine-building industry had already reached 44 per cent of its prewar capacity, while in 1946, the gross industrial output of the Ukrainian SSR reached 34 per cent of its prewar level. Women laborers and German prisoners of war were employed in the reconstruction work.

In the agricultural sector, the government ordered an immediate reconstruction of the collective farms. By the end of 1945, 26,350 collective farms, or 93 per cent of the prewar number, had been restored in the Ukrainian SSR. In addition to the misery of the war-ruined country, there was a serious drought in 1946. Severe famine resulted, though the

rate of deaths from starvation was minimized with the aid of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA).

Terror and Re-education

Immediately upon the return of the Red Army, its military tribunals carried out mass trials and executions of captured Germans, those who were responsible for the administration of Ukraine during the war as well as those local civilians who were active in local, urban, and village public or business administration. The well-publicized trials took place in all major cities: e.g., in Kharkiv, during December 15-18, 1943; in Kiev, on January 17, 1946. The sentences for German SS and police officials were usually death by hanging, while civilian collaborators were sentenced to 10 to 25 years of hard labor in concentration camps. Altogether, about 300,000 people were sentenced for their activities during the German occupation in Ukraine. For the first time in its history, several concentration camps were established in the Ukraine itself (in Stalino, Dnipropetrovske, Nikopol, Uman, etc.) in 1945. By 1947, 1,250,000 persons had returned from Germany to Ukraine, only 40 per cent of the total number of Ukrainians who had been deported to Germany. Many died in Germany. Probably, not less than 300,000 were deported by the NKVD for some alleged treason directly to Siberia, without a return to Ukraine. About 200,000 Ukrainians remained on German territory and eventually almost all of them emigrated to the western hemisphere.

The contact with the Ukrainian nationalists who had resided in western Europe before the war, and with Germany and the non-Soviet world in general, produced a profound impact upon the Ukrainians who had lived under the German occupation. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Ukraine (KP [b] U) during May 24-26,

1944, instructed the party to undertake a well-organized campaign of re-education of the Ukrainian population. Ukrainian nationalism was the main target for attack.

The substance of this re-education campaign suggests that it was instigated to a large extent by the rising tide of Russian nationalism. The cult of Russia and the Russians began to be built up in 1944 and 1945. In two public messages to the RSFSR (on March 1, 1944, and on June 29, 1945), the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR expressed the "deepest gratitude" and "sincere devotion" to the "great Russian people" for the delivery of Ukraine from the German yoke, for aiding in the economic reconstruction of Ukraine (though it was Ukrainian equipment which Russia only partially was returning now to Ukraine after evacuation to the East), and even for the "preservation of the national independence" of Ukraine.

Ukrainian SSR in Foreign Relations

And yet, while this humiliating campaign began, the Ukrainian SSR was experiencing an unexpected political and cultural upheaval. Important new literary and scientific works were being published in the Ukrainian SSR at the time; quite a number of new schools and institutions of higher education were being opened. The most remarkable development was that Ukraine became a recognized member of the world's community of nations.

On February 8, 1945, at Yalta, F. D. Roosevelt and W. Churchill agreed to Stalin's request that Ukraine and Belorussia be admitted to full membership in the United Nations organization. On April 27, 1945, the United Nations' constituent conference at San Francisco, by the vote of 47 of its original member states, unanimously accepted Ukraine into its membership.

The appointment of Dmytro Manuilsky, a veteran general secretary of the by then defunct Comintern, to the post of the foreign minister of Ukraine and the

leader of the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations early in 1945 signified the importance which Stalin attached to the activities of the Ukrainian SSR abroad. By letting Ukraine participate in world politics, though obviously under Moscow's instructions, Stalin's explicit aim was to demonstrate before the colonial and dependent nations of Asia and Africa that the problem of formerly subjugated nationalities in the USSR had been settled.

On June 29, 1945, Czechoslovakia ceded Carpatho-Ukraine to Ukraine, and on August 16, 1945, the Ukrainian-Polish border was established along the Buh, that is to the east of the Sian River. The population exchange was accomplished on the basis of the agreements with Poland of October 1, 1944, and with Czechoslovakia of July 10, 1946. Some 1 million Poles, 140 thousand Jews, and 33 thousand Czechs were repatriated from Ukraine, and some 520 thousand Ukrainians from Poland were settled in Ukraine.

The fourth Five-Year Plan for 1946-50 discussed at the March, 1946, session of the Soviet legislative bodies allocated only 19 per cent of the total capital investments of the USSR to Ukraine in spite of the fact that Ukraine suffered 42 per cent of the total material losses of the USSR in the war. The Ukrainian deputies did their very best to change the draft of the plan but the plan was adopted essentially in its original form. As a result of its adoption, the Ukrainian SSR has never recovered the relative economic and cultural importance that it had had in the USSR before the war.

Outburst of Russian Chauvinism

The new rise of Russian nationalism became obvious, when, at a banquet held in the Kremlin on May 24, 1945, Stalin declared that the Russians were the "most distinguished nation among all the nations"; that they were the "leading force of the Soviet Union"; that they

were characterized by their "clear intellect," "strong personality," and "patience"; and that they did not betray the Soviet government in the most difficult times of its history. A logical implication of this highly publicized speech was that all the non-Russian peoples of the USSR were racially inferior and, worst of all, traitors.

The growth in activity of the political and cultural leaders of the Ukrainian SSR, the emergence of the Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations forum, and Ukrainian demands in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were not to the liking of the Russian chauvinists. Besides, in the Ukrainian SSR itself, the political situation was rather explosive. In his speech to the government officials in Kiev on October 28, 1945, Nikita Khrushchev, the head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR since 1942 and also the first secretary of the KP(b)U, declared that the Ukrainian nationalist underground was active in the Ukrainian SSR, having penetrated the government and economic institutions.

Serious trouble also developed inside the KP(b)U. At the beginning of 1946, 90 per cent of the members of the KP(b)U had entered the party one way or another during the military or guerrilla service. In other words, the KP(b)U was an entirely new party. Moscow was anxious about the quality and state of mind of this changed KP(b)U membership. The KP(b)U was ordered to screen its members thoroughly.

On July 26, 1946, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) adopted a resolution stating that there were "serious shortcomings and errors in the training, selection, and allocation of leading cadres of the KP(b)U" and blamed the Central Committee of the KP(b)U for having "failed to devote a proper attention to the selection and ideological-political education of cadres in the fields of science, literature, and art," where "hostile bourgeois-nationalist ideology"

and "attempts to reinstate the Ukrainian nationalist concepts" existed. This was a death sentence for the Ukrainian post-war revival.

Following its August 17, 1946, plenum, the Central Committee of the KP(b)U issued the resolution of August 24, 1946, which listed in great detail all the alleged manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism in art, science, and culture. During September and October, this resolution was followed by four specific resolutions, exposing various Ukrainian nationalist deviations. Likewise, during these months, a mass campaign of public "criticism and self-criticism" was conducted in the press and at numerous meetings of various cultural and educational institutions. During the next twelve months many Ukrainian writers, scientists, and intellectuals were arrested and sent to concentration camps. This wave of terror was on a much smaller scale than previous ones had been, however; the number of those arrested probably did not exceed 10,000.

During the decade following this purge, everything that was Russian was repeatedly and unanimously praised as "great," "superb," "superior"; while everything Ukrainian was declared to be either of Russian origin or an imitation of things Russian. A special "theory" of a "lesser evil" was developed by Anne Pankratova and other Russian historians: it held that if the Russian tsars had not annexed Ukraine, the October Revolution of 1917 and socialism could have never spread to Ukraine, and that by now Ukraine would no longer be existing on the face of the earth, since it would have been annihilated by the capitalist encirclement.

On April 10, 1946, the Ministry of Higher Education was established in Moscow for the first time; it centralized the direction of almost all institutions of higher education in Ukraine: while, in 1941, the government of the Ukrainian SSR had supervised 68 per cent of the institutions in its territory, only 22 per

cent of them were left under its jurisdiction now, and these were only teachers colleges and agricultural institutes. All universities as well as other leading institutes in Ukraine were now under Moscow's jurisdiction. An immediate result of this reform was the introduction of Russian as the language of instruction in many of these schools. In consequence the share of students of Ukrainian nationality in the institutions of higher education in the Ukrainian SSR fell to a mere 51.8 per cent of the total in 1947. By 1956, only 69.4 per cent of pupils in public schools studied in the Ukrainian language; 24.8 per cent studied in Russian. The growth of the total number of students in Ukraine had been severely checked because of language restrictions and a shortage of financial aid to Ukrainian schools.

Russification also made significant strides in the publishing field. The share of books in Ukrainian in the total editions published in the Ukrainian SSR increased from 83.7 per cent in 1938 to 86.0 per cent in 1946, but later went down to 80.0 per cent in 1950 and 70.1 per cent in 1956. The number of Ukrainian scholars and scientists also decreased. In 1955, there were 137 scholars and scientists per 100,000 people in the Russian Federation (RSFSR), but only 74 in the Ukrainian SSR.

The newly acquired rights of the Ukrainian SSR in the field of defense and foreign relations were also quickly curtailed. The Ministry of Defense of the Ukrainian SSR soon came to exist only on paper. The republican military formations have never existed even on paper. The last fete of Ukrainian foreign relations came on February 10, 1947, when I. Senin, representing the Ukrainian SSR, signed the peace treaties with Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Finland, and Italy, following an active participation in the International Peace Conference in Paris. Taking for granted the juridical meaning of Ukraine's part to the Paris peace treaties, the government

of Great Britain somewhat belatedly decided to try to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR. In May, 1947, the British *chargé d'affaires* in Moscow paid a visit to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev and suggested that both countries exchange diplomatic representatives. The Ukrainians advised him that he approach the government of the USSR with a formal note to this effect, since perhaps only the Union government could put into effect direct relations of the constituent. Such a British note to that effect was delivered in Moscow in August, 1947, but it has never been answered. The problem was raised again, when on January 23, 1956, Sudan suggested to the Ukrainian SSR that the latter recognize it. The only answer from Kiev to this former colony was polite greetings and best wishes.

On December 16, 1947, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree forbidding Soviet officials and agencies to have any official contact with foreigners except by explicit permission of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR in Moscow. This decree completely nullified the effectiveness of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ukrainian SSR continued to participate in the United Nations, though; it was, at one time or another, a member of 16 United Nations councils, commissions, and world organizations. However, since 1947, the vigor of the activities of the Soviet Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations had steadily been decreasing and had ceased to be reported even in the Kiev press at that time.

The outbursts of Russian chauvinism in Ukraine and the new wave of persecution of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1946-7 had occurred when the country was in a state of general postwar disorder and a severe famine was ravaging the countryside. The crisis in Ukraine was so great that, following a previously established pattern, Stalin again sent his trouble-shooter—Lazar Kaganovich—there. On

March 3, 1947, Khrushchev was dismissed from the post of the first secretary of the KP(b)U and was retained only as the head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR—a post which is always secondary to the leadership of the party. The first secretaryship went to Kaganovich. As usual, the latter arrived from Moscow with a selected staff of his own men and appointed them in all the strategic positions in Ukraine.

Kaganovich's first assignment was to cope with the outcome of the famine in the countryside and to bring order to Ukrainian agriculture. For this purpose, he restored his favorite "political departments" in the Machine and Tractor Stations and state farms and relied heavily on their dictatorial organizational powers. During June 23-26, 1947, this plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U heard Kaganovich report that, thanks to the material aid of the Union government, the crisis in Ukrainian agriculture was over. The great purge of Ukrainian cultural cadres in 1947 for alleged nationalism has been attributed to Kaganovich by the Soviet Ukrainian writers themselves after his downfall in 1957. However, Stalin was obviously satisfied with his job, and on December 26, 1947, Kaganovich was recalled to Moscow. N. Khrushchev regained favor with Stalin and was reappointed to the post of the first secretary of the KP(b)U. At the same time, however, Demian Korotchenko was removed from the KP(b)U secretaryship and made the head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, while his post in the party went to a Russian newcomer in Kiev—Leonid Melnikov, who became Khrushchev's deputy.

It seems that, after the purge, Stalin considered Ukraine to have become firmly subjugated to its post-1937 status. Hence pressures were somewhat relaxed, and the suspicious memory of Ukraine's behavior under the German occupation disappeared from the surface in the USSR. From Moscow's point

of view, the Ukrainian SSR was reduced to such a subjugated, provincial status that it was possible to remove not only Kaganovich but also Khrushchev from Kiev. On December 18, 1949, N. Khrushchev became a party secretary of the Moscow province, while the first secretaryship in the KP(b)U passed to Melnikov.

Ukrainian Industries and Agriculture

From Moscow's point of view, probably the most pleasing development was the rapid pace of reconstruction of Ukrainian industries. After all, in spite of the top priority of economic development of Siberia in all Soviet postwar plans, Ukraine continued to be a valuable asset of the Soviet economy, the reconstruction of which was most welcome. In 1946-7, the reconstruction of the Ukrainian SSR was spurred to some extent by the economic aid from United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), with which the Ukrainian SSR had signed a special agreement. UNRRA supplied Ukraine with more than 400,000 metric tons of various goods and equipment to the amount of \$188,000,000 (US). However, this aid comprised only about 2 per cent of the total capital investment in the Ukrainian SSR in 1946-50.

In the middle of 1950, the gross industrial output of the Ukrainian Republic reached its prewar level. By 1955, the Ukrainian industries were turning out 2.2 times more products than in 1940. In 1954, Ukraine was the fifth largest producer of coal in the world, turning out more coal than France or Japan; it was the third largest producer of iron ore in the world, supplying more ore than England, Sweden, or Germany; and it was the third largest producer of pig iron in the world, being exceeded only by the USA and the Russian Federation (RSFSR). However, in spite of comparatively rapid postwar reconstruction, Ukrainian industries were being developed mainly as a raw material base for Rus-

sian manufacturing centers. On balance, capital and skilled manpower from Ukraine were being transferred to Russia. In spite of the fact that the population of the Ukrainian SSR comprises 20.2 per cent of the total population of the USSR and that the share of Ukraine's productive capital assets in the total USSR industry was 20.1 per cent in 1950 and 20.2 per cent in 1955, the share of Ukraine in the total capital investments of the USSR was only 19.3 per cent in the 1946-50 plan, 15.7 per cent in the 1951-5 plan, and 13.4 per cent in the plan for 1956-60.

The postwar reconstruction of Ukrainian agriculture proceeded at a considerably slower pace than that of industry. Although the prewar level of grain output was attained in 1948, its further progress was jeopardized by grave errors of Moscow planners who ordered the reduction of area sown to grain crops in the steppe so as to secure the land for the planting of perennial grasses, supposedly adequate to feed the livestock. Moreover, the amalgamation of small collective farms in 1950-1 destroyed the regularity of crop rotations. Consequently, the grain production in the Ukrainian SSR remained at or below the prewar level of 28.0 million metric tons until 1955. This stagnation produced a severe shortage of feed for livestock, so that this branch of farming remained depressed, too; while on January 1, 1941, there were 5,762,000 cows and 9,059,000 pigs in the Ukrainian SSR, on January 1, 1953, there were still only 4,948,000 and 9,030,000 of them, respectively. A change for the better occurred only when during February 15-18, 1955, the plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U adopted Khrushchev's program to increase the acreage for corn in Ukraine. Corn, indeed, has significantly boosted total grain harvests and provided a new source of livestock feed. The next four years witnessed a substantial growth of grain yields and livestock herds. State procurements of grain in

Ukraine reached 8.75 million metric tons in 1958.

The amalgamation of small collective farms took place in Ukraine during 1950-1; whereas, at the beginning of 1950, there were 33,653 collective farms, by the end of 1951 only 16,015 remained, and by the end of 1955 their number had decreased still further to 15,404. At the same time, the area under crops per average collective farm increased from 922 hectares in 1949 to 1,767 hectares by 1955. The purpose of this reform was to facilitate the use of heavy machinery and to make better use of manpower and other resources. The reform produced no remarkable changes in terms of increased output, but it did produce a tightening of party control over the collectives. Whereas prior to amalgamation the KP(b)U cells had existed in only 52 per cent of the collective farms, after the amalgamation they became present in almost every collective.

In spite of this reform, collective farmers, oppressed by high government delivery quotas and having little, if any, incentive, continued to show very little enthusiasm for work on the collective farms throughout the postwar period. In 1955, to alleviate stagnation, the KP(b)U transferred almost 40,000 agricultural specialists and party officials from the cities to work in the collective farms; some 6,000 of them were appointed chairmen of the backward collectives. However, it was not until economic incentives had been introduced that the productivity of the collective farm labor was raised somewhat. In 1953-4, the prices on obligatory deliveries were raised and agricultural taxes reduced. In 1955, agricultural planning was significantly decentralized. On January 1, 1958, obligatory deliveries from private plots of collective farmers were abolished.

At the beginning, the postwar reconstruction policies paid little attention to the well-being of the Ukrainian population. The currency reform of Decem-

ber, 1947, checked inflation; then, the subsequent annual price reductions had brought the level of real wages to 23 per cent above their 1940 level by 1952 and to 50 per cent above it by 1956. However, even in 1956, real wages of Ukrainian workers were still 27 per cent below their 1929 level.

Anti-Soviet Resistance

In postwar politics in the Ukrainian SSR, a special problem was created for the Bolsheviks by the existence and activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground movement, especially in Western Ukraine. During the war, in July of 1944, under the auspices of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a revolutionary command center was organized there, called the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), commanded by General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych), the chairman of the executive body of the UHVR and the leader of the OUN at the same time, became the armed force of this center. In 1944, the UPA included political elements of all types as well as the men from among the other nationalities of the USSR. They had several former Red Army officers among the commanders of the UPA units (Stepovyi, D. Karpenko-Yastrub, P. Baida, etc.) and a former *Komsomol* leader and writer, Y. Pozychaniuk (killed in action in 1945) among the OUN leaders. Before the end of the war, the Bolsheviks in Western Ukraine had really controlled only the cities, the railroad lines, and strategic military centers; a large part of the countryside was actually in the hands of the UPA guerrillas. After the



FIGURE 493.
TARAS CHUPRYNKA
(ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH)

war, the Bolsheviks sent units of the Red Army, which had just returned from western Europe, to Western Ukraine to combat the UPA, but these units proved unreliable, for they had many Ukrainians in their ranks; soon they had to be withdrawn and replaced by the special NKVD troops. In the second half of 1945 and the first half of 1946, frequent battles were fought between the insurgents and the Bolsheviks. The fighting was especially fierce on the eve of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR in February, 1946. The UPA made occasional raids deep into Right-Bank Ukraine and the border territories of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Belorussia. The buoyancy of UPA efforts at this time was the result of the Polish-Soviet deportations of the Ukrainian population from the Lemkian and Kholm regions, when peasants from these regions were sent partly to the USSR and partly to western and northern Poland. This resulted in local uprisings and the flight of the population to the partisans.

The NKVD terror against the Western Ukrainian population on a mass scale—deportations of entire villages to Siberia; brutal cruelty, including public tortures and shootings; a system of provocations; the formation, by the use of threats, of anti-UPA “extermination detachments” out of the local population; and, finally, mass trials of the OUN members which took place in Lviv, Stryi, Drohobych, and Chortkiv—had brought, by 1948, the first partial successes to the Soviet government in the subjugation of Western Ukraine. In 1947-8, on the basis of an agreement made on May 12, 1947, after the death of the Polish vice-minister of defense, General W. Świerczewski in a battle with the UPA, the combined Russian, Polish, and Czechoslovak security forces carried out an extensive campaign against the UPA in the Carpathian Mountains. This action destroyed a considerable part of the UPA forces, another part of which, in the summer

of 1949, cut its way through to Austria and Germany, where its members have stayed in exile. However, the struggle of the Ukrainian insurgents had still continued for a year or two, especially by using small mobile detachments, which were living in fortified bunkers in the forests during the winter and waged their raids during the summer. The remnants of the UPA soon merged with the underground network of the OUN, whose action was confined to anti-Soviet propaganda and the assassinations of some Soviet leaders (notably, of the Galician writer and political police agent, Yaroslav Halan, in Lviv, on October 24, 1949).

In its fight against the UPA, the government of the Ukrainian SSR proclaimed at least eight amnesty appeals to the insurgents, the first appeals dating back to February 12, 1944, and the last one, on December 30, 1949. The appeals were signed by Khrushchev, Hrechukha, Korotchenko, and sometimes by the ministers of the interior—Generals I. Riasnyi and T. Strokach—and ministers of state security—Generals S. Savchenko and M. Kovalchuk, who were responsible for the extermination of the UPA.

The OUN underground continued to exist in Galicia parallel with the UPA. However, on March 5, 1950, General Chuprynka was killed near Lviv in a skirmish with the MVD troops. Other leaders of the OUN—P. Poltava, O. Hornovyi, etc.—were killed in action in 1951. Some indications suggest that the network of the OUN underground was fatally damaged by the Soviet political police in the fall of 1952 and the summer of 1953, though the arrests of underground members continued long afterwards. On May 19, 1954, it was officially announced in Kiev that B. Okhrymovych, who came to Galicia for liaison from the foreign branch of the UHVR in Germany in 1950, was captured and executed on charges of being an American spy. However, as late as March 23, 1954, Alexis Kirichenko, the first secretary of

the KP(b)U, warned the Eighteenth Congress of the KP(b)U that "remnants of the OUN" were trying to penetrate into collective farms, educational institutions, and industrial enterprises; and, again, as late as February, 1956, there were reports that the local Soviet press in Volhynia had published an appeal to some "armed bands" to surrender. This might mean that some underground activities still persisted at that time.

The effect of the nationalist anti-Soviet struggle in Western Ukraine upon political relations in eastern Ukraine has undoubtedly been considerable. The news of the underground activities had a wide circulation in Ukraine and even all over the USSR. An incomplete estimate indicates that between 1944 and 1950 Ukrainian nationalists published some 60 propaganda pamphlets, at least 21 various periodicals, and 81 various leaflets.

Worthy of notice are the writings of outstanding underground publicists, P. Poltava and O. Hornovyi who, under the pressure of the Soviet reality and so as to appeal to those portions of the eastern Ukrainian population which had succumbed to the Soviet way of thinking and terminology, developed an original criticism of Stalin's regime in terms of socialist and even Marxian ideas, similar to those expressed later in Yugoslavia by Milovan Djilas.

Soviet Policies in Western Ukraine

To cut off the roots of the nationalist underground in Western Ukraine the NKVD deported to Siberia all the relatives of the insurgents. During 1946-9, up to 500,000 people were deported from Western Ukraine, including also the families of those who had collaborated with the Germans or had served in the Galician Division. During this period, many Western Ukrainian peasants and youths were also resettled to the eastern Ukraine—in the steppe and the Donbas.

By the end of 1948, the Bolsheviks had

begun a mass collectivization of agriculture in Western Ukraine. The compulsion used was similar to that which had been used in eastern Ukraine in 1929-31. Special "political departments" were established with the MTS for the purpose. By January 1, 1949, 80 per cent of peasant households in Drohobych province had become collectivized; 81.3 per cent in Volhynia; and 91.3 per cent in Izmail. In Western Ukraine, as a whole, collectivization stood at 49.0 per cent, however, having been only 9.6 per cent on January 1, 1948. By July 1, 1950, collectivization had reached 92.7 per cent and by July 1, 1951, 95.2 per cent. Due to their compulsory character, the Western Ukrainian collective farms continued to be remarkably inefficient, poor, and backward throughout the rest of the period.

Industrialization of Western Ukraine proceeded at a comparatively fast rate; at the beginning of 1952, the production of Western Ukrainian industries was 3 times greater than before the war; by the end of 1955, 4 times greater. New industries, automobile, natural gas, coal, etc., appeared in Western Ukraine.

It is noticeable, however, that Western Ukrainian industrialization was absorbing only a small fraction of local labor supply. Skilled laborers and technicians were sent mostly from Russia (also from eastern Ukraine) and this deliberate policy led to partial Russification of the Western Ukrainian cities. In 1947, in these cities which had never used the Russian language before, out of 7,430 public schools there were 249 Russian ones. Native teachers comprised only 54 per cent of the total teaching staff. By 1953, almost all institutions of higher education were offering lectures only in Russian, although the majority of the students were Western Ukrainians. The fight against illiteracy in Western Ukraine has been commendable, however. In Transcarpathia (Carpatho-Ukraine), for example, where a large part of adult

population had been illiterate before the war, the Bolsheviks claimed 100 per cent literacy at the end of 1951.

The Church

One of the important steps in the struggle against the Ukrainian national spirit was the liquidation of the Ukrainian churches.

During the war, in September, 1941, in line with all its other policies of cultivating Russian chauvinism, the government of the USSR restored the Russian Orthodox Church led by Alexius, Patriarch of Moscow, to limited freedom and power. In return, Alexius pronounced Stalin the "leader of all the Russians chosen by God." In 1943-4, a forcible liquidation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which had been spontaneously revived during the German occupation, was carried out. The Ukrainian churches were handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church and almost all Ukrainian priests were immediately exiled to Siberia. The Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine has been directed since that time by an exarch of Ukraine appointed by Moscow; it is actually one of the tools for the Russification of Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine underwent no persecutions in the first months after the return of Soviet power. But following the death of Archbishop-Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky in November, 1944, the Soviet government and Patriarch Alexius of Moscow placed increasing pressure on the Ukrainian Catholic bishops and priests to break the union with Rome and to submit to the sovereignty of the Russian Orthodox Church. Archbishop-Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, successor to Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, and all other Ukrainian Catholic bishops unanimously rejected this demand. In answer to this, in April, 1945, the MVD arrested all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops: Metropolitan J. Slipy, Nicholas Budka, Gregory Khomyshyn, Ivan Liatyshevsky,

and Nicholas Charnetsky. The same fate befell Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky of Peremyshl and his Auxiliary Bishop, Gregory Lakota, and the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Peter Verhun, Apostolic Delegate for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany. All, with the exception of Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, died in Soviet jails or concentration camps or in exile in Siberia and elsewhere. At the same time the Soviet government was trying to force the Ukrainian Catholic priests to accept Russian Orthodoxy, but to no avail. The MVD responded with arrests of almost all the assembled priests, executed a few dozen, and deported the rest. Then, upon the order of the Patriarch Alexius and with the assistance of the MVD, the "initiating group" called a synod in Lviv for March 8-10, 1946, to accomplish a formal break of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with Rome and to join it with the Russian Orthodox Church. The spurious synod was attended by 204 priests and 12 laymen. The Patriarch established his own Orthodox hierarchy in Western Ukraine, and about 1,000 priests were forced to recognize it. However, most of the faithful Ukrainians boycotted and boycott the Russian Orthodox Church and many priests secretly continue to conduct Catholic services. The same course of action was pursued later in Transcarpathia, where an "initiating group" organized a synod at Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv, which, on August 28, 1949, dissolved the union with Rome. Theodore Romzha, the Catholic bishop of Mukachiv, was murdered on October 31, 1947, and the priests who refused to accept Orthodoxy were banished. In the Prešov (Priashiv) region, in Czechoslovakia, the union with Rome was abolished on April 28, 1950, and Bishop Peter Hoidych and all the priests who resisted Orthodoxy were deported.

The Struggle for Survival

There was nothing left for the Ukrainians but to try to survive somehow the

mounting pressures of Russification which continued unabated. The struggle for survival consisted, on the one hand, in acquiescence to Moscow's chauvinistic demands by the leaders of the Ukrainian SSR in order to save their positions and possibly their very lives, and, on the other hand, in a gradual building up of outwardly subservient, but none the less Ukrainian national cadres. This dichotomy was demonstrated by the Congress of Soviet Ukrainian Writers held in Kiev in December, 1948. While making obeisance to Russian literature and culture ("the most advanced culture in the world"), the congress, at the same time, devoted attention to the problem of replenishing its thinned-out ranks with a new generation of Ukrainian writers and poets in order to save Ukrainian culture from being completely annihilated. This bold policy of rearing a young literary generation bore its fruits later after Stalin's death.

Similar, though perhaps less publicized, efforts were being made by the Ukrainian governmental and party bureaucracies. Their loyalty to Moscow was proven many times during the war, and they never failed to curse Ukrainian nationalism and praise all things Russian, whether called upon to do so or not. Yet, at the same time, they were promoting Ukrainians to leading posts in the KP(b)U and the government of the Ukrainian Republic whenever possible. Thus a new generation of Soviet Ukrainian leaders gradually arose after World War II and attained leading positions of authority: A. I. Kirichenko, N. T. Kalchenko, K. Z. Lytvyn, A. M. Baranovsky, A. A. Hrechko, I. S. Senin, I. D. Nazarenko, and many others. The prewar leaders—M. S. Hrechukha, D. S. Korotchenko, L. R. Korniiets, D. Z. Manuilsky, etc.—were also in this group, which now was much more numerous and stronger than it had been before the war. At the beginning of 1951, the government of the Ukrainian SSR was 73 per cent Ukrainian and 27 per cent Russian. In

1952, the percentage of Ukrainians in the Central Committee of the KP(b)U was estimated at 62.6 per cent, and in the urban party apparatus at 56.2 per cent. The middle and lower echelons of administrative and economic-social apparatuses were predominantly Ukrainian throughout the postwar period. However, it was estimated that Russians comprised 82.0 per cent of the top industrial managers in the Ukrainian SSR in 1952 and 68.3 per cent of the personnel of the political police.

On June 15–25, 1951, a Festival of Ukrainian Culture was organized in Moscow. Its aftermath was a new attack by Russians on Ukrainian writers and composers. Alexander Korniiichuk and his Polish wife, Wanda Wasilewska, were criticized for the libretto they had written for the new opera *Bohdan Khmelnytskyi*; the libretto presumably showed too little subservience to the Russian tsar and the boyars. Constantine Dankevych, the composer of the opera, also was condemned. At the same time a poem entitled *Love Ukraine*, written by the Ukrainian communist poet, Volodymyr Sosiura, in 1944 but translated into Russian only at this time, came to the attention of the Russian critics. Sosiura was condemned for its being "openly nationalistic."

A July 2, 1951, *Pravda* editorial attacked the whole Central Committee of the KP(b)U for negligence in discovering and combatting Ukrainian nationalism which allegedly had penetrated Ukrainian literature and science again. As a consequence a new anti-nationalist campaign in Ukraine began. From July 30 to August 2, 1951, an extraordinary plenum of the Union of Soviet Ukrainian Writers convened in Kiev, at which special representatives of Soviet Russian writers from Moscow—K. Simonov and A. Surkov—were present. The plenum heard charges of Ukrainian nationalism directed against several Ukrainian writers.

The November, 1951, plenum of the

Central Committee of the KP(b)U, in compliance with *Pravda's* critique, adopted a resolution on the "State of Affairs and Means of Improving the Ideological Work in the Party Organization of Ukraine." A checkup of the ideological views of all the KP(b)U members was ordered. Special examining commissions interrogated every party worker on ideological problems. In the period between January, 1949, and September, 1952, 22,175 members and candidates of the KP(b)U (about 3 per cent of the total) were expelled from the party, at least some of them on the basis of Ukrainian nationalism.

Simultaneously an unprecedented flood of propaganda was unleashed upon Ukraine; during 1951 alone, more than 25,000 public lectures were delivered and were attended virtually obligatorily by more than 7,700,000 persons. The lectures were delivered at the grass roots level—in factories, at collective farms, directly in the fields, in local schools, and so on. The distinguishing feature of this campaign was that the topic of the lectures almost invariably was either The Great Russian People—Leading Nation of the USSR or The Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists—Mortal Enemies of the Ukrainian People.

The propaganda campaign against Ukrainian nationalism was continued throughout 1951, 1952, and the first half of 1953. It assumed especially mammoth proportions during the second half of 1952.

The onslaught of Russian chauvinism was directed not only against the Ukrainians, but also against other nationalities, especially the Jews, in Ukraine. In September 1948, a sudden attack against Zionism, Israel, and Soviet "anti-patriotic" Jews was unleashed throughout the USSR. In the Ukrainian SSR the first wave of the purge reached its apogee in January-February, 1949. Numerous Jewish writers and critics, many of whom wrote in Ukrainian and were part of Ukrainian culture, were accused by Rus-

sian critics of "cosmopolitanism" and "contempt for Great Russian culture." Even such distinguished Ukrainian poets of Jewish origin as L. Pervomaisky and Sava Holovanivsky were attacked at the February, 1949, plenum of the Writers' Union. Several Jewish cultural leaders in Ukraine were arrested during this period. On August 12, 1952, twenty-four of the previously arrested Soviet Jewish leaders—among them I. Feffer and L. Kvitko, two writers who worked in Ukraine—were found guilty of plotting to set up an independent Jewish republic in the Crimea and were executed in Moscow.

Post-Stalin Era

What actually occurred in Kiev after Stalin's death has not yet become entirely clear. However, in April, 1953, it became noticeable that the wave of Russian chauvinism suddenly had receded. Articles unequivocally condemning "all kinds of nationalism" and making reference to the long-forgotten decisions of the Twelfth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) appeared in the Soviet Ukrainian press.

On June 13, 1953, it was announced that a plenum of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U had recently been held and that it had been devoted to the party's nationality policy in Ukraine. The plenum had condemned as unsatisfactory the leadership of the KP(b)U and the Ukrainian SSR with regard to this policy, especially as it had been applied in Western Ukraine. The plenum criticized the practice of sending to Western Ukraine leading personnel from the east instead of promoting local leaders; it also criticized the almost complete substitution of Russian for Ukrainian in university lectures. The plenum removed Leonid Melnikov from the first secretaryship of the Communist Party of Ukraine—KPU (the Communist Party in Ukraine, by dropping the term "Bolshevik" from its name in October,

1952, had become the KPU instead of the KP[b]U)—explicitly for pursuing Russification policies. Alexis Kirichenko was appointed to replace him.

It is not yet known whether this event in Ukraine was initiated solely by the Ukrainian communists themselves; in any case it was important: not since the early 1920's had a Russian leader of the KPU been charged openly with Russification of Ukraine, and not since the KPU came into being had its first secretary been of Ukrainian nationality.

Melnikov's ouster was followed by a wave of Ukrainian charges of Russification. Complaints that Ukrainian schools had been Russified all over the country penetrated the censorship and appeared in the Kiev press. A group of Kiev teachers wrote a letter to the Moscow teachers' newspaper demanding the right to improve Ukrainian textbooks, and emphasizing that the Ukrainian language of instruction was absolutely necessary for the sake of communism. Complaints in letters to the editor about the lack of motion pictures, phonograph records, and other things in Ukrainian also became common.

On May 30, 1953, the writer A. Kornii-chuk was appointed a vice-premier of the Ukrainian SSR. On August 14, 1953, Semen Stefanyk, a son of the famous Western Ukrainian writer, was appointed second vice-premier in a move obviously designed to placate Galicia. The general national buoyancy lasted, however, only until the end of 1953. In the meantime a struggle for power was going on in Moscow.

Probably in line with the rise to power of the Russian military personified by Marshal George Zhukov, Nykyfor Kalchenko, a new Soviet Ukrainian premier, warned the Ukrainians by making another attack upon Ukrainian nationalism in his first public speech on January 15, 1954. A new propaganda campaign was begun in connection with the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the Pereiaslav Treaty of Hetman Bohdan

Khmelnysky with the Tsar of Muscovy. In its special "thesis" on the celebration of this anniversary, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union set out a new line in its Ukrainian policy: while the Russians were still to be called the "first among the equals," the Ukrainians were promoted to be "second after the Russians." The post-Stalin leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (KPSS) had obviously decided to try to coax the Ukrainians into a friendlier attitude towards Moscow.

Words were followed by deeds. On February 19, 1954, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree transferring the Crimea from the Russian Federation (RSFSR) to the Ukrainian SSR. On this occasion, Clement Voroshilov declared that the decree was a "just settlement of a territorial problem" and a "token of friendship of the Russian people" to Ukraine.

The celebration of the Pereiaslav anniversary was utilized by the Ukrainians to secure additional funds which were used to publish a substantial number of new important scientific books in Ukrainian, to open several new academic institutes (for example, the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy which had been closed in 1934), and to conduct a wide-range educational campaign on Ukrainian history. Ukrainian writers, too, seized the opportunity to declare openly in the press that not only had Russian culture influenced Ukrainian culture, but that Ukrainian culture, in turn, had influenced Russian culture.

The number of Ukrainians in the KPU and the government of the Ukrainian SSR was also increasing. By June 1, 1954, the proportion of Ukrainians in the Central Committee of the KPU presumably had increased to about 72 per cent, and that of managers of large enterprises to 51 per cent. National composition of the KPU as of January 1, 1958, was as follows: Ukrainians, 60.3

per cent; Russians, 28.2 per cent; others, 11.5 per cent. The national composition of the Central Committee of the KPU was considerably different, however: Ukrainians, 75.1 per cent; Russians, 24.0 per cent; others, 0.9 per cent. Similarly, the organizational personnel of the KPU was comprised 68.8 per cent of Ukrainians, 28.5 per cent of Russians, and 2.7 per cent of others. The composition of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR was 75.2 per cent Ukrainian, 22.1 per cent Russian, and 2.7 per cent others. Composition of the local soviets was: Ukrainians, 84.4 per cent; Russians, 12.0 per cent; others, 3.6 per cent.

In May, 1954, under its new foreign minister, the former journalist Luke Palamarchuk, the Ukrainian SSR joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Labor Organization, thus enhancing its activities abroad. In March, 1957, a new Permanent Commission on Foreign Affairs was formed within the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, and the foreign minister officially began to report there for the first time on the work of the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations. On August 14, 1958, the Ukrainian SSR opened its first Permanent Representation to the United Nations in New York—the country's first normal diplomatic mission abroad since the re-entry of Ukraine into the field of international relations in 1944.

When the East European International Security Conference, which created the Warsaw Defense Alliance, convened in Moscow from November 29 to December 2, 1954, the head of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, Kalchenko, was included in the official delegation of the USSR to give it a more truly federal character. In some instances of greater practical significance to the foreign relations of the Ukrainian SSR, however, Ukraine was snubbed: for example, Molotov did not permit Ukraine to be a party to the peace treaty with Austria.

Administrative and Economic Reforms

The Soviet Ukrainians did not fail to take advantage of any post-Stalin opportunities in the field of government reform. When in March, 1954, Khrushchev proclaimed, for the first time, the "necessity to decentralize the economy," he was sincerely hailed by the Soviet Ukrainian bureaucracy. The Soviet Ukrainian press frequently published letters to the editor as well as other correspondence which explicitly demanded decentralization of all branches of the economy including even railway transport and sea shipping (which were not decentralized hitherto). However, few similar letters supporting these reform plans of Khrushchev appeared in the Russian press prior to the adoption of the first reform bill in 1956. At the February, 1955, session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, for the first time since the famous debate in February, 1946, a Ukrainian deputy, M. Hrechukha, demanded that "the financial rights of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR be enhanced." Some such rights were granted on December 25, 1956, and on May 22, 1957.

On January 1, 1955, the Ministry of Higher Education of the USSR became decentralized and a republican Ministry of Higher Education was set up in only one republic—the Ukrainian SSR. Subsequently most of the institutions of higher learning in the Ukrainian SSR were transferred to the jurisdiction of the government in Kiev. However, the Russians retained a considerable hold over Ukrainian education. A slow process of de-Russification of Ukrainian universities began only in the 1955-6 academic year.

The decentralization of economic management in the USSR and, correspondingly, an increase in the competence and power of the national republics was begun on May 30, 1956. On that date the government of the Ukrainian SSR acquired some jurisdiction over more than 10,000 industrial establishments within

its territory. On December 25, 1956, economic planning was significantly decentralized and the republican governments acquired the right to allocate by themselves their shares of the Soviet Union capital investments in their territory, although they still remained responsible for the basic plan quotas assigned to them by Moscow. When finally, on May 10, 1957, the industrial ministries of the USSR were abolished, all but the most important defense establishments within the territories of the republics came under the jurisdiction of the individual republics' governments. Within the present economic structure enterprises are responsible only to their councils; the councils are responsible only to the republic's government; the republic's government is responsible to the Union government.

In 1956 the government of the Ukrainian SSR also acquired greater rights in the field of the administration of justice in the Ukrainian SSR. On May 31, 1956, the Ministry of Justice of the USSR was abolished. On February 11, 1957, the Soviet Ukrainian legislative body was empowered to issue legislation on the structure of its court system, on the codification of its laws, and on the establishment of its administrative-territorial system. Significant changes have also taken place in the police system of the USSR. Terror on a mass scale has been stopped. A number of 1934-7 laws which permitted the application of mass terror were formally abolished; the "Special Sections" (Commissions of Three) were abolished also. Government amnesties of March 27, 1953, and especially of September 18, 1955, set free almost 70 per cent of the inmates of concentration camps. Presumably all survivors convicted during the terror of 1930's were set free, and most of those sentenced in 1943-6 for collaboration with the Germans were returned home. In 1956 many deportees from Western Ukraine were returned home too. According to official sources, political prisoners comprised

only 2 per cent of the total population of places of detention in 1957 which may be an underestimation, however.

De-Stalinization

The cult of Stalin has been broken. A few of the less politically controversial persons destroyed in Stalin's times have been publicly rehabilitated (S. Kosior, V. Chubar, G. Petrovsky, P. Postyshev, V. Zatonsky, I. Yakir, R. Terekhov) and are now considered to have been innocent victims of Stalin's lawlessness. It has been admitted publicly that the charges against them had been fabricated. All three chiefs of the Union NKVD—G. Yagoda, N. Yezhov, and L. Beria—are blamed for the terror. The revelations about the past history of the USSR, however, are still far from complete.

Khrushchev assumed the position of leader of the USSR on February 6, 1955, when Malenkov resigned from the USSR premiership. Later, on July 4, 1957, Khrushchev ousted from the USSR leadership the last standardbearers of rigid Stalinism—V. Molotov, L. Kaganovich, and G. Malenkov. On October 27, 1957, he also ousted Marshal Zhukov, who was known for his Russian chauvinism. In all these moves Khrushchev undoubtedly had the support, both moral and practical, of the Ukrainian communist leaders, for all those being ousted had been biased against Ukraine. After Khrushchev came to power in Moscow, many Ukrainians were promoted to work in the highest echelons of Soviet Union leadership (A. Kirichenko, V. Matskevych, L. Korniets, R. Rudenko, etc.).

But the decentralization of the government of the USSR and the disappearance on the surface of Russian chauvinism have not solved the problem of nationalities in the USSR. The Ukrainian SSR has not become free of meddling by Moscow centralists in its internal affairs. The Ukrainian SSR, lacking many elements of full national sovereignty, still is not permitted to have diplomatic rela-

tions with foreign governments or to maintain its own national armed forces, although these privileges are part of its own and USSR constitutions. All political power in Ukraine rests with the KPU which is merely a branch of the CPSU. It is still being exploited economically, in the sense that on balance more resources are taken from it than given to it. The Soviet socio-economic system continues to be largely compulsory and neglectful of human needs and initiative. Workers and peasants still have no freedom to decide for themselves the type of socio-economic institutions they prefer to participate in or to take part in their management. Finally, although more freedom has been granted in the USSR recently, true political democracy is still lacking. The country is run by a party bureaucracy which is not under the control of the people. The USSR is ruled still largely by the whims and personalities of its leaders rather than by law. In its nature and potentially it remains a police state held together precariously by means of dictatorship.

In the post-Stalin period the recognition of and the increased possibilities of expressing criticism of some shortcomings of the Soviet system produced what became known as "revisionism." Overt revisionism in the Ukrainian SSR appeared in 1955 when some theorists began to doubt publicly whether socialism really existed in the USSR in the form foreseen by Marx and Lenin. After the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, revisionist ideas quickly spread among young intellectuals and students; some Ukrainian communist writers (notably A. Malyshko and V. Shvets) expressed doubts about the wisdom and justice of the Soviet suppression of the revolution in Hungary.

Ukrainian SSR, 1956-62

Since 1956, national communist Poland also has had a profound impact on the thinking of many Soviet Ukrainians

through its radio broadcasts and its periodicals, which are on sale in several cities. With the rise of revisionism, young Ukrainian scholars and writers turned their attention to the modern history of Ukraine and the history of the KPU and began to publish monographs and research papers expressing genuine interest in the Ukrainian national revolution of 1917-20, the ideas of N. Skrypnyk, the Borotbists, the literary movement of the 'twenties, the constitutional rights and past experiences of the Ukrainian SSR in maintaining foreign diplomatic relations, the problem of equity in Ukraine's economic exchanges with Russia, to name but a few topics. Some of the bolder ones even demanded publicly that the national communists of the 'twenties be rehabilitated; others explicitly referred to the famine of 1932-3, the bloody violence of the collectivization era, and other pre-1937 crimes of the regime, but they were quickly silenced because the Twenty-Second Congress of the CPSU, held in 1961, delineated the permissible limits for the revelation of historical truths quite closely: in the case of Russia, the Stalinist terror could be mentioned as going as far back as 1934, while in the case of Ukraine the 1937 terror was to be the limit. None of the Ukrainian national communists were rehabilitated by 1962, except, in part, Skrypnyk, who was rehabilitated merely as an "old Bolshevik"; his "Ukrainization" policies and his view of Russian chauvinism as the cause of Ukrainian nationalism remained taboo.

With the elimination of the "anti-party" group of Molotov, Kaganovich, and Malenkov, and with the transfer of A. Kirichenko to Moscow, Ukrainian influences in the decision-making quarters of the CPSU increased. Kirichenko was put in charge of the CPSU personnel office, allocating all major jobs over the entire Soviet Union; he became the second in command after Khrushchev. By the end of 1959, however, Khrushchev dropped Kirichenko from all his party

posts and sent him into oblivion. Kozlov, and later Shepilov, both Russians, were put in his place and his policy on the national cadres was officially reversed: it was announced that the party must aim at interchanging the leading personnel of different nationalities by transferring non-Russians to serve in Russia and by sending Russians to the non-Russian republics. An extensive purge of the leadership of most republics ensued, but interestingly enough Ukraine remained untouched. This probably meant that Khrushchev personally depended on the KPU support within the CPSU and did not want to antagonize it any further after Kirichenko's demotion.

Following Kirichenko's downfall, direct Ukrainian influences in the CPSU leadership seemed to have diminished and those remaining veered to the economic administration and, partly, to the foreign policies of the party. Unlike Kirichenko, Nicholas Pidhornyi (Podgorny), who had represented the KPU at the CPSU Presidium since 1957, avoided overt meddling in Moscow's nationality policies and tried instead to preserve and consolidate his local power over the administration of the Ukrainian republic. On the other hand, Pidhornyi accompanied Khrushchev to international communist conclaves dealing with world politics and Moscow's relations with the satellites and with foreign Communist parties.

Ukraine's economic development under the Seven-Year Plan, launched in 1959, proceeded more or less in accord with the program; a major exception was agriculture which lagged behind. By 1962, the per capita output of the Ukrainian iron and steel industries and coal and ore mining exceeded that of all other major countries in the world, including the United States. The total production of all Ukrainian industries came to be as large (in value terms) as that of the entire Soviet Union back in 1940.

Political and social morale in Ukraine in the last years of the period under survey appeared to be in a state of increas-

ing flux, especially after the Twenty-Second CPSU Congress which witnessed the most outspoken denunciations of Stalin's crimes. Increasingly, young people in Ukraine began to shun communist ideology and distrust party propaganda; disillusionment gave rise to attempts to do exactly that which was prohibited and included attempts to escape abroad. Also labor-management relations became strained, especially after the cost of living increases in 1961-2, with workers' unrest noted even by the government press. During 1960-2, a wave of trials in several Ukrainian cities put scores of persons before firing squads on charges of committing "economic crimes" (black-marketeering, stealing, damaging state property, and so forth).

During 1959-61, the political police organized anew a series of well-publicized trials of some forty to fifty former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and UPA guerrillas, who had been released recently from Siberian concentration camps after the amnesty and had returned to Western Ukraine; this time their sentences were death by firing squads. In the same period, the USSR Committee on State Security increased its terror among the emigrés: one of its agents, on trial in a German court, admitted having assassinated, on Moscow's orders, Lev Rebet (in 1957) and Stephen Bandera (in 1959), both top leaders of the Ukrainian nationalists in exile in Germany.

In the sphere of culture and national relations new conflicts became apparent towards the end of the period. A new generation of young Ukrainian intellectuals—writers, artists, cinema directors, and social scientists as well as engineers, physicians, and school teachers, many of whom were graduates of Moscow, Leningrad, and other Russian universities—began to come out openly and demand recognition and a leading role for themselves in the Soviet Ukrainian society. Strong and fervent in their Ukrainian

patriotism, they explicitly refused to be treated as culturally inferior to the Russians and demanded complete cultural equality and sovereignty. Their movement was intensified in 1959, when the Moscow-imposed school reform law made the Ukrainian language a non-obligatory subject in Russian schools in Ukraine. (There were some 4,000 such schools at the time, compared to some 30,000 Ukrainian schools. From the death of Skrypnyk until 1959, all students attending Russian schools in Ukraine were obliged to learn Ukrainian reading and writing as well. The families of Russian officials, which swarmed into Ukraine after the war, and the Russian population of the newly-incorporated Crimea, especially resented this ordinance.) Next, the new program of the CPSU, adopted in 1961, warned Ukrainians (as well as all other non-Russians) that the linguistic and cultural Russification of the non-Russian peoples was a prime objective of the party nationality policy. A leading spokesman for modern Russian chauvinism in Ukraine was a certain I. Kravtsev, who almost like D. Lebed in the 'twenties, challenged the Ukrainians again to a cultural duel. Young Ukrainian intellectuals accepted this challenge to their own pride as well as to the national pride of

the Ukrainian people. They not only created a large number of new Ukrainian cultural masterpieces, but they also started a public campaign calling for a defence against the onslaught of Russian cultural expansion and for the preservation and development of the Ukrainian language and cultural heritage. In 1962, the Ukrainian cultural resistance movement was clearly gaining momentum; it seemed that, if another physical annihilation was not in store for these young Ukrainians, they could contribute to the exposure of the new CPSU program of the "merger of nations" as just another of the Russian social utopias.

V. Holubnychy

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL REFUGEES AND EMIGRANTS AFTER 1945

General Characteristics

At the end of World War II some 2 to 3 million Ukrainians were in Germany and Austria. They were victims of forced labor, prisoners from the Soviet army, and people evacuated by force from the battle areas. A smaller number were recent political refugees from the lands occupied by the Bolsheviks, old émigrés, prisoners from the German concentration

SELECTED STATISTICAL DATA FOR THE UKRAINIAN SSR
(Within the borders for the year indicated)

	1926		1940		1962	
	Abs. total	Per cent of the USSR	Abs. total	Per cent of the USSR	Abs. total	Per cent of the USSR
Total population (millions)	29.0	19.7	40.5	21.4	44.0	19.7
Non-agricultural workers and employees (millions)	1.7	18.0	6.2	19.9	11.7	17.1
Persons with completed college education (thousand)	53.5	21.4	292.9	23.5	751.7	18.9
Republic government expenditures (millions of rubles)	186.2	4.6	788.3	4.5	7640.8	9.1
Electric power output (billions of kilowatt hours)	0.9	24.9	12.4	25.7	69.5	18.8
Steel production (millions of metric tons)	1.5	52.9	8.9	48.8	30.6	40.1
Grain harvest (millions of metric tons)	17.2	23.7	26.3	27.5	33.0	22.4
Railways (thousands of miles)	7.9	16.8	12.5	18.9	13.0	16.9

camps, and former soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division and other military formations. Those who were in the territory occupied by the Soviet armies were quickly sent back to the USSR by the Bolsheviks. Prague, Berlin, Warsaw, and Vienna ceased to be centers of the Ukrainian political refugee movement.

The fate of the Ukrainians who were in Western Germany and the part of Austria occupied by the American, British, and French armies was different. The vast majority were repatriated, often by physical and moral coercion on the part of the western allies. By the Yalta agreement the latter bound themselves to compel the return to the USSR of all citizens of the Soviet Union who had been within its 1939 boundaries. Soviet repatriation missions carried out the repatriation action and at times forcibly seized even those Ukrainians who were not subject to the repatriation regulations (e.g., the events at Kempten, Kaufbeuren, and Dachau in Bavaria). This repatriation continued until the end of 1945.

At the beginning of 1946 there were in Western Germany and Austria 200,000 Ukrainians who had decided under no condition to be repatriated. This was the largest political exodus in Ukrainian history. Although more than 60 per cent of the group was from Galicia, it included people from all Ukrainian lands, all classes, and all occupations. About 60 per cent were men, and 10–12 per cent of the total had a secondary or university education. About 50 per cent of the Ukrainians lived in the American zone of Germany, chiefly in Bavaria; about 25 per cent in the British zone; 5 per cent in the French zone; and 15 per cent in Austria.

The Legal Status of the Refugees

The refugees had renounced their former citizenships by the refusal to be repatriated, but at the same time they had not acquired new ones. The Soviet government continued to formally re-

gard them as Soviet citizens and on this basis demanded their repatriation. The legal protection of the refugees, as in the case of the holders of the so-called Nansen passports, was taken over by the agencies of the United Nations: the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and after 1947 by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Their task was to care for the expatriates and political refugees scattered throughout the world. However, the statutes of these organizations permitted them to take under their charge only persons who had been forcibly brought to work in Germany or had been persecuted by the Nazis for religious, political, or racial reasons. These were classified as displaced persons and refugees. The latter category of persons was, for a short period of time, deprived of the assistance of the international organizations. While the task of the UNRRA was only to give material help and aid in repatriation, the IRO broadened its mission to include resettlement of the refugees. Later the regulations were liberalized, and the rights of refugees were acknowledged for those who had been persecuted by any totalitarian government, including the Bolshevik regime. To all refugees or expatriates who came under its protection the IRO gave: (1) legal assistance; (2) free passage to countries of permanent settlement; and (3) the right to live in IRO camps and be fed free of charge. About 80 per cent of the Ukrainian refugees lived in camps.

Ukrainian Refugee Camps

Immediately after the capitulation of Germany the large Ukrainian groups in Western Germany and Austria formed several local Ukrainian committees. These committees had the special task of protecting refugees from compulsory repatriation.

On November 1, 1945, in Aschaffenburg, a congress of Ukrainian exiles in Western Germany formed the Central

Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration, which succeeded in uniting the local Ukrainian committees and organizations. This representative and coordinating body chose Basil Mudryi as its first president and Augsburg as its headquarters. In the British and French zones of occupation there were regional offices of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration. The Ukrainian Central Relief Union worked in Austria, with its seat first at Innsbruck and later at Salzburg. In 1948 the Union of Ukrainians in Germany was formed with its seat in Munich. It had similar purposes to those of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration. In June, 1951, the two organizations united under the name of the Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration of Germany (CPUE).

The western allies and the UNRRA Headquarters at first considered legal state citizenship and nationality as entirely synonymous. Consequently, the refugees from Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine were regarded as Polish or Czechoslovakian nationals, respectively. Only later, in the autumn of 1945, did they recognize the Ukrainian national group as a distinct entity and agree to organize separate Ukrainian camps in the American zone. During 1945 and 1946 the administration of these camps was entirely in the hands of UNRRA officials. Since 1947 they have been assisted by elected officials of the various Ukrainian camp self-governments.

For two reasons Ukrainian life developed best in the American zone: first, there were more Ukrainians here than any other place; and second, the American government was most sympathetic to and liberal with the refugees. There were approximately eighty camps where Ukrainians were the only, or the most numerous, national group. Many of these camps were in Bavaria. The largest were in Munich, Augsburg, Regensburg, Ulm, Stuttgart, Mittenwald, Berchtesgaden,

Aschaffenburg, Bayreuth, and Landshut. From 1946 to 1948 Munich was the center of Ukrainian refugee life, although Augsburg and Regensburg were also important in this respect.

Religious and Cultural Life

An important segment of the Ukrainian intelligentsia and many civic leaders were among the refugees. These two groups stimulated lively development in various fields of Ukrainian refugee life. The religious needs of the Ukrainian Catholics of the Byzantine rite were at first fulfilled by the Apostolic Visitorial Office for the Ukrainian Catholics in Germany. After the Bolsheviks arrested and removed from Berlin the Apostolic Visitor, the Rev. Peter Verhun, his duties in Western Germany were exercised by the Rev. Nicholas Voiakovsky. In 1947 the Apostolic See formed an Apostolic Visitorial Office for the Ukrainian Catholics of all western Europe and placed Bishop Ivan Buchko at its head. In the separate western European countries (Germany, France, England, Holland, and Belgium) general vicariates were set up.

The exiled bishops of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church held a bishops' *sobor* (synod) in 1946. With Metropolitan Polycarp Sikorsky reaffirmed as its leader, this branch of the Orthodox Church soon spread its activities throughout the whole of Europe and to America and Australia. (Since Sikorsky's death in 1953, the Church is headed by Metropolitan Nicanor Abramovych).

Schools of various types developed rapidly. The Ukrainian institutions of higher learning and research acquired general Ukrainian importance. Of special importance was the transfer from Czechoslovakia to Bavaria (1945) of the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute. Some 2,000 Ukrainian students studied at the Ukrainian and German universities in Germany and Austria,

and a smaller number studied in Belgium, France, Holland, and Spain.

Many young people became members of the Ukrainian Scouts Organization (*Plast*) and the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM). Others joined the Ukrainian sections of the YMCA. The women were organized in the Union of Ukrainian Women in Germany.

Professional societies, organizations of former Ukrainian soldiers, political prisoners, and disabled veterans were likewise started. In spite of economic difficulties the cooperative movement developed gradually.

A press soon began to function. As a consequence of the scattered distribution of the refugees, the wide differences in political orientation and preference, and the low cost of printing until 1948, approximately 250 different Ukrainian press organs appeared in Germany and Austria between 1945 and 1950.

Political Life

There were leading representatives of all the Ukrainian political groups and organizations among the refugees. There was also the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic, headed by Andrew Livytsky. Conditions were favorable for the development of political life because of the sharpening relations between the West and the USSR, and the freedom of organization which the western allies allowed the refugees. Old political parties resumed their activity and new ones emerged. The large number of parties is not wholly explained by the division of the refugees into many rival groups, which is a characteristic of every political exodus. The main fact was that at this time the various political groups which had worked under different non-Ukrainian governments, or among the Ukrainian refugees prior to the war, were now in closer communication, and had a chance to be considered as a homogeneous group. In addition, the new refugees from the central and eastern Ukrainian

lands, that is Soviet Ukraine (prior to 1939), where there was never an opportunity for true political expression, now took part in a real political life.

There arose in the emigration four main political camps, similar to the prewar Ukrainian political spectrum: middle-of-the-road democratic, nationalist, socialist, and monarchist.

To the middle of the road belong: the old Galician group, the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO); and two new groups, the Ukrainian National State League (UNDS), and the Union of All Ukrainian Lands.

In the nationalist camp there are also three groups. The two older groups are: the OUN under the leadership of Colonel Andrew Melnyk, and the OUN under the leadership, until recently, of Stephen Bandera. (After Bandera's murder by a Soviet agent on October 15, 1959, Stephen Lenkavsky assumed the leadership of that group.) The former is officially the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, but the popular name is *Meľnykivtsi* (Melnykites). The official name for the latter group is the Foreign Branch of the OUN, but it is popularly known as *Banderivtsi* (Banderites). The third, new and smaller, nationalist group, is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad (OUNz).

In the socialist camp, the two historic Ukrainian parties were revived. These two parties, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Labor party (USDRP) and the Ukrainian Party of Social Revolutionaries (UPSR), were active in the times of Ukrainian revolution and renaissance (1917-20) and during the emigration since the twenties. The Ukrainian Socialist Radical party (USRP) which had been active before the war in the Western Ukrainian lands was the third revitalized organization. These groups soon merged into the Union of Ukrainian Socialists (SUS). The newly organized Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic party (URDP), formed chiefly by the newer refugees, very soon split into two

factions. The majority evolved into a middle of the road party. The minority advocated radical socialist principles.

The monarchist group is the Union of Hetmanites-Patriots.

Besides these political organizations active in the emigration, there is also an agency of the homeland revolutionary center, the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). This was set up in Ukraine in June, 1944, as the political leadership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Early in 1946 efforts were made to unite the activity of the Ukrainian parties abroad in a single center for the purpose of representation and coordination. In the spring of 1947 these efforts led to the creation of the Ukrainian National *Rada* (UNR) as a Ukrainian representative assembly in exile. The Executive Organ of the *Rada* was established at the same time. The government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic, with Andrew Livytsky continuing as president, was to maintain the Ukrainian National *Rada* (Council) as a broad political base from which to begin consolidation of Ukrainian national forces for the struggle for liberation. In July of 1948, the charter of the *Rada* was signed by representatives of all the political groups except the monarchists. Borys Ivanytsky was elected president of the *Rada* and Isaac Mazepa, the Ukrainian premier in 1919, was elected head of the Executive Organ. On the death of Andrew Livytsky in 1954, Stephen Vytvytsky was elected President of the government-in-exile. At present (1962), the President of the Ukrainian National *Rada* is Osyp Boi-dunyk, while Nicholas Livytsky is Chairman of its Executive Organ. Both the *Rada* and its Executive Organ continue their political activities in the free world. Two nationalist groups, the Foreign Branch of the OUN and the OUNz, and the monarchist group are the only political organizations not included in the *Rada*.

As stated above, the increase of tension between the western states and the USSR created an atmosphere favorable for the political activity of the Ukrainians, as well as the refugees of other countries subjugated by Soviet Russia. Much of this activity has been conducted or coordinated through the organizational framework of the Paris Bloc of the Moscow-enslaved Peoples (participated in by the government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, ABN, (participated in by the Foreign Branch of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). The head of the ABN is Yaroslav Stetko.

The Ukrainian refugees have directed their efforts with some success toward establishing and maintaining liaison with the world's leading news publications and news media. In addition, Ukrainian representatives are working with several leading liberal, socialist, and Catholic international organizations. The Ukrainian Christian Movement, headed by Volodymyr Yaniv, keeps close contacts with the Catholic movements in western Europe, promoting knowledge and information on Ukraine.

Political activity in western Europe has been somewhat weakened by the mass departure of Ukrainian refugees for overseas countries of resettlement. On the other hand, the Ukrainian communities in these countries, particularly the United States and Canada, have been strengthened. Resettled refugees have formed numerous new social and political organizations, similar to and working closely with the groups in western Europe.

The Exodus from Germany and Austria

The refugees and expatriates who resided in Germany and Austria at the end of the war immediately attempted to move further west, and when possible, overseas. These attempts were stimulated because of the impossibility of gaining economic security in war-ruined and

overpopulated Germany and because of the fear of a new war. The first possibilities of migrating to other western European countries came in 1947. At that time 14,000 Ukrainians left Germany and Austria for England; some 10,000 for Belgium; and about 5,000 for France. In the same year about 5,000 went to South America, chiefly to Argentina and Brazil. More opportunities for emigration opened in the second half of 1947 when the United States passed the Displaced Persons Act. This made it possible for 205,000 displaced persons to enter the United States outside the regular immigrant quota. In 1950 this number was increased to 315,000, and in 1953 an additional 150,000 refugees were admitted under the Refugee Relief Act. Canada and Australia also declared their willingness to take more than 100,000 displaced persons. The Ukrainians quickly took advantage of these opportunities.

Transportation to the new countries of settlement was paid by the International Refugee Organization (IRO). In the case of refugees coming to the United States, the IRO and American government agencies were aided by the United Ukrainian American Relief Committee (UUARC) and the Ukrainian Catholic Relief Committee (a member of the National Catholic Welfare Conference). In Canada the same functions were performed by the Ukrainian Canadian Relief Fund.

The emigration movement of Ukrainians in the years 1947-57 from Germany and Austria to various countries can be seen from the following approximate figures.

United States of America	80,000
Canada	30,000
Australia and New Zealand	20,000
Great Britain	20,000*

*In addition, Great Britain accepted 12,000 soldiers of the First Ukrainian Division, who were transferred from a prisoner-of-war camp in Italy to a camp in Great Britain and who were subsequently released and allowed to settle permanently in Great Britain.

Belgium	10,000
France	10,000
Brazil	7,000
Argentina	6,000
Venezuela	2,000
Other countries	2,000

It should be noted that a substantial part of the Ukrainian emigrants who settled in Great Britain, France, and Belgium re-emigrated in the 1950's to the United States of America and Canada; as a result of this process, a mere 3,000 Ukrainian emigrants remain in Belgium today. Likewise a number of postwar Ukrainian emigrants to South America and Australia re-emigrated to the United States and Canada.

The number of Ukrainians in Germany and Austria dwindled to 100,000 by the middle of 1948, and by 1957 their number was estimated at 20,000 to 25,000. In western Europe today, there are over 100,000 Ukrainians and persons of Ukrainian descent. About 50,000 reside in France, 25,000 in Great Britain, 20,000 in Germany, 3,000 in Belgium, and 3,000 in Austria. At the present time the emigration movement of Ukrainians from western Europe to countries overseas has come to a standstill. The great majority of those remaining have become naturalized and integrated into the social and economic life of the countries of their settlement. Those who did not avail themselves of naturalization opportunities remain under the protection of the United Nations and receive some legal and financial assistance from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The legal status of political refugees in European countries was established by the Geneva Convention of July 28, 1951, ("Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees") as well as by the special legislative acts of those countries.

(The present status of the Ukrainian diaspora in the free world will be discussed in the second volume of the *Encyclopaedia*.)

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VII. Culture

1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CONSTITUENT ELEMENTS

STATE OF RESEARCH

A full and extensive history of Ukrainian culture, especially its many-sided and comprehensive characteristics, has not been written yet. There exist, however, a few monographic studies and a few general surveys dealing with various specific fields of Ukrainian culture. The first such attempt was made by Ivan Ohienko in his *Ukraïns'ka kul'tura* (Ukrainian Culture), Leipzig, 1923. A popular survey, *Ukraïns'ka kul'tura, ii mynuvshyna i suchasnist'* (Ukrainian Culture, its Past and Present) by A. Kozachenko, was published in 1931 in Kharkiv. Various aspects were treated in articles contained in the third volume of *Ukraïns'ka Zahaľna Entsykl'opediia* (Ukrainian General Encyclopaedia), Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Kolomyia, 1934-5). In 1937 *Istoriia ukraïns'koï kul'tury* (History of Ukrainian Culture), edited by Ivan Krypiakevych, was published in Lviv. Although popular in character, it still remains the only source of information in certain fields (e.g., on the history of Ukrainian habits and customs). The series of lectures at the Ukrainian Technical and Husbandry Institute, *Ukraïns'ka kul'tura* (Ukrainian Culture), edited by Dmytro Antonovych and twice published in mimeographed form (Poděbrady, 1940, and Regensburg-Berchtesgaden, 1947), represents a considerable achievement. Most of the articles were written by the editor. Among the contributors were V. Bidnov, D. Doroshenko, A. Lototsky, S. Narizhnyi, D. Čiževsky, and A. Yakovliv. Among the

latest books on the history of Ukrainian culture, based on new research and study, is *Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur* by I. Mirchuk, published in Munich in 1957, and *Istoriia ukraïns'koï kul'tury z naidavnishykh chasiv do sere-dyny XVII st.* (History of Ukrainian Culture from Ancient Times to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century), by M. Marchenko published in 1961 in Kiev. The symposium, *Das geistige Leben der Ukraine in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (series *Deutschtum und Ausland*, Münster, 1930), edited by Volodymyr Zalozecky, is most valuable. Apart from the editor's articles it contains contributions by D. Antonovych, L. Biletsky, D. Doroshenko, Z. Kuzelia, and I. Mirchuk. The following short surveys of the history of Ukrainian culture are also available: *Kultur der Ostslaven, Ukrainer, Weissruthenen, Russen*, by Michael Antonovych (in *Handbuch der Kulturgeschichte*, edited by G. Kindermann, volume entitled *Kultur der slavischen Völker*, Potsdam, 1939), and *Handbuch der Ukraine* (Leipzig, 1941) by I. Mirchuk. Such works as M. Hrushevsky's *Kulturno-natsionalnyi rukh na Ukraïni v XVI-XVII vitsi* (The Cultural and National Movement in Ukraine in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), published originally in 1912 in Kiev-Lviv, and republished in Vienna in 1919, and A. Savych's *Narysy z istorii kulturnykh rukhiv na Ukraïni ta v Bilorusii v XVI-XVII v.* (Outlines of the History of the Cultural Movements in Ukraine and Belorussia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries), published in

Kiev in 1929, deal with specific periods in the history of Ukrainian culture.

In addition, the problems of Ukrainian culture are treated in the works of some Russian authors, such as G. Vernadsky's *Zven'ia russkoi kul'tury* (The Links of Russian Culture), published in Germany in 1938 and *Ocherki russkoi kul'tury* (Outlines of Russian Culture) by A. Sakharov and A. Muraviev, published in 1962 in Moscow.

An analysis and description of the characteristics of such separate fields of Ukrainian culture as literature, all branches of the arts and sciences and of education, as well as publishing houses, the press and libraries, museums and archives, are treated in other chapters of this encyclopedia. This section on Ukrainian culture is limited to the analysis of its basic elements and an outline of the basic racial and spiritual factors of the Ukrainian people and the general characteristics of Ukrainian philosophy.

ELEMENTS OF THE UKRAINIAN CULTURE

As in all other cultures, it is possible to discern in Ukrainian culture major constituent elements. These are: (1) pre-Indo-European, (2) Indo-European, (3) proto-Slavic, (4) Balkan, (5) Iranian, (6) Altaic, (7) Greek and Roman, (8) Germanic, (9) Byzantine, (10) western European.

Not all of these influenced the development and character of Ukrainian culture to the same degree. While it is possible to call a fusion of the first six elements the basis of Ukrainian culture, the last four are characteristic of the more recent epochs of Ukrainian cultural history.

Pre-Indo-European Elements

The Paleolithic cultures on Ukrainian territory already indicate some peculiarities of cultural development which are characteristic of Ukrainian culture in general: (1) distinctions between the culture on the territory later known as

Ukrainian and the culture existing then on the present-day Russian territory; (2) the link between the culture of the population of Ukraine and the cultures of the Black Sea basin and thus with that of the Mediterranean (M. Miller).

It is difficult to point out any relics of the Paleolithic Age in Ukrainian culture today. Perhaps the clay-packed (*pisé*) structures in the Upper Paleolithic Age of the steppe Ukraine have some genetic relation to the Ukrainian clay-walled houses (*mazanky*). The Neolithic Age is represented in Ukraine by several cultures (see "Archaeology"), of which the most important is the Trypilian. Ukrainian and Russian archaeologists (Khvoika, Krychevsky, Kurinnyi, Passek, Artamonov, Udaltsov) link this culture genetically on the one hand with the Mesolithic ages and on the other hand with later periods. V. Shcherbakivsky assumes that the people of the Trypilian culture were of the Armenoid race from Asia Minor, who became the substratum of the Ukrainian racial type. The Armenoid origin of the Trypilians is also accepted by Ukrainian anthropologists (cf. p. 159).

The bearers of the Trypilian culture laid the foundation of the material culture in Ukraine. They introduced soil cultivation by an ox-drawn plow (wheat, barley, and millet were grown by them), and established the basic type of Ukrainian dwellings and the use of domestic animals (cattle, particularly the bull, the sheep, the goat, the pig, and the dog). Many types of the agricultural tools of the Trypilian period (hoe, sickle) have been preserved with almost no changes in Ukraine. Apart from this, Ukrainian ethnologists (e.g., V. Shcherbakivsky) have advanced the view, supported by evidence, that the matriarchy of the Trypilian culture has left traces in Ukrainian life as seen in the part played by the woman in the family and in the wedding ceremony, as well as in the matronymics used especially in the Western Ukrainian countryside. The contacts between the Trypilians and the

peoples of the Aegean civilization continued the trend characteristic of the Ukrainian Paleolithic period.

Indo-European Elements

Leaving aside the unsolved problem of the ethnogenesis of the Indo-Europeans, it is known, on the basis of archaeological data, that sometime in the second millennium B.C. (i.e., in the Bronze Age) there appeared in Ukraine warlike Indo-European tribes, who, moving in their swift chariots and armed with battle axes, brought to Ukraine the so-called "corded" pottery. These tribes, at that time still nomadic, established their rule over the settled agrarian population of the Trypilian culture and became, presumably for a long period of time, the dominant element in the country until they merged with the autochthonous population and created a new highly developed culture.

The Indo-Europeans brought to Ukraine three most important elements of culture: in the social sphere, the patriarchal system; in the spiritual, the cult of the sun with its symbol, the wheel; and thirdly, the well-developed and flexible language which, with various admixtures and mutations, became the basis of the Slavic languages in general and of the Ukrainian language in particular.

Comparative philology is most helpful in the study of this Indo-European culture. Although the origins of some words are still controversial and often hypothetical, the linguistic data clearly show that a large and important part of the Ukrainian vocabulary dates from the Indo-European period. Even some words denoting agricultural concepts which were known in Ukraine in pre-Indo-European times and were not characteristic of Indo-European culture are of Indo-European origin. This can be explained by the supposition that either Indo-European terminology has some genetic link with the proto-Ukrainian agrarian population, or that the Indo-European conquerors, having improved

the existing tools, gave them new appellations.

Of Indo-European origin, or formed from Indo-European roots in the Common Slavic period, are the Ukrainian words denoting various parts of the body: *lytse* (face), *nis* (nose), *oko* (eye), *usta* (mouth), *zuby* (teeth), *boroda* (beard, chin), *huby* (lips), *mozok* (brain), *sertse* (heart), *kist'* (bone), *krov* (blood). Also such general concepts as *zhyty* (to live), *liudy* (people), *osoba* (person), *muzh* (husband), *zhona* (wife), *imia* (name), *liubyty* (to love), *vmyraty* (to die), *smert'* (death), *teplyi* (warm), *vydyty* (to see), *spaty* (to sleep), *son* (dream), *stoiaty* (to stand), *ity* (to go), *bihyty* (to run), *mohty* (to be able to) originated in the Indo-European vocabulary. Apart from Ukrainian terms of Indo-European origin denoting general concepts in family relationships—*maty* (mother), *syn* (son), *dochka* (daughter), *brat* (brother), *sestra* (sister), *svekor* (father-in-law), *svekrukha* (mother-in-law), possibly also *tato* (father)—there are also other words which confirm the Indo-European origin of the Ukrainian patriarchate: *diver* (husband's brother), *zovytsia* (husband's sister), *yatrivka* (husband's brother's wife), and possibly *stryi* (father's brother). M. Hrushevsky pointed out the interesting phenomenon that some Indo-European terms became "matriarchized" in the Balto-Slavic area. Thus *vui* (cf., Latin *avus*) came to mean a relationship (mother's brother) unexpected in a patriarchal society. The general concept of Old Slavic *netii* (cf., Old Indian *napāt*) was narrowed down to "sister's son."

Archaeological evidence suggesting that the type of house and interior existing in Ukraine in the Bronze Age has been preserved there is confirmed by the following Common Slavic terminology based on Indo-European roots: *dim* (house), *dveri* (door), *pich* (oven), *vikno* (window), *pokriolia* (roof). In modern Ukrainian pottery, too, certain

characteristics have been preserved which reflect precisely the shapes of the Bronze Age pottery produced by the potters' wheel (the large bowl used for grinding poppy-seed—*makitra*, the metal pot *chavun*, and wide-neck jugs).

Among the terms for domestic and wild animals, birds, fish, and trees there are of Indo-European origin: *chereda* (herd), *viivtsia* (sheep), *yahnia* (lamb), *soynia* (swine), *vepr* (boar, pig), *porosia* (young pig), *hus'* (goose), *vovk* (wolf), *tur* (aurochs), *mukha* (fly); among those for crops and vegetables: *zerno* (grain, seed), *oves* (oats), *pyrii* (couch-grass), *lon* (flax), *mak* (poppy), *bib* (bean), *horokh* (pea). The designations of food and beverages are also Indo-European or of Indo-European root: *miaso* (meat), *voda* (water), *yushka* (soup), *moloko* (milk), *drizhdzhi* (yeast), *sil'* (salt); similarly the verbs: *yisty* (to eat), *zhuvaty* (to chew), *pyty* (to drink). The Indo-European words *visk* (wax) and *med* (honey), although possibly of foreign (Altaic) origin, testify to the early acquaintance of the population in Ukraine with apiculture. As has been mentioned, the Ukrainian (and Common Slavic) agricultural terminology is also mostly of Indo-European origin: *ralo* (primitive plow), *oraty* (to plow), *siiaty* (to sow), *moloty* (to grind, to mill), *oborih* (haystack), *chereslo* (plowshare), *soloma* (straw), *borozna* (furrow). So, too, are the most vital designations in the social and political sphere: *volodity* (to rule), *vlada* (Old *volost'*—rule, power), *slava* (glory), *slavnyi* (renowned), *mudryi* (wise). In military terminology the most important derivatives from Indo-European are: *viz* (cart, chariot), perhaps at first denoting the Indo-European military cart (Sansk. *ratha*), an epoch-making discovery in the art of war, and the word *shchyt* (shield). In the course of time this military cart was adapted to peaceful purposes and became the prototype of the peasant cart. The words *vis'* (axis), *yarmo* (yoke) are also Indo-

European, most likely from the same period.

The beginnings of barter are registered in the word *miniaty* (to exchange), also of Indo-European origin. The most fundamental scientific and technical ideas and terms, such as the decimal system as well as the numerals from one to ten, and the basic technological concepts *kolo*, *koleso* (circle, wheel) also came from the Indo-European, though it is possible that these concepts and terms were originally borrowed by the Indo-Europeans themselves.

There is linguistic evidence for the Indo-European origin of many terms for trades in Ukraine. This is proven by the following words: *shyty* (to sew), *nytko* (thread), *vovna* (wool), *vereteno* (spindle), *krosno* (weaving loom), *merzhyty* (to do drawn needlework), *plesty* (to weave), *tesaty* (to hew), *vertity* (to drill), *tiaty* (to cut), *kopaty* (to dig), and also probably *tkaty* (to weave). The word *ruda* (ore), common to Indo-European languages, is supposedly of Sumerian origin. The Indo-Europeans were exposed to the influence of Sumerian culture (in level of development second only to the Egyptian). It is possible that the old East Slavic measurements are based on the Babylonian system (N. Belaeu, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, I, 1927). However, the word *miriaty* (to measure) is itself Indo-European.

The Indo-European cult of the sun left many traces in Ukrainian material and spiritual culture. The geometrical pattern of Ukrainian embroideries and Easter eggs (especially in Western Ukraine) is based on symbolic sun designs in the form of a circle, a cross (straight and oblique), a fylfot, a rhomb, or a meander (M. Miller). Vestiges of the sun cult may be recognized in Ukrainian folk customs and rites observed at Christmas (the birth of the sun, the so-called *Korochun*, the shortest day of the year), Easter, and St. John's Eve (*Kupalo*, celebrated by the game of

jumping across fires). Many cosmic and magic terms are of Indo-European origin: *nebo* (sky, heaven), *struia* (stream), *buria* (storm), *misiats'* (moon, month), *zoria* (star), *chary* (charms). There were also traces of the Indo-European cult of trees and the practice of human sacrifice. The ancient custom of burial on a sledge, even in summer, well-known in medieval Ukraine, was preserved in certain parts of the country until quite modern times.

The Indo-Europeans had undoubtedly achieved a high level of development in literature (especially sagas and fables) which to a certain degree survived and may be traced in Ukrainian folklore and in some motifs of the old Ukrainian literature. The analysis and classification of these elements is a task which, although very difficult and requiring highly complex critical methods of comparative research, is not insurmountable as D. Ciževsky has pointed out.

Proto-Slavic Elements

Although the Slavs (under the name Venedi, Venethi) first appeared in the written records in the first and second centuries A.D. and archaeological evidence of Slavic burial fields dates from the end (second and first centuries) of the first millennium B.C., it may safely be assumed that the forefathers of the Slavs already inhabited the historic Slavic domains at a much earlier time. Thus, all the Indo-European elements of Ukrainian culture may also be regarded as "proto-Slavic" remains. On the territory of the "original Slavic homeland" the Slavs, although mixed with the indigenous population, are the direct descendants of the Indo-Europeans. Hence many of the words cited above are Indo-European only by origin; they acquired their meaning and definitive form through the Slavs. Those elements, therefore, which crystallized after the time of Indo-European unity within the Balto-Slavic and later the Slavic group may be classed as proto-Slavic. Here also

the language is the main source of information, supplemented by archaeological and historical data.

In agricultural terminology the proto-Slavic culture is marked in the Ukrainian language by the following words: *sokha* (wooden plow), *ratai* (plowman), *kosa* (scythe), *klepach* (hammer), *hrabli* (rake), *lopata* (shovel), *resheto* (sieve), *snip* (sheaf), *zhaty* (to mow), *poloty* (to weed), *polova* (chaff); designations of fields: *udol'* (field), *liada* (meadow), *tsilyna* (fallow); and kinds of crops: *zhyto* (rye), *pshenytsia* (wheat), *pshono* (ground millet), *yachmin'* (barley). The word *obylyie*, occurring in the Chronicles and meaning "rich harvest," "ungathered crop," or simply "riches" belongs in this category together with the words *muka* (flour), *mlyn* (mill), and others. The word *sokha* was replaced by the Common Slavic *pluh* (plow—possibly a loanword from Old High German *pfluog*). The terminology of cattle-raising contains *pastukh* (shepherd), *skot* (cattle—possibly a Germanic loanword), *runo* (fleece), *sino* (hay), as well as names of animals: *byk* (bull—word of unknown, perhaps Altaic, origin), *vil* (ox), *korova* (cow), *telia* (calf), *baran* (ram), *serna* (deer), *kin'* (horse—Old *komon'*, the name and the animal probably of Altaic origin), *kobyła* (mare), *zherebets'* (colt); dairy products: *syr* (cheese), and dialectal *tvarih* (cheese). The latter word is regarded by some scholars as Altaic, and this assumption was the basis for J. Peisker's theory of the oppression of the Slavs under Altaic rule. The term for fowl, *kur* (*kurka*), which some scholars regard as of Iranian origin, is Common Slavic; so, too, is *holub* (pigeon). The following hunting and fishing terms as well as the names of fish date from the proto-Slavic era: *sitka* (net), *vudka* (fishing-rod), *merzha* (fish net), *teneta* (trap, net), *lovyty* (to catch), *oseter* (sturgeon), *lyn* (tench), *pstruh* (trout), *okun'* (perch). Most apicultural terminology—*bdzhola* (bee), *bort'* (bees' nest, in a tree-hollow), *vulyk* (beehive),

matka (queen bee)—is Eastern and Western Slavic.

The high development of craftsmanship may be judged not only from archaeological and historical data, but also from the Ukrainian vocabulary which may be traced back to Common Slavic: *shkira* (processed leather), Old *kozha* (hide), archaic *usma* or *usnie* (processed leather) and *usmar* (tanner), *cherevyk* (shoe), *kozhuh* (sheepskin coat), *mikh* (bellows), *rukavytsi* (gloves). The following Common Slavic words must be added to the vocabulary of weaving of Indo-European origin: *kudelia* (distaff), *priasty* (to spin), *polotno* (cloth), *port* thread—in fabric), *rub* (hem), *sukno* (cloth), and *tkach* (weaver). These terms of proto-Slavic origin may be noted in ceramics: *posud* (Old Slavic *sud*—vessel), *hornets'* (pot), *bliudo* (dish); in woodwork, at which the Slavs excelled: *teslia* (carpenter), *doloto* (chisel), *sverdel* (drill), *struh* (scraper), *klishchi* (pincers), *pyla* (saw), *bochka* (barrel), *bodnia* (of Germanic origin—tub, vat), *dizha* (kneading trough), *vidro* (pail), *zban* (jug), *koryto* (trough), *choven* (boat). Metalwork is recorded in the Church Slavonic general term for metal, *krushets'*, as well as in Ukrainian words like *koval* (blacksmith), *molot* (hammer), *doloto* (chisel), *shylo* (awl), *hvizdky* (nails). Ukrainian designations for gold (*zoloto*), silver (*sriblo*), and iron (*zalizo*), which are similar to those in other Slavic languages, are of unknown origin. In some Slavic languages the meaning of the word *olovo* is "lead," in others, "tin." The following terms for weapons and adornments are proto-Slavic: *luk* (bow), *persten'* (ring), *hryvnia* (decorative coin). Designations of food contain, apart from the older terms *khlib* (bread) and *tisto* (dough), also *kasha* (grits, gruel), *pyvo* (beer), *varyty* (to cook), *priazhyty* (to roast). Among foreign loanwords in Slavic are *braha* and *ol* (North Germanic); both words mean "fermented grain beverage"; the word *vyno* (wine) is a borrowing from Greek and Latin.

Names of most fruit trees and fruits in Ukrainian are of Common Slavic origin—e.g., *slyva* (plum), *yahoda* (berry), *horikh* (nut), *deren* (cornel), as well as *yabluko* (apple, known in most European languages)—as are the designations for orchard and fruit, although some of them may be borrowings—e.g., *vyshnia* (cherry), *hrush(k)a* (pear), *ovoch* (fruit). Similarly, many terms for vegetables are Common Slavic: *sochevytsia* (lentil), *chasnyk* (garlic), *ripa* (turnip), *khmil'* (hop); as well as the words *yar* (spring seeding), *yaryna* (spring corn), *ozymyna* (winter corn culture). The word *konopli* (hemp) is Common Slavic, though perhaps a Thracian loanword.

The Slavic terminology of clothing is attested to by the words *hachi* (trousers), *poias* (belt), *plashch* (overcoat), and *odizh* (clothing). The meaning of the word *shvets'* varies in the Slavic languages from "cobbler" to "tailor." Some Common Slavic words denoting dress were borrowed from Vulgar Latin: *koshulia* (shirt) and the archaic *korzno* (overcoat). There exist several Slavic words for house: *khorama*—*khram*, *khызha* (the latter is Germanic). The house was covered by a *strikhia* (thatched roof) and painted with *vapno* (lime), derived from the Greek βαφή (dye). House furnishings included *lava* (bench), *stil* (table), and the Old Church Slavonic *odr* (bedding). A house had a heated room, *izba* or *istopka* (Old and dialectal), and an unheated hallway, *siny*. A home-stand contained, apart from the house, a *dvtir* (courtyard), *klit'* (*komora*—pantry, storeroom), *khilto* (barn, sty), *koshary* (sheepfold), dialectal *humno* (barnyard), and *zhytnytstia* (granary). It was fenced around with a *plit* or *tyn* (fence—a Germanic loanword).

The character of the weapons used is denoted by the terms *kopie* (lance) and *sulytsia* (spear), *nizh* (knife), *bradva* (battle ax), and *mech* (sword), the latter two taken from Germanic; *topir* (ax) and *kord* (lunge, lasso) derived by some scholars from Iranian; *sokyra* (ax), *kyt* (stick), *prashcha* (sling), *tiatyva*

(bow-string), *strila* (arrow), *tul* (quiver), and two Germanic loanwords *bronja* (armor) and *sholom* (helmet).

Ukrainian has the following proto-Slavic musical terms: *truba* (trumpet), *husli* (psaltery), *bubon* (drum). The Church Slavonic word, *pliasaty* (to dance), also belongs to this group. The word *lik* (cure) is considered to be of Celtic origin, passed on to the Slavs by the Teutons.

Apart from the linguistic data there are also foreign descriptions of the Slavs. According to these sources, the most prominent Slavic characteristics were their love of freedom, hospitality, bravery, lack of unity among themselves, love of music and singing, an inclination to drink, and the virtue and faithfulness of Slavic women. The religious outlook of the Slavs in the pre-Christian era was based on the cult of the forces of nature which partly replaced earlier ancestral and fire cults. The mythology of the early Slavs was, until recently, considered rudimentary, but the latest research indicates that a revision of this view is required. In particular, the problem of the pre-Christian temples in *Rus'* has been satisfactorily solved by L. Dintses (*Sovetskaja etnografija*, II, 1947), who has established a link between these temples and the later Christian churches. The Slavic belief in life after death was the source of many burial customs, such as the funeral feast (*tryzna*), lamentations, and commemoration of dead ancestors (for cycles of festivals connected with the solar year and archaic features of wedding and family life see "The Spiritual Culture of the People."

Slavic social life was rooted in the large patriarchal family of the Indo-European type, termed in scholarly literature *zadruga*, a word which the Serbs, who most fully preserved this type of social institution, applied to it. For the probable traces of the *zadruga* in Ukraine see below. Communities consisted of independent family homesteads, responsible for their own affairs, the heads of which met in a common

council. Communal use of the land was unknown, and therefore the Russian land commune (*obshchina*) must be considered as a product of later processes (Hrushevsky). Strongholds (*horody*, a Common Slavic word) were built for defensive purposes, and Ukraine (*Rus'*), according to Scandinavian sources, was famous as a "land of *horody*" (*Gardariki*). The fortified stronghold grew and expanded until it became the commercial, cultural, and, lastly, the political center of the territory. In this way the old kinship structure was transformed into a territorial one. Sometimes several political centers arose on the territory of one tribe (e.g., Chernihiv, Novhorod Siversky, and possibly Pereiaslav in the land inhabited by the Severians). These burghs were governed by assemblies (*vitche*), and were defended by military units (*druzhyna*), the leaders of which often became founders of Slavic states and dynasties. Although the members of the *druzhyna* were sometimes of foreign origin, these foreign warriors are to be considered not as founders of Slavic states but rather as the auxiliary organizers and functionaries of the political life in accordance with local traditions. In this way also the Kievan state was formed. The Slavic terms *volodity* (to rule) and *volodar* (ruler) are of Indo-European origin. It may be assumed that the Germanic *konung* (prototype of Ukrainian *kniaz'*) is an Altaic or other loanword.

Ukrainian-Balkan Elements

Archaeological evidence (see above) indicates that from the earliest times the cultures in Ukraine were different from those in Russia. The ancient cultures in Russia did not extend to Ukraine, but were limited to the Russian territories (cf., the map of the Fatianovo culture by T. A. Trofimova in *Sovetskaja etnografija*, I, 1946). On the other hand, the early cultures in Ukraine show traces of continual contact with Balkan cultures. Archaeological and anthropological research has also established that the

Dinaric racial type predominates among both the Ukrainian and South Slavic populations.

The philologists S. Smal-Stotsky and T. Gartner maintained that there was no East Slavic linguistic unity, and that the Ukrainian language has many features in common with Serbo-Croatian (*Grammatik der ruthenischen (ukrainischen) Sprache*, Vienna, 1913). This thesis is accepted by many Ukrainian scholars, although most foreign scholars (Shakhmatov, Lehr-Splawinski, Trubetskoi) deny its validity.

Ethnographic data also provide support for the existence of common customs in Ukraine and in the Balkans. As early as 1877 Drahomanov advanced his thesis of the so-called "Danubian epoch" in the life of the Ukrainian Slavs. This coincides with the assertion of the Primary Chronicle that the Slavic tribes in Ukraine came from the Danubian area. Hrushevsky formulated this hypothesis more cautiously, adopting the name "Black Sea-Danubian period" for the historical developments between the fourth and ninth centuries A.D. He also drew attention to the resemblance between the Serbian *zadruga* and the family clans of ancient Rus', the *dvoryshcha* (farmsteads), mentioned in Ukrainian documents of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries, and finally the *siabry* (co-owners), a term used up to the eighteenth century. All these observations and attempts at generalization underline the need of comprehensive research on the problem of the Ukrainian-Balkan unity or relationship. So far, this task has not been adequately tackled.

Later Balkan influences on Ukraine are shown by the acceptance of Christianity, in the form of the Byzantine rite, from Bulgaria. Apart from the influences of Bulgarian literature and the cultural relations with Serbia (see p. 987) it would not be amiss to mention the "Serbian" singers in Ukraine in the fourteenth century who brought with them

the "captive songs" and Turkish themes, which later (sixteenth century) appear frequently in the Ukrainian *dumas*. The Serbian elements in the Ukrainian Kozak State have been the subject of research by I. Krypiakevych and other scholars.

Iranian Elements

Apart from the Slavs, Ukrainian territory was inhabited by another Indo-European group—the Iranians. As early as the eighth century B.C. the Cimmerians who at that time lived in Ukraine must have had an Iranian admixture. This is confirmed by Vasmer's analysis of some of the names of the Cimmerian rulers (e.g., Sandakšatru).

An outstanding role was played in Ukraine by three different Iranian tribal groups which successively held sway there. The first were the Scythians who were replaced by the Sarmatians and lastly by the Alans (the North Iranian version of the name *Aryana*). Linguistically all of them, together with the Chorasmian (Khwarizmian) language, belonged to the North Iranian group. The sole language of that group to survive today is Ossetic, in the northern Caucasus. That some relationship existed between these Iranian tribes and the Slavs in Ukraine is obvious from the fact that their languages belong to the same *satem* group of the Indo-European languages. George Vernadsky argues that the tribal name "Antes," which Hrushevsky regarded as the name of the immediate ancestors of the Ukrainians and which the Russian archaeologist P. Tretiakov (*Sovetskaiia etnografiia*, IV, 1947) limited to the southwest group of the Eastern Slavs (i.e., the Ukrainian tribes except the Polianians and the Severians), suggests a kind of a tribal and political union between the Alans (As) and the Slavs (*Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LIX).

Apart from the influence exerted by these "kindred" Iranians, Ukraine was open to other Iranian influences, especially in the sphere of art, coming from

Sassanid Persia (third century B.C. to seventh century A.D.) and from that ancient commercial power Chorasmia (Kharezm), recently explored by S. Tolstov.

The ethnogeny of the Scythians, the Sarmatians, and the Alans is being studied at present by Soviet scholars (B. Rybakov, P. Tretiakov, L. Matsulevich, and S. Tolstov). Although their works are limited by the Marxian (and, earlier, also Marrian) interpretations, they have made some new archaeological and linguistic discoveries. M. Vasmer wrote a fundamental study on Iranian topography and onomastics in "southern Russia" (1923) which provides the basis for a study of the language of these Iranians. Vasmer distinguishes between the Scythian and the Sarmato-Alan language. There are no comprehensive studies on the Iranian elements in Ukrainian. Textbooks on Ukrainian history contain lists of Iranian loan words in Ukrainian, but these are second hand and do not indicate from which Iranian language a particular word is derived. Thus Hrushevsky gives four Iranian words: *kurka* (hen), *korda* (short sword), *chobit* (boot), and *topir* (ax), while Vernadsky's list includes *khata* (house), *topir* (ax), *sharavary* (loose Kozak trousers), *sobaka* (dog), *smerd* (medieval name for free peasant), and even *Rus'*.

The problem of the original Iranian elements in Ukrainian is partially connected with the larger problem of Iranian influences on Slavic languages in general. Here the common Iranian-Slavic elements must be distinguished from Iranian loanwords in Slavic. It is very difficult to draw the line between them. A. I. Sobolevsky in his treatment of the first aspect of this problem (*Russko-Skifskie etiudy*, 1922) offered the most sweeping explanation. Observing the different use of the Indo-European sound *s* in various Slavic languages (sometimes *s* is preserved, sometimes it becomes *h*, *kh*, etc.), Sobolevsky came to the con-

clusion that proto-Slavic was a synthesis of two languages: one, which he called the "*s*-language," he regarded as proto-Balto-Slavic; the other, the "*kh*-language" was in his opinion Iranian of the Scythian type. The Russian scholar, A. Freiman, called attention to the resemblances between the Iranian and Slavic vocabulary and semantics. He showed, among other things, that semantically some Iranian words are closer to Slavic than to Indic (phonetically the Indic languages are the closest to the Iranian and with them form the so-called Aryan group of languages). Thus Avestan *sravah* = Slavic *slovo* (word), but Old Indic *śrávas* = Slavic *slava* (glory); Avestan *varasa-* = Slavic *volos*, but Old Indic *vals'a 'vishka'*; Avestan *Sraska-* = Slavic *sleza*; Avestan *srasča* = Slavic *sleztyty*; etc. Another trace of Iranian-Slavic linguistic affinity is the Slavic prefix *kur-kurno*—used to designate physical defects (e.g., Russian *kurnosii*, *kornoukhyi*, *kornorukii*, *kornokhvostyi*). The French scholar, R. Gauthiot, stated that the Slavic suffixes *-st-*, *-tvo*, and *-ie* correspond to the Iranian collective and/or abstract suffixes *-ist-*, *-tvo* (*-tva*), and *-iya*. These suffixes often appear in pairs: *-s-tvo* (e.g., *bozhestvo*, divinity), and *-tv-ie* (e.g., *tsesar'-stvie*, kingship); this field, however, lacks synthetic studies. The American scholar P. Tedesco published a study of the Iranian-Slavic designations for "wine." Extensive studies on this topic have been done recently by K. H. Menges.

There is no agreement among scholars as far as the problem of Iranian loanwords in Slavic languages is concerned. Vasmer (*Rocznik Slawistyczny*, IV) cited the following Iranian loanwords common to Slavic languages: *boh* (god), *chasha* (cup), *khomiak* (hamster), Old Slavic *kotets* (stable), *sobaka* (dog) *sto* (hundred), *topir* (ax). On the other hand A. Meillet did not acknowledge even such words as *boh* and *chasha* as Iranian borrowings, and maintained that *topir* is the only Iranian loanword in Slavic,

although he strongly emphasized the existence of common features in Slavic and Iranian languages. R. Trautmann (1947) lists the following Common Slavic words as being of Iranian origin: *boh* (?), *sto* (?), *rai* (paradise), *topir*, and Eastern Slavic *sobaka* (dog), *morda* (muzzle), *inii* (hoar frost).*

The question of Iranian loanwords remains unsolved. Yet, even if these loanwords were few, this fact alone would not indicate that Iranian influence on Ukrainian culture was insignificant. In the Bulgarian literary language, only a few words have been preserved from the proto-Bulgarian (Altaic) language, yet no one doubts that the Altaic Bulgars were an important component among the ancestors of the Slavic Bulgarians. J. Rozwadowski, who on the problem of Iranian loanwords shares Meillet's sceptical opinion, is convinced that the Iranians considerably influenced the religious and cultural outlook of the Slavs, which is attested to not by borrowings but by the former affinity of words and phrases of Indo-European origin. Among the words which are found only in the Slavic and Iranian languages, or which have the same specific meaning in both, are such important terms as *boh* (god), *dvo* (demon), *slovo* (word), *dilo* (deed), *zdorovia* (health), *khvoryi* (sick), *blahyi* (good, kind), archaic *shui* (left), *char* (charm, spell), *zvaty* (to name, to charm), *sviatyi* (holy, sacred), *chest'* (honor), archaic *rota* (vow), and many others (Meillet, Rozwadowski, Arntz, Jakobson).

In addition to the similarity in their religions, another feature shared by the Iranians and the Slavic ancestors of the Ukrainians is the lack of historical approach, in contrast to the Semitic and Altaic peoples.

*There are numerous new Persian borrowings in Ukrainian dating from later periods and acquired through the Turkic languages; e.g., *ambar* (storehouse), *bazar* (market), *khaztain* (owner), *chobit* (boot), *sharavary* (loose trousers), *shatro* (tent).

The history of Iranian art in Ukraine has been well studied (e.g., M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Oxford, 1922). However, there has been no comprehensive study on Iranian elements in Ukrainian folk art, although this problem is touched upon in general studies of the field (e.g., the relationship between the Ukrainian plant motifs and the Sassanid ornaments—vine, roses, tulips, grapes, tree of life with birds and animals). Interesting material is provided here by the excavations of the Antian remains in Ukraine. Antian kilns unearthed in the region of the Dnieper rapids and in the province of Poltava are, according to M. Miller, identical in their rounded structure with the kilns of the Ukrainian potters. The shape of Ukrainian pots, too, especially the milk jugs widespread throughout Ukraine, resemble Antian ceramics with their long necks.

Iranian influences on Ukrainian oral literature were approached on the basis of the Ossetic tradition by Vsevolod Miller. New approaches to studies of the Old Eastern Slavic epos were made by R. O. Jakobson.

Altaic Elements

Apart from the Indo-Europeans, Slavs, and North Iranians, Ukraine was also inhabited by the proto-Altaic steppe peoples. Phonetically and semasiologically the name of the Cimmerians (Greek *Κιμμέριοι*, *Gimirrai* in cuneiform inscriptions, and *Gomer* in the Hebrew Bible) may be derived from Altaic.

That the collective concept "Scythians" included some Altaic as well as Iranian tribes is evidenced by the description of these "barbarians" and their way of life. Some scholars consider that the word *βασιλῆιοι* used by Herodotus designates a Scythian tribe and is not a Greek adjective ("royal") applied to the Scythians. The tribal name *barsil* played an important role in the place names of the Hunnic (Khazar-Bulgarian) group of peoples. Herodotus' *Kottiares* are linked

by some scholars (Vivian de Saint Martin, A. Krymsky) to the Khazars. Attempts have also been made to derive the etymology of some Ukrainian river names (*Borysthenes*, *Baruch*, *Boh*, *Lybid*) from Altaic.

At present the prevailing scholarly opinion holds that of those Altaic tribes who lived in Ukraine the Avars were proto-Mongolians while the Huns, Bulgars, Khazars, and, possibly, the Pechenegs belonged to the same proto-Turkic group of languages as the modern Chuvash language. Most of the Altaic tribes who came to southern Ukraine or the adjoining areas at a later date were Turkic (except for the Mongolian Tatars in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) and belonged either to the Kipchak (Cumans, Berendeis [Karakalpak or "Black Hoods"], Nogais, Karaims, "Steppe" Crimean Tatars) or to the Oghuz group (Torks, Crimean Turks in the peninsula, Ottoman-Turks, the *Gagauzy*).

Altaic influences on Ukrainian culture have been little studied. The following scholars have contributed a great deal to the problem of Altaic loan words in Slavic: B. v. Arnim, Z. Gombocz, J. J. Mikkola, K. H. Menges, and M. Räsänen. Turkic elements in Ihor's Tale were investigated by P. Melioransky, T. Korsh, and more recently by S. E. Malov, V. Gordlevsky, A. Zajączkowski, and K. H. Menges. Zajączkowski wrote on the relation of the language of the Cumans to that of *Rus'*, and F. Miklosich on the Ottoman Turkish elements in Slavic languages (now somewhat obsolete). It is impossible at the present state of research to describe the part played by individual Altaic peoples, but some general observations may be made.

The taming of the horse was a great Altaic achievement, accomplished by the proto-Turkic peoples, and the Ukrainian name for the animal *kin'* or *komon'* is probably of Altaic origin. Closely connected with horseback riding is the use of trousers which along with the use of

the coat of mail, the sabre, and the tapering helmet were adopted from the peoples of Altaic origin. Altaic animal motifs in art left an imprint on the so-called Scythian-Sarmatian period in Ukraine (S. Kiselev, *Drevniaia istoriia Yuzhnoi Sibiri*, 1951).

It is possible that Altaic elements may be discerned in the social system and ideology of Kievan *Rus'*. The Altaic peoples (especially the Turks and the Mongolians) fulfilled the same state-organizing function in Asia as did the Germanic peoples in Europe. The title of the ruler in pre-Christian *Rus'* was the well-known Altaic term *kagan*, used as an equivalent to the Byzantine title of the emperor even in Christian *Rus'* (as in the *Slovo* of Metropolitan Hilarion), which expressed the national self-assertion and the striving to match Byzantium. This phenomenon may be interpreted as the inheritance of the Khazar state tradition by *Rus'*. The Altaic influences were evident even in such features of appearance, characteristic of some *Rus'* princes, as the shaving of the head so that a shock of hair was on one side (e.g., Sviatoslav).

The Kievan *Rus'* period of Ukrainian history retained traces of diarchy—Askold and Dir, Oleh (Oleg) and Ihor (Igor), Yaroslav and Mstyslav—which incidentally was a characteristic feature of the Altaic form of government. The succession to the throne in Kievan *Rus'* according to the principle of seniority (*lestvichnoe voskhozhdenie*) resembled the common Altaic principle of succession, an order well-documented in various sources. The men-at-arms of the *Rus'* princes and their advisers bore Altaic titles (*botaryn*, *byľ*); the heroes were given the Altaic term *bahatyr*. A. Brückner attempted to show that Slavic titles like *zhupan* and *pan* were also of Altaic (Avar) origin.

It is possible that the ancient Ukrainian decimal military system is of the Altaic origin. The Ukrainian words *khoruhva* (banner) and *teliha* ([war]

cart) which appear in texts before the twelfth century are of pro-Mongolian origin. The words *terem* (palace), and *san* (rank) might also be of Altaic origin.

One of the achievements of the Khazar state was the promotion of the principle of complete tolerance even among the peoples subjected by the Khazars. Later this characteristic sharply distinguished the Ukrainians from their neighbors.

The Ukrainian word *kozarliuha* to denote a "strong and courageous warrior" possibly goes back to the *khozars*. (The word *kozarliuha* was later linked with the word *kozak*, itself etymologically very close to the word *khozar* [J. Benzing], just as the corresponding West Slavic words [Czech *obr*, Polish *ol-brzym*] are derived from the name of the Avars [*Obry*].)

The importance of the Khazar empire as a commercial center affected the Ukrainian language as well. The term *torh* (trade), *torhivlia* (trading), *tor-zhestvo* (festival) (G. J. Ramstedt), and *tovar* (goods) possibly are of Altaic origin.

The term *chumak* (carter having a yoke of oxen and bringing salt and other goods from the Crimea), widespread in Ukraine in the latter part of the eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries, may be found as early as 1074 in the Dictionary of Turkic Languages by Mahmúd al-Káshgharí. Some articles of trade like *zhemchuh* (pearl), and *ya-ponchytsia* (frock coat), and possibly even *med* (mead), are likewise Altaic in origin.

The Ukrainian culture, too, bears some traces of Altaic elements. The word *boian* (singer) is Altaic. The typical Ukrainian dance performed with much bending of the knees (*prysidy*), was described as a Turkic characteristic by Islamic historians in central Asia as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries. Cultural links with the Khazars whose state religion was Judaism might explain the existence of the Talmudic elements in the sermons of Cyril of Turiv, and on

the other hand might have contributed to the polemics against Judaism (for instance, in the sermon of Hilarion) and might have given rise to such a puzzling anti-Judaic work as the so-called *Tolkovaia paleia* (Annotated Palea).

For about two centuries the Cumans (Polovtsians) occupied a great part of the present-day Ukrainian territory. The following are the more important borrowings from the Cuman language: *koshchii* (servant, warrior in a military detachment apart from *druzhyina*), *chaha* (woman captive), *bulava* (mace), *saihat* (war booty), *tovmach* (interpreter), *nohata* (a monetary unit), *kurhan* (burial mound). Some Ukrainian place names (*Human'*, *Kumancha*) bear witness to the Cuman era, just as the name of Pechenegs survived in the Ukrainian toponymy (Pechenizhyn). During the rule of the Mongolian Golden Horde in Ukraine, other Turkic influences (apart from the Cuman) must be reckoned with, namely those of the Uigur-Chagatai, as was shown by Zajáczkowski (*Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności*, LII, 1951, No. 4, pp. 307-14), and the Mongolian. The Mongolian influences in the Ukrainian language have not been studied, but words like *kurin'* (hut) and *balamut* (disturber) suggest their existence.

Especially numerous in Ukrainian are Turkic (Altaic) relations and borrowings from post-Mongolian times (the period of the distintegration of the Golden Horde, of the Crimean khanate, and the Ottoman Turkish sultanate) from both the Kipchak (the Nogais and the Crimean Tatars) and the Oghuz (Ottoman Turks) groups.

This period corresponds roughly to the Kozak period in Ukrainian history. Both the word *kozak* itself and the social institution (as well as later *haidamaka*) are of Turkic origin. The Kozak social organization, too, reveals many traces of Turkic vocabulary. The term used for the Kozak chief leader, *otaman*, is a Turkic word; the hetman's adjutant was

called *osavul*; a Kozak batman—*dzhura* (both words Turkic). The Kozaks lived in *kureni* (proto-Mongolian) with a *maidan* (Turkic—square) in the center. The basic fighting unit was called *kish* (Turkic), and the commander-in-chief of the Zaporozhians—*koshovyi*. The insignia of his power was the *komysh* (Turkic). A smaller Kozak detachment was called *pyrka* (from the Turkic-Arabic *fyrka*, division).

The names for the Kozak boats *chaika* and *kaiuk* are of Turkic origin. The Kozaks were dressed in *kytaika* (nankeen), *sharavary* (loose trousers tight at the ankle), *barkhat* (velvet), and they smoked *tiutiun* (tobacco)—all Turkic words. The bravery of the Kozaks was sung by the *kobzars* to the accompaniment of a *kobza* (both words Turkic). In general, numerous words in Ukrainian are either of Turkic origin or adopted through the Turkic intermediary from the Arabs—e.g., *kabala* (serfdom), *kazna* (treasury), *magazyn* (store), *yasyr* (captivity)—or from the Iranians (see above).

Certain common elements may be found in the Altaic languages and in the Ukrainian grammar. K. H. Menges has emphasized Altaic influence on the Slavic phonetic system (a clear division into palatal and velar sounds, and traces of vowel harmony). A. Krymsky has pointed out the suffix *-chyi* (present already in the early texts, e.g., *kormchii*), phrases like *tiutiunom napuvaty* (in Ukrainian ritual songs) which is identical with the Turkish *tütün içmek*; the use of the plural of the word *bat'ko* (=father) for both father and mother (=Arabic-Turkic *ebeveyn*). G. Vernadsky considers the syntactic structure of the type *u mene ye* (I have) as a loan translation from the Turkish *bende var* (*Zvenia russkoi kul'tury*, I, 1938).

The only study on the influence of Turkic on Ukrainian folklore was written by M. Drahomanov ("Turets'ki anekdoty v ukrains'kii narodnii slovesnosti," in *Zbirnyk filologichnoi sektsii NTSh*, Vol.

II, 1899). The direct assimilation of Altaic peoples to the Ukrainians is as yet unexplored. Apart from the existence of such processes in the pre-Kievan Rus' period, it is important in this connection to mention the Berendeis (Kara-Kalpak or "Black Hoods") whom Ukrainian princes used as settlers on the borderlands and who in time became completely Ukrainianized, and the Kozak leaders of Turkic descent (Dzhalalii, Kochubei). It is also interesting that the ideal type of Kozak (Mamai) is Turkic both in name and appearance.

Altaic and Iranian relations with Ukraine are not the only contacts between Ukraine and the peoples of the East. The links with the Christian Middle East are attested to by brief references to the Armenians and Syrians in medieval Kiev, for example in the *Patericon* of the Kievan Cave Monastery or by the translation (in the eleventh or twelfth centuries) of a work such as *Akir premudryi*, perhaps from the Syrian original. Relationship in art and handicraft (e.g., eastern and Caucasian elements in Suzdalian architecture which was undoubtedly created primarily by Ukrainian architects) has not been fully explored. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there appeared Ukrainian translations from the Hebrew. The influence of Jewish culture may be seen in the apocrypha and the folk legends (Peretts, *Slavia*, V). There are some special studies on assimilation of the Jews with the Ukrainians, in particular some dealing with the Jews in the Zaporozhian Host.

Influences of Ancient Greece and Rome

The influence of the Mediterranean culture on Ukrainian territory has been well recorded in historical sources. The establishment of Greek settlements on the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov (see p. 545) took place in the earliest period of the history of Greek colonization. This colonization, sent out chiefly from Miletus, gave rise to the ancient Greek legends about the voyage

of the Argonauts, the sojourn of Iphigenia in the Tauris (Crimea), Prometheus, and others. The colonies along the Black Sea were contact points in the development of relations with the population of the Ukrainian territory which played a very important part in the economic and even the political life of Greece, by supplying it with grain. There is no doubt that certain cultural influences made their way from the Greek world to Ukraine, and not only to the territory around the Greek colonies, but much farther inland. The fact that the Ukrainian territory bordered on the so-called Bosporan kingdom (around the Sea of Azov) and that a part was actually included in this kingdom is of special significance. The dominant Greek strata of the population were on the one hand in close contact with their mother country, while on the other hand they eagerly sought to consolidate their economic links with the territories to the northwest. These ties with the Greeks were all the more important, since the Bosporan kingdom, in spite of certain periods of decline, survived for eight centuries. It is worth noting that the coat of arms of the Bosporan kingdom during the rule of the house of Spartocus resembles the later Ukrainian trident (B. Rybakov). It may be assumed that the influence of the commercially minded Greeks showed itself first of all in development of artistic taste (Greek pottery and jewelry) and in a rise in the standard of living (Greek articles for home use, wine). It is obvious that the Greek cities and their building engineering must have set standards for the ancient population of Ukraine and it is not without reason that M. Hrushevsky saw in this the roots of the emergence of numerous cities in the pre-Kievan *Rus'* period in Ukraine. The direct influence of the style of Greek basilicas on the architecture of the Ukrainian medieval churches has been established.

Roman cultural influence in Ukraine was particularly strong in the first,

second, and third centuries A.D. as evidenced by numismatic discoveries. It left traces in ancient Ukrainian material culture (food, fittings, dress), as well as intellectual life (customs and folk beliefs). The following loan words are typical: the Common Slavic *koshulja* (shirt), *komora* (pantry), *vyno* (wine), *otset* (vinegar); also several terms for trees and plants: *topolia* (poplar), *chereshnia* (cherry tree), *miata* (mint). It is possible however that some of those terms were passed on to Ukraine by the Germanic peoples. A. Brückner even considered words like *tsisar* (emperor), *Rym* (Rome), and *zhyd* (Jew) to have passed directly from the Romance peoples to the Slavs, without Germanic mediation. The most important customs of Roman origin are *koliada* (Christmas customs; earlier, New Year's day) and *rusalii* (originally the festival of roses) which have been preserved in Ukraine until recently (see p. 358). There is a theory that the concept of *dolia* (destiny) in Ukrainian folk beliefs is the same as the Roman *fortuna* (A. Sonni, *Gore i dolia v narodnoi skazke*, Kiev, 1906).

Some of the Greek colonies on the present-day Ukrainian territory, such as Olbia, were famous as centers of Greek literary life, but so far no evidence has been found concerning their possible influence on Ukrainian literature.

Germanic Elements

The strongest influence on the Slavs before they spread from their original homeland was exercised by the Germanic peoples. And it has been the most thoroughly studied.

The Germanic influence on Ukrainian culture may be divided into four periods: (1) proto-East-Germanic; (2) Gothic; (3) Viking (Norse); (4) German.

The proto-East-Germanic period extends up to the time of the appearance of the Goths in Ukraine. It was then that, according to some scholars, the Slavs received from the Germanic tribes a "higher" social and military organization

and terminology. This supposedly is evidenced by such borrowed terms as *kniaz'* (prince), *duma* (thought), *mech* (sword), the archaic *bradva* (battle ax), *sholom* (helmet), *shaty* (clothing), *myto* (toll), and Old Ukrainian *zheled'* (fine). The following Ukrainian words were also borrowed from the Germanic: *khyzha* (hut, shed), *khliv* (pig sty), *tyl* (fence), and *kolodiaz'* (well). A very important loan word from the Germanic is *skot* designating both "cattle" and "money." However, the chronology of these borrowings is controversial and most of them may be located in the Gothic period. On the basis of the assumption that the Slavs borrowed from the Teutons the word *polk* (at that time this word meant "armed band [of warriors]") but not the word for the regular military units (*harjōn*), R. Smal-Stocki suggests that the Slavs were in contact only with the marauding bands, not with the centers of the Germanic tribal organizations. The Germanic tribes of this period transmitted to Ukraine the Celtic (La Tène) culture.

Gothic period. The occupation of Ukraine by the Goths (after 166 A.D.) and the creation of a Gothic state (from the beginning of the third century to 375) left numerous traces in the Slavic languages and in the material culture of the Slavs (the so-called Merovingian style in jewelry). The most important linguistic borrowings may be divided into the following groups: household—*sklo* (glass), *kotel* (kettle), *bliudo* (dish), *doshka* (table); cultivated plants and trees—*smokovnytsia* (fig tree), *buk* (beech), *red'ka* (radish); domestic animals—*osel* (donkey), and, possibly, *kit* (cat); wild animals—*lev* (lion), *verbliud* (camel). The borrowing of commercial terms which shows the beginning of the use of money is also important: *shellah* (coin), *lykhva* (usury), and *pentaz'* (money).

The Goths were the first to introduce Christianity to Ukraine, as may be seen from the loan words *tserkva* (church),

khrest (cross), *pip* (clergyman), *pist* (fast), and *satana* (devil), adopted into Slavic through Gothic mediation. The Ukrainian *bukva* (letter of the alphabet) is also supposedly of Gothic origin (M. Miller sees a relation between the Ukrainian "bee-hive marks" and the runic letters of the Gothic alphabet). Ethnographers have discovered traces of Gothic social customs in Ukrainian wedding ceremonies.

Period of the Vikings. Regardless of whether the so-called "Normanist theory" (about the Scandinavian origin of the Kievan Rus' state) is accepted or not, it is impossible to disregard the existence of strong Norse-Viking detachments of mercenaries in the commercial and military units (*druzhynas*) of the Rus' princes and cities. The Vikings brought to Ukraine their language (cf., the names of the Dnieper rapids in the works by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus), their family names (see "Rus'" names in the treaties with the Greeks in the tenth century), their folklore (see the influence of the sagas on Old Ukrainian oral literature and on Ihor's Tale) as well as their law and military usages. However, the Vikings were quickly absorbed by the local population, and their linguistic influence is therefore insignificant (it is more evident in the Russian language of Novgorod). The following Ukrainian words are of Norse origin: *stiah* (banner), *variah* (Varangian), Old *tyvun* (administrator), Old *yabednyk* (slanderer), Old *hryd'* (warrior), Old *knut* (whip), *shchohla* (mast), and *pud* (measure of weight).

O. Pritsak

Byzantine Elements

The Byzantine heritage is the most important non-Slavic component of early Ukrainian culture. It is not always easy to differentiate between Byzantine influences due to the direct impact of the Eastern empire and its Church on Rus'-Ukraine, and those coming through the mediation of the heavily Byzantinized

Balkan countries such as Bulgaria, Serbia, and, perhaps later, Wallachia. From the fifteenth century on, and as long as the direct dependence upon the Constantinopolitan patriarchate existed, Byzantine influences continued to be felt in Ukraine, in spite of its increasingly western orientation, although less strongly in the Muscovite state.

Contacts before Christianization. Little is known of Byzantine cultural influences on the Ukrainian territories before the tenth century. Byzantine sources of the sixth and seventh centuries refer to military clashes and alliances between the Eastern empire and the Antes. There is evidence also that there were in the sixth century Byzantinized Antes in high commanding posts in the Byzantine army. A number of finds of remarkable Byzantine silverware and coins of the time of Emperor Heraclius (d. 641), made in Mała Pereščepyna, point to a lively trade and a refined, although restricted, buying public (possibly Avar). The evidence of such contacts stops in the seventh century when the Bulgarian migration across the Ukrainian steppe separated the northern Ukrainian territories from the Black Sea.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, contacts with Byzantium were renewed both in peaceful and military form. The two often went together, as commercial treaties followed predatory raids by the Ῥῶς (as the people of Rus' are called in Byzantine sources) on the Byzantine empire. However, relations of this type did not contribute decisively to cultural penetration. Only the acceptance by one partner of the other's world view as superior makes an assimilative process fully possible. The Byzantine world view was inseparable from Orthodox Christianity.

Rus': A Member of the Civilized World. The first precise reference to the spread of Byzantine Christianity among the Ῥῶς was made by Patriarch Photius (867). Thus it dates from the greatest period of Byzantine missionary activity.

The decisive step, however, was taken by Prince Volodymyr (Vladimir) only a century later (988 or 989).

By adopting Christianity and marrying Anna, the sister of Emperor Basil II (see "History"), Prince Volodymyr became a member of the Byzantine imperial family, and his land was included in the ideal Byzantine family of states. At that time, this family of states was tantamount to the civilized world, for the only two recognized centers of civilization in the tenth century were Constantinople and Baghdad. Byzantium was at the peak of its military and cultural might. It is no wonder, then, that the civilization of early Rus' was derived to a great extent from that of the Byzantine empire.

It is noteworthy that later attempts by Kiev to assert independence in church and cultural matters often were but veiled desires to equal the corresponding Byzantine models. Kiev, "Mother of the Cities of Rus'" (cf., μητρόπολις and the feminine gender of πόλις, Kiev is masculine) has, like Constantinople, its Golden Gate, its churches of St. Irene, St. George, and, above all, St. Sophia. Its patroness is the Holy Virgin, protectress of Byzantium. Like Constantinople, Kiev is referred to as the "New Jerusalem." When a western source speaks of Kiev as "*æmula Sceptri Constantinopolitani*," it may reflect this competition with the capital on the Bosphorus. Volodymyr, like many Byzantine emperors, was referred to as a new Constantine. An official formula used to describe the activity of a Byzantine emperor ("to accomplish unaccomplished things") is applied by Hilarion to Volodymyr's son, Yaroslav. One of the arguments brought forward to justify the independent ordination of Metropolitan Clement, a native of Rus' (middle of the twelfth century), was that Kiev's principal relic, the head of Pope Clement, could confer sanctification just as effectively as the hand of John the Baptist, by which metropolitans were consecrated in Constantinople. This

fruitful tension between the giving and the receiving cultures was similar to that between the Byzantines and the Bulgarians in the tenth and the eleventh centuries, the Normans in the twelfth century, and the Serbians in the fourteenth century, and had at its roots the acknowledgment by *Rus'* of Byzantine cultural supremacy.

Church. Civilization meant Christianity. The new religious cult and the Church hierarchy were Byzantine. Kievan metropolitans (attested from 997 on) were, for the most part, of Greek extraction, as were many of the bishops in the earlier period; up to the fifteenth century, at least in theory, they had to be consecrated by the Patriarch of Constantinople. The first churches were built after Byzantine models, initially by imported architects, later by local masters carrying on the Byzantine tradition. The interior decoration of the early churches not only duplicated Byzantine religious iconography and displayed Greek explanatory inscriptions, but also was inspired by Byzantine imperial imagery (for example, the Hippodrome frescoes in the St. Sophia Cathedral of Kiev). Ecclesiastical terms were borrowed either in the Greek form or as *calques*: *onoriia* (Gr. *ἐνορία*, diocese), *skhyma*, *epitymiia*, *skyt*, *otshel'nyk* (Gr. *ἀναχωρητής*, literally, "the one who moves away"). Matters of dogma and ritual observance were referred to Constantinople and were decided there; examples of this date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The organization of the monastic life in *Rus'* followed closely the rules set out in the Byzantine *typika* (foundation charters regulating the life of monasteries). There are no Eastern Slavic contributions to Orthodox liturgy. A few prayers inserted in some manuscripts into the text of the liturgy are translations from Greek.

Language. The Church Slavonic language (imported to *Rus'* mainly from the Balkans) had acquired much of its specific character in the process of the translation from Greek texts. It teems

with direct borrowings from Greek and with Byzantine loan translations (*calques*) in its vocabulary, phraseology, and syntax. With the adoption of the Church-Slavonic Koine (with local variations—see "Language") for original literary production in *Rus'*, innumerable *calques* reflecting Byzantine patterns of thought, found their way into early *Rus'* literature. Some random examples follow: *ispravleniem*—κατορθώμασι (achievements); *vina*—αἰτία (cause); *beslovesna*—ἄλογα (animals); *o sikh*—ἐν τούτοις (thereupon); *yako i begati*—ὥστε ψεύγειν (so that they avoided); all these instances are from the *Patericon* of the Kievan Cave Monastery: *pakybytiie*—παλιγγενεσία (resurrection) (Hilarion and Cyril of Turiv); *yakozhe reshti*—ὡς εἰπεῖν (so to say) (Laurentius Chronicle and elsewhere). A mere mention of the existence of numerous Byzantine lexical borrowings in the learned literature of the early period must suffice here.

Literature. The literature read and copied in *Rus'*-Ukraine consisted, for the most part, of translations from the Greek (see "Literature"). This may be deduced from the catalogues of diocesan and monastic libraries, dating from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries.

The literary taste of the readers in *Rus'* was formed by the homilies of John Chrysostom (fourth and fifth centuries); they could, and did, have some inkling of Christian neo-Platonism through the works of Basil the Great (fourth century) and John of Damascus (eighth century). They learned world history and the Christian philosophy of history through the mediocre models of John Malalas (sixth century) and George Hamartolus (ninth century). They discovered far-away lands with Cosmas Indicopleustes (sixth century), who informed them that the earth had the shape of a cylinder. In Johannes Moschus' writings (seventh century) they found stories of the record-breaking ascetic monks of the Egyptian desert. Johannes Climacus, or "of the Ladder," (sixth century) led the monks of *Rus'* up

to paradise, rung by rung. As Byzantine prophecies, ascribed to Methodius of Patara (written in the seventh century) or to the Prophet Daniel, were geared to the Byzantine struggle with Islam, they lent themselves well to adaptation in a land where wars with the pagan (later Islamic) steppe were a problem of survival. The Byzantine epic of Digenis Akritas (ninth to tenth centuries), the frontier hero and rebel of mixed origin, found willing ears in the courts of princes of *Rus'*, who defied the Kievan Grand Prince, fought with the Cumans but married their daughters.

Many of these translations were imported from Bulgaria. But a number of other translations (see "Literature"; the complete list amounts to well over twenty items), are the work of eleventh- and twelfth-century translators in Kievan *Rus'*. Sources tell us expressly of a group of translators from the Greek appointed in Kiev by Yaroslav the Wise (*d.* 1054). It is unfortunate that most of our information on the twelfth-century Greek-speaking princes of *Rus'*, on contemporary schools where Greek was taught, and on Greek books in thirteenth century *Rus'* should come from the sources quoted by Tatishchev (a not always reliable Russian historian of the eighteenth century). It may safely be surmised, however, that Greek was among the five languages spoken by Prince Vsevolod, the father of Volodymyr Monomakh.

It is not surprising, then, that there are many Byzantine elements in the original works, both sacred and profane, of the Kievan period. Metropolitan Clement (twelfth century, a native of *Rus'*) was said to have quoted Homer and Plato (he may have learned his Platonism from Byzantine *Florilegia* and the Fathers of the Church); Byzantine influences are present in the sermons of Cyril of Turiv (twelfth century), but it is not clear whether he ever consulted Byzantine texts in their original Greek. Prince Volodymyr Monomakh (*d.* 1125) quotes St. Basil in his didactic treatise

and Byzantine ecclesiastical hymns in his Prayer. The Byzantine apocalyptic seventh millennium plays an important role in the Tale of Ihor. The Kievan Chronicles owe much of their chronological framework, form, and material to Byzantine historiography, a genre in which Byzantium surpassed anything done in the Latin Middle Ages. The Primary Chronicle's attitude toward the Byzantines is ambiguous; nevertheless, it draws on the work of the Byzantine chroniclers, Hamartolus and Malalas, and even derives its first historical reference to the *Rhōs* (allegedly 852) from a Byzantine source.

Law. Intimate ties existed between Byzantine law and the law of the old Kievan Realm. Byzantine law collections such as *Ecloga* (eighth century) and the *Prochiron* (ninth century) found their way into eastern Europe soon after its Christianization. A Slavic compilation of Byzantine laws (*Zakon sudny ludem*), which may go back to the Cyrillo-Methodian period, was known there in the twelfth century. The *Nomocanon* (first that of Johannes Scholasticus, later in the form attributed to the Patriarch Photius) was used to settle questions of ecclesiastical and canon law. The first translation of the *Nomocanon* into the literary language of *Rus'* belongs to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. About 1270 a Kievan metropolitan rejoiced over receiving a new adaptation of this text. As for the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares (1335)—a compilation of secular and ecclesiastical law that decisively influenced the codes of the Balkan countries—its presence in the lands of *Rus'* is attested only at a later date (sixteenth century).

In view of this impact of Byzantine legal models, it is the more remarkable that the rudimentary political theory of Kievan *Rus'* should have remained relatively unaffected by the Byzantine idea of the ruler as Christ's image and imitator on earth. The Kievan scribe could read the rudiments of the Byzantine

political theory in the *Novellae* inserted into the *Nomocanons*, or hear about it from Greek metropolitans. But the ideal ruler, as depicted in the Kievan literature, had only to exhibit the qualities of a good Christian. In the principality of Muscovy theorists followed more closely the Byzantine model.

Art. Up to the sixteenth century, the art of *Rus'*-Ukraine was under pronounced Byzantine influence. It must be said, to the credit of the Byzantines, that in the domain of art they gave *Rus'* the best they had to offer. *Rus'* owes the introduction of stone architecture to Byzantium. In monumental art, a few local, Romanesque, and Caucasian elements were added to structures of a basically Byzantine type. Architects continued to be imported from "Greek lands" well after the initial period.

Thus in the middle of the thirteenth century, the *khytrec* (= *τεχνητης*) Audios designed and built the cathedral church in the western outpost of Kholm. The huge double-headed eagle which adorned one of Kholm's towers has been connected with Audios' activity there (A. V. Solovev).

The art of the icons, painted either according to the indications of the "Painter's Manual," of relatively late date, adapted from Greek, or by copying directly imported Byzantine models, reveals Byzantine characteristics down to modern times. Many techniques of the minor arts—for example, that of enamel, for which *Rus'* was so known in the Middle Ages—were learned in Byzantium (cf., the term *finipt* for enamel work, borrowed from the Byzantine *χουετροβς*).

It was natural that the princes and their entourages should import both objects of art and artists from Constantinople and have such objects made in *Rus'* according to Byzantine fashion. In 1135, for instance, Mstyslav of Kiev ordered from Constantinople a gospel with a luxurious binding; the same prince imported three singers to Kiev from Byzantium.

Ways of cultural penetration. The Church and the princely courts were the principal channels through which Byzantine cultural influences penetrated into the Ukrainian territories (most often directly from Byzantium, although occasionally from the Crimea, where the Byzantines held some cities up to the twelfth century). Not only did the Greek (or the Byzantinized Balkan) church hierarchy bring with it books and religious objects, it also introduced Byzantine manner, taste, and administrative practices. The Fragments of Benešević provide a glimpse into the workings of the metropolitan chancery under Theognostus (mid-fourteenth century) who often visited Ukraine. The language of the chancery was certainly Greek, and thus some knowledge of Greek by native scribes may have been derived from this center.

We are well provided with data on the courtly contacts between *Rus'* and Byzantium. Intermarriage between the courts of *Rus'* and Constantinople is well documented for the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nuns of high birth visited Byzantium. Undesirable princes of *Rus'* frequently were banished to Constantinople, although some of them returned to their native lands after having prospered in the empire. The reverse phenomenon was the prolonged sojourn at the court of Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halych of the fugitive Andronicus Comnenus, who later became emperor of Byzantium (*d.* 1185). The twelfth century was a period of animated Byzantine diplomatic activity in Kiev and in Halych as part of Byzantium's policy of encirclement toward Hungary.

The task of maintaining uninterrupted contact with Byzantium was recognized as a matter of importance to all *Rus'*. Caravans went to Byzantium along the Dnieper-Black Sea trade route in spite of nomadic harassments. Thus, Rostyslav and other princes by common effort protected the Dnieper waterway from the Cumans in order that merchants trading

with Byzantium (*hrechnyky*) could proceed unmolested (1166). Similar measures were taken by other princes later.

Some steps lower on the social ladder were the pilgrims from Kiev, who traveled, often in groups, to Constantinople or to the Holy Land, stopping en route in Constantinople. When they returned home, they spread their knowledge of Byzantine life. Many of them left written accounts of their experiences such as that of the "southerner" Daniel (from the Chernihiv region, beginning of the twelfth century).

Mount Athos, which attracted Kievan pilgrims at an early date (journey of Antonius of the Kievan Cave Monastery before 1033), soon saw the establishment of a permanent home for a number of *Rus'* monks, and became one of the important centers of translation activity from Greek into the language of *Rus'* as well as into Bulgarian and Serbian. A signature by an abbot of the 'Pōs monastery in a document from the year 1016 may not be conclusive, but it is certain that the monastery Xylourgou (earliest of the preserved documents—1030; first clear proof of its *Rus'* character—1142), and later that of Panteleimon (monks from *Rus'* took possession of it in 1169), were centers from which Byzantine cultural influences reached old Ukraine. The exporting of *Rus'* books (most probably liturgical texts and translations from Greek) from these monasteries to *Rus'* may be inferred from a document of the year 1142.

Byzantium after Byzantium. The later political fate of the Ukrainian lands, which fell first under the domination of Lithuania and later under that of Poland, laid them open to western cultural influences. However, it would be an error to underestimate the survival of "Byzantium after Byzantium" in Ukraine. Texts of Byzantine inspiration preserved in monasteries continued to be read; Greek was taught in the schools of the Stavropegian brotherhoods and in other church schools. The Ukrainian Church con-

tinued to depend upon the Patriarchs of Constantinople, who, however degraded they may have become under Turkish rule, were the heirs of the Byzantine emperors as protectors of Christianity. The religious struggle preceding and following the Church Union of Berestia (1595) made Byzantine Christianity and Constantinople necessary points of reference for the Ukrainian Orthodox camp.

It was from the exhortations of the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Constantinople that Ukrainian princes, bishops, and the faithful gathered additional strength to withstand the Uniate movement (for example, the correspondence of Meletius Pigas with Prince Ostrozhsky, published by the latter in Greek; the letter of Cyril Loucaris to the Stavropegian brotherhood of "Leontopolis," Lviv, 1634). One of the polemicists (Smotrytsky) had to go to Constantinople before finally becoming convinced of the justice of the Uniate cause.

The literary controversy over the Union forced the Orthodox and the pro-Uniates alike to concentrate on certain problems of Byzantine history (the ecumenical councils, the "usurpation" of Charlemagne, and the division of the Christian empire viewed by Orthodox polemicists through Byzantine eyes, and the Photian schism). It is true that this Orthodox polemical literature was permeated with western (often Protestant) elements, that it used the results of Catholic scholarship (Baronius), and that it was often written in Polish; yet the titles of most of the tracts and the pseudonyms used were Byzantine—for example, *Antirrisis*, *Antigrifi*, *Teraturgima* (all with itacisms); Θρηνης, Διδος (in Greek letters); *Feodul*; (the Uniates wrote a *Parēgoria*, indicating the western humanistic pronunciation). The verbal abuse and the puns were ultimately of Byzantine inspiration (*mateolog*, *katolyk*—from λύκος [wolf], *Apollia Apologii*—effective only in "Byzantine" pronunciation, *apoliia apoliias*—plays on the name Zizania =

darnels). Not only Fathers of the Church such as John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus (whose verses on "Two Romes" were cited in Greek), but also lesser Byzantine polemicists (Barlaam of Calabria, fourteenth century) were quoted. Sometimes Byzantine legends were used and erroneously transplanted from one century to another—for example, I. Vyshensky, an Athonite monk of Western Ukrainian origin, spoke of Catholic atrocities supposedly perpetrated on Athos after the Council of Florence (fifteenth century); however, the Byzantine legend referred to alleged persecutions under the Uniate emperor, Michael VIII (*d.* 1282).

From an examination of the publishing activity of the Kievan Cave Monastery (where an academy was founded in Peter Mohyla's time), it appears that the majority of the books printed there were either liturgical texts or translations of Byzantine works: such were the *Speculum Principis* of Agapetus (sixth century—this work was popular also with the western Humanists); the novel of Barlaam and Ioasaph (because it was believed to be by John of Damascus); the *Nomocanon*; sermons of Macarius of Egypt; and a Gospel commentary (in the form of sermons) by Callistus, Patriarch of Constantinople (fourteenth century). In this way Peter Mohyla strove to raise the level of the cultural life of Ukraine. He bought for his library, along with Latin classics, Greek Christian authors—some of them late Byzantine. Contemporaries were aware of Mohyla's complex tastes. In a dedicatory preface, written in 1630 and teeming with polonisms, the Lviv printer, A. Skulsky, recommended to the metropolitan a "Slavonic" version of *Χριστὸς πάσχων* (The Suffering Christ), a Byzantine *cento* (mainly from Euripides), written in the eleventh or twelfth century but attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus.

The end. In 1685 the metropolitan see of Kiev was made dependent upon the patriarchate of Moscow. This may be

regarded as the final date in the history of Byzantine and post-Byzantine cultural influences in Ukraine.

In Nizhyn, on Hetman Mazepa's territory, a churchman left a library containing many Byzantine works (Psellos, Planudes, etc.). In 1690, it was sent to Moscow upon the demand of Peter the Great. The catalogue made on that occasion (both in Ukrainian and in Russian), points, albeit by its mistakes, to some knowledge of Greek in Mazepa's chancery (for example, *hotovoslovets'* stands for Etymoloicum, as *ἔτοιμος*, ready and *ἔτυμος*, true were pronounced alike in Byzantine and later Greek. Ukrainian pilgrims visited the holy places of Greece, and learned the language and customs of the land (Hryhorovych-Barsky, *d.* 1747); Greek merchants passed through Ukraine. One of the latter, Vatatzes, left a description of his journey (*ca.* 1710) in "political" verse, referring to the factual differences between Russia and Ukraine. In the Ukrainian literature of the same period the Greeks were reduced to the level of humorous stage figures, appearing in the "intermedia."

The Ukrainian intellectuals of the eighteenth century showed occasional interest in Balkan and Byzantine subjects (*Photius* by G. Shcherbatsky, 1789). The dogmatic works of one of them (T. Prokopovych) were translated into "Byzantine" Greek, but their motivation and their cultural roots were already different.

The cessation of contacts with the post-Byzantine world may be exemplified by the title *Stephanotokos* of a panegyric on the Russian Empress Elisabeth (by I. Mihilevych, 1742). A monstrous misformation after the model of *theotokos* (Mother of God), it shows total lack of feeling for the Byzantine language and culture. A century earlier, the term *porfirogenita* would have been used.

Religious and literary terms (*piit, spudei*) aside, the chief recipient of Greek vocabulary derived directly from Greece was Ukrainian slang: *khvyрка*—*χεῖρ* (hand); *zitaty*—*ζητῶ* (to ask); *kryso*

—κρέας (meat); *kimaty*—κοιμῶμαι (to sleep); *siuraty*—ξέρω (to know). The words were introduced probably by the *lirnyky*, wandering minstrels of dubious honesty.

Contemporary situation. On the surface little remains of the Byzantine heritage in present-day Ukraine. But its presence is still felt in many domains. The contemporary Ukrainian alphabet goes back ultimately to the Byzantine ninth century uncial script.

The liturgy in its Church Slavonic form remained for the Ukrainians the permanent, though indirect, tie with Byzantium. The charming mistranslation, daily repeated in Ukrainian churches at the beginning of the Cherubic song (*izhe kheruvymy*—"which Cherubim" instead of simply "Cherubim"), reminds one how close these links still are. The Ukrainian national banner (gold and blue) displays a typically Byzantine combination of colors.

The Ukrainian birthday song *Mnohaia Lita* (that is, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη) is only a translation of the formula often repeated in a work by a tenth-century Byzantine emperor (also an expert on the *Rus'* problem)—a formula which was echoed for centuries through the halls of the imperial palace of Constantinople. The present-day literary language preserves many scholarly terms borrowed directly or indirectly from Byzantium (*okean*, *leksykon*, *hramatyka*, *dohmat*, *ptramida*, *stykhiiia*), although in some cases these terms were later reintroduced from the West in a changed form.

Byzantine and post-Byzantine words are present in contemporary Ukrainian of common usage, although the question as to when and how these borrowings entered the language still needs clarification. They include names of foods (*palianytsia*, *knysch*, *kutia*), household objects (*makitra*, *myska*, *kadka*, *krovat'*), fabrics (*oksamyt*), structures (*terem*, *palata*, *komora*, *kolyba*), ships (*korabel'*, *katorha*), places (*levada*, *lyman*), even an

abstract (*khalepa*), and perhaps an adjective (*harnyi*).

I. Sevčenko

Western European Elements

The Eastern and Byzantine influences on Ukraine were blended with the older Ukrainian cultural traditions on the one hand, and with the constantly active influence of western Europe on the other. It is probable that the orientation of Ukrainian culture to the West was first influenced by the Scandinavians who were resident in the Kievan Realm. Princess Olha invited a Catholic bishop to Kiev even though the visit did not take place. The presence of Kievan representatives at the Reichstag in Quedlinburg in 976 may have been an attempt on the part of Kiev to enter into relations with the Catholic church.

The acceptance of Christianity from Byzantium did not alter Ukraine's relations with foreign countries whatever their religious or cultural orientation. A Catholic bishop (Reybern) remained in Kiev during the reign of Volodymyr. A find of Western origin (including a tray with a Latin inscription) found in the province of Poltava also belongs approximately to this period (tenth to eleventh centuries).

The marriages of the family of Prince Yaroslav, Sviatopolk's opponent, are the best proof of his western orientation. They created bonds not only with Scandinavia (which he himself visited and where his ancestors had originated), but also with other western countries. Yaroslav's son, Iziaslav, forced by his brother to leave Kiev, went to Poland, Germany, and then to Rome. Ties with the West were never seriously interrupted, for part of the relics of the saintly princes, Borys and Hlib, were taken in 1094 to the Sazava Monastery in Bohemia where they were assigned a special place in the monastery chapel. Kievan princes often donated money to western churches and monasteries. The Greek-born metropoli-

tans in Kiev had to make special efforts to combat Catholic sympathies among the princely family (cf., the twelfth-century writings of Theodosius to Prince Iziaslav, son of Volodymyr). In Kiev there were other representatives of the Catholic church for, after the Tatar invasion, Irish monks from a monastery in Kiev (which must have existed for some time) fled through Regensburg.

Later, relations with the Southern and Western Slavs played a special part in the history of Ukrainian culture. The Greek Church could not supply Kiev with Slavic-speaking clergy nor with Slavic religious literature. The first mention of Greek bishops in Kiev dates from the time of the construction of the cathedral of St. Sophia (1037). It is possible to assume that Kiev had a bishop who was independent of Byzantium. There is a definite proof of close relations between Kiev and western Bulgaria, as well as with Bohemia. It was from Bulgaria that the Lives of Prince Vatslav, translated from the Latin, came to ancient Ukraine. Many other works of literature bearing traces of a Latin origin (either by their frequent references to the western Catholic saints or by other indications of their western origin—for example, Roman Pateryk, The Nicodemus Gospel, Life of St. Vitus) came to Ukraine from West Slavic areas. In some cases it is possible to show that Ukrainian writers collaborated with West and South Slavic authors, especially in preparing certain translations in the eleventh century (for example, the world history—the so-called Chronicle of George Hamartolus).

The period of the Galician-Volhynian state forms a separate chapter in the history of Ukrainian relations with the West. Among the facts indicating the degree of its "Europeanization" are the status of the boyars, which was comparable to that of the feudal lords in Western Europe (one of the boyars, Volodyslav, was ruler of the state for a short while); the close political contact

between Galicia, central Europe, and Byzantium; the participation of Galician princes in the European international intrigues and wars, including the crusades; and, finally, the part played by the Galician principality in Papal policy. Latin was widely used in Galicia. Many German colonists settled in the towns and brought with them new ideas of craftsmanship, commerce, and local government. Traces of this influence, which lasted until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are considerable in the Ukrainian vocabulary (several hundred words).

A resumption of cultural relations between Ukraine and the West occurred in the sixteenth century as a result of the tense political situation in Europe which also affected the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth. The establishment of the Zaporozhian Sich, the formation (in the major towns) of "brotherhoods" which became centers of ecclesiastical and cultural life, the consolidation of power in the hands of several princely families (for example, the Ostrozsksys), the Protestant movement in Ukraine (although never very popular with the masses), the new ties with foreign (Italian) colonies in the Crimea—all contributed to greater intercourse between Ukraine and western Europe. Included in the destruction that the Tatar invasion inflicted on Ukraine in the sixteenth century were many literary and architectural monuments. Yet the ruins of some grand palaces of unknown origin can be seen in some seventeenth-century drawings of Kiev, and the inscription under one of them lends support to the idea that an Italian academy may have existed in Kiev during the sixteenth century.

In the sixteenth century contacts with Mount Athos became more lively, and Ukrainian students began to enroll in foreign universities. The registers of Dutch and German universities which have been preserved contain, in the period of the sixteenth to the eighteenth

centuries, over eight hundred names of students from Ukrainian territories—at least half of them Ukrainian. Many more Ukrainian students were graduated from the University of Cracow and from Ukrainian colleges. The number of Ukrainian students in Italy, France, and England is unknown. New western and Byzantine literary works came to Ukraine partly through the Western and Southern Slavs (Czechs, Poles, and Croats). Italian artists found work in Ukrainian cities to which a new influx of German colonists also came. The educated stratum of society became well-versed in Latin. Russian Prince Kurbsky, during his residence in Volhynia, began to study Latin and to read ancient (Cicero, Seneca) and modern (Protestant scholars) authors whose works were well known in his new Ukrainian environment. Several linguistic borrowings of Italian terms for musical instruments and for clothes occurred at this time. The Mediterranean influence was further manifested by the adoption of certain features of the mode of life (the eating of fruit and vegetables).

Polish influence on Ukraine was also considerable but, since most of the people who fell under the influence deserted their Ukrainian heritage and became Polonized (many families of the Polish nobility and gentry were of Ukrainian origin), it was less significant for the future development of Ukrainian culture. The Ukrainian language contains numerous borrowings from Polish, however, not only in place names, but also in the general vocabulary (e.g., the adverbs *raptom*, suddenly, and *prynaimni*, at least; and the conjunctions *zheby*, in order to, and *gdy*, when—all characteristic of the central Ukrainian dialects). During the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Polish culture also influenced Ukrainian literature, scholarship, and education as well as some social behavior patterns. It endured longest in Western Ukraine where, in Galicia, it lasted until the twentieth century.

Finally, the Greek language penetrated Ukraine extensively; (there is evidence that the standards of teaching the Greek language in Ukrainian schools were high, and that students greeted visiting Greek bishops in Greek). The bonds between Ukraine and the whole of Europe were close in the sixteenth century, and Ukraine was at that time one of the eastern outposts which lay between Muscovy and Europe.

Ukrainian contacts with western Europe were further strengthened during the Baroque period (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), when Greek influences were somewhat on a decline. The movement towards Church union with Rome also reinforced the cultural orientation towards the West—even among the Ukrainian Orthodox who, if only to combat western influences, first had to become acquainted with them. There is little doubt, however, that some of the Orthodox leaders (for example, Peter Mohyla) felt the positive need for a better knowledge of the West. The adoption of Latin as the language for school instruction facilitated intercourse with western Europe. From the Ukrainian library catalogues of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we can see that western scholarly literature—primarily ecclesiastical, but also philosophical, historical, and political in character—was widespread, although this was not true of western literature as a whole.

Ukraine entered the sphere of European Baroque culture in the seventeenth century, but Baroque culture in Ukraine developed under the domination of the Church and therefore displayed a one-sided tendency in works of literature and art, manifesting itself chiefly in sermons, polemical tracts, church architecture, and icon-painting. Unfavorable political circumstances prevented modern universities, secular learning, and publishing from being introduced into Ukraine. The Baroque influences came chiefly from southern and south-central Europe; they were accompanied by a Renaissance ap-

preciation of classical culture—especially of Greek and Roman law and philosophy. The ecclesiastical writings of the Kievan authors contain many elements of “Christianized” Greco-Roman ethics (with some Stoic influence). The organization of the Zaporozhian Sich is reminiscent in some respects of the structure of the Roman republic (Synaisky).

Baroque influences deeply penetrated Ukrainian culture, including Ukrainian folk art. It is characteristic that, even during the eighteenth century, when Russia was dominated almost entirely by French cultural influences, Ukrainians in Ukraine and Russia, apparently following their own cultural tradition of the seventeenth century, gravitated rather towards Italy and Germany.

Independent Ukrainian political life in the eighteenth century was suppressed by the Russian tsarist regime. Ukrainian political leaders attempted, although unsuccessfully, to obtain help from the West (Hetman Orlyk during his stay in Europe, and later Kapnist, see “History”). Napoleon, though aware of Ukrainian opposition to Russia, was unable to arouse support for his cause among the Ukrainians.

A new phase of intercourse with the West began with the Romantic movement. Romanticism came to Ukraine mainly from Polish, Czech, and Russian sources. Despite the nationalism and “Slavophilism” of many Romantic writers, this period was characterized by new ties with the West. The Ukrainian poets of the period (Shevchenko, Kulish, Kostomarov) concerned themselves with universal themes in their works and devoted themselves to translations, among which Kulish’s rendering of Shakespeare and the Bible rank highest.

The 1860’s were dominated by currents that favored the isolation of Ukrainian culture by focusing it on local interests. Thus, the strongest influences at that time were exercised by the neighboring ruling nations—the Russians, the

Austrians (influence of German-Austrian culture), and the Poles. In spite of the quest by some individual writers for universal values (Kulish, Franko), Ukrainian literature of the period 1860–1900 became a “peasant” literature in the sense that it was almost entirely preoccupied with village life.

A new turning point in the orientation towards the West was reached in literature and art with the rise of Impressionism (the writer Kotsiubynsky, the painter Novakivsky) and Symbolism (moderate, but present in the works of the poets Oles, Voronyi, and others). It is unfortunate that no direct contacts were established then between Ukraine and the new western European trends in French writing and painting, and in English and Scandinavian literatures, but that these influences invariably were transmitted through neighboring nations (Austria, Poland, and Russia). A parallel development was seen in political life with the formation, early in the twentieth century, of liberal and socialist political parties based on European models.

At the present time cultural relations between Ukraine and western Europe are not determined by the will of the Ukrainian people but by political circumstances. Isolation from the West has become a part of the calculated drive to imbue the Ukrainians with Russian culture and is conducted with the intention of forming a “new Soviet man.” Present circumstances make it impossible to investigate the success of the new policy and its results. It is clear, however, that it has met with a deep resistance, sometimes spontaneous and sometimes organized.

The Spread of Ukrainian Culture Abroad

Like all other highly developed cultures, Ukrainian culture, particularly during its richest periods, not only received foreign influences but also influenced other cultures. In view of the

fact that Ukrainian influences beyond Ukrainian territory have not been extensively studied, only a brief survey is offered here.

Foreigners considered the Kiev of the tenth and eleventh centuries to be a center of culture and the arts which, although not equal to Byzantium, was attaining the status of a rival. Such is the description of Kiev by Bruno of Querfurt, a bold German missionary, who, with the help of Prince Volodymyr the Great, visited the Pechenegs. A similar view was expressed by the chronicler, Thietmar of Merseburg, whose testimony to Kiev's greatness is all the more valuable since he did not have a very high opinion of the Kievan princes.

Kiev was not the only city in the Kievan state. Several others are mentioned in the tenth century, and scores of them in the eleventh century (see "History"). The Kievan culture was easily accessible to other countries, particularly the Slavic countries. Evidence of such influences is found in the remains of Kievan products in many neighboring territories, especially those to the east.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Kiev received orders from abroad for illuminated manuscripts (for example, from Ostromir, mayor of Novgorod), and works of Kievan literature (Hilarion's sermons, the Life of Prince Mstyslav) were circulated in South Slavic lands, for instance. Relics of St. Borys and St. Hlib were taken to Bohemia, and these undoubtedly were accompanied by dedicated religious books. These works have not been preserved because all Church Slavic literature in Bohemia perished. Finally, Ukrainian epic poetry was preserved abroad after the Tatar devastation. The poems were preserved in the north by the Russians, and the Ukrainian Tale of Ihor's Armament made its way across the Pskov province to Yaroslavl. The Kievan Primary Chronicle became the basis of all East Slavic

chronicles. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the works of Ukrainian writers (for example, Bishop Simon, one of the authors of the *Pecherskyi Pateryk*, and Bishop Serapion Volodymyrivsky) became the foundation of Muscovite literature.

Ukrainian influences were no less significant in the field of arts and crafts. It is sufficient to mention that the treatise of Theophilus, *Diversarum artium schedula* (twelfth-thirteenth centuries), names *Rus'* (which, in later versions of the work, was replaced by Tuscany) as the foremost center of enameling, and compares its achievements in other arts with those of the Greeks, the Arabs, the French, and the Germans. Medieval French literature testifies to the high quality of woven cloth from *Rus'*. The Byzantine writer of the twelfth century, Tsetses, praised *Rus'* bone sculpture. Some ecclesiastical ornaments carved by local craftsmen have been preserved, while others are known from accounts in the chronicles. Products of Ukrainian craftsmen were often found beyond the borders of Ukraine. In Bohemia Ukrainian crosses and jewelry from the tenth and eleventh centuries were found. Other articles of Ukrainian workmanship have been recovered in Poland, in the Greek Chersonesus, near Dresden, in Sweden, and in Hungary. Merely by comparing coins made in the eleventh century in Kiev with Muscovite coins of the sixteenth century one can see how much inferior Kiev's northeast neighbors were as craftsmen. Ukrainian merchants played a vital part in the dissemination of Ukrainian products abroad (see "Folk Art and Handicraft").

The second wave of Ukrainian influence came during the Baroque era. Muscovite Baroque was largely created with Ukrainian assistance. This came about either directly through visits to Moscow by such prominent Ukrainian scholars as Epifanii Slavintsky, Arsenii Satanovsky, Andrew Bilobotsky, Dmytro Tuptalo, Stephen Yavorsky, Theophan

Prokopovych, and others—many of whom settled there permanently—or indirectly through Muscovite students in Kiev, or through the influence of the prominent Belorussian, Simeon Polotsky, a graduate of the Kievan Academy. Many Ukrainian books (either “amended” in language or else simply translated) were republished in Moscow. In spite of a ban against it, their export to Muscovy continued in large quantities. Ukrainian translators were largely responsible for the selection of the works to be translated.

Ukrainian influence on the Polish culture of the Baroque period showed itself primarily in literature. The works of Szymonowicz and Klonowicz on Ukrainian themes are among the finest in Polish literature. Ukrainian folklore left a strong imprint on other literary works. Ukrainian literature (the works of L. Baranovych) and the activity of individual Ukrainian scholars (for example, M. Kozachynsky) also played a decisive part in eighteenth-century Serbian literature.

During the period of Khmelnytsky the Ukrainian struggle for independence attracted the sympathy of both near and distant neighbors (Transylvania, the Protestant Czechs). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ukrainian influence in the field of education, music, and theater was felt by the Balkan Slavs—the Serbians and the Bulgarians.

The eighteenth century was a period of decay, one manifestation of which was the flow of Ukrainian talent to neighboring countries. In the seventeenth century Russian literature had been to a large extent a province of Ukrainian literature. In the eighteenth century many Russian writers received their education in Ukraine, and several Ukrainians played a prominent part in Russian literature (Bohdanovych, Kapnist, Narizhnyi).

An even greater part was played by Ukrainians in the life of the Russian church. Most of the bishops were either

Ukrainian or had been students of the Kievan Mohyla Academy (Kharlampovych). Ukrainian scholars and scientists, unable to pursue their researches in Ukraine for lack of facilities, helped to advance Russian science and developed the scientific terminology in medicine and the natural sciences. Many teachers in the Moscow schools were Ukrainians. Some Ukrainian teachers traveled even farther: the Ukrainian doctor, I. Poletyka, was a professor in Kiel, and the philosopher, P. Lodii, in Cracow.

Romanticism aroused a fresh interest in Ukraine among Russians and Poles. This interest frequently led to a thorough study of Ukrainian folklore, culture, and history. Ukraine's folk art, customs, and love of freedom impressed many foreigners. The so-called “Ukrainian Schools” which occupied an important place in both Polish and Russian literature also existed, if only in embryo, in other European literatures, especially in those of the other Slavic people.

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2. NATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The main difficulty in characterizing a people consists in distinguishing those traits which can be regarded as typical of the entire nation. At present, psychological research does not warrant the use of an empirical, experimental method for this type of enquiry. It is more profitable, therefore, to use the "genetic" method.

What is sometimes called the national "psyche" was formed by a variety of factors and circumstances through the centuries. An exploration of the nature of those factors, make it possible to gain some insight into the "spirit" of a nation. Such an analysis will reveal only some aspects of the national character; a more comprehensive study of the Ukrainian spirit still remains to be written.

The sources of information about Ukrainian characteristics in the past are literary works and travellers' accounts. The Romantic writers attempted to present a more general and systematized picture of them. Kostomarov's *Dvi rus'ki narodnosti—Dve russkie narodnosti* (Two Rus' Nationalities, 1861) and Nechui-

Levytsky's *Svitohliad ukrains'koho narodu* (The World Outlook of the Ukrainian People, 1878) are the best known of such attempts; both of these books are based on subjective observations which cannot always be verified scientifically.

The influence of these two works has been considerable; even some modern studies of the subject have been affected by them. Recent attempts at an objective approach have been made from the standpoint of sociology (Viacheslav Lypynsky), of the history of culture and philosophy (D. Čiževsky, I. Mirchuk), and of history (P. Fedenko). Psychological investigation in this field has only just begun.

The main factors influencing national characteristics are: (1) psychosomatic, (2) geographical (geopsychic), (3) historical, (4) psychosocial, (5) cultural, (6) psychoanalytical.

PSYCHOSOMATIC ELEMENTS

The psychosomatic composition of the population of Ukraine is complex, its two chief elements being the Dinaric and the

Ostian. The proportion of these two races in Ukraine in the first decade of this century was 44 per cent Dinaric to 22 per cent Ostian (Eastern). Perhaps the most successful of several attempts to define the psychology of a race has been that of L. F. Clauss. His theory of the so-called "mimic alternations" is founded on an intuitive approach to bodily appearances, delineating the characteristics of a race on the basis of physiognomy, gesture, and mimicry.

The Ostian (Eastern) race, according to Clauss, is characterized by a soft, round body, lacking sharp contours, a body, in fact, showing flexible forms without clear divisions. The formlessness of the body supposedly corresponds to a particular attitude of the spirit and mind. The Ostians tend, therefore, to absorb the external world into themselves, an urge which makes itself especially prominent in social life. Their social instincts are expressed in their constant anxiety about their environment. The wider and more complex the society becomes, the less likely it is that this instinct will be satisfied. At the same time this concern with the external world is shown by a deep interest in detail (e.g., Ukrainian love of embroideries), and tends to become detached from all that is of this world, and therefore imperfect, and reach out for an ideal, sublime reality, free from disharmony.

This incomplete characterization of the Ostian race may be relevant to the Ukrainian character only in some of its manifestations and only where it has not been displaced by other influences. However, it is found in the portrayal of Ukrainian peoples in Ukrainian literature.

Reduced to its basic traits, the Ostian attitude to life may be described as calm, but quite deep-thinking, highly emotional, and sensitive. The Ukrainians often are swayed by melancholy feelings.

Where the Ostian physical traits may be compared to the shape of a ball, the

Dinaric physiognomy, in contrast, is quite angular. The forehead, nose, and chin are sharp, and there is something almost aggressive in the lips and prominent jaws. The lanky body and quick gesticulation combine to produce an effect of either hitting hard with a fist or of giving a hearty pat on the back. Hence the Dinaric talent for the theater and music. The spiritual traits of the Dinaric race are a result of their highly developed emotional faculties. External reality often becomes an object for emotion and serves as a stimulus to unload pent-up feelings.

The Dinaric man may best express his personality in a high-spirited and boisterous scuffle, in Kozak-style revelry, in an emotional rendering of a sentimental song, in trying to "live dangerously," or even in striving, like Goethe's Faust, to taste every experience that life can offer. He is, obviously, a highly emotional type of man. His scale of values differs sharply from that of the Ostian man with his elegiac and idyllic frames of mind. What is often described as the "Kozak characteristic" of the Ukrainian personality may be attributed to this trait of the Dinarics.

GEOPSYCHIC ELEMENTS

R. Thiele distinguishes three strata in the spiritual life of man: (1) psychosomatic (sensory impressions and instinctive impulses); (2) "thymopsychic" (emotion and emotional strivings); (3) "poiopsychic" (reasoning and volition). The first layer is influenced by the climate, the second by the landscape, and the third by the sum total of the qualitative and quantitative characteristics of the geographical environment. There is little doubt that physical environment leaves a permanent imprint on the way of life of a people.

The Influence of the Northern Lowlands

The climate of the Ukrainian northern lowlands influences the psychosomatic

stratum of the human personality. In the wooded areas, less exposure to the sun, a great deal of rain, and cloudy skies tend to dampen geniality and gaiety and promote a sombre personality. Thymopsychically, the combination of woods and marshes fosters caution. The static qualities of a forest, its "rootedness" and lack of motion, induce a reserve and wariness with a touch of suspicion, expectancy, or patience. Panic (from *Pan*—the God of forests) can arise as a reaction to the mystery and possible terror of a forest. On the other hand a forest may symbolize the struggle for expansion and growth, which, however, is never brought to a successful conclusion. Poiopsychically, a forest may inspire a man to be active and enterprising. It may cause him to work slowly but it also shows the total and organic nature of all action.

Influence of the Forest-Steppe

The forest-steppe, with its warmer, drier climate and greater sunshine brings about a more optimistic attitude to life. The range of maximum and minimum temperature in Right-Bank Ukraine is not as wide as on the Left Bank and does not resemble the continental climate. In that region of Ukraine the most characteristic feature of the landscape is an "undulating softness." This quality is reflected in the people who live here. This rolling land of black soil abounds in green billows in the spring and is a sea of gently swaying golden crops in the summer. This "undulating" line may bring on a passive attitude, a tolerance, and an inclination to compromise and to avoid "direct action." On the other hand, it may produce carefree, playful, aesthetic, or meditative personalities.

The great fertility and beauty of the black soil in this region inspires in the peasants feelings of awe, gratitude, and trust.

In the poiopsychic sphere the influence of the forest-steppe does not stimulate activity in men. On the contrary, it en-

courages the intuitive attitude which, according to K. Jaspers, "is characterized by the happy feeling of confidence and boundlessness, and lends the detached onlooker an air of creative growth."

The general outlook of these inhabitants is one of *harmonia praestabilita* (preconditioned harmony) of man and earth, in which soil becomes *substantia sive Dea* (Spinoza) without destroying faith in her creator—a personal God.

The Influence of the Plains of the Steppes

The boundless plains of the Ukrainian steppe condition the thymopsychic strain of its inhabitants. Their emotions tend to surge towards "infinite" spaces. They seek boundless love, and are full of infinite yearning. On the other hand, this urge towards the "infinite" which leads nowhere, is frustrating and often leads to a state of apathy, resignation, disillusionment, even despair.

The vast flatness of the steppe can depress as well as impress man with its grandeur. The experience of the steppe is not only full of the "fertile Demeter" but also of demons, storms, and periodic droughts which turn the ocean of life into a sea of death.

Noiopsychically, the steppe influences men to a polarity of thought and will by a contrast between two possible attitudes: that of a vigorous zest for life, and that of helplessness in the face of the forces of nature. Perhaps the best definition of the outlook of the Ukrainian from the steppes is "enthusiastic," although the opposite, "nihilist" (K. Jaspers) attitude is equally possible.

The mountains influence only those who live on the periphery of the Ukrainian area. This is true of those living next to the sea, too.

HISTORICAL ELEMENTS

The geographic position of Ukraine played an important part in determining the historical events that formed the

people's character. Placed on the border of eastern Europe and western Asia, Ukraine has also been at the crossroads between the Scandinavian Baltic north and the Black Sea Mediterranean south. This borderline position has been reflected in the psychology of the people, an outlook that modern existentialist philosophers call "the borders of existence, struggle, guilt, suffering, and death" (Jaspers).

The struggles at the Ukrainian borderland, left at the mercy of the subjugating West and the rapacious East, imprinted themselves on the mentality of the Ukrainian people. An example of the constant threat of destruction throughout Ukrainian history is the period of Ruin, when as often as twice a year enemy hordes ravaged the country, terrorizing the people, causing material loss, and endangering their livelihood and family and social life. As a result, here, more frequently than anywhere else, man was forced to abandon his hope of personal happiness as something which could not be realized and to aim at a "higher" satisfaction in life. This usually meant a "transcendence" of his existence in the name of an idea or ideal.

The most common type of this transcendent way of life in Ukraine developed in the Kozak period under the stress of constant peril, and assumed the form of a knightly Kozak ideal based on the defense of freedom and faith, honor, and military heroism. This ideal resembles that of Spanish knights who, in their struggle against the Moors, acknowledged similar virtues as the highest (Calderon's *Invincible Knight*). The Kozaks cared more about the preservation of honor and the defense of their faith than about worldly goods. Their contempt for the latter is best expressed in the proverb "A true Kozak soul has no shirt," and in the inscription under the portrait of the legendary Kozak hero, Mamai: "I do not mind what you call me, as long as you do not call me a merchant—I shall scold you for that."

They bear witness to the Kozak rejection of mere existence in the name of a higher life.

It is true that there were men among the Kozaks who were eager for adventure and booty, who lived for the sake of delight in conquest and loot, but they did not determine the character of the movement. The Kozak ideal exercised great power over subsequent Ukrainian generations (until recent times) in the organization of the Ukrainian army in the Ukrainian National Republic or of the Western Ukrainian Sich Riflemen.

The heroic ideal of the Kozaks was not the only result of the historical and geographical conditions of a borderland. The heroic character of the three hundred Kozaks who fell at Berestechko in an effort to cover the retreat of the defeated Kozak army is not the most typical characteristic of the Ukrainian people. Apart from the *vita heroica* which may be called *vita maxima* there also existed *vita minima*. This attitude to life was that of excessive quietism (for example, the Ukrainian proverb: "A humble calf sucks two mothers"), and aloofness (proverb: "My house stands aloof—I don't know anything"); it is reflected in the determination of some people to live through the vicissitudes of fortune and to temporize with them. People who adopted this philosophy of life became introverted and as such relied on their inner resources and were on the defensive against the outer world. The custom of answering a question with a question, so prevalent among the Ukrainian peasants (Fedenko), reflects this introversion which shuns contact with the unfamiliar and foreign.

Subsequent historical events were kinder to this latter type than to the "Kozak heroic men" who were systematically destroyed, beginning with the invasions of the Pechenegs and Polovtsians (Cumans) and continuing up to the time of the Soviet collectivization. At times, the historical goal at which the Ukrainians were aiming was almost within their

reach, yet the fact that it was never fully realized helped to develop in their national character a streak of fatalistic pessimism which, according to Renan, is also characteristic of the Celtic peoples.

It might be appropriate to mention that the concepts of "freedom," "democracy," "state," "nation," "social order," and "political institution" are not absolute in themselves and vary from one country to another, according to different historical conditions. They also have emotional connotations that have a decisive influence on the people concerned.

PSYCHOSOCIAL ELEMENTS

Historical events influenced social life, too, in Ukraine. Sociologically, the most significant single influence on the character of the Ukrainian people was the lack of an adequate social differentiation. The peasantry, until very recently, constituted the great majority of the population in Ukraine. The predominance of the peasants has influenced, both directly and indirectly, whole periods of Ukrainian history. Directly, it placed a peasant imprint on Ukrainian life in general. Indirectly, it strongly colored Ukrainian culture in both content and form, lending it a populist quality.

In spite of the self-sufficiency of the peasant economy, Ukrainian peasant life provided few opportunities for personal relations which were not based on the division of labor or did not favor centralization and leadership, thus the differentiation of social types was limited. Peasant existence is rooted in the relationship of man to nature, not of man to man. Therefore, a nation which was almost reduced to a peasantry for a long period of time may lack these qualities of competition and solidarity that arise from the division of labor. Most peasant interpersonal relationships are characterized by social relaxation and mutual help. There is, for instance, the Ukrain-

ian institution, *toloka*—a peasant improvisation of a group of people aiding a neighbor who is in trouble. The social life of the peasants, apart from infrequent peasant movements, did not allow for planning on a larger scale and did not provide an opportunity for wide social solidarity.

On the other hand, the peasant cultivated neighborly relations, preserved family and clan ties, and formed close friendships and comradeships based on the feeling of a "small group experience" (J. Tönnies). Ukrainian past events encouraged such tendencies by forcing people into small, intimate groups and not allowing them to express themselves in larger, far-reaching spheres. That is why these small, exclusive circles have retained their hold on the Ukrainian mentality to the present day. They often create an atmosphere of a clique, in which judgments are passed on the basis of personal experiences and prejudices, and they are characterized by a relative lack of interest in wider social projects and aims. Yet the people developed a sense of comradeship and esoteric activity which emphasized the need for introspection and self-knowledge. In effect, these small groups tended to stimulate a reflective, rather than an active, attitude to life.

CULTURAL ELEMENTS

The culture of a country has a strong influence on its people. On one hand, culture as a product of a community reflects the spirit of that community; on the other hand, every member of such a group is, in turn, influenced by the culture in the world around him. No culture is the exclusive product of one nation; it usually belongs to this or that cultural sphere, although each cultural heritage bears the marks of its own national tradition.

While Ukrainian culture belongs to the European and western cultural sphere, it nevertheless occupies a peri-

pheral place in it because of its geographical location. As in history, so in culture, the position occupied by Ukraine is that of a borderland between Europe and Asia. Because of this geo-cultural location, western culture was received in Ukraine in a manner which reflected the distance of this territory from western European centers. Once again, a parallel may be drawn here with Spain, that "African balcony" in Europe.

Placed on the confines of Europe, Ukraine received the three main "waves" of the European spirit—Catholicism, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment—after a considerable delay. Catholicism influenced Europeans through its principle of the transformed Roman "ordo." Its influence covered the entire field of social and personal relationships, instilling them with clear definitions of concepts and a system based on scholastic philosophy and rigid logic. As a counter-movement to Catholicism, the Reformation aided the awakening of critical thought. The Renaissance was not only a rebirth of classical culture with its humanist outlook, but primarily a "discovery of the world and man" (J. Michelet); it provided a basis for individualism. Enlightenment, in its development from rationalism to positivism, "illuminated" all the spheres of life with its scientific enquiry; and its counter-movement, Romanticism, gave further stimulus to the growth of Renaissance individualism by emphasizing imagination and emotion. The western European view of life was formed by all these currents; and it is characterized today by the scientific attitude (the highest place accorded to empirical science and rationalism), and by "personalism" (high regard for human personality). This western philosophy postulates an active, rationalist attitude to life.

The Ukrainian culture, largely peasant (since the time of Trypilia), is traditionalist, concerned with social and aesthetic values. The western European cultural trends were received in unequal

degrees and intensities. Christianity had a great formative influence in Ukraine. Knowledge, science, and technology as systems of abstract concepts were alien to the peasant mentality at first. Conditions for the development of a rational and active attitude to life were unfavorable. Contact with Asia (with some assistance from Byzantium) provided opportunities for the penetration of quietist, reflective ideas. These beliefs had originated in the concepts of Atman and Nirvana and were rooted in Asiatic "apersonalism." Consequently the spirit of European scientific enquiry in Ukraine was directed towards humanist studies. Ukrainian scholars have made an important contribution in this field. Unlike the European scientists who were concerned with the natural sciences and gnosis, they occupied themselves with the problems of history, and with historical truth. The most prominent among them were Shevchenko, Franko, Kostomarov, Drahomanov, Hrushevsky, Tomashivsky, and Lypynsky. In their humanist studies there is a strong undercurrent of ethical and religious thought.

The western personalist philosophy found fertile soil in the peasant culture which, even more than in western Europe, was directed towards the inner world of man. In Ukraine, this western belief helped to explore human personality in depth, not in breadth. Therefore, although holding an "orientation to the West," Ukrainians have hoped for an "Asiatic renaissance" (Nicholas Khvylovyi). However, political circumstances in Ukraine prevented the blending of these different trends into a system.

PSYCHOANALYTICAL ELEMENTS

The psychological schools of S. Freud and F. Adler with their emphasis on the personal subconsciousness and "complexes," and the school of C. G. Jung who stressed "the collective unconscious" and "archetypes," provide valuable methods for exploring the Ukrainian psyche,

The psychology of complexes is helpful in investigating the spiritual condition of a subjugated people. Its "inferiority complex" is revealed. Jung's theory of archetypes is useful in establishing a certain archetypal constellation in the Ukrainian collective unconscious which, in turn, influences individuals.

According to Adler, the inferiority complex is an accumulation of feelings, notions, and desires, suppressed in the subconscious because of an inability to express them (due to either a lack of inner resources or because of external obstacles). Such a complex was fostered by the peculiarities and circumstances of Ukrainian life. The political subjugation of the Ukrainians who, not so long ago, were denied linguistic freedom and were known by the name of *Malorosy* (Little Russians) was, in itself, enough to cause a feeling of inferiority. As a result of the discrepancy between the criticism which the Ukrainians themselves make of their inner life (which is quite rich in experience) and the frustration of their national strivings in the external world, their inferiority complex often becomes tinged with an additional feeling of injustice.

An inferiority complex has important repercussions on the individual. He has a tendency to "overcompensate." This can assume different forms, one of them being the extreme accentuation of the individual's own importance and significance. In a case where an inferiority complex is tinged with a feeling of injustice, the compensation often takes the form of idyllic dreaming (reveries) about the coming of the reign of truth, brotherhood, and universal freedom. Ukrainian socialist and liberal political parties are full of these beliefs.

Another effect of an inferiority complex may be aggressiveness and hostility which, unable to find legitimate expression in real life because of political conditions, becomes buried in the unconscious. Opportunities for the release of these repressions and complexes offer

themselves most frequently in the various small groups of Ukrainian society. This is one reason why Ukrainian social and political life is often riddled with sharp antagonisms and aggressive passions.

The effects of complexes in the individual unconscious are negative, unlike the effects of the "collective unconscious." Among the Ukrainians this plays an important part in the formation of character. According to Jung the deepest layers of the psyche contain not only the personal experiences and complexes, but also the age-long, inherited, supra-personal, collective or tribal experiences which he calls archetypes. Granted these premises, the formation of a national psyche as a result of the foregoing, must have been quite different from the influence, for instance, which demonology exerted in Ukraine and in Russia (I. Mirchuk). Ukrainian literature, both oral and written, shows, according to Mirchuk and Čiževsky, a deep, almost mystical bond with the spirit of the soil. The center of the collective unconscious in the Ukrainian peasantry may be regarded as the eulogized image of the *magna Mater*—Mother Earth, the Demeter (Franko's Mother Nature), who has the power to change the demons into comic little devils (Mirchuk).

CHANGES IN THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL CHARACTER IN RECENT DECADES

The hardships experienced by the Ukrainian people since 1917 have left a deep imprint on their psyche. The prolonged Bolshevik terror and oppression, and Soviet attempts to indoctrinate the population and to industrialize the country were especially significant. The growth of the working class and the intelligentsia and, on the other hand, the widespread resistance to Bolshevik controls, also contributed to psychic changes. The rise of Ukrainian nationalism and its attempt to educate a new

type of citizen has also played a part in these changes. No study has yet been made of all these important factors.

This brief outline of the characteristics of the Ukrainian people does not claim to be exhaustive. It would be well to point out, finally, that while some of their characteristics tend to coalesce and give the Ukrainians a definite homogeneity, others continue to diverge, creating a heterogeneity of regional (Lemkian, Podolian, Slobozhanian) or cultural (Galician, east Ukrainian) types.

A. Kultchytsky

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3. HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHY

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF UKRAINIAN PHILOSOPHY

In Ukraine, as in other Slavic countries, philosophy has had a development which is different, in many respects, from that of philosophy in the West. The lack of a prolonged tradition of statehood and the low material standard of life discouraged the normal development of philosophy. The absence of Ukrainian institutions of higher learning, universities, and seminaries which, in other countries aid the study of philosophy and transmit the teachings of philosophers in their own language, also hindered the rise of a systematic philosophy. Along with these external factors, and even more important, has been the fact that the spiritual energy expended in philosophical quest tends among all the Slavs to be more "vertical," than "horizontal." Till recent times there have been only a few philosophers of outstanding stature, yet the level of philosophical thinking among wider circles of the population has been unusually high. A

careful study of Ukrainian spiritual thought reveals a specific world outlook with its own system of metaphysics, in which the place of man in the world and his relation to the Absolute are clearly defined. We also find a moral system, well adapted to life, and finally an aesthetic sensibility which has found its expression in the works of Ukrainian popular art.

As a result of these horizontal tendencies, there is a relatively small number of specifically philosophical works and philosophical thought has been deflected to other fields, notably those of literature and belles-lettres. Hence in Čiževsky's textbook of Ukrainian philosophy Shevchenko, Hohol (Gogol), Kulish, and Kostomarov can be found side by side with such professional philosophers as Skovoroda, Lodii, Hohotsky, and Novytsky. There is no doubt that V. Lypynsky, a historian, occupies a prominent place in Ukrainian philosophy. This state of affairs, which is characteristic of other Slavic peoples as well, is of far reaching significance. On the one hand, philosophic

thought, expressed in literary and historical works, is accessible to a wide reading public. On the other, philosophy in non-philosophical works must be expressed more simply and less abstractly in order to be understood by the average reader. It must cast aside the finer shades of argumentation and the niceties of contention, and concentrate primarily on the broad aspects of man, his fate, and the purpose of life.

Because of these horizontal tendencies and the writing of philosophy for a wider audience in Ukraine it has been the aim of writers not to be satisfied with abstract contemplation only, but to deal with concrete problems of life and thus create harmony between word and deed. This approach has resulted in a characteristic preponderance of emotional over rational elements. The best example of this approach is provided by P. Yurkevych, who, unlike the European philosophers of his time, stressed the importance of a "philosophy of the heart." Reason by itself is incapable of solving all the riddles of life, it has limitations beyond which it cannot go. In Yurkevych's philosophy it is the human heart which serves as an important channel of cognition (just as in Hohol, Kostomarov, and Skovoroda, and, in the seventeenth century, in C. T. Stavrovetsky).

A deep religious sense is also characteristic not only of the common people of Ukraine, but also of its leading philosophers. Even those anti-religious attitudes, which are occasionally encountered, are of a religious nature and have been formed as a reaction to generally accepted beliefs. In religion a Ukrainian is not so much interested in external forms, as he is in delving deep into the nature and value of faith. This results in a feeling of universality and consequently of tolerance toward his religious opponents. This distinctive feature of Ukrainian spiritual life was bound to find its expression in philosophical thinking.

Soon after the acceptance of Christianity and the spread of the advanced

Byzantine culture in Ukraine, elements of philosophy (chiefly moral) became perceptible in literature. And in addition the Greek philosophers Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle and the Christian thinkers also became known, the latter through the translations of the Fathers of the Church. Philosophical ideas were further propagated in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the sect called the *Zazyhdovili* (thinkers influenced by Judaism) which disseminated the works of Jewish and Arab philosophers, generally in abbreviated translations.

A more profound philosophical interest is evident in Ukrainian literature in connection with the religious struggle which enveloped the entire country when it became a part of the kingdom of Poland (1569). There was strife between the Orthodox, who saw their dominant position threatened, and the Catholics. Both sides had to use in their polemics arguments based on metaphysical speculation, or else to invoke such authorities as Plato and Aristotle and their successors St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas. They were equally well acquainted with the works of Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli. Some philosophy was taught in the Ostroh Academy, the brotherhood schools, and the Mohyla Academy in Kiev, the most important center of academic life in eastern Europe of that time.

On the basis of the available material it can be stated that much of the philosophical argumentation in these debates and discourses was based on Aristotle, whose works were known from the compendiums which were also popular in western Europe. They usually contained chapters on logic and dialectics, physics, metaphysics, and ethics, all expounded according to Aristotle, as may be seen from their titles (*Organum Aristotelis*, *Cursus philosophicus doctrinum Aristotelis Stagiritae complectens*, *Philosophia peripatetica*, *Universa Philosophia commentariis scholasticis illustrata*, etc.).

Two works on philosophy which did not originate in the Kiev Academy appeared in the first half of the seventeenth century. They were *Zertsalo bohosloviia* (Mirror of Theology) by Cyril Tranquilion Stavrovetsky, and *Traktat o dushi* (Treatise about the Soul) (1625) by Casian Sakovych, a distinguished polemicist, who left the Orthodox Church to become a Uniate and finally joined the Roman Catholic Church. Peter Mohyla's fundamental defense of the Orthodox Church in *Confessio Orthodoxa* and the treatise of the German, Adam Cernikau, a native of Königsberg, *De processione Spiritus Sancti*, which summarize the Catholic and Orthodox points of view in the religious dispute, contain a great deal of philosophical matter. All these works were written under the influence of the Thomist Catholic theology and Aristotelian philosophy which entirely dominated Ukrainian thought.

A reaction to this state of affairs came when the professors of the Mohyla Academy realized the inadequacy of Aristotle's philosophy and, under the influence of western European philosophers, began to accept the system of Christian Wolff which spread beyond the borders of Germany and throughout Europe. A new textbook of philosophy, written by a prominent Wolffian, C. Baumeister, *Elementa philosophiae recentioris*, was well received in the Kiev Academy.

Several decades later—at the end of the eighteenth century—Wolff conquered another center of Ukrainian learning—Lviv, where a translation of Baumeister's *Elementa* by Peter Lodii (1764–1829), a professor of philosophy at the *Collegium Ruthenum* of Lviv University, was printed in 1790 by the Stavropigian Institute.

It is characteristic of the Ukrainian point of view that Lodii chose to translate only the section of Baumeister's book which dealt with morality (*Philosophiae moralis Institutiones Ethicam et Politicam complexae*). Lodii, who was a

faithful follower of Wolff, later moved from Lviv to Cracow University and then to St. Petersburg, where he became the first professor of philosophy in the newly established university, thus laying the foundation for Russian philosophic thought. In 1815 Lodii published his textbook on logic in St. Peterburg, in which, true to Wolffian premises, he polemicized against the new star in the European philosophical firmament—Immanuel Kant. Lodii's successor in Lviv was Ivan Lavrivsky (1773–1846), also a Wolffian, but a scholar of much smaller stature than his predecessor.

From documents in the archives of the Kiev Academy and from the catalogues of Ukrainian libraries of that time, it is evident that, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, not only ancient and medieval authors but also Descartes, Bacon, and the Cartesian school—in particular, E. Purchotius—were known in Ukraine. Leibniz had his followers in the Kiev Academy and Theophan Prokopovych based his defense of Peter the First's reforms on the theories of Hobbes, Grotius, and Pufendorf. Ukrainian students at foreign universities must have brought home with them a knowledge of Western philosophy.

MODERN TIMES

The greatest Ukrainian philosopher was Gregory Skovoroda (1722–94), a contemporary of Kant; his influence spread to other Slavic countries. Born into a Kozak family in the province of Poltava, he studied at the Kiev Academy and later abroad, in Vienna, Munich, and Breslau. Skovoroda, who is generally known as the "Ukrainian Socrates," wrote his works in the form of dialogues and made a profound anthropologism the source of his philosophical contemplation. To him man is the greatest riddle in life, and self-knowledge the most important means for its solution. The philosophical system of Skovoroda embraces three aspects: the ontological, the cog-

nitive, and the ethical. According to him, man is a microcosm reflecting the macrocosm. In order to get to know the universe one must first know man, that is, oneself. Self-knowledge, therefore, was for Skovoroda the first aim of philosophy which he approached with the Socratic maxim "Know thyself." The universe had two aspects for him, one visible and material which was worthless, and the other invisible and spiritual, which was of inestimable value and to which alone man's life should be dedicated. However, the search for truth is not an end in itself, but only a means which prompts us to exercise our wills and to use our hearts. The great value of Skovoroda's philosophy lies, therefore, not in his theoretical speculations, but in his practical quest for happiness. It is happiness, which, according to Skovoroda, is the aim of our lives; not, however, the happiness which results from material satisfaction, but that which comes to us when we fulfil our inner quest and, through it, God's will. Thus self-knowledge and living one's life according to the natural order and therefore in accord with God are the major premises of Skovoroda's thought. He was a keen student of the Bible which he carried with him wherever he went.

Among Skovoroda's contemporaries and successors were: Ivan Khmelnytsky (1742-94), who studied at Königsberg, possibly with Kant; Gregory Poletyka (1725-84), who translated Aristotle, Xenophon, and Epictetus; S. Hamaliia (1743-1822), a follower of the western European mystics; and Paisii Velychkivsky (1722-94) who was also inclined toward mysticism as well as to patristic thought. Immanuel Kant found only one devout follower in Ukraine, the Reverend



FIGURE 494.
GR. SKOVORODA

Basil Dovhovych (1783-1849) from Transcarpathia who, in a distant and forgotten village, composed Latin compendia of the theoretical and practical sides of Kant's philosophy: (1) "Critica purae rationis Cantiana in Compendio," Tyrnaviae, 1808; (2) "Critica practicae rationis ex operibus Immanuelis Kanti et Bendavid-una cum Aliorum observationibus breviter deducta," Tyrnaviae, 1809. Dovhovych's works were never published, since there was little demand for literature of that sort in the Ukrainian society of his time. The manuscripts, however, were preserved in the Basilian monastery in Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv. They have not been carefully studied, but it is most likely that they were based on the contemporary German literature about Kant.

Dovhovych is almost a unique phenomenon among the Slavs of his time, in that he showed the greatest interest in critical philosophy. More fortunate in this respect was German idealism which found several followers in Ukraine. Fichte's influence in Ukraine, although short-lived, was considerable. This German thinker was invited to lecture in philosophy at the newly founded University in Kharkiv; he refused the invitation, but sent instead one of his students, Johann Baptist Schad (1758-1816) who in 1804-16 was very active in academic circles. He succeeded in gathering around him a group of young followers among whom was his successor in the chair of philosophy at Kharkiv (1816-1830), Andrew Dudrovych, as well as Auxentii Hevlich from Transcarpathia, and the Kievan, N. Bilous, later professor of philosophy at Nizhyn.

The works of Friedrich Schelling and the Romantic school of philosophers were favorably received in Ukraine, partly because they advocated the free expression of popular art, an aim which they shared with many Ukrainian Romantics. The chief propagator of Schelling's philosophy in eastern Europe was the Ukrainian scholar Daniel

Kavunnyk-Velansky (1774–1847) who graduated from the Kiev Academy. He became acquainted with the German thinkers while abroad and after his return he taught physiology, botany, and pharmacology at the Military Medical Academy in St. Petersburg, and also lectured on Schelling's philosophy of nature. Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), ethnographer, literary historian, and the first rector of Kiev University, and Joseph Mikhnevych (1809–84), lecturer at the Kiev Academy, were also among Schelling's followers.

Hegel's philosophy met with a wide response among the Slavs, and provided a theoretical basis for the Slavic messianism, which spread primarily in Poland and Russia. In Ukraine Hegel exerted less influence. The following Ukrainian scholars were Hegelians: Sylvester Gogotsky (1813–89), professor at the Kiev Academy, and later at Kiev University, author of *Krytycheskii vzglad na filosofiu Kanta* (A Critical View of Kant's Philosophy, 1847), *Filosofskii Leksikon* (A Philosophical Lexicon, 4 vols., 1857–73), *Vvedenie v istoriiu filosofii* (Introduction to the History of Philosophy, 1876), and *Obozrenie sistemy filosofii Gegelia* (A Survey of Hegelian Philosophy, 1860); Orest Novytsky (1804–84), professor at the Kiev Academy and later at Kiev University, whose lectures enjoyed wide popularity; Peter Redkin (1808–91), professor of the philosophy of law at the University of St. Petersburg; and, in Western Ukraine, Ostap Chachkovsky, who in 1863 published in Vienna (in German) *Versuch der Vereinigung der Wissenschaften* (An Attempt to Unite the Sciences), and Clement Hankevych (1842–1924), the author of the first general survey of Slavic philosophy, *Die Grundzüge der slavischen Philosophie* (Principles of Slavic Philosophy).

As far as messianism is concerned, it developed in the nineteenth century in Ukraine mostly under foreign influences. The Ukrainian Brotherhood of

SS. Cyril and Methodius was nurtured on ideas borrowed from the Russian and Polish Romantics and religious mystics, and from western Christian philosophy. *Knyhy bytia ukrains'koho narodu* (The Book of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People), written in all probability by Kostomarov (1817–85), outlines a way of salvation for the Slavic peoples and their part in the future history of mankind; it is pervaded with the spirit of universal love, brotherhood, and equality, though its conclusions are rarely original and detached from reality.

Panteleimon Kulish (1819–97) created a philosophy of culture based on the dichotomy of human existence, nature, and spirit. For him the strife between the heart of man and the outer world is unceasing.

The most prominent member of the circle of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, Taras Shevchenko (1814–61), was influenced by Czech and Polish messianic writers, though messianism is of secondary importance in his work as a whole. Shevchenko's philosophy was never finally crystallized and therefore contained many heterogeneous elements.

A contemporary of Shevchenko was Nicholas Hohol (Gogol) (1809–52), a great writer and thinker, to whom D. Číževsky, in his history of Ukrainian philosophy, devotes as much space as to Skovoroda. Hohol's was a split personality, tied on the one hand to the Ukrainian tradition and way of life and attempting, on the other, in order to satisfy an inordinate personal ambition, to enter a non-Ukrainian world. It is possible that Hohol knew Skovoroda's works which were widely circulated in handwritten copies. Influenced by the writings of the Church Fathers and possibly by Skovoroda, Hohol developed a philosophy of his own concerning the inner world of man, ethical pluralism, and Christian culture.

The most distinguished of the professional philosophers of the nineteenth

century was Pamphilus Yurkevych (1826-74), professor at the Kiev Academy, and later at Moscow University, and teacher of the well-known Russian philosopher Vladimir Solovev. After writing a sharp critique of mechanistic materialism and some points in Kantian philosophy, Yurkevych turned to Plato's theory of ideas and, on its basis, postulated three possible spheres of existence: (1) that which is real; (2) that which is possible (idea); (3) and that which ought to be. According to him, the possible (idea) cannot become real as the German idealists contended, except by the will of God or man. Under Skovoroda's influence Yurkevych outlined a system of personal philosophy in which man, in accordance with the Ukrainian philosophical tradition, is regarded primarily as an emotional being. He underlines the importance of heart and feeling in the spiritual life of man. Yurkevych's system of ethics also has an emotional and religious basis. It is noteworthy that while in Kiev Yurkevych was very active but after moving to Moscow, where his philosophy found very little response, he fell almost silent.

Volodymyr Lesevych (1837-1905) was the most distinguished Ukrainian representative of the positivist school. At first he was a follower of Kant and then became a positivist and a disciple of such German philosophers as A. Rhiel, E. Hering, and, later, R. Avenarius and Petzoldt (empirocriticism). Lesevych's most famous work was *Empirocriticism kak edinstvennaia nauchnaia tochka zrenia* (Empirocriticism as the Only Scientific Point of View), published posthumously in St. Petersburg (1909).

Alexander Potebnia (1835-91), pro-

fessor at Kharkiv University, made an important contribution to the philosophy of language. He was strongly influenced by W. Humboldt and Hermann Lotze. Potebnia's student, D. Ovsianniko-Kulikovskiy (1853-1920), a Ukrainian by birth but not by conviction, continued his teacher's inquiry into the philosophy of language and the psychology of creative work.

Michael Tuhan-Baranovsky (1864-1919) was the most prominent Ukrainian sociologist. Born in Ukraine and of Tatar and Lithuanian descent, he was active in Ukrainian social and political life. He taught at the universities of Kiev and St. Petersburg, and was an outstanding critic of Marxism. Another Ukrainian philosopher who was also a critic of Marxism was Bohdan Kistiakovsky (1868-1920), who belonged to the school of thought developed by W. Windelband and H. Rickert. His brilliant criticism of Marx may be found in the volume, *Social Sciences and the Law* (Moscow, 1916).

A unique position among modern Ukrainian philosophers is held by Viacheslav Lypynsky (1882-1931) who developed a theory of the future national state. Basing his view on the tradition of Ukraine under the hetmanate he believed that the Ukrainian peasantry could be the mainstay of the future Ukrainian state, and prophesied that the Ukrainian people would yet play an important part in the modern world.

Ever since the Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, Marxian philosophy has been established as the "only scientific system," although in its Soviet version it hardly deserves the name of philosophy. In the 1920's several attempts to develop original theories within this approved philosophical doctrine (by P. Demchuk, V. Yurynets, and S. Semkovskiy) were condemned as dangerous to the regime and their authors were silenced. Since the 1930's all philosophical investigation in Ukraine has ceased, except for the intensive study of party dogma in Stalin's *Short Course of the All-Union*



FIGURE 495.
P. YURKEVYCH

Communist Party of the Bolsheviks (especially chapter IV).

For this reason the studies of Dmytro Čiževsky who lives as an émigré in western Europe (he lived for some time in the USA) are of special interest. His philosophical essays *Lohika i etyka* (Logic and Ethics), *Pro formalizm v etytsi* (Formalism in Ethics), and others unfold Čiževsky's own philosophical system. Of great importance is his research on the history of Ukrainian philosophy, since his studies on philosophical trends in Ukraine have revived the Ukrainian philosophical tradition. I. Mirchuk, D. Olianchyn, N. Shlemkevych, and B. Rudko also are working on the history of Ukrainian philosophy.

I. Mirchuk

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VIII. Literature

1. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE

The general political situation in Ukraine explains the relatively late development of a scientific study of Ukrainian literature and a relatively extensive participation in it by Russian scholars who have treated certain periods of it as a part of their own literature or as the "common property" of the three Eastern Slavic peoples.

THE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURIES

The Period of Romanticism

The first scholarly studies of Ukrainian literature were made during the Romantic period. Michael Maksymovych (1804–73), when he published his collection of Ukrainian songs in 1827, put great emphasis, in the spirit of the Romantics (Herder, A. W. Schlegel, and the brothers Grimm), on the idea that the folk poetry of a nation is original and peculiar to it. He thus set the course for the literary studies of the next decades. In his analysis of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament) he strove to draw the greatest parallel possible between this work and the oral literature, especially the *dumas*.

A more pragmatic study of modern Ukrainian literature was made in its first stages by critical surveys of contemporary literature. Such were the articles of I. Mastak (Osyp Bodiansky, 1834), Jeremiah Halka (Nicholas Kostomarov, 1844), Ambrose Metlynsky (1848), Skubent Chupryna (Alexander Kotliarevsky, 1856), M. Hattsuk (1857). Of special importance to his contemporaries

were the reviews of Panteleimon Kulish (1819–97): the Postscript to the *Chorna rada* (Black Council, 1857), *Vzgliad na maloruskuiu slovesnost'* (View of Little Russian Literature, 1857), *Vzgliad na ukrainskuiu slovesnost'* (Review of Ukrainian Literature, 1860), and the *Obzor ukrainskoi slovesnosti* (Survey of Ukrainian Literature, 1861). Like Maksymovych and Kostomarov, Kulish emphasized populist ideas of which he developed a Romantic conception. Accepting the primacy of oral tradition, he condemned the literature of preceding periods because it was written in a non-popular, "dead" language. He also sharply condemned Gogol as the author of the Ukrainian tales for distortion of Ukrainian life and, for different reasons, Kotliarevsky.

Ivan Mohylnytsky (1777–1831) took a different attitude toward the older literature; in his *Vidomist' a ruskom yazytsi* (Report on the Ruthenian Language), which appeared in Polish and only in a shortened form under the title *Rozprawa o jezyku ruskim* (1829), he traced the connection between the works of his contemporaries and older literary works, giving examples from the old and middle periods, as did other Galicians—Ivan Vahylevych, *Zamitky o ruskoi literaturi* (Remarks on Ruthenian Literature, 1848), and Jacob Holovatsky, *Try vstupitel'ni prepodavaniia o ruskoi slovesnosti* (Three Preliminary Lectures on Ruthenian Literature, 1849). This difference in attitude may be explained by the fact that in Galicia the traditions of the Ukrainian literary language of

the middle period had been preserved (see "Language").

Historical Method: Attempts at General Surveys

In the next decades attempts were made to write scientific surveys of Ukrainian literature, on the basis of the historical method. These works were influenced by the historical methods developed by Taine, Sainte-Beuve, Dunlop, Brunetière, Brandes, and others.

Among them were the short historical sketch of Ukrainian literature by P. Petrachenko in his course *Istoriia russkoi literatury* (History of Russian Literature, 1861), the work of Ivan Pryzhov, *Malorossii (Yuzhnaia Rus') v istorii ee literatury s XI po XVIII v.* (Little Russia [South Rus'] in the History of Its Literature from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Centuries, 1869), and the survey of the history of Ukrainian Literature in the *Obzor istorii slavianskikh literatur* (Survey of the History of Slavic Literatures) by A. Pypin and V. Spasovich (amplified later in another work by the same authors, *Istoriia slavianskikh literatur* [History of Slavic Literatures, Vol. I, 1879, German trans., 1880]). The survey by N. Kostomarov, *Malorusskaia literatura* (Little Russian Literature) in the collection *Poeziia slavian* (Poetry of the Slavs) by N. Gerbel, 1871, still shows signs of the Romantic conception in its treatment of historical literary development, but the studies by Michael Drahomanov (1841-95) are based on positivism and evolutionism and mark the beginning of a comparative study of Ukrainian literature and folklore in the spirit of Benfey, W. Scherer, and others. In his studies of modern Ukrainian literature, *Literatura rossiiska, velykoruska, ukrainska, i halytska* (Russian Literature, Great Russian, Ukrainian and Galician, 1873-4), *Pro halytskoruske pysmenstvo* (On Galician-Ruthenian Literature, 1876), *Shevchenko, ukrainofily i sotstyalizm* (Shevchenko, the Ukrainophiles and Socialism, 1879),

Drahomanov described Ukrainian literature as realistic and democratic. This opinion was echoed in many works by critics and scholars of the following decades.

During the eighties, Nicholas Petrov (1840-1921), Nicholas Dashkevych (1852-1908), and Omelian Ohonovsky (1833-94) worked on systematic surveys of the history of Ukrainian literature. *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi literatury XIX st.* (Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century) by Petrov (1884) expressed his reaction against the synthetic conceptions of the Romantic period. He considered that his task was to interpret the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century by giving "the fewest possible *a priori* views and the maximum



FIGURE 496.
O. OHONOVSKY

of facts." This book, the richest of its time in bibliographical material, did not give an adequate characterization and classification of writers and their styles. It exaggerated the extent of the connection between the U-

kraianian literature of the nineteenth century and Russian literature, emphasizing the "predominant influences" of the latter.

This important but one-sided work by Petrov received a detailed, fundamental criticism in a book by Dashkevych, "Otzyv o sochinenii g. Petrova: Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi literatury XIX stoletia" (Review of a work by Mr. Petrov: Sketches for a History of the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century, 1888). Dashkevych, unlike Petrov, tried to unite factual analysis and a general concept. He noted first of all the originality and artistic quality of Ukrainian literature while emphasizing its populism which reflected "a people's aspirations to self-expression"; he strove to trace the internal evolution of Ukrainian literature

and drew extensive parallels which time and again established its direct relation to general European literary trends, especially in the literature of the first half of the nineteenth century. This work had great independent value and was an indispensable supplement to Petrov's book.

Ohonovsky in his *Istoriia literatury ruskoi* (History of Ruthenian Literature, Parts I-IV, 6 fasc., 1887-93) prefaced his treatment with a brief survey of the older period, although he too concentrated mostly on the nineteenth century. He included a wealth of biographical and bibliographical material but his work did not have a single method of approach, and hence lacked unity. The work shows a consistently developed conception of Ukrainian literature as being original and quite distinct from Russian and Polish literature. It stresses the continuity in the development of Ukrainian literature from the time of medieval Kievan Rus' up to the author's own day. This view of the literature of the Kievan Rus' as the first phase in the history of Ukrainian literature called forth sharp criticism from A. Pypin (*Osobaia istoriia russkoi literatury* [A Peculiar History of Russian Literature], 1890), who regarded the Lithuanian-Ruthenian period of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries as the initial period of Ukrainian literature. Ohonovsky's views were defended and developed in his own subsequent writings (*Moiemu krytykovi* [To My Critic], 1890), as well as in articles written by M. Komar (1890) and I. Bashtovyi (Nechui-Levytsky), *Ukrainstvo na literaturnykh pozvakh z Moskovshchynoiu* (Ukrainianism in a Literary Suit with Muscovy, 1891).

The Publication of Sources

The basis for a profound study of old Ukrainian literature was laid in the forties, and it was greatly expanded from the seventies on by the collection and publication of many texts of the old and middle periods and by the preparation

of special monographs. Chronicles, old tales, lives of the saints, and collections were printed. A very large number of texts pertaining to the Kievan Rus' period appeared in St. Petersburg and Moscow in the *Chteniia v obshchestve istorii i drevnosti rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete* (Lectures at the Society of Russian History and Antiquities at the University of Moscow), *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti i iskusstva* (Texts of Ancient Literature and Art), and others. A series of valuable texts of the middle period were published in *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (Acts Pertaining to the History of Southern and Western Russia), *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia), *Akty otnosiashchiesia k istorii Zapadnoi Rossii* (Acts Dealing with the History of Western Russia), and *Pamiatniki polemicheskoi literatury* (Texts of Polemic Literature). Much important literary material of that period was also published in the *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii* (Works of the Kiev Theological Academy), and the *Kievskaiia Starina* (Kievan Antiquity, 1882-1906).

After the transformation of the Shevchenko Society into the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1893), the latter began to publish works of old Ukrainian literature in the *Ukrains'ko-Rus'kyi Arkhiv* (Ukrainian-Rus' Archives), *Zbirnyk filologichnoi Sektsii NTSh* (Collections of the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society), *Pamiatky ukrains'ko-rus'koï movy i literatury* (Texts of the Ukrainian-Rus' Language and Literature), and *Zapysky NTSh* (Memoirs of the Shevchenko Scientific Society). Material pertaining to the same period also appeared after 1906, upon the establishment of the Ukrainian Society of Arts and Scientists of Kiev, in its *Zapysky* (Annals).

The Study of the Literature of the Old and Middle Periods

In the publication and investigation of

the literary texts of the Kievan period a large role was played by many Russian scholars who considered it the first period of their own literature (studies by A. Pypin, F. Buslaev, V. Yakovlev, A. Veselovsky, S. Golubev, A. Shakhmatov, some works by V. Istrin, sections of the surveys of old Russian literature by P. Vladimirov, M. Speransky, E. Petukhov, V. Keltuiala, and more recently by A. Orlov, N. Gudzii, etc.).

A tremendous amount of work was done on the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament). These studies culminated in a three-volume work by E. Barsov (1887-90). Among Ukrainian studies on this subject of special importance were a book by O. Ohonovsky (1876), the text edited with a commentary by O. Partytsky (1884), and especially the work of Alexander Potebnia (1878) who, through parallels with Ukrainian folklore, showed that *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* belonged to old Ukrainian literature.

In the eighties and nineties, Ukrainian scholars more and more frequently turned their attention to the middle period, although they shared the populist opinion that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a "scholastic, dead" period and were more interested in the cultural and historical background of the works of that period than in their value as literary products or as belles-lettres. Typical of this approach were the studies made by Nicholas Sumtsov (1854-1922) of I. Gizel, Y. Galiatovsky, I. Vyshensky, L. Baranovych, and others (1884-5), in which he collected a great mass of facts. The works of I. Shliapkin and A. Krymsky were of a similar nature.

N. Petrov, in his studies of Ukrainian seventeenth and eighteenth century education, culture, and poetics, and, in particular, the eighteenth century drama, concentrated mainly on the historical and cultural material, as did S. Golubev when covering the seventeenth century in his work (1883-98) on Peter Mohyla. On the other hand M. Markovsky in his

study of the preacher Anthony Radyvylovsky (1894) paid more attention to his style and its sources and linked the legendary and fictional element in his sermons with Western medieval collections.

A broader conception of the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is found in the works of Paul Zhytetsky (1836-1911); in his study of the *dumas* (1893) he advanced a thesis contrary to the Romantic conception which asserted that the *dumas* were influenced by the poetry of the period. His work on the *Eneida* (Aeneid) of Kotliarevsky (1900) gave a broad picture of the social and cultural background of this poem and showed that there was a closer connection between the modern and middle periods of Ukrainian literature than had previously been thought. The discussion of Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* in which Dashkevych, I. Steshenko, and Franko also took part (1898-1901), yielded much material on his period and on the creative tradition of Ukrainian classicism.

Because of its scope and insight the work of Ivan Franko (1856-1916) was especially important. Using the comparative and cultural-historical methods, he combined a study of oral literature with research into various periods of written literature, and distinguished, in his own words, "the national from the international." He showed how Ukrainian literature had "appropriated foreign material and foreign forms and what original contribution it had made to the general treasury of literary themes and forms." Franko produced a long series of works on the old and middle periods of Ukrainian literature. Among his studies devoted to the nineteenth century, those on Taras Shevchenko were especially important because of their treatment of the poet's biography and the themes of his poems. Franko also produced one of the best general surveys of the history of Ukrainian literature, "Yuzhno-russkaia literatura" (South Rus-

sian Literature), which far surpasses his *Narys istorii ukrains'ko-rus'koi literatury do 1890 r.* (Sketch of the History of Ukrainian-Rus' Literature to 1890, 1910), which was written during a period of severe illness.

The positivist mood of this period profoundly affected the studies made of the literature of the time. These, like Franko's work, laid their main stress on the historical background of literary works (Antonovych's studies of the historical works of Shevchenko, and others), or sought the literary origin of works, tracing the various influences by a comparison of texts, which was sometimes done rather mechanically (the works of V. Shchurat, I. Kopach, K. Studynsky, A. Kolesa, O. Tretiak, and others). Among the biographical studies, the great monograph by Alexander Konysky on Shevchenko is particularly valuable because of its rich and well-systematized material. Standing somewhat apart are the articles by Basil Horlenko (1853-1907), a critic who laid great stress on the connection between Ukrainian literature and the historical development of the Ukrainian national and cultural character and whose works show an estheticism peculiar to him.

The positivist approach to the study of literature reached its high point in the work of the philological school, which in Ukraine was represented, in the first place, by Volodymyr Peretts (1870-1936). He devoted himself to works of the old and middle periods, especially to poetry and drama. Peretts adopted the principles and methods of the philological school (e.g., W. Scherer) and also asserted that the form and composition of literary works were the creations of the artistry of the language. He discovered and published a wealth of material which made possible a re-valuation of the literary achievements of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. He also studied the origin of many anonymous works and

the background of literary relations of the period. Peretts set forth his views on the theory and practice of the philological method in the following works: *Iz leksii po istorii drevnerusskoi literatury* (Selected Lectures on the History of Old Russian Literature,



FIGURE 497.
V. PERETTS

1912) and "Naiblyzhchi zavdannia vyvchennia istorii ukrains'koi literatury" (The Immediate Problems in the Study of the History of Ukrainian Literature).

Peretts founded a whole school in the study of Ukrainian literature. Among the representatives of this school, and scholars who were close to it in method, were L. Biletsky (especially in his study of the tale about Mercury of Smolensk), S. Maslov, I. Ohienko (especially his studies on the literary work of J. Galiatovsky), S. Shchehlova, F. Sushytsky, S. Shevchenko, V. Adrianova-Peretts, S. Buhoslavsky, V. Otrokovsky, A. Hruzynsky, O. Nazarevsky, V. Rezanov (seventeenth and eighteenth century drama), and M. Vozniak (who favored the cultural-historical method).

In the study of modern Ukrainian literature an interest in textual research developed. Soon after censorship was abolished in Russia (1905), the complete text of Shevchenko's *Kobzar* (The Bard) was published by V. Domanytsky (1907). A few years later the first almost complete text of Shevchenko's poetry appeared (1910). A series of studies on Shevchenko appeared by V. Domanytsky, Shchurat, I. Steshenko, V. Radzykevych, V. Doroshenko, and others. Domanytsky, following in Franko's steps, established incontrovertibly the real name of the author writing under the pseudonym of Marko Vovchok (*Avtorstvo M. Vovchka* [The Authorship of M.

Vovchok's Works, 1908]); his work was completed in the twenties by B. Lepkyi. Monographs written by O. Makovei and V. Shenrok together with the publication of Kulish's poems, edited by I. Kamanin, initiated studies on this author.

Neopopulism

While in scholarly studies on literature comparative, philological and historico-cultural methods prevailed, in works on the history of literature which were on a more popular level an up-to-date form of populism made its appearance.

Typical of this trend were the books and articles of the following authors: B. Hrinchenko (*Malorusskaia literatura* [Little Russian Literature] in the Granat edition of the *Boľshaia Entsiklopediia* [Great Encyclopaedia]); A. Hrushevsky (*Z suchasnoi ukrains'koï literatury* [On Contemporary Ukrainian literature], 1909); the surveys of O. Lototsky (*Demokraticheskaia Literatura* [Democratic Literature], 1907), and S. Rusova, *Ukrainskaia Literatura v XIX v.* [Ukrainian Literature in the Nineteenth Century] in *Istoriia Rossii v XIX v.* [History of Russia in the Nineteenth Century], ed. Granat). The greatest exponent of those ideas was Serhii Yefremov (1876–193?) who wrote numerous articles and monographs, of which the most important is his widely known *Istoriia ukrains'koho pys'menstva* (History of Ukrainian Literature). According to his own statements, his aim was "to give a historical survey of Ukrainian literature as a liberation movement in the broad sense of the word." This idea of "liberation," "the idea of populism and love of one's native land and also the purity of one's native speech," was the criterion by which the author, "taking also into consideration general esthetic requirements," would measure "the facts and events of Ukrainian literature during its long history." Yefremov, like the other Neopopulists, underestimated the importance of the literature of the old and

middle periods and considered that the modern Ukrainian literary revival was based on oral folklore. During the years of the struggle for Ukraine's independence this approach found many adherents (V. Shchepot'iev, M. Plevako, V. Boiko, and others).

Yefremov's ideas met with opposition. His method was criticized on sociological grounds by Volodymyr Doroshenko, *Nova istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (A New History of Ukrainian Literature, 1911), who pointed out that he had turned the history of literature into a history of "ideas of liberation" and of "the development of national consciousness." Doroshenko emphasized that Ukrainian literature was not at all a peasant literature—either in its themes and contents or in its writers—but that, after all, it was "gentlemanly," written "for the cultured minority," and that the use of popular language was no criterion for the evaluation of the works of a Ukrainian author. The views of the populists were criticized on esthetic grounds by Nicholas Yevshan (1888–1919), in *Pid praporom mystetstva* (Under the Banner of Art, 1910). He emphasized the independence of the writer from his surroundings, and stressed the concept of individualism. Bohdan Lepkyi made a more moderate demand for esthetic evaluation in his unfinished but popular *Nacherk istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (Sketch of the History of Ukrainian Literature, 1909–12).

By and large, Michael Hrushevsky (1866–1934) used the cultural-historical method. He came close to the populist position in his articles on history and literature and in the detailed literary excursions in Volumes I–IV of his *Istoriia Ukrainy-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-Rus'). But his distinguished *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature), I–V, 1922–6, was very different. Hrushevsky collected an enormous amount of material and looked at the facts of literature and folklore in the

light of their relationship to each other and to the history, particularly the cultural history, of Ukraine. This unfinished work (Vols. VI and VII were left unprinted as a part of the repressive measures taken against Hrushevsky in 1931) was a synthesis of the earlier studies of old Ukrainian literature, and at the same time advanced numerous new facts, hypotheses, and ideas.

THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

During the period following the Ukrainian liberation movement of 1917-20 there was an increase in scholarly work. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences issued the *Zapysky* (Annals) and *Zbirnyky* (Collections) of its Historical-Philological Section, the non-periodical collections *Literatura* (Literature, after 1928, edited by Yefremov), the journal *Ukraina* (Ukraine, 1924-32, edited by M. Hrushevsky), which contained a great deal of material concerning the history of literature, the collection *Za sto lit* (In 100 Years), and others.

The corrected texts of a number of works of the old and middle periods were printed with new commentaries, and such thorough studies appeared as: Peretts' on the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament), D. Abramovych's on the *Patericon* of the Kiev Cave Monastery, S. Haievsky's on Alexander's Tale, and on the *Litopys* (Chronicle) of Velychko, the *Drama Ukraïns'ka* (Ukrainian Drama) of Rezanov (a series in several volumes), and also the latter's *Istoriia Ukraïns'koï dramy* (History of Ukrainian Drama).

Unlike the preceding period, the studies of literature of this period relied chiefly upon the formal and sociological methods. Those using the first method differed sharply from the Russian formalists of the period, for the most part studying the style of an epoch and the artistic forms of the works. To a certain extent they were following the concepts of Heinrich Wölfflin, Wilhelm Dibelius,

Fritz Strich, and Oscar Walzel. Those studies which treated literature sociologically (sometimes out of necessity for this was the method demanded officially) often contributed much valuable supplemental, biographical, and textual material.

The works of Nicholas Zerov (1890-1937) on the history of the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially his *Istoriia Ukraïns'koho pys'menstva* (History of Ukrainian Literature), contributed a great deal on the development of styles. The History, distributed at the end of the twenties as a course of lectures, covered the period from Kotliarevsky to Shevchenko and Kulish. Zerov tended to consider a literary work as a structural unit and the history of literature as the evolution of literary styles and trends conditioned by internal laws, although he did not dismiss consideration of either the general cultural and historical background or the personality of the author. Problems of style and of the development of literary form interested other students who came close to Zerov's method. The most prominent of these were Paul Fylypovych (literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), Victor Petrov (a book on Kulish and articles on Shevchenko and Lesia Ukraïnka), A. Doroshkevych (editor of the works of Shevchenko and author of studies on the latter and on M. Vovchok, Kulish, and others), A. Shamrai (studies



FIGURE 498. N. ZEROV



FIGURE 499.
A. BILETSKY

of the Romantics, of Kvitka-Osnovianenko, and of the post-Romantics), B. Yakubsky (many articles, especially on Lesia Ukraïнка), A. Biletsky (articles on the most recent Ukrainian poetry and prose, works on Lesia Ukraïнка, Nicholas Voronyi, and, later, Nechui-Levytsky, Shevchenko, and Western literature), I. Aizenshtok (many articles on Shevchenko, the Kotliarevsky group, Kvitka, Shchoholiv, Manzura, and others), A. Nikovsky, O. Burghardt, V. Derzhavyn, A. Rozenberg, Yu. Savchenko, V. Pidmohylnyi, and M. Stepniak. H. Maifet and Ya. Polforov came closer to Russian formalism. In Western Ukraine, the influence of Zerov's school was apparent in the works of M. Rudnytsky, E. G. Pelensky (especially in his work on the classicism of Shevchenko), and F. Kolessa (in his work on the poetry of Shevchenko).

The ideas of the historical-cultural and the philological schools remained strong in Galicia. They permeate the three-volume *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature) by M. Vozniak, and are to be found in his numerous other articles and publications as well. The influence of these schools is also evident in the works of S. Smal-Stotsky (on Shevchenko), Ya. Hordynsky, V. Shchurat (1922), V. Radzykevych, and others, and, in the emigration, those of D. Doroshenko (on Shevchenko, Kulish, Horlenko, etc.).

In the emigration, D. Čiževsky has based his studies on the structure of literary works and the style of the period to which they belong and has applied this approach to the old and middle periods in his works on the literature of Kievan Rus' and the Ukrainian Baroque. His most recent work is *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (A History of Ukrainian Literature, 1956).

Another group applied the sociological method with an admixture of the historical-cultural method or of the ideas of the psychological school of Potebnia (B. Navrotsky). To this group belonged M.

Drai-Khmara (on Lesia Ukraïнка), A. Muzychka (on Franko, Lesia Ukraïнка, and Marko Cheremshyna), P. Rulin and Ya. Mamontov (on the history of modern dramaturgy), O. Bahrii (a series of studies on Shevchenko), V. Miiakovsky, O. Paradysky, G. Mezhenko, L. Starynkevych, I. Tkachenko, E. Kyrlyuk, P. Petrenko, G. Lavrinenko, and others.

The new editions of Ukrainian writers with revised and annotated texts, in the preparation of which many outstanding scholars participated, were of great importance. Thus the works of Shevchenko were edited by Yefremov, Novytsky, Plevako, Aizenshtok, and Doroshkevych, among others. Among these revised editions with commentaries were the collected works of Kotliarevsky, Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Hulak-Artemovsky, minor poets who wrote in the so-called Kotliarevsky tradition, the Romantics, the "minor poets" of the pre-Shevchenko period, Kulish, Vovchok, Storozhenko, Shchoholiv, Nechui-Levytsky, Myrnyi, Manzura, Tobilevych, Franko, Kropyvnytsky, Hrinchenko, Hryhorenko, Cherniavsky, Lesia Ukraïнка, Vasylichenko, Khotkevych, Kobylanska, Stefanyk, Vynnychenko, Martovych, and selected works by Rudansky, Starytsky, Konysky, Makovei, Borduliak, Oles, Voronyi, Chermshyna, and others.

A heightened interest in the form of literary works was evident in such handbooks and studies of the theory of literature as Haievsky's *Teoriia Poezii* (Theory of Poetry, 1921), Yakubsky's *Nauka ukrains'koho virshuvannia* (Art of Ukrainian Versification, 1922), D. Zahul's *Poetyka* (Poetics) 1923, Navrotsky's *Mova ta poeziiia* (Language and Poetry, 1925), M. Yohansen's *Yak buduiet'sia opovidannia* (How a Story is Constructed, 1928), Maifet's *Pryroda noveli* (The Nature of the Short Story, 1928-9), V. Chaplia's *Sonet v ukrains'kii poezii* (The Sonnet in Ukrainian Poetry, 1930), Koshelivets' *Narysy z teorii literatury* (Sketches on the Theory of Literature, 1954) and Yuryniak's *Literaturnyi*

tvir i yoho avtor (The Literary Composition and Its Author, 1955).

Such popular handbooks on the history of Ukrainian literature as were produced were marred by the fact that the author had to conform to the official "Marxist" approach. Showing the signs of such a compromise were the *Pidruchnyk po istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (Textbook of the History of Ukrainian Literature) by Doroshkevych (1924), the survey, *Ukrains'ka literatura* (Ukrainian Literature) by Shamrai (1927), and the handbook edited by A. Biletsky (1929) and published by the Kharkiv All-Ukrainian Correspondence Institute of National Education.

Work was made difficult by the constant attacks of the Communist critics (V. Koriak, A. Richytsky, V. Yurynets, I. Lakyza, S. Shchupak, E. Hirchak, E. Shabliovsky, A. Khvyliia, later I. Stebun, S. Shakhovskiy, *et al.*) whose task it was to falsify the history of Ukrainian literature in accordance with the needs of the official political line. In the early 1930's, the stern repression of "bourgeois nationalists," the deportation or physical annihilation of numerous scholars, and the confiscation of their works resulted in a continual narrowing of the possibilities for scholarly work. Even the extensive handbook of Ukrainian literature which was adapted by the Shevchenko Institute of Literature to the demands of official Bolshevik propaganda was not published. *Narys istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature) by S. Maslov and E. Kyryliuk issued in its place (1945) was condemned by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of the Ukraine allegedly because the authors treated the development of Ukrainian literature "in a bourgeois-nationalist spirit," "ignored the class struggle" and the steady influence of Russia, and instead emphasized the struggle of the Ukrainian people for national independence.

In addition to the old demand for a

"class" treatment of literature, Bolshevik criticism, which became more and more intense after 1933, advanced a series of other demands. It was forbidden to speak of the literature of the Kievan Rus' period as Ukrainian; according to the official theory, it was the common achievement of the East Slavic peoples, but in practice this literature was regarded as the first period in the history of Russian literature (e.g., in the course written in cooperation by several authors and published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, *Istoriia russkoi literatury* [History of Russian Literature], I-II, 1941-8). The development of Ukrainian literature, which is supposed to have begun in the fifteenth century, has been treated as totally isolated from any influence from or connection with the literatures of the West (the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitanism"). Instead, it has been necessary, in every case, to find or invent the influence of Russian on Ukrainian literature, which has thus actually been presented as a provincial offshoot of Russian literature. A number of figures and developments have been removed, for political reasons, from the list of subjects on which research may be done. Under such conditions the appearance of objective scientific works became almost impossible after 1933. When *Narys istorii ukrains'koï literatury* (An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature) by Maslov and Kyryliuk was condemned, a new staff at the Institute of Ukrainian Literature began work on a new outline of the history of Ukrainian literature in accordance with party directions. In 1954 the first volume of this outline was published, as well as a collective work, *Narys istorii ukrains'koï radians'koï literatury* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian Soviet Literature). Because too great emphasis is laid on political material, both books are more like political pamphlets than scholarly works. In the study of Shevchenko scholars were merely permitted to work on texts, and

although in 1939 a revised text of *Kobzar* and a five-volume edition of his work edited by A. Biletsky, S. Maslov, P. Tychna, and others did appear, the poet's "nationalistic" letters were excluded from the latter. One happy exception was the publication in Russian, in Moscow, of a collection of articles by the Armenian author M. Shaginian, *Shevchenko* (1941), which were largely based on the work of F. Kolessa and P. Zaitsev. Important work was done by the Russian authors on the old period of Ukrainian literature, although it was treated as Russian literature; for example, works of V. Adrianova-Peretts on style in the literature of Kievan Rus', by D. Likhachev on the Chronicles, a general survey of the old literature in the *Istoriia russkoi kul'tury* (History of Russian Culture), II, 1951, a study by I. Yeremin of the works of Theodosius of the Kiev Cave Monastery, etc. Yeremin's study of the work of I. Vyshensky and the publication of the latter's work was also an important event (Moscow, 1955, then Kiev, 1959).

The years after Stalin's death have seen an increase in scholarly work and in publishing in the history of Ukrainian literature. A new generation of scholars has to some extent filled the gaps left among the students of Ukrainian literature by the terror of the 1930's. Research work in the academic centers of the Ukraine has been extended. The most important studies have been carried out by the Shevchenko Institute of Literature at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Universities and pedagogical institutes in Lviv, Odessa, Kharkiv, Uzhhorod, Chernivtsi, Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovohrad, and other cities have also engaged in research. Studies on Franko's literary legacy have been concentrated in Lviv. The development of literature in Bukovina has been studied in Chernivtsi.

The Shevchenko Institute of Literature and the Association of the Ukraine's Writers have put out a periodical *Ra-*

dians'ke Literaturoznavstvo (Soviet Studies of Literature) in which scholarly articles have appeared, as well as materials from the literary legacy of Ukrainian writers. In 1956 the first volume in a series of publications under the title *Literaturna spadshchyna* (Literary Heritage) appeared, in which unpublished works, correspondence, and other materials of importance to the history of literature were to be published.

In the 1950's communications were established between Ukrainian scholars and students of literature in countries which had come under Soviet influence after World War II. As a result of this new development, hitherto unknown manuscripts and data on Ukrainian writers were obtained by those doing research in Ukrainian literature.

In 1958, the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences published a collection, *Mizhslov'ians'ki literaturni vzaiemyny* (Inter-Slavic Literary Relations). The Slovak Academy of Sciences marked the Franko Centennial by publishing a bulky volume of works by Ukrainian, Slovak, and Czech students of literature, *Z dejin ceskoslovensko-ukrajinskych vzťahov* (On the History of Czechoslovak-Ukrainian Relations), Bratislava, 1957.

Greater consideration is now given to source material. The publication of bibliographical works has been resumed and the following studies have appeared: *Khudozhnia literatura vydana na Ukraïni za 40 rokiv* (Fiction Published in the Ukraine during the Last Forty Years), 1958; T. Akapova, *Pys'mennyky Zakarpattia* (Writers of Transcarpathia), 1958; *Ivan Franko—bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Ivan Franko—A Bibliographical Index), 1956; *Lesia Ukraïnka—bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Lesia Ukraïnka—A Bibliographical Index), 1956; *Osyp Makovei—bibliohrafichnyi pokazhchyk* (Osyp Makovei—A Bibliographical Index), 1958, and others.

A scholarly scrutiny of the texts of the Ukrainian classics in preparing them for

publication is one of the tasks set by students of Ukrainian literature. The academic ten-volume edition of Shevchenko's works has been already completed, as has the two-volume edition of Kotliarevsky's works, six volumes of Kvitka-Osnovianenko, six volumes of Vovchok, four volumes of Nechui-Levytsky, five volumes of Myrnyi, five volumes of Lesia Ukraïnka, three volumes of Stefanyk, and twenty volumes of Franko (1950-6). A new development is the appearance of such studies of texts as M. Syvachenko's *Istoriia stvorennia romana "Khiba revuť voly, yak yasla povni" Panas Myrnoho* (A History of the Creation of Panas Myrnyi's Novel "When One Has Enough One Does Not Complain"). However, the above-listed editions do not include or mention texts which do not fit in with the political requirements of the present regime. The editors make cuts in the texts and, in their comments, give propagandistic interpretations of the writers' creative works. For example, the bibliographical index, *Khudozhnia literatura vydana na Ukraïni za 40 rokiv*, does not even mention, for political reasons, such names as Khvylovyi, Liubchenko, and others.

The discarding of Stalin's "personality cult" and the condemnation of his terroristic policies have made possible the rehabilitation of some Ukrainian writers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. *Antolohiia ukrains'koï poezii* (An Anthology of Ukrainian Poetry), published in four volumes in 1958, included for the first time, after many years of prohibition, poetry by Kulish, Pchilka, Oles, Konysky, Samiilenko, and many others, although the poems printed were selected in accordance with official demands. The second volume of *Istoriia ukrains'koï literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature), compiled by the Institute of Literature of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences in 1957 and devoted to the Soviet period, also appeared under the stamp of "rehabilitation." After twenty years of silence about

them, mention is made in this volume of such writers as Chumak, Ellan, Mykytenko, M. Kulish, Dosvitnii, Epik, Irchan, Pluzhnyk, and others. However, some writers are still ignored by Soviet publications, and from the creative works of "rehabilitated" authors only such material is selected as meets political requirements.

The study of the history of Ukrainian literary criticism has been resumed (cf. M. D. Bernshtein, *Ukrains'ka literaturna krytyka 50-70kh rokiv XIX st.* [Ukrainian Literary Criticism of the 1850's-1870's], 1959). There has been active research into the literary legacy left by forgotten, or almost forgotten, minor Ukrainian writers. Works of S. Kovaliv, O. Makovej, T. Borduliak, A. Chaikovsky, U. Kravchenko, N. Kobrynska, and M. Pavlyk have been published. Names of even greater obscurity have appeared in articles and collections (cf. *Pys'mennyky Bukovyny pochatku XX stolittia* [Writers of Bukovina in the Early Twentieth Century], 1958, and S. Trofymuk, *Rozvytok revoliutsiinoï literatury v Zakhidnii Ukraïni* [The Development of Revolutionary Literature in the Western Ukraine], 1957).

Shevchenko's works are the subject of studies headed by E. Kyrlyuk, the author of many popular books and articles and of a monograph on the poet's life and creative work (1959). In 1954 I. Pilhuk published his book, *Taras Shevchenko-osnovopolozhnyk novoï ukrains'koï literatury* (Taras Shevchenko as a Founder of the Modern Ukrainian Literature). A. Biletsky's studies deal with particular problems in the study of Shevchenko, such as "Shevchenko and World Literature," "Russian Stories by Shevchenko," "Shevchenko and Slavdom." Beginning in 1954 annual conferences devoted to studies of Shevchenko have taken place and *Zbirnyky prats' naukovykh shevchenkiv's'kykh konferentsii* (Collections of Papers Presented at the Scholarly Conferences on Shevchenko) have been published.

The Franko Centennial was marked by the publication of old and new studies. In 1955 the works of Vozniak were republished: *Z zhyttia i tvorchosti Ivana Franka* (On Ivan Franko's Life and Creative Work) and *Narysy pro svi-tohliad Ivana Franka* (Essays on Ivan Franko's Weltanschauung). A group of scholars in Lviv, headed by Vozniak, published five collections of studies on Franko. The State Literary Publishing House of the Ukraine issued a two-volume collection *Slovo pro velykoho Kameniara* (The Tale of the Great Stone-Crusher). Particular problems in the study of Franko were dealt with in works by A. Biletsky, I. Bass, O. Kiselov, P. Kolesnyk, O. Moroz, and others. S. Shakhovskiy's work, *Maisternist' Ivana Franka* (Ivan Franko's Artistic Mastery) is notable for its scholarly approach. The study of Franko along with that of Shevchenko has developed into a separate branch in the study of Ukrainian literature.

Several books devoted to research on the creative works of other Ukrainian classics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have appeared: on Kotliarevsky, Marko Vovchok, Kotsiubynsky, Lesia Ukraïnka, Myrnyi, Stefanyk, Chermshyna, and Kobylanska. These studies are stereotyped. As a rule, very little attention is paid to the writer's style, and the author's main concern is to show the position of the writer in question in the "struggle" between "progressive" and "reactionary" trends, and his use of realism which is held to be the only worthy literary school. All these studies are required to demonstrate the "unity of Ukrainian and Russian literature" and "the wholesome effect" of Russian on Ukrainian culture. This requirement results in direct falsification. The following works may be of interest in this respect: I. Bass, *Belins'kyi i ukrains'ka literatura 30-40-kh rokiv XIX st.* (Belinsky and the Ukrainian Literature of the 1830's and 40's), 1953; A. Biletsky, *Pushkin i Ukraïna* (Pushkin and Ukraine), 1954; M.

Parkhomenko, *Ivan Franko i rosiis'ka literatura* (Ivan Franko and Russian Literature), 1950; A. Trostianetsky, *Maiakovs'kyi i ukrains'kaadians'ka poeziia* (Maiakovsky and Ukrainian Soviet Poetry), 1952; D. Chalyi, *Stanovlennia realizmu v ukrains'kii literaturi pershoi polovyny XIX st.* (Formation of Realism in the Ukrainian Literature of the First Half of the Nineteenth Century), 1956; N. Krutikova, *Hohoľ i ukrains'ka literatura XIX st.* (Gogol and the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century), and others. The same subject is treated in collections: *Russko-ukrainskie literaturnye svyazi* (Russian-Ukrainian Literary Relations), 1954; *Hohoľ i ukrains'ka literatura XIX st.* (Gogol and the Ukrainian Literature of the Nineteenth Century), 1954.

In the most recent works less emphasis is laid on the presentation of the all-important Russian influence and of the alleged dependence of all Ukrainian writing and literary trends on Russian literature. There is a discernible tendency to study the specifically national element in the Ukrainian literature (cf., Eugene Shabliovskiy, *Natsionalni osoblyvosti ukrains'koi literatury* [National Features of Ukrainian Literature], 1959).

When all study of Shevchenko was brought to a halt in Ukraine, the publication of *Povne vydannia tvoriv Tarasa Shevchenka* (A Complete Edition of the Works of Taras Shevchenko) outside the borders of Ukraine by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw assumed special importance. During the years 1934-9, thirteen of the sixteen originally planned volumes appeared in print. They were edited by Professor Paul Zaitsev, with notes and comments, and contained numerous studies written by D. Antonovych, L. Biletsky, I. Bryk, V. Doroshenko, D. Doroshenko, E. Malaniuk, S. Siropolko, S. Smal-Stotsky, and D. Čiževsky. This full and complete edition of the works of Shevchenko has been in the process of republication since 1959.

Zhyttia Tarasa Shevchenka (The Life of Taras Shevchenko), a basic work by Paul Zaitsev which summarized the results of studies of Shevchenko made in previous decades, was printed in Lviv in 1939. It was subsequently confiscated by the Soviet authorities, but it was revised later by the author and published in Munich in 1955.

N. Hlobenko

Ukrainian Literature and Literary Criticism Abroad

The establishment of the Soviet regime in Ukraine in the years 1919–20 and the systematic reprisals by this regime against Ukrainian writers, scientists, and artists in the late twenties and throughout the thirties resulted in the destruction—according to incomplete statistics—of 103 authors and the silencing of 74 others in the same field of endeavor, and compelled many Ukrainian writers and literary critics to emigrate to the West and there seek new opportunities for free scientific pursuit and endeavor.

At the end of the 1950's, there were over sixty literary specialists and critics in the United States, Canada, and western European countries as well as Australia. In continuing their literary and research endeavor in the chairs of various Western universities and within the framework of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, they produced a series of works from the history of the old (medieval), early modern, and contemporary literature, thus completing the works and research of literary specialists in Ukraine.

A series of outstanding works, especially those dealing with the poetic and artistic creativeness of Shevchenko, were produced by specialists of the older generation: Paul Zaitsev's monograph, *Zhyttia Tarasa Shevchenka* (The Life of Taras Shevchenko), which appeared in 1955; Volodymyr Doroshenko, works on Shevchenko and Franko; Leonid Bile-

tsky, works on Shevchenko (a four-volume edition of the *Kobzar*); Volodymyr Miiakovsky, works on Shevchenko, the SS Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood, the Decembrists, and the like; Paul Bohatsky, articles on the publication of the *Kobzar*; Ivan Ohiienko (Metropolitan Ilarion), *Slovyk Shevchenkovoï mowy* (Dictionary of Shevchenko's Language), which appeared in 1961. Other works and textbooks on the history of Ukrainian literature were published by Dmytro Čiževsky, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury: Vid pochatkiv do doby realizmu* (The History of Ukrainian Literature: From the Beginning to the Era of Realism), 1956; Leonid Biletsky, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (The History of Ukrainian Literature), Vol. I, *Narodna poeziia* (Folk Poetry), 1947; Volodymyr Radzykevych, *Istoriia ukraïns'koï literatury* (The History of Ukrainian Literature), Vols. I–III, 1947–53; *Ukraïns'ka literatura XX-ho st.* (Ukrainian Literature of the Twentieth Century), 1952; Yar Slavutych, *Moderna ukraïns'ka poeziia, 1900–1950* (Modern Ukrainian Poetry, 1900–1950), 1950.

A series of studies and research on the destruction by the Soviet regime in Ukraine of Ukrainian literature in the years 1917–50 was produced by George S. N. Luckyj, *Literary Politics in the Soviet Ukraine, 1917–1934* (1956); Bohdan Krawciw, *Obirvani struny: Antolohiia poezii poliahlykh, rozstrilianykh, zamuchenykh i zaslanykh 1920–1945* (Broken Strings: Anthology of Poetry of the Dead, Executed, Tortured and Deported, 1920–1945), 1955, and *Na bahrianomu koni revolutsii: Do rehabilitatsiinoho protsesu v URSR* (On the Crimson Horse of the Revolution: On the Rehabilitation Process in the Ukrainian SSR), 1960; George Lavrinenko, *Rozstriliane vrodzennia: Antolohiia 1917–1933: Poeziia, proza, drama, esei* (The Executed Rebirth: Anthology 1917–1933: Poetry, Prose, Drama and Essays), 1959; Yar Slavutych, *Rozstriliana muza* (The Executed Muse), 1955, and *Muza u*

viaznytsi (The Muse in Prison), 1955; Basil Chaplenko, *Propashchi sylu: Ukrain's'ke pysmenstvo pid komunistychnym rezhytom, 1920-1933* (The Lost Forces: Ukrainian Literature under the Communist Regime, 1920-1933), 1960; Ok-sana Asher, *The Ukrainian Poet in the Soviet Union* (1959), and others.

In addition, a series of the works of the writers and poets who were liquidated by the Soviet regime were re-published. Among them were: Nicholas Zerov, Paul Fylypovych, Nicholas Kulish, Valerian Pidmohylny, Constantin Burevii (Edward Strikha), Nicholas Khvylovyi, with introductory articles by V. Derzhavyn, M. Orest, G. Kostyuk, Yu. Sherekh, G. S. N. Luckyj and others.

Other authors who produced literary works and articles were Volodymyr Bezushko, on Bohdan Lepkyi, Nicholas Hohol (Gogol), and others; Eugene Yu. Pelensky (1908-56), on Shevchenko, B. Lepkyi, and others; George Boiko, on Shevchenko and others; Joseph Hirniak, on the Ukrainian theater; Nicholas Hlobenko (1902-58), on the literature of the early modern era, Shevchenko, and others; Gregory Kostyuk, on the literature of the twentieth century; Peter Odarchenko, on Shevchenko, Lesia Ukraïna, and others; Victor Petrov (1893 —), on Shevchenko; Basil Lew, on the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century; Luke Luciw, on Shevchenko; Gregory Luzhnytsky, on the theater, B. Stefanyk, and others; Yaroslav Rudnytsky, on Shevchenko and others; A. Yuryniak, works on literary theory.

In literary criticism the following authors, among others, were active and prolific: Dmytro Buchynsky, Peter Voly-niak, Peter Holubenko, Bohdan Hoshov-sky, Viacheslav Davydenko, Volodymyr Derzhavyn, Dmytro Dontsov, Alexandra Zhyvotko-Chernova, Alexander Izarsky, Ivan Korowytsky, Ihor Kostetsky, Ivan Koshelivets, George Linchevsky, Nicho-las Mokh, Emanuel Reis, Bohdan Romanenchuk, Vadym Svaroh, Basil Sofroniv-Levytsky, George Chorny,

George Sherekh (Shevelov), and Nicho-las Shlemkevych.

B. Krawciw

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2. THE OLD PERIOD: ELEVENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

THE BEGINNINGS OF WRITING AND OF LITERATURE

Slavic writing was probably known in Ukraine before the acceptance of Christianity. It may have come from the Southern or Western Slavs. But undoubtedly the beginning of a wider acquaintance with writing came with Christianity at the end of the tenth century. Books, primarily Church Service books, came from the Southern or Western Christianized Slavs. Then the copying of these texts which had been brought in was begun. Independent literary works can be dated from the second third of the eleventh century (The Chronicle after 1030). The oldest dated manuscript which has come down to us is the Ostromir Gospel, 1056-7. A later copy of a 1047 manuscript (Books of the Prophets with a commentary written by the priest Upyr Likhoi) has been preserved.

TRANSLATED AND BORROWED LITERATURE

Origins

Before the Christianization of Rus' a rather large literature of Old Church

Slavonic translations had developed in the Slavic west (among the Czechs and Slovaks) and in the south (especially among the Bulgarians and Macedonians). Some of this literature reached Ukraine even before the formal baptism of the country. Soon thereafter translations began to be made locally. This new activity was stimulated by Prince Yaroslav (1019-54), who, according to the Chronicle, brought copyists and translators together in Kiev who translated a "mass of books." A study of the language shows that some of the old translations were actually made in Kiev.

Church Literature

For the Divine Service such books were needed as the Gospel, the Epistles, a Psalter, the Books of the Prophets, and the Pentateuch of Moses. These books were translated in Moravia. Also introduced into Ukraine were the *Liturgicon*, the *Sacramentarium*, collections of religious songs and prayers (the *Octoechos*), the two *Triodia* and the *Euchologion*, selected passages from the Holy Scriptures which were read in the Church services (*Paroemenarium*), and a collection of services in honor of the saints

Meneae. Among the translated hymns were works by outstanding Byzantine religious poets (John Damascene, Romanus the Sweet Singer, and others). These translations introduced examples of the "high style" of different genres ranging from essentially religious texts and poetry (the Psalter and the Church hymns) to ingenious stories (parables), proverbs (the Books of Solomon and Sirach), descriptions of military operations (the historical books of the Bible), didactic stories (Job), and novels of adventure (the book of Tobit and, in part, the book of Esther). The influence of this ecclesiastical literature was felt throughout old Ukrainian literature from sermons to secular chronicles and the historical-heroic epic.

Along with the Church Service books other types of religious literature reached Ukraine, such as sermons and Lives of the Saints. The sermons, usually chosen from the "classics" of the genre (John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa), were available in separate translations or in collections, *Zlatoust* (Chrysostom), *Margarit* (The Pearl), *Izmaragd* (The Emerald). The sermons of the old Slavic preachers (Clement the Slav and others) were also copied. The Lives were sometimes separate works of a considerable scope (Cyril-Constantine, Andrew Yurodyvy, Anthony), sometimes collections arranged according to the months of the year (the *Meneae* for Daily Reading), or, as in *Paterica* (of Sinai, of Scythia, of Rome), they were collections of stories about pious ascetics, sometimes about lay people, partly just collections of aphorisms. This biographical (hagiographical) literature was increased in Ukraine by the new translations; for example, the so-called *Synaksaria* (Old Ukrainian *Prolog*—Prologue) was extended to almost three times its former size. Mention must also be made of the Lives of Slavic origin (Cyril-Constantine, Methodius, and the Czech Saints Václav [2] and Ludmila).

Among the religious treatises, philo-

sophical and theological (The Source of Knowledge by John Damascene) as well as moral and ascetic works (the Pan-dects of Antioch, the Climax of Ioannes Climacos, etc.) were translated.

Apocrypha

Along with the ecclesiastical literature religious writings appeared which either were not recognized or were forbidden by the Church. These were "apocrypha" or stories about events and persons mentioned only casually in the Scriptures. This literature was almost exclusively translated, but was sometimes reworked in Ukraine. The "Old Testament" apocrypha told of the lives of Adam and Eve, Abraham, Moses, and Solomon; the "New Testament" ones, of the life of the Mother of God (the Gospel of James), of the childhood of Christ (the Gospel of Thomas), how Christ after his death on the cross went to hell and freed the souls of the righteous (the Gospel of Nicodemus), of the journey of the Mother of God to hell where she saw the tortures of sinners (*Khozhdenie po mukam* [Journey through Tortures]), and others. There were apocryphal lives of the saints (George, Nicetas), as well as several describing the end of the world in detail (Basil "the New"). And there were also apocryphal prayers and sermons (see below, the *Slovo Adama* [Word of Adam]).

Scholarly Literature

Most of the translations of the period were of historical works. All the evidence indicates that the History of the Jewish Wars (the Fall of Jerusalem) by Josephus Flavius and the universal history "Chronicle," by George Hamartolos, were translated in Kiev; a translation of the poetic Chronicle of John Malalas which deals with ancient history and mythology was brought from Bulgaria. There were also translations of several other historical works (Synkellos, Manasses, etc.). The work of Josephus Flavius which has artistic value, the

heroic and amorous episodes (H. Grégoire thinks that there may have been two translations of different versions). These romances had considerable influence on original Ukrainian literature.

Another group of stories was didactic. Among them was *Premudryi Akir* (Wise Akir—Ahikar), a tale in the old Babylonian tradition, which was translated in Kiev, perhaps from the Syrian. It is the history of a wise adviser to the Babylonian emperor into whose mouth are placed many proverbs, and these, along with a theme of adventure (the performance of many difficult tasks), furnish the chief interest of the story. Then there was *Stefanit i Ikhnilat* (in Arabic, "Kalila and Dimna"), the story of two jackals, which combines within a quite simple framework a mass of instructive fables of Indian origin. Finally, mention

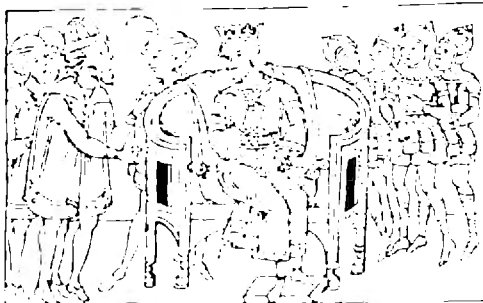


FIGURE 500. TSAR AVENIR WITH HIS NOBLES
Varlaam i Ioasaf (Krekhiv manuscript of the sixteenth century).

must be made of *Varlaam i Ioasaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat), the Christianized story of Buddha in which he is presented as a Christian in Greece, with many didactic episodes and parables, some of which are to be found in the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the thirteenth century the utopian Byzantine novel, *The Indian Kingdom*, a description of an imaginary Christian theocracy in India, the realm of Prester John, arrived in Galicia. Of later origin was the translation (from an eastern original) of a romance which gave a

Chronicle of Malalas, and later that of Manasses had an important influence on the original historical literature of old Ukraine (see below).

Literature about nature was represented by works which described what was known of nature at that time in Byzantium. John Exarch of Bulgaria's version of the *Shestodneo* (Hexaemeron) of Basil the Great and the geography of Kosmas Indikopleustos came from Bulgaria. The *Physiologos* combined scientific information with much that was fantastic and supplied a moral interpretation. Juridical literature was represented by collections of canon law (especially the *Nomocanon*).

A popular Greek encyclopaedia was translated in Bulgaria and a copy made in Kiev in 1073 known as Sviatoslav's *Izbornyk* (The Sviatoslav Chrestomathy) has been preserved. It contained information on theology and history, to which has been added the small handbook on poetics by George Choïroboscus. Later (up to the thirteenth century) various *Florilegia*, collections of extracts from classical and Christian literature, were translated. The interesting *Pchela-Melissa*—put together in Greek by Maxim the Confessor, contained a number of quotations from the works of the ancient philosophers (Plato, Aristotle, Philo of Alexandria) and such tragic poets as Euripides, and from the Holy Scriptures and the fathers of the Church. There were other collections of quotations from Menandros and Barnabas.

Romances

In the early period several romances were translated. Among the historical ones were the *Alexandriad*, the history of Alexander of Macedon, and the *Story of Troy*—both of which first appeared in the *Chronicle of Malalas*. New translations were made from various versions up until the seventeenth century. In Kiev a translation was made of the heroic-historical *Digenes* romance, the story of a Greek hero with lively descriptions and

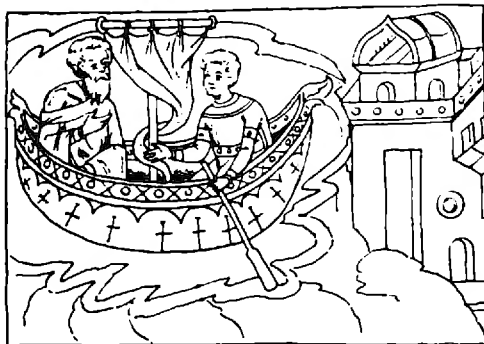


FIGURE 501. VARLAAM SAILS TO INDIA
Varlaam i Ioasaf (Krekhiv manuscript of the
sixteenth century).

pessimistic depiction of the future of the world, *Syn tsaria Shakhatshi* (Son of Tsar Shakhaisha).

Poetry

Under the influence of Byzantine literature works in verse began to be written (the first, possibly, being the original writings of St. Cyril-Constantine). These works appear to have been more extensive than the fragments which have been preserved but they disappeared quite early, mainly as a result of the phonetical changes in the Old Church Slavonic and Old Ukrainian languages, since the disappearance of certain vowels destroyed their metrical form. The ecclesiastical hymns were usually translated into prose.

This translated and borrowed literature greatly influenced the style of old Ukrainian writings. It has recently been established that many of these works did not come from the Balkans, as had been thought previously, but from Moravia and Bohemia (Czech Lives of the Saints, the "Pannonian lives" of Cyril and Methodius, the Gospel of Nicodemus, and various other Lives, especially that of the Czech patron saint, Vit [Vitus], and the Roman *Patericon*). They were in part translated from Latin originals and had an important effect upon old Ukrainian literature (cf. studies by A. Sobolevsky, N. Nikolsky, J. Vařica, R. Jakobson, D. Ciřevsky).

A large part of this literature was also popular in the West, where it circulated in Latin translations in the Middle Ages and later in translations and adaptations in popular tongues.

THE MONUMENTAL STYLE (LITERATURE OF THE GREAT KIEVAN REALM)

Characteristics

The variety of content and the high stylistic quality of the literature of the eleventh century, from its very beginning, has led some scholars to believe in the existence of a still older literary tradition in Kiev, now entirely lost (I. Ohienko, and in part N. Nikolsky). But so far no factual basis has been shown for this hypothesis. In any case the period from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries must be regarded as one of the most brilliant in the history of Ukrainian literature.

The works of the eleventh century are distinguished from those of the twelfth and thirteenth by a certain simplicity, by their monumental and monothematic composition. The infrequent stylistic adornments are restricted to a few types: favorite epithets, "solid formulas," phrases in the form of proverbs. The structure of the phrases is simple, they are shorter and often alliterative (in secular literature); sometimes the language is rhythmical (in religious works under the influence of church poetry). There are many citations from other works, introduced *in crudo* without adaptation.

Characteristic of the ideology of this period was the idea of a single great



FIGURE 502. MEETING
OF ALEXANDER WITH
THE DOG-HEADED MEN
From the manuscript
of the Alexandriad.

state which was made reality during the latter part of the reign of Yaroslav. This ideology was permeated with "Christian optimism" and the conviction that Christianity, which had been brought to *Rus'* shortly before the end of the world, was a guarantee of "salvation." Secular authors likewise believed in the possibility of harmony between the profane (the world) and the religious spheres. Asceticism was not severe and attempts were made to develop a moderate program for a worldly Christian life.

Sermons

In old Ukraine there were various types of sermons: moral, instructive, and solemnly festive. To the first type belong the sermons of St. Theodosius of the Cave Monastery (died 1074), written for the monks. These were chiefly based on texts from Holy Scripture. The chief artistic device of the author was the use of broad comparisons (souls are lamps in which prayer burns like oil; the church bell is like the call of a military trumpet). His ideal in monastic life is a moderate asceticism combined with productive work, which furnishes resources for philanthropic activity—the influence of the Palestinian type of asceticism. The oratorical sermon of the Metropolitan Hilarion (ante 1054) was constructed on a simple plan—a comparison between the religions of the Old and New Testaments—but its style belongs to the "high" solemn and adorned type with numerous metaphors and it ends by praising Volodymyr (Vladimir) and his descendants. Other sermons belong to one of these two types. The origin of many (whether translated or original) is not clear.

Tales

Historical narratives have seldom been preserved as independent works; they are mainly descriptions of the building of churches (one short piece apparently from the end of the tenth century) and the miracles of the saints. Among the larger works there is the tale of the

conversion of Volodymyr and the murder of his sons Borys (Boris) and Hlib (Gleb) by their brother Sviatopolk (the so-called *Skazanie* [Narrative]). This work gives a broad picture of events and employs various artistic devices: an imitation of popular laments in mourning for the deceased, excerpts from texts of the Scriptures, monologues by the characters, and so on. In the fifteenth century the Narrative was reworked in the Ukrainian-Slavic language.



FIGURE 503. BURIAL OF VOLODYMYR THE GREAT From the *Skazanie* about SS. Borys and Hlib (from a manuscript of the fourteenth century).

Other originally separate tales became incorporated into the Chronicles; among the tales of the eleventh century must be placed the account of the blinding of Prince Vasylko of Terebovlia (Chronicle for 1097) as told by an eye-witness; the subject form is broad and there is an attempt at a psychological characterization; there are four accounts of the struggle with the *volkhvy* (the pagan sorcerers) (Chronicle for 1071); and, for 1074, there is the story of the monk Isaakii of the Cave Monastery at Kiev who was corrupted by demons despite his ascetic life. This latter tale is obviously aimed at excessive asceticism.

Lives

In the eleventh century two Lives (Lat. *vitae*) were certainly written by the monk Nestor of the Cave Monastery. One was the life of Borys and Hlib, the *Chtenie*; this was an expansion of the

account of their murder into a complete biography written not only for their countrymen but for all Christians (especially perhaps for the Czechs, since in 1092 part of the two princes' relics were moved to Bohemia; there are also indications of reverence paid to them in the Caucasus). This led to a more abstract exposition and there is less concrete historical material given than in the *Skazanie* (Narrative). The life of the first hegumen of the Kiev Cave Monastery, St. Theodosius, is depicted in bright colors, with a mass of historical and cultural-historical material and successful psychological characterizations. It provides a picture of the saint's spiritual development (including a description of his childhood) and references to his beliefs are woven into the narrative. In both Lives the influence of the Czech Church Slavonic Lives of St. Václav and other literature that had been ably used is noticeable.

Probably other Lives existed which have been lost—that of Anthony of the Cave Monastery (see below) and of the saintly Princess Olha (Olga) and Volodymyr (there may be remains of these in the *Pamiat' i pokhvala kn. Volodymyru* [In Memory and Praise of Prince Volodymyr] which has been credited without sufficient justification to a certain monk Jacob). The Chronicle contains a description of the murder of two Christian Varangians in Kiev before the Christianization of *Rus'* and this may be what is left of a Life about them. The Prologue contains short Lives of Kievan saints which have no literary importance, and a short life of Prince (later canonized) Mstyslav Volodymyrovych (twelfth century).

The So-Called Chronicle of Nestor: The Tale of Bygone Years

This eleventh century chronicle (the oldest extant manuscript dates from 1377) is a very complex work which has been the subject of study by historians (N. Kostomarov, M. Hrushevsky, M.

Priselkov) and by historians of literature (A. Shakhmatov). Tradition ascribed it to Nestor (see above) but he must be regarded as only one of the authors. It is now possible to assert that in all probability work on the text went through the following stages: (1) the first redaction was made when the Kievan metropolitanate was established in about 1037; (2) the continuation of the Chronicle up to about 1073 was accomplished by a different author who had an opportunity to use historical accounts of Tmutorokan; this was probably the monk Nikon of the Kiev Cave Monastery, who went there in the sixties, or one of his companions; (3) a further re-editing was completed in about 1093–5, by an author from the same monastery; (4) the Chronicle was again reworked with the use of various literary and archival materials (probably by Nestor); (5–6) two editions were made in the Vydbetsky Monastery between 1110 and 1118, the first ending with the entries of the hegumen Sylvester.

These authors added new current material, and sometimes edited the old. In this process they displayed a tendency to destroy traces of the existence of dynasties other than that of Rurik and they may also have omitted remarks about contacts with Rome.

The contents of the Chronicle are complex; it includes separate narratives (see above) and sermons; use was made of Byzantine and Western Slavic historical literature and old people's narratives (e.g., Yan Vyshatych). The introduction contains an account of the separation of the nations after the deluge; then the material is divided by years, but not always consistently. There is a detailed account of the acceptance of Christianity. The main material is Kievan but the story of Vasylo (see above) comes from Terebovlia and there is some material from Tmutorokan. Accounts are often given in the form of fictitious, cleverly written dialogues, and there are striking dramatic scenes. Al-

most all the authors use aphoristic sayings—"historical adages." There are favorite fixed formulae for the description of special actions (especially military campaigns).

The beliefs of the authors are Christian but their social attitude varies; the author of the redaction of 1093-5 is a partisan of the townspeople. All accept the unity of "Rus' Land." Frequently there are elements of Kievan patriotism and the authors of the redactions of 1073 and of 1093-5 are very critical of the policy of the princes. The last Vydubetsky revisions sympathize with the policies of Monomakh, and in this some participation by St. Mstyslav, the son of Monomakh, is discernible.

It is no wonder this work played a great role in all Ukrainian historical literature down to and including the Baroque period (see below).

The Old Epos

None of the old epos of the eleventh century has been preserved, but from the fragments of epics in the Chronicles and the north Russian songs, the so-called *bylinas* (more properly, *stariny*), one can hypothetically establish at least the subjects of some of the old epic works. These subjects can be divided into several cycles:

(1) The pre-Christian cycle centered around Volkh or Volga Vseslavych, who is reminiscent of Oleh (Oleg) of the Chronicle and who is a sorcerer in both the Chronicles and the *bylinas*. It is possible to link this name with that of another sorcerer-prince, Vseslav of Polotsk; and, in the *bylinas*, some elements from the tales about Princess Olha (Olga) were perhaps included, too.

(2) Several subjects are linked with the name of Volodymyr (Vladimir), the "Fair Sun." The prince himself only appears in the accounts of his banquets; but the *bylinas* have several tales of his uncle, Dobrynia, a real historical figure, who baptized the people of Novgorod: obtaining water for Volodymyr (water

being a symbol for baptism); his fight with a dragon (a symbol of paganism); and also his securing of a wife for Volodymyr (the subject reminds us of the theme of the Nibelungen). Ukrainian folklore still preserves the tale of the tanner who kills an unfriendly giant, which appears in the Chronicle and which the Chronicle places in the period of Volodymyr (987).

(3) In the *bylinas*, Volodymyr Monomakh is merged with Volodymyr the Great. The tale of the triumph of Alesha (Alexis) Popovych over Tuharyn Zmievych (the historical Polovtsian Tugorkhan) with its historical details can be placed in the time of Monomakh. The subject of another *bylina*—the raid of Hlib (Gleb) Volodievych against the people of Chersonesus who had detained some Kievan ships—is a reflection of the actual raid made by the young Volodymyr Monomakh and Prince Hlib of Novhorod against Chersonesus. A third subject of the period, the imprisonment in Kiev of Stavr Godinovich, the envoy of Novgorod, is an historical event fixed by the Novgorod Chronicle; the story of Stavr's liberation alone is fictitious.

(4) The *bylina* about the Scandinavian bard, Solovei Budymyrovych, who marries the niece of the Prince of Kiev, may be of the time of Yaroslav the Wise. This may be the story of the marriage of Harald, a Scandinavian prince and skald, who later became King of Norway, and Elizabeth, the daughter of Yaroslav, who was the subject of his songs and of legends in various languages. Perhaps the religious song of St. George reflects the deeds of Yaroslav (whose Christian name was George). In it George introduces order into the "Rus' Land" by freeing it of wild beasts, opens up a path along the Dnieper (Yaroslav did this in uniting the principalities of Novgorod and Kiev), and frees his sisters from a "Catholic prison" (Yaroslav did free his sisters from imprisonment by the Polish king, Boleslaw).

(5) In the *bylinas* about the most

popular of the heroes of this genre, Elijah Muromets, remains of the Chernihiv epos can be seen; according to an old tradition his name was not Muromets but something like Murovets (apparently from the city Murovsk or Muroviisk in the Chernihiv region). It was he who freed Chernihiv from a hostile attack. The stories about him can be placed in the times of Volodymyr the Great. He is mentioned in western European epics as well.

There are several other epic themes which may have arisen in the eleventh century. The remains of these epic tales can be proved to have survived in Ukraine and Belorussia up until the eighteenth century. The contemporary Russian *bylinas* are late (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) and are reworkings of old material. It is hard to say anything definite about the form of the original old epos.

The Works of Prince Volodymyr Monomakh

Volodymyr (Vladimir) Monomakh (1053–1125) was the author of several works which have been preserved although there are certain gaps in them: the *Pouchenie* (Instruction) written for his children, a letter to Prince Oleh of Chernihiv, and prayers.

The Instruction is written according to a definite plan and draws a picture of a model Christian prince. Religious and philosophical comments are followed by advices to a prince in the conduct of his private life and in ruling a state and leading an army. The work ends with the Prince's autobiography.

The letter to Oleh (Oleg) was written for a concrete reason—the death of one of Monomakh's sons in a war with Oleh—but it was intended to make known the essence of Monomakh's political aims, that the princes should live at peace with one another. The prayers of Monomakh were a compilation.

The works of Monomakh are interesting both lexicographically and stylistically;

he uses fine images and comparisons which disclose an affinity to folklore and a propensity for quotation from literature. His works reveal his literary method; he copied and collected passages from his reading, and kept a diary (at least of his numerous—83—military campaigns). He may have read Greek literature in the original for he was the son of a Byzantine princess and his father, Vsevolod, the son of Yaroslav, knew five languages.

Daniel the Pilgrim

The description of a journey to Palestine made by Daniel, presumably the hegumen of Chernihiv, belongs to the same period (the beginning of the twelfth century). The account describes landscapes, towns, buildings and, more rarely, people. In his descriptions of his journey the author includes apocryphal accounts from literature.

The Collection of 1076

There are also elements of original writing in this collection of texts, written in Kiev in 1076, but consisting in part of translations from the Greek. It is a collection of short tales and sayings dealing with social ethics and charity. Some of them are in verse; there is much alliteration which suggests that they are either original works or were put into verse by the translators.

Prayers and Liturgical Literature

Prayers were one of poetical genres. Several original prayers and services for local saints have been preserved from the eleventh century. Later, references to a Gregory, "a creator of canons," in the eleventh and twelfth centuries appear but it is not known whether he was the author of those works of this genre which have been preserved.

Practical Literature

This falls outside the boundaries of belles-lettres. To this area of writing belong the juridical texts of the *Ruskata Pravda* (Rus' Law) of Yaroslav and its

continuation by his sons (the ecclesiastical statutes of Volodymyr the Great and of Yaroslav are not of absolutely certain origin). Among compilations of a practical character the Chronographies or surveys of universal history, based on the translated chronicles (see above) and the Chronicle, must be noted. These works must have been begun in the eleventh century, for they were used in the writing of the Chronicle of Nestor. A few letters of the hierarchs are important for studies rather than as literature.

THE ORNAMENTAL STYLE IN LITERATURE (THE PERIOD OF DISINTEGRATION OF THE KIEVAN REALM)

Characteristics

During the period of the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth centuries there was a transition in all European literatures, and especially in that written in Medieval Latin, from a more simple to an "ornamental" style. This "ornamental" style became predominant in Ukrainian literature, from about the second third of the twelfth century. Stylistic adornment acquired primary importance in literary works. In new works borrowings from the older literature were usually reworked in the new style.

One feature of this new style was its symbolism, that is, the setting forth of ideas in images which are "symbols" of those ideas. This was not only a literary device but characteristic of the mental outlook of the period. Such new devices as the use of brilliant and original epithet, hyperbole, and numerous antitheses appeared. Another feature was an inclination toward "dramatization" in exposition, and an effort to change and vary traditional formulae.

The outlook of this period, when various principalities into which the Kievan state had disintegrated were losing power and wealth, was marked by a

pessimistic sense of the gap between the "world" and the church; there was an increase in asceticism and in renunciation of the "world" and, on the other hand, in a consciousness of the "world."

Gradually other literary centers besides Kiev (Chernihiv, Turiv, Pereiaslav, Western Ukraine) began to grow up in Ukraine. The influences of Kievan literature began to spread far beyond the boundaries of Ukraine, in particular to Suzdal, Smolensk, and among the Southern Slavs.

Sermons

The most important preacher of the twelfth century was Cyril, Bishop of Turiv (born ca. 1130-40). He left sermons (eight which are known to be authentic have come down to us), two tales (see below), prayers, and letters to princes which have since been lost. His sermons were included in a cycle arranged for Sundays during the Easter season. All of them deal with Christology. His exposition is symbolic (e.g., spring is the symbol of the Resurrection), and the symbols are often expanded into descriptions (a depiction of spring and people's feelings). The Christological theme, the two natures, divine and human, in the person of Christ, leads Cyril to a rich use of antitheses. Also characteristic of his sermons is their dramatic exposition; he uses dialogue, monologue, laments (differing from the popular type, such as the lament of the Mother of God over the dead Christ). He addresses persons mentioned in the sermons directly, the Apostles, for example, and the heretic Arius, employs parallels, often in connection with his antitheses, and sometimes introduces rhythmical language. He makes use of various literary works, among others Greek (cf. study by Vasilij Vinogradov).

There are various other types of twelfth century sermons. There are some which are simple in form like the Chernihiv *Slovo o kniaz'iakh* (Sermon on Princes) which sharply attacks the

princes' hostility toward one another. There are also solemn, oratorical sermons like the one included in the Chronicle under the year 1199; the panegyric to Riuryk II, Prince of Kiev, of Moses, hegumen of the Vydubetsky Monastery; and the praise of St. Clement, patron of Kiev, which concludes with a glorification of Kiev.

Later examples of sermons are those of Serapion, Bishop of Vladimir near Suzdal (1272-4), some delivered in Kiev and others in Vladimir. They make use of repetition, and picture divine punishments such as the Tatar invasion and various other catastrophes.

Tales

Cyril of Turiv also wrote moral and instructive tales, of which two have been preserved; they are "parables" having a symbolic interpretation. One of them is borrowed from the story *Varlaam i Ioasaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat) (see above); the other is apparently from the Talmud.

Several separate historical tales are included in the Chronicle. The chief of these concern the killing of the monk, Prince Ihor of Chernihiv, in Kiev (1147), the murder of Prince Andrew Bogoliubsky of Suzdal (1175), and stories of the two Tatar invasions—the battle on the Kalka, which was lost by the Eastern Slavs (1227), and the devastation of Kiev (1240). They make use of older works: religious literature (about Borys and Hlib), tales of the Tatar attack, and "military" literature (Flavius Josephus). The story of the murder of Prince Michael of Chernihiv when he visited the Tatar Horde (124?) has been preserved only in late redactions.

The Patericon of the Kievan Cave Monastery

This is a collection of twenty-four tales to which additional material (the above-mentioned life of Theodosius, various tales of the establishment and development of the monastery, tales about

Isaakii, praise of the saints) was added in later copies (copies made in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of two redactions have been preserved). It originated in the correspondence between Simeon, a monk of the Cave Monastery in Kiev, who in 1215 became Bishop of Suzdal, and Polycarp, also a monk of the Cave Monastery. Simeon himself provides eleven of these tales and Polycarp adds another thirteen in the form of letters to Akindyn, the hegumen of the monastery; the letters are simply a literary form. The *Patericon* is not a collection of Lives, although it belongs to the tradition of the old *Paterica*. It contains tales of various lengths, some of only a few lines (Pymen and Kuksha). From the standpoint of cultural history, the *Patericon* is one of the most interesting examples of Kievan literature. Simeon's sketches are simpler than Polycarp's but they are not without artistic value; Polycarp's tales are often full of dramatic tension and also contain apt psychological characterizations. He describes his subjects' temptations by devils, conflicts with the princes, and even, at times, romantic stories (Moses Uhryn); a few tales are devoted to the spiritual life of the monks. Some of the details are derived from folk legends. The *Patericon* represents a consistently ascetic point of view; both authors renounce the "world" and they are generally indifferent to political matters, although they attack the immorality of the princes. The work was revised and later it was printed with editions continuing to appear up until quite recent times.

Chronicles

The basic texts of these works are copies of the so-called Hypatian Chronicle (manuscripts from the beginning of the fifteenth century and later have been preserved), in which several Ukrainian Chronicles were incorporated.

The Kievan entries continued up to 1199 and were presumably compiled in part at the Vydubetsky Monastery, the

last part apparently being worked over by the hegumen Moses (see above). The accounts in the Kievan Chronicle are artistic and the narrative includes dialogues between the persons involved and gives their "historical judgments." The authors of the first section, up to the seventies, are especially fond of descriptions of military events. The persons involved are represented as "knightly" and concepts of "honor" and "insult" play a great role (although neither the authors nor their heroes forget the material profits of war); Christian motives are quite prominent and there are laudatory comments on the crusaders of 1188 and 1190. Among the "insertions" mention must be made of "necrologies" of the princes, the account of the campaign (1185) of Ihor of Novhorod-Siversky (the theme of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* [Tale of Ihor's Armament]—see below). It is possible that some of these "insertions" come from separate works which have been lost. The events of the last decades described are of more ecclesiastical nature.

The Galician-Volhynian Chronicle begins with 1200 and continues to 1292. It is a highly artistic and complex work. The biography of Prince Daniel of Halych is given up to 1255 and then the narrative is divided by years (with errors). This is an early example of the genre of secular biography (which developed in the thirteenth century among the Serbs and is paralleled among the Russians by the biography of Alexander Nevsky, after 1263; the Tver biography of Michael Aleksandrovich and Boris Aleksandrovich are of the fifteenth century). The author, a secular scholar (*knyzhnyk*), was probably one of the prince's officials. Additions by various authors follow, and among these the portrait of Volodymyr Vasylykovich of Volhynia (1287-8) is distinguished by the beauty of its style. It was presumably written by Volodymyr's secretary Fedorets. (For other insertions such as those on the Tatar invasion, see "Tales").

Daniel's biographer was an educated

man who sometimes used and quoted from literary works (e.g., Homer). The narrative is dramatized, there are many "historical aphorisms," proverbs, and, in the beginning, epic material from the Ukrainian (Monomakh) and Polovtsian (the *grass-yeuvshan*) epos. The poetic formulae are even more complicated than in the Kievan Chronicle (many show the influence of Josephus and perhaps of Digenes, the Alexandriad, etc.). Individual scenes are well drawn and there are elaborate epithets; the author is fond of certain words and loves complicated syntactical constructions (the dative absolute). The continuations are more simply written, with the exception of the previously mentioned portrait of the learned prince and patron of the arts, Volodymyr Vasylykovich.

In the Hypatian manuscript there are references to some earlier, lost parts of the Galician Chronicle; on the basis of the texts that are preserved the existence of a lost Chernihiv Chronicle may be assumed. The northern Chronicles indicate that one or perhaps two Pereiaslav Chronicles existed. The Polish historian Długosz (fifteenth century) is believed to have used the lost Galician-Volhynian Chronicle which continued up to at least 1128.

Epos

Traces of the epic songs of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries are not very numerous. Their subjects like those of the earlier epos are known from the Chronicles and the *bylinas*, and partly from contemporary Galician and old Bulgarian folklore.

Traces of a "court" epos typical of thirteenth century Europe are found in the theme of the two heroes, Churylo and Diuk Stepanovych—wealthy, gallant cavaliers, of obviously Galician provenance; the name Churylo has been preserved in Galician folklore and by the Polish writers Rej and Klonowicz; the name of Diuk is Western and furthermore, in the *bylina*, he arrives at Kiev

from Halych. The tale of Michael Potok, preserved by a *bylina*, was probably brought to Galicia from Bulgaria, which is not far distant, with the apocryphal legends of the Bulgarian St. Michael of Potok. Songs connected with the Turkish invasion are: (1) the victory of Elijah Murovets over the Tatar tsar Kalin; (2) the victory of Vasyl'ii Ihnatovych over the Tatar tsar Batyha; (3) the song of the destruction of the *bahatyri* (*bagatyri*) on the River Kama (Kalka). These songs are certainly ancient, but it is not sure that all of them come from Ukrainian territory.

Of the old oral tales some individual ones have been preserved, about Roman and Daniel of Halych (Songs about Prince Roman, who killed his wife, may be connected with Prince Roman of Halych) and about the child-hero Mykhailyk, who left Kiev, taking the Golden Gates with him. There are references to other Kievan *bahatyri* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Daniel Lovchanyn, Demian Kudenevych) in the northern Chronicles.

Little is known definitely about the form of this epos. Some contemporary *bylinas*, such as Diuk, suggest a greater ornamentation in the epos of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Slovo o polku Ihorevi (The Tale of Ihor's Armament)

This is the only example of an old epic that has been preserved and since it is unique, its form cannot be taken as typical of the lost works.

The work was found in a manuscript, probably of the sixteenth century, of Pskov origin, at the end of the eighteenth century. This manuscript was burned in 1812. Suspicions that the text was forged in the eighteenth century or earlier (Mazon) do not appear to be well founded for there are no linguistic or historical mistakes; the scanty knowledge of the old literature in the eighteenth century would have made such a forgery impossible; and there could be no politi-

cal interest in forging a description of an unsuccessful campaign.

The subject of the epic is a campaign conducted by Prince Ihor of Novhorod-Siversky, against the Cumans in 1185, which ended in his complete defeat. The exposition contains many obscure details and this is not only because of its "corrupt passages." It is obscure because of its rich symbolism, which the author does not always explain, and which almost conceals reality. Symbols replace



FIGURE 504. THE BATTLE OF IHOR WITH THE CUMANS

From the Radziwill Chronicle manuscript.

events (a battle is a wedding banquet or a harvest), are used for the names of persons and objects (the princes are suns, the *Rusyichi* are falcons), and indicate countless good and bad portents (bloody dawns, the groan of the earth, dark clouds). Another favorite device is hyperbole. The princes are depicted as cosmic forces; for example Yaroslav Osmomysl of Halych "shoots sultans beyond the lands," or hurls weights beyond the clouds; Sviatoslav "trampled graves and abysses . . . dried up streams and swamps."

Mythological images which in the twelfth century appeared in Byzantine and western European poetry are another characteristic form of ornament—Khors, Veles, Dazhboh, Troian, and the beings of "lower mythology," Dyv, Diva-Obida. Perhaps at the time they were interpreted euhemeristically (as in Malalas and the Hypatian Chronicle) as princes

and heroes of olden times who were later mistakenly considered "gods."

Much alliteration and other types of euphony adorn the language, which is sometimes rhythmical but is not versified.

The most brilliant images in the work depict sounds and colors: all the animals and birds in the steppe have their own voices (special verbs) and all actions are connected with real or symbolic sounds (*zvenyt slava*—praises peal, literally glory rings); the epithets "golden, silver, black, red, green," etc. are used frequently and in an original manner. There are images, phrases, and separate words which connect the work closely with the old literature and with Ukrainian folklore (E. Barsov, V. Peretts, R. Jakobson).

The work was written by someone in court circles and is evidence of the beginning of a "court literature" in Ukraine. Attempts to identify the author have failed although it is possible that he was a Galician boyar who went to Novhorod-Siversky in the company of the daughter of Yaroslav Osmomysl. There are also many words which this work shares with the West Slavic languages (A. Orlov).

Ihor's Tale is the last expression of the idea of the "unity of the Rus' Land" with its old center at Kiev, and the author seeks reasons and proofs in history for this unity.

The Lament of Daniel

This thirteenth century work which has been preserved in many late copies is a collection of proverbs and wise sayings of diverse character and origin (probably collected among the people, although many are from literary works). They are centered around the theme of advice, "instruction" to a prince. It is an example of a genre of poetic petitions, which existed in Byzantium (Theodore Prodromos—twelfth century) and in the West.

An Original Apocryphal Work

The only example of an original work of an apocryphal nature (in three defective

copies) is the *Slovo Adama vo adi ko Lazariu* (Adam's Appeal to Lazarus in Hell). Stylistically it is reminiscent of *Slovo o polku Ihorevi*, but its content links it with the Gospel of Nicodemus. In it David and the prophets "complain" of their fate in hell, but in the end (corrupt in the manuscripts), Christ is to come to hell and release the righteous. There are echoes of this work in the seventeenth century, in K. Tr. Stavrovetsky and in the drama, *Slovo o zburenni pekla* (The Tale of the Destruction of Hell) (see below).

Practical Literature

The scope of this literature is considerable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; there are letters, in particular an epistolary theological treatise by the preacher and scholar Clement Smoliatych, Metropolitan of Kiev (middle of twelfth century), who was well known at the time. He gives symbolic interpretations of special passages of Scripture (bringing in Homer, Plato, and Aristotle). Another letter, one of instruction to Princess Anastasia, also attests to the general literary life of the epoch.

There are several letters by hierarchs: two letters against the "Latins" written to Iziaslav II (ascribed without basis to St. Theodosius and probably written by a Greek, Fedos, hegumen of the Cave Monastery in the twelfth century). Later letters by Metropolitan Cyril II (presumably a Galician, 1243–80), Peter (a Galician, in Moscow 1308–25), and Alexis (of a Chernihiv boyar family, 1355–77) are interesting for the light they throw on the history of the life of the church. On the other hand, prayers of Cyril of Turiv have a certain literary value.

Historical and compilatory Chronographies appeared at this time as well as the *Tolkovaia paleia* (Annotated Palea), an anti-Jewish commentary on the Old Testament, which, in some respects, is puzzling, and its Ukrainian or Belorussian sequels of the thirteenth century.

Juridical documents of various kinds have been preserved from this period of which the legal and linguistic aspects present the most interest.

THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION (FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

Characteristics

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Ukraine as in Western Europe a courtly literature developed, in which religious motives were still perceptible. Then in the fourteenth century political changes brought almost all Ukraine into the Lithuanian-Polish commonwealth, and only the metropolitan see and the monasteries remained as important cultural centers. As a result, literary output diminished. For a long time the style did not change from that of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although ecclesiastical elements increased. No talented authors appeared at this time.

The Old Tradition

The old tradition continued only in the copying and reworking of old writings. The Laurentian Chronicle (the Chronicle of Nestor with the Suzdalian continuation) was copied in Western *Rus'* and decorated with more than 600 wonderful miniatures (the so-called Radziwiłł MS). The Psalter was reworked and new prayers were added, some of them original (Cyril of Turiv); the Prologue was extended; the *Meneae* introducing many elements of the vernacular were again reworked (preserved in a Belorussian copy of 1489); the *Patericon* of the Cave Monastery was revised and supplemented (the Ukrainian, so-called Kasianivska, redaction of 1462). Collections of sermons, mostly translated, were compiled and enlarged. Characteristic of the period were the beginnings of a "private literature," such as the collection of literary excerpts and materials of 1483.

Connected with the old tradition are the "West *Rus'*" Chronicles, which are, to a certain extent, chronographical; there are yearly entries, but scattered among them are imitations of the epic passages of the old Chronicles, a eulogy to Prince Vytautas, for example, and a eulogy to Prince Constantine of Ostrih for his victory over the Muscovite army at Orsha in 1515. The short so-called Kievan Chronicle appeared outside the borders of Ukraine (in Novgorod).

New Influences

From the Balkans came new translations, such as the *Areopagitika* (works of a Christian mystic, wrongly ascribed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite) with a commentary by Maxim the Confessor. Other translations were of the works of the ancient fathers and of new Christian writers (Isaac the Syrian, Simeon "the new Theologian," Gregory of Sinai, Palamas, Kavalas, Maxim the Confessor, and others). It is possible that some of these were done on Mount Athos especially for Ukraine (the Cave Monastery). Some of them were the work of the school of the Bulgarian Patriarch Euthymios of Trnovo (after 1372). The influence of this school (with its linguistic, chiefly orthographic, reform and its mystical religious beliefs) was spread in Ukraine through the activities there of its representatives, Metropolitan Cyprian (in Kiev in 1373) and Gregory Tsamblak (1415). Tsamblak himself wrote sermons in a splendidly ornate style, some of which have been preserved, but they did not create a local school or, if they did, its works have been lost.

Hesychasm

This significant spiritual, only partly literary, influence of the new (thirteenth century) mystical theological trend in Byzantium (especially on Athos) is evident in the Kasian redaction of the *Patericon*. The influence of this trend spread through the new translations (of Palamas) and survived in Ukraine until

the seventeenth century (Ivan Vyshensky—see below).

The Judaizers

Western influences, which are, in part, obscure, gave rise to the fifteenth century sect called the Judaizers (a name given them later by their enemies) to which a number of the clergy belonged. As none of their theological works have been preserved, the basis for their religious rationalism, the unusually great importance they attached to the Old Testament, and their hostility to the official church is unsure. Their translations from old Hebrew (and perhaps from Arabic) have survived. These are partly translations of a Jewish text of the Holy Scriptures, partly scientific and pseudo-scientific works (the logic of the Jewish philosopher Moses Maimonides, an Introduction to Philosophy by the Arabic philosopher Algazali, the pseudo-Aristotelian physiognomy, Secret of Secrets, etc.). In the course of several decades these works became very popular in western Europe in Latin translations. It is possible that some of the religious works ascribed to the sect were not all theirs, but were translated by Jews for Jews who did not understand Hebrew. The chief value of this literature lies in the interesting philosophical terminology which was worked out in writing it. The character and date of these translations has led some (D. Čiževsky) to assume that they show certain Renaissance influences; there may also be some Hussitic influence exerted either directly or through Hungary. The sect moved from Kiev to Novgorod and Moscow and was there totally annihilated both physically and spiritually.

Other Trends

Only insignificant reflections remain of the still older sect of the "Strigolniki" which is otherwise completely unknown. It left in Ukraine a reworking of a col-

lection of sermons, the *Izmaragd* (Emerald), which contains a sharp criticism of the clerical class. The minor influence of the so-called "Flagellantes" (thirteenth and fourteenth centuries) is to be seen in the translations of the works *Son Bohorodytsi* (The Dream of the Mother of God) and the Letter to Heaven, which have been preserved in late copies.

It is not clear to what epoch the influence of the Bulgarian Bogomils, a dualistic sect, belongs (perhaps it is older still). It left some apocryphal works in Ukraine and some influence on folklore may be ascribed to it.

D. Čiževsky

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3. THE RENAISSANCE, THE REFORMATION, AND THE BAROQUE

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE REFORMATION

The sixteenth century brought a new literary development in Ukraine. It was the period of departure from Byzantine literary traditions, and of approach to western European standards.

The Renaissance and the Reformation began to exert their influences almost simultaneously. For that reason these influences were intermingled and modified in Ukraine. Early in the sixteenth century the Western Renaissance was already declining. Its indisputable gains were still in evidence, however: the familiarity with antiquity, mainly with classical literature; the development of a new literary, rhetorical, and refined style; the enrichment of literary themes by the addition of a new "secular," and particularly an erotic, content; a certain skepticism toward authority (ecclesiastical and secular); the awakening of "individualism" or, in other words, the recognition of man's right to challenge ecclesiastical and secular authorities; the awakening of interest in nature as an object of artistic representation and scientific research.

In Ukraine there appeared, with greater or lesser intensity, all these new motifs, the weakest of them being the interest in nature. In large measure the weakness of the Renaissance concepts in Ukraine was determined by the fact that

the carriers of the cultural tradition at that time were still predominantly churchmen, and that the attention of the secular consumers of cultural values was likewise directed, because of the intensive Church conflict, to the sphere of ecclesiastical interests; on the other hand, there failed as yet to emerge in Ukraine such secular centers of spiritual life as the universities in the West, and scholarly activity remained in the hands of ecclesiastic circles. (In the Ostrih Academy attempts were made to establish secular learning, but this center was short-lived.)

In addition, at the very beginning of this period, the influences of the Reformation accompanied those of the Renaissance. The influences of the Hussite "pre-Reformation" were already noticeable in the circles of the so-called Judaizers (see p. 988), while the influence of the Reformation in its radical forms (Calvinism, and chiefly Socinianism) found its way into Ukraine together with the influences of the Renaissance, partly through Poland. The Reformation, without rejecting certain achievements of the Renaissance, weakened the "secularization" of culture, and thus again strengthened religious influences; and in place of the rejected ecclesiastical authorities, advanced others, particularly the authority of the Word of God which was to speak to each individual and to each people in its particular language. Finally,

it weakened even the influence of the ancient literary tradition by elevating the Bible to a primary position, on the plane of the ancient classical literary works.

In Ukraine the influences of the Renaissance and Reformation were further weakened by the fact that the establishment of relations with the West intensified the necessity of absorbing those literary works which had not come to Ukraine in the time of their flourishing abroad. It so happened that literary activity was partly directed towards the goal of overtaking the West. Moreover, in the sixteenth century and even later the literary works of the Middle Ages (the most outstanding among them being *Velyke Zertsalo* [The Great Mirror] and the *Rymski Diiannia* [The Roman Acts—*Gesta Romanorum*]) were still being acclimatized to Ukraine. This period did not produce in Ukraine any outstanding literary figures who might be compared with the writers of the old literature or of the later literary Baroque. For that reason few works of this period acquired popularity; the few copies made have not been preserved and have left no significant traces in later literature. The literary activity of the age, although extensive, remained unproductive, or rather "unnoticeable." Moreover, the age of the Renaissance and Reformation in Ukraine lasted for a short time, and at the beginning of the seventeenth century it was replaced by the brilliant Baroque, which prevailed until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the sixteenth century the Ruthenian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Belorussia and Ukraine) had a common cultural life; and for that reason it is difficult to distinguish the traditions and the language of the literary works of Belorussian and Ukrainian origin. The process whereby the consciousness of national differentiation progressed continued at a slow pace, especially during the age of the Baroque.

The Tale

For the most part the enrichment of the literary repertory came in the literature of the tale, both secular and religious. These works were translated and adapted on the basis of their Latin originals or their Slavic translations (Croatian, Czech, Polish). To the category of TRANSLATED TALES belong, among others, the stories of the Three Kings—the Magi who worshipped Christ; the tale of St. Alexis (the older translation dating from the eleventh century fell into disuse); and the stories about the Sybil, the prophetess, and others. The Story of the Passion of Christ was independently worked out. The *Alexandriad* was freshly translated from the Serbo-Croatian translation-adaptation and so was the Trojan History (likewise, probably, from Serbo-Croatian). Italian originals were represented by the tales (which came indirectly through the Western Slavs) of Tristan and Isolde, Prince Bova, the Seven Wise Men, Attila, the Three Kings, Emperor Otto, and others.

Original narrative literature was not extensive (or has been lost), and was related in part to the religious struggle (for example, the tale of the wall of the Athos Monastery which crumbled and crushed the adherents of the Church Union, as related by Ivan Vyshensky). At the same time, probably, there appeared some stories about miracles, which were preserved by writers of the Baroque period.

Translations of the Holy Scriptures

The old texts of the Psalter and of the liturgical books were printed in 1491 and subsequently by a German, Schweipolt Fiol, in Cracow. It is still not certain whether or not the initiative for printing these books originated in Ukrainian circles. There were also Serbian printings by Božidar Vuković (1536–8). In the years 1517–19 in Prague, and in 1529 in Vilna, books of the Bible were printed by a Belorussian, Francis Skoryna. His



FIGURE 505. THE APOSTLE ST. LUKE
From the *Peresopnytsia Gospel*, cc. 1556–61.

belief that the Bible was the encyclopaedia of all knowledge and literature, which he expressed in the prefaces to his publications, is characteristically Protestant. The greatest scholarly achievement of the period was the Ostrih Bible of 1581, which gave in print the Church Slavonic text of the entire Bible as verified according to the Greek redaction. This text remained valid among the Orthodox Slavs until the middle of the eighteenth century. The idea of translating the Bible into the vernacular undoubtedly originated among the Protestants, although the then numerous translations, chiefly of the Gospels, were not necessarily made by adherents of Protestantism. Between 1556 and 1561 appeared the *Peresopnytsia Gospel*, in

1571 the *Volhynian Gospel*, between 1595 and 1600 the *Litkiv Gospel*, and in 1604, another translation of the Gospel. The translation of the Old Testament made by Luke of Ternopil appeared in 1569. A Protestant coloration is to be noted in the translations of the Acts and Epistles of Krekhiv (1563–72), in the translations of the Gospels made by Valentine Nehalevsky in 1581, and in those of Basil Tiapynsky at the beginning of the seventeenth century (both were Belorussians).

Polemical Literature

The religious struggle gave rise to an extensive polemical literature which was at first chiefly connected with the activity of the Ostrih cultural center (see "Education"). The individual works of polemical literature had a theological as well as a scholarly character: see the



FIGURE 506. TITLE PAGE OF THE OSTRIH BIBLE
OF 1581

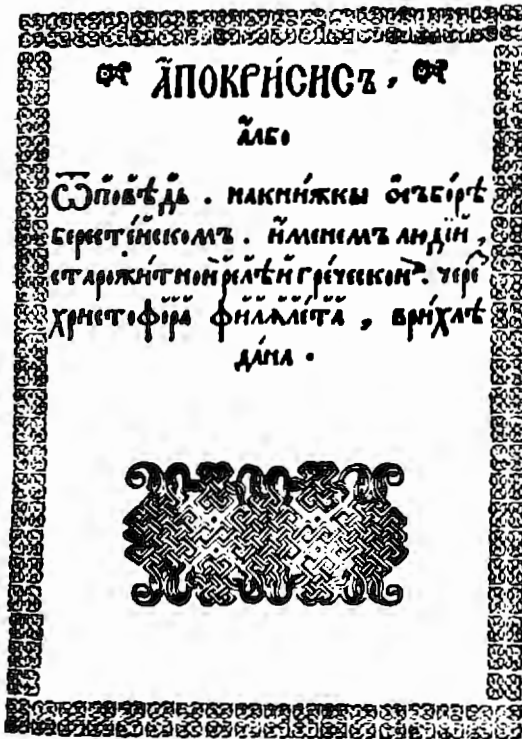


FIGURE 507. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Apokristis* OF 1598

work of Basil of Surazh, *Knyzhytza o vtri yedynoi* (Treatise on the One Faith), 1588 or the *Apokristis* (which was the work of a Protestant, Kh. Bronsky or M. Bronevsky), 1598.

As to literary form, noteworthy are: *Kliuch tsarstva nebesnogo* (The Key to the Kingdom of Heaven), 1587, by Herasym Smotrytsky, the works of the "Clerk of Ostrih," as well as the prefaces to the Ostrih publications of Damian Nalyvaiko, which were written in simpler language. The Sermons of St. Ivan Zalizo of Pochaiv were written in still simpler language. Ideologically, the richest in content is the *Perestoroha* (Warning), published in 1605, in which the process of history is presented as a struggle of the Church with the Devil. The scientific interests of the Ostrih Academy are represented by the writings of Jan Latos, who wrote on astronomy (the calendar) in the Polish language. The Ukrainian works of Adam Hypatius

Potii (1596–1608), which, in the literary sense, are the most perfect of the period, stylistically approach the Baroque manner (the Church Union of 1595, the *Antirrhesis* of 1599, a reply to the letter of Meletius Pigas of 1606, the *Harmonia* of 1608, and others). The general stylistic feature of all the works of the period is rhetoric, that is, composition in the form of an oration (in the *Perestoroha* [Warning] the author puts "real" speeches in the mouths of various persons), which in some respects is related to the study of ancient literary works.

The most outstanding polemicist of the period is without doubt Ivan Vy-



FIGURE 508. THE OSTRIH *Knyzhytza* OF 1598 WHICH CONTAINED THE LETTER OF I. VYSHENSKY

shensky, a monk at Mount Athos (died *circa* 1625), who left some 20 works of various lengths. Only one of these was printed at the time. Ideologically, he was an opponent of all modern trends, and his ideal was the realization of genuine Christianity in social life. The true Church, in his opinion, is always persecuted; the true Christian is always a mystic and an ascetic. His style was modeled upon the Patristic examples, and in places approached the Baroque. It is loaded with "adornments," repetitions, verbosity, antitheses; and abounds in vivid illustrations of the secular life of the time. Its language is juicy, colorful, and extraordinarily rich. The works of Vyshensky as well as those of his contemporaries, are "rhetorical," that is, they are put in the forms of orations, dialogues, or epistles.

Secular Literature

The most interesting work of secular literature is but a trifle—the satiric Speech of Meleshko, dated 1589, but undoubtedly written later. It is a parody on the ideology of an old-fashioned person. Its author (who writes with a Belorussian coloring) is a supporter of the "modern," secular, society life of the Renaissance.

At the same time POETRY IN VERSE began to appear. It was artificial and in no way related to folk poetry. Together with versified dedications to benefactors ("heraldic verses" upon noble insignia, such as those of Herasym Smotrytsky upon the coat of arms of the Prince of Ostrih, 1581, and others) there have been left several translated Protestant spiritual songs, polemical verses directed against the Socinians (Arians), etc. Their form is syllabic (an equal number of syllables in each line) with feminine rhymes (stress on the penultimate syllable), and is not always perfect.

On the other hand, a great achievement in poetry is represented by the folk *dumas*, the beginnings of which lie within this period (see p. 362).

BAROQUE

Ukrainian literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is extraordinarily extensive and rich. It completely fits into the framework of the European culture of that period and the prevailing literary trend, the so-called Baroque. In the West the Baroque was an attempt at a synthesis of the Renaissance and the Middle Ages. It fully recognized the newest achievements of science, coming as it did in the time of greatest progress in the modern mathematical approach to nature. The Baroque took over from the Renaissance the "discovery of antiquity," retaining certain features of the "individualism" of the Renaissance. But the Baroque, along with the study of nature, again advanced the question of theology. It placed Christianity beside antiquity. Along with the individual, it began to value ecclesiastical and social authorities. Its esthetics rejected the ideal of the harmonious simplicity of the Renaissance. Particularly in literature, the Baroque cultivated the *form* of literary works, inclined towards a variety of "curiosities," and thus sought not to afford the reader peaceful pleasure, but to move and excite him. For that reason a greater role was played by tragic themes (partly in conjunction with tragic historical events), especially the theme of the corruption of everything earthly and the theme of death. Demonic themes were also frequent. The form of the works was developed by means of details which, at times, hid the whole. The most characteristic features of the Baroque were: a mass of special adornments of literary works; a striving for originality, for the extraordinary; and a fondness for bold antitheses.

The Baroque acquired in Ukraine certain original qualities of its own, which were developed by the same conditions as had prevailed in the time of the Renaissance: the preponderance of the clergy among the bearers of literary tradition, and the lack of scientific

centers. The absence of Ukrainian statehood, or rather its decline, induced in Baroque literature linguistic divergences which were not regulated by authoritative institutions. Along with the literature written in Ukrainian or the Church language there existed an extensive literature written in Latin, and also in Polish (the *Threnos* of Smotrytsky, 1610; *Lithos, albo Kranień* [The Stone] of Mohyla, 1644; and others which are known only in the Polish language).

Verse Poetry

The richest Ukrainian verse poetry belongs to the age of the Baroque. Its form was now fixed—syllabic verse with feminine rhymes (see above). Skovoroda, toward the end of the period, tried to introduce masculine rhymes (with the stress on the last syllable), as in “Vsiakomu horodu . . .” as well as “incomplete” (approximate) rhymes; but it was not until Kotliarevsky and Shevchenko that they became part of the literature. The variety of forms was frequently conditioned by the use of strophes of different structure. Their number approached two hundred, especially during the later period (eighteenth century). Now and then, as in the case of Stavrovetzsky, verses were written in lines of unequal length, which are similar to the verses of the *dumas*.

The thematic pattern of SPIRITUAL VERSES, which were often meant to be sung, was very varied: the glorification of Christ and of the Mother of God; songs in honor of feasts (Christmas, Easter), of particular ikons (e.g., in *Runo oroshennoie* by Demetrius Tuptalo, 1680), or in praise of saints. In addition there were spiritual songs with a didactic content. Especially popular was the theme of death and corruption of all things earthly (*Pisn' Svitovaia* [Worldly Song]). But songs with SECULAR THEMES were not lacking, especially love songs, which pictured various erotic experiences and which extolled a loved woman, expressed grief as a result of unfortunate

love, sorrow for a distant sweetheart, and so on. Finally, there were a number of songs of a political or national nature: the glorification of statesmen and heroes, especially Sahaidachnyi, Khmelnytsky, and Mazepa; e.g., *Vizerunok tsnot* (Ornament of Virtues) in honor of Yelisei Pletenetsky (1618), Verses for the Sorrowful Burial of the Honorable Warrior Peter Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi by Casian Sakovych (1622), *Evfoniia Veselobrmiachaia* (Glad-sounding Euphony) in honor of Mohyla (1633), and others; calls to unity, such as the song of Ivan Mazepa—*Vsi pokotu shchyre prahnut*

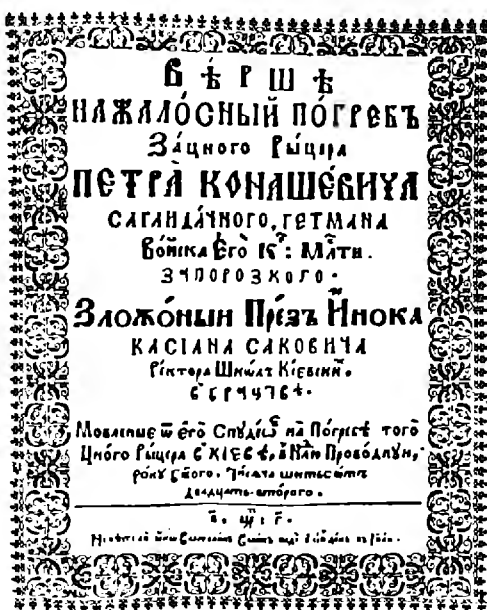


FIGURE 509. TITLE PAGE OF THE VERSES OF C. SAKOVYCH, 1622

(All Thirst Sincerely for Peace); various “laments” over the fate of Ukraine during the period of the Great Ruin or because of the oppression by Russia; the song attributed to Mazepa—*Oi bida tii chaitsi*—and another song attributed to Anthony Holovaty, and others.

Along with these there were numerous works of an EMBLEMATIC (viz., *Ethika Hieropolitica*, 1712) and of a PANEGYRICAL-HERALDIC content, and, in addition, the type of “versified quips,” the authors

of which are to some extent known, while most of the secular and spiritual songs are anonymous. To these playful quips belong the "figured verses" (in the form of a cross, an egg, the moon, and so on); the "alphabet verses" (where each word or line begins with a different letter in alphabetical order); acrostics (where the first letters of each line or of each strophe form the name of the author or of the person to whom the verse is dedicated), or verses in which the name of the author is interwoven into the text (at times the name is to be read backwards, beginning from the end of the verse); "crabs" of various types (verses which could be read in both directions—from the beginning or from the end, letter after letter, or word after word). The favorite device in these playful verses was the epigram, which tried to express some interesting thought with an interplay of the same sounds or words. Among the masters of these "small forms" of versified poetry were the then well-known poets Ivan Velychkovsky (died in 1726), author of a collection of epigrams, two collections of emblematic verses, *Mleko* (Milk) and *Zegar z Poluzegarkom*, and others; the priest-monk Clement (Zynoviev), St. Demetrius Tuptalo (1651–1709), Stephen Yavorsky (1658–1722), and later Gregory Skovoroda (1722–94), the author of a collection entitled *Sad bozhestvennykh pisen* (The Garden of Heavenly Songs).

Another characteristic genre of the Baroque period was the parody in verse.

Epic Poetry

Epic poetry was less developed. Some verses have been preserved. They deal with outstanding events, such as the battles at Berestechko and at Khotyn and the defense of Vienna. Interwoven into the presentation of events are personal musings and expressions of feeling. An attempt to translate Torquato Tasso's *Jerusalem Liberated* (from a Polish translation) stopped in the middle of the work. Beyond the limits of this genre are

the rhymed pamphlets on the questions of the day: *Liament* (The Lamentation), resulting from the events at Ostrih (1636); *Liament liudei pobozhnykh* (The Lamentation of Pious People, 1638), and others. Religious epic poetry had greater possibilities, because such works were printed: for example, the Book of Genesis and the Gospel according to St. Matthew were versified by Samuel Mokrievych (1697); the versification of the Apocalypse is shorter. To the didactic type of epic belonged the works of Ivan Maksymovych, such as the *Bohorodytse Divo* (Hail, Virgin, Mother of God) and *Osm Blazhenstv* (Eight Beatitudes, 1709). Secular epic poetry was represented by the works of the Kozak Klymiv (or Klymovsky)—*O pravosudiu, pravdi i bodrosti* (On Justice, Truth and Courage) and *O smyrenii vysochaishykh* (On the Humility of the Exalted Ones), both ca. 1724. An attempt at a versified epic work of a secular character was made by the anony-



FIGURE 510. MAKERS OF WAFERS AT THE KIEVAN CAVE MONASTERY
Pateryk Pechersky, ed. 1661.

mous author who put to verse *The Decameron* (IV, 1) of Boccaccio.

The Prose Short Story

In the Ukrainian Baroque the prose short story is well represented. Beside the translations (see above), both of earlier known works and of altogether new Western works, there are many original stories, most of them religious. These deal with the lives of the saints and their miracles. Such stories were collected by Peter Mohyla (1596–1647). A large collection of them—*Nebo Novoie* (The New Heaven)—was published, in 1665, by Yoannikii Galiatovsky (d. 1688). Of great significance was the edition of the *Patericon* by Sylvester Kosov (1635), and the *Teraturgema* of Athanasius Kalnovoisky (1638), both in Polish, dealing with the miracles of the Cave saints; and also the editions of the *Pateryk Pechersky* (Cave *Patericon*), 1661, 1678,



FIGURE 511. GREEK IKON PAINTERS SAILING TO KIEV
Pateryk Pechersky, ed. 1768.

1702, and later. A monumental collection of the lives of the saints (*Chetii-Minei*) was compiled in twelve parts by Saint Demetrius Tuptalo (1689–1705). There were also a certain number of stories of a local character, especially those dealing with demonology. Without doubt the greater part of the stories which were orally transmitted, and which were not recorded until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, originated as early as the seventeenth century.

The Drama

A new and favorite facet of Ukrainian literature was the drama. It arose under

the influence of the Polish and Latin theater, particularly of the “school” theater; and it remained in Ukraine, during the period of the Baroque, closely related to the school. The first works were declamations, of a descriptive rather than dramatic nature, since the action takes place behind the scenes and is reported by “messengers”: the dialogue of Pamva Berynda on the birth of Christ, 1616; the verses from the tragedy *Christos Paschon* (The Suffering Christ), 1630; the *Rozmysshlianie o mutsi Khrysta* (The Meditations on the Passion of Christ) of Yoannikii Volkovych, 1631. Yet the latter two works contain a strong lyrical element also (the *liaments* of the Mother of God). Towards the end of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century a genuine drama was developed. It was represented by the outstanding writers: St. Demetrius Tuptalo, Theofanes Prokopovych (1681–1736), George Konysky (1718–95), Metrophanes Dovhalevsky, and others. There were dramas on Christmas, Easter, and on the saints (*Oleksii, cholovik Bozhyt* [Alexis, the Man of God, 1673]; on St. Catherine, and others); the moralities (*Tsarstvo natury liudskoi* [The Kingdom of Human Nature, 1698]); historical plays, particularly on themes from Ukrainian history (*Vladymyr* by Prokopovych, dealing with the baptism of Ukraine, 1705; *Mylost' Bozhyia* [The Mercy of God, 1728], on the victories of Khmelnytsky). The most original type of Baroque drama is to be found in the morality plays, in which there appear abstract conceptions, personified virtues, and figures of ancient mythology (The Cyclopes), or of history (Nero). The dramatic action sometimes passes into a philosophic or theological dispute. The dramas are written in a syllabic verse, usually of thirteen syllables. The vivid patriotic element of the historical dramas with their witty political aphorisms is especially interesting.

Humorous elements are to be found at



FIGURE 512. DESTRUCTION OF SODOM

From the Chronicle of Safonovych, manuscript of 1681.

times within the framework of the drama itself (*Slovo o zburenniū pekla* [The Tale of the Destruction of Hell] which was written in an almost pure vernacular; the scenes with the shepherds in the Christmas drama of St. Demetrius); but the germs of COMEDY are to be found in the *intermedia*, interludes or entr'actes in which appeared types from the folk theater, the later *Vertep* (an old woman, a Kozak, a Jew, a gypsy, etc.). Their subjects were satirical and sometimes tinged politically. The oldest interludes have been preserved in the (Polish) drama of Jacob Gawatowicz (1619). Outstanding as masters of interludes were M. Dovhalevsky in the Christmas and Easter dramas—*Komicheskoie diistviiie* (A Comical Play, 1736) and *Vlastotvornyi obraz* (The Power-Creating Picture, 1737); George Konysky in the tragi-comedy *Voskreseniie mertvykh* (The Resurrection of the Dead, 1746); and Barlaam Lashchevsky (dialogues in his "Tragi-Comedy," 1742). Later and more derivative authors of the Baroque theater were Michael Kozachynsky (drama on the Serbian Tsar, Urosh, 1733; *Blahoutrobiie Marka Avreliia* [Noble Birth of Marcus Aurelius], 1744); H. Shcherbatsky (*Photius*, 1749), and others. The tragi-comedy *Vladymyr* by Prokopovych (1705) shows, on the other hand, the transition from the Baroque "school" theater to Classicism (see below, p. 1005). The Baroque drama and

Baroque theater are also discussed in the section "Theater."

The Sermon

Because of the clerical status of the leading representatives of Ukrainian literature of the Baroque period there was a great development of the sermon (which strongly influenced the sermon of Eastern and Southern Slavs). The first noted preacher of the age was Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky (d. ca. 1646) who was the author of *Perlo mnohotsinnoie* (The Pearl of Inestimable Value), which contained, together with poetry, also sermons which were meant to be read at home. Other outstanding preachers were Peter Mohyla and Meletius Smotrytsky. In Kiev, not only the practice, but also the theory of the sermon was developed by Yoannikii Galiatovsky, author of the treatise *Nauka albo sposob zlozhenia kazania* (The Teaching or the Manner of Composing a Sermon) and the collection of sermons *Kliuch razumiinia* (The Key to Understanding, 1659). Large collections of sermons—*Ohorodok Marii Bohorodytsi* (Orchard of Mary, Mother of God, 1676), and *Vinets Khrystov* (The Crown of Christ, 1688)—were written by Anthony Radyvylovsky (d. 1688). Another writer who gained fame as a preacher was Lazarus Baranovych (1620–93), author of the collections of sermons *Mech dukhovnyi* (Spiritual Sword, 1666), and *Truby sloves propovidnykh* (The Trumpets of Words Preached, 1674). Still others who distinguished themselves in preaching were St. Demetrius Tuptalo, Stephen Yavorsky, Theofanes Prokopovych, and George Konysky. Even Skovoroda wrote sermons.

The sermons in the spirit of the Baroque poetics are quite different from those of other periods. The desire to satisfy the demands of Baroque poetics resulted in an extensive use of artistic devices, which worked for clarity and originality, and aimed at evoking interest in the listeners and readers who were accustomed to the Baroque style.

Into the sermons were incorporated numerous "examples" from foreign literature (mostly from Latin), as well as from popular traditions—fables, tales, historical facts or anecdotes, and proverbs. One also finds bold comparisons, bringing together images from Christianity and ancient mythology (as in the spiritual songs and dramas), or the use of modern conceptions applied to sacred history (e.g., Moses as hetman, Noah as admiral). All these traits characterize the sermon of the *conchetto* type, the master of which was Stephen Yavorsky.

Almost all types of sermon were represented—panegyrics, those which taught the faith and morality, as well as those of a solemn tone for feast days. Calls to national unity and criticism of the injustices of the social system were not rare in the works of the Ukrainian preachers.

The Theological Treatise

This was an exposition of theology couched in literary form. This type is represented by many works. From the scholarly point of view, the most outstanding continuation of the polemical literature of the sixteenth century is the *Palinodiia* (1620–1) of Zacharias Kopystensky (d. 1627), which is adorned with Baroque rhetoric and humor. According to Ivan Franko, this work is "the sum and crown of the entire Ukrainian anti-Uniat polemics." A systematic exposition of theology and philosophy was given by Cyril Tranquillion Stavrovetsky in his *Zertsalo Bohosloviia* (The Mirror of Theology, 1618); of moral theology, by Peter Mohyla in his *Anthologion*, 1636, and by Innocent Gizel (d. 1683) in his *Myr s Bohom cheloviku* (Man's Peace with God, 1669); of asceticism, by Gabriel Dometsky. In the detailed analysis written by Job Kniahynytsky, the founder of the Hermitage (*Skyt*) of Maniava, of Stavrovetsky's *Zertsalo Bohosloviia*, there are strong elements of literary criticism. Important also is the *Uchytel'noie Evanheliiie* of Stavrovetsky

(1619). Skovoroda is the author of Baroque treatises in the form of dialogues noted for their brilliant style. In them he presents an exposition of his philosophic system, which is related to the traditions of the old Christian mysticism and considerably influenced by new western European mysticism. The language of the

FIGURE 513. FRAGMENT FROM A MANUSCRIPT OF GREGORY SKOVORODA

treatises is that used by the Church, although in some authors (Dometsky) it closely approaches the vernacular. In addition to the Ukrainian treatises there were many works of the same type written in Latin and a few in Polish, by Ukrainian authors.

Scholarly Works

Outside the limits of theology, SCHOLARLY WORKS deal mainly with problems of language. Among them are the Grammar by Laurence Zyzanii Tustanovs'ky (1596) and Meletius Smotrytsky (1619); Church Slavic-Ukrainian dictionaries compiled by Zyzanii, Pamva Berynda, and others (see "Language").

Historical Works

In Baroque literature an important place is occupied by historical works. These are DIARIES couched in literary form, such as the Diary of the noted opponent of Church union, Athanasius Fylypovych (*ca.* 1645), a description of a journey to the Holy Land by Basil Hryhorovych-Barsky (prior to 1745), the more simply written diaries of Jacob Markovych, Nicholas Khanenko, the autobiography of Elias Turchynovs'ky, and others (in the eighteenth century).

The central place in this type of literature is occupied by the so-called "KOZAK CHRONICLES": by Samovydet's (The Eyewitness) which describes events up to 1702 (he was a monarchist of noble birth, and his style reveals the influences of Latin historiography); by Gregory Hrabianka (after 1709) who also makes use of historical sources and writes in a grandiloquent style; and by Samuel Velychko (completed after 1720) which is the longest of all and is crammed with source materials (including materials on literature) with the purpose of presenting an outline of historical events as a lesson to his contemporaries.

Attempts at a systematic arrangement of Ukrainian history from the earliest times were presented in the Synopsis which was reprinted several times after 1674 and was attributed to Gizel; in the Hustyn Chronicle belonging to the 1670's; in the Chronicle of Theodosius Safonovych (1672); and in the *Obshyryni Synopsis Ruskyyi* (A Comprehensive Ruthenian Synopsis) of Panteleimon Kokhanovsky (1682).

The historical literature was of great national importance. It influenced the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century, particularly the works of Shevchenko and Panteleimon Kulish.

Ukrainian Baroque literature had a considerable influence outside Ukraine, especially among other Eastern and Southern Slavs. Muscovite literature of the latter half of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries was almost completely dependent on Ukrainian literature. Ukrainian themes entered Polish literature, and Ukrainian heroes and other elements can be found in Croatian and Latin-Slavonic literature.

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4. CLASSICISM

In the middle of the seventeenth century there arose in the West opposition to the complexity and "artificiality" of the Baroque style. This opposition demanded a return to the traditions of the ancient poetics. Classicism, which arose on the basis of a new arrangement of those rules which governed the poetics of antiquity and the Renaissance, offered a system of prescriptions for all genres of literature, classifying them into the "high" and the "low." Its most typical form was the "high" style and the high genres (ode, tragedy, historical epic).

In Ukraine, during this period of political subjugation (the destruction of the Ukrainian Hetman State) and national decline (the Russification of a considerable number of the Ukrainian nobility), there was but scant support for literature of the high style. Only its seeds may be noticed in *Vladymyr*, the tragi-comedy of Theofanes Prokopovych, which he wrote in conformity with the demands of his Poetics (1704), strictly maintaining "decorum": measure and suitability in the words and deeds of its characters, symmetry in the composition, with no interludes, and with the comic ingredient included as a subordinate element in the single line of the plot development. Similarly, the ideology of *Vladymyr* has elements of rationalism and enlightenment. History here is interpreted as the progressive victory of reason over superstition and darkness. But Prokopovych soon moved to St. Petersburg and put his pen at the service of the Russian Empire. In time a considerable number of Ukrainian writers enriched Russian literature (Hippolytus Bohdanovych [Bogdanovich], Basil Kapnist, Basil Ruban, Basil Narizhnyi [Narezhnyi], Nicholas Hnidych [Gnedich], and others). Even works of a patriotic character were written in the Russian language (*Istoriia Rusov; Oda na rabstvo* [The Ode on Slavery]—Kapnist's

protest against the subjugation of Ukraine). Religious literature, owing to the influences of the so-called "enlightenment," the materialistic and atheistic philosophy of the eighteenth century, was reduced to a secondary position. Thus, for Ukrainian literature there remained only the lighter genres: comedy, satire, fable, and the like. However, the literary theory of Classicism was instrumental in the renovation of the Ukrainian literary language. It served as a vehicle for the establishment of the living vernacular as a literary device: the poetics of Classicism recognized "burlesque" works and travesties, in which elements of the "high" and "low" styles were mingled; and it was precisely in these that the use of the "low" linguistic elements became traditional (dialectal or vulgar forms, slang, and the like).

In this way Ukrainian Classicism—with an incomplete literature, since it had lost certain "high" genres, and therefore lacked many literary themes and stylistic possibilities—made possible the national revival, since it favored the dissemination of Ukrainian literature chiefly among those classes of the people to whom the "high" genres of literature were incomprehensible on account of their language. A regional narrowness is also characteristic of the Ukrainian literature of the eighteenth century: owing to the heavy Polonization of the upper strata of the population in territories which belonged to Poland, literary activity became concentrated on the Left Bank of the Dnieper, with Kiev included, and in Transcarpathia. The latter, to be sure, cultivated mainly the old Baroque traditions. The particular vigor here can be attributed to the activity of the Mukachiv Circle organized by Bishop Andrew Bachynsky (1772–1809) who left after his death some notes and memoirs in manuscript form. Father Ivan Pastelii wrote, in addition to historical

notes, a satire on a priest. There was an outstanding work written on the Right Bank, however: the *Bohohlasnyk* of Pochaïv, 1790, an anthology of the moral-religious poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The beginnings of Classicism may be seen in the attempts to give up the Baroque style in sermon (Prokopovych, later George Konysky). *Istoriia Rusoo*, which was written in Russian (attributed to Gregory Poletyka), as well as the versified Conversation of Little Russia with Great Russia, are marked by typical characteristics of Classicism in their style.

POETIC TRAVESTY

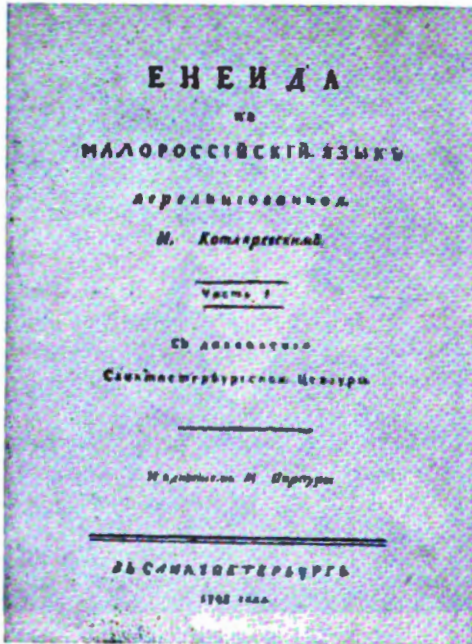
Elements of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century are to be found in the later "burlesque" parodies of spiritual verses. These are, of course, travesties, and not serious works. Although they imitate the older tradition of the spiritual verse, one can see in them a decline in the language (Russianisms) and an un-serious attitude towards the people. Their authors were, for the most part, the "wandering cantors" (church pre-centors), the "ale-drinking cantors" (*diaky pyvorizy*), students who had abandoned their studies and become cantors or taught in town or village schools, and, to some degree, the denationalized landowners who considered the "local" language a vehicle for humor. Among them are verses of a novelistic character (about the priest Nehrebetsky), of the apocryphal type (the Journey of the Infernal Mark), others dealing strictly with manners and customs of the people ("Vakula Chmyr"), as well as biblical travesties. Some have a clear satirical vein (*Son na Velykden'* [A Dream at the Time of Easter], *Plach lavrs'kykh chentsiv* [The Lamentation of the Cave Monks]; and, partly, the later verses about Kyryk). In the category of travesty must also be placed the versified "Letters" of FATHER IVAN NEKRASHEVYCH



FIGURE 514. IVAN KOTLIAREVSKY

(between 1780 and 1800) who began to write in the Baroque style (*An Altercation of the Soul with the Body*, 1773), but later produced travesties in the form of miniature comic dialogues—*Yarmarok* (The Fair) and *Ispovid'* (The Confession).

The master of the travesty and the founder of the new Ukrainian literature in the vernacular was IVAN KOTLIAREVSKY (1769–1838) who chose for his subject Virgil's *Aeneid*, a traditional material for travesties (in the Romance languages, German, Russian). Kotliarevsky's *Eneida* appeared in parts between 1798 and 1842. A fragment depicting Aeneas in hell may be connected with the serious Baroque verses. Other parts form a typically heroic-comic travesty in verse. Kotliarevsky surpassed his predecessors in restricting the length of the poem and in his attempt at an organic transformation of the heroes of the *Aeneid* into Ukrainian Kozaks. He was thus able to make use in his work of ethnographic material, to enrich the language, and out of a travesty to produce a valuable collection of linguistic material (abundant

FIGURE 515. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Eneida*, 1798

synonyms for concrete conceptions), making use not only of the vernacular but also of the *argot* of the seminarians, wandering cantors, drunkards, thieves, and others. Neologisms, Church Slavic words, and Russianisms are rare. Even richer than Kotliarevsky's vocabulary was his phraseology. But he did not take the ethnographic material seriously, as did the later Romanticists. Kotliarevsky also remodeled the verse by introducing, instead of the syllabic verse, the tonic-syllabic system, which was based not only on an equal number of syllables in a line, but also on an equally-measured succession of stresses (a ten-line iambic strophe). He also introduced masculine rhymes. The poem contains episodes and passages with a patriotic coloring. Finally, Kotliarevsky was a master of aphorisms. A later age noted in him also certain traits which marked him as a "friend of the common people." On the other hand, the opposition of later generations was evoked by the "vulgarisms" and the "coarseness" of his style.

Kotliarevsky's travesty found its imitators, none of whom, however, succeeded in reaching his stature. They are Paul Biletsky-Nosenko (1774-1856—the *Horpynyda*, not published until 1871), Constantine Dumytrashko (1814-86—an arrangement of the ancient travesty of the *Zhabomyshodrakivka* [The Battle of the Frogs and the Mice], 1859), Porphyr Korenytsky (*Vechernytsi* [An Evening Party, 1841]). Even Jacob Kukharensko (1800-62), in his unfinished poem *Kharko, zaporozhzh'kyi koshoi* (Kharko, a Zaporozhian Commander), imitates the Ukrainian *Aeneid*. The Bucolics, travesties of Opanas Lobysevych (the late eighteenth century), were lost.

The Ode was represented only by a few works by dilettantes who, in the spirit of Russian patriotism, extolled the events of 1812 and of 1855. The Ode to Prince Kurakin by Kotliarevsky rises above the rest, and yet it is not without its "coarseness." PETER HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY (1790-1865) made masterly travesties of the *Odes* of Horace. The elements of travesty are much stronger than those in the *Aeneid*, while their vocabulary is significantly "drunken." One travesty, to be sure, is sentimental (*Do Liubky* [To My Sweetheart]). His fables are more

FIGURE 516.
P. HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY

serious, especially the famous *Pan ta sobaka* (A Lord and His Dog, 1818), in which we feel his sympathetic attitude towards the common people. Hulak's more seriously intended attempts at translations from European writers also had the quality of travesty (from Goethe—*Rybalka* [The Fisherman], from Mickiewicz—*Twardowski*, from Lermontov—*Upadok viku* [Decline of the Age]). Only his poetic paraphrase of the Psalms belongs to the "high" style.

The other representatives of versified poetry produced only weak works: G. Kvitka (six epigrams—"stings"), the fabulists P. Biletsky-Nosenko (six hundred fables), S. Rudykovsky, and P. Pysarevsky, the song-writer. Notable for its warm attitude towards the common people is the interesting *Oda-malorossiiskii krestianin* (An Ode—Little Russian Peasant) by K. Puzyna (1790–1850). Perhaps the best works of the classic style were the folk songs arranged in the *salon* style, in the plays of Kotliarevsky and Kvitka.

In Western Ukraine the representatives of Classicism, S. Levytsky (*Domoboliie* [Nostalgia], 1822) and S. Lysenetsky (*Vozzrinite strashylyshcha* [The Vision of Terror], 1833), did not reach the stage of using the vernacular. Basil Dovhovich (1783–1849), a Transcarpathian who made an attempt to paraphrase old Russian poets, is a possible exception. He also wrote several songs in folksong style, with strong elements of travesty (1832). Another Transcarpathian, M. Luchkai, the author of a grammar, travestied Ovid.

DRAMATIC LITERATURE

The dramatic literature of the age likewise was "incomplete." Only those works which continued the tradition of comedy-interludes were successful. Sentimental comedies with songs—*Natalka-Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava) and *Moskal-Charivnyk* (The Soldier Sorcerer) by Kotliarevsky (staged in 1819)—were marked by their well-developed traditional and anecdotal themes with notes of "humanism," sensitivity, and a good vernacular. Basil Hohol (d. 1825) wrote two plays of the same type—*Roman ta Paraska* and *Sobaka-vivtsia* (Dog or Sheep)—which are closer to genuine comedies (without songs), but there is more caricature in them. Weaker is the "opera" by Kvitka—*Svatannia na Honcharivtsi* (The Marriage Engagement in Honcharivka) with elements of

vulgarism and travesty. He wrote in the same manner his *Boi-zhinka* (The Ter-magant) and the melodramatic *Shchyre kokhannia* (Sincere Love). His comedies about Shelmenko are better, but in them only Shelmenko speaks Ukrainian.

Of importance in the history of the Ukrainian theater were the various weak imitations of *Natalka-Poltavka* which sometimes possessed elements of melodrama: *Chornomors'kyi pobyt na Kubani* (Life of Kuban Kozaks) by Jacob Kulkharenko (1836), *Chary* (Sorcery) by Cyril Topolia (1837), *Kupala na Yvana* (St. John's Eve) by Stephen Pysarevsky (1840), the anonymous *Liubka, abo svatannia v seli Rykhmakh* (Sweetheart, or Marriage Engagement in the Village of Rykhmy) written sometime in the thirties, and others.

PROSE

The prose of the Classic period was somewhat belated. It offered valuable works by only one pioneer, GREGORY KVIITKA-OSNOVIANENKO (1778–1843). Kvitka is connected with Classicism not only by his outlook (he belongs not to the tradition of the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, but to the religious and sentimental tradition, as represented by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and by the mystic literature which Kvitka knew and valued). He was connected to it by



FIGURE 517. G.
KVIITKA-OSNOVIANENKO

certain attributes of his literary style and by the content of his works which are noted for a tendency towards simplicity and clarity of composition and exposition; the stress laid on the moral, "didactic" elements; his conviction of the "power of goodness" in human nature; his references to popular traditions as a source of "superstition." At the time

when Kvitka wrote, certain elements of Romanticism crept into his works, but these were quite weak and not well digested. Kvitka, who was also an outstanding Russian writer, began to write late in life. Among his stories are to be found several travesties (*Saldats'kyi portret* [A Soldier's Portrait], 1833; *Parkhymove snidannia* [Parkhim's Breakfast], 1841, and others), which are constructed on the basis of popular anecdotes. Some of his other works belong to the tradition of popular legends (*Mertvets'kyi Velykden'* [The Easter of the Dead], 1833; *Konotop's'ka vid'ma* [The Witch of Konotop], 1834, and others). The majority of his stories are moralistic and psychological (*Marusia*, 1833; *Dobre roby, dobre y bude* [As You Sow, so Shall You Reap], 1834; *Kozyr-Divka* [A Lively Wench], 1838; *Bozhi dity* [God's Children], 1840; *Serdeshna Oksana* [Unfortunate Oksana], 1841; *Perekotypole* [Feather Grass], 1843; *Shchyra liubov* [Sincere Love]—the first Russian version, 1839). Kvitka depicted character well, particularly the idealized types. He develops incomparably well the subjects of his stories, writes in a language which is surprisingly close to the vernacular, and avoids wherever possible vulgarisms, which are to be found in his travesties. His weakness lies in his failure to depict and describe psychological experiences. Ideologically, his works are the most important contribution of Ukrainian Classicism to the treasury of the Ukrainian national ideology, because they contain vivid passages of humanity and sympathy for the people, elements which were able to influence even the readers and writers of the post-Romantic period. He belongs to the small number of writers who then illustrated life of the peasants without romantic excess. Stylistically, Kvitka's stories are characterized by their use of a narrator.

Considerably weaker are Kvitka's political writings (*Lysty do liubeznykh zemliakiv* [Letters to My Dear Countrymen], 1839). In addition, these Letters

are ideologically reactionary. Several small prose works by Hulak and Hrebinka belong to the category of travesty (see below). Kvitka's religious prose consists only of small fragments.

D. Čiževsky

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5. ROMANTICISM

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Romanticism, which appeared in England and Germany at the end of the eighteenth century and spread at the beginning of the nineteenth century over the whole of Europe, had a profound influence on Ukrainian literature as it did on all other Slavic literatures. As opposed to Classicism and the Enlightenment, the Romantics ascribed primary importance to irrational elements in life and in art, believing them to be superior to and more profound than reason.

The Romantics sought, in reality, elements which were outside rational conceptions, inaccessible to rational comprehension, and found them in the human soul (feeling, will, and particularly that which is "abnormal" in spiritual life—from genius to madness, from holiness to crime), in the external world (mysterious powers and creatures), and in social life (tradition, which cannot have a rational basis).

The outlook of the Romantics is reflected in subjects which are typical of Romantic poetry: a powerful man (Titanism), experiences that go beyond the limits of the "normal," fantasy, national tradition in the past (historical poetry) and in the present (the simple life of the people, folk poetry—see p. 351ff.). In the poetic theory they stressed instances of "irrationality": poetry itself was considered as a free act under the influence of inspiration. For that reason

the Romantics required a free form (the Byronic poem), cultivated genres which were not known to the Classical theory of poetry (ballads, fairy tales, imitations of folksong, mystery plays), made use of the stylistic devices of popular poetry, and revitalized the language by introducing into it new linguistic elements that had been ignored by the older literature, especially elements of popular speech. Such an outlook and attitude toward poetry could not but favor the reawakening of national consciousness, especially among a people such as the Ukrainians who had preserved a centuries-old tradition in their national life.

The first manifestation of Romanticism in Ukraine was the publication of ethnographic materials: by Prince Nicholas Tsertelev (1819), Michael Maksymovych (1827-49), Izmail Sreznevsky (1833-8), and others (see pp. 269-71). Despite the barriers put up by the censorship there also appeared (see "Scholarship") the first attempts at a scholarly interpretation of Ukrainian history: the works of Demetrius Bantysh-Kamensky (1822-42), Nicholas Markevych (1842), Apollon Skalkovsky (1840). Of especial importance was the publication of the *Istoriia Rusov* (1846), of the *Kozak Chronicles* (1846-54), and of the collections of folk legends (*Opovidannia Zaporozhtsia Korzha* [The Stories of the Zaporozhian Korzh], 1842, the various publications by Joseph Bodiansky), as

well as of the scholarly works of Nicholas Kostomarov and others.

Almost everywhere else Romanticism "rediscovered" the values of Baroque literature. But Ukraine was an exception to this, for the Ukrainian Romanticists were unable to feel enthusiasm about a literature written in an "artificial," "outdated" (Ukrainian-Church Slavonic) language.

The enthusiastic interest in Ukrainian ethnography and Ukrainian history was not limited to the Ukrainians alone. There were "Ukrainian schools" in Polish and Russian literature (see below), which greatly influenced Ukrainian youth. Kharkiv became the first center of Ukrainian Romanticism; in the 1830's the Romantic movement was set into motion in Galicia. In the forties there arose in Kiev a Romanticist spiritual center—the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius. Political reaction in the forties and fifties made manifestations of national consciousness in literature almost completely impossible, but towards the end of the fifties the Romantic movement again revived, to be replaced within a few years by "Realism," as it was called; nevertheless the Romantic mood persisted till the end of the century. The national feelings bound up with Romanticism exercised a powerful influence upon the entire later Ukrainian cultural and political movement, although entirely different ideas contributed to its subsequent development. Romantic motifs were popularized by the greatest Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko.

THE KHARKIV GROUP OF ROMANTICISTS

This group gathered as early as the end of the twenties around a young scholar, IZMAÏL SREZNEVSKY (1812–80). Sreznevsky published folklore which he and some other members of the group had collected (on some instances, invented) in 1833 and the following years

under the title of *Zaporozhskaiia Starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity). He, Metlynsky, and Kostomarov worked on folk poetry and developed the romantic conception of its essence as a revelation of the "eternal ideas" of a national spirit and of the special, collective soul of a people. The Kharkiv Romanticists were connected with the publication of the Ukrainian Almanacs between the thirties and the fifties (see "Press").

The oldest of the Kharkiv Romantic poets was LEVKO BOROVYKOVSKY (1806–89), author of epigrammatic fables, which to a certain extent were based on old motifs transplanted in a Ukrainian environment. He also wrote romantic ballads ("Marusia" (1829) which he patterned on G. A. Bürger's "Lenore," "Farys" based on Mickiewicz's work, and *dumas* which contained elements imitative of folk songs).

AMBROSE METLYNSKY (1814–70) wrote, under the pseudonym of Mohyla, sombre verses (poetry of the night and graves) about Ukrainian Kozak figures, "the last bandurist," the haidamaks, hetmans, etc. These are songs and ballads, of which the chief motif is sadness and nostalgia for the past which, it seems to the author, will never return (the collection, *Dumky i pisni ta shche deshcho* [Dumas, Songs, and Other Things], 1839). His tone is one of pessimism as regards his nation.

On the other hand, NICHOLAS KOSTOMAROV (1817–85), the author of the collections of poetry, *Ukrains'ki baliady* (Ukrainian Ballads), 1839, and *Vitka* (A Branch), 1840, published under the pseudonym of Jeremiah Halka, although he also depicted the Ukraine of his time in gloomy colors, nevertheless expressed his belief in the final victory of "truth and liberty." In the past, present, and future he saw a continuity of national development. Evident in Kostomarov's poetry is his desire to develop the language to the point where even philosophical thoughts could be expressed (in philosophical poems). He attempted

to create a Ukrainian Romantic tragedy (*Sava Chalyi*, 1838; *Pereiaslavs'ka nich* [The Night at Pereiaslav], 1839), and turned for this purpose to the Shakespearean tradition of which the Romantics were so fond.

Other poets of the Kharkiv Romantic movement were Alexander Korsun (1818–91), the melancholy Michael Petrenko (born 1817), and Opanas Shpyhotsky. The talented Jacob Shchoholiv (1824–98), whose poetic gifts only developed in a later period (see below), began to publish in the forties.

THE RUS'KA TRITSIA

(The Ruthenian Trinity)

The Romantic movement also played an important part in the revival of cultural and political life in Western Ukraine. The members of the "Ruthenian Trinity"—MARKIIAN SHASHKEVYCH (1811–43), IVAN VAHYLEVYCH (1811–66), and JACOB HOLOVATSKY (1814–88)—were Romantics. In 1836 (dated 1837) they published a collection, *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Dniester Nymph). The literary legacy they left is not very great. The most talented of them was the gentle, melancholy Shashkevych. He made a few appeals to patriotism in his works and used historical subjects. Motifs of longing and sadness occur frequently in his poetry ("Tuha," [Longing]; "Rozpuka," [Despair]; "Vesnivka," [Snowdrop]; "Pidlyssia," and others). He also wrote some ballads. Small in quantity, but diverse, is Shashkevych's prose. It ranges from translations from the Gospels, through scholarly articles, to his "robber" story, "Olena," which is noted for the originality of its rhythmic flow and for its picturesque qualities.



FIGURE 518.
M. SHASHKEVYCH

РУСАЛКА ДНІСТРОВАЯ.



Ruthenische Volks-Lieder.

У БУДИМЪ

Письмом Корол. Воеувачаща Пештенекого.

1837.

FIGURE 519. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Rusalka Dnistrovata*

Second only to him was the talented poet NICHOLAS USTYIANOVYCH (1811–85) who wrote in the forties and fifties. His verses belong to various genres—a few ballads and songs, some verses in the "high" style—and are generally contemplative in character. He showed great talent in forming pithy aphoristic expressions, and his verses were full of vivid axioms. His stories ("Mest' verkho-vyntsia" [The Revenge of a Highlander], "Strastnyi Chetver" [Maundy Thursday]) present a romantic picture of life in the Carpathians. Anthony Mohylnytsky (1811–73) and Bohdan Didytsky, authors of lengthy poems, did not follow the general trend in development of the modern Ukrainian literary language based on the vernacular. Of more importance were the *Skyt Maniavsky* (The Hermitage of Maniava) by Mohylnytsky, and the prose work *Sprava v seli Klekotyni* (An Affair in the Village of Klekotyn) by Rudolph Mokh.

The Romanticism of Transcarpathia with its single important representative, Alexander Dukhnovych (1803-65), stands apart in the development of Ukrainian literature. Because of his artificial language, however, he remained a poet of merely local significance.

THE HIGH POINT IN THE ROMANTIC MOVEMENT

The culminating point in the Romantic movement in Ukraine was Kievan Romanticism. The first rector of Kiev University, Michael Maksymovych (1804-73), an outstanding scholar with wide interests, mainly distinguished himself in Ukrainian affairs as a literary historian and an ethnographer (publication of folk songs in 1827, 1834, 1849). In his later paraphrasing of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament), which he published in 1857, and of the Psalms (1859), he departed considerably from the traditions of the Ukrainian literary language.

In Kiev such outstanding writers as Kostomarov, Kulish, and Shevchenko, along with young university students, gathered within the circle of the Slavophile Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius (see pp. 675-6). Instead of dreaming of the past, like the Kharkiv school, they developed a definite, although utopian, political and national program and a well-defined religious-romantic outlook. The Brothers were unable to put their patriotic ideas fully into practice, because in 1847 oppressive measures were taken against them and they were arrested. The political program of the Brotherhood was outlined in the *Knyhy bytiia ukrains'koho narodu* (The Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People), written by Nicholas Kostomarov (1817-85). This work gives a sketch of world history and pictures the future "revival" of Ukraine as a nation destined to play an important part as the corner stone of a Pan-Slavic, and perhaps an even wider, Federation which

was to be erected upon a foundation of "liberty and brotherhood." In addition to their interest as a statement of ideas, the *Knyhy bytiia* are interesting as literature. They had a strong appeal to readers with their biblical style adapted to the special qualities of Ukrainian, contrasting very strongly with the language of burlesque which marred so much Kvitka's Letters to My Dear Countrymen.

At this time there were already in existence works written in a "full language" (i.e., language which could be used in any genre, rather than that confined to humorous writing), which were of a greater importance to the evolution of the Ukrainian literary language than were the works of the Kharkiv Romantics. These were the poems of TARAS SHEVCHENKO (1814-61). He went to St. Petersburg in about 1831 to engage in painting and drawing, and began writing poetry there. In 1840 he published his first collection of poems, *Kobzar*, and in 1841 his long poem, *Haidamaky* (The Haidamaks). In Uk-



FIGURE 520. TARAS SHEVCHENKO
A self-portrait, 1845

КОБЗАРЬ

Т. ШЕВЧЕНКА.

Кобзарь мой, искренно избавлен
 и отъ всѣхъ и отъ Кобзарей твоихъ
 23 июня 1899.
 и Творца твоего!

САМЫЙ ПЕРВЫЙ ВЫПУСКЪ.

1840.

ВЪ ТИПОГРАФИИ К. ФОНТЕНА.

FIGURE 521. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Kobzar* OF 1840

raine he prepared a new collection, *Trylita* (Three Years) and in 1847 he began to prepare a new edition of *Kobzar*.

The immense impression produced by Shevchenko's poetry on all classes of Ukrainian society is primarily due to its high quality as poetry; for far from all his readers fully understood the ideology expressed in it. In form, Shevchenko's poetry was closely allied to folksong. He wrote in the rhythms found in the *koliadky* (Christmas carols) and in the *kolomyiky* (rhythmical dance tunes); and gradually developed an extraordinary wealth of rhythmical variations. Shevchenko introduced as standard practice the use of the "incomplete" (approximate) rhymes and thus enriched their variety. His verses are full of amazingly fertile euphonies, of which only some (the "internal rhymes") are in the tradition of popular and Romantic poetry. His verse is wonderfully musical and at the same time masterfully expressive—a combination which made many of his expressions of thought "classical," unforgettable. His apt use of popular poetic method, which he often reshaped, is to be seen in his poetry

(fixed epithet, doublings, parallelism, partly antithetic parallelism, etc.). But in spite of the nearness of Shevchenko's speech to that of the people, it is by no means limited to the vocabulary of the "common people." No poet contributed as much to the development of the Ukrainian language into a "full-fledged" vehicle of literary expression as did Shevchenko. His neologisms seemed more natural, and were more readily accepted than were those of the Kharkiv Romanticists.

The themes of Shevchenko's works were derived from those of the Kharkiv Romanticists. His work fluctuated between the manner of popular folksong and the "high" style of his paraphrases of the Psalms. In genre and in composition he followed the Romantic tradition: poems modeled on songs; ballads, often with elements of fantasy ("Prychynna" [A Bewitched Young Woman], "Lileia" [The Lily], "Topolia" [The Poplar],

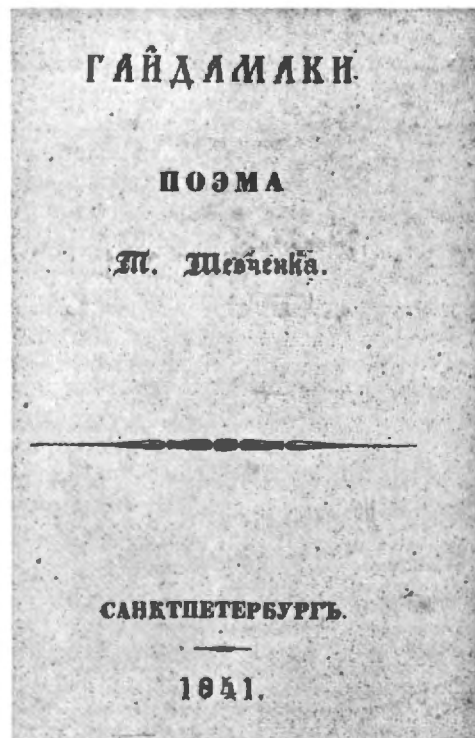


FIGURE 522. TITLE PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE *Haidamaky*

bol of the Ukrainian national movement. Especially significant in this respect are his political poems which were written between 1843 and 1846—"Rozryta Mohyla" (The Ransacked Mound), "Chyhyryn," "Velykyi L'okh" (The Great Vault), "Kavkaz" (The Caucasus), "Poslaniie" (The Epistle), and others. In all these works his ardent patriotism is vividly revealed—he calls for a struggle for national liberation, and gives his concept of the historical and social unity of the Ukrainian nation, and his romantic idealization of the Kozak period of Ukrainian history.

In his play *Nazar Stodolia* Shevchenko advanced a new motif—the pursuit of happiness. However, he did not find in the drama as powerful and significant a vehicle of expression as he did in poetry.

After Shevchenko, the deepest influence on the Ukrainian spiritual tradition was exerted by another member of the Brotherhood—PANTELEIMON KULISH (1819–97). During his association with the Brotherhood he produced a novel written in Russian on a Ukrainian historical subject, *Mykhailo Charnyshenko*; an essay *Pamiatna Knyhodka pomishchytiv* (A Book of Instructions for Landowners) which is reminiscent of Kvitka's *Lysty do liubeznykh zemliakiv* [Letters to My Dear Countrymen] and of the later *Selections from My Correspondence with Friends* by Hohol [Gogol]; a poem in Ukrainian, *Povist' pro Ukraïnu* (A Story about Ukraine, 1843), written as a *duma* in a lofty style, and covering the entire history of Ukraine, although it does not reach the philosophical heights of Kostomarov's *Knyhy bytïia* (The Books of the Genesis); and finally, a short story "Orysia," which is reminiscent of Kvitka's prose. His most



FIGURE 525. P. KULISH

outstanding work, *Chorna rada* (The Black Council), was also written at this time, but was not published until 1857. This novel is devoted to events which took place in the period before the hetmanate of Briukhovetsky and shows the same ideological trend as may be observed in the most outstanding Ukrainian Romantics: it gives a picture of a "full-grown nation" composed of different groups each with its varied interests and ideals to replace the idyllically sweet or heroically exalted picture drawn of Ukraine by other Romantics. This novel displays great influence by its Western prototypes (Sir Walter Scott) and by Hohol (Gogol) to whose *Taras Bulba* its point of view is opposed. It is a novel of human types and social conflicts, in which the attitudes and beliefs of the different classes of Ukraine of that day are involved. In the social conflicts the egoists seem to prevail over people with ideals, but actually they do not reach their objective. Above all, Kulish estimates highly those people who did not participate in current events for emotional reasons but because they were enlivened by higher ideals (the bard who is termed a "man of God," and the Zaporozhian Kozak Cyril Tur). Behind all the conflicts in the novel the author sees a deeper conflict—"the struggle of truth with injustice." Kulish draws his people and events on a wide canvas; and he makes full use of the contemporary development of the Romantic-historical style. His figures and landscapes are largely symbolic. In spite of the picture he draws of a sad and stormy period, Kulish, time and again, emphasizes his historical optimism.

Of the other Brothers, O. Navrotsky (1823–1902) distinguished himself as a poet-translator of the Romantic poets (German, Russian, Polish), and as a follower of Shevchenko and the folksong style. His writing career began in 1847.

When Nicholas I died, Ukrainian literature immediately began to revive. In 1856–7 Kulish's *Zapiski o Yuzhnot*

Rusi (Notes on Southern Rus') appeared in which he published anonymously Shevchenko's "Naimychka" (The Servant Maid). In 1857 Kulish published his *Chorna rada* and began to issue a series of Ukrainian pamphlets, among others, the stories of Kvitka. In 1860 a collection, *Khata* (The Home), appeared with selections from the works of old and new poets while Maksymovych published his translations, and Metlynsky his verses. In 1859 Daniel Mordovets and Kostomarov published their *Maloruskii literaturnyi sbornik* (Little Russian Literary Collection). As far back as 1853 the journal *Chernigovskie Gubernskie Vedomosti* (The Province of Chernihiv News) had begun to print Ukrainian poetry. For a short time the center of Ukrainian literature was the monthly *Osnova* (Foundation, 1861-2), edited by Basil Bilozersky (see "Press"). Towards the end of the fifties works began to appear which represented a new trend in literature—Realism (see p. 1019).

Among the older authors Shevchenko and Kulish continued to write in the spirit of Romanticism; among the younger group Alexis Storozhenko did not go beyond it.

Shevchenko was exiled for a long while, and during most of this time did not write any poetry (1851-56). He tried his hand at writing novels in Russian, and they are among the most interesting prose works of the Ukrainian school in Russian literature of that time. Their style unites the elements of the later Gogolian "natural style" with echoes of the "Byronic poem." He continued to use the vivid social themes of his novels in his poetry, when he resumed writing it in 1857.

Traditionally, the later verses of Shevchenko are printed in editions of *Kobzar*. Stylistically they continued to develop the trends so noticeable in his earlier poetry, but in a much more complex synthesis. Even as late as 1857, in revising his "Moskaleva krynytsia" (A

Soldier's Well), Shevchenko did not make any radical changes in the style of this typically "Byronic poem." As far as composition is concerned, he constructed the "Neofity" (Neophytes) and "Mariia," which are "free form" poems, in the same manner. Shevchenko ceased to write ballads almost entirely, but he continued with his short poems modeled on folk songs and his translations and paraphrases of selections from the Holy Scriptures. On the other hand, he wrote a larger number of "contemplative" (subjective) verses which expressed his moods and feelings. Such verses were characteristic of the later Romanticism, while the use of social and political motifs brought Shevchenko rather closer to Realism. Historical themes became secondary; and historical subject matter was used to help in the struggle for man's right to live a free and happy life.

Kulish, who only started writing poetry after Shevchenko's death, published his collection of poems, *Dosvitky* (Glimmers of Dawn) in 1862, *Khutorna Poeziia* (Poetry of the Manor) in 1882, *Dzvin* (The Bell) in 1893. Several other poems were published posthumously. At first Kulish imitated Shevchenko, but later proceeded along his own original path. His principal aim was to use a language that was adequate to express the thoughts and experiences of an educated person. Yet his work almost always contained certain of the poetical elements of folklore and a complex Romantic symbolism, including Shevchenko's symbols of *pravda* (truth) and *slovo* (the word). In addition to his lyrical verses, Kulish wrote "learned" poetry. In all his poetic endeavors he paid close attention to form, introduced new strophic meters and thus broadened the scope of Ukrainian verse, and cultivated to a fine point the art of aphorism.

Kulish believed in mysterious higher powers in the history and life of a nation; and in his poems "Nastusia," "Velyki provody" (Easter Week), *Marusia Bohuslavka*, and *Mahomet i Khadyza*, he

offered a well-developed philosophical theory of history and the nation, which was altogether Romantic and was far removed from the prevailing philosophy of positivist "Populism." This was one reason why Kulish never attained great popularity, the more so as the period following the sixties did not favor the development of poetry. In addition, the genres which Kulish used (ballad, poem, *duma*) did not correspond to the spirit of the times. Another contributing factor was certain weaknesses in his verses (rarely used words, artificial accents, coined words which were without appeal). Finally, his popularity as a writer was lessened by his conflicts, as a public man, with his contemporaries on account of his political hesitations and his "strayings" in his interpretations of history, as for example his severe censure of the Kozak period of Ukrainian history, his apology for the cultural work of the Tsar Peter I and the Empress Catherine II in his *Istoriia vossoednennia Rusi* (History of the Reunion of Rus', 1874), his appeal to the Ukrainians to come to an understanding with the Poles in *Krashanka rusynam i poliakam na Velykden' 1882 roku* (An Easter Egg Presented to the Ruthenians and the Poles on Easter 1882, 1882) and the emphatic stress he put on the importance of culture as a counter-balance to politics.

Kulish tried to write plays (*Kolii*, the trilogy *Baida*, *Sahaidachnyi*, *Tsar Nalyvai*, and others), but his dramas lack movement. The long discussions contained in their dialogues show the same conflicts among the various classes of the "complete nation" that he presented in his *Chorna rada*; but they leave a weaker impression than is given by the tense action of the novel.

His few stories (1860-8) are short, but they are among his best works ("Sichovi hosti" [Guests from the Sich], "Martyn Hak," and others). In them, just as in his Russian prose works written in the fifties, he tried, while confining himself to the life of the peasants and

the petty bourgeoisie, to bring the Ukrainian short story out of the framework of what he considered primitive psychology into the sphere of complex psychic conflicts and even linked his subject matter to Kvitka's to make evident the contrast in the approach. Thus he paved the way for the psychological novel. On the other hand, the language and style in which they were written were much simpler than the contents of his books, and came fairly close to those of Kvitka.

Kulish did pioneer work in his translations which were considered excellent ones for that time. He translated Shakespeare (1882), the Psalter (1868-71), and books from the Holy Scriptures, a collection, *Pozychena Kobza* (Borrowed Kobza) 1897, with translations from Schiller, Goethe, Heine, and Byron. The burlesque he abandoned altogether. His translations were the result of gigantic linguistic labor.

Kulish developed his philosophy of history and the nation mostly in his poetic works. He constructed it by opposing to all that is external and superficial that which is profound, concealed, inherent in man, society, the nation, and culture, that which he calls the "heart." The image of the "heart" occurs frequently in Romantic poetry, and in Kulish's work it becomes the main symbol of cultural, moral, and psychological values.

Another Romantic writer ALEXIS STOROZHENKO (1805-74) began publishing in 1860, although some of his works had been written earlier. In 1863 he published a two-volume collection of stories, to which he later added only two other works. His lively and witty stories were written in a good language, and were full of gentle humor. Their subject matter was purely Romantic. It was either history or fantasy, or sometimes simply a new rendering of a popular fable or a tale. But Storozhenko adopted the Romantic style and Romantic themes only because they were fashionable at

the time. He hardly saw any deeper significance in the popular traditions, at the most feeling their poetic value. Vulgarisms are not infrequent in his writing and his vocabulary was not sufficient to express "higher concepts." His idealization of the past was too extravagant, and his idealization of the present became at times too sweetly idyllic. He tried to write a novel—*Marko Proklyaty* (Marko the Cursed)—but he was unsuccessful and the work remained unfinished. It was published in 1879.

The talented poet PETER KUZMENKO (1831–67) also belonged to the circle around *Osnova*. He published several lyric poems, a legend, *Pohane pole* (An Evil Field) and a story, "Ne tak zhdalosia, a tak stalosia" (It Never Happens as Expected). His religious verses are reminiscent of Michael Petrenko (see above).

There are a few outstanding poets of the Romantic period who remained outside the poetic groups. This was in some measure due to the circumstances of their lives, but it was also a result of the lack of literary centers in many provinces during the period between 1848 and 1855.

One writer who was completely isolated was Tymko (Thomas) Padura (1801–71), a Pole. He wrote in a Ukrainian which was not always above reproach. In politics he adhered to the Polish position. However, some of his songs have by now become a part of the oral tradition of the Ukrainian people. Some of them were published in 1844.

The most outstanding of the poets who were outside the Ukrainian groups of their time was EUGENE HREBINKA (1812–48). His numerous Russian stories had Ukrainian subjects and in them he gradually shifted from Romanticism to Naturalism. He wrote but little in Ukrainian. His translation, made in his younger years, of Pushkin's *Poltava* still shows some traits of the burlesque. More successful were his fables—*Malorostis'ki prykazky* (Little Russian Anecdotes)

(about thirty of them). Romantic sadness permeates his few lyric poems, some of which became favorite popular songs (*Ukrains'ka Melodita* [The Ukrainian Melody], and others).

JOSEPH BODIANSKY (1808–77), an honored scholar, wrote a Romantic dissertation on the popular poetry of the Slavic tribes (1837) and, in addition, produced several poems and a collection entitled *Nas'ki ukrains'ki kazky* (Our Own Ukrainian Tales) under the pseudonym of Isko Materynka (1835)—both of which were permeated with ethnographic Romanticism. A. Shyshatsky-Illich (1828–59) forged some *dumas*, basing them on genuine popular material. His own poems (two collections—*Ukrains'ka kvitka* [The Ukrainian Flower], 1856–7), are not of a very high calibre. The ethnographic Romanticism of the "Little Russian" stories of Khoma Kuprienko (1848) is imitative of Gogol.

Two poets who stood quite apart and represented the "Romanticism of sorrow" were VICTOR ZABILA (1808–69) and ALEXANDER AFANASIEV-CHUZHBYNSKY (1817–75). Some of their verses were written in the spirit of the Ukrainian folk songs and resemble romances. Semen Metlynsky, the brother of Ambrose, published his collections in 1858 and 1864; he was a clear-cut Romanticist.

Many secondary poets wrote verses with Romantic subjects, but could not free themselves from the influence of the Kotliarevsky manner, in other words, from burlesque. Among them were: Porphyry Korenytsky (*Vechernytsi* [The Evening Party], 1841); Stephen Oleksandriv (*Vovkulaka* [The Werewolf], 1841); MICHAEL MAKAROVSKY (1783–1846; *Natalia*, 1844; *Haras'ko abo talan i v nevoli* [Harasko, or a Serf in Spite of his Talent], 1845); Paul Biletsky-Nosenko (see p. 1004) who wrote ballads (*Ivha*) and did translations from the Romantic poets. There is a better imitation of Pushkin than Hrebinka's in the anonymous poem *Kochubei* (ca. 1828), and an imitation of Shevchenko in the

manuscript poems of the translator of the Gospels, Philip Morachevsky.

Several Polish poets who wrote verses in Ukrainian (A. Szaszkiewicz, Spirydion Ostaszewski, Casper Cięglewicz, Jan Poźniak, L. Węgliński, and others) still clung to the tradition of burlesque and, at most, offered examples of Ukrainian "exoticism."

On the whole the greatest achievement of Ukrainian literary Romanticism lies in its representatives' attempts to develop a "full-fledged language," and to create a "full-fledged literature," by introducing new genres. Ideologically, the Romantics took the same path in developing their conception of the Ukrainian nation as an entity having an equal status with other nations. In Ukrainian literature they introduced two important complexes of themes: "ethnographic" subjects and the Romanticism of the past, especially that of the Kozak period (ignoring, with the exception of Kulish, the part played in the national life by other groups of society in the Ukrainian past, or belittling that part). Romantic themes have been preserved in subsequent Ukrainian literature, along with certain specific motifs and images, among which the central one is that of the "resurrection" of "Mother Ukraine."

The poetry of the Ukrainian Romantics had a greater influence on foreign literatures than had the Ukrainian literature of former periods. In Polish we find translations from the Ukrainian Romantics (Leonard Sowiński, Władysław Syrokomla-Kondratowicz). "Kozak Romanticism" was imitated by the Slovaks and the Czechs (J. V. Frič adapted *Taras Buľba* for the theater [1857], and wrote a tragedy, *Mazepa* [1865], and quite a number of verses dealing with the Kozak period). Later, we find Ukrainian literary influences in Bulgarian and even French literature (Prosper Mérimée). In German literature, in the thirties and forties, something akin to a Ukrainian school was established: A. Chamisso in 1831 paraphrased Ryleev's *Volnarovskii*,

and another translation of this work appeared in 1847. In the forties there appeared several translations of the novels of Tchaikovsky which were rich in Ukrainian subject matter. In 1845 *Die poetische Ukraine* (Poetic Ukraine) was published by Frederick Bodenstedt (who later devoted several sketches to Ukraine), and in 1848 the *Balalaika* of Stanisław Waldbrühl appeared. Both these collections contained Ukrainian folk songs. In 1841 an original collection of verse was published under the title of *Ukrainische Lieder* (Ukrainian Songs) by Anton Mauritius (pseudonym of Anthony Moritz Jochmus); in 1844 the poem *Mazepa* by G. E. Stäbisch appeared; in 1850, *Gonta* by Rudolf von Gottschall (translated into Ukrainian in 1856 by Fedkovych); and in 1860, the novel, *Mazepa*, by Adolf Müttelburg.

D. Čizevsky

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6. THE PERIOD OF REALISM

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In Ukrainian literature, Romanticism was replaced as the dominant style by Realism in the middle of the nineteenth century. As in other European literatures, the germs of the realistic style in Ukrainian literature can be traced back to folklore (the folk humorous and satirical tales) and also to the old literature (e.g., some episodes in the Primary and Galician-Volhynian Chronicles, in the *Skazanie* about Borys and Hlib, "realistically" presented episodes in seventeenth century collections of tales of miracles, some interludes and satirical verses which have elements of realism, and the biography of Elias Turchynovskiy, which is the only example of the

original Ukrainian novel of adventure from the eighteenth century that has come down to us). During the period when travesty and sentimentality ruled, certain realistic depictions appeared from time to time, for instance, in Kvitka-Osnovianenko's *Pan Khaliavskiy*, as did elements of Naturalism in his *Konotops'ka vid'ma* (The Witch of Konotop).

One important feature of Ukrainian realistic literature was the coexistence of Realism in the works of the writers of the latter half of the nineteenth century with Romanticism and its cult of the heroic deeds of the Kozak period, its poetization of strong passions and powerful individuals. This is particularly evident in the predilection these writers

have for folk sources and in their continuing interest in the past. Romantic views also prevailed in criticism. Finally, as a result of historical circumstances, the development of the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century proceeded rather slowly, and for this reason, too, the realism of the latter half of the nineteenth century maintained the specific "ethnographic" character which was also typical of Ukrainian Romanticism.

Enthusiasm for ethnographism was clearly evident in the manner of drawing the "portraits" (outward appearances) of heroes, which for a long time used devices taken from folklore. It was only later that a clearer and predominantly naturalistic individualization developed. Ethnographism also determined the reproduction of details of costumes and home furnishings, which evolved from the sumptuous descriptions in folklore to a more or less "canonized" realistic-ethnographic (populist in its ideology) picture of life in a poor but tidy peasant's cottage against the background of a beautiful landscape, the description of which often became an end in itself. Ethnographism appeared especially clearly in the stylization of the language of the heroes, which often became a reproduction of the colloquialisms of a given locality. The language of the prose writer evolves from the "mask" of the narrator, through objective relation, to the fashioning of an individual manner of revealing events and experiences. These original qualities in the development of Ukrainian Realism were already evident in the work of Marko Vovchok.

FROM ROMANTICISM TO REALISM

MARKO VOVCHOK (MARIA VILINSKA-MARKOVYCH, 1834-1907) appeared in print in 1857 with her *Narodni opovidannia* (Folk Stories). These had an extraordinary success and won the appreciation of Shevchenko, Kulish, Turgenyev, and other outstanding literary figures. Later she published other stories,

of which the chief are "Ledashchytisia" (An Idle Young Woman), "Instytutka" (A Young Woman from Boarding School), and "Karmeliuk." Following the liquidation of the periodical *Osnova*, in which she had participated, Marko Vovchok, who lived in St. Petersburg, took an active part in Russian journalism.

In the forties and fifties of the nineteenth century a new genre appeared in eastern Europe—the sketch, or, more precisely, the "physiological sketch" of the Russian so-called "Naturalistic School," which derived from Gogol. Marko Vovchok, unlike the Russian authors of sketches of the time, combined her realistically treated subjects, involving actual problems, with elements of the ethnographic Romanticism of the preceding epoch, especially in the stories which she put into the mouths of her heroes.

Marko Vovchok's stories may be divided into two groups according to the preponderance of Romantic or Realistic elements: the first is devoted to the life of the peasants under serfdom ("Sestra" [The Sister], "Dva syny" [The Two Sons]) and, in particular, to the life of the women ("Odarka," "Horpyna," "Kozachka," "Instytutka," "Ledashchytisia"). These are realistic depictions of the village life of the time, although they are presented in the stylistic tradition of ethnographism. The stories in the second group belong exclusively to ethnographic Romanticism. While using devices borrowed from folklore, they present the figures of heroes with unbreakable will power and irrepressible passions ("Danylo Hurch," "Maksym Hrymach," "Svekrukha" [The Mother-in-Law]). In addition, Marko Vovchok used a wealth of ethnographic material in her tales and



FIGURE 526.
M. VOVCHOK

stories for children ("Karmeliuk," "Deviat' brativ" [Nine Brothers], and "Marusia," which was more popular in France than in Ukraine). In perfecting her style of "ethnographic" narrative, Marko Vovchok freed Ukrainian prose from the coarseness which it had acquired from travesty, and which neither Storozhenko nor Kulish was able to eliminate.

Close to the narrative style of Marko Vovchok was that of Hanna Barvinok (the pseudonym of Alexandra Kulish, 1828-1911), and of Daniel Mordovets (1830-1905) who wrote several stories full of ethnographic material on the manners and customs of the people.

More of a Romanticist than a Realist, but showing clear signs of populist ideology, STEPHEN RUDANSKY (1834-73) began his literary activity with ballads (some of them under the influence of Bürger and V. Zhukovsky, others based on the motifs of Ukrainian folk ballads [*Verba*—The Willow, *Topolia*—The Poplar]). His enthusiasm for the old literature and folklore led him to rework in both prose and poetry apocrypha on biblical subjects: *Baiky svitovii v spivakh* (World Parables in Songs), and *Baiky svitovii v opovidkakh* (World Parables in Prose).

Written in a manner imitative of Shevchenko (with a still-evident Kotliarevsky tinge) are Rudansky's allegorical poem *Tsar Solovei* (Tsar Nightingale), dedicated to Slavdom, and a series of historical poems: *Mazepa*, *Skoropada*, *Polubotok*, *Veliamyin*, *Apostol*, *Minikh*. More interesting are his paraphrases of the *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (Tale of Ihor's Armament) in *Ihor Sivers'kyi* and his versions of the Králedvorský manuscript and the *Iliad*. In his *Spivomovky* (Humorous Poems, written in 1857-8 but published in 1882), Rudansky offered a whole treasury of popular humor on various aspects of national and social relations. The sharpness of their wit, their lightness of touch and aphoristic method of exposition made the *Spivomovky* the most popular work of the

ethnographic age in Ukrainian literature. In his lyrics Rudansky sometimes imitated the manner of folksong—"Oi chomuty ne litaiesh" (O why do you not fly . . .), "Holubon'ko-divchynon'ko" (My Darling Girl)—and sometimes continued the tradition of the Romantic song—"Ty ne moia" (You are not mine), "Serenada." Occasionally he wrote poems on social problems (*Student*). The best of his lyric poems is the optimistic "Hei, byky" (Go, Oxen . . .) and the lapidary and energetic *Psalm 136*.

Close to Rudansky in his use of lyrical devices was LEONID HLIBOV (1827-93). The majority of his verses are elegies, written in the manner of the popular song, such as, for example, "Zhurba" (Sorrow) which became a folk song. A small number of his poems—"Vechir" (Evening), "Blahannia" (Supplication), "Nocturno"—are examples of the technique of a purely literary versification. His *Baiky* (Fables, 1872) became immensely popular. Taking the universal subjects of fable, Hlibov gave them a Ukrainian coloring and at times even "modernized" them in the spirit of liberal social satire. The fables show a wealth of language and suppleness of dialogue, a thorough knowledge of the ways and customs of the people, and a light lyrical coloring which made them favorite reading in the schools.

The period of transition from Romanticism to Realism in Ukrainian literature brought a belated literary rebirth in Bukovina which was influenced by Romanticism. This was brought about by JOSEPH-GEORGE FEDKOVYCH (1834-88). His first verses were in German. In his Ukrainian works he united the influence of western European Romantic poetry with his enthusiasm



FIGURE 527.
J. G. FEDKOVYCH

for Bukovinian folklore. His Hutsul subject matter was often refracted through the prism of the experiences of a soldier torn away from his home. The basis of his rhythmic and imagery was the folk song, but his poetry was also influenced by the German Romantics, especially by Schiller and Uhland. This latter influence set him somewhat apart from the numerous authors who wrote in the manner of Shevchenko. But, in time, lacking suitable conditions for further creative originality, Fedkovych, in his enthusiasm for *Kobzar*, lost his independence and wrote many verses in which he simply imitated Shevchenko. These, as well as his attempts at drama (the tragedy *Doobush*, the melodrama *Kermanyach* [The Pilot], and others) had no success. His prose works arose under the influence of the Romantic stories of Marko Vovchok. They were written in the form of descriptions of events by witnesses or participants, and followed Vovchok's manner in presenting moral maxims and in constructing the initial causation and the final effect. Against the background of a luxurious landscape move his noble heroes, picturesquely dressed, handsome and passionate, or gentle and melancholy. Close friendship is the leitmotif of Fedkovych's stories. His subject matter is built around tragic love which irrevocably seizes a person and leads him or her to catastrophe ("Shtefan Slavych", 1863; "Taliianka", 1864; "Safat Zynych", 1865; "Sertse ne navchyty" [One Cannot Teach the Heart], 1863; "Khto vynen?" [Who is to Blame?], 1863; "Liuba-zhuba" [The Love is Fatal], 1863).

Another Bukovinian writer of this period was ISIDOR VOROBKEVYCH (pseudonym DANYLO MLAKA, 1836-1908). His stories "Mushtrovani kin" (A Trained Horse), "Turets'ki brantsi" (The Turkish Captives), "Mest' chornohortsia" (The Revenge of a Mountaineer), and others, are written in the Romantic mood of Shashkevych and Ustyianovych. His poems "Kyfor i Hanusia" (1866), "Murashka" (1865), "Drahomanka" (1868),

"Nechai" (1868), are on historical subjects dealt with in a Romantic manner, using the devices of folklore, or in imitation of Shevchenko, and of Kulish's *Dosvitky*. His numerous lyric poems generally imitated the folk songs. Influenced by Fedkovych's poetry, he also wrote poems about military life, and a longer poem *Hostynets' z Bosni* (A Present from Bosnia).

A characteristic figure of this period is the belated Romanticist JACOB SHCHOHOLIV (1824-98), who published his poems in two volumes entitled *Vorsklo* (1883) and *Slobozhanshchyna* (1898). In many of his poems we find the Romantic motif (inspired by Ambrose Metlynsky) of the fading of the ancient Kozak ways along with the stormy glory of the Kozaks' era—"Hrechkosii" (A Tiller), the poem "Babusyna kazka" (A Grandmother's Tale), the ballads "Zolota bandura" (The Golden Bandura), "Barvinkova stinka" (A Periwinkle Wall), and others. Shchoholiv continued the Romantic line of writing in his ballads, which were based upon the motifs of popular demonology—"Klymentovi mlyn" (Clement's Mills), "Vovkulaka" (The Werewolf), "Loskotarky" (The Tickler-Nymphs)—and in his fine stylizations of lyrical folksong material—"Dobryden" (Good Day), "Cherevycky" (The Shoes), "Dochumakuvavsia" (Chumak's Sorry End), and many others. But we also come across Realistic motifs of labor, epic and, at times, idyllic pictures of the laboring man—"Tkach" (The Weaver), "Kravets'" (The Tailor), "Mi-roshnyk" (The Miller), "Shvets'" (The Cobbler), "Kosari" (The Mowers), and others. In addition to these we find motifs of the ruin of landed properties, the disintegration of the patriarchal order of life, and the dominance of new social relations—"Pokynutyi khutir" (The Abandoned Manor), "Pokhoron" (The Funeral), "Shynok" (The Tavern), "Burlaka" (The Homeless One). A small portion of his work consists of calm and contemplative lyric poems on Nature—

"Traven'" (May), "Osin'" (The Autumn), "Zymnii shliakh" (The Winter Road). Occasionally we find sharply pessimistic poems on the vanity of life and man's disillusionment with his fellowmen—"Lial'ka" (A Doll), "Pliats" (A Place), "Maryvo" (A Mirage). Some particularly well-written poems have religious motifs—"Suboty sv. Dmytra" (The Saturdays of St. Demetrius), "Anhel Bozhyi" (The Angel of God).

Belated followers of the Romantic movement in Western Ukraine were the playwrights Volodymyr Shashkevych (1839-85), Omelian Ohonovsky (1833-94), and Cornelius Ustyianovych (1836-1903). In prose, wavering between Romanticism and the beginnings of populist Realism, stood Theodore Zarevych (1835-79); and in poetry—Xenophon Klymkovych (1835-81), Naum Shram (pseudonym of Gregory Vorobkevych, 1838-84), and the fabulist PAVLO SVII (PAULINUS SVIENTSITSKY, 1841-76).

THE REALISM OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Prose

Realistic prose developed with certain traits of ethnographism, but it rejected the other characteristics of Romanticism. The development of Realistic prose was hindered by an external factor—as a result of the repressive policy of the tsarist government, a number of the prose works of Ukrainian Realists reached the reader only after a delay: some were printed abroad and others did not appear until they had already become a part of literary history, and therefore could not play a role in the vital literary process.

ANATOL SVYDNYTSKY (1834-71) was the author of some short stories published in Russian, 1869-71, and of the novel-chronicle *Liuborats'ki* (written in 1862 but printed in full only in 1898). In this novel the Ukrainian scene in the 1830's and 40's is represented by two

generations of a Podilian clerical family: the older generation is patriarchal and has strong connections with the village, while the younger generation, having been educated in foreign schools, and having been subjected to Russification and Polonization, is torn up from its native roots, loses its stability, and is spiritually maimed. The author divides his attention between the ideological conflict and the depiction of village life. Svydnytsky's style stands somewhere between the narrative manner of Kvitka, Marko Vovchok, and Fedkovych, and the descriptive manner of Nechui-Levytsky. It preserves the character of living, oral narration, but without laying too great an emphasis upon it.

Chronologically, the first representative of Realistic prose with a clearly populist ideological tendency was ALEXANDER KONYSKY (1836-1900). His themes cover the problems dealt with in the program of the populists; for example, the recent serfdom ("Startsi" [The Beggars], "Protestant"), the peasants' struggle for their rights ("Pivniv praznyk" [The Feast of Piven]), "Did Yevmen" [Old Eumenius]), the new evils resulting from the rise of profiteers in the countryside ("Spokuslyva nyva" [The Tempting Field], "Navvyperedky" [In a Mad Race]). In addition, we find in his works a picture of the populist intelligentsia with its practical work—"Neprymyrenna" (The Irreconcilable), "Hrishnyky" (The



FIGURE 528.
A. KONYSKY



FIGURE 529.
I. NECHUI-LEVYTSKY

Sinners). Quite a number of autobiographical details are to be found in the novel *Yurii Horovenko* which describes a young populist's struggle with his surroundings and his tragic end. Although they lack real literary quality, the works of Konysky had a considerable influence in the eighties and nineties because of their strongly didactic attitude toward social obligations and because of their trenchant evaluation of the autocratic Russian regime.

Also popular because of their treatment of problems and programs of the day were *Skoshenyi tsvit* (The Mowed Blossom) by Volodymyr Barvinsky (1850-83), and *Tetiana Rebenshchukova* by Michael Pavlyk (1853-1915).

IVAN NECHUI-LEVYTSKY (1838-1918) followed the pattern of the objective narrative with much greater confidence. At first, in his novel *Dvi moskovky* (Two Soldiers' Wives, 1866), he draws a picture of a Ukrainian village which contains much ethnographic Romanticism. But later he uses naturalistic devices in portraying the poverty, limitations, and ignorance of the post-reform village in his novels *Kaidasheva simla* (The Kaidash Family, 1879), *Propashchi* (The Lost Ones), and others, and in his humorous sketches *Ne mozhna babi Parastsi vderzhatysia na seli* (Old Paraska Cannot Stay in the Village, 1872), *Blahoslovit' babi Parastsi skoropostyzhno vmerty* (May Old Paraska Die Suddenly, 1874), and others. Without limiting himself to the traditional motifs of village life, Nechui-Levytsky turned to a subject which was new to Ukrainian literature—the wage-earning class and factory labor (the novels *Mykola Dzheria*, 1878, and *Burlachka* [A Factory Girl], 1881). The life of the clergy and their families, that of the petty nobility and the gentry, and of the stewards of landed properties are depicted in the novels *Prychepa* (An Intruder, 1869), *Starosvits'ki batiushky ta matushky* (Old-fashioned Clergymen and their Wives, 1884), and others.

The theme of the role of the new

Ukrainian intelligentsia is presented by Nechui-Levytsky in *Khmary* (The Clouds, 1874), a novel-chronicle in which the older generation of Romantics, represented by the dreamer Professor Dashkovych, is contrasted with a hero of the new generation, Pavlo Radiuk. This is an attempt, the first in Ukrainian literature, to produce a big social novel. It depicts the life of the townspeople and the small landowning class, and draws a humorous picture of the Russified Theological Academy in Kiev and of professorial circles. It suffers from a lack of the sense of artistic measure and from a loose composition, cluttered with superfluous ethnographic material. These same defects also weakened the novel *Nad Chornym morem* (On the Black Sea Coast, 1890), which dealt with the conflict between nationalism and cosmopolitanism.

In his articles entitled "S'ohochasne literaturne priamuvannia" (The Present-Day Literary Trend, 1878), and "Ukrainstvo na literaturnykh pozvakh z Moskovshchynoiu" (Ukrainianism versus Russianism in Literature, 1891), Nechui-Levytsky based the position of Ukrainian populist Realism on actuality, stressing the problem of nationality and the folk spirit. At the same time he set Ukrainian writers the task of revealing every aspect of Ukrainian life "from the Caucasus and the Volga to the estuary of the Danube itself, to the Carpathians and beyond. . . ." Nechui-Levytsky considered that the works of Russian writers were foreign to Ukrainians, and pointed out the "uselessness of Great Russian literature to Ukraine and to all Slavdom." At the same time, he emphasized the importance of the contemporary French Realist writers with their broad depiction of various aspects of life.

In his creative work Nechui-Levytsky tried to put these beliefs into practice, but his attempts became enmeshed in the mannerisms of his novel-chronicle, which he burdened with material taken from the everyday life of the people.

with endless comparisons, as well as with an ethnographism which often became an end in itself. His stories suffer further from his limited choice of subjects to depict, and even from the language he uses, which is confined to the dialect of the southern part of the Kiev province.

Another outstanding prose writer and Realist was PANAS MYRNYI (ATHANASIOS RUDCHENKO, 1849–1920). Following the publication of his first short stories and of an ideological novel about the life of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, *Lykhi liudy* (Wicked People, 1876), he produced the most important social novel of the period—*Khiba revut' voly, yak yasla povni* (When One Has Enough, One Does Not Complain), also known under the title of *Propashcha syla* (Wasted Strength). Myrnyi wrote this novel in collaboration with his brother Ivan Bilyk, and it was published in 1880. It is the story of an energetic and talented peasant, Nychypir Varenychenko, who lives in a post-reform village where the new rich have the upper hand. He is thrown again and again down to the very lowest level of life, until he becomes embittered and joins a band of robbers. Myrnyi makes his heroes' actions convincing by stressing the influence of their surroundings and of their inherited inclinations. The ethnographic element sometimes slows down the development of the plot, although on the whole in Myrnyi's work it is secondary to the depiction of the social background of his characters. At times this in its turn leads him into such extensive independent excursions that the novel is deprived of the unity of its composition. On the other hand, the psychological motivation of the heroes' actions has much greater significance in Myrnyi's work than in that of his predecessors. These particular aspects of Myrnyi's style are also evident in his novels *Lykho davnie i s'ohochasne* (The Old Evil and the New, 1897) and *Za vodoiu* (With the Current). Discursiveness, combined with the other characteristics of his style, lessens the value of



FIGURE 530.
P. MYRNYI



FIGURE 531.
B. HRINCHENKO

the novel *Povnia* (A Fallen Woman, 1883–1918). This latter work is a wide canvas on which is painted life in a village ruled by the wicked, brutal new rich, and life in a city. In places the novelist uses generalized images, such as were used by Emile Zola. The novel did not contribute to the development of Ukrainian prose because it was not published until the Realism of Myrnyi had already become a phenomenon of the past.

The prose of BORYS HRINCHENKO (1863–1910) is characterized by its social themes. In addition to his numerous stories which mostly deal with peasant life, he wrote several novels—*Sonia-shnyi promin'* (A Sunray, 1890), *Na rosputti* (At the Crossroads, 1891), *Sered temnoi nochi* (In the Darkness of the Night, 1900), *Pid tykhy my verbamy* (Under the Silent Willows, 1901). In them Hrinchenko tried to find the answers to problems with which the populist movement was then urgently concerned, such as the problems of the loss of national identity in the village, the spreading of culture in national guise, the conflict between social radicalism and nationalism, and so on. Hrinchenko did not pay as much attention to his characters and their psychology as to the "problem" element, and, as a result, his works suffer from an excessive schematization and are overloaded with dialogues on topical questions. On the



FIGURE 532. IVAN FRANKO

other hand, this made his works very popular at the time.

The works of IVAN FRANKO (1856-1916) were a great achievement in Ukrainian nineteenth century prose. He employs a wide range of themes and a wealth of different genres. He first wrote a Romantic novel about Carpathian brigands (*Petrū i Dovbushchuky*, 1875); he followed this with a number of stories of peasant life after the abolition of serfdom in Western Ukraine. In these he described the widespread misery of his time and presented a depressing picture of peasants being forced to move to the towns and cities in order to earn a livelihood and of their hard struggle for existence, surrounded by ignorance and injustice—"Lisy i pasovys'ka" (The Forests and Pasturelands), "Dobryi Zarobok" (Good Earnings), "Slymak" (The Snail), "Muliar" (The Mason), and others. Franko then turned to a phenomenon new to Galicia—the Boryslav oil industries—in his novels *Boa Constrictor*, *Boryslav smiet'sia* (Boryslav Laughs), *Vivchar* (The Shepherd), *Po-liuka*, *Yats' Zelepuha*, and others.

In *Boa Constrictor* (1878, 1907) and in *Boryslav smiet'sia* (1882), Franko followed the example of some western European writers (Zola, Freytag, and others) in depicting naturalistically the growth of capitalism and the workers' first attempts to obtain better working conditions. In the spirit of the naturalistic views of those days he emphasized instances of heredity in his heroes, and when he showed degeneration, he did not avoid depicting filthy and pathological scenes. But he was set apart from the more glaring forms of Naturalism by his idealistic faith in the human being's better side, and more particularly by his faith in his people. In another cycle we find a number of clean, even photographic, pictures of prison life—"Na dni" (In the Depths), "Do svitla" (Toward the Light)—and others depicting the city "Lumpenproletariat" ("Odi profanum vulgus" and others). A group of stories describing the life of children, especially school children, are notable for their fine psychological analysis and warm humanity—"Malyi Myron" (Little Myron), "Hrytseva shkil'na nauka" (Hryts' Schoolwork), "Olivets" (A Pencil), and others. Complex social and personal conflicts in the life of the large landowners (with many harsh illustrations of the degeneration and disintegration of the gentry) and of the new Ukrainian rural and urban intelligentsia which was struggling to gain a place in society were presented by Franko in such stories and novels as *Osnovy suspil'nosti* (The Foundations of a Society, 1895), *Dlia domashn'oho ohnyshcha* (For the Family Hearth, 1897), *Hryts' i panych* (Hryts and the Lordling, 1899), *Perekhresni stezhky* (The Crossroads, 1900), *Bat'kivshchyna* (The Fatherland, 1904), *Sochyne krylo* (The Jay's Wing, 1905), *Velykyi shum* (The Big Noise, 1907), and others. The wealth of subject matter in Franko's work is paralleled by the extraordinary variety of genres he used—stories, narratives, psychological and social studies, sketches, satires ("Is-

toriiia kozhukha" [A History of a Sheepskin Coat], "Svyns'ka konstytutsiia" [A Piggish Constitution], and others), social and historical novels, such as *Zakhar Berkut* (1883). Having started out with Romanticism, Franko passed through Naturalism and ethnographic Realism, and then turned to the psychological treatment of his subjects, showing an inclination for Impressionism and Modernism. He was particularly interested in the unusual states of mind evoked by harsh experiences and employed completely Modernistic devices and symbolism without abandoning the Realistic manner (for example, *Perekhresni stezhky*, *Soichyne krylo*, *Velykyi shum*).

In populist, Realistic prose in which either ethnographism or Naturalism is dominant, works on social themes and, in particular, on village life are to be found. These include the writings of TIMOTHY BORDULIAK (1863-1936), STEPHEN KOVALIV (1848-1920), MODEST LEVYTSKY (1866-1932), LIUBOV YANOVSKA (1861-193?), DEMETRIUS MARKOVYCH (1848-1920), and HRYTSKO HRYHORENKO (O. SUDOVSHCHYKOVA-KOSACH, 1867-1924). A special niche in the treatment of social themes, and particularly of the emancipation of women, is occupied by the works of NATALIA KOBRYNSKA (1855-1920). Differing in that their subject matter is historical are the *Volyns'ki opovidannia* (Volhynian Stories) of ORESTES LEVYTSKY (1849-1922). BASIL MOVA-LYMANSKY (1842-91) stands apart in taking the Kuban as his subject, and because of his particularly harsh use of naturalistic devices, and his original vocabulary, which make him an early precursor of expressionism (Kuban Sketches, and his long novel written in dialogue *Stare hnizdo i molodi ptakhy* [Young Birds in an Old Nest]).

Drama

The drama of the latter half of the nineteenth century, to an even greater extent than its prose, unites ethnographic Romanticism with Realism. The explana-

tion for this lies in the fact that the theater, in its long, hard competition with Russian companies, attracted large audiences because of its ethnographic character, its use of good choral songs and dances, and colorful eye-catching, national costume (see "Theater").

To the Realistic school belong the dramatic works of Gregory Tsehlynsky (1853-1912), especially his comedies *Sokolyky* (The Darlings) and *Argonavty* (The Argonauts).

The works of MICHAEL STARYTSKY (1840-1904) show a bent for melodrama with their sharply contrasted situations, high-sounding monologues, and dazzling scenes. He began his career with ethnographic melodrama—*Pans'ke boloto* (The Lords' Mud, also called *Ne sudylosia* [It Was Not Destined] or *Ne tak stalosia yak zhadalosia* [It Did Not Happen as Was Wished], 1883), in which we find the current theme of the relations between classes treated from the Realistic and populist angles. Later Starytsky reworked many of the plays of other authors who lacked knowledge of the theater: *Chornomortsi* (The Black Sea Kozaks, 1875), based on the work of Jacob Kukharenko; the ethnographic comedy *Za dvooma zaitsiamy* (Chasing Two Hares, 1883), based on the work of Nechui-Levytsky, and others. Among his ethnographic melodramas, which were extremely popular in their day, the following also contain borrowed subject matter: *Tsyhanka Aza* (Aza, the Gypsy Woman), *Oi, ne khody, Hrytsiu* (Don't Go to the Party, Hryts, 1890). Starytsky's dramatic work reached its peak with his historical tragedies, written in the 1890's—*Ostannia Nich* (The Last Night, 1899); *Marusia Bohuslavka*, 1897; *Bohdan Kmeľnyts'kyi*, 1897; *Oborona Bushi* (The Defense of Busha, 1899)—which with their heroic treatment, suspense, and wealth of colorful ethnographic material show that he was still using the devices of Romanticism at a time when populist Realism was in full swing.

Without abandoning the methods of Romantic writing, especially of melodrama, MARKO KROPYVNYTSKY (1840–1910) treated ethnographic-populist themes in his plays. Among his numerous dramas the following were very popular: *Dai sertsiu voliu—zavede v nevoliu* (Give Your Heart Freedom and It Will Enslave You, 1882); *Doky sontse ziide—rosa ochi vyist'* (The Sun Arose Too Late, 1881); and *Hlytai abozh pavuk* (The Profiteer, or the Spider, 1882), in which the new strong man of the village appears—a newly enriched peasant who through usury holds his fellow-villagers in his clutches. Although at times Kropyvnytsky used the "slice-of-life" technique in his plays, he nevertheless always retained his fondness for melodramatic effect. To some extent the latter is reflected in the dramatic works of IVAN FRANKO, which are preponderantly Realistic in character (*Ukradene shchastia* [Stolen Happiness, 1893], and others). Franko's later dramatic works prepared the way for Neoromanticism (*Budka ch. 27* [Railway Guard's Lodge No. 27, 1902], and others).

A more confident search for a new form is to be found in the works of the greatest Ukrainian playwright of the nineteenth century, IVAN TOBILEVYCH (pseudonym KARPENKO KARYI, 1845–1907). His plays, dealing with the Ukrainian past, are predominantly Romantic in character, and he shows a fondness for subjects taken from folklore—*Bondarivna* (The Cooper's Daughter, 1884), *Palyvoda XVIII st.* (A Madcap of the 18th Century, 1893), *Handzia* (1902), and others. The most outstanding of this group of his plays is the highly original *Sava Chalyi* (1899). In this play, filled with heroic action (which does not, however, suffer from the bombast of Starytsky's historical tragedies), Tobilevych boldly unites descriptions of everyday life with scenes which closely resemble the modernistic mood dramas. Tobilevych's search for new dramatic



FIGURE 533.
I. TOBILEVYCH

devices is also evident in his realistic plays about the life of his day. Some of his dramas of village life have themes taken from the populist program (*Burlaka* [The Homeless One, 1883], *Ponad Dniptom* [On the Dnieper]) while others are noted for their sharply melodramatic effects (*Naimychka* [The Servant Maid, 1886], *Beztalanna* [The Hapless One, 1886]). These alternate with plays representing the new conflicts of the times, conflicts chiefly arising from the pursuit of money, but also from the effort to achieve a better position in society. Among these are the comedy of manners *Martyn Borulia*, 1886, the dramatic scenes *Sto tysiach* (A Hundred Thousand, 1890), *Suieta* (Vanity, 1903), and—the best of them—*Khaziain* (The Owner, 1900). In the latter play the figure of Puzyr symbolizes the union of the traits of a strong peasant proprietor with those of a merciless new industrialist who crushes everything under the wheel of his economic machine. All of these plays consist of a number of closely connected dramatic scenes; the romantic plot is relegated to a secondary position; the traditional gradual development and sudden solution of the conflict is absent. And there is no clear-cut division between tragedy and comedy. Thus Tobilevych raised Ukrainian dramaturgy to the general level of the modern drama.

Poetry

Among the Realist poets with populist tendencies the most outstanding were ALEXANDER KONYSKY (*Porvani struny* [The Shattered Chords, 1898], and

others), BORYS HRINCHENKO, IVAN MANZHURA (1851-93; the collection *Stepovi dumy ta spivy* [The Dumas and Songs of the Steppe, 1889]), PAUL HRABOVSKY (1864-1902; the collections published in the nineties—*Prolisok* [The Anemone, 1894], *Z chuzhoho polta* [From an Alien Field, 1895], *Z pivnochii* [From the North, 1896], *Dolia* [Destiny, 1897], *Kobza*, 1898). Their works are characterized by the predominance of social themes: "the past misfortunes and the present misery" of the peasantry, social and national oppression, ignorance and



FIGURE 534.
P. HRABOVSKY

injustice, the need for all to labor for the common good of the Ukrainian people, and sacrifices that must be made in the performance of public duties—all these themes are permeated by faith in a better future. Populist critics themselves (A.

Hrushevsky, S. Yefremov) emphasized that the message of the publicist dominates the artistic content of these works. The same motifs appear in Michael Starytsky (*Z davn'oho zshytku: Pisni i dumy* [From an Old Copybook: Songs and Dumas, 1881-2], *Poezii* [Poems, 1908]); in Olena Pchilka (Olha Kosach, 1849-1930, *Dumky-merzhaniky* [Embroidered Songs, 1886]); and in Basil Mova-Lymansky (*Kozachykistiak* [The Skeleton of a Kozak]). These works display a certain "Europeanization" in their subject matter, and indicate a search for a special, lofty, poetic vocabulary which did not entirely correspond to their authors' populist mood. To this trend also belonged Starytsky's translations of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, the poems of Byron, and some Serbian epics. Here the poet's work seems to be a continuation of that of

Kulich. Like Starytsky, Hrinchenko did many translations from different languages, in particular, of nineteenth century poetry. His work disproved the allegation that Ukrainian writing formed a supplementary "literature for home consumption," and was not a part of world literature.

In the poetry of the latter half of the nineteenth century, as in the prose, the undisputed peak of achievement was attained by the works of IVAN FRANKO. The evolution of Franko's poetry is similar to that of his prose. The collection *Z Vershyn i nyzyn* (From Heights and Depths, 1887) is very closely related to his "naturalistic" stories which treat the hungry village, although, to be sure, it contains notes of joy for "a new social wave," and of the faith of a "son of the people" that his life is "a prologue—not

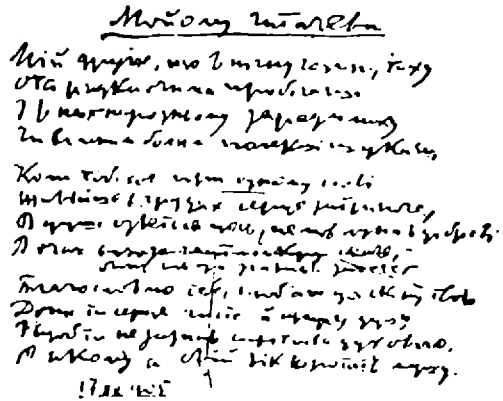


FIGURE 535. AUTOGRAPH OF IVAN FRANKO

an epilogue." In his lyric poems *Ziviale Lystia* (Withered Leaves, 1896), in certain cycles of the intimately lyric poetry in his collections *Mii Izmaragd* (My Emerald, 1898), and *Iz dnev zhurby* (From the Days of Sorrow, 1900), we see to what an extraordinary extent Franko enriched his poetry both by using new themes and genres and by using variations in strophe, rhythm, and rhyme. This achievement was not equalled even by a later generation of

poets, the so-called "modernists." In addition to his social motifs, motifs of tragic love, disillusionment, and doubt also appear—*Poiedynok* (A Duel, 1883); *Pokhoron* (The Funeral, 1899). His later collections (*Mii Izmaragd*, *Semper Tiro*, 1906) are dominated by a philosophical mood of humanism and tranquillity, and *Na stari temy* (On Old Themes) by a highly poetic interpretation of themes of the philosophy of history. Similar, too, was the evolution of his epic verses, from the Realistic poem *Pans'ki Zharty* (A Landlord's Jest, 1887) to *Smert' Kaïna* (The Death of Cain, 1889), in which, as in the later dramatic poems of Lesia Ukraïнка, we find a new and original treatment of a theme from world literature. In his treatment of the theme of the hero-leader and the masses, in his poem *Ivan Vyshens'kyi* (1898), he rises from the Realistic plane to the sphere of psychological and philosophical conflict, and reaches new heights in his monumental poem *Moisei* (Moses, 1905), which crowned Franko's life-long creative work and summed up his ideological outlook. The poetry which Franko wrote during the nineties and after was already of the age which replaced Realism and, with the works of Lesia Ukraïнка, it represented its greatest achievement.

N. Hlobenko

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7. THE AGE OF MODERNISM

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Ukrainian literature became more diverse and more complex. After 1905 the Ukrainian press was legalized within the borders of the Russian empire. In addition to the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald), founded in Lviv in 1898 (after 1907 in Kiev), which drew to itself the best literary talent from all parts of the Ukraine, there appeared other literary groups, each with its own distinct artistic and social characteristics (*Moloda Muza* [Young Muse], *Ukrains'ka Khata* [Ukrainian Home]). The literary activity of Franko, Lesia Ukraïnka, and Kotsiubynsky led Ukrainian literature out of the circle of the predominantly "peasant" material treated in the naturalistic manner. Ukrainian writers began to take new artistic directions, first of all toward Impressionism, with its interest in subjective impressions, experiences, and the personal perception of events and its cultivation of the short story or the lyrical prose-sketch. In the drama the action was transferred to the internal sphere, the external plot was weakened, and in its place the psychological picture was developed in minute detail. In lyrics subjective, individualistic motifs were used increasingly and there was a new interest in the problem of securing perfection of form. Into the system of poetic devices was now accepted the symbol which permitted a subjective interpretation of an image on several planes; in practice, however, it was often replaced by mere allegory. These new trends were given various conventional names: Modernism, Decadence, Symbolism, and, finally Neoromanticism.

The growth of these new trends in Ukrainian literature was characterized by more or less successful attempts to synthesize the old tradition with the new manner. In many instances Ukrain-

ian Modernist prose continued to preserve its connection with the Ukrainian village, which often deprived it of the piquancy of the more refined urbanized culture, but, on the other hand, saved it from symptoms of pathological morbidity and other abnormalities.

Although in rhythmic system, strophic arrangement, imagery, and vocabulary, lyric poetry was far removed from the folk song, it nevertheless did not break its connection with folklore. Social themes likewise continued to be cultivated within the system of the imagery, and allegories and emblems of the populist period were found along with new images derived from subjective experience. These combinations were characteristic of Ukrainian Modernism.

PROSE AND DRAMATURGY IN PROSE

The clearest searching for new paths in prose is seen in the works of MICHAEL KOTSIUBYNSKY (1864-1913). Having begun to write under the influence of Nechui-Levytsky and Panas Myrnyi (*Na viru* [Out of Wedlock, 1891], *Dorohoiu tsinoliu* [At a High Price, 1902]), Kotsiubynsky in his *Lialechka* (Doll, 1901), *Tsvit yabluni* (Apple Blossoms, 1902), *Na kameni* (On the Rock, 1902), and in the other "Crimean" stories changed his style under the influence of western European writers, and introduced into his stories Impressionistic devices. Extensive descriptions were replaced by the flowing impressions, the free associations of a hero. Events were presented through the prismatic consciousness of the characters; and landscape, too, became a *dra-*



FIGURE 536.
M. KOTSIUBYNSKY

matis persona. Kotsiubynsky appeared with these new features at the moment when the Modernists announced their creative platform. In 1901 they published their manifesto in the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk*, and in 1903 appeared their collection *Z-nad khmar i dolyn* (From Above the Clouds and from the Valleys). (In this connection it may be noted that in 1902 Ignatius Khotkevych published in Kharkiv a collection of Modernist sketches *Poeziia v prozi* [Poetry in Prose].)

In 1904 appeared the first, and in 1910 the second, part of Kotsiubynsky's greatest work, *Fata Morgana*. Here the theme of the social conflicts of the village, so traditional in Ukrainian literature, was depicted with extraordinary perfection with completely new methods. The author's mastery was especially evident in the fact that, with the fragmentation and subjectivity so typical of the Impressionistic approach, he succeeded in building up tension and suspense, and in presenting typical images through subjective states of mind. In his subsequent stories Kotsiubynsky, drawing on his fine Impressionistic resources, and making use of the theme of the 1905 Revolution in Ukraine and its suppression, unfolded the spiritual world of man in the "extreme situations" of terror, hatred, the urge to kill, escape from one's fellow beings to nature, etc. In this connection may be mentioned "Vin ide" (He Comes, 1906), "Smikh" (Laughter, 1906), "Persona Grata," (1907), "Podarunok na imennyni" (A Birthday Present, 1911), "Koni ne vynni" (The Horses Are Not to Blame, 1912), "V dorozh" (During the Journey, 1907), and the lyrical monologue *Intermezzo* (1908), so highly esteemed by the critics of the day. The social aspect of Kotsiubynsky's work appeared as an external impetus toward discovery of the depths of man's consciousness and sub-consciousness, which he seized not in its static state but in its ceaseless movement and liquidity.

To this series of stories, which revealed the dark side of the human soul, such

stories as "Son" (A Dream, 1911), "Khvala zhyttiu" (Glory to Life, 1911), "Na ostrovi" (On the Island, 1913) were opposed with their irrepressible optimism, their love of life, and hatred of triviality and disorder. The search for a healthy, whole man, close to the harmony of nature, brought Kotsiubynsky to one of the more primitive ethnic groups of the Ukrainian people—the Hutsuls. While in *Fata Morgana* Kotsiubynsky "renewed" the populist-Realistic theme, in *Tini zabutykh predkiv* (The Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors, 1913), in recreating the Hutsul world with its pristine beauty of nature and its demonology, he "renewed" the ethnographic-Romantic theme. Almost at the same time there appeared *Zemlia* (The Earth) by Olha Kobylanska, *Kaminna dusha* (The Stone Soul) by IGNATIUS KHOTKEVYCH (1877–1932), *Lisova pisnia* (The Forest Song) by Lesia Ukraïnka, as well as the stories of Marko Cheremshyna and Stephen Vasylychenko, which demonstrated the modernization of Romanticism in Ukrainian literature of the twentieth century.

At the end of the nineties, when Kotsiubynsky was finding his bearings, there arose a new group of Ukrainian prose writers—Stefanyk, Martovych, Cheremshyna—who began their literary activity in the new style. BASIL STEFANYK (1871–1936), the author of the stories collected in the books entitled *Doroha* (The Road, 1901), *Klenovi lystky* (The Maple Leaves, 1904), *Moie slovo* (My Word, 1905), *Opovidannia* (Stories,



FIGURE 537.
B. STEFANYK

1905), *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1926), and a number of others, was distinguished from his predecessors (except Franko) by the utter lack of populist idealization of Ukrainian village life. Stefanyk's manner was characterized by Im-

pressionism, psychologism, and severe simplicity. Each story was concentrated to the last degree and was an outwardly restricted human tragedy. Almost each one was a picture of death or of the expectation of death, a tableau of poignant penury or hopeless loneliness. As in the "tragic" stories of Kotsiubynsky, hard external circumstances (misery, family catastrophe, drunkenness, painful parting with one's native village, and the like) served in Stefanyk's stories only as a pretext for the unfolding of the theme of tragedy in the life of a human being.

Stefanyk wrote in dialect, and thus strengthened the impression of his own impartiality. The very basis of his short story was the laconic dialogue, saturated with tragedy. At times it was merely a monologue. The amazing concentration of emotional power, together with the external bareness and perfection of the picture and the seemingly bottomless pessimism, created an extraordinary artistic impression.

LES (ALEXANDER) MARTOVYCH (1871-1916), who wrote *Muzhyts'ka smert'* (A Peasant's Death, 1898), *Khytryi Pan'ko* (Cunning Panko, 1903), and others, was a keen observer of village life and attached greater importance to the depiction of its manners and customs. In his stylizations of peasant speech ("Nechyталnyk" [The Unenlightened One], etc.) he rejected ethnographic ornateness, and directed the photographic simplicity of his narrative toward a humorous depiction of the everyday life of the Ukrainian peasant. Martovych's potentialities were fully realized in his short novel *Zabobon* (Superstition, written 1911, published 1917), which was a broadly planned, satirical, and somewhat caricatured picture of life in a colorless Galician district, with numerous characters representing the village clergy, peasantry, and petty gentry. But both the humor and the description of everyday life seemed also a revelation of his pessimistic outlook. This pessimism, however, was not so much tragic as skeptical.

MARKO CHEREMSHYNA (pseudonym of IVAN SEMANIUK, 1874-1927), after beginning with poetry, wrote a number of stories on the profound drama of the obscure village in all its hopeless ignorance and lawlessness (*Zvedenytsia* [A Woman Seduced], *Zlodtina zlovyly* [They Caught a Thief], *Biřmo* [A Cataract]—all published 1901). Others described war experiences under the occupation of foreign troops, with the attendant cruelty and violence which senselessly contributed to the ruin of the population (*Selo vyhybaie* [The Village Is Perishing], *Selo poterpaie* [The Village Is Apprehensive], *Pershı strily* [The First Shots], and others). Later stories were devoted to the Polish rule in western Ukrainian villages. The critics saw in his works an "invincible optimism which triumphs over external circumstances and overcomes all doubt." Especially in his later stories on love this optimism was combined with an irony with which he charged otherwise the undisturbed tone of his narrative. His dialogue and lyrical insertions were masterful stylizations of popular lamentations and Christmas carols (*koliadky*).

Closest to Cheremshyna in his enthusiasm for the ethnographic element was STEPHEN VASYLCHENKO (PANASENKO, 1878-1932). But to him the tragic notes, so typical of Stefanyk and Cheremshyna, were alien. His search for a style began with the modernized Realistic story on everyday life, sometimes dealing with topical questions, and progressed toward the rather sentimental, Neoromantic story saturated with a folksong lyricism. The village school, the teachers, and now and then the life of a country town were the usual subjects of Vasylichenko's stories. But he turns to the fantastic images of Gogol, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Kvitka's *Konotops'ka vid'ma* (The Witch of Konotop), and Storozhenko: the fantastic was interwoven with the ordinary, the trivial, and the commonplace, and the dream merged with reality in a single, wayward stream. Rhythm, parallelisms, and anaphoras were borrowed

from folk poetry. Vasylichenko pointed the way to the revival of Ukrainian Romanticism which was later taken by Yanovsky and Osmachka.

One of the writers who worked in the Modernist tradition was OLEA KOBYLANSKA (1865-1942). After paying her tribute to the social themes of the day in a few works, she emphasized in the rest of her sketches, stories, and novels her "longing for beauty" and for an "aristocracy of the spirit." Her lonely characters, drawn from the Bukovinian intelligentsia, stood immeasurably higher than the common run of men. Her heroes were engaged in a "love duel," and her heroines struggled for their right to independence: *Valse mélancolique* (1897), *Tsarivna* (The Princess, 1896), *Niobe*, 1907, *Cherez kladku* (Across the Footbridge, 1912), *Za sytuatsiiamy* (In Pursuit of Position,



FIGURE 538.
O. KOBYLANSKA

1914), *Apostol cherni* (An Apostle of the Common People, 1926). In her novel *V nedilii rano zillia kopala* (On Sunday Morning She Dug the Herbs, 1909), following the motifs of the well-known folk song, she turned to ethnographic Romanticism, with

a story of tragic love saturated with folklore against the background of a Carpathian village. The novel *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1902) was concerned with a Realistic subject—a peasant family's struggle for a piece of land—but at the same time it brought out the motif of the mystic "power of the land."

CATHERINE HRYNEVYCH (1875-1947), after her cycle of stories *Legendy y opovidannia* (Legends and Stories) and her novel *Nepoborni* (The Unconquered Ones, 1926), found her bearings in stylized, finely embroidered novels. These novels, full of aristocratic longing, dealt with the medieval period of Ukrainian

history: *Sholomy v sonstsi* (The Helmets in the Sun, 1929); and *Shestykrylets'* (The Six-Winged One, 1935). Among her contemporaries Hrynevych is the most consistently archaic in style.

A different—Realistic—tendency was chosen by VOLODYMYR VYNNYCHENKO (1880-1951), perhaps the most popular Ukrainian writer of the pre-Revolutionary period. In his first stories he chose his subjects from the life of the provincial townsfolk, peasant hirelings who were shown in conflict with their employers, with old traditions going to ruin and the protest growing louder ("Khto voroh" [Who is the Enemy? 1906], "Holota" [The Rabble, 1905], and others). In addition, he wrote stories on the then fashionable themes of tramps and the *declassés* ("Krasa i syla" [Beauty and Strength, 1906], "Na prystani" [At the Wharf, 1907], and others), stories taken from the life of the barracks ("Borot'ba" [Struggle], "Chest'" [Honor]) and the prison ("Temna syla" [The Dark Power, 1906], "Dym" [Smoke, 1907], and others). By his very posing of these problems, Vynnychenko rejected the tradition of populist Realism. Typical of Vynnychenko was a keen interest in raw experience, in the degradation of human dignity. His debt to de Maupassant is evident in his techniques for painting the dark side of life. His predecessor in Ukrainian prose in portraying pathological cases among the intelligentsia was Agathangel Krymsky (1871-1942) in his novel *Andrii Lahovs'kyi* (1894-1905).

Vynnychenko's interest in psychological and moral experiments grew as he more and more frequently depicted characters from among the intelligentsia, especially the revolutionaries ("Zina" (1909), "Moment," "Malen'ka rysochka" [A Small Streak], and others). He dealt with the man without will power, and with signs of biological and social degeneration. His attempts to work out the conception of amorality, according to which "honesty to oneself" permitted the person to commit any crime as long as

his feeling, reason, and will remained in harmony, became the basic theme, the very core, of many of Vynnychenko's works after the Revolution of 1905 (the dramas—*Velykyi Molokh* [The Great Moloch, 1907], *Chorna pantera i bilyi medvid'* [A Black Panther and a White Bear, 1911], *Brekhnia* [The Lie, 1910], and others; the novels—*Chesnist' z soboiu* [Honesty to Oneself, 1911], *Po svii*, *Bozhky* [Idols, 1914], *Rivnovaha* [Equilibrium, 1913], *Khochu* [I Desire, 1916]). This series of works was crowned by his *Zapysky kyrpatoho Mefistofelia* (Memoirs of the Pug-nosed Mephistopheles, 1917), which differed from its predecessors in its ironical treatment of the hero. A radical departure for Vynnychenko, in their adventure genre and in the intricacy of their plots, were the novels *Soniashna mashyna* (The Solar Machine, 1928), and *Nova Zapovid'* (The New Commandment, 1949), which were an attempt to solve in a utopian manner the conflict between antagonistic world powers.

The other prose writers who considered themselves Modernists "renovated" the traditional Realistic resources with less success. They restricted themselves to a few techniques of Impressionism. To this group belonged NICHOLAS CHERNIAVSKY (1867–1937) who took his subjects from the life of the country intelligentsia, particularly at the time of the Revolution of 1905 and afterward.

The prose of VOLODYMYR LEONTOVYCH (LEVENKO, 1866–1933) also showed this Realistic trend, with satirical overtones.

SPYRYDON CHERKASENKO (1876–1939), in his story *Vony peremohly* (They Have Emerged Victorious, 1917), in which we find pictures of the life of the Donets coal basin region, remained within the limits of the Realistic manner; and in the dramas *Kazka staroho mlyna* (The Tale of the Old Mill, 1914), and *Pro shcho tyrsa shelestila* (What the Steppe Grass Murmured About, 1918), he introduced the Romantic motifs of the past (as he did also in his later dramas—*Severyn Nalyvaiko*, 1934, etc.).

An original "primitive" Impressionism enveloped in gloom marks the stories of a talented, self-taught peasant, ARKHYP TESLENKO (1882–1911). They were published in 1912 in a collection entitled *Z knyhy zhyttia* (From the Book of Life).

The stories of JOSEPH MAKOVEI (1867–1925) were noted for their gentle humor. They were written in the old Realistic manner, and dealt with the life of the townsfolk and the intelligentsia. They were collected under the titles *Nashi znaiomi* (Our Acquaintances, 1901), *Opovidannia* (Stories, 1904), and others. In his attempt at a historical novel, *Yaroshenko* (1905), set in the beginning of the seventeenth century, he turned to the Romantic manner.

MICHAEL YATSKIV (1873–) began his literary work on a strictly naturalistic plane, with departures into the grotesque (*V tsarstvi satany* [In the Realm of Satan, 1900], his short novel *Ohni horiat'* [The Fires Are Burning, 1902], and the novel *Tanets' tinei* [The Dance of the Shadows, 1916]). Later he wrote highly abstract, symbolic works (*Adagio consolante*, and others). The work of VOLODYMYR BIRCHAK was closer to Realism.

BOHDAN LEPKYI (1872–1941) began his career with stories thematically close to those of Makovei (the collections *Z sela* [From the Village, 1898], *Z zhyttia* [From Life, 1901], *Shchaslyva hodyna* [The Fortunate Hour, 1901], *Nova Zbirka* [A New Collection, 1903], *U horakh* [In the Mountains, 1904], and others). The peasants and the intelligentsia of the Podilian village are here presented realistically, at times even in a documentary manner. The stories are filled with the mournful poetry of the life of the old priestly families, and their withdrawal into the past ("Do Zarvanytsi" [To Zarvanytsia], "Krehulets," "Berezhany"). Particularly typical of the "pastel" impressionism of Lepkyi was his lyrical story *Pid tykhyi vechir* (On a Quiet Evening, 1923). Later Lepkyi, as a prose writer, turned to historical subjects, and in the twenties, in addition to

writing several stories (*Krutzh* [The Whirlpool], *Sotnykivna* [The Captain's Daughter, 1927], *Orly* [The Eagles]), he wrote a large tetralogy, *Mazepa* (1926-29), consisting of *Motria*, *Ne obyvai* (Do Not Kill), *Baturyn*, and *Poltava*.

POETRY AND POETIC DRAMA

The development of Ukrainian poetry at the end of the nineties and in the first years of the twentieth century was, like the prose, characterized by compromise between populist Realism and attempts to implant the new Modernist forms. The poetry of AGATHANGEL KRYMSKY (the collection *Pal'move hillia* [Palm Branches, 1902-8]) was marked by his subjective searchings, disillusionments, and pantheistic enthusiasm in which the poet tried to cure his bitter loneliness. DNIPROVA CHAIKA (Ludmyla Vasylevska, 1861-1927) in her poetry and verses in prose—*Mors'ki maliunky* (Sea Paintings, 1900)—offered symbolic miniatures: depictions of nature and of man's experiences. The poetry of NICHOLAS FILIANSKY (see below) was distinguished by its tender, lyrical half-tones. VOLODYMYR SAMIILENKO (1864-1925) was the author of fine versified *feuilletons* written on the problems of the day (*Eldorado*, *Patriot Ivan*, and others). He also wrote sharp satires on the idleness, hypocrisy, and cowardice of contemporary society (*Na pechi* [In the Inglenook], *Son* [A Dream]). His sophistication, if not his themes, raised his work above the level of populist poetry. His original humor, so close to popular folk humor, was associated with the Ukrainian version of August Barbier's *Les jambes*, P. J. de Béranger's versified *feuilletons*, and other influences of Western poetry. (Samiilenko successfully translated Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1902) and some of the works of de Beaumarchais and Molière.)

The twentieth century brought a "programmatic" Modernism, noted for its rejection of the old canons and its accep-

tance of the poet's right to dwell on his subjective experiences, on the "eternal" themes, and to foster the cult of beauty. The discrepancies between the two generations are reflected in the renowned discussion between Ivan Franko and Nicholas Voronyi (1900-3). The Modernists for the most part confined themselves to declarations of principle; actually they were, with a few exceptions, closely involved with what they were attempting to combat, unlike their Western contemporaries.

The adherents of Modernism in Galicia, in the first years of the twentieth century, gathered around the group *Moloda Muza* (Young Muse). The poetry of PETER KARMANSKY (1878-1956—the collections *Z teky samobyitsi* [From the Files of a Suicide, 1899], *Oi, liuli, smutku* [Oh Hush, My Sorrow, 1906], *Bludni ohni* [Will-o'-the-Wisp, 1907], *Plyvem po mori t'my* [We Sail on the Sea of Darkness, 1909], *Al fresco*, 1917, and others) was marked by its utter pessimism, and in its devices represented a return to the mournful motifs of the Romanticism of the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was, however, much more subjective. Later, Karmansky produced satirical verses full of indignation and bitterness, particularly on subjects from World War I (*Kryvavym shliakhom* [Down the Bloody Road], and others).

Another poet and dramatist, BASIL PACHOVSKY (1878-1942—the collections *Rozsypani perly* [Scattered Pearls, 1901], *Na stotsi hir* [On the Mountain Slope], *Ladi y Mareni ternovyi ohon' mii* [To Lado and Marena My Fire of Thorns], and others) at first tried to combine the refined verse form and elements of the folksong melodies and euphony but the lack of a sense of moderation in his experiments and his enthusiasm for the allegorical form (*Son ukrains'koï nochi* [The Dream of the Ukrainian Night], *Sontse ruiny* [The Sun of Ruin], and others) prevented him from fulfilling the expectations which his first literary attempts had aroused.

This group also included STEPHEN CHARNETSKY (1881–1943—the collections *V hodyni zadumy* [In the Hour of Meditation], *Sumni idem* [Sadly We Go]); OSTAP LUTSKY (1883–1941—the collections *Z moïkh dñiv* [Out of My Days, 1905], *V taki khvyli* [At Such Moments, 1906]); OSYP TURLANSKY (1890–1933—*Poza mezhamy bolu* [Beyond the Limits of Pain, 1921]), and other writers. Closely related to it was BOHDAN LEPKYI, the author of numerous lyrical poems (collections *Strichky* [Verses, 1901], *Osin'* [Autumn, 1902], *Lystky padut'* [The Leaves Are Falling, 1902], *Na chuzhyni* [In a Foreign Land, 1904], *Nad rikoiu* [By the River, 1905], *Z hlybyn dushi* [From the Depths of the Soul, 1905], and others). In vague elegiac reminiscences he invoked the glorious past and mourned the sadness of the present. Full of dreamy sadness Lepkyi was more a belated Romantic populist than a Modernist.

The same Romantic sadness was the basic motif of the poetry of ALEXANDER KOZLOVSKY (1876–98—*Mirty y kyparysy* [The Myrtles and Cypresses]) and BASIL SHCHURAT (1872–1948). Sometimes there were social overtones (*Lux in tenebris lucet*, 1896, *Moï lystky* [My Pages, 1898], *Na trembiti* [On the Trembita, 1904]) in Shchurat's poetry, as there were in Lepkyi's. His *Istorychni pisni* (Historical Songs, 1907) is a separate cycle dealing with the distant Ukrainian past.

ALEXANDER OLES (KANDYBA, 1878–1944) appeared on the literary scene somewhat later than the poets grouped around *Moloda Muza*. His poetry became unusually popular (*Z zhurboiu radist' obnialas'* [Joy and Sorrow in Each Other's Embrace, 1907]; *Poezii* [Poems, Books II–III, 1909–11]; *Po dorozh v kazku* [A Journey into the Dream, 1910]; *Dramatychni tvory* [Dramatic Works, 1913]; *Poezii* [Poems, Book V, 1917]; *Chuzhynoiu* [In a Foreign Land, 1919], and others). He was a poet of strong temperament, the creator of intimate



FIGURE 539. A. OLES, *Poezii*, COVER BY P. KOZHUN

romantic lyrics, many of which were set to music. Placed against the background of the earlier severe, and often moralizing, poetry, Oles' work was marked by its sincerity, feeling for nature, a lightness of touch, new and fresh images, melodiousness and euphony. During the revolutionary events of 1905, his poetry was full of energetic notes of struggle and hope. His later lyrics and the dramatic poem, *Po dorozh v kazku*, are permeated with disillusionment.

The National Revolution of 1917 evoked new enthusiasm in Oles only to sharpen the experience of defeat. He was known not only for his lyrics and his patriotic appeals, full of oratorical uplift and reminiscent of the populist poetry of the eighties and nineties, but also for his Romantic stylizations of folk poetry (the cycle *Na zelenykh horakh* [On the Green Mountains]) and the sad, subdued meditations during the period of the emigration. The revival of Romanticism found in Oles one of its chief spokesmen.

NICHOLAS VORONYI (1871–193?—*Li-rychni poezii* [Lyrical Poems, Vol. I.

1911], *V slaiivi mrii* [In the Light of Dreams, 1913]) abandoned populist poetry and laid great stress upon the cult of that "inspired sorceress," Beauty, erecting, as he called it, lyrical monuments to Her and to Tragic Love ("Za bramoiu raiu" [Behind the Gates of Paradise] and "Ad Astra"). Voronyi's achievement was the enrichment of the poetic vocabulary and of strophic variations.

GREGORY CHUPRYNKA (1879-1921) published over a brief period several collections of lyrical poetry noted for their genuine search for new rhythms (*Ohnetsvit* [The Fiery Bloom], *Meteor*, *Urahan* [The Hurricane, 1910], *Sontrava* [Anemone], *Bilyi hart* [White Tempering, 1911], *Kontrasty* [Contrasts, 1913], the poem *Lytsar-Sam* [The Knight Himself, 1914]). His earliest poetry reflected the traditional social motifs ("Ridnyi krai" [Native Country], "Poet," and others), but in the years of the reaction he took an increasing interest in the Modernists, as well as in those Romanticists which the former had resurrected (particularly in Edgar Allan Poe). Under that influence Chuprynka's poetry spoke of the "flowers of the grave," "sable grief," "sorrow and venom," with a steady note of "cheerless loneliness." The Revolution of 1917 restored the social mood in his work and brought about a return to the populist rhetoric.

SPYRYDON CHERKASENKO (P. STAKH), with his individualistic moods and some tentative urban motifs, cultivated the traditional romantic song and social poetry, replacing, however, the pictures of the peasants by those of the miners (the cycle *V tsarstvi pratsi* [In the Realm of Labor], *U shakhti* [In the Mine], *Pid zemleiu* [Under the Ground]).

Though a declared Modernist, NICHOLAS CHERNIAVSKY (1867-1937) was, in fact, under the influence of the canons which he denied, in both his social poetry (*Na krylakh* [On Wings], *Bortsiam* [To Those who Struggle], and his

love lyrics (*Z pisen' kokhannia* [From the Songs of Love])). The same may be said of CHRISTINA ALCHEVSKA (1882-1932—*Tuha za sontsem* [Longing for the Sun, 1907], *Vyshnevyyi tsvit* [Cherry Blossoms, 1912]); LUDMYLA STARYTSKA-CHERNIAKHIVSKA (1868-1941—dramas *Sappho*, *Kryla* [Wings], *Het'man Doroshenko* (1918), and others); and ULIANA KRAVCHENKO (YU. SCHNEIDER, 1862-1947), author of the collections *Prima vera* (1885), *Na novyi shliakh* (Towards a New Path, 1891), *Caritas*, and others. MYKYTA SHAPOVAL-SRIBLIANSKY (1882-1931—the collections *Sny viry* [The Dreams of Faith], *Samotnist'* [Loneliness], *Lisovi rytmy* [The Forest Rhythms]) clung as a poet to the old stylistic devices. He was one of the leading critics among the Modernists who were grouped around the journal *Ukrains'ka Khata*. There was no lack of staunch adherents of the old populist movement, who, during the Revolution of 1905, paraphrased Konysky and Hrabovsky.



FIGURE 540. LESIA UKRAINKA

Among them were P. Kapelhorodsky (1882-193?—collection *Vidhuky zhyttia* [Reverberations of Life, 1907]), M. Kononenko (1864-1922), and others.

Poetic masterpieces, at the same time profoundly original and closely related to contemporary world literature, were to be found in the collections of Ivan Franko, published in the nineties and in the first decade of the present century (see p. 1029), and in the poetical works of Lesia Ukraïнка who brought the development of so-called Ukrainian Modernism to its culmination.

LESIA UKRAÏNKA (LARISSA KOSACH, 1871-1913) began with lyric works (collections *Na krylakh pisen'* [On Wings of Songs, 1892, 1904], *Dumy i mrii* [Thoughts and Dreams, 1899], *Vidhuky* [Echoes, 1902], the later cycles of *Osinni spivy* [Autumnal Songs, 1903], *Vesna v Yehypti* [Spring in Egypt, 1910], *Z podorozhn'oi knyzhky* [From a Travel Diary, 1911], and others). Early in her career she was influenced by the followers of Shevchenko and, like Kulish and Starytsky before her, by European literary models. Her lyrics were enriched with new motifs, particularly with "exoticism" borrowed from world culture and history (*Yevreis'ki melodii* [Hebrew Medodies, 1900], *Sphinx*, *Legenda* [The Legend], *Ra-Meneis*, and many others). The common factor in the evolution of Lesia Ukraïнка's lyrics and poems was her transition from the Ukrainian ethnographic themes to subjects that were universal, historical, and psychological. Her lyrics on love and nature rose to the "subtlety of an elegiac impressionism" not previously known in Ukrainian literature. From the very beginning Lesia Ukraïнка's poetry was characterized by the theme of the poet's vocation, and by the motifs connected with it—loneliness, lack of a sound relationship between him and the society which does not understand him and does not accept the appeals of the bard who is steadfast in his awareness of his irrevocable duty. Associated motifs deal with the love of freedom, and national

The image shows a handwritten autograph of Lesia Ukraïнка. The text is written in a cursive, handwritten style in Ukrainian. It appears to be a fragment of a poem or a letter, with some lines starting with capital letters. The handwriting is somewhat slanted and expressive, typical of the early 20th-century Ukrainian literary scene.

FIGURE 541. AUTOGRAPH OF LESIA UKRAÏNKA

freedom in particular, the implacable opposition to the enslavers, and the castigation of everything weak, undecided, and lukewarm. Her strong, sharp tone, which, however, avoided rhetorical declamation, was characterized by its aphoristic manner, one of the most significant features of her poetry. The thematic wealth, depth of thought, and emotional and lyrical power of her poetry merged with the wealth of her genres and strophic resources. Her poems represented a transitional stage from lyrics to dramatic poems. From lyrical-epic poems, in which she to some extent imitated Shevchenko, she passed to such poems as *Robert Bruce* (1893) and *Davnia Kazka* (An Old Tale, 1894), in which the lyrical element is subdued; and then, after the Realistic poem *Odne slovo* (A Single Word, 1906), to Neoromantic poems with elements of symbolism, such as *Vila Posestra* (Vila Sister, 1911) and *Izol'da biloruka* (Isolde of the White Hand, 1913), in which she posed universal psychological problems.

After her prose drama *Blakytna troianda* (The Sky-blue Rose, 1908) came out in 1896, Lesia Ukraïнка developed her favorite form—the dramatic poem. Like many contemporary foreign Modernist writers, Lesia Ukraïнка drew her subjects from various historical periods.

The Bible offered her subjects for the following dramatic poems: *Vavylons'kyi polon* (The Babylonian Captivity, 1903); *Na ruïnakh* (Upon the Ruins, 1904); *Oderzhyma* (The Possessed One,



FIGURE 542. TITLE PAGE OF THE *Lisova Pisnya* (Forest Song), THE WORK OF O. SAKHNOVSKA

1901); *V domu roboty, v kraïni nevoli* (In the House of Labor—in the Land of Slavery, 1906); *Yohanna, zhinka Khusova* (Joanna, Wife of Chusa, 1910); *Na poli krovy* (On the Field of Blood, 1910). Three are concerned with the age of early Christianity: *U katakombakh* (In the Catacombs, 1906), *Rufin i Pristsilla* (Rufinus and Priscilla, 1911), *Advokat Martiian* (The Advocate Martianus, 1913). Classical antiquity inspired such works as *Cassandra*, 1907; *Orfeieve chudo* (The Miracle of Orpheus, 1913); *Orhiia* (The Orgy, 1913); the Western and Eastern Medieval period is the source of *Aishah ta Mahomet* (1907), *Osinnia kazka* (An Autumn Tale, 1905), and *Kaminnyi hospodar* (The Stone Master, 1912), in which Lesia Ukraïнка, following the example of Tirso de Molina, Molière, Corneille, Byron, Pushkin, A. K. Tolstoi, and others, handled that perennial favorite, the Don Juan theme, and gave it a completely independent transformation by solving the problems of power and personal liberty in her own manner. Echoes of the revolutionary ideological conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were heard in *U pushchi* (In the Wilderness, 1910), and *Try khvylyny* (Three Moments, 1905). *Boiarynia* (The Noblewoman, 1910) presents a psychological tragedy in a Ukrainian family of the seventeenth century, and is based on materials taken from Ukrainian folklore.

Breaking the thematic conventions of populist literature, which had become



FIGURE 543. ILLUSTRATION OF O. SAKHNOVSKA FOR *Lisova pisnia*

very restricted after the death of Shevchenko, Lesia Ukraïнка sought difficult and complex themes and gave them completely original treatment.

The universal problems which moved the poetess also in her lyrical work (especially the problem of intransigence and refusal to compromise) were posed in her dramatic poems in the form of witty, ingenious discussions. At first glance these problems seemed far removed from the conflicts to be found in Ukrainian life; but the remoteness was only apparent. This series of dramatic poems was crowned by a work derived from folksongs and popular legends—*Lisova pisnia* (The Forest Song, 1912) on the universal and timeless conflict of an exalted dream with mean, base reality. It is a symbolic drama full of psychological insight, and characterized by lyricism, melodiousness, and an incomparable richness of language.

N. Hlobenko

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8. THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

CENTRAL AND EASTERN
UKRAINE

Introduction

Literature in Soviet Ukraine has been molded by the struggle of forces aroused in Ukraine by the 1917 Revolution to preserve and develop the national identity and to counter the Soviet attempts to destroy the independent literature altogether or to turn it into a mere provincial imitation of Russian literature and thus to make it serve the political purposes of the Soviet regime.

Immediately after the Revolution the Russian Bolsheviks made open attempts at Russification, but under the pressure of Ukrainian resistance they were forced to grant far-reaching concessions in allowing a national and cultural revival. The introduction of the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) in 1921-2, followed by the so-called "Ukrainization" (1923-32), i.e., cultural autonomy, made possible a sweeping national, cultural revival (the so-called "cultural renaissance of the twenties"). However, the strengthening and growth of Russian imperialistic tendencies and the resultant centralizing policy, compulsory collectivization, the elimination of the most active elements among the Ukrainian peasantry between 1929 and 1933, the campaign against the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the years 1933-4—all this together with renewed Russification had a detrimental effect on Ukrainian literature. Those writers who were not physically destroyed were either coerced by terror or bribed by rewards to work in the service of the Soviet regime, even though using the Ukrainian language (a form of the old *malorossianstvo*—Little Russianism).

The great events of the years of the National Revolution and the struggle for freedom gave a powerful impetus to the development of Ukrainian culture, especially of literature. But the un-

favorable conditions prevailing during the Ukrainian-Russian War (1917-21)—the constant changes of regime, the use of terror, the economic decline, and, later, the famine of 1921—prevented the unfolding of a literature commensurate with the potential of a nation awakened to independent life. By the end of the war many of the most outstanding representatives of pre-Revolutionary Ukrainian literature were already outside Ukraine, for they had left the country with the government and the army. Among the émigrés were Oles, Cherkasenko, Samiilenko, Vynnychenko, Voronyi, Levytsky, Shapoval, and many others. Chuprynka was shot by the Russian Bolsheviks in 1921 for actively participating in the insurgent struggle. Those like Cherniavsky, Vasylchenko, Khotkevych, Kapelhorodsky, Starytska-Cherniakhivska, Alchevska, and Filiansky who remained in their native land, and Voronyi and Samiilenko who returned there, were side-tracked from creative work under the new conditions and were unable to make full use of their abilities. A younger generation began to appear.

Symbolism

During the Revolution and the struggle for independence the literary life mostly gravitated around a few journals, such as *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald), which was published from 1917 to 1919 with the collaboration of Oles, Michael Hrushevsky, Alexander Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko, Nicholas Zerov, Paul Tychyna, Michael Ivchenko, Starytska-Cherniakhivska, Peter Stebnytsky, and others; *Shliakh* (The Path), 1917, where alongside the older writers such younger ones as Maksym Rylsky, George Ivanov-Mezhenko, Jacob Savchenko appeared; *Knyhar* (The Bookman), 1918-19, headed by Nicholas Zerov; *Mystetstvo* (Art), 1919-20, edited by Michael Semenko,

with the collaboration of Ignatius Mykhailychenko, Basil Chumak, Demetrius Zahul, Jacob Savchenko, Tychyna, Nicholas Tereshchenko, and others.

The war period and the years of complete devastation that followed made the publication of literary works extremely difficult. They mainly appeared in collections, such as the *Literaturno-Krytychnyi Almanakh* (Literary and Critical Almanac), 1918, of the Symbolists, edited by Savchenko; *Muzahet* (Musagetes), 1919, in which Tychyna, Zahul, Volodymyr Yaroshenko, Michael Zhuk, Clement Polishchuk, Tereshchenko, Paul Fylypovych, Alexis Slisarenko, Volodymyr Kobylansky, George Mezhenko, and others participated; *Grono* (The Grape Cluster), 1920, which contained contributions that showed a changeover by their authors from Symbolism to Impressionism and Futurism, indicating their approach to an acceptance of post-Revolutionary reality (Tereshchenko, Zahul, Geo Shkurupii, Valerian Polishchuk, Fylypovych, Gregory Kosynka, and others); *Chervonyi Vinok* (Red Wreath), 1920; *Vyr Revollutsii* (Vortex of the Revolution), 1921, in which Valerian Polishchuk, Tereshchenko, and others took part; *Zshytky borot'by* (Sheaves of Struggle), 1919, published by a "proletarian" literary group, the *Borot'bisty*, which included Basil Ellan-Blakytnyi and Mykhailychenko; *Zhooten'* (October), 1921, which included the "universal" (proclamation) of the Kharkiv "proletarian" writers, signed by Nicholas Khvylovyi, Volodymyr Soslura, and Michael Yohansen.

The younger generation in Ukrainian literature at this time was primarily Symbolist and Futurist. Symbolism developed late in Ukraine. Such Modernist poets as Oles, Voronyi, and Chuprynka were not Symbolists, although the critics tended to consider them as such. They did not use symbols with their manifold interpretational aspects, but allegories,

conditioned images, such as were quite widely employed in the revolutionary poetry of the preceding generation. The only Symbolist of that generation was NICHOLAS FILIANSKY (1873-1932—collections *Liryka* [Lyrical Poems, 1906], *Calendarium*, 1911, and, after the Revolution, *Tsiluiu zemliu* [I Kiss the Earth, 1928]). The group of Symbolists which appeared during the Revolution did not show any particular signs of originality, with the exception of Tychyna, and soon dissolved. To it belonged the poets Volodymyr Kobylansky (1895-1919), *Mii dar* [My Gift, 1920]); Demetrius Zahul (1890-1938, *Z zelenykh hir* [From the Green Hills, 1918], *Na hrani* [On the Edge, 1919], *Nash den'* [Our Day, 1925], *Motyvy* [Motifs, 1927]); Jacob Savchenko (1890-1938, *Poezii* [Poems, 1919], *Zemlia* [The Earth, 1921]); Nicholas Tereshchenko (b. 1898, collections *Laboratoria* [The Laboratory, 1924], *Chornozem* [The Black Earth, 1925], and others); Volodymyr Yaroshenko (1893-1941, *Svitotin'* [Chiaroscuro, 1918], *Luny* [The Echoes, 1919]); Alexis Slisarenko (*Na berezi kastal'skomu* [On the Castalian Bank, 1918]); Paul Savchenko; and Jacob Mamontov (1888-1940), who wrote dramatic *études*. Zahul, Savchenko, and Tereshchenko soon joined the Revolutionary "proletarian" group of poets; Slisarenko embraced Futurism (*Baida*, selected lyrical poems, 1928), and later devoted himself to prose, in particular to stories of suspense.

Among this Symbolist group, the greatest was PAUL TYCHYNA (b. 1891). The most original author of the Revolutionary period, his poetry appeared in the collections *Sontashni kliarnety* (The Solar Clarinets, 1918); *Pluh* (The Plow, 1919); *Zamist' sonetiv i oktav* (Instead of Sonnets and Octaves, 1920); and *Viter z Ukrainy* (The Wind from Ukraine, 1924). Permeated by his pantheistic philosophy, full of subjective feeling, musical, with an original, remarkably fine adaptation of the images and rhythmic melodic of folksong—the



FIGURE 544.
P. TYCHYNA

work of the young Tychyna was a fresh page in Ukrainian poetry. From his lyrical descriptions of the Ukrainian countryside, Tychyna rose to greater heights with his poem *Zolotyi homin* (The Golden Murmur), a sensitive depiction of Ukraine's awakening to national life and statehood. The poet had a presentiment of the dark stormy night, of the bloody struggle that was approaching; in his collection *Pluh* he drew the National Revolution as a cosmic power, mercilessly destroying the old and giving birth to the new. In his next collection, *Viter z Ukraïny*, Tychyna tried to reconcile the activist-romantic, VAPLITE (See p. 1049) conception of the Revolution as a power creating a new Ukraine with the reality of commonplace post-Revolutionary life. The destruction of Khvylovism (see below) at the end of the twenties marked the end of Tychyna as a poet. After several years of silence, he reappeared with a cycle entitled *Chernihiv* (1931), and later with a collection, *Partiia vede* (The Party Leads, 1934), in which he "reconstructed" himself. In his later works—*Chuttia yedynoi rodyny* (The Feeling of a Single Family, 1938), and *Stal' i nizhnist'* (Steel and Tenderness, 1941)—he became an official ode writer, acclaiming (with the help of the clichés of Soviet journalese) "Stalinist national policy" and "friendship among the peoples" of the USSR.

Futurism

Ukrainian Futurism is not distinguished for the talent of its representatives. MICHAEL SEMENKO (1892–1939) was noted for his experimental cycles which were an attempt to amaze the reader—*Pierrot zadaiet'sia* (Pierrot Puts

on Airs), *Pierrot kokhaie* (Pierrot Loves), *Pierrot mertvopetliuie* (Pierrot Loops the Loop) (1918–19), and his later collection, *Kobzar* (1924). In these works he sang the praises of Kievan café life before the Revolution and then went on to express his enthusiasm for the Revolution, of which, however, his acceptance was only superficial. During the post-Revolutionary years Ukrainian Futurism broadcast its program quite extensively and made constant attempts to form new literary groups: the weekly *Universalnyi Zhurnal* (The Universal Journal, 1918); the group around *Flamingo* (1919), of which the well-known painter, Anatol Petrytsky, was a member; the weekly *Mystetstvo* (Art, 1919); the Kiev group, ASPANFUT (Association of Pan-Futurists), which changed its name to *AsKK—Komunkul't* (Association for Communist Culture); then the group around the journal *Nova Generatsiia* (The New Generation), later the VUSKK (*Vseukraïns'ka Spilka Robitnykiv Komunistychnoi Kultury*—The All-Ukrainian Association of Workers in Communist Culture), renamed, in 1930, the OPPU (*Obiednannia Proletars'kykh Pys'mennykiv Ukraïny*—Union of Proletarian Writers of Ukraine), to which belonged Semenکو, Geo Shkurupii, Alexis Vlyzko, Edward Strikha (Kost Burevii), Gro Vakar, Leonid Nedolia, Leonid Skrypnyk, I. Malovichko, and others. All these groups put out declarations and experimented in new methods. From their proclamation of "death to art" and their search for a "meta-art" which would be a synthesis of poetry, painting, sculpture, and architecture, the Futurists, hiding behind declarations of loyalty to the Revolution, changed over to a cult of "high technique" and began to work against "provincial limitation" and for the "Europeanization of Ukrainian art." We cannot deny the appearance in the *Nova Generatsiia* of interesting experiments in form in both poetry and prose (literary reporting, the experimental novel such as Leonid Skrypnyk's *Inteli-*

gent, 1929), but the Futurists nevertheless lacked solidity and depth. During the process of "consolidation of proletarian literature," *Nova Generatsiia* (New Generation, 1927-31) was liquidated, and the Futurist group along with it, once its critics had been used by the Communist party in an unscrupulous fight against the Khvylovists (O. Poltoratsky's work *Arkadii Zlatoust*, which was aimed against Arkadii Liubchenko, and *Shcho take Ostap Vyshnia?* [What is Ostap Vyshnia?], against Ostap Vyshnia). Vlyzko was executed in December, 1934, and subsequently almost all the other members of the *Nova Generatsiia* group were gradually liquidated.

Close to the *Nova Generatsiia* group were the "Constructive Dynamists," a group formed by the writers who collaborated on the Almanac, *Vyr Revoliutsii* (The Vortex of the Revolution), and the ASPANFUT-ists (see above). The group called themselves *Avangard* (The Avantgarde). It numbered among its members Valerian Polishchuk (1897-1942), O. Levada, Geo (Hrytsko) Koliada, Leonid Chernov, the painters H. Tsapok and Basil Yermilov, and others. The group lasted from 1926 to 1929. It proclaimed "genuine contemporary Europeanism in the technique of art" and "the harmonious synthesis of all creative resources," and attacked all "epigonism, neoclassicism, academism, decadentism, impressionism." In 1929 this group dissolved, part of it merging with the *Nova Generatsiia* group. In spite of the general immaturity of Ukrainian Futurism and its frequent use of ultra-Communist catchwords, this literary movement reflected a real dissatisfaction with existing conditions and did, to some extent, reveal a favorable disposition toward Europe and the constructive currents in European art.

The Neoclassicists

From the very beginning of the Revolution there existed in Kiev a group of scholar poets whom their opponents

called "Neoclassicists." This name has been adopted by historians of Ukrainian literature. The group, among whom there were representatives of various styles—including even Symbolism and Romanticism—were united in their refusal to accept the prevailing state of affairs in their demand for a highly cultured poetry and in their desire to implant in Ukrainian literature immortal examples of foreign literature and art. The Neoclassicists drew from "the sources" of world culture, and stood in sharp opposition to the "revolutionary," "mass," and largely low-grade literature which was being created to satisfy the needs of the moment. The chief representative of this group was NICHOLAS ZEROV (1890-1941), a critic and a literary scholar, an expert on antiquity, an excellent translator, a master of the sonnet and the distich, and the author of a collection of poetry, *Camena* (1924). Rejecting the dependence upon folk-song elements, from which the earlier generation of Modernists had not been able to free themselves, he introduced into Ukrainian literature examples of poetry in the grand style from various countries and ages, especially from antiquity and French Parnassianism, for which he had a special preference.

To the five "unconquered bards" there belonged, in addition to Zerov, PAUL FLYPOVYCH (1891-193?, *Zemlia i viter* [The Land and the Wind, 1922], *Prostir* [Space, 1925]) and MICHAEL DRAKEMARA (1889-1938, *Prorosten'* [The Offshoots, 1926]). Both were at first strongly influenced by the Symbolists. The group also included OSWALD BURGHARDT (1891-1947), an erudite poet and translator who, when he emigrated, wrote under the pseudonym of Yurii Klen (see p. 1063). And lastly there was MAKSYM RYLSKY (b. 1895), the most outstanding representative of this group, the author of the collections *Na bilykh ostrovakh* (On the White Islands, 1910), *Na uzlyssi* (At the Forest's Edge, 1918), *Pid ostynnymy zoriamy* (Under the

Autumn Stars, 1918 and 1926), *Synia dalechin'* (The Blue Distance, 1922), *Kriz' buriu y snih* (Through Storm and Snow, 1925), *Trynadtsiata vesna* (The Thirteenth Spring, 1926), *De skhodiat'sia dorohy* (Where the Roads Meet, 1929), *Homin i vidhomin* (Sounds and Reverberations, 1929), and many masterly translations. His first collection shows



FIGURE 545.
M. RYLSKY

the influence of the Symbolists, but even in it Rylsky was far from the complexity and deliberate vagueness of imagery which is so typical of them. As he progressed, he inclined more and more toward a clear plastic image, sketched most sparingly. His fine language was enlivened by the frequent introduction, typical of his poetry, of an ironic, conversational note, while his imagery was noted for its wealth of historical and literary association. He was sharply criticized for his "escape from life," idealism, and bookishness, and spent some time in prison, after which he "reconstructed" himself and became an official Soviet poet, author of *Pisnia pro Stalina* (Song about Stalin). His other works are: the poem *Maryna*, 1933; *Znak tereziv* (The Sign of Libra, 1932); *Kyiv* (Kiev, 1935); *Lito* (Summer, 1936); *Ukraina*, 1938; *Zbir vynohradu* (The Vintage, 1940); and others. Among prose writers, VICTOR DOMONTOVYCH (see below) was closest to this group.

The "Proletarian" Poets

During the Revolution and the war attempts to write revolutionary poetry were made by a group of authors who accepted the Bolshevik Revolution. Around the newspaper *Bil'shovyk* (Bolshevik) and associated with the Kiev Organization of the Central Committee

of Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionaries, *Borot'ba* (The Struggle), there gathered a group of "proletarian" writers also called *Borot'ba*, who published the almanacs *Zshytky borot'by* (Sheaves of Struggle) and *Chervonyi Vinok* (Red Wreath, 1919). These writers were called the "first brave ones" (an appellation which was later officially prohibited). Among them were Basil Ellan-Blakytynyi (1893-1925), author of the revolutionary Romantic collection *Udary molota i sertsia* (The Beats of the Hammer and the Heart, 1920); an Impressionist prose writer, Andrew Zalyvchyi (1897-1918); Basil Chumak (1900-1919) who wrote *Chervonyi zaspiv* (A Red Prelude, 1920); and Ignatius Mykhailychenko (1892-1919), the author of the "symbolic," really allegorical, prose work *Blakytynyi roman* (A Sky-blue Novel, 1921).



FIGURE 546. COVER OF THE
ALMANACH *Pluh*

An unsuccessful attempt was made, in 1919-20, to forcibly impose Russian proletarian culture upon the whole of Ukraine by setting up the so-called "Proletcults," which later formed the nucleus of the organization of Russian prole-

tarian writers. Then there was an attempt, also unsuccessful, to unite the Revolutionary literary cadres around the official journal *Shliakhy Mystetstva* (The Highroads of Art, 1921–3) in Kharkiv, to which city the capital of Soviet Ukraine had been moved. After this there arose such literary organizations as *Pluh* (The Plow) and *Hart* (The Tempering).

The Association of Revolutionary Peasant Writers, *Pluh* (1922–32), was founded by Serhii Pylypenko (1891–1939). Its aim was to proceed through “a close alliance of the revolutionary peasantry with the proletariat” to “the establishment of a new social culture.” The *Pluh* recruited writers from the masses. It published the almanac *Pluh* and the journal *Pluzhany* (The Plowman—later *Pluh*, 1925–33). At first, it included among its members, in addition to Pylypenko himself, Peter Panch, Andrew Holovko, Ivan Senchenko, Ivan Kyrylenko, Sava Bozhko, Andrew Paniv, Dokia Humenna, and others. Some of these later joined VAPLITE, VUSPP, or *Molodniak*.

In 1923, on the initiative of Eilan-Blakytyni, the editor of the newspaper *Visti VUTsVK*, the Association of Proletarian Writers, *Hart*, was formed, with Khvylovyi, Sosiura, Hordii Kotsiuba, Ivan Dniprovsky, Yohansen, and others as its members. This group regarded Marxism and the postulates of the Communist party program as the guiding ideas behind its activities. It dissociated itself from the “various formalistic groups.” Some members, forming the *Urbino* group headed by Khvylovyi, soon detached themselves from the main body, and the association, after publishing the almanac *Hart* (1924), dissolved in 1925.

In addition to the almanacs *Hart* and *Pluh*, and the journal *Pluzhany*, at the beginning of the so-called period of Ukrainization there appeared in Kharkiv *Chervonyi shliakh* (Red Path, 1923–36) and, in Kiev, *Zhyttia y Revoliutsiia* (Life and Revolution, 1925–33), both monthlies. These contained numerous critical and scholarly articles as well as the literary works.



FIGURE 547. GROUP OF MEMBERS OF THE FREE ACADEMY OF PROLETARIAN LITERATURE
Seated (from the left): P. Tychyna, N. Khvylovyi, N. Kulish, A. Slisarenko, M. Yohansen, H. Kotsiuba, P. Panch, A. Liubchenko; standing (from the left): M. Maisky, H. Epik, A. Kopylenko, I. Senchenko, P. Ivaniv, G. Smolych, O. Dosvitnii, I. Dniprovsky.

Khvylovyi: The Literary Discussion

A remarkable role was played in the Ukrainian literary movement of this time by an organization formed by Khvylovyi after he left the *Hart* Association. The new organization was called VAPLITE—*Viĭna Akademiia Proletars'koi Literatury* (Free Academy of Proletarian Literature) and existed from 1925 to 1928. In demanding literary and artistic perfection and insisting on the creation of high quality Ukrainian art, it united a considerable number of the most talented young members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Members of VAPLITE were Nicholas Khvylovyi, Michael Yalovyĭ (the first President), Nicholas Kulish (the second President), Arkadii Liubchenko (Secretary), Oles Dosvitnii, Basil Vrazhlyvyi, Alexis Slisarenko, Peter Panch, George Yanovsky, Paul Tychyna, Nicholas Bazhan, Ivan Dniprovsky, Michael Yohansen, George Smolych, Gregory Epik, Hordii Kotsiuba, Ivan Senchenko, Alexander Kopylenko, Paul Ivaniv, and Michael Maisky. The organization published a critical symposium, *Vaplite*, Volume I (1926), the almanac *Vaplite* (1926), and five numbers of the journal *Vaplite* (1927).

A supporter of the Revolution during the years of fighting, NICHOLAS KHVYLOVYI (Fitilov, 1893–1933) began his literary career with a collection of poems, *Molodist'* (Youth, 1921), and the poem *V elektrychnyi vik* (In the Electrical Age, 1921). In 1923 he published a



FIGURE 548.
N. KHVYLOVYI

book of impressionistic prose *Syni etudy* (Blue Studies), and later a number of stories in which he unequivocally demanded independence for Revolutionary Ukraine and called for opposition to “psychological subjugation” by Moscow, and a struggle

against “Little Russian detachment and indifference.” He spoke out clearly about the degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution which had brought to Ukraine cruel, dull oppression instead of the promised “blue Savoy.” Khvylovyi also published a series of pamphlets in which he examined the future development of Ukraine and, in particular, of the new Ukrainian literature. In his writings he opposed the “enlightenment” movement—*Prosvita*—which he considered a symbol of provincial limitation, and he also opposed the literary “massism” of the members of *Pluh*. Insisting on the complete spiritual independence of Ukraine, Khvylovyi called upon the new literature to turn “away from Moscow” and to direct itself toward the “psychological Europe” and toward the true sources of world literature. He wished to place Ukraine at the head of an “Asiatic Renaissance.” These thoughts and ideas were expressed in his pamphlets *Kamo hriadeshy?* (Whither Goest Thou? 1925), *Dumky proty techii* (Thoughts against the Current, 1926), *Ukraina chy Malorosia* (Ukraine or Little Russia).

In the extensive discussion that developed over these questions Khvylovyi was supported by VAPLITE members Kulish, Slisarenko, Yalovyĭ, Liubchenko, and by the Neoclassicist Zerov. Against him were ranged the contributors to the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine (KP[b]U), *Komunist* (The Communist), Andrew Khvyliia, Vlas Chubar, and others. The conflict was intensified when Khvylovyi brought out his emphatically propagandist novel *Vaĭdshnepy* (The Woodsnipes, 1927), in which he put his ideas into the mouth of the strong-willed, active heroine Aglaia, who sharply upbraids the bankrupts of the Revolution, Dmytro Karamazov and Hanna. These ideas were so dangerous to the Soviet regime that in April, 1926, Stalin had sharply condemned them in a letter to Kaganovich, the Secretary of the Central

Committee of the KP(b)U. Now, in 1927, at the Congress of the KP(b)U, Kaganovich accused Khvylovyi of supporting a return to the bourgeois order. Khvylovyi and the leaders of VAPLITE were compelled to write letters of repentance but, in spite of this, the organization was disbanded, its journal closed down, and the final part of *Valdshnepy* and the pamphlet *Ukraïna chy Malorostia* were never published.

VAPLITE and the Neoclassicists were time and again termed representatives of the "bourgeois-nationalist ideology" in the official party documents of 1926-7. Then, in January, 1927, the *Vseukraïns'ka Spilka Proletars'kykh Pys'mennykiv* (VUSPP—The All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers), with Russian and Jewish sections, was formed to combat them. This association put out the journals *Hart* (Tempering, 1927-32), *Krasnoe slovo* (Red Word—Russian section), *Zabol* (The Coal Face—organ of the writers of the Donbas region), *Die Roite Welt*, Jewish Section, and the *Literaturna Hazeta* (Literary Gazette). Following the instructions of the Central Committee of the KP(b)U, the VUSPP launched an attack on "nationalistic ideas," resorting, in the course of the polemics, to direct political denunciation. The VUSPP united a great number of proletarian writers (Ivan Kulyk, Ivan Mykytenko, Ivan Kyrylenko, Ivan Le [Moisia], Volodymyr Kuzmych, Zahul, Sosiura, Jacob Kachura, Natalia Zabila, Paul Usenko, Leonid Pervomaisky, and many others, and some critics—Volodymyr Koriak, Samuel Shchupak, B. Kovalenko, Eugene Hirchak, H. Ovcharov, N. Novytsky, and others). Towards the end of 1926 the Komsomol Literary Association, *Molodniak* (Youth), with its monthly journal—the organ of the Central Committee of the LKSMU (Komsomol)—*Molodniak*, was also formed. Among its members were Alexander Korniichuk, Oles Donchenko, Ivan Honcharenko, A. Kundzich, Usenko, A. Klochchia, and others. Both the VUSPP

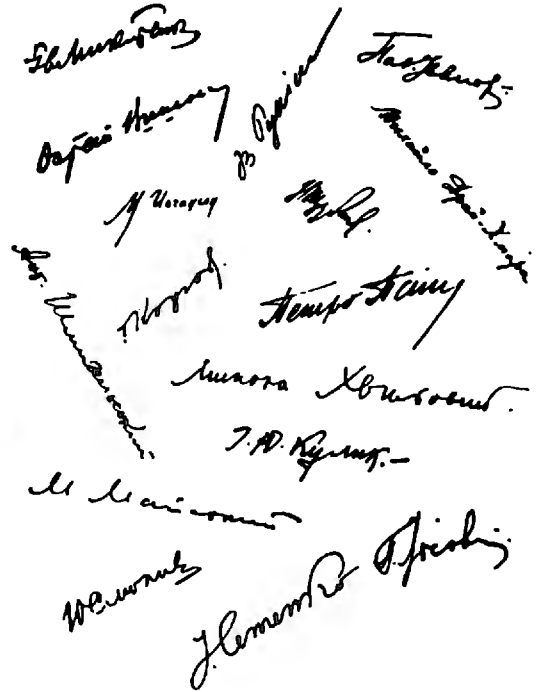


FIGURE 549. *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* COVER

and the *Molodniak* joined the Russian VOAPP (*Vsesobuznoe Obiedinenie Asotsiatsii Proletarskikh Pisatelei* [The All-Union United Associations of Proletarian Writers]).

In the year following the dissolution of VAPLITE, Khvylovyi's group started another journal, *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* (Literary Fair, 1929-30), and a part of the group (Bazhan, Smolych, Yohansen, and Slisarenko) also published its works in the *Universaľnyi Zhurnal* (Universal Journal, 1928-9). The *Literaturnyi Yarmarok* printed drawings by Anatol Petrytsky in its margins, by way of editorial comment published "interludes," in which the Aesopian manner made it possible to comment on current problems, and, finally, in its fiction continued to propagate the ideas of "active Romanticism," and "Romantic vitalism," and to fight for a high level of genuinely Ukrainian art. As a consequence, it aroused sharp attacks from the official critics of the *Molodniak* and the VUSPP (Novytsky—"Na Yarmarku" [At the Fair]—and others).

In their continual attacks the proletarian critics did not forget the Kiev group of writers whose literary positions were similar to those of VAPLITE. Among these were: Michael Ivchenko, Valerian Pidmohylnyi, Gregory Kosynka, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Eugene Pluzhnyk, Demetrius Falkivsky, and others. They formed the literary organizations ASPYS (*Asotshatsia Pysmennykiv*), 1923; LANKA, 1924-6; MARS (*Maisternia Revoliutsiinoho Slova* [The Workshop of the Revolutionary Word], 1926-8). In 1928 this last organization was liquidated almost at the same time as VAPLITE.

The last legal form taken by VAPLITE was the *Prolitfront* organization—the Association of the Proletarian Literary Front—with its monthly of the same name (1930-1). Although it made rather orthodox declarations, participated in propaganda work aimed at raising labor enthusiasm in the factories, and, following the example of VUSPP, accepted into its ranks a group of young workers (Ivan Kaliannyk, N. Nahnybida, and others), pressure from party circles, which demanded a complete “union of all writers,” was still so great that in early 1931 the *Prolitfront* made public a self-critical declaration and then dissolved itself, the majority of its members going over to the VUSPP. That same year the *Nova Generatsiia* was also liquidated, as was Technical-Artistic Group A, which consisted of former VAPLITE members and which had held together for some time around the *Universalnyi Zhurnal* (Smolych, Yohansen, Slisarenko, and others).

But this unification was not enough. The Kremlin, as its centralist tendencies increased, began to impose a new role upon literature. Instead of an educator of the masses in the spirit of the world revolution, it was to be a propagandist of the “leading role” of Moscow (later —of the “great Russian people”). With Stalin’s personal intervention, the proletarian and all other literary organiza-

tions were dissolved on April 23, 1932, under the pretext that there was insufficient contact between the writers and the masses, and of alleged abuses caused by what was called narrow-minded group politics. As a result of this reorganization all separate writers’ associations in all the Republics of the Soviet Union were disbanded, leaving the single, official Union of Soviet Writers “with a Communist fraction within it.” The leading light of this Union was Maxim Gorky, who was noted for his anti-Ukrainian attitude and who, it was expected, would link up Soviet literature with the traditions of old Russian literature. The Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine was formed in 1934, and from then on executed in literary life the dictates which emanated from Moscow and which were implied in such catch phrases as “socialist realism,” service to “friendship among the peoples,” etc.

The Prose of the Twenties and Thirties

Ukrainian story- and novel-writing of the twenties was at first dominated by the so-called “ornamental,” impressionistic story, of which the subject matter was chiefly the Revolution and the Ukrainian-Russian war.

In the next stage, attempts were made to produce more dynamic plots and to paint large canvasses. Under the pressure of official criticism, the answer to the timeless problems of human life had to be continually related to the “actual” themes of the war and the Revolution, to social and national relations under the new conditions, etc. Popular themes dealt with were love “for a woman of the enemy camp,” the “new life,” the conflict between national feeling and duty as dictated by loyalty to the Communist party, and so on. In the twenties, Ukrainian prose writers were still able to treat these matters fairly freely and could introduce much that was individual into their work. In particular, they were able to write satirical descriptions of “everyday revolutionary life,” the new

manners and customs, and the attitude of the Ukrainian village towards the town or city which had fallen under the sway of alien elements.

The range of ideas and themes in Ukrainian literature grew quite extensive in particular, the theme of the "city" became an organic part of Ukrainian prose and poetry. Stylistically, there were an extraordinary number and variety of literary currents—from traditional Realism (Panch) and Realism in the stylized narrative (Constantine Hordiienko) to Impressionism (Kosynka and, to a certain extent, Pidmohylnyi) and Expressionism (Dniprovsky, Senchenko). For the first time adventure stories became important in Ukrainian literature (Smolych). A philosophical form of prose (Liubchenko) also appeared; various types of sketches were cultivated (Mariamov, Yohansen, and other writers of the New Generation and of Group A); and the medium of the *feuilleton* was much used (Ostap Vyshnia, Kost Kotko, and others).

Typical of the Impressionist prose of this time were the lyrical stories of GREGORY KOSYNKA (1899–1934), with their preponderant plastic, visual images (*V Zhytakh* [Among the Growing Rye, 1926], *Na zolotykh bohiv* [Against the Golden Gods, 1922], "Holova Khodi" [The Head of a Chinese, 1923], and others). In them he portrayed strong, determined peasant-insurgents refusing to submit to the occupant; and in his heroes we see and feel the staunch native might of the Ukrainian peasant.

In his musical, emotionally saturated *Syni etudy* (Blue Studies), NICHOLAS KHVYLOVYI extolled the Revolutionary insurrections (*Legenda* [Legend], *Kit u chobotiakh* [Puss in Boots]); but he saw in them the "shades of the Medieval knights," and felt a strong link with the Ukrainian past, while he found the present full of conflicts which could not be resolved ("Ya" [Myself, 1924]). He pictured the drabness and the filth of post-Revolutionary life, with dictates

coming from Moscow, "the center of All-Union philistinism" and the petty bourgeoisie ("Redaktor Kark" [Editor Kark, 1923], "Sanatoriina Zona" [In the Sanatorium District, 1924], "Synii Lystopad" [The Blue November, 1923], "Na hlu-khim shliakhu" [On the Deserted Road, 1923], "Zavulok" [The Blind Alley, 1923], and others). His lyrical flights gave way again and again to Expressionism, and at times he lapsed into satire and the grotesque ("Ivan Ivanovych," "Revisor" [The Inspector General, 1929]).

MICHAEL IVCHENKO (1890–1939) in his collections *Shumy vesniani* (The Sounds of Spring, 1919), *Imlystoiu rikoiu* (Down the Hazy Stream, 1926), *Zemli dzvoniat'* (The Lands Ring Out, 1928), produced lyrical, philosophical, Impressionistic stories permeated by pessimism and his keen sense of the ephemeral nature of happiness and the vanity of human hopes of achieving it. In 1929 he unexpectedly adopted the traditional Realistic manner in his novel *Robitni syly* (The Laboring Force), which was strongly attacked by official critics for setting forth the need to raise and develop a leading cadre among the Ukrainian intelligentsia which would be determined to free itself from the influence of the Russian Revolutionary ideology.

ANDREW HOLOVKO (b. 1897) introduced into his Impressionistic stories and novels of life in the post-Revolutionary village (the collection, *Mozhu* [I Can, 1926]) elements developed in Ukrainian Modernistic prose of the early twentieth century, and this same influence is also to be seen in the novel *Burian* (Weeds, 1927), which gives a gloomy picture of the decay of the village under the new regime, and was quite popular in its time. In his later trilogy *Maty* (Mother, Part I—1931) he combined his earlier Impressionistic manner with the Realistic style of peasant narrative.

The first literary creations of several writers paid tribute to ornate lyric prose: Arkadii Liubchenko (*Buremna Put'* [The Stormy Path, 1926]), Alexander Kopy-

lenko (1900–58, *Buinyi khmil'* [The Luxuriant Hops, 1925]), Panch (b. 1891, *Tam, de verby nad stavom* [Where the Willows Grow by the Pond, 1923]), and others.

GEORGE YANOVSKY (1902–54) was a lyric poet (*Prekrasna Ut* [The Beautiful Ut, 1928]), a story writer, and a Romantic novelist. In his cycle of stories *Krov zemli* (The Blood of the Earth, 1927) his boundless admiration for strong-willed people and his taste for the clear-cut, dangerous situation are apparent. His novel *Maister korablia* (The Ship Builder, 1928), employs the devices of "Leftist art" in its construction—complex composition, inserted stories, and even reportage. It is full of the poetry of the sea and proclaims constructive labor as an ideal. His novel *Chotyry shabli* (Four Sabres, 1930) portrays in highly stylized language the



FIGURE 550.
G. YANOVSKY

courageous Ukrainian insurgents, irrepressible and adventurous, reminiscent of the Zaporozhian Kozaks. In it, he shows the deep national feeling in the powerful movement of the period between 1918 and 1921. Of his later writings, note should be made of the novel, or rather the cycle of stories, *Vershnyky* (The Riders, 1935), in which, in spite of a certain compliance with official demands, he depicted this same elemental national force. In it, as in earlier works, his original, stylized narrative manner, rhythmical and poetic, should be noted.

ARKADII LIUBCHENKO (1899–1945) took the revolutionary story as the theme of his first writings, as can be seen in his collection *Buremna Put'* which he wrote in the lyric style. Then he moved on to more or less romantic stories (the collections *Vona* [She, 1929], *Vitryla tryvoh*

[The Sails of Anxiety, 1932]). In his allegorical *Vertep* (The Puppet Show, 1927) he set forth the need for a philosophical comprehension of the course the new Ukraine must take, and the need to find and form a firm, humanistic philosophy of life. In his *Obraza* (An Insult, 1927) we find a satire on the intelligentsia of the NEP (New Economic Policy) period. He was a master of fine, artistic language. In his romantic stories, the influence of French prose, in particular that of Flaubert, is readily noticeable.

JULIAN SHPOL (M. Yalovyi, 1891–1934) in his novel, *Zoloti lyseniata* (The Golden Foxes, 1928), produced a work of abstract imagery, full of the joy of life ("romantic vitalism"), in which the influence of Romanticism is felt.

ALEXIS SLISARENKO (1891–?) started out by writing poetry, first Symbolist, and then, for a short period, Futurist. Then he turned to prose. Unlike the "ornately Impressionistic" and the later Expressionistic prose, which was quite widespread in the middle twenties, his stories were noted for their firm construction, clear imagery, and sharp, tense situations—*Plantatsii* (The Plantations, 1925), "Avenita" (1927). As he developed, he inclined toward the novel with a definite plot (*Zlamanyi gvynt* [The Broken Screw, 1929], *Chornyj anhel* [The Black Angel, 1929]). Another Futurist, GEO SHKURUPII (1903–43), employed the same kind of prose (the collection of stories *Peremozhets' drakona* [The Conqueror of the Dragon, 1925], and the novels *Dveri v den'* [The Doors into the Day, 1929], and *Zhanna Batalionerka* [Jeanne of the Battalion, 1930]).

GEORGE SMOLYCH (b. 1900) cultivated two genres simultaneously: the novel with a strong plot and many elements of fantasy (*Hospodarstvo d-ra Galvanescu* [The Property of Dr. Galvanescu, 1929], *Ostannii Eidzhevud* [The Last of the Edgewoods, 1926], *Po toi bik sertsia* [On the Other Side of the Heart, 1930], and others), and slightly fictionalized memoirs (*Fal'shyva Mel'pomena* [The

False Melpomene, 1929] and, later, *Dytynstvo* [Childhood, 1937], *Nashi tainy* [Our Secrets, 1936], *Teatr nevidomoho aktora* [The Theater of an Unknown Actor, 1940]).

OLEK DOSVITNII (1891–1934) wrote travel novels, transferring their action to the exotic setting of the distant Orient (*Amerykantsi* [The Americans, 1925]; *Tiunhui* [1926]; *Hiulle, Alai* [1927], and others).

Closely related to these writers was MIKE (MICHAEL) YOHANSEN (1895–1937). A poet, prose theoretician, and translator, he was also a bold experimenter in prose. With great originality he combined elements of Romanticism with an attempt to give his prose a sharp and definite plot, especially in his *Podorozh d-ra Leonardo* (The Journey of Dr. Leonardo, 1928), in which the real hero was the Ukrainian steppe and the Donets River, in *Podorozh liudyny pid kepom* (A Journey of the Man under a Cape, 1932), in the artistic sketch *Kos-Chahyl na Embi*, 1936, and in his autobiographical novel *Yuhurta*, 1936, which gave a picture of pre-Revolutionary Kharkiv and was confiscated by the censorship.

IVAN SENCHENKO (b. 1901) began his literary career with Expressionistic satires on village and town life in pre-Revolutionary times and during the NEP: *Iz zapysok Kholuia* (From the Notes of a Toady, 1927); *Chervonohrad-s'ki portrety* (Portraits from Chervonohrad, 1928); the collection *Dubovi hriady* (Oaken Ridges, 1929). His work was sharply criticized, and he tried his luck with a historical novel, *Chorna brama* (The Black Gates, 1936), which had a certain resemblance to Romain Rolland's *Colas Breugnon*. Later he was forced to use colorless subject matter about youth and industry in the novel *Metalisty* (The Metal Workers, 1932), and others.

The Expressionistic stories of IVAN DNIPROVSKY (SHEVCHENKO), 1895–1934 (the collections *Zarady nei* [For Her Sake, 1928], *Atsel'dama*, 1932) were de-

voted to the horrors of war and to personal conflicts arising out of the war and the Revolution.

VALERIAN PIDMOHYLNYI (1901–3?) first attracted attention with his attempts to write Impressionistic psychological stories, which show some influence by the "ornate school" (*Tvory* [Works, 1920], the collection *Problema khliba* [The Problem of Bread, 1927]). His further writing experimented in Expressionism (*Vits'kovyi litun* [The Military Flyer, 1924], *Tretia revoliutsiia* [The Third Revolution, 1925]). His novel *Misto* (The City, 1928) described the career of a peasant youth, the student Radchenko, who "conquered" the city (Kiev). The novel appealed to the young people from the Ukrainian villages to take this Ukrainian city by storm and in so doing to imbue it with the Ukrainian spirit. Its composition and style revealed the depth of the study Pidmohylnyi had made of the French Realists, in particular Maupassant, whose works he had translated quite well. His last novel, *Nevelychka drama* (A Little Drama, 1930), was written in the same style.

BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH (b. 1899) went from the Impressionism of his early prose to the psychological Naturalism of his novel *Smert'* (Death, 1928), which caused considerable discussion. It rather boldly presents a hero who finds it impossible to reconcile his feelings as a Ukrainian with acceptance of the Bolshevik Revolution. Antonenko-Davydovych also courageously presented the questions of the industrialization and the de-Russification of Ukraine in his interesting factual report *Zemleiu ukrains'koiu* (Throughout the Land of Ukraine, 1930).

The work of V. DOMONTOVYCH (VICTOR PETROV, b. 1893) holds a special place in the prose of the twenties. His closeness to Neoclassicism can be seen in his novel about the life of the contemporary intelligentsia — *Divchyna z vedmedykom* (A Girl with a Teddy Bear,

1928), and in his biographical novels *Romany Kulisha* (Kulish's Romances, 1930) and *Alina ta Kostomarov* (1929) which were highly esteemed by the critics. Of later attempts at fictionalized biography the most interesting was Natan Rybak's *Pomyłka Onore de Balzaka* (The Error of Honoré de Balzac, 1940) in which historical Romanticism is combined with an emphatic sociological treatment of the action.

In a number of epic works of this period, the traditional Realistic or Naturalistic manner is dominant, and the influence of Impressionism is seen in varying degrees. Some deal with World War I and the 1905 and 1917 revolutions and their effect upon both the village and the city, and others with the Ukrainian-Russian War of 1917-21 (Panch's *Z moria* [From the Sea, 1929], *Bez kozyria* [Without a Trump-Card, 1929], and *Holubi eshelony* [The Sky Blue Echelons, 1928]; Alexis Varavva's *Zapysky polonenoho* [Notes of a Prisoner]; Jacob Kachura's *Chad* [Smoke, 1929]; P. Lisovyi-Svashenko's *Zapysky Yuriiia Dibrovy* [Notes of George Dibrova, 1930]; Pervomaisky's *V povitovomu mashtabi* [Within a Small County, 1930]; Le's *Yukhym Kudria*, 1927, and works by other authors).

At the same time the contemporary period of the NEP in village and city was presented. In some cases, the treatment was critical and dealt with individual problems arising from the new mode of life: Panch's *Revansh* (Revenge), the collection *Solomianyi dym* (Smoke from Straw, 1925), the short novel *Bilyi Vook* (The White Wolf, 1929); Alexander Kopylenko's *Vyzvolennia* (Liberation, 1928); HORDII BRASUK'S *Donna Anna*, 1929; Gregory Epik's *Bez gruntu* (The Rootless, 1928); Pervomaisky's *Okolytsi* (The Surrounding District, 1929), *Pliamy na sontsi* (Sun Spots, 1928); Serhii Zhyhalko's *Lypovyi tsvit* (The Linden Blossom, 1930); Borys Teneta's novel *Harmonia i svyniushnyk* (Harmony and the Pigsty, 1928); the

collection of stories *Desiata sekunda* (The Tenth Second, 1929), and others. Similar to the above is the novel by VOLODYMYR GZHYTSKY, *Chorne ozero* (The Black Lake, 1929), in which he sets forth the colonial policy of the Russians in their dealings with the enslaved peoples of the East.

Some of these authors tried to make their work consistent with the "social command," that is, to deal with the current problems of life in conformity with official demands. Thus, the problem of "collectivization" was brought to the fore in works which were later sharply criticized, some of them even being confiscated. Among them were *Persha vesna* (The First Spring, 1931) by Epik, *Zakhar Voochura* (1932) by Gzhytsky, *Mukha Makar* (1930) and *Mamo, vmyraite* (Die, Mother, 1931) by Panch. Of books about industrialization, many of which were likewise later confiscated, the following should be noted: *Povist' nashykh dniiv* (The Story of Our Days, 1928) by Panch, *Novi berehy* (The New Shores, 1932) by Kotsiuba, *Narodzhuiet'sia misto* (A City Is Born, 1932) by Kopylenko, the popular *Roman Mizhzhiria* (A Novel of the Land among the Mountains, 1929) by Le, *Pereshykhtovka* (Recharging in the Blast Furnace, 1932) by Kyrylenko, and others. The Soviet authorities were especially suspicious of historical novels, which they almost always accused of nationalistic idealization of the Ukrainian past (*V stepakh* [In the Steppes] by SAVA BOZHKO, 1930; *Kozak i voievoda* [The Kozak and the Governor] by NICHOLAS HORBAN, 1929; the two-volume *Liudolovy* [Hunters of Men] by Z. TULUB, 1932; and others).

Poetry in the Twenties and Thirties

In addition to the poets already mentioned, there is NICHOLAS BAZHAN (b. 1904) who, after writing lyric poetry—*17 patrol* (17th Patrol, 1926) and *Riz'blena tin'* (Sculptured Shadow, 1927)—turned to Expressionism in *Budioli*

(Buildings, 1929) which is devoted to the philosophy of history and the development of Ukrainians and Ukrainian culture in different epochs. Permeated with philosophy, extraordinarily rich in expression, and passionately written are *Hofmanova nich* (Hoffman's Night, 1929), *Sliptsi* (Blind Beggars, 1930-1), *Trylohiia prystrasty* (A Trilogy of Passion), *Chyslo* (The Number, 1931), and others, all of which came under intense Communist party criticism in the early thirties. Under the harsh terror of 1934-5, Bazhan wrote the poem *Bezsmertia* (Immortality, 1937), which he dedicated to Kirov, and from that time started conforming to the demands of the Soviet regime.

The works of Ukrainian Expressionist THEODOSIUS OSMACHKA (1895-1962) are strong and original. He is the author of the collections *Krucha* (Precipice, 1922), *Skyts'ki vohni* (The Scythian Lights, 1925), and *Klekti* (The Gurgling, 1929). Then, because of official repression, he fell silent until World War II. The collection by EUGENE PLUZHNYK (1898-1936), *Rivnovaha* (Equilibrium, 1943), did not appear during his lifetime. He wrote fine, Impressionist poetry, which went into the collections *Dni* (The Days, 1926) and *Rannia Osin'* (An Early Autumn, 1927). Both DEMETRIUS FALKIVSKY (1898-1934) and ALEXIS VLYZKO (1908-34) were shot. The former is the author of the collections *Obrti* (The Horizons, 1927) and *Polissia*, 1931; while the latter, who sang of the sea and made his characters strong, wrote *Za vsikh skazhu* (I Shall Speak for All, 1927), *Zhyvu, pratsiuu* (I Live, I Work, 1930), and others.

MICHAEL YOHANSEN'S life was tragically cut short in 1937. He was known chiefly for his experiments. A poet-linguist, he sought to combine Romanticism and Symbolism with Expressionism in his works *D hori* (Heavenward, 1921), *Krokovieie kolo* (The Step Ring, 1923), *Dorobok* (The Output, 1924), *Yasen'* (Ash-tree, 1930).

VOLODYMYR SVIDZINSKY (1885-1941) was silent as a poet for most of his life. He was noted for his deep, tender lyricism and for his fine, rich vocabulary. He was the author of *Lirychni poezii* (Lyric Poems, 1922), *Veresen'* (September, 1927), and *Poezii* (Poems, 1940). He was later burnt to death in a locked stable by the Bolsheviks, during their retreat before the Germans.

IVAN BAHRIANYI (1907-63) also published little in his lifetime. His writing was temperamental, imbued sometimes with philosophical, sometimes with journalistic overtones, as can be seen in his poem *Mongolia*, 1927 (his collections of poems were *Do mezh zakazanykh* [To the Forbidden Boundaries, 1928], *Ave Maria*, 1929, *Skelka* [A Small Cliff, 1930]).

VOLODYMYR SOSIURA (b. 1898) was extremely popular among young people in the twenties. He wrote *Chervona zyma* (The Red Winter, 1922); the collections *Misto* (The City, 1924), *S'ohodni* (Today, 1925), *Yun'* (Youth, 1927), the poems *Mazepa* (1929), *Taras Triasylo* (1926), *Dva Volod'ky* (Two Volodias, 1930), another collection, *Sertsie* (The Heart, 1930), which was confiscated, and many others. He was a Romantic poet of great lyrical power but little sophistication. He broke down under the pressure of persistent party criticism and so never realized the hopes which had been placed in him.

Official criticism similarly stunted the literary growth of Teren Masenko, Basil Mysyk, Eugene Fomin, Ivan Kaliannyk, and many others, while it gave its support to such official proletarian lyricists as Ivan Kulyk (*Chorna epopeia* [The Black Epic, 1929]), Leonid Pervomaisky (*Proloh do hory* [Prologue to a Mountain, 1933]), Sava Holovanivsky, Stephen Kryzhanivsky, and Paul Usenko. As might be expected, with the exception of Andrew Malyshko (b. 1912) and Ihor Muratov (b. 1912), no young poet of more than average stature appeared in the thirties.

Drama in the Twenties and Thirties

Achievements in drama were more modest than in the other branches of literature (the plays of Ivan Dniprovsky: *Liubov i dym* [Love and Smoke, 1926], *Yablunevyi polon* [Appleblossom Captivity, 1930]; Jacob Mamontov's *Respublika na kolesakh* [A Republic on Wheels, 1928]; Myroslav Irchan's *Platsdarm* [Place d'Armes, 1933]; Ivan Kocherha's *Feia hirkoho myhdalu* [The Fairy of Bitter Almonds, 1926], *Pisnia pro svichku* [Song about a Candle, 1931]; George Yanovsky's *Duma pro Brytanku* [A Duma about Brytanka, 1938]; and others). However, Khvylovyi's group produced an extraordinarily powerful playwright, NICHOLAS KULISH (1892–1942), one of the greatest in Ukrainian literature. His first work was in the vein of ethnographic Realism, presenting scenes of peasant life which he treated in accordance with the requirements of propaganda (97, 1925; *Komuna v stepakh* [A Commune in the Steppes, 1926, first published 1931]). From *Khulii Khuryna* (1926), Kulish went on to write highly original Expressionistic plays. In *Narodnyi Malakhii* (The People's *Malakhii*, 1929), the author reveals the Bolsheviks' deception of the Ukrainian people, and against this background he presents a Ukrainian version of Don Quixote in the person of Malakhii Stakanchyk. *Myna Mazailo* (1929) is an original Expressionistic farce in which the action is carried on by cardboard people, typical members of the petty bourgeoisie of a Ukrainian city during the period of Ukrainization. *Patetychna sonata* (The Sonata Pathétique, 1931) is a vivid, almost poster-like, allegorical treatment of the Revolution of 1917, which is represented as an expressive sonata full of profound tragedy. The central figure is the proud and willful Maryna, who, in reality, is the personification of the heroic self-sacrificing struggle for the liberation of Ukraine. Finally, mention must be made of the play *Maklena Grasa*, 1933. Kulish's

dramas were created in close association with the *Berezil'* theater which was directed by Les Kurbas. The Sonata Pathétique was staged by two leading theaters in Russia, but its presentation on the Ukrainian stage was not allowed. *Narodnyi Malakhii* and *Maklena Grasa* were banned after a few performances.

The Liquidation of Writers

Already terrorized by the Bolshevik repression of the Ukrainian village (the liquidation of the "kulaks," collectivization in 1929–31, and the artificially created famine of 1933) the Ukrainian intelligentsia was itself the object of systematic and planned persecution from 1929 on. When the Association for the Liberation of Ukraine (*Spilka Vyzvolennia Ukrainy*) was put on trial in 1930, the following were convicted and sentenced to imprisonment: Academician Serhii Yefremov, a prominent literary scholar and critic, Andrew Nikovsky, a critic, Michael Ivchenko and Ludmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska, both writers. With the creation of the All-Union Association of Soviet Writers, Ukrainian writers were perforce included in the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (SRPU) which was headed by I. Kulyk and later by A. Senchenko, a Communist party official, and thus were made directly subservient to Moscow. In January, 1933, under a decision by the Central Committee of the VKP(b), a campaign was started against national expression in the non-Russian republics, above all, against Ukraine.

After the arrest of Yalovy and the suicide of Khvylovyi (1933), writers were subjected to sharp criticism. Many were expelled from the party, others were exiled or imprisoned, and some were executed (in December, 1934: Kosynka, Vlyzko, Ivan Krushelnytsky, Burevii, Falkivsky). Many writers were deported and, at the same time, their works were confiscated from the libraries, as were handbooks and studies in which they were mentioned.

The first wave of terror, the victims of which were most of the members of VAPLITE, the Neoclassicists, MARS, *Pluh*, and the New Generation (Kulish, Yalovyi, Dosvitnii, Vrazhlyvyi, Yohansen, Epik, Slisarenko, Kotsiuba, Kalianyuk, Zerov, Drai-Khmara, Fylypovych, Kosynka, Pidmohylnyi, Antonenko-Davydovych, Pluzhnyk, Falkivsky, Filiansky, Savchenko, L. Mohylianska, Tulub, Teneta, Valerian and Clement Polishchuk, Semenko, Vlyzko, Buzko, Zahul, Pylypenko, Paniv, Nicholas Dukyn, V. Shtanhei, and many others), was followed, in 1937-8, by another wave of persecution. The new victims were precisely those writers who had helped to "criticize" and "uncover" the first victims, i.e., former members of the VUSPP, such as Koriak, Kovalenko, Kulyk, Mykytenko, Kyrylenko, Shchupak, and others. It is typical of these repressions that all except two of the writers who had emigrated from Western Ukraine (then occupied by Poland) were destroyed. As political emigrants, they had grouped themselves in the organization *Zakhidna Ukraina* (Western Ukraine) and published collections of their works under that name. This group included Basil Atamaniuk, Basil Bobynsky, Mechyslav Hasko, Meletius Kichura, I. Tkachuk, Alexander Berezynsky, Anthony and Ivan Krushelnytsky, and many others. Among them the most outstanding were: Myroslav Irchan (*Bila Mavpa* [The White Monkey, 1928], *Rodyna Shchitkariv* [The Family of Brush Makers, 1927], and others); and Volodymyr Gzhytsky (*Chorne ozero* [The Black Lake, 1929]).

The Decline of Literary Activity

The fearful terrorism, of which the aim was to make Ukrainian literature into an organ of Soviet government propaganda, makes it easy to understand why there was a sudden decline in literary activity between 1933 and 1941. The collections of Tychyna (*Chuttia yedynoi rodyni* [The Feeling of a Single

Family, 1938], *Stal' i nizhnist'* [Steel and Tenderness, 1941]), Rylsky's *Kyiv* (1935), *Lito* (Summer, 1936), *Ukraina* (Ukraine, 1938) and others; Bazhan's poem *Bezsmertia* (Immortality), and his expurgated collection *Yambiy* (Iambic poems, 1940), Malyshko's poetry, the collections of Pervomaisky, Sosiura, Muratov, Constantine Herasymenko, Masenko, Ivan Vyrhan, Nahnybida, and others—almost without exception contain an approved treatment of themes laid down by the Communist party authorities: exaltation of "the sun in the Kremlin" (Stalin), of the "happy life," the "achievements of labor," and, above all, "friendship among the peoples" of the Soviet Union. Amid this torrent of eulogies, any individual works of value were simply lost.

Typical of this period was the demand that authors rewrite their works in the spirit of "socialist realism," in other words, the new versions were to conform to official requirements and be open propaganda. Among such works were: the "second" editions of Andrew Holovko's novels, *Burian* (Weeds, 1932) and *Maty* (Mother, 1935), and the "revised" version of Panch's novel *Pravo na smert'* (The Right to Death, 1933) which appeared under the title *Obloha nochii* (The Siege of the Night, 1935). The range of subjects permitted was restricted. The Revolution and the War of 1917-21 were allowed but both had to be treated exclusively from a social and not a national point of view: *Par-khomenko* (1939) by Panch; *Shliakh na Kyiv* (The Road to Kiev, 1937) by S. Skliarenko; *Desnu pereishly bataliony* (The Battalions Have Crossed the Desna, 1937) and *Polk Tymofii Cherniaka* (The Regiment of Timothy Cherniak, 1938) by Alexis Desniak; *Nashi tajny* (Our Secrets, 1936), *Visimnadsiatylytni* (The Eighteen-Year-Olds, 1938) and *Teatr nevidomoho aktora* (The Theater of an Unknown Actor, 1940) by Smolych. Dealing with the "building of socialism" in the city and in the village

were such works as Mykytenko's *Ranok* (Morning, 1934), Kyrylenko's *Vesna* (Spring, 1936), G. Shovkoplias' *Inzheneriy* (The Engineers, 1934), V. Chyhyryn's *Diuchata* (The Girls), and *Kvitten* (April), a cycle of stories about life on a collective farm written by Hordiienko. "Friendship among the peoples" is the theme of novels about the life of young people by Kopylenko, *Duzhe dobre* (Very Well, 1936) and *Desiatytkliashnyky* (The Tenth Graders, 1938), as well as the autobiographical works of Smolych already mentioned. The historical novels were O. Sokolovsky's *Bohun* (1931), L. Smiliansky's *Kotstubyns'kyi* (1940), *Le's Nalyvaiko*, and Rybak's *Pomylka Onore de Balzaka* (The Error of Honoré de Balzac).

When the *Berezi* was disbanded and a "new course" was set for the theater, the Ukrainian plays in the repertory of the Ukrainian theater were restricted to open propaganda. Furthermore, the theater was prevented from looking for new forms, new ideas, or new techniques. Up to 1937 Mykytenko annually produced plays which were written in conformity with the current decisions of the Central Committee of the VKP(b): *Dyktatura* (Dictatorship, 1931), *Kadry* (The Cadres, 1932), *Sprava chesty* (A Matter of Honor, 1932), *Divchata nashoi krainy* (The Girls of Our Land, 1933), *Solo na fleiti* (A Flute Solo). Korniiichuk did the same in his plays—*Zahybeł eskadry* (The End of a Squadron, 1934), *Platon Krechet*, (1936), *Praoda* (The Truth, 1937), *Bohdan Khmelnyts'kyi*, (1939), *V stepakh Ukrainy* (In the Steppes of Ukraine, 1941); as did Pervomaisky in *Nevidomi soldaty* (Unknown Soldiers, 1931), *Maty* (Mother), and others, and Sava Holovanivsky (*Smert' ledi Grey* [The Death of Lady Grey, 1934] and *Dolia poeta* [The Poet's Fate, 1939]). The few plays written by Ivan Kocherha (1885–1952)—*Maistry chasu* (The Masters of the Time, 1934), *Pidesh—ne verneshsia* (If You Go, You Will Not Return, 1936)—stand

alone. They attempt to present philosophical problems and to provide an unexpected solution to them.

The sheer terror directed against Ukrainian writers, the incessant persecution, the campaigns against them by official Soviet organs, the continued adverse official criticism, prove that, even after the suppression of the Ukrainian cultural revival in the literature of Soviet Ukraine, forces were still at work which the Soviet regime could not but consider hostile. What is more, even through the officially dictated subject matter and the official ideology, there can be detected, here and there, fruitful attempts to arrive at an independent outlook and style: *Vershnyky* (The Riders) and *Korotki istorii* (Short Stories, 1940) by Yanovsky; the stylistically experimental novel *Chuzhu nyvu zhala* (She Reaped Another's Field, 1939–40) by Hordiienko, individual poems by Malyshko and Pervomaisky, and some of the works of other writers.

N. Hlobenko

WESTERN UKRAINE AND THE EMIGRATION

After the failure of the Ukrainian liberation movement of 1917–21, political émigrés from central Ukraine took part in the literary life of Western Ukraine. Although the work of émigré writers was always centered around their own magazines and publishers, the relations between them and the local writers grew closer and closer as time went on. Literary developments in Western Ukraine were strongly affected by those in central and eastern Ukraine: what was being done in Soviet Ukraine was either imitated or rejected.

The 1914–18 war and the Ukrainian wars of liberation both found direct literary expression in a new genre, the *Strilet's'ki pisni* (Songs of the Ukrainian Soldiers), which were closely related to folk songs. Many of them, written by Roman Kupchynsky (b. 1894), Nicholas

Holubets (1894–1942), Leo Lepkyi (b. 1889), and others, became immensely popular. The historical events of the period were indirectly reflected in Symbolism, of which the chief representatives in Western Ukraine at that time were the poets grouped around the journal *Mytusa* (1922): Basil Bobynsky (1898–1938, a series of sonnets entitled *Nich kokhannia* [A Night of Love, 1924], *Taina tantsiu* [The Secret of the Dance, 1925], *Smert' Franka* [Death of Franko, 1927], *Poezii* [Poems, 1930], and others); Oles Babii (b. 1897, *Poezii* [Poems, 1923], poem *Hutsul's'kyi Kurin'* [Hutsuls' Battalion, 1928], *Za shchastia omanoiu* [For a Delusion of Happiness, 1930], *Perekhrestia* [Crossroads, 1930], and others); Maria Pidhirianka, Joseph Turiansky, George Shkrumeliak, and, to a certain extent, Kupchynsky, Holubets, and others. This Symbolism corresponded to the mood of the moment in its vagueness and a certain perplexity. It also showed various influences—from Hugo von Hofmannsthal to Paul Tychna. But the Mytusians did not produce any outstanding Symbolist works and they all abandoned Symbolism after a short while. Writers began to form groups chiefly in accordance with their political positions. Gradually most of these literary centers became isolated from each other. Chief among them were: *Visnyk* (The Herald, 1922–39), which was nationalist; *Novi Shliakhy* (New Highroads, 1929–32), which was Sovietophile; *Dzvony* (The Bells), which united the Catholic writers (after 1930); the Warsaw group *My* (We, after 1934); and others.

The Emigré Writers and the Visnyk Group

The most active in the literary life of Western Ukraine in 1921–39 were the group of writers associated with the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary and Scientific Herald, 1922–32), and, later, with *Visnyk* (The Herald, 1933–9), which was edited by the temperamental

publicist Dmytro Dontsov (b. 1883). This journal, the most popular among the nationalistically inclined elements of the population, transformed the outlook of the younger generation of Galicia and Volhynia. The victory of the nationalist trend in the social-political sphere was paralleled by the defeat of Futurism in literature, which was replaced by Romanticism and Classicism. However, this group owes its rise to the émigré men of letters rather than to the West Ukrainian writers.

After the war the work of the émigré writers was at first concentrated in the prisoners' camps, where several newspapers and hectographed journals (*Veselka* [Rainbow], 1922–3) were published. Somewhat later, the socialist-minded writers, who were the majority of the writers of the older generation, grouped themselves around the journal *Nova Ukraina* (The New Ukraine, 1922–8), which was published in Prague by M. Shapoval.

The poetry of the Prague émigré group attained a high level and was greatly influenced by the personality of one of the group's founders, GEORGE DARAHAN (1894–1926), a soldier of the Ukrainian army who, after passing through Polish prisoners' camps, arrived in Czechoslovakia with an incurable illness. Developing the imagery of military life in the medieval and contemporary periods of his country, Darahan, in his collection of poems *Sahaidak* (The Quiver, 1926), followed a path which was later taken by his successors: he wrote of medieval Kiev, of Mazepa, of a hard, heroic age of revolution in Ukraine, using lyricism bound by a rigid form. This was an unexpected extension of the spirit of Classicism which adopted quite non-Classical forms—a new aspect in Ukrainian poetry.

Another émigré writer, Maksym Hryva (1893–1931), described in his poems the feelings of a guerrilla fighter in the region of Chernihiv, while Nicholas Chyrsky (1902–42) wrote several dozen dramas,

comedies, and scenes for reviews (*Pianyi reid* [The Daring Raid], *Otaman Pisia*, 1936, etc., and a collection of lyric poetry, *Emal'* [Enamel, 1941]). Chyrsky's use of suspense and witty repartee and his purity of language assured the success of his dramatic works on the stage.

The spirituality of the Prague group was especially strong in the poetry of ALEXIS STEFANOVYCH (b. 1900, the collections *Poezii* [Poems, 1927], *Stefanos*, 1939). He deliberately sought "difficult" modes of expression, and in his poems would pass from the present to the Middle Ages, and from Muromets, Prince Ihor, and Hetman Bohdan back to the heroes of the last war, through descriptions of Volhynia and Polisia (*Volyns'ki sonety* [Volhynian Sonnets]) to religious poetry. Stefanovych was a lonely figure, and his gems of poetry were permeated with an unearthly coldness. He plumbed the depths of the ancient and the medieval Ukrainian literary traditions in his works.

OXSANA LIATURYNSKA (b. 1902) devoted her work to themes and motifs of medieval Ukraine, even going back, through the medium of the oldest folklore, to ancient times. Her collections *Husla* (The Psalter, 1938) and *Kniazha emal'* (The Princely Enamel, 1941) represented the movement into the past of a soul to which was granted "the bewitching power to project great audacity through the mist of the centuries."

Almost all the writers of the Prague group collaborated on the Lviv *Visnyk*. In the mid-thirties the journal *Proboiem* (Breakthrough, 1934-43), edited by Oleh Olzhych, Oleh Lashchenko, and others, started publication in Prague (closed by the Germans in 1943).

LEONID MOSENDZ (1897-1948) left the collections of poetry *Yunats'ka vesna* (Youthful Spring, 1933) and *Zodiac* (1941), a series of stories, *Vidplata* (Revenge, 1939), *Liudyna pokirna* (Homo Lenis, 1937, 1951), the novels *Zasto* (The Seeding, 1936, 1941, 1946), *Ostannii*

Prorok (The Last Prophet, 1960), and others. An erstwhile soldier, he wrote of an unknown warrior "who has thousands of names." He was able to reconcile his activist attitude toward life with his inclination for reflection. In his dramatic poem *Vichnyi korabel'* (The Eternal Ship, 1933), he set forth a conflict which was typical of his age and his ideas—the conflict between heroism and weakness in human nature.

GEORGE LYPA (1900-44), a poet, essayist, and publicist, who perished in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was an outstanding figure in West Ukrainian and émigré literature. He combined clearness of style with a clearness and firmness of ideas, and in his life displayed great civic courage. His poems (the collections *Svitlist'* [Brightness, 1925], *Suvorist'* [Severity, 1931], *Virtuti* [I Believe, 1938]) are distinguished for the exactness and the laconic power of their expression. His rhythmic are original throughout. In prose, in his three-volume *Notatnyk* (Notebook, 1936-7), which is a cycle of stories, he extolled the self-sacrifice and the deeply ethical outlook of the soldiers who took part in the Ukrainian liberation movement. The effort he made to imbibe the spirit and to master the language of the Ukrainian Kozak period can be seen in his historical novel *Kozaky v Moskovii* (The Kozaks in Muscovy, 1934, 1942). Lypa always wanted to link the present as closely as possible to the old Ukrainian traditions. For this reason, he used themes from the Ukrainian medieval and Baroque periods, and he also used the genre of the *Vertep* (puppet-show) in his *Yarmarok* (Fair), which contains a gallery of traditional types (gypsies, beggars, kozaks). He also wrote a number of dramatic works (*Poiedynok* [The Duel], *Motria*, *Verbunok* [Conscription]), and was one of the most distinguished translators of the western European poets. His essays, *Bti za ukrains'ku literaturu* (The Battle for Ukrainian Literature, 1935), *Pryznachennia Ukrainy* (Uk-

raine's *Destiny*, 1938, 1953), *Chornomors'ka doktryna* (Black Sea's Doctrine, 1940, 1942, 1947), *Rozpodil Rosii* (Dismemberment of Russia, 1941), laid out far-reaching schemes and aroused much discussion. His highly cultured style, his idealistic faith in man, and the scope of his creative activity showed Lypa as a many-sided writer with great integrity.

Wide recognition was enjoyed by the poetry of EUGENE MALANIUK (b. 1897). His poetry and his publicist work had a profound effect upon the new Ukrainian poetry and he had many imitators. In several collections of poetry—*Stylet i stylos* (The Stiletto and the Stylos, 1925), *Herbarii* (Herbarium, 1926), *Zemlia i Zalizo* (The Earth and Iron, 1930),



FIGURE 551.
E. MALANIUK



FIGURE 552.
O. OLZHYCH (KANDYBA)

Zemna Madonna (The Earthly Madonna, 1934), *Persten' Polikrata* (The Ring of Polycrates, 1939)—Malaniuk presented a highly original image of Ukraine as Scythia, the Hellas of the Steppe. Cursing her, Malaniuk nevertheless always returned to his image of Ukraine as both a heroine and a slave, and his angry poetry was often illuminated by an idyllic tenderness. Being the foremost Ukrainian poet abroad he became the target of the attacks of Soviet critics who made his name (along with that of Dmytro Dontsov) a symbol of "fascism." In reality, Malaniuk longed for the "Scythian-Hellenic beauty" to vanish, and wished that "on the fertile land north of Pontus (Ukraine's) own

Rome might rise, and a *Capitolium* come to stand beside the *Lavra*." Malaniuk in his work wrote of the coming of a new epoch when the cell would be reduced to "rubble and ashes," and the book be nothing but "torn paper." His later poetry was "simpler" and it was quite evident that he had become reconciled to the rhythm of classical forms and moods.

The poet OLEH OLZHYCH (KANDYBA, 1909–44), who was tortured and killed by the Nazis in Sachsenhausen, described his age more clearly than anyone else, an age which was "as cruel as a she-wolf." His work is quite modest in quantity: the collections *Rin'* (Gravel, 1935); *Vezhi* (The Towers, 1940); *Pidzamchia* (Around the Castle, 1946), which was published posthumously. More disciplined than his contemporaries, he avoided superficial effects and achieved greatness in simplicity. In *Rin'* he wrote of times long past, the hardness of life then and the militant spirit it engendered. Olzhych wrote about the fighting spirit of his generation in his *Vezhi*, in which the very vigorousness of this theme eclipsed the exceptional fineness of his art—its concentration of expression, which was made possible by his special disregard for the emotional connotations of words. The extreme conciseness of his verse in this collection links it with the work of Stefanovych, and the fine workmanship and simplicity of form are quite in harmony with the severity of the poet's personal life: "plenty is merely vanity, and happiness—a blind sin." His posthumous collection *Pidzamchia* has some of the tranquillity of an aquarelle, and reveals that exciting warmth with which the heart of the poet, while he was alive, had been so full.

At the opposite extreme from Olzhych stood the emotional poetry of OLENA TELIHA (1907–42) who was shot by the Germans in Kiev. She published her verses in the *Visnyk*. Her posthumous collections of poetry are: *Dusha na*

storozhi (The Soul on Guard, 1946), and the fuller *Prapory dukha* (The Banners of the Spirit, 1947). Teliha's poetry is extraordinarily intimate, unusually feminine, and, at the same time, effectively heroic, and shows great severity toward herself and others. She had considerable influence on the younger writers.

OSWALD BURGHARDT (1891-1947) formed a symbolic link between the Ukrainian poets of Soviet Ukraine and those grouped around the *Visnyk*. In 1931 he left Soviet Ukraine and took the pen-name of YURI KLEN. In his works he succeeded in reconciling the Romantic-voluntaristic outlook of the poets of the *Visnyk* with the Kievan Neoclassicists' respect for form. He became one of the "quadriga of the *Visnyk*," the others being Malaniuk, Olzhych, and Teliha. In addition to his numerous poems (both original poems and translations) which were printed in various journals, he published separately his poem in octaves, *Prokliati roky* (The Accursed Years, 1937, 1943), and the collection *Karavely* (The Caravels, 1943). Klen's idealistic Romanticism and his liking for a balanced form influenced others to depart completely from that lyrical disorderliness which had been evident in the early twenties.

The *Visnyk* group also numbered among its members writers of the younger generation, the most talented of whom was SERHII KUSHNIRENKO, the author of the collection of poems, *Pruzhin'* [The Strain], and of stories extolling the age of steel and militant severity, an attitude which was quite typical of the youth of his day.

None of these centers produced any outstanding prose. The prose work of ROSTYSLAV YENDYK (b. 1906) was important insofar as he was a spokesman for the nationalist outlook in literature. He was the author of the collection of stories *Proklin Krovy* (The Curse of Blood), *Rehit Aridnyka* (The Laughter of the Demon, 1937), *V kaidanakh rasy* (In the Chains of Race), and *Zov zemli*

(The Call of the Earth, 1940). Interesting as a literary document of the Western Ukrainian youth problems in the 1930's was a collection of stories by SIGMUND PROTYSYSHYN, *Molode pokolinnia* (The Young Generation). Also noteworthy were the stories of BASIL KARKHUT (*Tsupke zhyttia* [A Tough Life], and other stories).

ULAS SAMCHUK (b. 1905), an outstanding prose writer, was also published in the *Visnyk*. However, he portrayed his heroes as sober-minded, business-like men and his Realistic style did not fit in with the militant-voluntaristic Romanticism of the *Visnyk*. Samchuk first published collections of stories (*Vidnaidenyi Rai* [Rediscovered Paradise], *Rozbytta bohynia* [The Shattered Goddess]), but later achieved success with his trilogy, *Volyn'* (Volhynia, 1932-7); the first volume has been translated from Ukrainian into other languages. In it, Samchuk presented pictures of the young peasant intelligentsia which had grown up in the years following World War I. His trilogy is a literary account of the development of a generation trying to make for itself a better tomorrow. This realistic picture of provincial life was the chief prose work in Ukrainian literature outside Soviet Ukraine. The author's sincerity (most of his works have an autobiographical flavor) assured the success of his epic tale. Samchuk's subsequent works are less of a chronicle and treat more of ideas (the novel *Kulak* [The Wealthy Peasant, 1932]). In them he aimed at a well-constructed plot (*Hory hovoriat'* [The Mountains Speak, 1934]), and developed an original lyric manner in which to present it (*Maria*, 1934). At the same time he no longer confined himself to his native Volhynia, but depicted the Transcarpathia (*Hory hovoriat'*) and Soviet Ukraine (*Maria*) as well.

Because of the writers of outstanding talent grouped around it (although some, for instance, Lypa, later abandoned it), the *Visnyk* gained decisive influence

which it exerted up until 1939, when all the independent Western Ukrainian publications in existence came to an end as a result of the war and the incorporation of Western Ukraine into the Soviet Union. However, before this happened, a group of Ukrainian nationalist writers of the younger generation began their literary career in the *Visnyk*. The majority of their works were edited by BOHDAN KRAWCIW (b. 1904), the central figure of the *Lystopad* (November) literary group. His first collection of verse, *Doroha* (The Road, 1929), expressed the boisterousness of the younger generation in Galicia, which dreamed of ships and broad roads leading to the wide world. Because of the hardships of his life (he was a political prisoner for a long time) and through persevering work on his language, the poet achieved great restraint of expression, a precise, clear-cut form which approaches that of Neoclassicism (collections *Sonety i strofy* [Sonnets and Strophes, 1933], *Ostannia osin'* [The Last Autumn, 1940], *Pid chuzhymy zoriamy* [Under the Alien Stars, 1941]).

The Group around the Journal *My* (We)

The other center of literary activity—particularly in the thirties—was in Warsaw, where, around Lypa and Natalia Livytska-Kholodna, a new group, TANK was formed. Several journals were published there, among which the first place was taken by the quarterly *My* (We, 1934–9). *My* became a center of publication for those who considered themselves followers of Simon Petliura's ideology. Literature, in their view, cultivating high literary standards, had to serve the nation and to follow in the path of the heroes who had fought for Ukraine's independence, of whom Petliura was, for them, the central figure.

The most interesting works published by the journal *My* were those by ANDREW KRYZHANTIVSKY (*Istoriia odnogo vagonu* [A Story of a Certain Coach], *Ochi v truni* [Eyes in a Coffin], a novel

Sontse v piskakh [Sun in the Desert], and others) whose writing was in some degree influenced by Khvylovyi; IVAN CHERNIAVA (his novel *Liudy z chornym pidnebinniam* [People with Black Palates, 1935] was published separately); PAUL ZAITSEV, an author of critical and literary studies; NATALIA LIVYTSKA-KHOLODNA (b. 1902), collections of poetry, *Vohon' i popil* [Fire and Ashes, 1934], and *Sim liter* [Seven Letters, 1937]); and YAROSLAV DRYHYNICH, whose lyric poems were remarkable for their plasticity and exquisite vocabulary. The soul of *My* was BORYS OLKHIVSKY (d. 1944), a talented reporter (*Viter o netriakh* [The Wind in the Wilds]), a critic, and a scholar of great promise (the study *Viľnyi narid* [A Free People, 1937]).

The Catholic Writers

Catholic writers formed the *Logos* association around the Lviv journal *Postup* (Progress, 1921–31) and the publication *Dobra Knyzhka* (The Good Book), the moving spirit of which was the poet, publicist, and critic, Orestes Petriichuk-Mokh (collection of poems *Pro tse, shcho liubliu ya* [What I Am Fond of, 1924]). Much was published by S. Semchuk, V. Limnychenko, Gregory Luzhnytsky-Merriam (poems *Vechirni smutky* [Evening Sorrows], prose sketches *Chornyi snih* [Black Snow], criticism under the pseudonym of Nyhrytsky, the drama *Posol do Boha* [A Delegate to God], and others), and, finally, Myroslav Kapii.

Between 1930 and 1939 the journal *Dzvony* (The Bells) was published, in which, in addition to the authors already mentioned and the literary critics Julian Redko and Nicholas Hnatyshak (1902–40), NATALENA KOROLEVA (b. 1888) also wrote. She had previously worked for the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk*. She published separately *Inakshyi svit* (A Different World, 1935), *Vo dni ony* (Once upon a Time, 1935), *1313* (1935), *Son tini* (The Dream of a Shadow),

Legandy starokyivs'ki (The Legends of Ancient Kiev, 1942), and other works in which she followed Lesia Ukraïnka in going beyond strictly Ukrainian themes. She worked on Old and New Testament subjects and themes from the Middle Ages, wrote stories based on life in Asia, and about the supernatural. Attracted by the mystic element in man's life and in nature, she searched for harmony in the world, for the living God.

The shining light of *Dzvony* was a poet from the Lemkian region, BOHDAN IHOR ANTONYCH (1909-37), author of the collections *Pryvtannia zhyttia* (The Welcome of Life, 1931), *Try persteni* (Three Rings, 1934), *Knyha leva* (The Book of the Lion, 1936), and the posthumous *Zelena Yevanheliia* (The Green Gospels, 1938) and *Rotatsii* (Rotations, 1938). This young poet lived in the full flood of life, and its joy shone in him. He addressed familiarly the sun, moon, stars, and clouds, and was equally at home when writing of the village or the town, as well as with philosophic lyricism. Antonych opened the door for Ukrainian poetry on to a world of "pitchers filled with sunlight," of sorcery, curses, fragrant wood, singing doors, joyous perception, and a fear of nature. In his Lemkian motifs he uncovered from within the forgotten world of the people's soul, and by his pantheistic approach to God ("Let us listen to the grand concert, when of an evening God places His hands on the keyboard of the universe") Antonych made meaningful his joy of living.

The Novi Shliakhy Group

Developments in Soviet Ukraine aroused interest in the political and cultural events taking place there, and resulted in so-called "Sovietophilism."

ANTHONY KRUSHELNYTSKY (1878-1941), the author of the novels *Rubaiut' lis* (The Felling of the Forest, 1919), *Homîn halyts'koï zemli* (The Voice of the Galician Land, 1930), *Duzhym pomakhom kryl* (With a Powerful Sway of the

Wings), in company with several younger men of letters (Ivan Krushelnytsky, R. Skazynsky, Stephen Masliak, Anthony Pavliuk, and others), founded and edited, with financial assistance from Soviet Ukraine, the journal *Novi Shliakhy* (New Highroads), in which were published the first works of AVENIR KOLOMYETS (1906-46, an expressionistic collection of poems, *Provisni kadry*, and the lyric poem, *Deviatyi val* [The Ninth Breaker]), the novel *Tini nad Prykrepiamy* [Shadows over the Prykrepy], and dramatic works), and of George Kosach. This group wrote in quite a variety of styles, but in general their watchwords were those that demanded freedom from traditional forms. The extreme artistic positions, like that of the Futurists, seem to have corresponded to the extreme social and political tendencies (Yaroslav Kondra, book of poems *Yurba* [The Crowd, 1931]). Khvylovyi's influence on prose was revealed in the production of lyrical sketches and in prose writers' abandonment of plot. Much more realistic tendencies were shown in the unpretentious stories of Peter Kozlaniuk (now a Ukrainian Soviet writer).

The response of the nationalist elements in Western Ukrainian society, which became very vigorous during the terror in Soviet Ukraine in the thirties, dealt a heavy blow to Sovietophilism in this area. The chief collaborators on the Sovietophile journals, among them the Krushelnytsky family, moved to Soviet Ukraine and were "liquidated" there in 1934 and later. The group of Sovietophilic authors, which produced nothing or very little of genuine artistic worth, lost its adherents and sympathizers, with the exception of a very few, none of whom were outstandingly talented individuals (Yaroslav Halan, Stephen Tudor).

The Nazustrich Group

A number of poets from Western Ukraine grouped themselves around a

literary journal with a newspaper format, *Nazustrich* (Towards, 1934-9), which was headed by the critic MICHAEL RUDNYTSKY, who believed in taking purely aesthetic criteria for criticism. *Nazustrich* familiarized the general public with the work of Sviatoslav Hordynsky, Antonych, and GEORGE KOSACH (b. 1909). The works of the latter (collections of poetry *Cherlen'* [Redness, 1934] and *Myt' iz maistrom* [A Moment with the Master, 1936], prose works *Charivna Ukraina* [The Enchanting Ukraine, 1937], *Chad* [Smoke, 1938], and others) are noted for their pathos-filled Romanticism, highly ornamented style, and variety of themes (ancient times, Polisia, foreign lands).

SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY (b. 1906) revealed a variety of talents—as a critic, a painter, an adept in the graphic arts, and the author of several collections of poetry (*Barvy i liniï* [Colors and Lines, 1933]; *Buruny* [Breakers, 1936]; *Slova na kameniakh* [Words on Stones, 1937]; *Snovydivo* [1938]). He moved steadily toward more difficult themes and strove for greater and greater perfection of forms. Having begun with Romanticism, which he partly derived from books, Hordynsky later sought an equilibrium between it and other forms, especially in the poem *Snovydivo*, which is written in octaves, and in the collection *Slova na kameniakh*; but even when using the most classical forms, he remained a Romantic but tended toward rhetoric.

Other Litterateurs and Literary Centers

In the twenties and thirties, reminiscences "from the recent past" were quite frequently written. Among the numerous memoirists were some talented writers whose works came close to having significant literary value. This is also true, because of the quality of their style, of the scholarly biographies of Mazepa and of Orlyk (English trans.: Hryhor Orlyk, France's Cossack General, 1956) by Elias Borschak. Some writers became very popular through their realistic descriptions of the period of Ukraine's

struggle for independence (especially Fedir Dudko: *Divchata odchaidushnykh dniv* [The Girls of the Courageous Days, 1937], and the historical work, *Velykyi Het'man* [The Great Hetman, 1936]). Remarkable literary characteristics were revealed in the collection of short stories, *Lypneva otruta* [A July Venom], by Basil Sofroniv-Levytsky.

Satire and humor usually were confined to humorous sketches and *feuilletons* (Joseph Makovei, Stephen Charnecky, Roman Kupchynsky, Fed' Tryndyk, and others).

As literary critics the following were successful: Paul Zaitsev, Eugene Malaniuk, Dmytro Dontsov, Joseph Nazaruk, Luke Hranychka, Ostap Hrytsai, Nicholas Hnatyshak, Osyp Bodnarovych, Dionysius Lukianovych, Michael Rudnytsky, Daria Vikonska, Alexander Mokh, Michael Mukhyn, Demetrius Nykolyshyn, Oleh Lashchenko, and others.

There was also a fairly large group of women writers working on the various literary journals published in Lviv. Among them, in addition to Natalena Koroleva and Catherine Hrynevych (see above), the most outstanding were Irene Vilde (mood etudes, and the novels *Metelyky na shpyl'kakh* [Pinned Butterflies, 1935] and *Bie vos'ma* [The Eight Strikes, 1936]), Sophia Yablonska, Sophia Parfanovych, Irene Vynnytska, Halyna Zhurba (*Zori svit zapovidatut'* [The Stars Announce the Dawn, 1933], *Revoliutsiia ide* [The Revolution Is Coming, 1937]), Daria Vikonska (1893-1945, author of reflective prose poems on love and art, as in the collection *Rais'ka yablinka* [An Apple Tree from Paradise, 1931]), O. R. Zhepetska (*Nad Horynem* [By the Horyn River]), and others.

It is characteristic of the period that the writers of the older generation did not exert great influence. And this in spite of the fact that some of them wrote very valuable works at that time, particularly during the twenties. Such were Stefanyk, Cheremshyna, Martovych, Makovei, Bohdan Lepkyi, Vynnychenko, Cherkasenko, Kobylanska, Bor-

duliak, Modest Levytsky. This is even true of Catherine Hrynevych, although in her fondness for the Ukrainian Middle Ages she used ancient Kievan motifs that were typical of the work of such poets of the younger generation as Darahan, Malaniuk, Olzhych, Stefanovych, Liaturynska, and others. The same may be said of poets who had been popular only a short time before, such as Oles, Voronyi, Karmansky, Charnetsky, and Pachovsky. They did not join in the enthusiastic acceptance of the voluntaristic Romanticism, which was so general in those years, nor in the attempt to develop a strict, severe form, and add depth to the themes and the philosophical basis of literature.

Now, literature was definitely no longer an "incomplete," "peasant literature." Even in dealing with peasant themes new ideas and the new standards and techniques of the literary art were employed. Efforts were made to transcend regionalism finally by a broad philosophical conception of the nation and its history.

In Bukovina, literary life remained in complete decline under the Rumanian regime. The local writers were grouped around the nationalistic journal *Samo-stiina Dumka* (Independent Thought), which was published in Chernivtsi (1931-7). Literary activity was more lively in Transcarpathia where the poets Basil Grendzha-Donsky (b. 1897), Zoreslav (b. 1909) and Ivan Irliavsky (Roshko, 1919-42) were at work. Andrew Harasevych (1917-47) also came from Transcarpathia but he published his works in the periodical journals of Galicia and Prague. His collection *Sonety* (Sonnets) was published separately in 1941. Posthumously were published his collected poems *Do vershyn* (Toward Heights, 1959).

World War II brought together writers from Eastern and Western Ukraine who previously had been separated by political boundaries. The illustrated literary-artistic monthly *Nashi dni* (Our Days) edited by Ivan Nimchuk and M.

Strutynska appeared in Lviv in 1941-4. Although published under war conditions and the severe German censorship this periodical presented not only fiction and works on the history of literature but also articles on ideological problems. The popular family monthly *Vechirnia hodyna* (Evening Hour) was published at the same time. Other literary and publishing centers (Kharkiv, Kiev, Berlin, and Prague) did not attain the importance of Lviv.

I. Korowyt'sky

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9. DURING AND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

SOVIET UKRAINE

This period of literary life was closely connected to the political changes which took place in Ukraine. About 80 Ukrainian Soviet writers and poets joined the Red Army, while the remainder became actively engaged in the war effort in the hinterland. As a result, many writers, through their political work during the war years, became members of the Communist party. The activities of the writers during the period of 1941-5 were subordinated to the requirements of the war propaganda (cf. the newspapers *Za Radians'ku Ukraïnu* [For Soviet Ukraine] and *Za Chest' Bat'kivshchyny* [For Honor of the Fatherland], a literary collection entitled *Ukraïna v ohni* [Ukraine in the Fire], and the like).

But the lessening of police terror with respect to Ukrainian culture, brought about by the circumstances of war and the resurgence of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, resulted in a relaxation in the Ukrainian cultural life of 1943-6 of the Soviet control. There was a noticeable diminution of the official exaltation of all that was Russian, a tendency toward national traditionalism began to manifest itself, and the motifs of genuine Ukrainian patriotism appeared here and there.

In their attempt to create the illusion of an "independence" of Soviet Ukraine, so as to undermine Ukrainian liberation aspirations and revolutionary activities, the Soviet authorities brought a few leaders of Ukrainian culture back from exile and provided them with the opportunity of working in Ukraine. Among them were those who hitherto had been considered politically "unreliable." These men of letters and science included writer Ostap Vyshnia, poets M. Tere-shchenko and I. Vyrhan, and historians of literature and critics A. Doroshkevych, A. Shamrai, and others.

An impressive number of Ukrainian writers, literary critics, and artists in 1943-7 dared to reveal their mind and spirit in such an independent manner that as a consequence they were confronted later on with the dangerous charge of "nationalism." The Soviet publicists uncovered nationalist tendencies subsequently in *Narys z istorii ukraïns'koï literatury* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian Literature, 1945), edited by E. Kyryliuk and S. Maslov. The book treated the period of the literary development of the Kievan Rus' of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries as part of the Ukrainian literary process. It "rehabilitated" in the Ukrainian literature such figures as Shchoholiv, Oles, and Steshenko, and also gave positive evaluation to those groups of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that had gathered around the *Rada*, *Hromads'ka Dumka*, and *Hromada* (see "Press"). Soviet critics detected nationalism in the works of a great number of older and younger writers, such as Rylsky, Yanovsky, Kundzich, and Smiliansky.

The postwar wave of persecution of the cultural life of Ukraine began in the summer of 1946, parallel with simultaneous onslaughts upon the cultural and spiritual life of the other Soviet republics, and lasted until the "thaw" initiated by N. S. Khrushchev.

In September, 1947, the Plenum of the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, acting upon Moscow's instructions, condemned a number of Ukrainian writers for "nationalist errors," considering as a manifestation of nationalism even attention paid to Ukrainian ethnographic peculiarities. Another plenary meeting, which took place in February and March of 1949, initiated a campaign against "cosmopolitanism," which was directed this time almost exclusively against Ukrainian writers and critics of Jewish origin (writers L. Pervomaisky and S.

Holovanivsky, critic I. Stebun and others—all of whom were later rehabilitated). In the latter half of June, 1951, in Moscow, there took place an observance of Ukrainian art and literature, with some 2,500 participants from Ukraine attending. It resulted in a new persecution of Ukrainians engaged in cultural activities, for their alleged nationalism and for their lack of enthusiasm in Sovietizing the cultural process of Ukraine. Especially sharp were the accusations of nationalism directed by *Pravda* (cf. "Against Ideological Distortions in Literature," published in the July 2, 1951, issue of *Pravda*) against Sosiura for his poem, *Liubit' Ukraïnu* (Love Ukraine), written in 1944, because he sang therein of "an eternal Ukraine" and of "a Ukraine in general," and not of Soviet Ukraine as an integral part of the USSR. Subsequently, Sosiura repented publicly in *Pravda*, expressing gratitude for the fact he was not done away with, but allowed to continue his literary labors.

Later on, at the plenary session of the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine on July 30, 1951, Korniiichuk, its president, delivered an address on ideological distortions, in which he directed his principal attack against the following: Sosiura, Rylsky, Kryzhanivsky, Voskresensko, Vyrhan, Tychyna (the last for reissuing his old works, which were "ideologically inadequate") and the critic Kobyletsky.

But even Korniiichuk himself, along with composer K. Dankevych, was subjected to the vituperations of *Pravda* in 1951 for his libretto for the opera *Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi*, forcing him to repent and revise his work.

Terrorized by the party supervision, Ukrainian literature none the less did not attain these achievements which the Communist party set for it. At the eighteenth congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine (March, 1954), it was reported that Ukrainian writers had produced a series of important works. At the same time, however, it was announced

that there was a "lag" of Ukrainian literature behind reality, a preponderance of historical themes with "insufficient treatment of the themes of the present time," and a "colorlessness and superficiality of imagination."

In 1954 the Communist party developed a vast propaganda campaign centered around the "300th anniversary of the reunion of Ukraine with Russia." Into this effort were conscripted the Ukrainian Soviet writers. As a result there appeared a series of pseudo-historical novels, short stories, and poems; for example, a collection of Rylsky, *300 lit* (The 300 Years, 1954), Malyshko's *Knyha brativ* (The Book of the Brothers, 1954) and Rybak's *Pereiaslav's'ka Rada* (The Pereiaslav Council, 1953-4, earlier edition 1948).

Combating Ukrainian nationalism in the literature remains an unending task of the party in Ukraine. At the Fourth Plenum of the Association of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (1957), writers V. Shvets, A. Malyshko, and M. Shumylo were denounced for their nationalist views. At the same plenum writer George Smolych, who was a member of "The Committee for the Return to the Homeland" in East Berlin, a body which endeavored to entice political refugees to return to the USSR, stated: "Among the inimical ideologies which constantly attack our ideology, the ideology of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is especially perfidious. . . . We ought to strengthen our aggressive propaganda on all fronts, we must especially strengthen our attack against the ideology of bourgeois nationalism."

The liberal course that appeared in the field of cultural policies after the twentieth congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956) was marked by the posthumous rehabilitation of a number of Ukrainian writers who were executed or deported in the era of the Stalinist terror (only a few, among them V. Gzhytsky and B. Antonenko-Davydovych, returned from exile). Their writings, however, as far as they

were imbued with the spirit of protest against national subjugation, are being re-edited and reinterpreted in accordance with the present-day policies of the party. Weakened also were the police restrictions regarding the studies of the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: the list of authors whose writings could be consulted was lengthened. But none of these changes eliminated the vassal relation of Ukrainian literature to Moscow.

Prose

The greatest contemporary Ukrainian prose writer, G. YANOVSKY, wrote a novel *Zhyva voda* (Living Water, 1945-7) dealing with the war and the postwar reality in Ukraine. The Soviet critics sharply condemned this novel, asserting that the author gave a "distorted picture of life and reality of the Soviet people" and "exaggerated the role of biological instincts." In fact, the book contains much somber truth about the spiritless Soviet life, about the pessimism of the most thoughtful people living under the Soviet regime, and about the terrible exploitation. Of heroic pathos perfected to the extreme was its "Aesopian language," which lulled the censorship at the beginning. The imagery of Yanovsky, compared with that of other Soviet writers, has a more personal touch. The construction of phrase, the purely individualistic pause to be found in it, the lyrical excitation, the erasure of boundary between epic narrative and lyrical appeal—all comprise the stylistic attributes of *Zhyva voda*. With the collection of *Kyivs'ki opovidannia* (Kievan Stories, 1948), Yanovsky made an attempt to save himself from physical destruction. Characteristic of his attempt is the short story "Biznes" (Business) with its propaganda rendition of the "mercenary" qualities of Ukrainian nationalists and their "servile lackeying before American imperialists," who are depicted as shooting down those D.P.'s who long to return to the USSR. But even the Kievan Stories did not satisfy the top-notch party

leadership, who found in them a "gravitation towards dead antiquity" (e.g., the story "Na Yarmarku" [At the Fair]). Yanovsky was forced to rewrite *Zhyva voda* under the title *Myr* (Peace, 1950), introducing into the work a series of spurious and unrealistic situations in the spirit of "communist optimism."

Yanovsky died in 1954 and in the same year the last volume of his short stories, *Nova knyha* (The New Book), appeared, which contained many of his previous short stories. His novel, *Chotyry shabl'i* (The Four Sabres), which was published in 1930, continued to be banned even after his death and was not incorporated in any collection of works of the writer. Also, his novel *Zhyva voda* has been removed from all official bibliographies as a work condemned by official Soviet critics. During the war, Yanovsky wrote (1944) a play, *Syn dynastii* (Son of the Dynasty), and in the early fifties his stage drama, *Dochka prokurora* (Daughter of the Attorney General), attained a small measure of success.

PETER PANCH created, in addition to a number of stories and novels for the youth (*Chervoni halstuky* [The Red Neck-Ties], 1947, *Erik shukaie shchastia* [Eric Looks for Happiness], 1950), a trilogy, *Homonila Ukraïna* (Ukraine Seethed), consisting of *Zaporozhtsi* (The Zaporozhians), *Pospolyti* (The Common People), and *Nekhat voroh hyne* (Let the Enemy Die), which was completed and published in 1954. The most interesting volume is *Zaporozhtsi* (1946). The national character of the events of the Ukrainian liberation struggle of the seventeenth century is more objectively presented here than in the other two parts of the trilogy. Panch found here his own individualistic style of romantic pathos. Subjected to the attacks of the party critics (cf. journal *Dnipro*, nos. 1-3, 1954), the author was forced to follow the official concept of the "Russian-Ukrainian brotherhood" in the last two parts of his trilogy. Although Panch accented the "class contradictions" in the Ukrainian society of the seventeenth

century, nevertheless in his account Khmelnytsky emerges as an all-national figure above class, for according to the contemporary Soviet historiography he symbolized the desire of the Ukrainian people to "reunify" with the Russian people. Many objectively true traits of the national psychology and of Ukrainian patriotism were interwoven into the makeup of the characters of the novel, exemplified by Col. M. Kryvonis and his wife Yaryna. The author depicts the historical reality on the basis of extensive studies of historical material, especially of the ancient folklore.

NATAN RYBAK wrote a historical novel, *Tak skhodylo sontse* (Thus the Sun Rose), which appeared in the journal *Vitchyzna* (The Fatherland) in 1947. The novel is interesting for its content; the author was attracted by the picture of the powerful Ukrainian state in the times of Khmelnytsky. Later Rybak included this novel as a component part of his work, *Pereiaslavs'ka Rada* (The Pereiaslav Council), adapting the original text to the party requirements for "ideological adequacy." *Pereiaslavs'ka Rada* gives a totally false conception of the Khmelnytsky period; the entire national liberation movement of the time of Khmelnytsky is not portrayed as being directed towards the realization of Ukrainian aspirations to attain independent statehood, but rather towards making Ukraine subservient to Moscow. The second volume of *Pereiaslavs'ka Rada* (it was run serially in the newspapers) covers the historical period of 1654-60, and presents the relations of Ukraine with Sweden as an intrigue on the part of a group of Kozak officers and the Vatican. Rybak strives to paint a sharp contrast: Moscow is shown as the embodiment of political wisdom and "progress," while Sweden is depicted as a country of "savage West European barbarism."

Despite the fact that the guiding motif of the novel was pro-Russian, the author was compelled to rewrite it several

times, and its subsequent editions appeared in a "revised version" with numerous changes and supplements. In 1960, Rybak's new novel was published, entitled *Chas spodiwan' i zvershen'* (Time of Expectations and Accomplishments), of which the first part, *Blyskavkam nazustrich* (Towards the Lightning), appeared in 1958 in *Vitchyzna*. The hero of the novel is a young Soviet scientist and the action takes place in Ukraine, Moscow, Germany, and Canada.

G. SMOLYCH, in addition to his publicist activity, also continues to write literary works. In his novel, *Vony ne proishly* (They Did Not Pass, 1946), he depicts the German occupation of Kharkiv in 1941-2 (with many curious improbabilities). The novel is replete with distortions of reality, and yet it possesses original methods of composition, wittiness, and a suppleness in the chosen genre. Also, the novel *My razom buly v boiu* (We Were Together in Battle) by G. Smolych, written in 1948, is dedicated to the struggle against the German invaders. His other novel, *Svitanok nad morem* (Dawn at Sea), written in 1953, has for its theme the struggle of Bolshevik underground resisters against the French interventionists during 1918-19 in Odessa, in the south of Ukraine. The theme of the novel is very similar to his other ones. His later work, *Myr khatam, viina palatsam* (Peace to Huts, War to Palaces, 1958), is devoted to the events of the October Revolution and the conquest of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks. It is a tendentious novel with a grotesque and vulgarized presentation of the events of the Ukrainian National Revolution, including a lampooning of its principal leaders (Hrushevsky, Petliura, Vynnychenko).

OSTAP VYSHNIA, upon his return from exile in 1941, was commissioned to write biting satires against the Ukrainian nationalists. Vyshnia's satires on everyday Soviet life frequently provide accurate pictures of the Soviet reality (the mediocrity of the officials, the bureau-

cracy, the boasting about "successes of socialist construction," and the like), although the general level of his literary creativeness had fallen low when compared with that of the period before his exile. His satires did not appear in separate books until 1945: *Samostiina dirka* (Independent Little Hole, 1945), *Zenitka* (The Anti-Aircraft Gun, 1947), *Vesna krasna* (Beautiful Spring, 1949), *Mudrist' kolhospna* (Collective Farm Wisdom, 1952). Vyshnia died in 1956.

In regard to the older writers, mention should also be made of I. LE, who is still working on his seven-volume novel, *Ukraina* (Ukraine), involving the Ukrainian history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, of which thus far have appeared the novels *Nalyvaiko* (1940) and *Khmel'nyts'kyi* (1957); of A. HOLOVKO, who wrote a novel entitled *Artem Harmash* (1951) depicting the Bolshevik invasion of Ukraine in 1917-19 and Bolshevism's war against the national movement, which was presented as "bourgeois"; and of A. KOPYLENKO (d. 1958), author of the novels *Leitnanty* (The Lieutenants, 1947), which deals with the return of the military from the war and their leading role in the postwar life, and *Zemlia velyka* (The Great Earth, 1957), and of several collections of short stories published during and after the war.

Among the younger prose writers special popularity was won by OLES (ALEXANDER) HONCHAR (b. 1918), who devoted his trilogy, *Praporonostsi* (The Standard Bearers) to the events of the last war. The work consists of the following parts: *Alpy* (The Alps, 1947), *Holubiyi Dunai* (The Blue Danube, 1948), and *Zlata Praha* (Golden Prague, 1948). He also wrote the novel *Zemlia hude* (The Earth Is Humming, 1947). In the trilogy the author endeavors to develop the idea of Soviet Messianism in Western Europe. In the novel *Zemlia hude* he deals with the Bolshevik underground in Poltava during the German occupation in 1941-2. The principal

character of the novel, Lialia Ubyivovk, is now regarded as one of the canonized Soviet heroines of the "Patriotic War." In his later novel, *Mykyta Bratus'* (1951), through the narration of the protagonist, Mykyta, a collective farm worker, Honchar presented an idealized picture of postwar conditions on a collective farm. The author succeeded in creating a character who is an incessant talker and a comic figure, endowed with a gentle Ukrainian humor. Whenever Honchar frees himself, even for a moment, from the official ideology, he displays a keen enjoyment of the beauty of nature, masterfully manages an expressive plastic phrase, knows how to make good use of the Ukrainian literary language, and is a master of composition. In style he owes a great deal to Kotsiubynsky.

In addition to those mentioned, O. Honchar is the author of such novels as *Tavria* (1952), *Shchob svityvsia vohnyk* (That the Fire May Gleam, 1955), *Partyzans'ka iskra* (The Partisan Spark, 1956), and *Perekop* (1957), and also of such collections of short stories as *Noveli* (Novels, 1949), *Modryi Kamen'* (1950), *Pivden'* (The South, 1951), *Chary-Komyshi* (1958), and *Masha z Verkhovyny* (Masha from the Hills, 1958). Honchar's last work, a novel, *Liudyna i zbroia* (Man and the Arms, 1960), depicts the tragic fate of Ukrainian students, senselessly sent to the front lines by the Soviet command during World War II.

Among the younger prose writers during the war, BASIL KOZACHENKO (b. 1913) also distinguished himself, especially by his short stories collected in the book *Try lita* (Three Years, 1945), and in his novels after the war, such as *Atestat zrilosty* (A Certificate of Maturity, 1946), and *Sertse materi* (A Mother's Heart, 1947), in which one readily observes traces of the romanticism of Hohol (Gogol) and Yanovsky and of Teslenko's impressionistic storytelling. His later short novel, *Novi Potoky* (New Currents, 1948), depicts the actual conditions of

the Ukrainian collective farm village of 1946. Since it did not altogether conform with the limits of the pattern of "socialist realism," the novel evoked the critical comments of Soviet critics; a similar critical attitude was taken toward one of his latest novels, *Salvia* (1956).

An outstanding place in postwar prose is occupied also by other writers of the older and younger generations. Among them we must single out ALEXANDER DOVZHENKO (1894-1956), with his motion picture stories, such as *Povist' polumianykh lit* (Tale of the Flaming Years, 1944-5) and *Antarktyda* (Antarctic, 1952), and especially his autobiographical novel, *Zacharovana Desna* (The Bewitched Desna, 1954-5), and *Poema pro more* (Poem about the Sea).

An excellent stylist and master of the language, MICHAEL STELMAKH (b. 1912) displayed his unusual talent in novels written according to the requirements of "socialist realism." In 1944, he published a collection of short stories, *Berezovyi sik* (The Birch Sap). After the war, he wrote several novels, such as *Velyka ridnia* (The Great Family, 1949-51) and *Krov lud'ska-ne vodytsia* (Human Blood—Not Water, 1957), which deal with the struggle of the landless peasants against the more prosperous farmers (the *kurkuls*), a line officially encouraged by the Soviet authorities, and *Khlib ta s'it'* (Bread and Salt), 1959, which depicts village life before and after 1917.

ALEXANDER ILCHENKO (b. 1909) is the author of several collections of short stories and biographical novels, including one of Shevchenko. In 1958, Ilchenko published a remarkable historical and humorous novel, *Kozats'komu rodu nema perevodu, abo Mamai i chuzha molo-dytsia* (The Kozak Breed Never Passes, or Mamai and Someone Else's Bride).

Present-day Soviet reality and partly also the historical past serve as themes for BASIL KUCHER (b. 1911), author of such collections of short stories as *Poltavka* (The Girl from Poltava, 1950), *Vohnyk* (Small Blaze, 1952), and *Kry-*

nytsia (The Well, 1955), and of the novels *Chornomortsi* (The Black Sea Kozaks, 1952), *Ustym Karmaltuk* (1954), *Proshchai, more* (Goodbye, Sea, 1957), and *Trudna liubov* (Difficult Love, 1960).

The imaginative and adventurous genre of Ukrainian prose in the Ukrainian SSR is manifested in the works of VOLODYMYR VLADKO (b. 1900), who after the war published his re-edited and expanded science-fiction novels, *Arhonavy vsesottu* (The Argonauts of the Cosmos, 1952) and *Nashchadky skifiv* (The Ancestors of the Scythians, 1952), and wrote a new novel, *Syvyi kapitan* (The Grey-haired Captain, 1959).

One of the women writers who demonstrated their literary creativeness after the war is IRENE WILDE, the author of such novels as *Ti z Koval'skoï* (Those from Kovalska Street, 1947) and *Sestry Richyn's'ki* (The Richynsky Sisters, 1958), as well as collections of short stories dealing with the life of the Western Ukrainian intelligentsia.

The young prose writer PAUL ZAHREBELNY published numerous collections of short stories and novels, among which the novel *Europa—45* (Europe—45, 1959) is the most outstanding.

During the official "thaw," a number of Ukrainian poets and writers were "rehabilitated" and permitted to pursue their artistic vocations. Among them were BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH, who in 1959 published a collection of short stories entitled *Kryla Artema Lettuchoho* (The Wings of Artem Letiuchy), a literary account, *Zbruch* (The Zbruch River), and a much criticized novel, *Za shyrmoiu* (Behind the Screen, 1961); and VOLODYMYR GZHYTSKY, who revised his previous novel, *Chorne ozero* (The Black Lake) which he rewrote according to the requirements of party censorship, and published his new collection of short stories, *Povernennia* (The Return, 1958) and an autobiographical novel, *U soit shyrokyl* (Into the Wide World, 1960).

Poetry

Among the poets the most prolific has been **MAKSYM RYLSKY**, an outstanding personality and a full member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. During the war years he produced about ten volumes of poetry and publicist writings (*Za ridnu zemliu* [For the Native Land, 1941], *Slovo pro ridnu matir* [A Song about Mother, 1942], *Neopalyma kupyna* [The Incombustible Thorn-Bush, 1944], and others). Employing the clichés and motifs of the "common fatherland-USSR," Rylsky none the less has penetrating words of love for Ukraine ("Zhaha" [The Thirst]). He was forced to pay his due to the requirements of a sharp polemical smearing of Ukrainian nationalism (*Ya -syn krainy Rad!* [I Am the Son of the Land of the Soviets!], and other poetry). In his collection *Chasha druzhby* (The Chalice of Friendship, 1946), he even went so far as to extol the Russian tsar, Peter I; and Moscow became for him "the heart of the nations, the brain of the earth." Yet the Soviet critics found in Rylsky an "influence of nationalist ideology, which reappeared in the period of war" (Kryzhanivsky). The characteristic trait of Rylsky's writings in the postwar period is the use of a great quantity of Ukrainian historical and literary reminiscences. In the book *Mandrioka o molodist'* (A Journey into Youth, 1944), and in "Kyivs'ki oktavy" (The Kiev Octaves, in the collection *Virnist'* [Fidelity], 1946), Rylsky eulogized in idyllic tones the Ukrainian national and cultural life of the Revolutionary era, and with sympathy presented such outstanding men of Ukrainian culture as Antonovych and Naumenko, thereby incurring the ire of the Soviet critics. Suppressed by the censorship the poet sought themes which would be permissible and yet reflect his interest in Ukrainian subjects. Hence, his poems on Shevchenko, Kotliarevsky, Shchepkin, Zankovetska, and others. His poem "Molodist'" (Youth) represented a de-

parture from the canons of "socialist realism," employing a humorous and flippant tone with respect to Soviet reality which provoked some criticism. The latest books of poetry of Rylsky are: *Sad nad morem* (An Orchard on the Sea, 1955), *Trotandy i vynohrad* (Roses and Grapes, 1957), *Daleki neboskhyly* (Distant Skies, 1959), *Holosivska osin'* (Autumn in Hosiiv, 1960); all of them are marked by classic perfection, maturity, and serenity.

Of the poets active during the war and postwar years, the greatest artistic achievement was attained by **L. PERVOMAIISKY**, a Ukrainian Jew, especially through his collection *Zemlia* (The Earth, 1943). The themes of his poetry are varied and, under the Soviet conditions, quite fresh and original. His poems reflect not only the directives for official optimism; they also express moods of fatigue and a feeling of despair at the sight of the heavy war sacrifices. His gamut of love and erotic motifs is a long one: from passionately stormy love to a humor not unlike that of Boccaccio. His book, *Slavians'ki baliady* (Slavic Ballads, 1946), which contains translations of folk song-ballads from the various Slavic languages, is a valuable contribution. In 1949, Pervomaisky was accused of a tendency toward Zionist ideas (his poem, "Yak tse stalos' zi mnoiu -ne znaiu" [How it Happened To Me—I Don't Know]). In the poems published subsequently, "ideological deviations" likewise were found ("Zhinka kolo Zolotykh Vorit" [A Woman by the Golden Gate]). Pervomaisky was most bitterly denounced by official party circles for his poem "Kazka" (The Fable), published in 1958, in which he complained that he has been seeking a fable, but cannot find one.

Another notable work in the Ukrainian literature is **A. MALYSHKO's** collection, *Chotyry lita* (The Four Years, 1946). In his better poems Malyshko seeks unusual subjects or angles of perspective. The poetic style of Malyshko is an uncon-

cealed, emphatic imitation of classical and folklore models upon a thematic canvas which, it would seem, makes such imitation impossible. He is also fond of capricious changes of meter in different strophes of the same poem. In places he is a sentimental fantast, because he easily and directly, almost childishly, mingles his wishful dreaming with reality. At times he uses images which are as complicated as a dream (e.g., his poem, "Khotiv by tu noshu skynut' z plecha" [I Would Like to Cast This Garb Off My Back]). He is seeking the support of the national traditional form: *Slovo o polku Ihorevi* (The Tale of Ihor's Armament), Shevchenko, the archaic song, and the like. His next collection of poetry, *Za syntm morem* (Beyond the Blue Sea, 1950), is permeated with coarse tendentiousness. These poems besmirch the American way of life and make heroes out of the Communist elements who act as Soviet agents in the United States. The poem "Vin povernuvsia dodomu" (He Returned Home, 1951) dealing with the war in Korea, was penned in the same spirit. Its basic idea is the condemnation of "American imperialism." Among his latest works are "Shcho zapysano mnoiu" (What I Have Written, 1956), *Sertse moiei materi* (My Mother's Heart, 1959), and *Poluden' viku* (Mid-century, 1960).

The creative work of P. TYCHYNA in this period was totally subordinated to official propaganda tasks. Among his poems of greater poetic value we must distinguish the work entitled *Pokhoron druha* (The Funeral of a Friend, 1942). The mournfulness of the funeral procession and the intensification of human feeling into despair, especially when the coffin of a close friend is being lowered into the ground, are presented with extraordinary plasticity of expression. Almost all of his collections of poetry, published after the war, are characterized by good form, although their contents are purely propagandistic. Tychyna also appeared as a translator: *Baiky*

kharkivs'ki (The Kharkiv Fables) of Skovoroda, works of the Bulgarian poet Khristo Botev, etc.

Among the orthodox Communist poets is N. BAZHAN, who during and after the war revealed a considerable creativeness (collections, *Kliatva* [An Oath, 1942]; *Stalinhreds'kyi zoshyt* [The Stalingrad Copy Book, 1943]; *V dni viiny* [In the Days of War, 1945]; a cycle, *Anhliis'ki vrazhennia* [English Impressions, 1948], and others). The poem "Danylo Halyt's'kyi" (Daniel of Halych, 1942), unfolds as a theme the defeat in 1238 of the Crusaders led by Bruno. Among Bazhan's latest works the most notable is *Mickiewicz v Odesi* (Mickiewicz in Odessa, 1957), a cycle of poetry which depicts the spiritual life of Adam Mickiewicz in 1825.

Among the older generation poets worthy of mention are T. MASENKO, who in 1957 published a collection, *Sorok vesen* (The Forty Springs), and in 1958 the collection, *Yak pakhne zemlia* (How the Earth Smells); and P. DOROSHKO, noted for several poems written in 1945-7, and a few published recently. V. SOSIURA, extremely prolific, has not produced anything interesting either in a thematic or artistic form in comparison with his prewar creativity.

Outstanding among the younger poets is PLATON VORONKO (b. 1913): collections, *Dobryi ranok* (Good Morning) and *Slaven myr* (Glorious Peace, 1950). Soviet official critics placed a high value on his poem "Raikom komsomolu" (The District Committee of the Komsomol). But later he was accused of formalism (attention paid to the inner instrumentation of the verse, the inner rhymes and alliterations). Some of his poems for children are genuinely fresh and permeated with feeling (e.g., the poem "Lypka" [The Little Linden Tree]). Among the recent collections of Voronko, the most outstanding are *Oboviazok* (Duty, 1955), *Moia Hutsulshchyna* (My Hutsul Land, 1956), and *Teplo zemli moiei* (The Warmth of My Land, 1959).

Another notable publication was the first collection of the verse of LIUBOV ZABASHTA (b. 1918), *Novi berehy* (The New Shores, 1950), possessing original poetizing of shipbuilding and pictures of the industrial landscape. Her latest collections are: *Kalynovyi ketiah* (The Guelder-Rose Cluster, 1956), and *Vy-brane* (The Chosen, 1958).

Mention also should be made of VALENTINE TKACHENKO (b. 1920). Her collection *Liryka* (Lyrics) was published in Kiev in 1956. Subsequent publications were such collections as *Ostn' tilky pochynaietsia* (Autumn Is Only Beginning, 1958), and *Zavzhdy liubliu* (I Always Love, 1959). Her first collection after the war was *Divocha liryka* (The Maiden's Lyric), published in 1946. She is a poetess who, through sheer strength of direct feeling, sometimes overcomes the official party directives of "socialist realism."

In addition to those mentioned above, there were other poets who demonstrated their literary creativeness during World War II and the postwar period, but whose literary offerings include several collections of poetry written according to the requirements of the party censorship and critics and possessing no originality or high artistic qualities. However, all of them are recognized by the Soviet literary critics and are included in the history of the so-called post-October literature, as well as in the various anthologies of poetry and bibliographical indexes. The poets represented in this group are from both the older and the younger generations, such as the following: Sava Holovanivsky, Natalia Zabyla, Maria Pryhara, Stephen Kryzhanivsky, Nicholas Nahnybida, Alexander Yushchenko, Paul Usenko, Alexander Pidsukha, Lubomyr Dmyterko, Serhii Voskrekasenko, Ivan Nekhoda, Nicholas Upenyk, Ihor Muratov, Stephen Oliinyk, Nicholas Hirnyk, Eugene Bandurenko, Basil Shvets, Gregory Kryvda, Dmytro Pavlychko, Nicholas Klymenko, Andrew Miastkivsky, and others. After

their return from exile and after "rehabilitation" in 1956, poets Basil Mysyk and Mechyslav Hasko resumed their literary activity; Mysyk is also known for his translations of the works of Robert Burns.

Despite the fact that their poetry dealt primarily with themes relating to collective farm life or industrial progress, and of course, to the glorification of the Communist party, Lenin, the "communist development," and the like, many of these poets were denounced in the years 1957-9 for their "non-conformist ideas," and so forth. For instance, S. HOLOVANIVSKY was denounced for his poem, "Operation," in which he wrote: "You must suffer, and the pain will pass." Valentine Tkachenko was charged with "isolation from the joy of our [Soviet] life"; LUBOMYR DMYTERKO was criticized for his "defeatist moods," BASIL SHVETS for his "false views," and DMYTRO PAVLYCHKO for his "linguistic nationalism" and the like.

Some freshness and originality of artistic expression were brought into Ukrainian poetry under the Soviet regime by the poets of the younger generation: LINA KOSTENKO (b. 1930), Tamara Kolomyiets (b. 1935), Nadia Prychodko, and Nicholas Vinhranovsky (b. 1936), all of whom emerged as poets during their student days. The most talented among them is Lina Kostenko who has already published two collections, *Pro-minnia zemli* (The Rays of the Earth, 1957), and *Vitryla* (The Sails, 1958), in which she demonstrated good examples of modern poetry, and for which she was charged, by the Soviet critics, with "formalism" and "detachment from the Soviet reality," even though she denied it.

Great promise is shown by five other young poets—Vitalii Korotych (b. 1937), Ivan Drach (b. 1936), the author of "Nizh u sontsi" (Knife in the Sun, 1961), Robert Tretiakov (collection of poems—*Zorianist'* [Starlight, 1961]), a Russian who writes in Ukrainian, Nicholas Syn-

haivsky (b. 1936), and Eugene Hutsalo (b. 1937).

Drama

Among those dramatists who in pre-war years were officially recognized as being of the "first rank" is Alexander Korniiichuk (b. 1910). His stage play *Front* (The Front, 1942), inspired by Stalin or his close advisers, gives the official version of the reasons for the series of defeats suffered at the beginning of the Soviet-German war, exonerating the government and putting the blame on certain military circles. The comedy *Mistia mistera Perkinsa v kraïnu bolshevyktiv* (The Mission of Mr. Perkins to the Land of the Bolsheviks, 1945) offers a primitive caricature of Americans. The comedy *Pryizhdzhaite v Dzvonnkove* (Come to Dzvonnkove, 1945) presents an officially iconographic picture of the postwar Ukrainian village. The collision and struggle between the nationalists and the "Soviet people" is depicted there. In the same spirit of commonplace "ideological adequacy" were written the other plays of Korniiichuk (*Makar Dibrova*, 1948; *Kalynovyi Hai* [The Guelder Rose Grove], 1949). Especial attention was drawn to his play, *Kryla* (The Wings, 1954), through which Korniiichuk expressed an official criticism of the "shortcomings" of the Stalinist era and heralded "changes." The most recent works of Korniiichuk, *Chomu posmikhalsia zori* (Why the Stars Smiled, 1958), and *Nad Dniptom* (On the Dnieper, 1960), differ little either in subject matter or in style from his previous works. Korniiichuk's dramaturgy is pure journalese; its literary value is insignificant.

LUBOMYR DMYTERKO (b. 1911), in his play *General Vatutin* (1948), sings the praises of the Red Army, and in another play, *Naviky razom* (Forever Together, 1950), transfers the worship of Moscow to the period of Hetman Vyhovsky (the seventeenth century). The play is written in a spirit of primitive melodrama, and distorts or omits altogether the most

important historical facts. His drama *V zolotii rami* (In the Golden Frame, 1958) is devoted to the process of bureaucratization of Soviet arts depicting their total lack of spirit. The author, however, ended the play in a loyal and "ideologically adequate" way, thus avoiding party censure.

In his play *Ostannia zustrich* (The Last Encounter), ALEXANDER LEVADA (b. 1909) endeavored to cast light on the question of moral terror in the Soviet Union inflicted on those considered politically unreliable, but did not dare to pose the problem in all its magnitude. His most recent dramatic work, *Faust i smert'* (Faust and Death, 1960), is dedicated to flight into outer space.

VASYL MYNKO (b. 1902), in the comedy *Movchaty zaboroneno* (Forbidden to Keep Quiet), already written in the period of "thaw," presents the dark side of collective farm life. The play was condemned by the official Soviet critics. His most recent works, which for the most part were published in various journals and reviews, are: *Na khutori bil'a Dykanky* (On the Farm near Dykanka, 1958), a comedy; a play, *Chornyi zmii* (The Black Snake, 1958); and another play, *Spovid' Yuliana* (The Confession of Julian, 1959).

Outstanding works in the development of Ukrainian drama are I. KOCHERHA'S (1881-1952) play, *Kytais'kyi flakon* (The Chinese Flask, 1944), as well as his *Yaroslav Mudryi* (Yaroslav the Wise, 1944). The latter work reflects the local color of the epoch, the glory and cultural greatness of medieval Kiev. The atmosphere of "book worship" in medieval Ukraine and the poetry of knightly love (the Norwegian knight Harald and Yaroslav's daughter Elisabeth) are presented with equal success. Kocherha also wrote the dramas *Chasha* (The Chalice, 1942) and *Nichna tryvoha* (The Night Alert, 1943), a philosophical drama, *Istyna* (The Truth, 1948), the one-act plays *Khai bude svitlo* (Let There Be Light), *Khai zhyve shum* (Long Live Noise), and *Dosyt' prostiahaty ruku*

(Enough to Stretch Out the Hand, 1946), and a movie scenario, *Yaroslav Mudryi* (Yaroslav the Wise).

The principal center of literary life in the postwar years was Kiev, which was and still is the seat of the Union of Writers of Ukraine and where the principal Ukrainian literary reviews appear, such as *Vitshyzna* (The Fatherland), *Dnipro* (The Dnieper), and *Literaturna Hazeta* (The Literary Gazette) renamed *Literaturna Ukraïna* in 1962. Other literary centers are in Kharkiv, where the review *Prapor* (The Banner) appears, in Lviv, where the review *Zhovten'* (October) is published, and in Uzhhorod in Carpatho-Ukraine. The central literary publishing houses are the *Radians'kyi pys'mennyk* (The Soviet Writer), *Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oi literatury* (The State Publishing House of Artistic Literature) and the publishing house *Molod'* (Youth), all in Kiev.

The Ukrainian underground literature, connected with the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and its publications, cannot be fully characterized and appraised as yet. Its principal genres are the war song, the sketch, the satire, and memoirs. After the heroic death of G. POZYCHANUK (1911-45), a master of the miniature, first place in that literature is now probably to be awarded to MARTA HAL, who is both a poetess and a novelist.

G. Boiko-Blokhyn and B. Krawciw

THE EMIGRATION AFTER THE WAR

After the war, particularly between 1945 and 1949, almost all literary activity outside the sphere of Soviet influence was produced in the countries where émigrés were living temporarily—in Western Germany and Austria. The literary endeavors of the Ukrainian settlers in the United States, Canada, Brazil, England, and other countries produced little of significance.

The process of merging the Eastern

and Western Ukrainian elements in literature which developed in Lviv in 1942-4 has been continued in emigration. Writers who previously lived under different regimes are now coming close to one another in language, level of artistic maturity, and ideology. Stress has been laid on the significance of the postwar years, the emergence of a new age, and Ukraine's role in and contribution to this age. This was made especially clear in the call that went out from the MUR (*Mystets'kyi Ukraïns'kyi Rukh* [Ukrainian Artistic Movement]), the union of emigrant writers, founded in Germany in 1945 for the creation of "great literature." The call was for works of high literary quality, which would serve the needs of the nation while contributing something new to the treasury of world literature. The *Almanac* and the *Cahiers* of the MUR, and the artistically published journal, *Arka* (Munich, Germany), were intended to serve this purpose.

When most Ukrainian émigrés left Germany, the MUR ceased its works, and the associated literary journals were discontinued. New York is now the home of the Union of the Ukrainian Writers in Exile, *Slovo* (The Word). Most émigré writers live at present in the United States, Canada, and Germany.

The most important contemporary Ukrainian literary periodicals in the West are the monthly *Suchasnist'* (Our Times), formerly *Ukraïns'ka Literaturna Hazeta* (Ukrainian Literary Journal), published in Munich, and the bimonthly *Kyiv* (Kiev) published in Philadelphia. Some place has been devoted to literature in the following periodicals, among others: *Porohy* (Rapids) in Argentina, *Lysty do pryiateliv* (Letters to Friends) and *Ovyd* (Horizon) in the United States, *Novi Dni* (New Days) in Canada, *Ukraïna i svit* (Ukraine and the World) in Germany, and *Vyzvolnyi Shliakh* (Liberation Path) in England.

Prose

The first émigré writings were somewhat haphazard; but soon more substan-

tial works of deeper significance appeared. The four-volume novel *Dity chumats'koho shliakhu* (The Children of the Chumak Road, 1948-51), by DOKIA HUMENNA (b. 1904), is a chronicle of several farm families forcibly uprooted from a hard-working but prosperous life in the steppe who have lost the rhythm of the old life and are unable to find a new direction in the hostile Soviet world. The Naturalistic descriptions are impressive in their precision but the traditional Realistic manner is softened by lyrical images and descriptions. Other widely read works by this prolific author are: the collection of short stories *Kurkul's'ka Vilia* (Kurkul's Christmas Eve, 1946), the psychological novel *Mana* (Delusion, 1952), a tale of the olden times in Ukraine, *Velyke Tsabe* (The Great Tsabe, 1952), the novel-chronicle *Khreshchatyi Yar*, 1956, the collection of short stories *Zhadoba* (Desire, 1959), and reports on her travels throughout America, *Bahato neba* (Plenty of Sky, 1954), and throughout Canada *Vichni vohni Alberty* (The Eternal Fires of Alberta, 1959). Also traditional in style is the work of F. MELESHKO (the novel *Try pokolinnia* [Three Generations], Vol. I, 1943; Vol. II, 1959).

Other voluminous works written abroad are SAMCHUK's *Ost* (The East, 1948), and *Temnota* (Darkness, 1957), which gives a broad picture of the life of a well-to-do family in the years of the Revolution and of the struggle for Ukraine's independence and during the twenties. Samchuk describes the clashes of ideas which were agitating the whole of Ukraine at that time. From the chronicle the author changes here to the discussion of social problems, and gives his conception, as opposed to the Romantic conception, of Ukraine's historical role and of her history in the twentieth century. Samchuk kept his previous novel, *Yunist' Vasylia Sheremety* (The Youth of Basil Sheremeta, 2 volumes, 1947), within the limits of the chronicle. It is partly autobiographical, the action

taking place among young people in the *gymnasium* (high school) in his beloved Volhynia, under the Polish rule. The events of World War II, in particular life in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, are described in his novel *Choho ne hoit' vohon'* (What Is Not Healed by Fire, 1959).

The unhurried descriptive style of Samchuk and, to an even greater extent, that of Humenna, links them with the traditions of the Realistic novel of the nineteenth century.

IVAN BAHRIANYI (1907-63) in his *Ty-hrolovy* (The Tiger Hunters, 1946-7) is close to them in his use of narrative devices, but his work is highly dynamic. *Ty-hrolovy*, which appeared in English as *The Hunters and the Hunted*, 1955, is a novel of adventure describing the life of Ukrainians in Siberia, how they hunt wild animals and how they escape across the border. Central to this work is a strong-willed man's overcoming of the obstacles placed in his path by fate. Bahrianyi's next novel, *Sad Hetsyman-s'kyi* (The Garden of Gethsemane, 1950, recently published in French translation), in its treatment of a dynamic subject, combines exaggerated Expressionistic images with Naturalistic descriptions of almost documentary precision. As a result, Bahrianyi created an uneven work, which is nevertheless one of the most powerful in modern literature and perhaps the only profoundly optimistic literary work on the Soviet prison and the sorry lot of a human being in it. His other works are the novels *Ohnenne kolo* (The Fiery Circle, 1953), which treats of the events of World War II, *Buinyi viter* (Wild Wind), and *Marusia Bohuslavka*, 1957, and the satiric poem *Anton Bida—heroi truda* (Anton Bida—Hero of Labor), which ridicules life in the USSR.

The works of VICTOR DOMONTOVYCH (PETROV) are exquisite, gentle, analytical, and subtly ironic: two novels of the life of the Ukrainian intelligentsia under the Soviets—*Doctor Seraphicus*, 1947.

and *Bez gruntu* (Without Base, 1948)—and the short stories, “Apostoly” (The Apostles), “Pomsta” (Revenge), “Pryborkanyi haidamaka” (The Subdued Haidamak), and others. Domontovych’s profound erudition and the clarity and precision of his language permit him to introduce into his writings monologues and dialogues on abstract themes and meditations, particularly on art.

Several of the novels of GEORGE KOSACH show considerable creative endeavor—*Enei i zhyttia inshykh* (Aeneas and the Life of Others, 1947) and *Den’ hnicu* (The Day of Wrath, 1948)—as do his shorter stories. Kosach’s style is rightly called Baroque; he makes use of repetition, circumlocution, rhetoric devices, pathetic codas, and a rich but artificial vocabulary. In the late 1950’s Kosach became the editor of a pro-Soviet journal, *Za synim okeanom* (Beyond the Blue Ocean).

IHOR KOSTETSKY (b. 1913) has consistently followed the experimental trends in modern prose (James Joyce and Ernest Hemingway) in his style (*Opovidannia pro peremozhtsiv* [Stories about the Victors, 1948], *Tam, de pochatok chuda* [Where the Miracle Begins, 1948], and the play, *Blyzniata shche zustrinutsia* [The Twins Will Meet Again]).

Among other works mention must be made of the novel of HLIB SKHIDNYI—*Arkadii Yarosh*—which pinpoints the flow of man’s consciousness through succinctly presented details of external behavior; the Impressionistic works of ALEXANDER SMOTRYCH (b. 1922) (*Nochi* [The Nights, 1947], *Vybrane* [Selected Short Stories, 1952]), which reveal man’s bestiality in time of war; a humorous chronicle by S. RYNDYK, *Smilians’ka khronika* (The Chronicle of Smila); the short stories of YURI KLEN; and the novels of BASIL CHAPLENKO (*Pyvoriz* [Pot-Companion, 1943] and *Pivtora liuds’koho* [Neither Head nor Tail]), his historical novel *Chornomortsi* (Black Sea People), and other works. During the war G. POZYCHANUK also attracted

attention with his miniatures written in the spirit of Stefanyk. He perished in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) soon after.

THEODOSIUS OSMACKHA (1895–1962) in his novel *Starshyi boiaryn* (The Best Man, 1946), opens up the world of Ukrainian demonology. He follows the tradition of Hohol’s (Gogol’s) Ukrainian stories and Vasylychenko’s short stories. In his subsequent novels *Plian do dvoru* (Expulsion, 1951) and *Rotonda dushohubtsiv* (1956, published in English as *Red Assassins*, 1959) he describes the gruesome experiences of the Ukrainian people in the thirties of this century. Osmachka’s prose is deeply poetic; he produced a whimsical interlacing of real images with those of fantasy, of subjective and objective images.

Among the numerous works of fiction by émigré writers, BASIL BARKA’s novel, *Rai* (Paradise, 1953), which presents the life of Ukrainian intellectuals in the USSR with profound humanity, has surrealist elements in its style.

I. KACHUROVSKY, in his book *Shliakh nevidomoho* (The Road of an Unknown Man, 1956) and the novel *Zaliznyi Kurkul* (Iron Kurkul, 1959), depicts the gruesome tensions of World War II. The characters in IVAN SMOLY’s works, *Divchyna z Vinnytsi* (The Girl from Vinnytsia, 1947), *Kordony padut* (The Boundaries Are Vanishing, 1951), *Manekeny* (Mannequins, 1956), *Zrada* (Betrayal, 1959), and *U Zelenomu Pidhiri* (Near the Border, 1960), also find themselves in situations which are a strain on their emotions.

I. KYRIAK, since 1906 an immigrant in Canada, in his epic novel *Syny zemli* (Sons of the Soil, 1939–45), depicts the life of the first Ukrainian immigrants in Canada (English edition, *Sons of the Soil*, 1959).

There should also be some mention of other authors and their works: DARIA YAROSLAVSKA reveals the life of Ukrainian DP’s in Europe and their further fate in the novel, *Pomizh berehamy*

(Between Extremes, 1953). Another of her novels, *V obit'makh Melpomeny* (In the Embraces of Melpomene, 1954), tells about the life of the Ukrainian Theater's members in Western Ukraine. Also active in prose-writing (novels, stories, reportages) are: VIRA VOVK (novel *Dukhy i dervishi* [Ghosts and Dervishes, 1956]); ANATOL HALAN (*Pakhoshchi* [Odorousness, 1951], *Porazka marshala* [Marshall's Defeat, 1955] and other works); ALEXANDER HAI-HOLOVKO (*Poiedynok z dyiavolom* [Duel with the Devil, 1950] and *Odchaidushni* [The Braves, 1959]); OLHA MAK (*Z chasiv Yezhovshchyny* [From the Times of Yezhov], *Boh vohniu* [God of Fire, 1955], *Zhaira* (1957), and other novels); GEORGE TYS (historical novel *Pid L'vo-vom pluh vidpochyvav* [The Plow near Lviv Rested, 1938], *Reid u nevidome* [A Raid into the Unknown], a collection of stories *Symfonia zemli* [The Earth's Symphony, 1951] and other works). Also active in story-writing are: EUGENE HARAN (short stories); BASIL HADARIVSKY (the novel *Zaiachyi pastukh* [The Hare's Keeper, 1962], stories and novellettes); VITALII BENDER (novel *Marsh molodosty* [The March of Youth]); LEONID POLTAVA (historical novel *1709*); OKSANA KERCH (novel *Albatrosy*); OSTAP TARNAVSKY (short stories); BOHDAN NYZHANKIVSKY (short stories); ZOSYM DONCHUK (stories); and FEDIR ODRACH (stories from Polisia).

Memoirs hold a place of honor in the literature of the Ukrainian émigré, being represented by such interesting works as *Dalekyi svit* [Remote World, 1955], by HALYNA ZHURBA and *Piat' do dvanadtsiatoi* [Five to Twelve, 1954] by Samchuk.

Poetry

The outstanding postwar poetic work is THEODOSIUS OSMACHKA's *Poet* (1947), a poem in octaves divided into 23 songs. It is an extremely complex work about a man who, out of the depths of despair, wages a fierce struggle with eternity. His

struggle takes place against a background of the destruction of Ukrainian peasantry during collectivization. Before the eyes of the poem's hero, the Chekists (Soviet secret police) destroy his family, and he, seeing in this the destruction of the soul, rises in revolt against the principles of spiritual and biological life, and finds himself face to face with the cosmos and eternity. During the war years, Osmachka published a collection of Expressionistic poems *Suchasnykam* (To My Contemporaries, 1943). His short poems of 1943-8 were collected in a book, *Kytytsi chasu* (The Bouquet of Time, 1953). In 1954 his selected poems *Iz-pid svitu* (From under the World) were published. Standing in contrast to the *Poet* are the collections by MICHAEL OREST (b. 1901), the only émigré Parnassicist poet. His works (*Luny lit* [The Echoes of Years, 1944], *Dusha i dolia* [Soul and Destiny, 1946], *Hist' i hospoda* [The Guest and the Inn, 1952], *Derzhava slova* [The Realm of the Word, 1952]) are directed towards the highest spiritual goals and are far from everyday life.

GEORGE KLEN worked feverishly, during his years abroad, to complete his gigantic poem *Popil imperii* (The Ashes of Empires), which was posthumously published in 1957. In this work, the tragic destiny of his fatherland is presented against a broad background of two revolutions and two wars, which bring out in sharp contrast the two opposing elements in life—good and evil.

BASIL BARKA (b. 1908), in his collections *Apostoly* (The Apostles, 1946), *Bilyi svit* (The White World, 1947), *Psalom holubynoho polia* (Psalm of the Field of Doves, 1958), and *Troiandnyi roman* (Roman de la Rose, 1956), revives folklore with all its wealth of conception and style. His desire is to restore the heart to a brutal world. This same conception also appears in his essays *Zhavoronkovi dzherela* (The Fountains of the Lark, 1956) and his latest collection of verse, *Okean* (Ocean, 1959).

VADYM LESYCH (b. 1909) reveals in his several collections of poems such as *Lirychnyi zoshyt* (The Lyric Sketchbook, 1953), *Poezii* (Poems, 1954), *Rozmova z bat'kom* (A Talk with Father, 1957), and *Kreidiane kolo* (A Chalk Circle, 1960), and in the long poem *Naperedodni* [On the Eve, 1960], his original world of poetry expressed in a passionate poetical language with highly musical rhythm and the Baroque-like picturesque architecture of verse. His poetic work of the last decade is an outstanding continuation of his early poetical achievements of the 1930's (collections from the period of his youth, among them especially *Rizbliu viddal'*, 1935, under the pen name of Yaroslav Dryhnych) which were considered "interesting for the plasticity of their sentences and their luxurious vocabulary." Lyricism, individual symbolic attitude, contemplation with religious inclination, and sincere humanity are the most characteristic elements of his poetry.

The works of IVAN BAHRIANYI, are more social and political than philosophical, as can be seen in his collection *Zoloty bumerang* [The Golden Boomerang, 1946].

From among the numerous poets of the younger generation, there should be mentioned as noteworthy first of all the following authors: OLEH ZUIEVSKY (*Zoloti vorota* [The Golden Gates, 1947], *Pid znakom Feniksa* [Under the Sign of Phoenix, 1958]); ALEXIS VERETENCHENKO (*Dym vichnosity* [The Smoke of Eternity, 1951], historical poem *Chorna dolyna* [The Black Valley, 1953]); IHOR KACHUROVSKY (*Nad svitlym dzherelom* [Over the Bright Stream, 1948], *V dalekii havani* [In a Remote Harbor, 1956]); LEONID LYMAN (masterful poems in literary magazines, not collected as yet in a separate publication); PETER KARPENKO-KRYNYCIA (*Polumiana zemlia* [Earth in Flames, 1947], *Soldaty moho legionu* [The Soldiers of My Legion, 1945-6], *Poemy* [Poems, 1954], *Povernennia druha* [The Return of the Friend,

1958]); MICHAEL SYTNYK (*Vidlitaiut' ptytsi* [The Birds Fly Away, 1946], *Zaliznychyi storozh* [A Railroad Guard, 1947]), HANNA CHERIN (*Crescendo*, 1949); LEONID POLTAVA (*Za muramy Berlinu* [Outside the Walls of Berlin, 1945], *Ukrains'ki balady* [Ukrainian Ballads, 1952], *Ryms'ki sonety* [Roman Sonnets, 1958], and other works, especially poems for children); IRENE NARIZHNA (*Nastroi* [Impressions, 1943]); DIMA (*Rosiani zori* [The Dewy Stars, 1952], *Myt'* [Moment, 1955], and poems for children); YAR SLAVUTYCH (*Homin vikiv* [The Echo of the Centuries, 1946], *Spraha* [Thirst, 1950], *Oaza* [Oasis, 1960], and other collections of poems); OSTAP TARNAVSKY (*Slova i mrii* [Words and Dreams, 1948], *Mosty* [The Bridges, 1956], *Samotnie derevo* [The Solitary Tree, 1960], and other works); ZINOVII BEREZHAN (poems in magazines and almanacs, not collected); VIRA VORSKLO (poems in different magazines); BORYS OLEKSANDRIV (*Moi dni* [The Days of Mine, 1946]); L. DALEKA (*Lehit i bryzy* [The Wind and the Breeze, 1957]); NICHOLAS SHCHERBAK (*Pianky chebrets'* [The Redolent Thyme, 1953], and other collections); GEORGE BURIKIVETS; OLHA LUBSKA.

Poets of the older generation (some of them mentioned elsewhere) also continued to be active, among them: MALANIUK (*Vlada* [Rule, 1951], *Piata Symfoniia* [The Fifth Symphony, 1954], *Poezii v odnomu tomi* [Poems in One Volume, 1954], *Ostannia vesna* [The Last Spring, 1959]); HORDYNSKY (*Vohnem i smerchem* [With Fire and Hurricane, 1947]); LIATURYNSKA (collected poems *Kniazha emal'* [The Princely Enamel, 1955]); MOSENDZ (*Kanifershitan*, 1945, and *Volyns'kyi rik* [The Volhynian Year, 1948]); KRAWCIW (*Korabli* [The Ships—Selected Poems, 1948], *Zymozelen'* [Chelidonium Majus, 1951], *Dzvenyslava* [Sonnets, 1962]); BOHDAN NYZHANKIVSKY (*Shchedrist'* [Lavishness, 1947], *Vahota* [Ponderability, 1953], and satirical poems); THEODORE KURPITA (*Not a Pass*, 1946,

and other works); ROMAN ZAVADOVYCH, (poems for children); OLES BABII; NYKYFOR SHCHERBYNA; ALEXANDER NEPRYTSKY-HRANOVSKY; VOLODYMYR YANIV (*Shliakhy* [Lines, 1951]); T. PASICHNYK (epic historical poem *Petro Hordüenko*, Part I, 1944; Part II, 1957); and O. KOBETS (poems for children).

A witty poetic parody by P. HOROTAK (a pseudonym of the poets, Klen and Mosendz), *Diabolichni paraboly* (Devilish Parabolae, 1947), created a real sensation.

A modernist group, the so-called New York Group consists of some young poets living in New York and Chicago: EMMA ANDIYEVSKA (collections *Poezii* [Poems, 1951], *Narodzhennia Idola* [The Birth of the Idol, 1958], *Ryba i rozmir* [Fish and Dimension, 1961]); EUGENIA VASYLKIVSKA (*Korotki viddali* [Short Distances, 1959]); BOHDAN BOYCHUK (poems *Chas bolii* [The Age of Pain, 1957], a poem *Zemlia bula pustoshnia* [The Earth Was Void, 1959]); BOHDAN T. RUBCHAK (poems *Kaminnyi sad* [Orchard of Stone, 1956] and *Promenyista zrada* [The Bright Betrayal, 1960]); GEORGE TARNAVSKY (poems *Zhyttia v misti* [Life in the City, 1956] and *Popoludni v Poughkeepsie* [Afternoon in Poughkeepsie, 1960], a novel *Shliakhy* [Pathways, 1961]); and PATRICIA KILINA (*Trahediia dzhmeliu* [A Tragedy of the Bumblebees, 1960]). Inspired by contemporary Western poets, they are trying to give new life to Ukrainian poetic language. Some of them, such as Andiyevska, George Tarnavsky, and Rubchak, are also successful prose novices. The New York Group has edited four yearbooks of poetry *Poezii* (Poems; 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962).

The following poets also have a place in the modernistic trend in Ukrainian poetry: VIRA VOVK (collections of poems *Liryka* [Lyrics, 1955], and *Chorni akatsii* [The Black Acacias, 1961]); IRENE SHUWARSKA-SHUMYLOWYCH (poems *Spivuche svetlo* [Singing Light, 1959]); MARTA KALYTOVSKA (collections: *Liryka* [Lyrics, 1955], and *Rymy i ne-rymy* [Rhymes and

No-rhymes, 1959]); MARYNA PRYKHODKO; and VOLODYMYR BILIAIV (BILYK).

The Drama

GEORGE KOSACH has proved to be the most active playwright. In the 1940's he wrote several Romantic plays which, in places, contain far-fetched and psychologically improbable situations (*Voroh* [The Enemy], *Order* [The Warrant]). His *Diistvo pro Yuriia Peremozhtsia* (a Mystery play about George the Conqueror) is characteristic of his interest in the surrealist idea in the theater. The plays of IVAN BAHRIANYI are expressionistic, poster-like compositions (*Morituri*, *General*, *Rozhrom* [The Havoc]). LIUDMYLA KOVALENKO's realistic drama, *Domakha*, which deals with the collectivization of the peasants and their powers of endurance, met with great success on the stage. She is also the author of the comedy *Xanthippe* (1946) and the collection of plays *V chasi i prostori* (In the Time and in the Space, 1956). Other writers active in the playwriting are: Serhii Lediatsky, George Tys, Dima, Anatol Halan, Ivan Kernytsky, Nicholas Ponedilok.

Humorous Writings

Satire and humor is represented successfully in the literature of emigration by IVAN KERNYTSKY (IKER) (*Tsyhan-s'kymy dorohamy* [Gypsy Roads, 1947], *Pereletni ptakhy* [Migrators, 1952], and the novel, *Heroi peredmistia* [Hero of Suburbs, 1958]), and also by NICHOLAS PONEDILOK (*Vitaminy* [Vitamins, 1957] and *Sobornyi borshch* [All-Ukrainian Borshch, 1960]). Mention should be made also of S. Ryndyk, M. Tochylo, and Martin Zadeka. THEODORE KURPITA published, under the pen name TEOK, his satirical poems and parodies, *Karykatyry z literatury* (The Parodies on the Literature, 1947). Worthy of special mentioning is a collection of satirical verse of BABAI's (poet Bohdan Nyzhankivsky's pseudonym in satirical poetry) *Virshi ironichni, satyrychni i komichni* (Satirical, Ironical, and Comical Verse, 1959).

A considerable amount of humorous writing has appeared by the authors associated with the monthly, *Lys Mykyta* (Mykyta the Fox), published in Detroit.

Translations

Ukrainian poets in emigration published several excellent translations from European literature, mainly from poetry. SVIATOSLAV HORDYNSKY translated (under the pen name YURII BUREVII) selected poems of the German poet, Theodore Koerner *Lira i mech* (Lyre and Sword, 1940), and in 1961 a very valuable selection the works of several European poets, *Poety Zakhodu* (The Poets of the West). BOHDAN KRAWCIW translated selections of Rainer Maria Rilke (*Rechi i obrazy* [Things and Images, 1947]). The most active translators were MICHAEL OREST and IHOR KOSTETSKY. M. Orest published *Vybrani poezii* (Selected Poems) of Stefan George, 1952, *Vybrani poezii* (Selected Poems) of Rilke, Hofmannsthal, and Dauthendey, 1953, *Poezii* (Poems) of Ch. Leconte de Lisle, 1954, and, later, three separate short anthologies of French (1954), German (1954), and general European (1959) poetry, the latter under the title *More i mushlia* (The Sea and the Shell). Ihor Kostetsky published, as a collective work with other translators, *Vybranyi* (Selected Works) of T. S. Eliot, 1955, and *Vybranyi* (Selections) of Garcia Lorca, 1959. He also translated Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, *Shakespeare's sonety* (Shakespeare's Sonnets), 1958, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, 1958, and, with the cooperation of other translators (mostly his own translations), *Vybranyi Ezra Pound* (Selected Works of Ezra Pound), 1960.

Poet THEODOSIUS OSMACHKA translated Oscar Wilde's *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*, 1958, and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and *Henry IV* (1961); likewise YAR SLAVUTYCH did *Vybrani poezii* (Selected Poems) of John Keats, 1958; ALEXIS VERETENCHENKO did Lord Byron's poem

Mazeppa, 1959; and NICHOLAS PONEDLOK did *Medea*, the tragedy by Jean Anouilh, 1959.

Among the translators from Ukrainian (especially from poetry) into different European languages in the last decade, the following should be mentioned as most outstanding: HANS KOCH (1894–1959) with his anthology of Ukrainian lyrics in German translation *Die ukrainische Lyrik 1840–1940* (1955); ELIZABETH KOTTMEIER with her German translations in the anthology of modern Ukrainian lyrics, *Weinstock der Wiedergeburt* (1957); translations into French of EMMANUEL RAIS, who also published his excellent essays and critical works in Ukrainian literary magazines; translations into English of PATRICIA KILINA and EUGENIA VASYLKIIVSKA (both Ukrainian poets), of VERA RICH (a young English poet, translator of Shevchenko—*Song out of Darkness*, 1961), and of the young American author MORSE MANLY; and translations of the well-known Polish poets and translators JOSEPH LOBODOWSKI and GEORGE NIEMOJOWSKI into Polish, of IHOR KOSTETSKY and IHOR KACHUROVSKY (both Ukrainian authors) into Russian, of MASIEI SIADNIOV into Belorussian, and of VIRA VOVK into Portuguese. Besides the translations mentioned elsewhere, of novels of Osmachka, Bahrianyi, Kyriak, and others, the following were recently published: in Germany a selection of Ukrainian short stories and stories of different authors, *Blauer November* (The Blue November, 1959), in German translation by ANNA-HALIA HORBATSCH, and in the United States short stories by M. KHVYLOVYI, *Stories from the Ukraine* (1960), translated into English by GEORGE S. N. LUCKY.*

*This chapter does not include an account either of the translations from different languages into Ukrainian made by Ukrainian Soviet writers or various translations made from the works of Ukrainian authors in the USSR into different languages. Likewise, it does not include any information about the translations from the Ukrainian classics.

Literary Criticism

After a period of decline in the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainian literary criticism was revived during the first years of emigration. Widespread discussion was caused by the dispute between the "Europists" (VOLODYMYR DERZHAVYN, b. 1899) and the "Organists," who saw in contemporary literature a return to a Ukrainian style (GEORGE SHERECH [SHEVELOV], b. 1908). Among others active in literary criticism were: Ostap Hrytsai (1881-1954), Dmytro Dontsov, Volodymyr Doroshenko, George Dyvnych-Lavrinenko, Ivan Koshelivets, George Boiko-Blokhyn, Alexander Mokh, Alexis Izarsky, Peter Odarchenko, Ihor Kostetsky, Vadym Svaroh, Gregory Luzhnytsky, Gregory Kostiuik, Vadym Lesych, Bohdan Krawciw, A. Yuryniak, Bohdan Romanenchuk, and Peter Holubenko.

VICTOR BER (PETROV), an outstanding critic, was also noted for his philosophical essays. HUMENNA's *Epizod iz zhyttia Evropy Kryts'koi* (An Episode from the Life of Cretan Europe) might be described as a philosophical essay in dialogue.

I. Korowyt'sky

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Some of these works also cover the earlier period.

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10. UKRAINE IN LITERARY WORKS WRITTEN IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The interest in Ukraine demonstrated by the writers of Russian literature of the eighteenth century is primarily connected with the sojourn in Russia of numerous Ukrainians and their strong cultural influences within the Russian empire. The plays of Ukrainian authors

(T. Prokopovych, D. Tuptalenko, and others) and the *kobzars* and Ukrainian choruses at the Imperial Court maintained the interest in contemporary Ukraine among the educated strata of Russian society. The discovery of the earliest Chronicles and the first attempts at producing handbooks of history, connected with the spread of the Synopsis

attributed to I. GIZEL, prompted several Russian dramatists (A. SUMAROKOV and YA. KNIASHNIN) to seek subjects in the history of Kievan *Rus'*, which the ideologies of the Russian empire treated as the beginning of Russian history.

FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Much attention was paid to Ukraine at the beginning of the nineteenth century by the authors of travel notes. Ukraine attracted them both by its scenery ("Our Ukraine is Another Italy"—Prince P. Shalikov) and by the originality of the manners and customs of its people, who remained faithful to their old traditions. Among these travel books the most outstanding are: *Puteshestvie v poludennuiu Rosssiю* (Journey to Southern Russia) by V. IZMAILOV (1800–2), which is rich in pictures of Kiev scenery and of the life of a Ukrainian family, and in historical reminiscences; *Puteshestvie v Malorossiю* (Journey to Little Russia) by Prince SHALIKOV (1803), and also his *Novoe Puteshestvie v Malorossiю* (A New Journey to Little Russia, 1803 and 1804), which vividly describe the Dnieper, the Poltava scenery, and the life of the local nobility; P. SUMAROKOV'S *Dosugi krymskogo sud'i, ili vtoroe puteshestvie v Tavridu* (Leisure Moments of a Crimean Judge, or The Second Journey to Tauris, 1803); a number of sketches by I. VERNET and A. LEVSHIN; I. KULZHINSKY'S *Malorossiiskaia derevnia* (The Little Russian Village, 1827); V. PASSEK'S *Putevye zapiski* (Travel Notes, 1834) and *Ocherki Rossii* (Russian Sketches, 1838); O. MURAVIEV'S *Puteshestvie po sviatym mestam russkim: Kiev* (Journey to the Holy Places in Russia: Kiev, 1844); I. KULZHINSKY'S *Poezdka iz Malorossii v Gruziiu* (A Journey from Little Russia to Georgia, 1850).

The periods of pre-Romanticism and Romanticism in Russian literature were

characterized by the great interest taken in the *bylinas* and the tales, as well as in historical subjects dealing with the period of Kievan *Rus'*. Beginning with collections of fables, such as *Russkie skazki* (Russian Tales) by M. CHULKOV (1780), and heroic poems (M. KHERASKOV'S *Vladimir* [1785], N. RADISHCHEV'S *Alesha Popovich* [Alesha, the Priest's Son] and *Churila Plenkovich*), and passing through the sentimental story *Predslava i Dobrynia* by K. BATUSHKOV (1810, published 1831), these *bylinas* and tale motifs also appear in V. ZHUKOVSKY'S *Dvenadtsat' spiashchikh dev* (Twelve Slumbering Maidens) and in A. PUSHKIN'S *Ruslan i Liudmila*. Among literary works based on these motifs *Brodiashchii ogon'* (The Wandering Fire, 1832) by P. BAISKY (O. SOMOV) was especially popular, as were the novels of A. WEL'TMAN, such as *Koshchei bezsmertnyi, bylina starogo vremeni* (The Immortal Koshchei, a *Bylina* of the olden times) (1833). All this work is characterized by its foreboding, its gloomy fantasy, and its attempt to present the mystical world of the ancient pagan.

Among the literary works dealing with Chronicle subjects of the ancient Kievan period, the most outstanding were the poems (*dumas*) of K. RYLEEV, *Oleg Veshchii* (Oleg the Seer), *Ol'ga pri mogile Igoria* (Olga at Igor's Grave), *Sviatoslav* (1822), *Mstislav Udaloj* (Mstyslav the Brave, 1823); the poem by V. KÜCHELBECKER, *Sviatopolk Okaiannyi* (The Accursed Sviatopolk, 1824); the ballads of A. MURAVIEV, *Ol'ga* and *Sviatoslav*; the poem by A. BEZTUZHEV-MARLINSKY, *Andrei, kniaz' perciaslavskii* (Andrew, the Prince of Pereiaslav, 1828–30); as well as a very popular story by M. ZAGOSKIN, *Askoldova mogila* (Askold's Mound, 1833). Zagoskin's work combined elements of the *bylina* and Chronicle epos, and shows the influences of Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian* and the works of Walter Scott.

According to the enumeration of V. SYPOVSKY, among the Romantic works published in Russian during this period and written by Russian as well as by outstanding Ukrainian authors, there were over thirty on the historical events which occurred in Ukraine during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In 1816 F. GLINKA's novel *Zinovii Bogdan Khmel'nitskii, ili osvobozhdenaia Malorossia* (Zinovii Bohdan Khmelnytsky or the Liberated Little Russia) appeared. In 1818 R. GONORSKY printed, in *Opyty v proze* (Experiments in Prose), *Kozaki i Bogdan Khmel'nitskii* (The Kozaks and Bohdan Khmelnytsky). The years 1822-5 saw the publication of popular works of K. RYLEEV: the *duma Bogdan Khmel'nitskii*, excerpts from the poems *Voinarovskii*, *Nalivaiko*, and *Gaidamaki*. In 1828 an excerpt from the poem *Gaidamaki* written by A. PODOLINSKY was printed. After the publication of BAISSKY's (SOMOV's) *Gaidamak* (1826) and E. ALADIN's *Kochubei* (1827), A. PUSHKIN's poem *Poltava* (1829) appeared. Noted for its imperialist Russian attitude, Pushkin's poem was clearly influenced by RYLEEV's *Voinarovskii*, A. KORNILOVICH's *Zhynzheopisanie Mazepy* (Biography of Mazepa), and the story by Aladin, *Kochubei*, mentioned above.

Among the other works of similar character published during this period, the best known were the stories "Gaidamak" and "Nochleg Gaidamakov" (The Haidamaks Night Camping) by BAISSKY, and F. BULGARIN's novels *Dimitrii Samozvanets* (Dimitri the Pretender, 1830), with its descriptions of life at the Sich, and *Mazepa* (1833-4).

Certain works are to be placed midway between Ukrainian and Russian literature. They were written by Ukrainians, but in Russian: for example, the famous story *Taras Bul'ba* by GOGOL (1835); "Panna Sotnikovna" (The Captain's Daughter, 1840) and "Tatarskie nabegi" (Tatar Raids, 1844) by KVITKA-OSNOVIANENKO; the story "Telepen'" by

HREBINKA (from *Rasskazy piriatintsa* [The Stories of an Inhabitant of Pyriatyn], 1837), and also his ballad "Ukrainskii Bard" (1837), his poem "Getman Svirgovskii" (1839), his story "Nezhinskii polkovnik Zolotarenko" (Zolotarenko, Colonel of Nizhyn, 1842), and his novel *Chaikovskii* (1843). Published in 1843 also was *Michailo Charnyshenko, ili Malorossia vosem'desiat let nazad* (Michael Charnyshenko, or Little Russia Eighty Years Ago), a novel by P. Kulish.



FIGURE 553.
N. HOHOL (GOGOL)

Toward the end of this period there appeared the novels *Mazepa*, *Getman Malorossii* (Mazepa, Hetman of Little Russia) by M. SEMENTOVSKY (1845), *Getman Ostriianitsa, ili epokha smut i bedstvii Malorossii* (Hetman Ostrianytsia or The Epoch of the Troubles and Calamities in Little Russia) by V. KORENEVSKY (1846), *Zinovii Bogdan Khmel'nitskii* by A. KUZMICH (1846), *Porubezhniki, kanva dlia romanov* (The Borderers, a Canvas for Novels) by A. SKALKOVSKY (1849), and others.

A number of works dealing with Ukrainian manners and customs, written mainly by Ukrainian authors and in the traditions of Ukrainian literature, reveal the great interest, so characteristic of the Romanticists, in folk demonology as reflected in customs and folklore. In addition to Gogol in the renowned stories "Vechera na khutore bliz Dikan'ki" (Evenings on the Farm near Dykanka, 1831-2) and "Vii" from the collection *Mirgorod* (1835), the following authors paid tribute to this enthusiasm: Hrebinka, M. Markevych, Baisky, A. Churovsky, V. Dal, and lastly Kulish in his first stories written in Russian in 1840-1.

Besides these works we find a number

of writings which depicted Ukraine of that time, or in its recent past. In some of them the ethnographical element predominates: *Pan Khaliavskii* by G. KVITKA-OSNOVIANENKO (1840), as well as his *Ukrainskie diplomaty* (Ukrainian Diplomats) and *Yarmarka* (the Fair); the story by I. SREZNEVSKY "Maior! Maior!" devoted to G. Skovoroda (1836); V. NARIZHNYI's *Dva Ivana* (Two Ivans, 1825); the story "Svatovstvo" (*Match-making*) by SOMOV (1831); and *Poltavskie Vechera* (The Evenings in Poltava) by HREBINKA (1848). In others there are definite features of the novel of adventure: for example, *Bursak* (1824) by NARIZHNYI. And some, their genre difference notwithstanding, completely conform to the poetics of Romanticism: A. POGORELSKY's novel *Monastyrka* (1830); Prince A. SHAKHOVSKOI's *Marusia, Malorossiskaia Safo* (Marusia, the Little Russian Sappho, 1839); I. KOZLOV's *Chernets, kievskaia poema* (The Monk, a Kievan Poem, 1825). Others still are nearer to the then new Naturalistic "physiological" style: M. KOVALEVSKY's *Melkopomestnye pomeshchiki* (Petty Noble Landowners, 1848), for instance. The most important example of this style is the collection *Mirgorod* by N. GOGOL (1835). This line was continued in the 1850's and 1860's by A. STOROZHENKO in his works *Brat'ia-bliznetsy* (Twin Brothers, 1857), *Stekhin rog* (The Cliff of Stekha, 1861), and others. Close to the "physiological style" in the 1860's and 1870's were the stories of A. SVYDNYTSKY, V. SYKEVICH, and P. RAEVSKY.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

With the decline of Romanticism interest in the colorful ethnic way of life of the Ukrainian people and in the stormy heroic history of Ukraine sharply decreased, and consequently considerably fewer popular works on Ukrainian subjects appeared. In the poetry of the 1860's and 1870's we find the well-known

poem "Ty znaesh krai" (You Know the Land) written by Count A. TOLSTOI, who was born in Ukraine. He also frequently turned to the themes of the *bylinas*. A number of poets (L. MEL, A. MAIKOV, and others) gave paraphrases of the Ihor's Tale and of certain Chronicle subjects. In the prose of the latter part of the nineteenth century Ukrainian themes were cultivated primarily by the Ukrainians N. KOSTOMAROV (*Chernigovka*), D. MORDOVETS (Mordovtsev), and G. DANILEVSKY.

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

Ukraine was included in the works of Russian writers of this period usually only as a setting. In these works we find its landscape, some coloring of the dialogue, and certain minor characters who are Ukrainian. K. STANUKOVICH set the action of his *Morskie rasskazy* (Sea Stories) in the Black Sea and its ports. M. GARIN-MICHAILOVSKY gave his trilogy (*Detstvo Temy* [The Childhood of Tema], *Gimnazisty* [The Gymnasium Students], *Studenty* [The Students]) and some of his other stories a southern background. N. LESKOV, who was always attentive to local color, frequently turned to Ukraine, quite often utilizing Kiev with its past as a background. His work often reminds us of Gogol and perhaps Storozhenko, especially his story "Nekreshchennyi pop" (The Unbaptized Priest) which projects the Romantic image of a Ukrainian village. A. CHEKHOV, born in Taganrog (Tahanrih), reproduced in a number of works the natural setting of the southern steppe and occasionally depicted a few episodic Ukrainian characters: for example, in "Chelovek v futliare" (Man in a Case). The action of the novel *Sanin* was placed by M. ARTSYBASHEV in Okhtyrka. The nature of Ukraine was reproduced effectively by A. KUPRIN in "Olesia," "Yama" (The Pit), "Poedinok" (The Duel), and "Belaia akatsiia" (The White Acacia). Far more deeply is Ukrainian

nature perceived and conveyed in its peculiarity by VLADIMIR KOROLENKO, who, in so doing, resembles the Romantics of the period between the 1820's and the 1940's. Korolenko's stories of this type are: "Istoriia moego sovremennika" (The Story of My Contemporary), "Les shumit" (The Forest Murmurs) "Slepoi muzykant" (The Blind Musician), and "V durnom obshchestve" (In Bad Company). Some pages of *Zhizn' Arsenova* (The Life of Arseniev), a novel (1933) by IVAN BUNIN written abroad, also are filled with the spirit of Ukraine.

M. GORKY, who was hostile to the Ukrainian cause, lived on friendly terms with Michael Kotsiubynsky for a time and left us his reminiscences about the latter. In his short story, "Yarmarka v Goltve" (The Fair in Goltva), Gorky presented the well-worn picture of a "lazy Little Russian"; in his "Vyvod" (Withdrawal), a horrible picture of the torture of a woman; and in the novel *Mat'* (Mother), a sympathetic "khokhol" (the contemptuous Russian term for a Ukrainian).

The poetry of the first decades of the twentieth century reveals in some of its most outstanding works a picture of Ukraine, but one in which it is deprived of its inherent national character. In the poem "Vozmezdie" (Retribution), A. BLOK presents it as a "new America." IVAN BUNIN wrote several poems on the theme of the Ukrainian steppe, and there is a Kievan cycle of verses in the work of the outstanding Russian poetess ANNA AKHMATOVA (GORENKO), a Ukrainian in origin.

THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

In the post-Revolutionary period, Ukrainian elements abound in the *Duma pro Opanasa* (A Duma about Opanas), written by EDWARD BAGRITSKY of Odessa. Among Russian works of the 1920's which are totally or partly devoted to the period of war in Ukraine (1917-21),

the most outstanding are: the novel *Belaita goardita* (The White Guard) by M. BULGAKOV, later turned into the play *Dni Turbinykh* (The Days of the Turbins); the novels of I. EHRENBURG—*Rvach* (The Crafter) and *Zhizn' Lazika Roitshvanetsa* (The Life of Lazik Roitshvanets); *Khozhdenie po mukam* (The Way through Torments) by A. N. TOLSTOI; the novel of M. ALDANOV, *Begstvo* (The Flight); a series of stories by OLGA FORSH; L. SLAVIN's *Interventsiia* (The Intervention); the novel by E. BRAZHNEV, *V dymu kostrov* (In the Smoke of the Bonfires) written with a strong anti-Ukrainian bias; the collection of stories by I. BABEL, *Konarmia* (The Cavalry Army); the books of N. OSTROVSKY highly praised by the Soviet authorities, *Kak zakalialas' stal'* (How the Steel was Tempered) and *Rozhdennye Burei* (The Offsprings of the Storms).

The happenings in Kuban region during the years 1917-21 and the period of "collectivization" are dealt with in *Zheleznyi Potok* (The Steel Current) by A. SERAFIMOVICH, and in *Razbeg* (The Impetus) by V. STAVSKY. The life of pre-Revolutionary Odessa is reflected in *Benia Krik* by I. BABEL. The events of the Revolution of 1905 in Odessa are handled in *Beleet parus odinokii* (The Lonely Sail Shows White in the Distance) by V. KATAEV. The pre-Revolutionary life of the miners of the Donets Basin is described in *Ya Liubliu* (I Love) by A. AVDEENKO.

The Shevchenko Jubilee celebrating his 125th Anniversary in 1939 led Soviet Russian writers to attempt a series of belletristic biographies of the poet (C. PAUSTOVSKY and M. ZOSHCHENKO, for example.)

An attempt at representing the construction of the Dnieper Hydroelectric Station was made in the novel *Energita* (Energy) written by F. GLADKOV, known for his anti-Ukrainian attitudes.

In general, Russian literature, with the exception of the period of Romanticism, has noticed in the main only the lin-

guistic-ethnographic peculiarities of Ukraine, although the more talented writers have revealed psychological characteristics of the Ukrainians including their sense of a distinct historical destiny and their aspirations as well. On the other hand, in the period of Romanticism Ukraine's love of liberty and struggle for freedom often were held up by the Russian Romantic writers, especially by K. Ryleev, to serve as a model for the Russian people to follow. But this struggle for liberty was treated rather as an abstract ideal than as historical fact. With the activation of the Ukrainian struggle for liberty from Russia, the political treatment of Ukraine and Ukrainians at first was excluded from Russian literature; later many Russian writers were to present the representatives of the Ukrainian movement of liberation in the darkest colors—*Memoirs* by KOVPAK on the war of 1941–5, and other works dealing with the war.

A special problem is that of the style, ideology, and mood—not theme—brought into Russian literature by writers of Ukrainian origin. It has been pointed out, for example, that the works of N. Gogol, by their nature, actually belong to Ukrainian literature, and that the humor of Chekhov and Zoshchenko and the lyricism of Akhmatova have a Ukrai-

nian character. These problems have not yet been fully studied.

N. Hlobenko

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II. POLISH-UKRAINIAN LITERARY RELATIONS

Mutual Polish-Ukrainian influences on language and literature are as old as the political and cultural relations between the two neighboring peoples. Historical and linguistic evidence indicates that Polish-Ukrainian cultural relations were already close in the Kievan *Rus'* period.

Polish expansion to the southeast, which began in the fourteenth century, resulted in even closer contacts which have left lasting traces on literature.

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE PERIODS

In the Renaissance and Baroque periods, Polish writers readily used motifs drawn from the life of the Ukrainian people, described the scenery of the Ukrainian lands, and frequently made use of a vocabulary akin to the Ukrainian. The *Roxolania* of SEBASTIAN KLONOWICZ (1545–1602), the *Stelanki* of

SZYMON SZYMONOWICZ (1557-1629), and the *Roxolanki czyli panny ruskie* of SZYMON ZIMOROWICZ (1604-29) are the most important works in which this was done. Ukrainian motifs are also to be found in the seventeenth century Polish chivalrous epic, in many of which the wars with the Turks and Tatars form the background. Particular mention must be made in this respect of the poems of SAMUEL TWARDOWSKI (1600-60), the *Kronika* (Chronicle) of WESPAZIAN KOCHOWSKI (1633-99), and the most important work of this type, *Wojna Chocimska* (The Khotyn War) of WACŁAW POTOCKI (1625-96).

In their turn the Ukrainian writers of the period drew on Polish literature. The chroniclers of the Baroque period often used the works of Polish chroniclers and historians, and the great outburst of religious polemics, evoked by the Church Union of Brest, contributed to closer contact between the two literatures. The development of the Kievan Mohyla Academy went hand in hand with the strong influence of the Polish Baroque on Ukrainian poetry and the "school drama" of the time.

THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

Polish-Ukrainian literary relations again grew lively during the Romantic period. During the luxuriant flowering of Polish Romanticism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century great interest was shown in Ukrainian matters. The poets of "the Ukrainian school" were not only acquainted with scenery and people of Ukraine, but they readily



FIGURE 554.
B. ZALESKI

turned to the history of Ukraine in their writing, attempting in some cases, for instance J. BOHDAN ZALESKI (1802-86), an interpretation of the common past. SEWERYN GOSZCZYŃSKI (1803-76),

who was greatly influenced by Byron, idealized the Ukrainian national and social liberation movement, while A. MALCZEWSKI (1793-1828) in the poem *Marja*, and especially JULIUS SŁOWACKI (1809-49), described the Ukrainian landscape with unparalleled art. No less vivid, although weaker artistically, are the pictures drawn of Ukraine in the stories of JOSEPH IGNATIUS KRASZEWSKI (1812-87), MICHAEL GRABOWSKI (1805-63), and MICHAEL CZAJKOWSKI (1808-86). Grabowski was a distinguished critic of "the Ukrainian school" and was a personal friend of Panteleimon Kulish; he had a profound understanding of the atmosphere of the steppe and of the great drama of Ukrainian history.

LUCIAN SIEMENSKI (1809-78) was also strongly influenced by this literary trend. In some parts of his poem on the Kievan expedition of Bolesław Chrobry (the Brave) his style resembles Ihor's Tale, while in his translation of the *Odyssey* which has value as poetry he used frequent expressions which were considered "Ukrainian provincialisms" in the Polish language.

During the Romantic period influence was mutual. The Polish historian of literature, J. TRETIAK, writes that at that time a certain "literary union" was brought about. The Ukrainian "poet of the steppe and the grave-mounds," AMBROSE METLYNSKY, had much in common with Malczewski and Goszczyński; among the students in Kharkiv a group — BOROVYKOVSKY, KOSTOMAROV, KORSUN — maintained close contact with the Poles who happened to be professors at the university there, learning Polish, studying Polish history, and reading in the original the prominent Polish Romantics. Even before this, the precursors of the *Khlopomany* (peasant-lovers) movement had appeared in the persons of Prince JABLONOWSKI and BRATKOWSKI. When the Brotherhood of Saints Cyril and Methodius was founded in Kiev, its work was influenced by the Messianic and Pan-Slavic ideals of ADAM MICKIEWICZ.

Although SHEVCHENKO dealt in his writings with the historical conflict between Poland and Ukraine, in his poem dedicated to Zaleski he appealed for Polish-Ukrainian understanding and KULISH later did the same. During Shevchenko's exile in Kirghizia the Poles BOLESŁAW ZALESKI and Z. SIERAKOWSKI were among his sincere and devoted friends and he maintained close contact with them after his release. When he heard of Shevchenko's death, Bohdan Zaleski wrote, in Paris, a touching poem expressing his feelings on the loss of the Ukrainian poet—"To a new grave unknown to me, which is freshly grown at Kaniv." Bohdan Zaleski also corresponded with Gogol for many years.

W. SYROKOMLA and several other Polish poets of the time translated Shevchenko's poems. On the Ukrainian side Borovykovsky translated the *Sonety Krymskie* (Crimean Sonnets) of Mickiewicz, and HULAK-ARTEMOVSKY and Kulish also translated works by this Polish writer. M. SHASHKEVYCH made a good rendering of a fragment of Goszczyński's *Zamek Kantowski* (The Castle of Kaniv).

MARKO VOVCHOK, during her eight years' residence abroad, maintained close contact with Polish émigrés and, among them, with some writers. An echo of Mickiewicz can be found even later, in LESIA UKRAÏNKA's Crimean verses (*Baidary, Bakhchysarai, Bakhchysaraiskyi Palats* [The Palace of Bakhchysarai], *Mohyla v Bakhchysaratu* [The Grave in Bakhchysarai]).

In distant Africa, a Podilian, HENRY JABŁOŃSKI (1818-69), expressed his nostalgia for Ukraine in his lyrics which were permeated by the same atmosphere as the poems of Malczewski and Słowacki. The echoes of Goszczyński resounded with passionate force in the poetry of L. SOWIŃSKI (1831-87), a democrat and a radical, a Kozakophile and a revolutionary, who may be placed somewhere between the Romantics and the *khlopomany* (peasant-lovers). The interesting and promising *balagula*

movement withered prematurely, stifled by its own anarchism.

In the *Khlopomany* period, there were frequent cases of the Ukrainization or rather the re-Ukrainization of persons whose families had long been Polonized. First mention must be made of THEODORUS RYLSKY, PAWLIN SWIEĆICKI, and VOLODYMYR ANTONOVYCH. They were all adherents of a movement to achieve greater Polish-Ukrainian understanding. The cause of a Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement had been preached even before this in the stylized verses of TYMKO PADURA (1801-71), which were written in the style of folklore. He was famous as a Kozakophile, but his poetry was rather weak. He wrote only in Ukrainian, although he was descended from a family which for many generations had belonged to the Polish gentry (*szlachta*). A strong social accent gives dramatic dynamism to a play by JOSEPH KORZENIOWSKI (1797-1863), *Karpaccy Górale* (Carpathian Mountaineers), based on the life of the Hutsuls. The Dnieper region of Ukraine is the subject of sketches by the same author, entitled *Żywi i umarli* (The Living and the Dead).

The violent repressions of the Czarist government in the sixties hindered the development of art and culture in Ukraine and, at the same time, dealt a blow to the cause of Polish-Ukrainian rapprochement. However, these traditional relations, although under constant attack, continued to be fostered. MICHAEL STARYTSKY, an indefatigable promoter of the Ukrainian theater and himself a playwright, adapted for the stage Kraszewski's story, *Chata za wsią* (A House beyond the Village) and translated Słowacki's *Mazepa*. The latter, along with the *Zaczarowane Koło* (The Enchanted Circle) of LUCIAN RYDEL, was very successful on the Ukrainian stage.

Of the outstanding Ukrainian writers living at the turn of this century, IVAN FRANKO was the one who maintained close relations with Polish writers and

Polish literature. He was a contributor to the *Kurjer Lwowski*, and a personal friend of Jan Kasprówic and of Bolesław Wysłouch and Bolesław Prus. WŁADYSŁAW ORKAN (1855-1930) was closely connected with a group of Ukrainian poets called the *Moloda Muza* (The Young Muse) group—Karmansky, Pachovsky, Lepkyi, and others; he translated into Polish a series of Ukrainian short stories which were collected in the volume *Młoda Ukraina* (The Young Ukraine). Mention must also be made of the contacts of BASIL STEFANYK and CATHERINE HRYNEVYCH with the Cracow group of writers (Orkan, S. Przybyszewski, W. Moraczewski and others).

THE POSITIVIST PERIOD

In the Positivist period Ukrainian motifs appear less often in Polish literature. However, the action of H. SIENKIEWICZ's *Ogniem i mieczem* (With Fire and Sword) and *Pan Wołodyjowski* takes place almost entirely in Ukraine. Sienkiewicz's appraisal of historical developments is much more serious, more profound, and more accurate in the second of these stories. The poets and prose writers of *Młoda Polska* (Young Poland) rarely pick subjects connected with the East, but the blazing sun of Podilia and its scenery are passionately reflected in the lyrics of KAZIMIERA ZAWISTOWSKA, who died young. Polish-Ukrainian relations are referred to by S. ŻEROMSKI's *Kostek Napierski* and *Przedwiośnie* (Early Spring).

Before World War I Polish and Ukrainian writers and intellectuals met most frequently, usually in a friendly spirit, in Kiev and also in St. Petersburg where many Ukrainians and Poles lived at that time. Mutual personal and political relations were especially good in Kiev. The Poles maintained a lively contact with Antonovych, Lysenko, and Thaddeus Rylsky, whose son Maksym subsequently made a superb translation of Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*. The tradition of "the Uk-

rainian school" was fostered in particular by WŁODZIMIERZ WYSOCKI (1846-94), a poet of average talent whose verses on Ukrainian themes were set to music by the composer Władysław Żareba. In Mohyliv on the Dniester a group of Poles headed by JOACHIM WOŁOSZYNOWSKI published a Ukrainian weekly *Sottova Zirnytsia* which contributed to a revival of literary life in the region. Joachim Wołoszynowski's son, who after World War I became known as a prose writer and a poet, used recollections of his childhood spent in Ukraine in writing his biographical novel about the life of Julius Słowacki.

1917 TO THE PRESENT

After World War I Soviet Ukraine was cut off from the West. In Poland literary relations developed more favorably in Warsaw, where many Ukrainians settled, than in Lviv. But even there they were not very close, being mostly limited to contributions to several publications specializing in Eastern problems and to the works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute. In Lviv the youthful Polish literary group *Sygnaly* was interested in making contact with the Ukrainians but they achieved only modest results because they did not have any prominent authors among them. Developments in Ukraine during the war and the revolution were vividly reflected in Polish literature in Z. KOSAK-SZCZUCKA's novel *Požoga* (The Fire), and in the short stories by E. MAŁACZEWSKI. However, neither of them was objective and they lacked historical perspective. The subject was dealt with rather superficially by ANDRZEJ STRUG in *Pokolenie Marka Świdły* (The Generation of Mark Swida) and *Odznaka za wierną służbę* (Reward for Loyal Service). J. KADEN-BANDROWSKI presented several pictures of the Kievan campaign of 1920 in his well-written *Rok 1920* (The Year 1920). Ukrainian motifs are to be found in the lyrics of J. IWASZKIE-

WICZ, a poet born in the Kherson region; the work of JÓSEF ŁOBODOWSKI was recognized by critics as a continuation of "the Ukrainian school"; a real masterpiece of its kind is *Na wysokiej połoninie* (On the High Plateau) by STANISŁAW WINCENZ, a work on the life of the Hutsuls, which is strongly inbred with local beliefs.

In the interwar period great progress was made in translations into Polish. The biweekly *Zet*, the weeklies *Biuletyn Polsko-Ukraiński* (The Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin), *Wołyń* (Volhynia), and *Sygnaly* (Signals), and especially the monthly *Kamera* (Camera) published in Kholm (Chełm) by K. A. JAWORSKI, systematically provided the Polish reader with modern Ukrainian poetry. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw published a large volume of translations of Shevchenko's works, to which many Polish writers of both the older and the younger generation contributed (Czesław Jastrzębiec Kozłowski, K. Wierzyński, Thaddeus Hollender, Łobodowski). But the political situation made closer literary cooperation impossible.

In drama mention must be made of the work of MARIA DĄBROWSKA. *Genjusz sierocy* (The Orphan Genius) is an ambitious attempt to present objectively the dramatic era preceding the revolution led by Khmelnytsky. The heroes of the work were King Władysław IV and Chancellor Ossolinski among the Poles and George Nemyrych and the governor, Kysil, among the Ukrainians. An adaptation of *With Fire and Sword* for the stage by Sienkiewicz had no literary value.

Literary contacts between Poles and Ukrainians increased after the war of 1939-45. There has been much translation on both sides; each country has had plays of the other in the repertoires of its theaters. But these contacts have developed exclusively within the framework of the Soviet "friendship among peoples" and it is hard to evaluate their depth and sincerity. New translations of

Polish classics continue to appear (e.g., a two-volume set of Słowacki's works, edited by Rylsky). In the emigration the problems of Polish-Ukrainian cultural cooperation have been systematically discussed in the monthly *Kultura*, edited in Paris by J. Giedroyc.

STYLISTIC TIES

The stylistic ties between the literatures of the two peoples first became quite strong in the Baroque period. It is not hard to trace definite analogies in form between the polemical prose of such Ukrainians as Ivan Vyshensky, Smotrytsky, and Mohyla and the pamphlets of a Pole like S. Orzechowski. These were not mutual influences but rather the result of a common spirit of the time. This, as has already been mentioned, can also be seen in the chronicles of that period.

Since the Romantic "Ukrainian School" was to a considerable extent influenced by folklore, it was natural that at least some of its poets should be close to those Ukrainian writers who like Metlynsky and Shevchenko took poetry as the point of departure for their own styles. It is similarly easy to discern the far-reaching similarities in form between the prose of the Ukrainian Romantics and that of Grabowski and Czajkowski; a similarity which is further accentuated by the fact that they employ common themes.

There is also no lack of analogy in the styles of the period of positivist Realism. Certain similarities are evident between the post-Romantic Ujejski and Franko. And this is, to a certain extent, also true of the work of Adam Asnyk, a pseudo-positivist. And again interest in social problems has its counterpart in Polish literature in the work of Maria Konopnicka.

In comparing contemporary Ukrainian and Polish poetry, a common choice of subjects and a common reaction to life's events (the strong sense of catastrophe

to come) are more evident than similarities in form. Nevertheless the Neoclassical trend in the Ukrainian lyric, which is still vigorous though none of the Kievan Neoclassicists is alive today, is close to the Parnassianism of the severe poetry of L. Staff and some of his successors in the Skamander group (especially Wierzyński). Paul Tychyna, who has been well translated by Joseph Czechowicz, has exerted a certain influence on the Polish younger generation.

Józef Łobodowski

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INDEX

This index is prepared to provide the reader with easy access to the material contained in the *Encyclopaedia* and to help him make the best and most effective use of all the information on a particular topic, information which may be scattered throughout the book.

For the convenience of the reader the 2 columns on each text page are designated "a" and "b". Thus, a single reference to a topic is indicated in the following manner: agro-cities, 423b; a topic discussed throughout a page is indexed as 423a-b; and two separate mentions of the same topic on one page are indicated by 423ab. In general, all pertinent material on a topic is grouped under alphabetically arranged subheadings. Entries under the subheading "history" are in chronological order, however. The use of bold type indicates the basic material on that particular topic.

An attempt has been made to include Christian names, pseudonyms, and other data necessary for complete identification of a person. A person is indexed under his real name except in those cases where the person is better known under his pseudonym. Pseudonyms have also been used when it is not advisable to disclose real names (i.e., members of the anti-Soviet underground movement).

As a rule, places are indexed under their most recent names. References to cities, towns, and villages located within the present boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR include the province (*oblast*). In most other cases only the country is indicated. This approach has been adopted for purely practical reasons, although it results in a number of places (within Ukrainian ethnographic territory but outside the Ukrainian SSR) being identified as belonging to neighboring states.

Since the pronunciation of Ukrainian names is somewhat difficult for non-Ukrainians, stresses have been added to all Ukrainian names.

The following list includes the general abbreviations used in the index.

archbp.	archbishop
anc.	ancient
antiq.	antiquities (archaeological)
arch.	architect
archae.	archaeology, archaeological

ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
astron.	astronomer, astronomy
au.	author
Aus.	Austria
Bel.	Belgium
Belo.	Belorussia, Belorussian SSR
bp.	bishop
Briansk	Briansk <i>oblast</i>
Bulg.	Bulgaria
Byz.	Byzantium, Byzantine
Che.	Cherkasy <i>oblast</i>
Cher.	Chernihiv <i>oblast</i>
Chern.	Chernivtsi <i>oblast</i>
Crimea	Crimea <i>oblast</i>
Czech.	Czechoslovakia
dist.	district
Dnip.	Dnipropetrovske <i>oblast</i>
Don.	Donetske <i>oblast</i>
E. Rom. emp.	East Roman emperor
emp.	emperor, empress
est.	estuary
f.	formerly
Fr.	France, French
gen.	general
geog.	geographer, geography
geol.	geologist, geology
Ger.	German, Germany
gov.	governor
Gr.	Greece, Greek
hegum.	hegumen
hist.	historian, history
Hung.	Hungarian, Hungary
indus.	industry
isl.	island
It.	Italy
Ivano.	Ivano-Frankivske <i>oblast</i>
journal.	journal
k.	king
Khar.	Kharkiv <i>oblast</i>
Kher.	Kherson <i>oblast</i>
Khm.	Khmelnyskyi <i>oblast</i>
Kir.	Kirovohrad <i>oblast</i>
Krasn.	Krasnodar <i>krat</i>
Kursk	Kursk <i>oblast</i>
Kyi.	Kiev <i>oblast</i>
lit.	literature
Lith.	Lithuania, Lithuanian
Luh.	Luhanske <i>oblast</i>
Lvi.	Lviv <i>oblast</i>

mil.	military	Sp.	Spain
Moham.	Mohammedan	Sum.	Sumy <i>oblast</i>
Mold.	Moldavia, Moldavian SSR	SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
mt., mts.	mountain, mountains	Swed.	Sweden, Swedish
Musc.	Muscovy, Muscovite	Switz.	Switzerland, Swiss
Myk.	Mykolaiv <i>oblast</i>	Stavr.	Stavropol <i>krai</i>
myth.	mythology	Tern.	Ternopil <i>oblast</i>
Odes.	Odessa <i>oblast</i>	terr.	territory
penin.	peninsula	theol.	theologian
philos.	philosopher, philosophy	trav.	traveller
Pol.	Poland, Polish	Tur.	Turkey, Turkish
Polt.	Poltava <i>oblast</i>	UNR	Ukrainian National Republic
prov.	province	USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
pseud.	pseudonym	Vin.	Vinnitsia <i>oblast</i>
q.	queen	Vol.	Volhynia <i>oblast</i>
reg.	region	Vor.	Voronezh <i>oblast</i>
rel.	religious	Yugos.	Yugoslavia
riv.	river	Zak.	<i>Zakarpats'ka oblast</i>
Riv.	Rivne <i>oblast</i>	ZOUNR	Western Province of the Ukrainian National Republic
Rost.	Rostov <i>oblast</i>	ZUNR	Western Ukrainian National Republic
Rum.	Rumania, Rumanian	Zap.	Zaporizhia <i>oblast</i>
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic	Zhyt.	Zhytomyr <i>oblast</i>
Russ.	Russia, Russian		
Sarat.	Saratov <i>oblast</i>		

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