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CONTENTS

THE UKRAINIAN FREE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES*

THE PAST AND THE TASK AHEAD

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was founded on November 14, 1918, in Kiev, after a resolution to that effect was adopted by the government of the independent Ukrainian National State. The world famous scientist, Volodymyr Vernadśkyj, became the Academy's first president. The organization of this supreme Ukrainian institution of learning proceeded swiftly, since all Ukrainian scholars helped in its development. Soon the Academy had a series of institutes, libraries, and museums, all conducted under its auspices, and among its new members were practically all the Ukrainian scholars and scientists, many of whom had previously belonged to other Academies.

In 1921 the Red Army completed their occupation of the Ukraine; but the Soviets, having destroyed the political independence of the Ukraine, refrained for a time from any direct attack on Ukrainian science and scholarship. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences continued to exist, although some of its members left the country. The years 1924-25 witnessed a flowering of Ukrainian learning, both in the humanities and the natural sciences. In this period the Academy published many hundreds of valuable works of scholarship and directed many research projects. Among the foremost members of the Academy at the time were Professors Hruševśkyj, Jefremov, Krymśkyj, Zabolotnyj, Kravčuk, Votčal, Korčak-Čepurkivśkyj, Tutkivśkyj, Bahalij, Voblyj, Opokiv, Sumcov, Javornyćkyj, Hnatjuk, and Ščurat. The Academy was actively supported by some governmental circles headed by Oleksander Šumśkyj who later was liquidated, together with such prominent and high officials of the Commissariat of Education as Ozerśkyj and Professor Javorśkyj.

The year 1929, however, marked the beginning of the destruction of the Academy by the Soviets. In the middle of 1929 open war was declared by the Communist Party not only against the Ukrainian

* In December, 1950, the Academy was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States.

peasantry, but also against Ukrainian science and culture, till then independent. Many prominent members of the Academy were arrested, among them Professors Jefremov, Slabčenko, and Holoskevyč. In 1930 the well-known trial of the "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine" took place, and among those sentenced to long terms of imprisonment were many members of the Academy including Professor Jefremov. Thus ended the first phase of the liquidation of Ukrainian men of science in Kiev and Kharkiv.

From 1930 onwards the Academy was subjected to strict control by the Communist Party and soon lost all its freedom and independence. The new Academicians, most of them non-Ukrainians, were not chosen in free elections but were appointed by Moscow in place of the old members who had been arrested or dismissed. All these moves were designed to destroy the real Academy and to create in its place a satellite of Moscow. This was accomplished in 1934, when a member of the Communist Party, the Russian Alexander Palladin, was appointed first as secretary and then as president of the Academy. From that time on the Academy became an instrument of Russian totalitarianism in the Ukraine, while Ukrainian scientists and scholars were either exiled, deprived of employment, transferred from the Ukraine, or forced to seek asylum in Europe.

After the German invasion of the Ukraine in 1941, the Ukrainian scientists tried to recreate the Academy, but their attempts were frustrated by the new destroyers of Ukrainian culture. By November 1945, however, many former members and associates of the old Academy found themselves in Western Europe, and they succeeded in creating the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences which embraced most Ukrainian scholars and scientists on the free side of the Iron Curtain. At once the new Ukrainian Free Academy began work in its various sections and in the issue of many publications, endeavoring to carry on the tradition of the original Kiev institution.

At the present moment there are in the United States sixty-five members and close associates of the Academy. Using all the opportunities which this country so abundantly provides, we have

pledged ourselves to continue our work here in all the fields of science and scholarship for the benefit of this country, our old homeland, and humanity. The aim of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States is to co-ordinate the efforts of Ukrainian scholars of all varieties of democratic thought and conviction. This first issue of the *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy* is one of the Academy's projects which bear witness to our determination that Ukrainian science and learning shall continue to flourish and develop, and that they make their contribution to the science and learning of the entire free world.

THE EDITORS

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE*

SERHIJ JEFREMOV

This brief study by Academician Jefremov, entitled *Dorohoju syntezu — Ohljad istoriohrafiï ukraïnśkoho pyśmenstva,* appeared in "Zapysky istoryčno — filolohičnoho viddilu," Vseukraïnśka Akademija Nauk, Knyha 2-3, Kiev, 1923. The translation of it given below is slightly abridged, and supplemented by a short bibliography from 1923 up to the present, compiled by GEORGE LUCKYJ. Both parts of the present article deal only with comprehensive surveys of Ukrainian literature and do not mention studies of particular periods, genres or authors.

Although Ukrainian literature is centuries old and its origin reaches back to the beginning of the history of the Ukrainian people, the historiography of Ukrainian literature is still a comparatively young branch of scholarship. The reason why this should be so is supplied by history itself. Before the Ukrainian literary renaissance, which took place at the end of the eighteenth century, a history of Ukrainian literature could not have been expected, since there had been very little history written of literature in general. However, even after the crucial renaissance period, Ukrainian literature was often regarded, not as a product of the national spirit and continuous old traditions, but rather as a positive or negative accident, a product of the whim of a group of frivolous and idealist people. This attitude made itself felt in the works devoted to Ukrainian literature; and since accidents do not always deserve investigation into their causes and whims have obviously no underlying laws of logic, the first studies of Ukrainian literature have the character of random subjective observations, based not on facts and critical criteria. The early historians were often guided by emotion rather than by reason, and were really trying to find their way in the dark.

And yet, even in these early critical studies suggestions of a sound historical instinct can be traced. Some of the finest students of Ukranian literature, although handicapped firstly by the lack of

* This is the first of a series of earlier studies of lasting value by Ukrainian scholars. It is hoped that translations of similar publications will appear in later issues of the *Annals.*

knowledge which prevented them from gaining the right perspective with regard to the past, and secondly by feeling that they stood on very shaky ground, were confident that there was an organic unity existing between the apparently disjointed events in Ukrainian literary history, and that its development followed a definite course. This historical instinct prompted some early researchers to link their thoughts into the chain that was to become the historiography of Ukrainian literature. Even a brief account of this early historiography may be of great value to all those interested in the history of Ukrainian literature and certain conclusions may be deduced from it.

The first writer who stressed the need for a historical conception of the development of Ukrainian literature was the well-known Galician scholar and patriot of the earlier half of the nineteenth century — Ivan Mohylnyćkyj (1777-1831) who as a canon of Peremyšl was a staunch defender of the right to education in the vernacular and an adviser to the famous V. Kopitar in Ukrainian affairs. A man of wide vision, he was equipped with a scholarly knowledge of his own country's past, and he devoted much of his time to the defense of the vernacular and its use in literature. He wrote an apologia for the common speech of the Galician peasants, *Vedomosť o ruśkom jazyce*[1] which during his lifetime appeared only in an abridged Polish translation *(Rozprawa o jezyku ruskim,* 1829) and was later on twice published in Russian.[2] In this work Mohylnyćkyj not only defended the independent status of the Ukrainian — or, as he calls it "Ruthenian" (ruśka mova) language — as being different from both Polish and Russian, but he also linked contemporary Ukrainian literature with the older works of literature which had their origin in the Ukraine. He carefully selected all the ancient works which have unmistakable Ukrainian characteristics; he demonstrated the unity of those Ukranians living on the banks of the Dnieper with their brothers along the Dniester; he analyzed carefully and thoroughly the word *ruśkyj* which he adopted

[1] Published in *Ukraïnśko — ruśkyj archiv* (Lviv, 1910), Vol. V.

[2] I. Mogilevskij (sic!), *O. drevnosti i samobitnosti južno-russkago jazyka,* **Žurnal Min.** *Nar. Prosv.,* 1839 and *Zapysky o južnoj Rusy,* (St. Petersburg, 1857), Vol. II.

for the Ukrainian language in preference to other usages. His *Vedomosť* had, as an appendix, what was the first Ukrainian anthology of Ukrainian literature[3] compiled according to the historical principle. In that appendix Mohylnyćkyj included the ancient *hramoty* of the Princes and translations from the Bible; devoted much space to F. Skoryna, and gave extracts from the Lithuanian Statute and legal documents. He also included selections from the works of Berynda, Galjatovśkyj, and Radyvylivśkyj, as well as verses from *Bohohlasnyk* — right up to the selections from Kotljarevśkyj's *Eneïda* and the verses from Pavlovśkyj's *Hramatyka.* At that time the book as a whole was a work of the greatest value and significance, both from the scholarly and social points of view. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that generations of Galician scholars and intellectuals, such as Levyćkyj, Holovaćkyj, and others, used Mohylnyćkyj's work as a guide in their later researches.

There is no doubt about the purpose which guided Mohylnyćkyj in his work. "Having convinced himself," he wrote in *Vedomosť,* "with the help of all the available documents, of the ancient origin and great beauty of the Ruthenian language, the reader, not being especially well acquainted with the history of his own country, may ask why such a beautiful language has survived only among the common people, Greek-Catholic clergy, and the lower gentry in towns and villages?"[4] And, with a real sense of history and logic, he went on, "why has the South Ruthenian literature fallen into such decay at the present time, when it could enrich us by works of high artistic quality?"[5]

That Mohylnyćkyj should ask this question at the time of Ivan Kotljarevśkyj's first faint attempts to revive Ukrainian literature in the vernacular — attempts of which he was aware — makes his approach to the problem of the historiography of Ukrainian literature even more interesting. Theoretically, that is, Mohylnyćkyj came to the same conclusions as those upon which, later, the practice of

3 Ja. Hordynśkyj, *Perša proba chrestomatiï z ukraïnśkoï literatury, Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka,* vol. CXXV.

4 *Ukraïnśko — ruśkyj Archiv,* Vol. V. pp. 23-24.

5 *Zapysky o južnoj Rusy,* Vol. II. p. 267.

the first writers of the Ukrainian literary renaissance was based. "His penetrating views were not expressed in vain," Kuliš wrote when republishing Mohylnyćkyj's *Vedomosť*[6]. And, indeed, the history of Ukrainian literature did assume the course foreshadowed by the instinct and love of this scholar.

The first scholarly and methodical studies of the history of Ukrainian literature, published between 1830 and 1860 contained accounts of contemporary literature. It might even be said that starting with the work of Osyp Bodjańskyj (1808-1876), who under the pseudonym "Mastak" published a history of Ukrainian literature in 1834, it became rather common, indeed almost a matter of form, to begin any history of Ukrainian literature with the early nineteenth century, that is, with Kvitka's novels. To this type of historical record belong the studies by M. Kostomarov (in *Molodyk* for 1844, and in Herbel's *Poezija Slavjan,* 1871); A. Metlyńskyj *(Skubent Čupryna)*; M. Hatcuk; and P. Kuliš (studies in *Russkaja Beseda, Russkij Vestnik, Chata,* and *Osnova*). According to all of these, Ukrainian literature began with Kotljarevśkyj's *Eneïda;* no consideration was given to his predecessors and no attempt was made to link the literature in the vernacular with earlier sources. Valuation of single authors was also standardized. All regarded Kotljarevśkyj's works as negative, condemning them as a "rambling tomfoolery" and preferring Hulak Artemovśkyj and especially Kvitka whom they regarded as the father of Ukrainian literature. Much attention was usually devoted to Ševčenko and Marko Vovčok. Writers like Borovykovśkyj, Hrebinka, and Metlyńskyj were mentioned at random together with such single works as *Čary* by Kyrylo Topolo or *Naśki ukraïnski kazky* by Iśko Materynka (Bodjańskyj).

This schematized pattern is most obvious in the works of Pantelejmon Kuliš, who best expressed the views of his generation on the origins and values of Ukrainian literature. "The appearance of Kotljarevśkyj with his Aeneas" wrote Kuliš in *Chata,* "caused uproarious laughter, since the common Ukrainian people were

[6] *Ibid.* p. 260.

depicted as quite eccentric. The contemporary Ukrainian intelligentsia felt itself elevated above such vulgarities, and their laughter directed against Kotljarevśkyj's masterpiece meant a crucial test for Ukrainian literature. In fact, this laughter nearly killed the first attempt to create Ukrainian literature in the vernacular."[7]

This, however, was the voice of a critic who had been upset by malice, rather than that of a cool and objective historian. Literary historians still lacked the necessary sense of perspective. They still refused to see the development of Ukrainian literature against the background of Ukrainian history and as they still regarded it merely as an appendix to Russian literature, they naturally made no mention of Ukrainian literature before Kotljarevśkyj, for what was written in the Ukraine before that time had been annexed by Russian literary historians as a part of Russian literature.

This early period of the historiography of Ukrainian literature ends with the publication of P. Petračenko's *Kratkij istoričeskij očerk ukrainskoj literatury* which appeared in Warsaw in 1861 as as an appendix to the history of Russian literature. Following in the steps of Kuliš, Petračenko after a short introduction devoted ten pages to the discussion of Kvitka, Ševčenko, and Marko Vovčok as well as Kuliš himself. This work had all the drawbacks of previous histories of Ukrainian literature — the chief being a complete lack of historical perspective.

Much deeper and broader was the approach to historiography made by two Galician scholars and writers: Ivan Vahylevyč (1811-1866) and Jakiv Holovaćkyj (1814-1888). Since they were not under Russian influence, they were not hindered in their writings except by the accepted pattern of Russian literary historians. It may be said that they followed Mohylnyćkyj whose influence on the literary revival in Galicia was significant. Both of them, writing in the 1840's, left valuable histories of Ukrainian literature, taking into account the literature of the old Ruś and the Lithuanian — Polish period. *Zametki o ruskoj literature* by Vahylevyč appeared in

7 Kuliš, *Perednje slovo do hromady. Pohljad na ukraïnśku slovesnist, Chata,* (St. Petersburg, 1860), pp. XVII-XVIII.

1848, and Holovaćkyj's *Tri ustupitelnii predpodavanija o ruśkoj slovesnosti* came out in 1849.

"In my lectures" declared Holovaćkyj, "I propose to consider the main literary achievements of the Ruthenian people in their historical order so as to gain a better appreciation of these works."[8] This in fact he did, tracing the origins of contemporary literature back to the acceptance of Christianity by Ruś. However, both Holovaćkyj and Vahylevyč had many shortcomings. Vahylevyč's history was full of factual errors, and his accounts of modern writers were too sketchy. Something better might have been expected from Holovaćkyj, who was an acknowledged authority and a specialist in literary history. He was the first to be elected to the chair of Ukrainian language and literature, established in 1848 at Lviv University. Yet, in spite of his high qualifications, Holovaćkyj showed strange bias in favor of the ancient literature and neglected the greater part of modern literature. His *Tri vstupitelnii predpodavanija,* excellent as far as its methodology and the survey of the earlier periods are concerned, is lamentably superficial in its treatment of the latest period. Perhaps the Moscowphile spirit, which Holovaćkyj was to develop was already evident here, for his dislike of vernacular literature is beyond doubt. "Some modern Ukrainian writers" he writes in the closing chapter of his history, "in attempting to express themselves in the language as spoken by the people and in the popular Ukrainian spirit in order to separate themselves from the Russian traditions, went to the other extreme."[9] It is no wonder that some of Holovaćkyj's students, later prominent literary historians[10] remembered well Holovaćkyj's conservatism; and we are obliged to say that both these Galician historians, Vahylevyč and Holovaćkyj, had small influence on the Eastern Ukraine and failed to produce a scholarly and comprehensive history of Ukrainian literature, although their studies contributed much to the progress of historiography.

8 I. Onyškevyč, *Ruśka biblioteka, tom III.Pysanja M. Šaškevyča, I. Vahylevyča i Ja. Holovaćkoho* (Lviv, 1884), p. 333.

9 *Ibid.* p. 347.

10 O. Ohonovśkyj, *Istorija literatury ruśkoj,* (Lviv, 1894), IV, pp. 95.

The next important contribution in this field was the history of Slavic literatures *(Obzor istorii slavjanskich literatur,* 1865) by O. Pypin and V. Spasovič. In the second and thoroughly revised edition which appeared under the title *Istorija slavjanskich literatur* (vol I. St. Petersburg, 1879), O Pypin included his comprehensive history of Ukrainian literature. It began with the Lithuanian period, since Pypin regarded literature prior to that time as the "common treasure of both branches of the Russian people."[11] After giving an extensive review of all types of earlier literature, he dealt at length with the nineteenth century period and summed up the Ukrainian literary revival as springing from the old traditions under the influence of the Slavic movement for national regeneration. Pypin's history extended to the 1880's and contained an account of the literature of the Galician revival. It can be regarded as a pioneer study of great value and is still of interest today.

In the 1870s there appeared several minor historical studies of Ukrainian literature which deserve to be mentioned. To these belong: Pavlyn Svjencyćkyj's *Vik XIX u dijach literatury ukraïńśkoï,* Lviv, 1871; M. Drahamanov's *Literatura rosijśka velykoruśka, ukraïńśka* 1873-74); O. Konyśkyj's *Istorija ruśko-ukraïńśkoho pyśmenstva XIX vika* (published under the pseudonym 'Košovyj in *S'vit,* 1881-82) and his *Zarysy ruchu literackiego Rusinów, Atheneum,* Warsaw, 1885. None of these can be regarded as of major importance to the course of Ukrainian historiography, although they contain a wealth of new critical appraisals of Ukrainian literature.

It was during the 1880s that the first outstanding historiographic studies of Ukrainian literature began to be written. In 1880 there appeared *Očerki iz istorii ukrainskoj literatury XVIII veka* by Professor M. Petrov (1840-1921). It was republished in a revised edition in the *Trudy Kievskoj Duchovnoj Akademii,* 1909-1911, and later separately as *Očerki iz istorii ukrainskoj literatury XVII i XVIII vekov,* Kiev, 1911. In the early 1880s the journal *Istoričeskij Vestnik* began publishing the second work of the same scholar, which later, in 1884, appeared in book-form with the title *Očerki istorii ukrainskoj*

11 A. N. Pypin and V. D. Spasovič, *Istorija slavjanskich literatur,* (St. Petersburg, 1879), Vol. I. p. 317.

literatury XIX stoletija. This book prompted many criticisms (Konyśkyj, Komarov, Daškevyč) and was yet another stepping stone on the road to scholarly interpretation of the history of Ukrainian literature. The first book mentioned was meant, as the author explained,[12] as an introduction to the history of Ukrainian literature in the nineteenth century. It was devoted to the historical survey of earlier literature, going back to the period of Kiev Ruś. The strict historical approach shown by Petrov was thus carried to its logical conclusion by regarding the earliest literature of the Kiev period as the source of evolution of all writing in the Ukraine.[13]

Petrov was aware, however, of the complex problem of the earlier history of literature written in the Ukraine. "Only further historical research," he wrote, "can untie the Gordian knot of the intermixed relations of the two branches of Russian literature." Petrov attempted to supply an answer to this problem in his book, but he did this without the support of documents and materials which he hoped future research would bring to light. His main error was that he took for granted the dependence of Ukrainian literature on Russian literature. Yet apart from that, his work contained most valuable material, had a sound methodological basis, and, coming from a Russian authority on literature as a recognition of the ancient Ukrainian literary traditions it gave to Ukrainian historiography the stamp, as it were, of scholarly approval.

Petrov's work was to a large extent supplemented and corrected by the history of another great Russian scholar, Academician Daškevyč (1852-1908) who, for a long time, was Professor at Kiev. This history appeared in St. Petersburg, in 1888 as *Otzyv o sočinenii g. Petrova: Očerki istorii ukrainskoj literatury XIX stoletija (Otčet o 29-m prisuždenii nagrad grafa Uvarova,* St. Petersburg, 1888). Although intended at first as a review of Petrov's book, it soon expanded into an entirely new work. Contrary to Petrov, Daškevyč believed that "Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century showed its own independence and genius while remaining closely tied to

[12] N. I. Petrov, *Očerki iz istorii ukrainskoj literatury XVII i XVIII vekov* (Kiev, 1911), p. 2.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

folk traditions."[14] The borrowings, according to him, did not obliterate native spontaneity.[15] Developing further Pypin's view of the influence of the Slavic national revival on Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century, Daškevyč was the first to see a close bond between Ukrainian literature and the main currents of European culture, without forgetting "the ancient traditions of native creativeness."[16] He analyzed carefully those "common European trends which came to be reflected in Ukrainian literature sometimes with the help of Polish or Russian literature, but often quite apart from them."[17] Daškevyč's work formed the cornerstone necessary for the solid foundation of modern Ukrainian literary historiography.

Starting in 1886, the journal *Zorja* began publishing the monumental work of O. Ohonovśkyj (1833-94), Professor at Lviv university, entitled *Istorija literatury ruśkoj,* which later appeared in four parts (six volumes) in Lviv, 1887-1894, but remained unfinished because of the author's death in 1894. "We regard the Little Russian or Ukrainian literature" wrote Ohonovśkyj in the introduction to his history, "as separate from Russian literature, because the Ukrainian people is separate from the Great Russian people."[18] Having thus established as a fact what certain of his predecessors were hesitant about, Ohonovśkyj looked to the literature of Kievan Ruś as the immediate source of all the later Ukrainian literature.[19] Ohonovśkyj argued further that while Ukrainian literature since Kotljarevśkyj was popular *(narodnja),* the literature prior to that

14 *Otčet o* 29 *-m prisuždenii nagrad gr. Uvarova* (St. Petersburg, 1888), p. 55.

15 *Ibid.* p. 263.

16 *Ibid.* p. 109.

17 *Ibid.* p. 55.

18 *Istorija literatury ruśkoj,* (Lviv, 1887), I, p. VIII.

19 Ohonovśkyj's view was severely attacked by several scholars, among them — O. Pypin. In his article *Osobaja istorija russkoj literatury* (*Vestnik Evropy,* 1890) Pypin tried to reject Ohonovśkyj's argument that the Kiev period can be regarded as the beginning of Ukrainian literature. A detailed reply to Pypin may be found in Ohonovśkyj's *Mojemu krytykovi — Vidpovid A. Pypinovi,* Lviv, 1890 and I. Levyćkyj-Nečuj's (I Baštovyj) *Ukraïnstvo na literaturnych pozvach z Moskovščynoju* (Lviv, 1819). This discussion was yet another aspect of Ukrainian-Russian relations and is a part of the controversy between "Southerners" and "Northerners."

lacked the truly popular element, since its development was hindered first by Church-Slavic Byzantine influences, then by Polish culture and medieval scholasticism, and finally by the cultural oppression of Tzarist Muscovy. For that reason Ohonovśkyj paid much more attention to the literature of the nineteenth century than to that of earlier periods. In spite of a great wealth of biographical and bibliographical material Ohonovśkyj's work had very serious deficiencies. Because of the lack of any systematic approach, it failed to show the historical development, and resembled a collection of separate monographs on various writers rather than a history of literature. Besides that, the biographies of authors were often stereotyped, and contained unnecessary pseudo-patriotic commentaries. Little consideration was given to the circumstances which conditioned the work of the various literary figures mentioned. It must therefore be said that Ohonovśkyj ended the period of the collection of material in historiography without having arrived at a clear synthesis of all the available facts.

The following histories of literature published in the last two decades of the nineteenth century were useful compilations of available material: *Ohljad nacjonalnoj prace halickych rusynov,* published in *Zorja* (1887) by V. Kocovśkyj; *Literaturni stremlinnja halyćkych rusyniv vid* 1772 *do* 1872 *r.r.* by O. Terlećkyj (1850-1902), published under the pseudonym "Ivan Zanevyc" in *Žyttja i Slovo,* (1894-95). *Halyćko — ruśke pyśmenstvo* 1848-1865 *r.* was written by the same author and published posthumously in *Literaturno — naukovyj Vistnyk* (1903).

As the publication of Kotljarevśkyj's *Eneïda* in 1798 is usually regarded as the birthday of modern Ukrainian literature, the appearance of *Stolittje obnovlenoï ukraïnśko — ruśkoï literatury* by Professor Oleksander Kolessa in 1898 may be regarded as marking its centenary. This work was published in *Literaturno-naukovyj Vistnyk,* Vol. I. Then, the turn of the century witnessed the beginning of the publication of Professor Mychajlo Hruševśkyj's monumental *History of Ukraine — Ruś (Istorija Ukraïny — Rusy)* which had most valuable observations on literature, especially in the first, third and sixth volumes.

Two important contributions in the field of the historiography of Ukrainian literature made at the beginning of the twentieth century must be mentioned. In the twelfth volume of *Bolšaja Enciklopedija* Borys Hrinčenko published his *Malorusskaja literatura,* and in the forty-first volume of Brockhaus and Efron's *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar* there appeared Ivan Franko's *Južno—russkaja literatura.* Franko's historical survey was intended to develop later into a much larger work, and in *Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka* for 1909 there even appeared his introduction to this proposed history of Ukrainian literature.[20]

Franko was the first to use the comparative method together with a psychological approach in his evaluation of literature. "No literature" he wrote, "can be free from foreign influences... A historian of literature must show the effect of the foreign influence on a national literature as well as the contribution which this literature made to world literature. While treating literature as an aspect of the history and culture of a nation, he must bring out all its positive and negative features, remembering that knowledge of the historical background is not enough in itself, for literature is created by outstanding personalities rising above the mass and often guiding it along the path of progress."[21]

It is indeed a great pity that Franko's projected large history never came to be written. Instead, he published in 1910 a *Narys istorii ukraïnśkoï—ruśkoï literatury do* 1890 *r.* which disappointed those who were awaiting the expected large volume; and as this was written during Franko's illness, it has none of the good qualities of the author's earlier critical writings, being very chaotic and full of errors.

Less scholarly, and intended for the general reader, were the following surveys of Ukrainian literature published during the first decade of the twentieth century: *Sučasne ukraïnśke pyśmenstvo v joho typovych predstavnykach* (first published in *Literaturno—naukovyj vistnyk,* 1907-1908) by O. Hruševśkyj; *Demokratičeskaja*

20 Franko, *Teorija i rozvij istorii literatury, Zapysky naukovoho tovarystva im. Ševčenka,* vol. LXXXIX, p. 5.

21 *Ibid.* p. 15-16.

literatura (published in *Russkaja Mysl,* 1907) by O. Lotoćkyj; *Ukrainskaja literatura v XIX veke* (in *Istorija Rossii v XIX veke*) by S. Rusova; and *Ohljad istorii ukraïńsko—ruśkoï literatury,* Lviv, 1910, by O. Barvinśkyj. Somewhat more comprehensive was the study by B. Lepkyj *Načerk istorii ukraïńśkoï literatury,* Kolomyja, 1909.

During World War I Ukrainian scholarship suffered much under the Russian censorship as well as from military and social upheavals. Not only the muses, but the sciences also were silent *inter arma.* Three works which appeared during that period deserve to be mentioned: first, *Starinnaja ukrainskaja literatura* by Academician V. Peretc; second, *Novaja ukrainskaja literatura* by the present writer (both printed in *Otečestvo,* Petrograd, 1916); and third, the latter survey in a more complete form which appeared as *Ukrainskaja literatura* in the forty-second volume of Granat's *Enciklopedičeskij Slovar.* Two other works published in Vienna are of equal importance. They are—*Z istorii ukraïńśkoï literatury.* (1915) by B. Lepkyj and V. Simovyč, and *Ukraïnstvo v Rosii* (1917) by Volodymyr Dorošenko.

The period of the Revolution (1917-1921) was marked by the further ruin and decay of scholarship. Very little was written, and still less printed. However, beginning with 1922, it is possible to speak of the rise of certain new movements in the development of literary historiography. The present writer's *Korotka istorija ukraïńśkoho pyśmenstva,* Kiev, 1918, and *Rozmovy pro ukraïńśkych pyśmennykiv, Part* I—II, Poltava, 1918, by V. Ščepotjev were intended for the general reader. A work which, because of its superficiality and lack of originality, cannot be recommended was D. Rudyk's *Korotkyj ohljad ukraïńśkoho pyśmenstva z vyïmkamy tvoriv,* Uman', 1920. Finally, the last and most interesting attempt to write a full history of Ukrainian literature was made in the first two parts of *Istorija ukraïńśkoï literatury* by Mychajlo Voznjak,[22] published in 1920-21.

As was to be expected, this excellent scholar, having used all

[22] The second volume appeared in 1921, the third in 1924, in Lviv.

the available sources, succeeded in composing a work of great value. The only criticism which might be made of the parts that have appeared so far is that the material presented is often too detailed, and that the overall plan is not logical or consistent. Voznjak's emphasis on the early enmity between Kiev and Suzdal, his theory of the Ukrainian origin of the "byliny," and the very hypothetical chapter on Bojan, are the weakest parts in this otherwise competent study.

The historiography of Ukrainian literature is now entering into the period of fulfillment. It began as a series of critical studies written without any historical perspectives, but today it has behind it a quarter of a century of scholarly attempts at a synthesis, and before it a new generation of scholars who have all the means to produce a truly scholarly and authoritative history of Ukrainian literature.

Post-Revolutionary Period (1923-1949)

As the next important contribution to the Ukrainian historiography of the period not covered by the author, the second enlarged edition of his own *Istorija ukraïńśkoho pyśmenstva,* Vols. I — II, (Kiev-Leipzig, 1924) must be mentioned. The second volume is especially valuable since it contains a critical appraisal of the recent post-revolutionary period as well as an extensive bibliography at the end of each chapter.

Four other general surveys of Ukrainian literature which were intended for use as school text books are: *Ukraïńśka literatura; pidručna knyha dlja staršych grup semynaryčnoï šk̨oly,* Kiev, 1922, and *Pidručnyk̨ istorii ukraïńśk̨oï literatury,* Kharkiv-Kiev, 1924, both by O. Doroškevyč; *Istorija ukraïńśk̨oï literatury,* vols. I, II, Lviv, 1920-21, by O. Barvinśkyj; and *Istorija ukraïńśk̨oï literatury,* vol. I. Kališ, 1922, by L. Bilećkyj.

In 1923 there appeared the first volume of the large *Istorija ukraïńśk̨oï literatury* by that outstanding Ukrainian historian Michael Hruševśkyj. Within the next few years a further five volumes were published in the following order: Vol. I. (Folk Literature), Lviv-

Kiev, 1923; Vol. II. (Kiev Period), Lviv-Kiev, 1923; Vol. III. (Kiev and Halyč-Volyn' Period), Lviv-Kiev, 1923; Vol. IV. (Folk Literature in the late Kiev Period and in the XIII-XVII cent.), Kiev, 1925; Vol. V. Part One, (XV-XVI cent.), Kiev, 1926; Vol. V. Part Two, (The First Revival: 1580-1610), Kiev, 1927.

Hruševśkyj's approach to literature is clearly stated by him in the preface to volume one:

> What a citizen should find of value in studying literature is not the evolution of the literary language, style, and form as they are reflected in the works of various writers, but an understanding of literature as a function of social life, as a reflection of reality, of the mutual relationship between the author and his social environment. A history of literature must provide the reader with a key to the archives of human documents ... and must teach him to evaluate not only the reflection of social life, but also to investigate all forms and stages of this social life of a single people or a whole group of peoples, of races, and finally of mankind as a whole. Only then can works of literature reveal to the reader their deepest meaning, and the history of literature, studied from the sociological angle, will assume a truly great importance.[23]

In his work Hruševśkyj followed closely this formula and his history of literature is therefore, in the opinion of most scholars, the most modern synthesis of Ukrainian literary achievements as seen against the background of the social, political, and cultural history of the Ukraine and Eastern Europe.

A searching study of modern Ukrainian literature viewed as part of the Western European literary development is Mykola Zerov's *Nove ukraïnśke pyśmenstvo,* Kiev, 1924.

Three histories of Ukrainian literature written from the standpoint of Marxian literary theory are: V. Korjak's *Narys istorii ukraïnśkoï literatury,* Vol. I, *Literatura peredburžuazna,* Kharkiv, 1925, Vol. II. *Buržuazne pyśmenstvo,* Kharkiv, 1929; A. Šamraj's *Ukraïnśka literatura — styslyj ohljad,* Kharkiv, 1926; and V. Korjak's*Ukraïnśka literatura; Konspekt,* Kharkiv, 1928 (revised in 1931).

Strictly in accordance with the Marxian view of literature, Kor-

23 M. Hruševśkyj, *Istorija ukraïnśkoï literatury,* Vol. I. p. 21.

jak divides Ukrainian literature into the periods of (1) tribal existence, (2) early feudalism, (3) Middle Ages, (4) commercial capitalism, (5) industrial capitalism, (6) financial capitalism, (7) proletarian dictatorship. Šamraj, while following the Marxian line, admits that "it is a great mistake to assume that social-economic phenomena alone determine literary developments... Literature is not political economy, but simply literature."[24] In dividing literature into periods Šamraj attempts "to emphasize the special nature of literary developments."

The further development of the historiography of Ukrainian literature was aided by the work of commissions and societies organized for that purpose under the auspices of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev. Under this heading must be placed the Permanent Commission of the VUAN[25] for the Publication of the Memoirs of Modern Ukrainian Literature, founded in 1919 and consisting of such scholars as Jefremov, Loboda, Novyćkyj, and Fylypovyč; the Historical and Literary Society affiliated to the VUAN, founded in 1922; the Society of Friends of Ukrainian Culture, Literature, and Language in Leningrad, founded in 1921 and after 1923 affiliated with the VUAN; and finally, the Commission for Ancient Ukrainian Literature, created in 1927 through the initiative of the Academician Volodymyr Peretc. The splendid work of these scholars which might be regarded as preparatory to a new history of literature remained without a synthesis and was largely discontinued after 1930. Of minor importance was a series of school textbooks of the history of Ukrainian literature, such as *Zahalnyj kurs ukraïnśkoï literatury* (1930) edited by O. Bilećkyj, and *Ukraïnśka literatura,* Second Edition, Kiev, 1940, edited by P. Volynśkyj. Two Soviet encyclopedias have long accounts of Ukrainian literature: *Bolšaja Sovjetskaja Enciklopedija,* Vol. LV, 1947 (articles by O. Bilećkyj, S. Maslov, and S. Šachovskoj), and *Literaturnaja Enciklopedija,* Vol. XI, 1939 (articles by O. Bilećkyj, Je. Kyryljuk, and L. Pidhajnyj.

At the time of the severest oppression of Ukrainian scholarship

24 A. Šamraj, *Ukraïnśka literatura* (Kharkiv, 1926), p. 6.
25 VUAN — Vseukraïnśka Akademija Nauk.

in the U.S.S.R., the Ukrainian centres of learning in Western Ukraine (Lviv), Prague, and Warsaw carried on their studies in the field of Ukrainian historiography. The most outstanding contribution originating abroad was D. Čiževsky's *Istorija ukraïnśkoï literatury,* Vol. II (Renaissance, Reformation, Baroque), published in Prague in 1942. A later work by the same author is *Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im* 11, *und* 13 *Jahrhundert; Kiever Epoche,* Frankfort a/Main, 1948.

The only recent Soviet history of Ukrainian literature, published in 1945 *(Narys istorii ukraïnśkoï literatury* by S. Maslov and Je. Kyryljuk) was severely condemned by a special Party decree of August 24th, 1946. The charges against it were that (1) "the authors have distorted the Marxian-Leninist interpretation of the history of Ukrainian literature which they represented in a bourgeois nationalist spirit. The history of Ukrainian literature is shown as existing apart from the class struggle, as a process isolated from that struggle. The authors ignore the class struggle as the basic law of the development of class society and instead allow the national element to play the decisive part in the development of writers' work." (2) "The 'Outline' shows traces of the theory according to which the Ukrainian past is classless and devoid of bourgeois influence. This theory is central in the conception of the 'school' of M. Hruševśkyj." (3) "The 'Outline' does not show the great and fruitful influence of Russian culture and literature on the development of Ukrainian culture and literature, it ignores their relationship and it exaggerates the influence of Western European literatures."[26]

It is difficult to believe that with such criteria contemporary Soviet Ukrainian scholarship can accomplish anything in the field of historiography. However, Ukrainian scholarship in Europe, Canada, and in this country, tries, under difficult circumstances, to continue the tradition of objective research in the history of Ukrainian literature. The latest and best examples of this are the first

26 *Pro perekručennja i pomylky u vysvitlenni istorii ukraïnśkoï literatury v "Narysi istorii ukraïnśkoï literatury"; z postanovy CK KP (b) U vid* 24. *VIII.* 1946. *Literaturna Hazeta,* September 5th, 1946.

volume of Professor Leonid Bilećkyj's *Istorija ukraïnśkoï literatury,* Augsburg, 1947, and *Istorija ukraïnśkoï literatury,* Two volumes, Munich, 1947, by V. Radzykevyč. By far the most informative is the brief account of the history of Ukrainian literature by M. Hlobenko, L. Bilećkyj, Je. Pelenśkyj, D. Čiževsky, Ju. Blochyn, I. Korovyćkyj, and V. Lev in the 10th Fascicle of the *Encyklopedija Ukraïnoznastva,* Munich-New York, 1950, published by the Naukove Tovarystvo im. Ševčenka. It is to be hoped that other studies, now well under way, will be completed and published shortly.

THE DECEMBRIST MILIEU IN THE DIARY OF PELAGJA ROS'CISZEWSKA

VOLODYMYR PORS'KYJ

Some twenty to thirty pages from the diary of Pelagja Rościszewska occupy a unique place among the scanty Polish memoirs of the mutiny of the Černyhiv Regiment and the echoes of December 14th, 1825, in Central Ukraine. Fate brought her only once into contact with the leaders of the Decembrist revolt, Serge Muravjov-Apostol and Michail Bestužev-Rjumin, but their meeting is vividly recorded. Many other pages of her diary contain a wealth of information about the close friendship between the Rościszewskis and Count Gustav Olizar, a sympathizer with the Decembrist cause; about the family relations with another Decembrist, Prince Serge Trubeckoj and about numerous acquaintances who were arrested by the St. Petersburg and Warsaw investigating commissions.

The unique value of this diary lies in the fact that it offers direct observations of people among whom the diarist herself moved. She did not try to collect information *post factum* about men who were already well known and famous. The entries in her diary do not anticipate future historical developments. Count Gustav Olizar, Prince Serge Trubeckoj, General Rot and the officers Žukov and Vadkovskij interested her only as people with whom she was well acquainted. Her impressions of them are frank and intimate. Writing of the circle of Russian officers and of Kiev society, Pelagja Rościszewska never falls into the style of a historian or of a chronicler who is constantly aware of the historical implications of people's actions. The events of the age have no particular significance for her, and her diary, which was intended for her daughter's use, is full of the details of domestic life. However, under a thick layer of interesting trivialities we find here and there certain constants which tell us much of the social and philosophical outlook of her contemporaries and of their reaction to historical events. Some of her close friends and acquaintances later became leaders of the Polish secret societies in the Eighteen-Twenties, while others

were to a greater or lesser degree involved in the Decembrist movement. In spite of the author's preoccupation with domestic and family affairs, her constant appeals to God's will, her devotions and moral meditations, the stormy epoch in which she lived finds itself momentarily reflected in her diary.

New economic developments in the early nineteenth century which brought about drastic changes in the management of large estates form the background of Pelagja Rościszewska's life. New ways of economy were needed in order to save the estates of the Rościszewskis, Olizars, and Rylśkyjs from decay. Thus to overcome the financial crisis, the Rościszewski family estate at Lypovka was being equipped with several mills and a factory. We learn from the diary (1820) that the estate of the Olizars supported a brewery and a sawmill, and that later, in 1829, a cotton mill was established there. The entry for November 13, 1821, contains praise of a neighboring landowner's wife, Mme. Pen'kowska, for her zeal in supervising not only the household, but also the factories. In accounts of visits to Ukrainian towns and villages we find mention of a large cotton mill on the estate of Count Poniatowski (May 9th, 1826), and a weaving mill at Korsun'. In this town, the temporary seat of the last Polish king, the author feels a deep nostalgia for the vanished romance of the feudal age, but this does not prevent her from displaying a lively interest in the industrial development of the district. Her tears, shed for the decay of "luxuries and riches" are "intermingled with the swift-flowing Roś," which was then being used as a source of power for the mills. "It was very interesting to see the machines," records the author (June 16th, 1838), "which move as if by magic, without human help. How complex are their wheels! Small girls prepare the wool, men weave, and women make the cloth." Later, in 1842, while on a visit to her cousin, N. Jezierski, Mme. Rościszewska shows a keen interest in the country's industry, especially in the production of sugar.

At the same time her diary provides a clear picture of the crisis which most large estates faced at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The price of bread, in particular, fell to an all-time low level as the result of the decline in the export of grain in the years

1824-26.[1] In the entry for January 10, 1824, Mme. Rościszewska complains that "today, times are the hardest since our marriage twenty-five years ago. We cannot sell anything; even at a low price nobody is willing to buy."

Entries following every New Year give us a great deal of information about the Kiev *kontrakty,* those congresses of landowners, where all important deals, settlements, and leases were arranged. Such congresses played a very important role in the life of the Rościszewskis; in fact, they seem to be the most crucial events of the year. In the record of the 1820 *kontrakt* we have a detailed description of the gay entertainments in which the Rościszewskis took part, their attendance at a ball given by the Rajevskis, and their tea parties in the choicest company. However, the same occasion on the following year is overshadowed by troubles and financial worries. "My *kontrakty* were quite different this year," writes the author on February 13, 1821, "before I spent all my time at balls, in the finest company; this year I haven't been anywhere. I have been busy. We lived in a small house and our friends did not even come to see us. I tried to straighten our affairs somehow and to save every penny. I haven't bought a thing for myself and have not seen the shops."

The events of 1825 and early 1826, and the later arrests (in 1838) of the members of the secret society in connection with the activity of Szymon Konarski, left their trace in the diary. The attitude of Pelagja Rościszewska to the revolt of the Decembrists was that of a conservative and a monarchist; in regarding the preservation of the monarchy as the only defense of her interests, she was in full agreement with the outlook of her social class.

Mme. Rościszewska's personal life also supplies us with valuable background knowledge necessary for a full appreciation of her diary. Pelagja Rościszewska came of the ancient and respected family of Zaleski.[2] Her father, Jan Zaleski, was a representative

1 N. Rubinštejn, "Ekonomičeskoje razvitie Rossii v načale XIX v. kak osnova dviženij dekabristov," *Katorga i ssylka,* 1925, No. 8.

2 Bohdan Zaleski, the celebrated poet of the so-called "Ukrainian School" in Polish literature, was Rościszewska's cousin. Her diary contains a mention of their meeting.

of the Kiev *województwo* to the Crown Tribunal. He owned two villages, Kryveć and Bohatyrka, ninety-three *versts to* the south of Kiev. Pelagja was the eldest of three children. She was born in the Seventeen-Eighties. She had a brother, Victor, and her sister, Domnikja, who was married to Baron von Taube, is often mentioned in the diary. In accordance with the established custom of the day, Pelagja Zaleska was married at the age of fifteen, to Valenty Rościszewski, who was a landowner in the Kiev district.[3] The wedding took place on July 10th, 1797, after which Pelagja left Kryveć and went to live on her husband's estate, Lypovka. Her husband's property included also the villages of Majdanivka, Havronščyna, and Jezerščyna, all amounting to 10,000 *desjatyn*. Lypovka and the neighboring villages formed only one part of the former "Makarivśkyj chain" of estates which belonged to Kajetan Rościszewski, Valenty's grandfather, who died in 1795.

The name of Valenty Rościszewski appears in the history of the secret societies as that of a famous Freemason. He was the founder of the Lodge of the United Slavs which was created in Kiev on March 12, 1818. The Lodge, the symbol of which was a clasp of two hands with an inscription *Jedność Slowian'ska* (Slav unity), supposedly gave rise to the later secret society of United Slavs to which southern Decembrists belonged. Among the members of the Lodge of the United Slavs were the brothers Czarkowski and Malewski, future members of a Polish patriotic organization; the Decembrist Volkonskij, who was an honorary member; Peter and Alexander Trubeckoj, brothers of the Decembrist Serge Trubeckoj; the notorious head of the "Third Section," Leontij Dubelt, and various neighbors and relatives of the Rościszewskis — Jósef Szymanowski, Gustav Olizar, Jósef Proskura, Franz Charlen'ski, and Valenty's brother, Feliks Rościszewski.

In 1831 Valenty Rościszewski was arrested and accused of participation in the Polish uprising. However, because of lack of evidence, the charge against him was soon dropped and he was released.

3 Kazimierz Pulaski, in his *Kroniką rodów szlacheckich Podola, Wolyni, Ukrainy,* Vol. I. (Brody, 1911), gives 1789 as the year of Pelagja Zaleska's birth, and 1802 as the date of her marriage certificate *(intercyza)*. Neither of these dates is confirmed in the diary, although we find no exact dates of these events there.

His wide historical interests can be judged by his attempts to collect and preserve old documents and books. His library and collection, famous since the Eighteen-Forties, supplied such scholars as Michal Grabowski, Alexander Przezdiecki, Konstanty S'widzinski, and Edward Rulikowski with source material in their studies. The presence of many burial mounds *(mohylas)* on the fields of Lypovka led to archaeological research which was discussed in contemporary periodicals.[4]

Mme. Rościszewska, however, did not share her husband's interests and she hardly mentions them in her diary. All we find about him there is his love for literature and recitation. He is, however, always spoken of in terms of deepest affection and is described as an exemplary husband and father. Valenty Rościszewski was also an active public servant, and held the office of the district and gubernia's *Dvorjanski* Marshal from 1805 to 1820, when he was succeeded by Count Olizar.

In the Rościszewski family there were five sons and one daughter. Most of the mother's attention was devoted to her only daughter, Ludwika, whose life story can certainly be called extraordinary. According to an account by L. Pochylevič, in 1816 she "married Prince Trubeckoj under the influence of very peculiar circumstances and was given Havronščyna and a factory as a dowry."[5] Another well-known memoir-writer, Tadeusz Bobrowski, casts a little more light on the "peculiar circumstances." "The beautiful Mlle. Rościszewska, daughter of Valenty, was persuaded that by obeying the wishes of the Emperor, Alexander I, she would save her country. Later, Alexander I sent her a husband in the person of his adjutant, Trubeckoj, who after a few years of married life with her, left her, taking with him his elder son."[6] An even more

4 "Zamečatelnyja mesta v Kievskom uezde," *Kievskie gub. vedomosti,* 1847, part II. N. 4.

5 L. Pochylevič, *Skazanie o naselennych mestnostjach Kievskoj gubernii* (Kiev, 1864), p. 88-89. According to the diary, the wedding took place in June, 1818.

6 *Pamjetniki Tadeusza Bobrowskiego z przdmowa Wl. Spasowiscza,* (Lwów, 1900), I, p. 37.
The visit of Alexander I to Kiev took place in 1816. The Tzar was present at two balls given in his honor by Valenty Rościszewski and General Nikolaj Rajevskij. Ludwika Rościszewska was at that time eighteen years old.

outspoken commentary on the event can be found in the unpublished memoirs of Ludwika's brother, Victor. He writes that his beautiful sister attracted suitors from all over the world, but that "finally Prince A. T. (Alexander Trubeckoj) was chosen, a man with a good heart and well educated, but a rakish sort, an unparalleled spendthrift, and very fond of the female sex." The marriage, we learn, ended in divorce.

Prince Alexander Trubeckoj was the brother of the Decembrist Serge Trubeckoj, who as a staff officer of the Fourth Corps lived in Kiev in 1824 and who, during that time, was a frequent visitor to Havronščyna and Lypovka. In the diary of Pelagja Rościszewska, Prince Serge Trubeckoj appears only as a person, who, through Ludwika's marriage, became related to her family. It would be futile to search for an analysis of his character or outlook, and only a few somewhat prejudiced remarks about him slip from the pen of the diarist. More space is devoted to Trubeckoj's wife, who was the countess Laval, but became a celebrated "Russian woman." The other members of the very large circle of relatives and cousins have little direct bearing on the Decembrist theme of the diary.

Among the numerous acquaintances of the Rościszewski family we find General Rot, the suppressor of the Muravjov rising, the Decembrist leaders, Muravjov-Apostol and Bestužev-Rjumin, and other less ardent Decembrists, such as Žukov, Skarjatin, Vadkovskij, Molčanov, the partisan Denis Davidov, and several members of the Polish secret society.

Reacting to the Decembrist Movement and revolt in the way she did, superficially and from the point of view of the landed gentry, Pelagja Rościszewska reflects the anxiety which settled over the country after the arrests and the removal of the prisoners to Warsaw and St. Petersburg. Thus, for instance, the record of her conversation with Count Olizar after his return from St. Petersburg contains few interesting details, although it dwells on his arrest and interrogation. There is no doubt, however, that Count Olizar was one of the closest friends of the family as well as an extremely interesting figure in himself. It is equally clear from

the diary that Mme. Rościszewska would have liked to see him as her son-in-law instead of Prince Trubeckoj. But the sixteen-year-old Olizar went abroad only to come back with a French wife, Countess de Molo, who later made him utterly miserable. His beautiful estate on the banks of Teterev amid pine forests and breathtaking scenery acquired the name of "Polessian Switzerland," and Mme. Rościszewska records her impressions of it during her visit there in 1820. On several occasions she shows deep concern over Olizar's unhappy marriage, which ended in separation.

Mme. Rościszewska gives a detailed account of Count Olizar's preoccupations. He was a lover of literature, and devoted himself to the study of Dante, Racine, and Aloizy Felinski. His infatuation for Maria Rajevskaja, who on January 11th, 1825 married the Decembrist, Prince Volkonskij, and his keen interest in contemporary French literature, so full of passionate ardor and unfulfilled longings, turned him into a melancholy being who, like some of the heroes in the popular romances of the time, was forced to live like an eremite away from his ignoble fellow men. As his retreat from the world he chose a romantic spot, a cabin with an orchard christened by him *Kardiatrikon* ("The Heart's Cure"), at the foot of Ajudag, in the Crimea. "All this was done," confesses Olizar in his memoirs, "in the hope that the cruel Maria, for whom the Russian poet Puškin, wrote his beautiful short poem *Bachčisarajskij Fontan,* would one day visit the places she once loved so dearly and cast her eyes, perhaps with a trace of sorrow or belated repentance, on the solitary hermit of Ajudag."[7] After a long period of waiting, Olizar left the Crimea, accompanied by the Rajevskis, but without Maria who followed her exiled husband to Siberia.

The entry in Pelagja Rościszewska's diary for December 4th, 1827, tells us that Count Olizar, after his return to the Ukraine "read us some of his beautiful poems. One of them is called *Čečenec.*[8] He also completed another poem, *The Temple of Suffering.* As always, he was most pleasant and lively company." It is possible

7 G. Olizar, *Pamjetniki* (Lwów, 1892), p. 173-4.

8 *Čečenec* must have been a fragment from Olizar's poem *The Satyr,* the hero of which, a young Čečen, returns to his native land after his education in Russia.

that the acquaintance with Olizar added fresh stimulus to Pelagja Rościszewska's literary interests. Apart from popular French authors she read with great enjoyment Virgil's *Georgics* in Frankowski's translation, Dante, and Tasso. How deeply she fell under the spell of contemporary literary taste we can see from the fact that the very idea of her diary was borrowed from the work of Klementyna Hofmanowa, a Polish writer and an imitator of Genlis. "I took the advice of the young writer," writes Mme. Rościszewska, "whose book *Memory of a Good Mother* was published this year (1819). I liked the idea of writing a diary and I decided to imitate her. I am ashamed to confess that having accustomed myself to writing in French, I find it difficult to write in my own language." And yet, her perseverance proved victorious. The fruits of it are the two volumes of her diary, which reveal life as it was lived on an estate at Lypovka, in a countryside seemingly peaceful and calm, though stirred by the Decembrists.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DIARY OF PELAGJA ROS'CISZEWSKA[1]

February 14th, 1825

Two days ago I made the acquaintance of two very polite gentlemen, a colonel Muravjov,[2] and a certain Bestužev.[3] The former was educated in Paris, where he spent seven years. He seems to be a man of great distinction, intelligent, and full of wit and French gaiety, and of pleasant appearance. His slight resemblance to Napoleon gives him a touch of originality and I liked him very much. His friend is a young man, an accomplished product of fashionable romanticism, always enthusiastic, speaking in aphorisms, and quoting endlessly, aflame with the spirit of Byron's genius. Speaks of himself as having a volcanic soul; that he was surprised to find here the *salons* of civilized Europe, that his chief enemy is moderation, that there is nothing more poetical than the seven deadly sins, etc., etc. An eccentric fellow, and only Mr. Jouy[4] could describe him well; in fact I keep my opinion to myself, for here he appears to be an oracle for people like Žukov,[5] Muravjov, and Olizar.[6] Indeed he may have many virtues; but his bearing is so ridiculous and offensive to me that I wonder how it is possible that Muravjov, a man of such intelligence, can be so fond of him. Surely it must be just a fashion to tolerate such odd creatures. Both gentlemen are staying here for my husband's name-day. I must end since I am expecting guests and have to think of my dress.

March 15th

The greatest comfort to my soul is my conviction that Alexander[7] is a religious man, loves his wife more than his life, and is indeed a noble man with a loving soul. Thank God, Ludwika and her son are well.[8] She got up for the first time yesterday and was very pleased by the unexpected arrival of Alexander's brother, Serge,[9] who now lives with his wife in Kiev. We all like him very much since he is so kind; he said a thousand nice things to Ludwika, caressed the children, and brought Dosiunja[10] a beautiful book *Fénélon des Demoiselles*.[11] He was good enough to stay for my name-day and did not stand on ceremony, always repeating that he is our friend and relative. He is not handsome, but there is something winning and distinguished about his whole person ...

December 13th

Immeasurably sad news held me away from my pen for several days. I could not believe what is so painful for us, and I waited grief-stricken for confirma-

tion which came too soon. Our Emperor, Alexander[12] is dead. They say he died of a fever and erysipelas in his head, in Tahanroh, where the Empress was to spend the winter. I haven't received yet all the details of this great loss to us all, but I realize how deeply this misfortune has affected us. Who, amongst us, Poles, would not mourn such a spendid Monarch? He has given a name and rights to our fatherland, he bestowed upon it so many favors. The final, as it were, farewell was his summoning of the Sejm which he addressed in such a gentle manner. So young yet, in the full flower of life; who would dream of such a sudden death!...

January 21st, 1826

I have just come in from the garden and my refreshed thoughts prompt me to write. How different nature looks to me today! Walking in my garden I saw everything covered by the same white snow, bare trees without their gay lodgers. Not a bird sat on the naked branches; dark green pines rustled sadly and drove my thoughts closer to my heart. Oh, how unhappily has this year begun for us! Who would think that the death of our best Emperor would disturb the peace of the inhabitants of Lypovka, unknown to the world's great stage? This premature death has awakened restless brains. A plot against the Emperor was uncovered in the capital. Alas, many of the finest persons were involved in it; to our misfortune, Prince Serge Trubeckoj also belonged to it, was apprehended and thrown into gaol together with the others. What is his unhappy wife doing now? ... We have no news, not a word; we know of this misfortune only from the sudden seizure of his papers.[13] Our beloved son-in-law and Ludwika are in deep grief. At the same time many of our other friends were also arrested and deported, including the honest Žukov[14] ... Also apprehended were Olizar,[15] Kajetan Proskura,[16] the young Skarjatins,[17] Colonel Szwejkowski,[18] Vadkovskij,[19] and two brothers of Muravjov,[20] one of whom committed suicide. The others, not willing to swear obedience to the new Emperor, raised the standard of rebellion and were overpowered, put in chains, and taken to nobody knows where... Oh, how sad it was to see such men meeting this terrible fate. Every family here has some reason to grieve, and it must be added that nearly everywhere women are alone since their husbands have gone to *kontrakty*.[21] I have never experienced such sad and anxious times. Everybody is worried about their family; every bell, heard several versts away, makes one's heart beat violently; every woman is worried about her husband, father, brother, or lover, and in her imagination can see the police coming in. Oh, what terrible moments! Where is the holy peace? We did not treasure it and we lost it. Although I am sure that my husband is innocent, I tremble every day, and for every hour I spend with him I thank Almighty God...

January 31st

My beloved husband returned on Friday evening having settled his business affairs satisfactorily, without incurring a debt... There were no entertainments [in Kiev] and the ladies who came there to have a good time, were bored, while their husbands were extremely cautious and dared not mention politics. Fortunately, nobody we know was apprehended. Prince Antoni Jablonowski[22] was taken away in the company of Norov.[23] I don't know the young prince, but I am sorry for him and sympathize with his wife... There is no news of our friends... Ludwika and her husband will be here for lunch; perhaps I shall learn something from her. Edmund[24] went to the Ukraine with some other plans, but won't write of them till they come true...

February 7th

On Thursday my husband went to Kiev to receive the money which came by mail. Oleś[25] accompanied him, but there is no fresh news from St. Petersburg. The papers write about a commission set up to try those guilty of the hideous conspiracy to exterminate the ruling family and about the justice which will be meted out to the ringleaders of the rebellion. What else can one expect? It's nobody's fault but their own. The monstrous tenets of a false philosophy led them to this crime. Their disregard of God and religion bred such godless designs. Perhaps we should thank Holy Providence that the conspiracy was uncovered; else who knows what would have happened to us in a state of general Anarchy. We must pray to God that the Emperor may be merciful and spare the innocent...

March 14th

My name-day, the eleventh of March, passed pleasantly in the circle of relatives and kind friends. There were no entertainments, but at least there was no feeling of constraint... A few days ago Gródecki,[26] Czarkowski, Anzelm Iwaszkiewicz,[27] Tyszkowski, and several others were taken to Warsaw. This blow has revived our anxieties and our sorrows. They say that a new society has been uncovered, which apparently is only for the Poles, and that therefore they are taken straight to Warsaw. I am more afraid now than ever before, though I am sure that my husband is innocent; yet hidden malice and hatred can bring accusations against him. My only consolation is his promise that if anything should happen, he will allow me to follow him... Since these disturbances and these deportations of our countrymen my husband has become so much dearer to me...

May 3rd

In Buzovo[28] I learned the details of the alarm which spread throughout the Ukraine as a result of the peasant revolts.[29] It was feared that a massacre would take place during Holy Week. All the citizens came to Uman' and only a few remained in their homes protected by troops from the Cavalry Regiment. I saw several dragoons and an officer. Now everything is quiet. The government, determined to preserve peace, showed perhaps too much anxiety, for there is no doubt that many rumours were pure fiction.

May 29th

... Last Sunday we were delighted by a visit from Olizar — free at last.[30] Free — what a word! How much happiness it conveys in these troubled times! Yet my eyes saw one of them return; true, Olizar has changed very much; he is very thin and his face shows signs of spiritual and physical suffering... He told us what he endured during his month-long imprisonment in a deep and damp dungeon. We felt, however, that he did not tell us everything, but we could not press him... He saw Princess Volkonskaja,[31] who was ill, pale, and in tears. Everybody thinks that her husband cannot possibly be set at liberty, because of the evidence of guilt... This suffering of a person so dear to him touched him very deeply. Not wishing to evoke sad recollections, he stopped at Bila Cerkva only a few hours. He has no good news of our Prince Serge... Perhaps life-long exile or imprisonment in some fortress awaits him. No news of Žukov, either. He told us, however, that Pestel[32] wishing to save himself, is bringing ruin on everyone else...

July 4th

At last the Investigating Commission has published its report. I shall describe it later.

July 20th

The Commission's Report is very interesting; it does reveal, however, many dark crimes, conspiracies against the Imperial family and a scheme to create public disturbances. It is a collection of terrifying plans, strange and absurd schemes, mutual accusations; in a word, it shows the Russians in a very bad light. They are guided by the desire for personal revenge, and by personal ambition. Each one of them wanted to reach some lofty position; each one regarded himself as another Napoleon. I think that these unfortunate men will be severely punished.

August 1st

Finally the sentence has been pronounced![33] Five of the unfortunate ones were sentenced to death: Bestužev-Rjumin, Pestel, Ryleev, Serge Muravjov, and Kachovskij. And what a shameful death — they have been hanged; the others, a hundred and twenty persons altogether, have been sent to the mines and to Siberia... Among them is our unhappy Prince Serge... But first they were deprived of their titles and all honors. The morning of the seventeenth of July, between four and five o'clock, was the time of the awful execution. Oh, what it must have been like in St. Petersburg at that time...

August 6th

At last our Ludwika has received three letters from her husband... He witnessed the execution. He hasn't yet seen his brother, but he was promised permission to visit him before the final separation. The Princess has decided to follow her husband — what a sorrowful journey. How very far will she be from her family, in what a strange country, in what a clime? If it's true that she lured him into the circle of conspirators because of her own enthusiasm — what a bad conscience she must have now! I do not find it strange that she wants to follow him, every woman would do that; but I cannot comprehend that such a crime should be hidden in a woman's heart. It always happens that if one wants to raise oneself above the state in which destiny has placed one, one chooses a bad way. She was happy in her home life, had the best of husbands, good parents, an affectionate family, the gifts of fortune, honor, public esteem, and health, and yet she scorned them all and wanted to become a somebody in the world of politics. Her vanity has been her undoing; the praises of the fanatics deceived her completely. One often heard how they told her that nature had made an error in creating her a woman, that she was born to be one of the mightiest in the Empire. Such flatteries turned the head of a person who could not shine with beauty and talents alone...

May 21st, 1827

I also visited the Trzeciaks[34] in Jaropovci. What a welcome they gave me; I could hardly thank them enough. What a beautiful garden they have! Trees, flowers, and a beautiful setting. Mme. Trzeciak showed me Washington's beloved tree *Bignonia Catalpa*.[35] The hapless Muravjov always used to take off his hat before this tree, saying that one must pay homage to the tree of a great man!... Alas, a few steps away grow tall cypresses and frowning pines and they remind one, as it were, of the unhappy fate of this splendid young man. Together with Mme. Trzeciak we wept there, moved by remembrance of him and by our grief...

NOTES

1. The manuscript of the diary consists of two note-books, the first of which was started on September 1st, 1819 in the form of a journal, and is 210 pp. long. It records events up to November 1824 and, then, from February 1837 to December 1856. The second book is devoted to the years 1825-30; there are no entries for the period 1830-37. The manuscript is preserved in the Museum of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences.

2. Muravjov-Apostol, Serge (1796-1826) on his mother's side a descendant of the Ukrainian Hetman, Danylo Apostol. Educated in Paris and St. Petersburg, he was a leading member of the secret societies, the "Union of Liberation" and the "Southern Society," the latter active in the Ukraine. One of the leaders of the mutiny of the Černyhiv Regiment, in which he served as Lt.-Col., commanding the Second Battalion.

3. Bestužev-Rjumin, Michael (1803-1826), Second Lieutenant in the Poltava Infantry Regiment, stationed near Kiev, was in close contact with Polish revolutionary societies. Played an important part in the Decembrist movement in the Ukraine and in the mutiny of the Černyhiv Regiment.

4. The French writer Victor-Joseph-Etienne de Jouy is mentioned several times in the journal.

5. Ivan Žukov, an officer in the Hussar Regiment, later arrested in connection with the Decembrists.

6. Gustav Olizar, a Polish poet, author of memoirs (*Pamjetniki,* Lwów, 1892); a landowner whose property included the small town of Korostyšiv.

7. Alexander Trubeckoj, brother of the Decembrist, Serge Trubeckoj; a member of the Masonic Lodge of the "United Slavs" of which Valenty Rościszewski was the grand master.

8. On March 6th, 1825, Ludwika Rościszewska gave birth to a boy.

9. Count Serge Trubeckoj, prominent Decembrist, leader of the revolt on the Senate square in St. Petersburg on December 14, 1825. Lived in Kiev before the revolt.

10. Dosiunja — Darja Józefa Trubeckaja, eldest daughter of Ludwika Rościszewska, born 1819, later married Rozeslav Rylśkyj, grandfather of the modern Ukrainian poet, Maksym Rylśkyj.

11. Polish translations of works by the author of *Télémaque,* François Fénelon, appeared in 1805, 1810, and 1822.

12. The news of Alexander I's death reached Kiev in the first days of December 1825. The sympathy which the Poles felt towards him can be explained by the fact that during the Congress of Vienna, Alexander I assumed the title of King of Poland, signed a Constitution for the Kingdom of Poland, and in 1818 opened the first Polish Diet under the Constitution with a speech from the throne, full of promises to the Poles. On May 1st, 1825, Alexander I for the third time opened the Polish Parliament. The symbolic funeral of Alexander I was held with great ceremony in Warsaw on April 7th, 1826.

13. The papers of Serge Trubeckoj were seized in Kiev on orders from St. Petersburg. A small box containing letters was saved and given to his brother, Alexander. Later, however, even this box came into the hands of the police (cf. *Materialy po istorii vosstanija dekabristov,* Vol. I. pp. 77-84).

14. Žukov was arrested before Alexander Vadkovskij and Paul Pestel, and was taken to St. Petersburg on January 19th.

15. Olizar was arrested on January 15th.

16. Kajetan Proskura was lured to St. Petersburg by a business proposition and was then arrested, but released on January 23rd.

17. The order from St. Petersburg did not mention the name of the Skarjatin brothers, so both were arrested. Later, however, the younger, Grigori, was released.

18. Colonel Ivan Szwejkowski, prominent member of the "Southern Society" was arrested on January 7th.

19. Alexander Vadkovskij was arrested on the night of 31st December 1825 when, following an order sent by S. Muravjov, he was on his way from Vasyl'kiv to Bila Cervka with the aim of inciting to rebellion the regiment stationed there.

20. Brothers of S. Muravjov — Matthew (1793-1886) and Hippolyt. Matthew — the author of the well-known memoirs and a member of the "Southern Society" took part in the revolt of the Černyhiv Regiment. During the clash with government troops Serge Muravjov was wounded, and Hippolyt, thinking that his brother had been killed, committed suicide.

21. The *kontrakty* were also centres of political and conspiratorial activities. During the *kontrakty* of 1823 and 1824 discussions were held between the Decembrists and Polish societies. During the 1825 *kontrakty*, negotiations were carried on by Pestel and Volkonskij for the Russian side, and Antoni Jablonowski and Antoni Czarkowski, representing Polish secret societies.

22. Antoni Jablonowski (1793-1855) was arrested in January 1826 and imprisoned on January 27th.

23. Dimitrij Norov, commander of the Fourth Infantry Corps.

24. Edmund — son of the Rościszewskis.

25. Oleś — Alexander Trubeckoj.

26. Anastazy Gródecki, deputy of the Kiev Supreme Court.

27 Anzelm Iwaszkiewicz, prominent member of the Polish secret society. Altogether 128 Poles were arrested at that time.

28. Buzovo, a village a few miles away from the town of Jasnohorodka.

29. For peasant disturbances during the Decembrist revolt see: V. Ikonnikov, *Krestjanskoe dviženie v Kievskoj gubernii v* 1826-27 *g.* St. Petersburg, 1905. An interesting parallel to Rościszewska's impressions can be found in Józef Drzewiecki's *Pamjetniki,* Kraków, 1891, p. 293.

30. Olizar was released on February 14th.

31. Olizar's meeting with Maria Volkonskaja took place in Bila Cerkva, in April 1826 (cf. P. Ščegolev, *Marija Volkonskaja,* Petrograd, 1922, p. 21).

32. P. Pestel (1795-1826), one of the leaders of the Decembrists.

33. The verdict of the Supreme Court was published in *Russkij Invalid,* 16-19 July, 1826. On July 11th the original sentence of death by quartering was changed to death by hanging. This was carried out on July 13th, 1826.

34. Karol Trzeciak was the landowner in Jaropovci.

35. Bignonia Catalpa, a decorative tree with bell-shaped flowers came to Europe from North America. Its botanical name: *Catalpa bignonioides.* It was widely cultivated in Poland and the Ukraine.

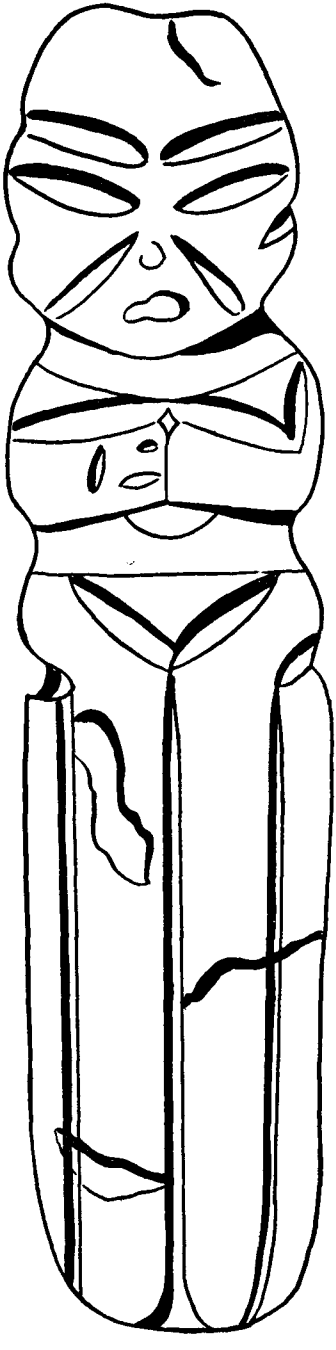
A STONE STATUETTE FROM RATZEBURG

MICHAEL MILLER

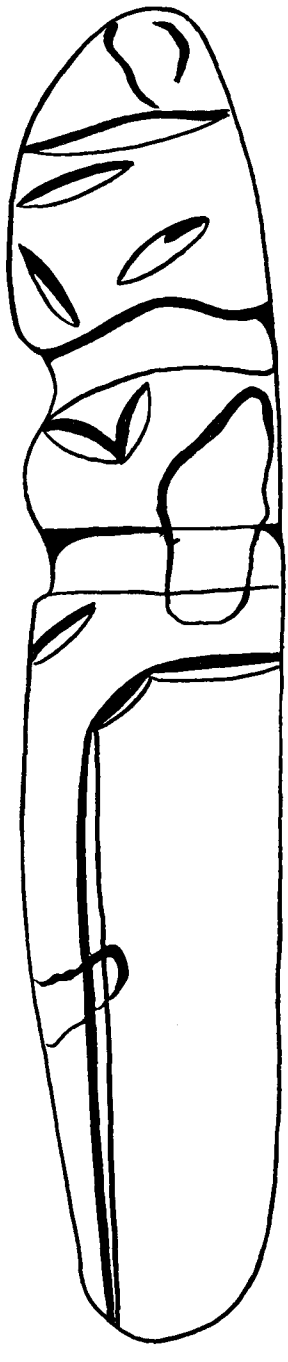
The director of the North-German Museum for Prehistoric Antiquities in Schleswig, Dr. K. Kersten, has kindly sent to us for examination a stone statuette, together with a letter in which he explains that the statuette was found among the remains of a Slavic settlement which existed in the tenth century near the town of Ratzeburg on the border of Mecklenburg (am Fuss der slavischen Burg der kleinen Stadt Ratzeburg, im Kreise Herzogtum Lauenburg, ganz in der Nahe der Landes-Grenze Mecklenburg gelegen, fand man vor einigen Jahren beim Baden eine kleine Figur aus Gruenstein). He adds that it is not impossible for the statuette to have been brought there from America and that its presence in the place where it was found might have been accidental.

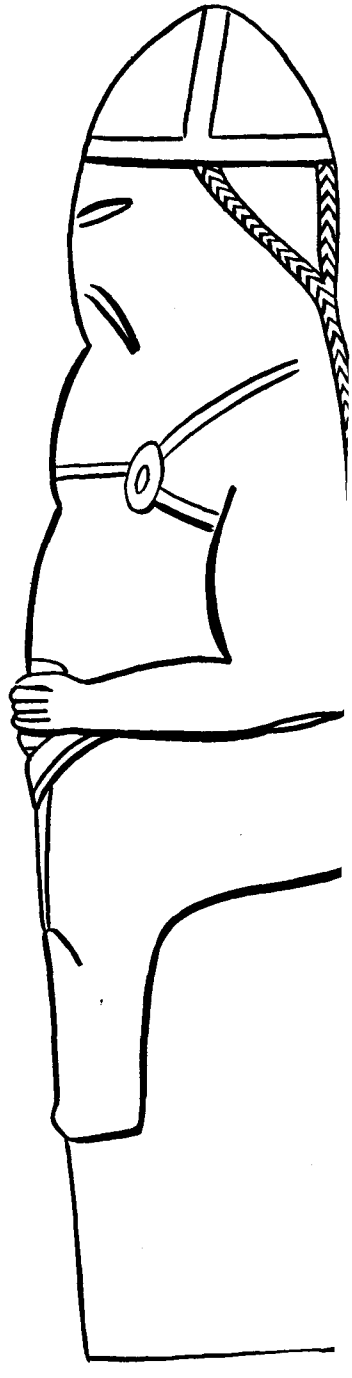
Material. After examining the statuette we ascertained the following. It is 6.69 in. long, and is widest at the shoulders — 1.57 in. As Dr. Kersten points out, it is made of greenstone; that is either of diabase or diorite. Both diabase and diorite are crystal-granular rocks which contain other elements, among them mica (biotite). Many diabase — diorite rocks became greenish due to the presence of chlorite; hence their name: greenstone. Diabase — diorite rocks may be found throughout Europe and they are especially plentiful in the Ukraine where, for instance, there are large deposits of them in Isačka, near Poltava or, even larger, in the Dnieper rapids. Fine-grained diabase is especially suitable for sculpting and abrading. Owing to these qualities diabase began to be widely used in the Bronze Age for making tools (axes) as well as for decorative purposes such as the adornment of weapons. Because the material used for the present statuette was that dark-green diabase which contains a great deal of mica, its surface was ideal for the formation of soft curves and could be readily polished.

Shape. The statuette is made out of an oblong piece of stone which was first shaped into the form of a pentagonal prism. The back of it is even, with hardly any detail, and the sides are narrow.



The statuette from Ratzeburg
(Actual size)





A Polovtsian stone *baba* in the Dnipropetrovsk Muse
(Reduced to one sixth of actual size)

The two front sides (faces) are wide, posed at an angle of almost 100 degrees. The general shape of the statuette makes the two frontal planes most suitable for carving and sculpting, particularly so in view of the double incline. The statuette was carved with the help of a big knife, and its most striking features are the oval-like incisions with sharp ends. The polishing of the surface was probably done with the help of the back edge of the knife.

The pentagonal-prism shape is characteristic not of stone but of wooden products, since in working with wood the pentagonal form is achieved easily by hewing off the round piece of wood. This leads us to believe that the Ratzeburg statuette is a stone copy of a wooden original, or else was made by someone much more familiar with wood, who transferred this technique to stone carving. If what we have before us is a copy of a wooden original, then this wooden prototype must also have been a small statue, since larger figures were more elaborately carved, showed much more detail, and had a better finish.

Origin. The statuette from Ratzeburg has certain features which make it resemble the stone or bone female figures of the Upper Paleolithic culture. (Aurignacian and Magdalenian). The shape of the head is very reminiscent of a statuette found by S. Zamiatnin near Gagarino, in the region of the upper Don.[1] However, the legs which hang lifelessly like two long ribbons are similar to the statuettes found by M. Gerasimov in Malta, near Irkutsk[2] and resemble even more closely the stone figures of the early Bronze Age from Aveyron, France.[3] Such similarities do not warrant definite conclusions, for, apart from the above mentioned archaic features and resemblances, the statuette from Ratzeburg has other characteristics which place it in a much later period. The primitive appearance may not be the sign of antiquity, but possibly merely of rough finish and crude craftsmanship.

One must also reject the conjecture, expressed by Dr. Kersten,

1 mentioned in E. Golomshtok, *The Old Stone Age in European Russia* (Philadelphia, 1938), Tab. XXIV.

2 M. Gerasimov, "Raskopki paleolitičeskoj stojanki v Malte," *Paleolit S.S.S.R.*, 1935.

3 Z. de Rouzic, *Carnac. Menhirs-statues avec signes figuratifs* (Nantes, 1931).

that the statuette may be of American origin. It must have been found *in situ*. It bears no resemblance to the products of early American art of the Aztecs, Incas, or Mayas. Their sculpture had a different character and style, and the human body in their figures was usually composed of thick, short and curved shapes. The statuette also differs from the representations of ancestors in totem poles of the later Indians. Professor Plischke, of the University of Goettingen and director of the Volkskunde Museum, who is a well known authority on the Pacific and early American primitive cultures, has examined the statuette and has declared that it is not of Pacific or American origin. He was also inclined to agree with my further explanation of its origin.

The statuette does not resemble the neolithic figures of the Trypillja culture, nor does it bear any resemblance to Mesopotamian, Egyptian, or Buddhist sculpture. It has nothing in common with the stone figures of the late Bronze Age found in the steppes on the Black Sea coast, the Scythian, Celtic, Slavic (from Pomerania and Saxony) and early Turkic (7-10 century) figures.

Yet it has many definite characteristics which are common to the stone *babas* of the so-called Polovtsian type of the late Turkic period (11-13 century). These are: (1) the position of the figure sitting on a pole, the lower part of which was usually dug into the earth, at least in the case of larger statuettes; (2) hands, symmetrically crossed on the stomach, holding a cup (the present statuette shows very clearly the lower part of the cup); (3) long, straight moustache, hanging down and represented by thick incisions; (4) slanted "Mongolian" eyes made by similar incisions; (5) sharp-peaked cap (the top of which is missing) which is but the ordinary Turkic *tjube* still widely used throughout the Middle East.

The first, second, and the fifth of these features are inevitably found in all stone statuettes of the "Polovtsian" type and nowhere else. The long moustache, hanging down sideways is very much like the one on the Polovtsian stone figure in the collection of the museum at Dnipropetrovśk. The same collection (of over sixty items) has some statuettes with slanted eyes.

Taken together, all these characteristics justify placing the present statuette in the late Turkic (11-13 century) period, the last century of it being *terminus non post quem*. After the Tartar invasion this type of sculpture disappeared. Judging by the moustache and the cap, the statuette portrays a male figure. Although the ordinary Turkic stone figures *(babas)* are usually from two to four feet in height, smaller ones are not unknown.[4]

It seems, therefore, that there can be no doubt about the origin of the Ratzeburg statuette. Turkic as well as Slavic stone *babas* were placed on the burial mounds *(mohylas)* and were an expression of ancestor worship. Among the Slavs they are still known as *babas* (*baba* meaning in Turkic "grandfather", "ancestor"). The deceased ancestors were represented on the burial mounds in the form of large stone figures and at home by smaller statuettes. These figures portraying ancestors, benefactors, and heads of certain clans could be found in every clan and were carried by the nomads from one temporary resting-place to the next. In the home of settled tribes the statues were given the most prominent position in the room; they were also carefully preserved in case of migration to another land. The ancient Greeks, for instance, brought with them to their new colonies along the Black Sea shore their old house deities.

The household deities were called Lares and Penates by the Romans, Teraphims by the Jews (according to the Bible) and Domovi by the Slavs. After the acceptance of Christianity, these Slav deities were kept upstairs, under the roof. Very few Turkic and Slavic household god-images have been preserved, mainly because most of them were made of wood, or even of cloth in the same way that cloth dolls are made in the Ukrainian villages today. Those that have survived belong to peoples who kept the clan system longest, such as the Ostjaks, the Voguls, the Jakuts as well as other tribes of Northern Asia. The Chinese, well known for their cult of ancestor-worship, keep their small statuettes in every

4 Gorodcov, "Miniaturnaja kamennaja baba iz Bachmuta" *Izvestija Imperatorskoj Archeologičeskoj Komissii* (St. Petersburg, 1910), Vol. XXXVII.

house (fanza), in the most prominent place in the living room where special ceremonies or offerings are often performed. The custom is also preserved among other Mongolian peoples, including the Japanese, the Buriats, and the Kalmyks.

It may appear difficult to explain how the late-Turkic statuette which is the subject of this article could have found its way to a Slav settlement. However, this becomes quite possible if one remembers the close relations and cultural ties which existed between the East Slavs and the Polovtsi. Marriages between Ruś princes and Polovtsian princesses were common and many Turkic tribes such as the Black Klobuks, the Koci, the Berendyci and others settled on Ruś territory and accepted Ruś culture. These relations have left their mark in the Ukranian vocabulary which had accepted many Turkic words even before the Tartar invasion. The Ratzeburg statuette might therefore have been part of the dowry of a Polovtsian princess; or it might have been booty; or, finally, it might have come to the Slavic settlement through trading. Since it was made of stone and not of wood or cloth, it was probably more highly valued and cared for, surviving thus till our time.

There is an extensive literature on Slavic mythology. Yet studies of Slavic pre-Christian sculpture are almost non-existent. Old *Litopysy* and other works of ancient Slavic literature provide much valuable material for such a study. Foreign writers such as Titmar from Merseburg, Masudi, and Ibn Fadlan also refer to statuettes used in the early Slavic cults. Many scholarly German works deal with the Slavic stone *babas*. Such original statues as that of Swiatowit also exist. Yet no comprehensive study of the subject has so far appeared. It is, therefore, all the more important to take into account the statuette from Ratzeburg which has a unique value in its field.

A NEW SOIL MAP OF THE UKRAINE*

GREGORY MAKHOV

The first soil map of the Ukraine which I prepared in 1922-23, was presented to the First Congress of Ukrainian Soil Scientists in Kiev, held in May, 1923. The Congress, which was attended also by Russian and Byelorussian soil scentists decided to have the map and the explanatory text printed as soon as possible. However, it was not until 1926 that five thousand copies of it were published in Odessa. The map was printed in twenty-five colors and had Ukrainian, Russian and English keys. It showed the territory within the borders of the Ukrainian S.S.R. as it existed in 1926, and did not include all Ukrainian ethnographic territory. The areas omitted were those Ukrainian western provinces which at that time belonged to Poland, the Ukrainian areas beyond the Don, and the Kuban', which were then as they are now, a part of the Russian S.S.R.

Four hundred copies of this map together with a collection of articles by Ukrainian soil specialists in English translation were sent to the First International Congress of Soil Scientists, held in Washington, in 1927. Unfortunately, the material arrived in Washington a month after the Congress was held, because it was not sent by the quickest possible route, but by a slow Japanese freighter. The subsequent history of those copies of the map is unknown. It is certain, however, that they were never delivered to the Soil Society of America, and so were presumably lost somewhere in the basement of the Soviet legation. In 1931, the U.S. Department of Agriculture wrote to me asking me to send them two copies of the soil map of the Ukraine, but owing to control factors which were then beginning to operate in relations with other countries, I was not able to comply with this request. Yet the first soil map of the Ukraine attracted wide attention from European and American soil scientists. Favorable reviews of it were published in Germany

* The author wishes to express his deep gratitude to Professor S. A. Wilde of the University of Wisconsin for his kind help with American soil terminology.

(Professor Stremme), America (Professor Marbut), and in Russia (Academician Prasolov).

The preparation of the map was conducted under great difficulties. Before the Revolution soil research in the Ukraine was carried out by the gubernias' Zemstva, with the help of specialists from Moscow and St. Petersburg. The first scientific soil research and the subsequent publication of a soil map of Poltava gubernia (1:420,000) was undertaken in 1888-89 by the founder of Russian soil science, Professor V. Dokučajev. Later, in the period 1906-1918, Ukrainian soil scientists, Professors Nabokych, Levčenko, and myself continued soil research. In some gubernias the work was carried on by chemists as, for instance, in the Katerynoslav gubernia by Professor Kurylov; but the various parts of the research, its methods, its results, and even the terminology used, were not co-ordinated, and therefore, the task of creating a synthesis met with very great difficulties.

I experienced some of these difficulties myself when in 1922 I led the expeditions to explore the "white spots" on the soil map of the Ukraine. From 1924 to 1928 I was in charge of soil research in the Ukraine, the aim of which was to find new methods of improving agriculture, as well as to explore the possibility of afforestation. It was hoped also to determine the cause and extent of soil erosion. Later I had the opportunity of studying and mapping the western Ukrainian territories of Galicia, Volhynia, Polissja, and the Carpathians. The experience which we gained in these expeditions was supplemented by laboratory work. In the Ukraine the method of chemical analysis of the soils was greatly influenced by the work of the distinguished scientist, K. Gedroiz, who devoted much of his time to the analysis of Ukrainian soils. He had the opportunity of studying these during his yearly summer visits to the Nosivka Experimental Station, in the Ukraine.

Physico-chemical analytical studies of Ukrainian soils over a long period of years enabled me to classify them scientifically and to find new methods of evaluating their agricultural characteristics. The method of agricultural classification of soils according to the

provisionally established yield of crops grown on them, which was still used in Western Europe before World War II, could not satisfy the demands of modern soil science and practical agricultural needs. In preparing the agronomic classification of the Ukrainian soils the following criteria are of importance: (1) their colloidal matter, (2) the composition of absorbed cations, (3) the nature of their organic matter, (4) their biological activity. Such an analysis makes it possible not only to establish the soil's fertility, but also to find ways of improving it, and so to increase the yields of all crops. Preparation of detailed soil maps of special areas, even of separate farms, (to the scale of 1:10,000 and 1:5,000) can only be of value if the respective soils have been previously subjected to physico-chemical analysis. This is especially important in connection with the application of organic and mineral fertilizers. The proportion of plant nutrient elements in mineral fertilizers, as well as of their quantities to the soils, varies considerably. The detailed maps of soils are, therefore, of the greatest economic and practical value, since they assist in the effective application of all types of fertilizers. A thorough knowledge of soils also helps to determine the necessity for a more or less deep plowing (6-7 in. to 12-14 in.) because deep plowing in particular necessitates the fertilization of the chernozems, the application of chalk and fertilizers on acid soils and fertilizers and gypsum on the solonized soils.

The material gathered during various expeditions and the results of physico-chemical research conducted in laboratories and covering the area of 352,000 sq. mi., made it possible to compose a new map of Ukranian soils to the scale of 1:750,000. The exactness and precision of the map are due to the fact that it is based on other sketch-maps to the scale of 1:126,000. Later these original maps were reduced to the scale of 1:420,000 and finally to 1:750,000. The original of this map (1:750,000), drawn in colors, is eight feet by five in size and shows sixty different types of soils. Due to technical considerations the map printed with this article is not in color, and has been further reduced to the scale of 1:5,000,000, so that obviously, many details of the large original map are lost.

In order to make the map more easily understandable, the following description of the main types of Ukrainian soils according to their scientific classification, is offered.

Chernozems.

Chernozems occupy two thirds of the Ukraine. 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, to a smaller degree with magnesium, and, least of all, with potassium. The proportion of these cations in the chernozem is usually something like Ca : Mg : K as 10 : 1 : 0.1. The humus comprises 5 to 6 per cent. of western Ukrainian, and 9 per cent of east Ukrainian chernozems. In the composition of organic-mineral colloidal complexes of these soils the most prominent are the colloids peptonized by a solution of chlorite natrium. The organic part of the chernozem is easily peptonized, and in favorable conditions of warmth and moisture quickly passes through the process of nitrification. Under fallow conditions the chernozem contains approximately 18 cwt. of nitrates per hectare. The phosphate acid of chernozem appears often in the form of tri-calcium phosphate, not easily utilized by plants. Even a part of the soluble phosphates of mineral fertilizers is changed in chernozem into non-soluble forms. In connection with this the amounts of phosphate fertilizers used on chernozem must be especially large.

In the chernozem the quantity of potassium oxide is equally large, amounting sometimes to 2.5 per cent. of the soil's weight. The main source of potassium as plant nutrient is found in absorbed potassium. The following is the average amount of plant nutrient elements in ordinary Ukrainian chernozems (per single hectare): nitrogen — 10 tons; phosphate acid — 6 tons; potassium — 70 tons. Taking into consideration the absorption of nutrient elements of the soil by such crops as winter wheat and sugar-beet, it can be said that Ukrainian chernozems can ensure very high crop yields (30 centners of grain and 300 centners of sugar-beet per hectare) for a period of 90-100 years. However, the accumulation of nutrient

elements is very slow, especially of the phosphates which are bound half with the organic elements of the soil and half with calcium, and therefore chernozems cannot always provide adequate plant nutrition even at the medium crop yield.

In order to secure regular high yields of all crops grown on chernozems, it is necessary to use organic and mineral fertilizers. The amounts required can be determined in proportion to the absorption of nutrient elements required by a particular crop. In spite of their favorable structure, chernozems require deep (10-12 in.) plowing with a full turnover of the furrow. The valuable bacteriological processes take place only in the uppermost layers of the chernozem; the lower layers remain biologically less active.

In old Russian literature on the subject as well as in some recent American books[1] it was said to be desirable that all fertilizers should be used on poorer podzolic soils in more humid areas rather than on steppe chernozems, as then, it was alleged, the crop yields obtained were higher. Those holding such views seem to forget that fertilizers give much better results when used on chernozems than on poor northern soils. The plant, with the help of fertilizers, develops in chernozem far better than anywhere else and utilizes the nutrition elements of the soil itself to a greater degree. As for the importance of humidity, this consideration is of lesser concern today than it was fifty years ago. Modern farming has at its disposal several kinds of wheat and other crops which give high yields in areas previously regarded as semiarid (for instance, the southernmost part of the Ukraine and the Crimea). One must also bear in mind that only in dry steppe regions can crops of very high bread value be cultivated sucessfully. The best example of such crops is the Ukrainian wheat "novo-krymka" which is one of the best in the world.

In origin, Ukrainian chernozems are soils of the semiarid steppe and vary according to climatic changes from the north-west to the south-east. According to their different characteristics they can be subdivided into the following categories:

1 Naum Jasny, *The Socialized Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), p. 132.

Northern Chernozems.

As a result of regional changes of the soil-forming loess these are characterized by a sandy loamy mechanical composition and a small content of humus (4-5 per cent.). Their structure is weak and they are often leached from carbonates. Their natural fertility is the lowest among the chernozems. However, it can be substantially increased with the help of green manuring, by ordinary manuring, by the introduction of clover into the crop rotation and by the systematic application of mineral fertilizers. On the map these chernozems are marked in the same way as deep chernozems, since they occupy a comparatively small area of Ukrainian territory.

Deep Chernozems.

These are typical of all forest-steppe regions. Containing 6-8 per cent. of humus, they have a clayey mechanical composition. Deep chernozems are the most fertile of all chernozems, since the colloidal part in the upper layers is less saturated with calcium, and the plant nutrient elements are more active. Over a large area these chernozems are deeply leached and are shown on the map as a separate variant. The highest yields of all crops can be secured on these chernozems under conditions of deep plowing, systematic use of organic and mineral fertilizers, and proper crop rotation.

Chernozems of the Prairie.

These are most usually found in the treeless and semiarid steppe. Containing 7-8 per cent. of humus, they are over three feet deep (shallower than the so-called "deep" chernozems). Of very high fertility, they are also characterized by a slow process of mobilization of the nutrient elements, which is due to conditions of insufficient moisture. Modern soil cultivation and moistening techniques, including the use of snow and shelter belt afforestation, can secure high yields of all crops grown on chernozems. The map shows two variants of these chernozems: one more abundant in humus and

deeper, and the other less rich in humus, typical of the southern steppe areas.

Southern Chernozems.

Loam is found in their mechanical composition; they contain 4-6 per cent. of humus. The absorbed cations Ca, Mg are in narrower proportion (5:1) in favor of magnesium. This, coupled with the lower content of humus, makes them physically inferior. Frequently the lack of moisture slows down the process of mobilization of plant nutrient elements. However, with the help of modern agricultural practices, especially sprinkling and irrigation, southern chernozems can help secure high yields of grain and industrial crops alike. The map shows two different types of southern chernozems: the first resembles the ordinary chernozem, the other is more like dark chestnut brown soils.

Chernozems on the Products of Rock Weathering.

These fall into two groups: (1) chernozems on carbonated hard rocks, which are usually formed on chalk and chalky marls, contain 5-6 per cent. of humus and are shallow and often gravelly. Abundance of calcium slows down the accumulation of plant nutrient elements. High crop yields may be secured only with the help of mineral fertilizers. The application of a small dose of chlorite-natrium is also effective. (2) Chernozems on carbonate-less hard rocks (formed usually on loamy shale and sandstone) contain 4-5 per cent. of humus and show little trace of structure. Not infrequently they contain fragments of rocks which make their cultivation difficult. Their natural fertility is rather low, and they need frequent organic fertilizers. Green manuring and grass sowing can improve these chernozems very considerably.

Chernozem-sandy Soils.

These were formed in the steppes, on the sandy river terraces. The mechanical composition of coarse sand and sparse steppe plant

life accounts for the low content of humus (about 1 per cent.). These chernozem-sandy soils are not very suitable for ordinary crops, but they are successfully utilized for orchards (apricots and cherries) and vineyards.

Chernozems of River Terraces. (Chernozem-meadow Soils)

These soils are found along the steppe streams, and often have subsoil water at a depth of 3-9 feet beneath the surface. They are formed under the vegetation in which the meadow plants abound, especially during the dry summers. Humus forms about 4-8 per cent. of their content, while iso-electric colloids of small absorbing capacity prevail in their organic-mineral complex. Through the agency of shallow subsoil water, these soils are usually enriched by sodium salts or else they contain absorbed sodium in the colloid part of the soil. They may then be classified as solonchak or solonetz soils.

Yet another type of chernozem-meadow soils are the dark-colored soils of the hilly steppes which are formed under the meadow and steppe vegetation in the humid mountain climate of southern lands like the Crimea or the Caucasus. They contain 12-19 per cent. of humus.

Eroded Chernozems.

In those parts of the Ukraine where the relief is broken up by watersheds with different levels (the difference between the levels of the highest points of watersheds and those of the rivers being great, and the amount of rainfall being considerable) the process of soil-erosion can be observed. At its worst, soil-erosion represents the result of bad agricultural practices as well as the injurious effect of the excessive cattle-grazing. In spite of the fact that modern science has developed effective means of combating soil-erosion (introduction of grass-field rotations, regulated grazing, water control, and afforestation) the practice of Soviet Ukrainian agriculture does not

make use of these aids. As a result about two centners per hectare are lost through the ill effects of soil erosion.

Podzolized Prairie-Forest Soils.

The extension of deciduous forests in the northern Ukrainian steppes proceeded gradually as soon as the dry and cold climate of the first half of the post-glacial period became warmer and more humid. The extension of the forests reached its peak during the warmest and dampest period which occurred about 5000 years ago. Different deciduous trees spread with varying degrees of rapidity. It was the warmth-and-moisture-loving beech which established itself first in the west. Later, the hornbeam reached the right bank of the Dnieper; only small islands of it are found over on the left bank of the river. The oak spread over the entire Ukrainian territory and is today represented by two types: eastern and western. Western Ukraine is generally more wooded than Eastern Ukraine, though, despite the heavy annual precipitation (27 in. annual rainfall) it too has large areas of treeless steppe. Further to the east, on the right bank of the Dnieper, forests appeared only in small compact areas, in spite of favorable conditions for forest growth. This fact puzzled many scientists, but its cause has now been determined. While the forests were extending across Northern Ukraine 5000 years ago they met an obstacle in the shape of a well developed agriculture, the plowland of which hindered the trees in their spread across the Ukraine.

A forest growing on chernozem substantially alters the soil. Such changes have lasting effects, so that today we can determine where the deciduous forests were growing in the Ukraine 5000 years ago. A forest increases the moisture of the surface layer of 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 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 following classification of Ukrainian prairie-forest soils:

Slightly-podzolized Chernozems.

Though still preserving chernozem habitus, these are already leached from carbonates of calcium to a depth of three feet. Cations of hydrogen play as yet an insignificant part in the colloid complex, and the differentiation of the soil's profile into eluvial and illuvial levels is hardly noticeable. Chemical analysis of these soils in comparison with chemical analysis of the chernozems shows some narrowing of the proportion of absorbed calcium and magnesium, and also the presence of hydrogen in the absorbing complex of the soil.

Strongly-podzolized Chernozems.

This soil still preserves the chernozem profile, but its differentiation on eluvial and illuvial levels is pronounced and its organic-mineral colloids are easily ascertainable, chemically as well as morphologically. Apart from hydrolytic acidity it shows also base-exchange acidity.

Dark-grey Podzolized Prairie-Forest Soils.

This soil has lost its chernozem habitus and its profile is markedly differentiated. The amount of humus decreases to 2-2,5 per cent. Base-exchange acidity is considerable.

Grey Podzolized Soils.

In these, the humus layer is only 7 in. thick and borders immediately on the illuvio-colloidal layer which forms more than one half of the soil's profile. The proportion of the absorbed cations Ca : Mg is 3 : 1. Base-exchange acidity decreases as a result of the destruction of organic-mineral colloidal complexes; however, actual acidity shows an increase.

Light-Grey Podzolized Soils.

Here the eluvio-illuvial differentiation is most marked. Colloidal illuvium forms two thirds of the profile. The quantity of humus decreases to 1,5 per cent. Under a shallow layer of humus a whitish layer may be found, the colloidal part of it being completely ruined.

The process of chernozem podzolization under a deciduous forest is of agricultural significance. In the course of the destruction of organic-mineral compounds the phosphate acid assumes more soluble forms. The quantity of absorbed potassium in the top layers of the podzolized soils considerably decreases in comparison with the chernozems. Similarly, there is a decrease in nitrogen, and the rate of nitrification declines in proportion to the podzolization of the soil. As podzolization advances, account has to be taken of the addition of the amount of nitrogen and the decrease of the amount of phosphates when applying mineral fertilizers. Doses of potash must also be increased. To be able to determine the degree of podzolization of forest steppe soil, is a precondition to effective application of mineral fertilizers and manure. The three groups of podzolized soils mentioned above are shown as one on the map.

"Regraded Soils" must be classified as a separate type of the forest steppe soils. They were once in different stages of podzolization as a result of forest encroachment, but later, after the destruction of the forests, they again underwent the process of chernozem-formation. The process of regradation of podzolized soils brings about an increase in the content of humus (5-6 per cent.) and a greater saturation capacity as well as a bigger role of the absorbed calcium in the absorbing colloidal complex. Natural fertility of the "regraded" soils is considerably higher than that of the podzolized soils.

Chestnut Soils.

These steppe soils are similar to chernozems, but they are characterized by the presence of cation of sodium in their absorbing

colloidal complex. The following is the proportion of the absorbed cations in chestnut soils:

soil	*calcium*	*magnesium*	*sodium*
dark chestnut soil	75	24	1
chestnut soil	65	32	3
chestnut solonetz	60	35	5

The table shows that as the salinization of the soil increases, the narrower becomes the proportion of the absorbed cations of calcium and magnesium and the amount of sodium increases. While the absorbed sodium is present, a small quantity of stabilizing ion OH appears, as a result of which there occurs the so-called secondary stabilization of the soil's colloids which begin to move from the top to the bottom layers of the soil.

The degree of differentiation of the colloidal part of the soil's profile determines also the degree of salination, which has agricultural significance. In the course of this process in the chestnut soils the amount of nitrogen and calcium decreases, although the amount of soluble forms of phosphate acid proportionately increases. It is interesting that on solonetz and solonized soils one can apply ground natural phosphates, since as a result of double displacement reaction there appear in the soil soluble sodium salts of phosphate acid which are of value to plants. The best way to improve the solonized and solonetz soils is to use 4-8 tons of gypsum per hectare under deep plowing (10-12 in.), determining the exact quantity of gypsum by the amount of the absorbed sodium in the soil. The fertility of these soils can thus be greatly increased.

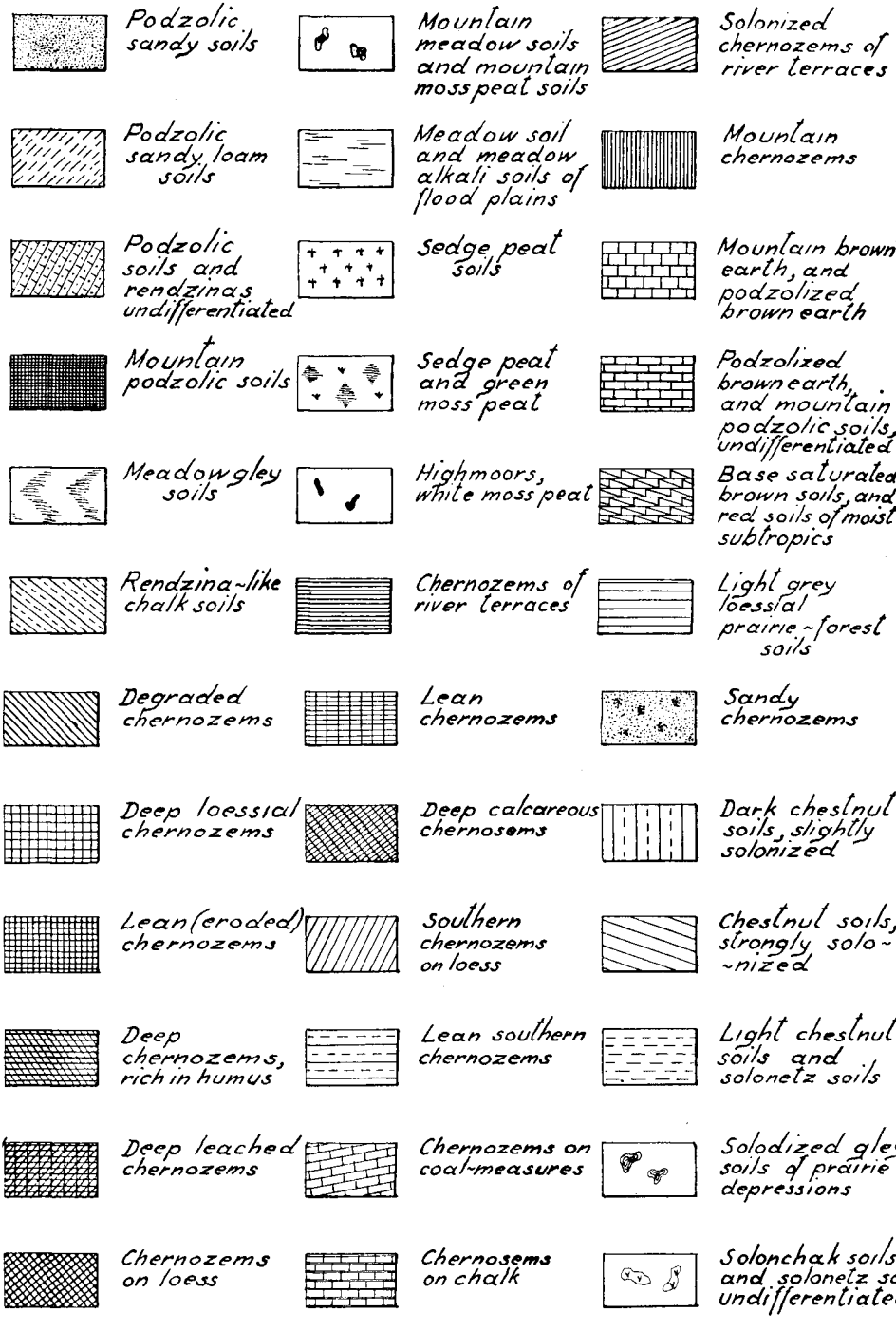
In summing up this brief description of the soil map of the Ukraine I should like to point out in what respect it contributes to international soil science. Apart from being the result of the latest investigations, it sheds light on some important pedological problems. First of all, the problem of the genesis of the forest steppe must be mentioned. Conclusions reached about the forest steppe in the Ukraine can aid further study of the European forest steppe in general. A second important problem is the genesis of loess, the soil forming deposit of Ukrainian soils, and especially the salinity

of loess. Contrary to the theory held today by most Russian pedologists and geologists, the salinity of loess has no connection with the water origin of loess. A long study of Ukrainian loess makes it possible to prove that the origin of loess is to be found in the scattering of wind-borne dust from the mountain rocks weathered by glacial foehns which blew from the north-west to the south-east.[2]

The salinity of loess can be explained by the nature of the weathering of mountain rocks in the tundra zone which lay to the south of the European glaciers in a wide belt. The weathering of mountain rocks in arctic lands takes place during considerable salinization which can be seen in the present tundra of Europe and America. While I studied Ukrainian loess with depths of sixty-five feet I also investigated fossil soils which correspond to the inter-glacial periods of the Ice Age. At one time my investigations were so extensive that I had even prepared a soil map of the inter-glacial period Riss-Wuerm. Such a study, together with a thorough investigation of loess and archaeological discoveries in the Ukraine make it possible to re-create a true picture of the evolution of nature and of material culture in the Ukraine during the post-glacial age. An important proof of the existence in Europe of favorable climatic conditions in the middle of the post-glacial age is the character of the relict Carpathian brown earth which gradually became podzolized as a result of a cooler climate and the change from beech to coniferous forests.

Further research into the Ukrainian soils will lead to even more positive results and enrich our knowledge of that country and of its place in Europe and the world.

2 The Ukrainian scientist, P. Tutkivśkyj, was the first to propound this theory of the origin of loess for the whole of Europe. He held that the foehns were directed to the north-east.



Key to Soil Map of the Ukraine

MAP OF SOILS OF UKRAINE

composed by Dr. G. Makhov

scale:

0 50 100 150 200 km

Kholm
Chernihiv
Kursk
Voronizh
Lviv
Kyiv
Kharkiv
Uzhhorod
Vinnytsia
Chernivtsi
Luhanske
Kryvyi Rih
Zaporizhzhia
Rostiv
Odessa
Symferopil
Krasnodar

20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44

52 50 48 46 44

BOOK REVIEWS

Chrestomatija davn'oï ukraïńśkoï literatury — Doba feodalizmu (Anthology of Early Ukrainian Literature — The Period of Feudalism). Edited by the full member of the Academy of the U.S.S.R., O. I. Bilećkyj. Kiev, 1949, Large 8°, 556 pp.

This is one of the few scholarly publications in Ukrainian dealing with a Ukrainian subject to reach us. The anthology covers the period between the beginning of the literature and the end of the eighteenth century. It seems somewhat strange, therefore, to read the subtitle which calls it an anthology of the literature of the "feudal epoch."

One welcomes the appearance of this anthology. As the editor tells us in his introduction, it is the result of collective endeavors and is indeed the very first anthology of old Ukrainian literature of such a wide scope and with such an extensive selection of literary material. In some instances manuscripts and editions which are both rare and inaccessible are made use of. The material of the anthology is divided into six sections. The division cannot be called particularly fortunate, since stylistic and even linguistic criteria obviously played no part in the editor's selection.

The first section, "The Literature of Kievan Ruś and of the Period of Feudal Disintegration," covers two periods which are sharply differentiated by their literary style (see my *History of Old Russian Literature*). In this section fragments of translated works are also included, although the entire fifth and sixth sections are devoted to translated literature. The editors justify the inclusion of the text from the Izbornik Svjatoslava of 1073 (The Collection of Svjatoslav of 1073), which was certainly translated in Bulgaria, by the fact that they chose fragments from the essay of Georgij Choiroboscos about tropes and figures which was probably basic for the formation of the style of Kievan literature. Unfortunately, only four short paragraphs are taken from this essay, although the whole work would not have required more than three or four printed pages. The list of tropes and figures which appears on page 10 will remain incomprehensible to the reader, since part of the commonly used terms for these tropes and figures is, for some reason, given in a quite unfamiliar Ukrainian translation. I agree with the editors when they consider the Izbornik of 1076 as a work which consists only in part of original articles, but of the two excerpts from it printed in the anthology, the second is almost certainly a translated work. The texts from the chronicles are rather well chosen, but it should have been pointed out that, according to the scholarly opinion of N. Nikolśkyj, the story about the birth of Slavic literature is considered to be of West Slavic origin. In my opinion, the tale about the giants on p. 14 is of similar origin; several other scholars have also advanced such a belief. More excerpts from the

Kievan chronicle which is one of the most interesting works of Kievan literature stylistically, would have been welcomed. There follow parts of the sermons of Hilarion and Kirill of Turov, from the "Slovo o Knjazjach" (Tale about the Princes), the Story of the Murder of Boris and Gleb, parts of the Kievan Patericon, "Choždenie igumena Daniila" (The Journey of Igumen Daniel) (for some reason no passages describing his meetings with the crusaders, which are very characteristic of the tolerant attitude of the Greek Orthodox Christians of the time towards the Catholics, have been included), and the fragments from the Admonition of Vladimir Monomach. There is also the text of the Igor Tale in its entirety (the edition of Muśin-Puškin). Corrections by various scholars are given in the footnotes (not very appropriately selected) and in conclusion there are a few well chosen selections from the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (pp. 80-87).

The main defect of the first section which also mars the others, is the peculiar, simplified orthography. One cannot object to the editor's refusal to use Church Slavic type, but the question of the confusion of the two so-called "jus" complicates the problem of the original text of some monuments. At least it should have been pointed out in which literary monuments such a confusion takes place. The chief shortcoming as far as the orthography is concerned is the omission of the so-called "hard sign" at the end of words. This makes it impossible to use texts such as those taken from the Collections of Svjatoslav of the eleventh century. Besides, in view of the unsatisfactory edition of the Collection of 1076, for the second of the printed texts the anthology compiled by Karinskij should have been used where this text is printed from the manuscript. The orthography in the "Slovo o Knjazjach" on pp. 40-42, is also decisively changed. Another shortcoming of this section is the absence of such a puzzling but very interesting literary monument as the "Slovo Adama vo Ade ko Lazarju" (The Appeal of Adam in Hell to Lazarus), doubtlessly an original work of the pre-Mongolian period. Also conspicuous is the omission of such translated works as Malalas (translated by the way, in Bulgaria), Josephus Flavius and the novel of Digenis Akritas, all of which are also left out of sections five and six. All these works certainly exerted a strong influence upon the development of the style of old Ukrainian literature. The omission can be explained, however, if we consider the editors' odd view of translated literature, (see the Foreword, p. 5). They maintain that "translated literature did not become the basis for original literature; it did not determine the character of this literature." This somewhat vague phrase represents the Ukrainian variant of the official Soviet opinion of the complete autonomy and the exclusively national outgrowth of the Russian culture. Of course, this point of view is completely false, and indeed it is not even followed up consistently in this book. In the notes to the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle it is stated, for instance, that the first part of the chronicle (in reality, the biography of the Galician King, Daniil, does not appear in the form of a chronicle in all manuscripts) contains "many bookish turns and

literary formulae" (p. 80). Its source is rooted in translated literature, as Orlov, with some exaggeration, has demonstrated.

The second section, "The Literature of the Fifteenth Century to the Beginning of the First Half of the Seventeenth Century" (pp. 91-180) which includes very diversified material, begins with an adaptation of the "Skazanije o Mamajevom poboišče" (The Story of the Rout of Mamaj) (I consider this work Byelorussian rather than Ukrainian) and contains the polemic literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. With a great deal of justification much space is devoted to the works of Ivan Vyšenśkyj (pp. 100-124). Unfortunately, they are printed from old editions and are not always well selected; the mystical theology of Vyšenśkyj and the most brilliant sections which deal with the defence of monasticism are omitted. The chief defect of the texts, however, lies in the fact that the editors, curiously enough, neglected to take into consideration the publication of M. Hruševśkyj's corrections (see his *History of Ukrainian Literature*) which in many cases were done on the basis of manuscripts. For example, on p. 118, there is a short excerpt from Golubev's text which was very badly edited. Thus lines 1 to 25 at the bottom of the page should contain at least six corrections by Hruševśkyj, apart from his five conjectures. In addition to this, using the manuscript, Hruševśkyj also fills two "lacunae" in the text — two and four words long respectively — which remain incomplete in the Bilećkyj text. Similarly, Hruševśkyj gives nine corrections for lines 7 to 18 at the bottom of page 116. Even if we leave these aside, the anthology presents us with a completely incomprehensible text in some places, e.g. at the bottom of page 8 — "este my" instead of the quite obvious "esmo my."

The selections from the "Zercalo bogoslovii" (The Mirror of Theology) by Kirill Trankvilion Stravrovećkyj and from Mjalecij Smotryćkyj's Grammar are too insignificant. However, on the whole we are given a series of very valuable texts which are almost inaccessible, because of the scarcity of editions from which the texts are taken (cf. e.g. "Intermedii" by Gavatovič). The entire Ukrainian polemic literature is missing, a fact which, of course, completely distorts the perspective on the religious conflict in the Ukraine. The greatest omission, however, is that of the examples of translations of the Scriptures into the spoken language. We find neither "Krechivśkyj apostol" which I. Ohijenko successfully introduced in 1930 into the circulation of scholarly literature, nor the texts of the Gospels. We need only examine the samples cited by Žiteckij in "Izvestija Akademii Nauk, Otdelenie russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti" to understand the full significance of these translations and adaptations for the development of the literary language.

The third section is concerned with the literature of the "second half of the seventeenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century" (pp. 183-284). Once again we might have expected some texts which are not found in the anthology. For example — songs from the work published by Voznjak (*Materjaly do istorii ukraïnśkoï pisni i virši,* Lviv, 1913-1915) are not sufficiently

used. Only one poem is taken from this extremely interesting collection of old texts of songs and the one which is chosen is not very typical (p. 381). The religious material of this edition is not used at all and no mention is made of the important "Bohohlasnyk" of the eighteenth century of J. Javorśkyj's *Materjaly dlja istorii starinnoj pesennoj literatury,* Prague, 1934. It is difficult, however, to reproach the editors of the volume for its "incompleteness" because of the large amount of material which does enter. Nevertheless, the absence of a whole series of literary genres — such as epigrams and "figured" poems, is striking. There are also no acrostics which were so typical of that period. Part of the space devoted to the works of the priest and monk Klimentij (pp. 190-196) could have been given to the more accomplished epigrams of Ivan Velyčkovśkyj or Dimitrij Tuptala (Peretc printed them in the Sbornik AN ORJa i S.), not to mention less well-known authors.

The fourth section is concerned with the literature of the eighteenth century (pp. 287-453). It is immediately obvious that a disproportionate amount of space is given to "satirical" and burlesque poetry compared with religious poems, although the latter are, stylistically, very typical of the period. The "Plač kijevskich monachov" (The Lament of the Kievan Monks) which is weak from the literary point of view, is printed without abridgement, perhaps because of its "accusing" character. "Virša na Velykden" (pp. 371-373) can hardly be considered Ukrainian, even by linguistic criteria; I consider it a translation from Byelorussian (Cf. Karskij, *Geschichte der wiessrussischen Volksdichtung und Literatur,* Berlin-Leipzig, 1926, p. 141, and also his "Bjelorussy," III, 3, 116, ff; also cf. *Kievskaja Starina,* Vol. XX, 1888).

For some reason Skovoroda's translations are included amongst his poems. I am not speaking of the paraphrases of the odes of Horace (pp. 429-431), but of his actual translations from Ovid's *Fasti* (p. 430). Six lines have been added to this translation by mistake; they are a completely independent epigram. Even the excerpt (no mention is made that it is only an excerpt) which is a translation from Muretus "O seljanskij mylij, ljubij mij pokoju" (p. 430) is printed without a note explaining that this is a translation although the fact has been pointed out by several scholars and has become a stock remark in literature about Skovoroda. Oddly enough, Skovoroda's epigrams are not included and one gains an impression that this is some form of forbidden literary genre in Soviet Russia. In Skovoroda's fables some abbreviations have been made which are not always explicable. The selections from his dialogues are not very good. The section concludes with fragments from the *Istorija Rusov* which was written for a Russian audience, in Russian. Its inclusion here is probably justified by the influence it exerted upon the Ukrainian literature of the nineteenth century. The excerpt chosen is one of "agitation" and is least typical as far as the content of the work is concerned. It speaks of the revolt of Mazepa, whom the author presents as a traitor for "tactical" reasons. The excerpts from *Istorija Rusov* shows us what little attention the editors of the anthology paid to stylistic criteria, when

they divided the material into separate parts. The *Istorija Rusov* is written in the classical style and is sharply distinct from Ukrainian "baroque" literature which provides the main content of this part of the anthology.

In the second, third, and fourth sections a peculiar detail stands out. All quotations where the term "žyd" (Jew) occurs are omitted, probably because in contemporary Russian this word has a pejorative character, although it does not have this meaning either in old or contemporary Ukrainian. Even single lines of poems which contain this word are left out, and passages are omitted where nothing bad is said about the Jews. Apparently, the word itself is inadmissible (Cf. p. 371, omission of two lines after line 27).

The fifth and sixth sections give a fairly extensive selection of translated literature (pp. 457-548). On the whole, excerpts are given from the literature of Western origin and from later Ukrainian copies of translated Byzantine literature (pp. 457-500). For some reason this literature is called "Byzantine-Slavic" which really does not make much sense. There are only three excerpts from the apocrypha, though it would have been possible to cite a more considerable number, especially from the texts beautifully edited by Franko (*Apokryfy i legendy z ukraïnśkych rukopysiv,* five volumes, Lviv, 1896-1910). Only two excerpts were selected from this edition along with a quotation from the life of a saint. Passages from the lives of the saints follow. The life of Andreas Salos is printed from a Moscow text of the sixteenth century, although here again Franko's edition, volume IV, would have been preferable. Next there are excerpts from the Ukrainian "Alexandria" the appearance of which in this section is incomprehensible, since two of them were translated from Polish, from the Chronicle of Marcin Bielski. Finally there are passages from "Žitie" (Life) of Varlaam and Iosaf, from the "Skazanie ob indijskom carstve," and from the "Pčela ("Melissa"). Since the author regards the "Story about the Indian Kingdom" as a translation from Latin, it is again not clear why the excerpts from it are printed in this section of the anthology.

It is a welcome fact that everywhere only late Ukrainian texts, which are for the most part scattered in rare and inaccessible editions, were used. Thus students for whom the anthology was designed have an opportunity to become acquainted with the texts. However, it would not have required too much space to print the old texts in parallel columns with the newer ones, at least in two or three instances, so that one could gain insight into the character of the linguistic changes of the old texts on Ukrainian soil.

The sixth section contains translated literature of Western origin (pp. 503-548). These include excerpts from the "Tale of Troy" (Guido de Columna), from "Bova" which in all likelihood is of Byelorussian origin, from the "Sem mudrecov," from the "Speculum Magnum," from "Petro Zlaty ključi," and a complete versified translation from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (4, 1). The translation was made from the Polish version by Morsztyn, although not Andrzej, as it is stated on p. 538, but Hieronim. This section could have been supplemented considerably by translations from Latin, par-

ticularly in the case of Skovoroda who translated Muretus and Vergil, and of Ivan Velyčkovśkyj who translated the epigrams of Ovenus. Use might have been made of my edition of the translations of the German spiritual songs by Simon Todorskij (around 1735) as well as of examples of his prose translations of Protestant literature. The anthology concludes with a small glossary (pp. 549-555) which may be considered sufficient, since in most instances incomprehensible terms are explained in the notes.

It was not my intention to point out all the essential supplementary material. I have thus confined myself to the mention only of those texts which, by their omission, distort the perspective upon Old Ukrainian literature as a whole. Such additional texts would require no more than fifteen to twenty pages which could not make a great deal of difference in a book of 556 pages.

A much more basic fault of the anthology, however, is the lack of attention paid by the editors to the formal problems of literary style. This has two consequences: on the one hand, the material is often divided quite arbitrarily; on the other hand, the choice of the selections from the texts used is not always appropriate. But, as has already been said, even in this form the anthology is a very useful textbook offering a large number of texts for students. Some of these texts are either difficult to obtain or completely inaccessible. Since some old editions of texts and manuscripts are used the anthology is of value not only to students in the field, but also to research specialists.

Dmitry Čiževsky

Spirit of Flame: A Collection of the Works of Lesya Ukrainka. Translated by Percival Cundy, Foreword by Clarence A. Manning, New York: Bookman Associates, 1950, 320 pp.

The works of the greatest Ukrainian woman poet, Lesja Ukraïnka, were for a long time unknown in Western Europe and America because adequate translations were lacking. *Forest Song* was translated into German in 1930, and several of her other works were widely known in Slavic countries. Now however, with the publication of selected works of Lesja Ukraïnka in English, American and English readers have been provided with a translation which may show them some of the qualities of her poetry.

Lesja Ukraïnka is perhaps the most European of all Ukrainian writers. Brought up in an atmosphere unusually progressive for her times, she learned English, French, German, Italian, Greek, and Latin at an early age and acquainted herself with Western European literature, not through translations, but in the original. She was also a serious student of literary criticism and of history. In 1889, the eighteen year old Lesja who understood the great

value of translated literature, drew up for the literary society *the Pleiad* a detailed plan of the works of Western European literature which she hoped to translate into Ukrainian. Among them we find works of Shakespeare, Byron, Shelley, Dickens, Moore, Swift, Walter Scott, Longfellow, Cervantes, Petrarch, Balzac, and many others. Herself an ardent translator, she encouraged others, writing in one of her letters that "only when we know foreign literatures, will our own dilettantism disappear." It is not strange, therefore, that in her own works of this early period the influence of European literature reigns supreme. Her uncle, that most distinguished Ukrainian scholar, philosopher, and Proudhonian socialist, Professor Mychajlo Drahomanov, encouraged her wide interest in Europe, and it was his influence which made Lesja so far outdistance her fellow countrymen in breadth of vision and a truly European outlook.

This handsomely produced volume of her selected works in English contains an introduction by Rev. P. Cundy, the translator, and a foreword by Professor Clarence A. Manning of Columbia. The selections from the lyrical poems are arranged in six groups (Love, Nature, Personal Experiences, The Poetic Calling, Love of Country, Social Justice and Human Rights), and the translations of her dramatic poems include *On the Ruins, Babylonian Captivity, The Noblewoman, Forest Song,* and *Martianus the Advocate.* This comprehensive selection does represent, therefore, almost every aspect of Lesja Ukraïnka's genius and illustrates the wide range of her poetic themes. However, the following lyrical poems, not included in the book, are essential for a full appreciation of Lesja Ukraïnka's art: *The Blue Snowflakes, Fiat Nox, An Unfinished Conversation, Oriental Melody, Extracts from a Letter, My Path, Dreams,* and *The Sinner.* The dramas *The Stone Guest,* or *The Orgy* would be a better choice than *Martianus the Advocate.* Her works, like *Robert Bruce* and *In the Wilderness* are of special interest to American readers because of their subject matter.

The foreword and introduction, in spite of their brevity, provide the reader with the essential historical background without which it would be almost impossible to comprehend the full significance of Lesja Ukraïnka's works. There is no doubt that Lesja Ukraïnka, like all great writers, had her own definite outlook on life, though she made no attempt to compress it into a simple message. The importance of her works today lies as much in the explicit value of her philosophy as in her art. Permeated as she was by the spirit of Western European democratic ideals, Lesja Ukraïnka showed her hatred of all types of tyranny and totalitarianism and was a bitter critic of Russian imperialism. This alone explains her great popularity in the Ukraine in the early twenties, when nearly all the allegorical poems were eagerly read and interpreted as the expression of the Ukraine's will to liberate herself from

Russian imperialism.[1] Today the popularity of Lesja Ukraïnka in the Soviet Ukraine has in no way diminished. Her inspired call to fight for liberty and overthrow tyranny and her deeply revolutionary spirit could not easily be tamed by the Soviet critics. It is interesting that some of them[2] admit the great influence Shelley had on Lesja Ukraïnka. There is no doubt that she shared the "Promethean" ideas of the great English romantic poet. In fact, her poems *In the Catacombs,* and *Inscription on a Ruin* were directly inspired by him. However, while Shelley never doubted that Jupiter would be overthrown, to Lesja Ukraïnka such a revolution is a bloody and difficult task to be performed by those whose courage, virtue, and belief in victory will never fail. It is equally interesting that A. Šamraj's article, mentioned above, was severely condemned in 1947 by L. Serpilin[3] who approached the whole problem of Western influence on Lesja Ukraïnka from Ždanov's point of view which since August 1946 has been accepted as the official Party line.

Rev. P. Cundy's translation is always competent, and although occasionally failing to reproduce the verse form and rhythm of the poem, it successfully transmits the spirit and emotion behind the words. In his otherwise excellent introduction there are some minor inaccuracies which we should like to point out. Lesja Ukraïnka was born on 26th, not 25th of February 1871, since the difference between the "old" and the "new" calendars in the nineteenth century was twelve, not thirteen days. This date (25th of February) is confirmed by other documents.[4] The view of Stepan, the hero of the *Noblewoman* as a "Moscovized" Ukrainian (p. 32) is open to debate, since it seems that Stepan serves the Moscow Tzar not in order to gain personal advantage, but to use his high position for the benefit of his country. At no time could he be described as a traitor to his people, and finally he himself realizes the futility of his position at the Tzar's court. Stepan, in our opinion, symbolizes those Ukrainians who hoped to create a better future for the Ukraine by negotiating with Moscow, and who, in the author's opinion, inevitably failed in their endeavor. Finally, through an error, in the table of contents a poem *Love* is indicated on p. 45 although it does not appear in the text.

The Spirit of Flame is a landmark in the field of Ukrainian literature in English translation and represents a most valuable acquisition for the scholar and the general reader alike.

Petro Odarčenko

1 For instance, Professor V. Rjezanov, in his study of *Kassandra* ("Lesja Ukraïnka: sučasnisť i antyčnisť," *Zapysky Nižyńśkoho INO ta N-D Katedry,* 1929, Vol. IX, p. 27) suggested that the figure of Helen is symbolic of Moscow's culture in the Ukraine and that the Trojan war may be regarded as a war of liberation waged by the Ukrainians against the Russians.

2 A. Šamraj, "Lesja Ukraïnka i anhlijśka literatura," *Radjańśka literatura,* 10-11, 1945.

3 L. Serpilin, "Pid hipnizom inozemnych imen," *Radjańśka literatura,* July 13th, 1947.

4 P. Odarčenko, "Dejaki daty z molytovnyka Petra Drahomanova," *Naši Dni,* (Lviv, 1943).

Naum Jasny, *The Socialized Agriculture of the U.S.S.R.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1949, 837 pp.

The author dedicates his book to "those in Soviet Russia, far away and yet so near, who believe in science, unadorned and unadulterated science." This implies that the author's task is to give, on the basis of statistical material, a real picture of Soviet Agriculture, a picture not fully known even to those scientists in the U.S.S.R. who still believe in unadorned science.

The first part of the book is taken up by an account of conditions existing under collectivization and of the development of industrial production in the years 1921-40. The author mentions here several development projects of Soviet farms, among them the creation of the big grain-producing *sovkhozes,* the so-called "bread factories." Belief in the unlimited possibilities of socialist agriculture was so great at that time, that even such an able economist as Čajanov entertained fantastic ideas of the creation of giant *sovkhozes* with an area of 100,000 hectares under cultivation. Some mammoth state farms were indeed organized, but they soon proved a complete failure. Writing of the consumption of bread, meat, fats, and sugar the author notes that it was lower in 1932 than in 1927-8. The explanation for this lies in the fact that the amount of food consumption in the Soviet Union is not related to normal economic development as it is in other countries, but to the nature of the political measures of the government and the Party. The years 1932-33 were the period of the violent experiment of forced collectivization; hence bread was rationed in towns, and often was not available in the villages. Another decline in food consumption occurred during the intensification of the political terror (Ježovščyna, 1937-8) and then again during the Finnish war.

The second part of the book is devoted to a discussion of the natural agricultural resources of the U.S.S.R. The author uses for this purpose the Soviet Atlas of the World and comes to the conclusion that the natural geographic and climatic conditions of the U.S.S.R. are very unfavorable to agriculture, which can only be pursued in a comparatively small part of the whole area of the country. It is almost redundant to point out that the evaluation of the natural agricultural conditions of one particular country is hardly possible on the basis of a World Atlas. The author writes also that the U.S.S.R. is poor in mineral deposits, since they are few in comparison to the total population. On p. 110 he writes that "most of Russia receives so little precipitation, that agriculture is impossible," basing this statement again on the Soviet Atlas of the World, where Kiev, Moscow, and even Western Siberia are included in one zone. Using such sources one could arrive, of course, at worse conclusions.

How obsolete is the author's information about Ukrainian agriculture may be seen from his remark that "Eastern Ukraine and everything east of it can grow only spring wheat" (p. 110), whereas in fact Eastern Ukraine and the regions east of it grow a great deal of excellent winter wheat, the drought- and cold-resistent brands of which were introduced by Ukrainian scientists in 1915-25 and later. The author also denies the right of the Ukraine to cultivate some other crops. Thus, according to him, the north is too cold and the south too dry for corn. Referring to sunflower, so widely cultivated in the Ukraine, the author writes "in the Ukraine it is found mainly on the chestnut soils close to the Black and Azov Seas." It would seem, therefore, that no sunflower grows on Ukrainian czernozems. The northern part of the Ukraine, west of the Dnieper (forest steppe, not the Polissja) is described by the author as the "best agricultural region of the main body of the agricultural Russia"; the southern Ukraine he believes to be only suitable for large-scale agricultural development (p. 131). Very characteristic of the author's approach is his conclusion, reached in the chapter on the natural resources and population (p. 132) that "future gains in Russian agricultural output will have to be largely on the poor soils of central and northern European Russia." The author considers that while the fertile czernozems and chestnut soils of the semiarid lands are suitable for extensive cultivation, the poor podzolized soils of central Russia could yield with the help of manure and mineral fertilizers, harvests twice as large as those gathered in the "rich" Ukraine (quotation marks are used by the author). It is interesting that the author's opinion is very similar to that expressed in 1920 by the Russian chauvinist economists (Professor Struve, Director of the Moscow experimental station, Levickij, and others) who attempted to focus the government's attention on the development of Russian agriculture to the detriment of the Ukraine.

On p. 116 we learn that the sown area of the U.S.S.R. forms only 10 per cent. of its total territory and that in this respect it is inferior to Poland which has 50 per cent. of its area under cultivation. In fact, the sown area of the U.S.S.R., if we exclude from it the northern Siberian tundra, represents only 7 per cent. of the total area of the U.S.S.R. However, to draw conclusions on the basis of such general statistics is surely rather misleading. The huge territory of the U.S.S.R. is extremely varied, and apart from the tundra and desert it includes rich agricultural countries. The sown area of the Ukraine, for instance, forms 68 per cent. of its total area. Had the author used all the available materials bearing on Ukrainian agriculture, he would almost certainly have had to modify his statement as to the potential superiority of the northern Russian lands. Any analysis of Soviet agriculture must take into account the fact that the U.S.S.R. is a conglomerate of many countries which exist on different cultural levels and the agricultures of which are at different

stages of development. There is enough evidence to prove that Communist Moscow is economically exploiting the national republics and regards them as her colonies. This colonial policy of Moscow has, of course, very adverse effects on the economies and agricultures of the non-Russian republics.

In this book, N. Jasny dwells at length on the development of socialized agriculture in the U.S.S.R. and describes in detail the various phases and types of farming (*kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*). Much attention is devoted to the problem of mechanization and to the various methods of agronomics such as *luščinnja* (disking or very shallow plowing performed immediately after the removal of the crop) and super-early seeding. While discussing the use of improved seeds, the author does not mention the achievements of artificial selection. Yet nearly all the difficulties in which south-eastern agriculture, especially that of the southern Ukraine, found itself as a result of the continental climate, were surmounted by the introduction of selected drought- and frost-resistent kinds of winter wheat as well as early varieties of such crops as corn and sunflower.

Writing of the use of mineral fertilizers in the U.S.S.R., the author is of the opinion that the "Soviet use of artificial fertilizers before the war was large for a country of extensive agriculture." This, however, cannot supply the reader with an accurate picture of the use of fertilizers in the U.S.S.R. A study of available material on the subject would produce a true balance sheet of nutrient elements of crops in the U.S.S.R. It would disclose a sad lack of nutrient elements, showing that mineral fertilizers supply less than one tenth of the quantities required by crops in the U.S.S.R. to raise their average yield. In order, for instance, to reach the level of fertilizing as practiced in Germany, Soviet industry would have to increase its production of fertilizers by 12 per cent. over the 1938-41 level.

The small economic value of mechanization, the low average agricultural production, and the poor wages of the collective farmers are well analyzed in the book. Even then, however, while on the basis of statistical data the author does succeed in unveiling the Soviet socialized agriculture in its reality, his conclusions are not always convincing. Thus, for instance, after comparing the overall agricultural production with the number of working days, the conclusion reached is that collective farmer's per capita productivity is declining. In fact, although the number of working days in relation to per capita productivity showed an increase immediately before the war, this did not reflect a drop in productive output of those actually working on the farms, but rather was due to the increase in political and administrative personnel on collective farms. Similarly, the well publicized Stakhanovite successes in record harvesting of grain or sugarbeet would, if checked carefully, show a lower productivity than that of an ordinary collective farmer. In order to understand such paradoxes it is necessary to remember that Soviet agricul-

ture is first of all the means which the Communist Party uses to achieve its political ends, and that economics in the U.S.S.R. is strictly conditioned by political aims.

In summing up our criticism of this important scholarly contribution to the field of study of Soviet agriculture, we should like to re-emphasize that its main defect seems to us the general impression it creates of the U.S.S.R. as a country poor in natural and agricultural resources. Blame for the present state of agriculture in the U.S.S.R. rests not on nature, but on the Soviet agricultural policy.

GREGORY MAKHOV

Death of a Science in Russia: The Fate of Genetics as Described in "Pravda" and Elsewhere. Edited by Conway Zirkle, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949, 315 pp.

This book, published in connection with the Congress of Geneticists which was held in Moscow in 1947, is a timely presentation of the battle between the present Soviet view of genetics, reflecting the official Party line, and the rest of the world of science. The material compiled in the book reveals the methods used by the Party to combat and destroy one of the sciences in the U.S.S.R.; hence the title of the book. The fact that such a violent attack was launched by the Soviets against genetics, a science which is so much related to the wider biological and philosophical problems of human existence, has of course its own significance.

The content of the book falls into separate parts and consists of an exposition of T. Lysenko's attack on Western genetics; the opinions of his disciples as well as the recantations of those Soviet scientists who at first differed from him; a brief chapter expressing the views of American and English geneticists; the declarations of those foreign members of the Academy of the U.S.S.R. who left this institution, and finally the resolutions passed by the Congress. Altogether the book consists of twelve chapters and has, at the end, an extensive bibliography.

The first chapter devoted to the causes of the Soviet campaign against Western genetics contains some generalizations which deserve further scrutiny. To say that prior to Lysenko, genetics in the U.S.S.R. enjoyed free development is to forget that ever since 1920 science has been very much subordinated to the dictates of the Communist Party. In the initial period (1920-1930) Soviet biologists were asked to rid themselves of the remnants of the pre-revolutionary science which, it was alleged, often allied itself with idealism, religion, and mysticism. Thus a new materialistic outlook was fostered for which many scientists were later branded as "vulgar mechanists" and suffered dire repres-

sions. The first generation of Soviet biologists included such brilliant scientists as Vavilov, Filipčenko, and Serebrovskij, all of whom based their theories on heredity, mutations, and evolution according to the materialist conception of the genes. The Soviet authorities did their best to publicize the achievements of these scientists and for the same reason they welcomed the arrival of the young American biologist, Muller, the representative of Morgan's materialistic school, who first brought to the U.S.S.R. *Drosophila melanogaster.* Therefore it can be said that during this period genetics in the Soviet Union, although used for propaganda purposes, favored the development of a school of geneticists. At the same time, however, those scientists who differed from the materialist school were condemned as "idealist." Thus, for instance, the studies of the well known Academician, Berg, were suppressed, and the famous ecologist, Professor Stančynskij, was exiled. The most terrible offense in those days was "Lamarckism." The ideas of Lamarck, with few exceptions were banned, and those of Weismann, Mendel, and Morgan triumphed.

The early thirties witnessed a decisive change in Communist ideology which was reflected in genetics. The new policy, aimed at opposing the Western world, set the pattern for the creation of a "Soviet" science. New researches had to be carried out without any help from "decadent, bourgeois" science; indeed they were undertaken with the aim of countering and attacking Western science. In this way the "superiority" of Soviet science was bolstered, for it was an important factor in the policy of alienation from the rest of the world. The Soviets returned to Lamarck's theories and recalled the story of Kammerer. All their geneticists were mobilized in the new drive to prove that the genes can change under the influence of the immediate environment. This period witnessed the great destruction of the achievements of the earlier one and culminated in the rise of Lysenko. In the struggle the most famous Russian geneticist, Vavilov, perished. The answer to the question on p. 33, as to why the science of genetics was destroyed in Russia can be supplied therefore only after careful study of historical causes and ideological motives, the material for which is available.

Chapters II, III, and IV are devoted to presentation of the present Soviet attitude to genetics and an excellent analysis of it by such leading Western geneticists as Darlington, Dobzhansky, and Muller. The fifth chapter, which contains Lysenko's speech, would gain very much by a more detailed examination of Lysenko's work. Some obvious flaws in his conclusions are visible even in this address. Thus, for instance, he ascribes to Weismann theories which the latter never held, ignores the fact that Western genetics do not disregard environmental factors, and finally degenerates into a cheap tirade against those scientists who do not follow the Soviet line, among whom he classes Šmalhauzen and Zavadovskij who were never Mendelian-Morganian geneticists. Lysenko's address, however, and the support he found in the speeches of Mitin and others (Chapters VI, VII, VIII) should be more carefully

scrutinized, no matter how absurd they may sound. More space could have been devoted to Lysenko's practical experiments, the success of which has little to do with his theories. Prezent, a central figure in "Lysenkoism" deserves special attention. The writer of this review remembers very clearly a Congress in Odessa where Prezent, not Lysenko, originated the anti-Western attitude. To his demagogical approach Lysenko seems to have finally succumbed.

Lysenko's final address, printed in chapter nine, is a hotch-potch of Marxian double talk and complete misinterpretation of the teachings of Weismann and Morgan (p. 251). Having declared that he acknowledges heredity, but does not accept the chromosome theory or Mendelism-Morganism, Lysenko confuses the problem of polyploidy with the existence of the twenty-eight and forty-two chromosome wheat (p. 255), and finally extols the leadership and wisdom of the Party. To this supreme institution of divine knowledge all the other Soviet scientists who in small details differed with Lysenko pay their tribute (Chapters IX, X). The supreme oracle, having received their offerings, then proceeds to castigate the evil Western influences and orders that the Mičurin-Lysenko brand of genetics be henceforth taught and practiced throughout the Soviet Union. Chapters eleven and twelve cast much light on the present state of the scientific cold war, by reprinting Soviet declarations in all their vituperative and abusive detail.

The service rendered by the appearance of this book is great indeed, for here, for the first time, the American reader has an opportunity to acquaint himself with the facts of a vital controversy and to see one important aspect of the Soviet totalitarian regime.

MICHAEL VETUKHIV

OBITUARIES

Serhij Tymošenko

Professor Serhij Tymošenko died of a heart attack on July 6th, 1950, in Palo Alto, California. His age was sixty nine. He was a full member of the Academy and among the most distinguished of Ukrainian architects. Serhij Prokopovyč Tymošenko was born on February 5th, 1881, in the village of Bazylivka, in the province of Černyhiv. He attended school at Romny, and later studied architecture at the School of Civil Engineering in St. Petersburg. At that time he became an active member of the Ukrainian Students' Society in St. Petersburg. Devoted to the cause of Ukrainian national and social enlightenment, he personally helped on various occasions in the distribution of Ukrainian literature which had to be smuggled in from the West, since it was banned in Tzarist Russia. In 1906 Professor Tymošenko left St. Petersburg and began to practice his profession in Kovel. Later he moved to Kiev where he first began designing buildings, and especially churches, in a modern Ukrainian style which was derived from the traditional style of old Ukrainian churches. In 1909 he accepted the post of Chief Architect of the North Doneć Railroad in Kharkiv. The main achievements of Professor Tymošenko as an architect belong to the Kharkiv period. Apart from magnificent railroad stations and the main building of the North Doneć Railroad in Kharkiv, the following creations of his great art must be mentioned: the houses of Popov and Bojko; power station projects for the Doneč region; and the hospital at Kazan'. At the same time Serhij Prokopovyč played an important part in Ukrainian social life in Kharkiv. He belonged to the Ukrainian Society of Kvitka-Osnovjanenko and was one of the founders of the Society of Artists and Architects. His keen interest in Ukrainian politics prompted him to join the RUP (Revolutionary Ukrainian Party).

After the outbreak of the Revolution in March, 1917, Professor Tymošenko was elected during the Ukrainian National Congress in Kharkiv to be the first chairman of the National Council of the Kharkiv province. In 1918 he became the Gubernatorial Commissary of Kharkiv, and a year later he was appointed Minister of Transportation in the Ukrainian National Government. During the war against the Soviet invaders Professor Tymošenko frequently saw active service at the front, notably at Bazar. After the withdrawal of the Ukrainian National Army from the Ukraine he lived for a while in Lviv where he designed several Ukrainian churches (in Levandivka, Klepariv). In 1924 Professor Tymošenko moved to Czechoslovakia where he became Professor of Architecture at the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podebrady. Returning to Poland in 1930, he settled in Luck, continuing his work as an architect and at the same time playing an active role in political

life, as a member of the Polish Parliament. In this period he designed several churches which were built in Canada (Edmonton, Saskatoon, Vancouver, Toronto) and others in Paraguay, as well as in Galicia and Volhynia, in Western Ukraine. With the help of his brother, Professor V. Timoshenko, Serhij Prokopovyč came to this country in 1948. He performed his final service to his country when he went on a lecture tour in Canada, pleading for help to Ukrainian DPs in Europe. The death of Professor Serhij Tymošenko is an irreparable loss. It is the loss of a great artist, a great scholar, and one of the most prominent of Ukrainian patriots.

Maksym Žurko

Dr. Maksym Žurko, the urologist, died on October 29th, 1950, in Cambridge, Minnesota, as a result of injuries sustained in an accident. He was born on August 12th, 1898, in a Cossack household in the Černyhiv district. After completing his secondary education in Černyhiv, he enrolled in 1919 as an agriculture student at the Kiev Polytechnic Institute. A year later, he began his medical studies at the University of Kiev. Simultaneously he studied at the Kiev Conservatory of Music where he soon distinguished himself as a singer. After graduating, he worked for a time at the urological clinic at Kiev University which was then headed by Professor Andronik Čajka. In the years 1928-41 as a urologist he did much of his work in the hospitals of the Ukrainian Red Cross in Kiev. In 1929 he went abroad as a member of the Ukrainian choir "Dumka" and during his visit to France he worked for a short time with Professor Morion. In 1930, after his return to the Ukraine, he was arrested, but released in the following year. In 1932 he was appointed Assistant Professor of the Urological Clinic of the Kiev Medical Institute. In 1937, together with fifty-three other Ukrainian doctors, he was for political reasons temporarily suspended from his duties.

During the Second World War Dr. Žurko was severely wounded (1941), but after his recovery in 1942 he was made Professor of Surgery at Kiev University. He was also in charge of the urological museum. In 1943 he left Kiev and after spending some time in Lviv, where he worked as a surgeon at the University Hospital, he went to Slovakia, and then to Germany. All this time he was constantly lending his skill and knowledge whenever the situation called for it. From 1946-50 he worked in a DP hospital and then in the IRO Hospital for the DPs in Munich. He was a very active member of the Ukrainian Medical Association and a lecturer at the Ukrainian Technical Institute in Munich. In April 1950 he came to this country and a month later found work in the laboratory of the hospital at Cambridge, Minn. He was happy in carrying out some electroencephalographic research there, using new instruments just invented for that purpose. His work was exhibited at the Annual Exhibition of the State of Minnesota, in Minneapolis. Among his

numerous scientific works his studies in the field of urology attracted wide attention. The untimely death of Dr. Maksym Vasylovyč Žurko means for the Academy the loss of one of its ablest members.

Fedir Pošyvajlo

Fedir Pošyvajlo died in Buffalo, on June 12th, 1950, at the age of sixty-five. He was born on February 12th, 1885, in a poor peasant family, in the Ukrainian village of Rašivka. His career as a teacher began in 1900 when, still a boy, he taught illiterate villagers to write. At that time he met a peasant who corresponded with the well-known Ukrainian scholar and writer, Borys Hrinčenko. Having received some books from Kiev, Fedir Pošyvajlo organized reading groups in which he read Ševčenko's *Kobzar* to the villagers. From 1903 to 1907 he attended the Pedagogical Seminary in Novyj Buh. Later he taught school for a time, and then, from 1910 to 1914 he studied at the Pedagogical Institute in Kiev. During that time he took part in the activities of young Ukrainian patriots, devoting most of his time to writing and public speaking. In 1914 Fedir Pošyvajlo contributed to the Ukrainian periodical *S'vitlo*.

During the Revolution Pošyvajlo taught in various higher schools in Kiev and produced many translations of school text-books. During the formation of the Centralna Rada, Fedir Pošyvajlo helped M. Michnovśkyj in preparing the Congress on which so much depended in those days. After the Revolution he devoted himself to teaching, and it is in this important profession that his main achievements lie. A tireless worker in his field, he did much to raise the standard of education in the Ukraine and won the admiration and respect of Ukrainian students. After 1944 he taught and lectured among the Ukrainian DPs in Europe, and it was then that he began his lengthy study of the Ukrainian youth movement. Fedir Pošyvajlo came to this country in 1950. His colleagues and his friends will always cherish his memory as a devoted worker in the cause of Ukrainian education.

CHRONICLE

The period between November 15th, 1948 and March 15th, 1950 must be regarded as preparatory to the creation of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the United States. After their arrival in this country, various members of the Academy set up an organizational committee which had the task of establishing contact between Ukrainian scholars and scientists and of continuing to collect Ukrainian books and periodicals for the Academy's Museum and Archives. With the arrival of Professor Michael Vetukhiv from California, the preparatory work of the Committee entered a new phase. The decision to elect the Presidium of the Academy and to start wider activities was put into effect during the inaugural meeting of the Academy on March 15, 1950. To the Presidium were elected Professor Vetukhiv as the Chairman; Professors Čykalenko, Čiževsky, Granovśkyj, Hornjatkevyč, Miščenko, Porśkyj, Smal Stocki, Timoshenko, Zakrevśka as members; Messrs. Bykovśkyj and Furkalovśkyj as secretaries; and Mr. Kekalo as treasurer. It was decided to extend the activities of the Academy in three different, though related fields:

1. To further research by members of the Academy in their special fields and disciplines;
2. To publish works of scholarship in Ukrainian and in English;
3. To hold periodical meetings and scholarly conferences with lectures and discussions.

In order to give adequate support to this plan of continuing scholarly and scientific work it was decided to build up the Library and the Museum of the Academy as soon as the bulk of the contents should arrive from Germany. Guided by these decisions, the newly elected Presidium held, in the period between March and December of 1950, eleven meetings at which careful attention was given to the problems involved in the realization of these plans. Simultaneously, the formation of various sections of the Academy was discussed and determined upon at the meetings of full members of the Academy. Much time has been devoted to the legal incorporation of the Academy, a matter which has now been completed.

An important event for all members of the Academy was the visit to New York of the President of the Academy, Professor Dmytro Dorošenko, on August 22nd, 1950. During the tenth meeting of the Presidium on October 22nd, 1950, it was decided to form a special committee to aid Professor Dorošenko who is now living in Paris in very poor health.

The following conferences with lectures and discussions convened under the auspices of the Academy:

12 May — Professor Oleksa Povstenko: *The Architecture of Ancient Kiev.*

7 June — Dr. Janko Stankevič: *The Language of the Lithuanian Statutes.*
— Professor Jaroslav Rudnyćkyj: *The Name* "Ukraina."
11 June — Dr. Damjan Hornjatkevyč: *Ukrainian Easter Eggs.*
17 September— Professor Dmitry Čiževsky: *Morphonology of the Ukrainian Language.*
22 October — Professor Michael Vetukhiv: *New Theories in Biology.*
3 December— Professor Čudyniv-Bohun: *Biometrics.*
10 December— Dr. Arnold Margolin: *Science and Politics.*
24 December— Dr. Damjan Hornjatkevyč: *Petro Cholodnyj, Sr.*

Professor Volodymyr Porśkyj is in charge of the Museum and the Library of the Academy. Thus far all efforts to hasten the transport of the Museum's collection from Germany have proved unsuccessful. However, the important work of gathering new material is continuing in the hope that with the arrival of the collection from Europe it will be possible to form a comprehensive library of old and current literature in Ukrainian which would be of great value to American Slavic scholars.

The Presidium of the Academy would like to express their gratitude to those individual members of the Academy who have contributed much to this successful beginning as well as to those Americans of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian descent whose generosity and support made it possible to publish the first issue of the *Annals.*

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following 'international' system is used in the transliteration of Ukrainian:

а	a	м	m
б	b	н	n
в	v	о	o
г	h	п	p
ґ	g	р	r
д	d	с	s
е	e	т	t
є	je	у	u
ж	ž	ф	f
з	z	х	ch
и	y	ц	c
і	i	ч	č
ї	ї	ш	š
й	j	щ	šč
к	k	ю	ju
л	l	я	ja
		ь	'

The spelling of proper names, place names, and special terms generally accepted in English usage will retain that accepted form (e.g. Kiev, Dnieper, chernozem). Russian and Polish proper names and place names will retain their respective forms (e.g. Trubeckoj, Zaleski), but Ukrainian proper names and place names will keep their Ukrainian form even if occurring in Russian or Polish sources (e.g. Bila Cerkva, not Biala Cerkiew).

CONTRIBUTORS

Serhij Jefremov, author of many critical and historical studies of Ukrainian literature. Deported from Kiev to Siberia in 1930.

Volodymyr Porśkyj, author of several volumes dealing with the Decembrist movement in the Ukraine; now living in New York City.

Michael Miller, an authority on Ukrainian archaeology and prehistory; now in Goettingen, Germany.

Gregory Makhov, leading Ukrainian soil scientist; formerly Professor at Kharkiv University; at present living in Birmingham, Michigan.

Dmitry Čiževsky, Lecturer in Slavic at Harvard University; author of many books on Ukrainian literature and philosophy.

Petro Odarčenko, formerly reader and lecturer at the Institutes of Nižyn and Kursk; now living in Brooklyn, New York.

Michael Vetukhiv, biologist; formerly Professor at Kharkiv University; at present living in New York City.