

THE ANNALS
of the
UKRAINIAN ACADEMY
of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.

VOL. II

SUMMER, 1952

No. 2 (4)

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Published by

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All correspondence, orders, and remittances should be sent to
The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.
11½ West 26th St., New York 1, N. Y.

SINGLE COPY: \$1.50

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Гол. Інв. Ч. 23206
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Taras Shevchenko, self-portrait (sepia), 1849

SHEVCHENKO'S MIND AND THOUGHT

STEPAN SMAL STOCKYJ

This popular sketch of Shevchenko's philosophy by the late Academician, Stepan Smal Stockyj, was written in 1914 and published in his *T. Shevchenko; Interpretatsiyi* (Warsaw, 1934). It appears here as a tribute to the greatest Ukrainian poet on the ninety-first anniversary of his death.

Has anyone among us the self-confidence to define the significance Shevchenko had for us in the past, still has in the present and will have in the future? Or has Shevchenko's bequest to the Ukrainian people perhaps been exhausted?

The answer is that it is inexhaustible since Shevchenko's works glow with eternal truth, everlasting beauty, and most profound goodness. They are constantly revived by their own power, generating fresh thoughts, awakening new life. This power is indeed magical, for it moves the souls and consciences of Shevchenko's countrymen so deeply that their hearts are fired in spite of their stony indifference, so that a never ceasing revolution is created in their thinking, their understanding, and their conduct. Such is the power of a great and true art, to penetrate to the very core of man's being, that he is forced to think, to understand, to suffer, to rejoice, to weep, to love, to hate, and finally to act. All readers of Shevchenko's works must have been under the spell of this power, often feeling unable to express in words what they had learned with their hearts.

The fact that Shevchenko, a peasant serf, was a prophet and martyr for the cause of truth and liberty as well as a poet shows what great moral and cultural forces and treasures lie hidden in the undifferentiated masses of the Ukrainian people. These treasures must be the more valued if we consider that even serfdom could not destroy them. Serfdom was that "hell on earth," that deep sea of lawlessness, depravity, immorality, bestiality, and cruel exploitation of the weak by the strong, revealed to us in image by Shevchenko.

Serfdom was the most terrible scourge brought by the Muscovite protectorate to the Ukraine. The people were literally transformed into slaves, and the moral degradation it brought about was indeed

terrible for both the enslaved and the slaveowners. Serf and master were equally enslaved under the curse of bondage which consisted always of a hierarchy of bondsmen some of whom in their despotic tyranny over others had no desire or urge to work themselves, regarding all labor with contempt and looking upon their neighbors as machines.

The Ukraine, once free and, during the times of the Hetmans and the Sich, led by her freedom loving Cossacks and possessing many free state institutions as late as the eighteenth century, fell into such bondage that Ukrainian noblemen and landowners became inhuman slavedrivers, themselves tied to the system so faithfully portrayed by Shevchenko in his *Epistle* and *A Dream*.

Where there is serfdom and injustice, where a "people are harnessed to a heavy yoke and plow up and sow evil," where "people are sold or lost as stakes in cardplaying," where "trade is carried on in truth and human blood," where "henchmen tyrannize the people," and "the people full of hate are raging against the masters," there nothing good can spring.

Where springs no sacred liberty
No goodness shall there ever be.¹

The times into which Taras Shevchenko was born, the son of a peasant serf, were full of terror like the time of his childhood and his youth. Even during the reign of Alexander I, Russian absolutism was considerably strengthened as a result of Napoleon's unsuccessful campaign. After the suppression of the Decembrist rising in 1825, extreme reaction, and, as Herzen described it, brutality, imbecility, cynicism, and inhumanity beyond the scope of ordinary language to express held complete sway in Russia. Suffice it to say that Belinsky, the most enlightened Russian of that time, compared the reign of Nicholas I to the rule of a gang of thieves and robbers.

In such a time Taras Shevchenko had the courage to demand economic, social, and political liberties for the people. For this he paid dearly at the hands of the tsarist police, but set against that

¹ All translations from Shevchenko's poems in this article are literal and do not aim at poetic effect.

cold bestiality all the brighter shone his genius which in its glory equals such great names as those of Gogol and Turgenev, the pride of Russian literature of that time.

A poet's task, according to Shevchenko, is not to entertain nor to assuage either his own or his reader's cravings, nor to feed the whims of a sensitive soul enveloped in spleen. It is an obligation so deep and serious, so noble and highminded that few of the world's great writers could match it. Shevchenko places the poet together with the prophet, sent to earth by "God out of love for his children," in order that men might learn God's love and wisdom, and who then teaches people "how to live," and "instills the message of love, truth, goodness — and the highest value of all; *bratolyubiye*, (love of one's neighbor)." A poet similarly strives to guide his people.

All his life Shevchenko dedicated himself to a ceaseless struggle for truth and liberty. These he vigilantly defended and for these he suffered. Against the torturer and tyrant who crucified the people, against lord and lordling he let fly his barbed words, in defense of injured humanity and of subjugated Ukraine. Yet this was done not out of hatred for the tyrants, but out of a most profound love for mankind and from a desire that the tyrants, too, should recognize their inhumanity.

He teaches us

To walk along good paths,
To love the holy God,
To care for a brother,
And to do good to everyone.

He commands us to "defend the truth," even "to die in its defense," while his testament calls on us to "break the chains of slavery."

Love, truth, and freedom formed for Shevchenko the basis of both individual and collective national life. They are those moral forces which permit us to reach the highest level of perfection and culture, and which will bring "peace and happiness to men on earth."

Shevchenko's poetry is permeated by the keenest moral sense which not only wakens our conscience and steels our hearts, but lifts our souls ever higher, towards the ultimate truth, to God. Amid the rottenness and moral depravity of the Russia of his day, amid the obscurantism of obsessed bureaucrats, when

Ukraine, in a deep sleep
Lay covered with weeds, abloom with mildew,
In puddles, in mud hid her heart,
And into the cold hollow let in the snakes

Taras Shevchenko becomes the prophet of a new life, proclaiming it in the language of unprecedented courage which like a "double-edged knife slits apart the rotten heart and drains away the infected blood." The hearts of his countrymen he enlivens with "pure and holy Cossack blood," tearing off "the chains of evil night," which "shackle the free intelligence," and wakening everyone to new life.

Although it would be true to say that with Shevchenko Ukrainian literature ceased to be the pastime of the aristocracy, the ethical tendency of Shevchenko's poetry is based not only on the deeply moral instincts of a peasant soul but is rooted also in the European philosophy and literature of his time. As a result of the French Revolution which broke out because of the spiritual upheaval of the eighteenth century, shaking the foundations of the old social and political order, progressive-minded people all over Europe sought to discover the principles of a new and better way of life, wanting to understand the purpose of life in all its aspects, and hoping to arrive at a system which would be both good and secure. Since any political action in this direction was impossible at that time, all efforts were devoted to the inner life of man. Hence greater significance was ascribed to human emotions, and a deep lyricism marks that epoch in literature. Man, his relations to his fellows, to society, and to the world at large became the subject of both philosophy and poetry, while poetry itself became more philosophical.

In the moral morass then spread over the whole of Russia and

the Ukraine, there loomed before Shevchenko social and ethical problems which, because of conditions in the Ukraine, impressed themselves more vividly upon him than upon contemporary Russian writers. Conscious of his high calling, he painted, analyzed, and critically dissected life in the Ukraine, uncovering most painful wounds in the social system, and with his poetic gift enabling others to see that evil reflected as in a mirror, while appealing to them to realize the evil of their ways. In particular, the woman's hard lot finds the deepest compassion in Shevchenko's poetry.

Shevchenko became most fully aware of social injustice during his three journeys across the Ukraine undertaken between 1843 and 1845. In spite of the great receptions given in his honor by Ukrainian landlords, they made most unhappy impressions on the poet. In his letters to Kukharenko (1943-44) he wrote: "Last year I was in the Ukraine,² at the Mezhyhorsky Spas, and Khortyt'sya, and wherever I went I cried. Our Ukraine has been so plundered by the infidel Germans³ and the Muscovites, confound them all, that there seem to be no people left, but the cursed Germans, and nothing is heard but laments."

Shevchenko's heart was deeply wounded at the sight of serfdom with its attendant inhumanities and the general national, social, and moral ignorance of the landowning class which, having no understanding of the people's and the country's needs, aped everything that was foreign with arrogance and pretension. After being away for fourteen years Shevchenko was now able at a very close range to see at the country balls, entertainments, and dances what filled him so much with disgust. That is why, according to Princess Repnina, he "folded his wings and fell upon the earth with all the weight of his heart." Princess Barbara Repnina, whom Shevchenko called his "guardian-angel," his "sister," and his "conscience," was very worried when Taras was sometimes seen at that time in the company of notorious drunkards. However, Shevchenko's poetry written during that period discloses the best of

² From 1829 to 1843 Shevchenko lived first in Vilno and then at St. Petersburg.

³ Shevchenko often used the word "German" to describe the Russian bureaucracy.

reasons for his spiritual condition. This was the result of what he had seen and heard in the Ukraine. He wrote that

If one should tell the truth
About any of these magnates,
Hell itself would be afraid,
And our lordlings would
Surprise Dante himself.

His experiences during the journeys in the Ukraine led the poet to that utter despair which may be found in all his poems written between 1843 and 1846. Only by knowing what he had experienced can we understand his song (*dumka*):

Why am I sad? Why am I forlorn?
Why does my heart, my poor child,
Cry and lament?
My heart is oppressed.
What do you wish? What hurts you so?
Do you want to drink, or to eat, or to sleep?
Sleep my heart, sleep for ever,
All uncovered and crushed.
Let the hateful people rave.
Shut your eyes, my heart.

By people, Shevchenko means here not the ordinary folk, but their masters, the hated landlords. Such was the dominant mood induced by Shevchenko's three years of sad experiences in his relations with people.

People whom

The heart was eager
To love and live with

turned out to be "not men, but snakes."

It is not the poet's personal misfortune which is the source of his sadness. The reason is that

I do not see even one little child who is happy.
All is in tears, in ruins,
I would gladly hide myself

But I know not where.
Whenever I look — there is no truth.
Everywhere God is reviled.

Unlike those Ukrainian landlords who had invited him to their feasts, Shevchenko could not remain indifferent to human suffering. The thought of his suffering homeland seldom left his mind.

My songs fly out like a swarm,
One presses on the heart, another rends it,
The third is crying quietly
Inside the heart, where God may not see it.
To whom shall I show it?
Who will welcome its message?
Discover the power of its words?
All are deaf and bent down,
In chains, indifferent all. . .

What grieved him most was that people are deaf and indifferent to everything; although oppressed by heavy chains, they yet sell their children to Moscow and regard their service to the henchmen of the Ukraine as patriotism. No one dares to defend "honor, glory, equality and freedom of the land," as Taras Bulba did when he killed his own son, Andrew, or as Gonta, the hero of the *Haydamaky* did.

However, Shevchenko's deep love of mankind and his own country saved him from despair and spurred him to action. All his energies centered therefore on an attempt to rescue men from moral decay and to dispel the dark night over the Ukraine. He decided to follow his own advice, given in the poem *Tryzna*:

I shall sing no new song
Of the glory of my fatherland.
You must compose a stern psalm
Of man's lawlessness.

Such stern exhortation we see in Shevchenko's *Dream*, *Ivan Hus*, *The Great Grave*, *Subotiv*, *The Caucasus*, *The Epistle*, *Kholodny Yar*, and the *Psalms of David*. In all of them the social and political evils in the Ukraine are exposed as immoral and placed be-

fore the judgment of men. In this way the poet states his case as it were before a parliament. Morality is regarded as governing not merely personal relations but society too and mankind as a whole, since it deeply affects the whole body politic.

In his poems Shevchenko lashes out not only against the tyrants themselves, but also against the hirelings of Moscow and Warsaw, against Ukrainian renegades. He is full of boundless compassion for his country's suffering, but also of anger against all those who have caused it. Inspired by an unshakeable faith in his people and by an everpresent hope that "truth and freedom will rise," Shevchenko rallies his countrymen with his famous "fight on, victory is yours." His is a genuine and deep patriotism which is not a blind love of his country but a love for all men, the most noble sentiment which found best expression in his poetry.

A keen reader of the Bible, Shevchenko follows Christ's teaching in that he is ready "to pray for the brute henchman," and fights against him not "with fire and sword," but with the help of "truth and love." These convictions Shevchenko came to hold while still a youth, when he read the Scriptures and "wrote down" the philosophy of Skovoroda; they are, in fact, a continuation of Skovoroda's philosophy. Much earlier than Tolstoy, Shevchenko came to the conclusion that "if love and holy wisdom" reigned among men and the teachings of prophets were listened to there would be no need "to forge chains and build prisons; no need even for a tsar."

The analysis of moral issues naturally led Shevchenko to the problem of religion, since ethics is an important element of religion. The official hypocritical attitude of the Russian Church also demanded a clear reply. Shevchenko's religion might best be described as a form of deism, not based on any dogma or strictures but spontaneous and free-spirited like life itself. He does not accept any compromises. Recognizing only one law of true religion, the law of boundless love and absolute truth and justice, he measures by it all human deeds. Love and truth are then his gods — everything else is a lie.

It is no wonder, therefore, that sometimes Shevchenko takes up an argument with God in the tone of a Moses or one of the pro-

phets from the Old Testament. Yet he does not fight the true God, he does not rebel against Christ, only against the hypocrisies of Christianity which had become a travesty of Christ's teachings. He fights against the Russian State Church which "enslaves paradise," and commands men to pray "for looting, war, and blood;" against Byzantinism, and such practices as it allowed; against those Christians who although they pray "behave like wild beasts to their fellow men," who "kneel down and hide from Satan behind the cross, but wish secretly that others should die of pestilence or other misfortune." Christ did not die in defense of such ethics and it is before the Christ of love and truth that Shevchenko bows. The Russian State Church was also attacked by Russian progressives such as Belinsky.

The inspired message of a new life, based on real democracy, respect for freedom, truth and equality "without slave or master," the new gospel which Shevchenko believed would bring "peace and joy to men on earth," was not sufficient in itself. It was necessary to support this new faith with examples in order to wake and sustain hope that "truth and freedom will rise," and to arouse men to action.

Since reality offered no such examples Shevchenko, following the spirit of romanticism, gathered them from the Ukraine's past. He paints, therefore, before the eyes of his countrymen wonderful pictures from Ukrainian history and especially from the Cossack period when "the famous Zaporozhians knew how to rule." He tells how the Cossacks travelled as "visitors" to the Turks, not in order "to pick pockets," but "to liberate their brothers from Turkish captivity and thus to gain glory;" how they lived like equals and defended their faith and freedom against the onslaught of the Poles, the Tartars, and the Muscovites alike. He points to the Cossack *mohylas* (burial mounds) those "witnesses of the grandfathers' glory," which are "full of our noble relics;" he shows how "at one time the Cossacks gave everything they had to their poor Ukraine," recalls "just Hetmans," and reveals his heart's sorrow that all this is now past and forgotten by the Cossacks' worthless heirs who are satisfied to "sit behind the stove," "to sow rye for the

landlords," "to work with a scythe, silent and bowed," while "knaves rule over Cossack children."

Shevchenko saw also the darker sides of Ukrainian history. He concealed and adorned nothing, but subjecting everything to criticism, he showed his countrymen "famous and notorious Brutuses and Cocleuses" in their true light. By comparison between actual conditions in the Ukraine and the historical past Shevchenko was the first Ukrainian writer to awake and sharpen the historical sense, this important discovery of humanism and the free thought of the eighteenth century which encouraged the advancement of all the sciences and of human progress in general. From the root of humanism sprang also the mighty conception of nationalism. In this respect Shevchenko was its first great exponent, declaring his love for the Ukraine in these famous words:

I love her so
My poor Ukraine,
I'll sacrifice my soul for her.

His love for the Ukraine, her language, customs, and her historical and cultural heritage he manages to combine with a deep love for other nations, even for those with whom his country waged agelong wars. Shevchenko is free from chauvinism or messianism, vices so characteristic of his contemporary Polish and Russian poets and writers. Shevchenko's love embraces all peoples; his ideal is best expressed by his wish that

All Slavs should be
Like good brothers
And sons of truth's sun.

Not only the Slavs, but all men:

To all on earth
Send like-mindedness
And good fellowship.

In this way, holding ever before his gaze the picture of a free Ukraine, Shevchenko envisages higher political and social organizations in the union of all Slavs and even of all mankind.

Shevchenko's historical poems roused the inflamed national feelings of his countrymen and reawakened in their consciousness what had been enveloped in a deep mist; they expressed what was deep in the hearts of millions of Ukrainian people and yet remained there unsaid; they spelled out the historical goal of the Ukraine.

That such an "untutored eye" could look into the depth of a nation's historical destinies and communicate what it saw in a pellucid style and limpid language with the help of images borrowed from rich folklore, and in words to stir human hearts so profoundly is surely a sign of true genius.

Shevchenko's language is rooted in the people's speech and reflects its varied musical rhythms. This is why he is justly called the Ukrainian *kobzar*.

These qualities alone do not explain his greatness. In forming his own outlook on life, Shevchenko dealt with the most varied problems in ethics, politics, religion, philosophy, government, and law. Yet amid all the schools of thought and philosophical tendencies Shevchenko managed to preserve his own independence and integrity; he was never led by some other "great authority," never followed blindly the great contemporary lights, and refused to bring "from foreign lands a great heap of big words." Whatever he learned from Herzen, Belinsky, Herzen's *Bell*, which he kissed on one occasion, and the Slavophiles, whom, like the Westerners, he knew well, he made his own and dissolved into an outlook which was solidly founded on his native experiences. His own watchword "do not copy, observe" Shevchenko applied not only to painting, but to learning and living in general. Whatever he teaches or preaches he does it not "according to the German models," so that "no one could understand it," but so that "truth be told by lips incapable of lie." Wherever we look in Shevchenko's writings, the truth we find is his own. In those writings the poet contributed his own philosophy, so deeply rooted in his native soil, to the world repository.

Shevchenko never wavered in his convictions; he did not bow to tyrants or compromise with the existing régime like Belinsky or Gogol. "I shall sell myself to no one," he wrote, "I shall not serve anyone." His influence on his contemporaries, and to an

even greater degree on the next generation, was profound. It would not be wrong to say that Shevchenko was most of all responsible for the great Ukrainian National Revival. He united the Ukrainian people around the idea of liberation. Overcoming the political partition of the Ukraine he prompted them to great cultural activities and progress and led them, as it were, into the world as a modern nation. That the Ukrainians have since striven to "break their chains" and have found sympathy for their struggle among other nations of the world, is chiefly due to Shevchenko's work and life.

Among his own people Shevchenko became great not by propaganda, but by the deep response which his ideas have found among the common people whose devotion to him became almost a religion.

Like our wide Dnieper
His words flowed
And fell deep into the hearts
Scorching cold souls with fire.
The prophet was beloved by the people
Who prayed to him and often shed tears.

They pray and shall continue to pray. There is no power in the world to destroy the people's love for this great poet and prophet.

The poet's soul lives holy
In its sacred works.
We read and are reborn
And sense that God's in heaven.

FEDERALISM AND THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

BORYS KRUPNYTSKY

The triangle between the river Oka and the upper Volga encloses the beginnings of Moscow's colonialism. It was there that the Great Russian, a mixture of Slav and Finn (as the Prussian is a mixture of Slav and German) began his expansionist drive towards imperialism, the effects of which we are witnessing today. Nature in the North was an inflexible taskmaster. The struggle to wrest a livelihood out of the forests, the marshes, the barren soil, as well as the resistance of the autochthonous population, the Finns, gave rise to certain character traits which, coupled with patterns of government copied from despotic Far Eastern rulers made the Great Russian relentless in pursuing his plans, cautious and persevering, and a tough bargainer with an adversary.

Suspicious of the ways of the stranger, isolated from the rest of the world, the citizen of Muscovy had a high regard for his own ability to rule. He had an almost superstitious faith in what he considered his own impeccability.

Against such a background, relations between prince and people developed differently in the North than they did in the South. The *viche* (public assembly) as an expression of the people's participation in government was superseded by the unlimited power wielded by the prince, the ruler and sovereign of the land. Even the type of prince ruling in the North differed from the one in the South who was usually a daring and knightly figure, eager for glory and renown like the brilliant Volodymyr Monomakh or his grandson, Izyaslav II. Cold and calculating reason and ability to make adjustments predominated in the Northern princes. As a rule they were able and frugal administrators, with decided leanings toward despotism, as may be seen in the case of Andrew Bugolubsky.

It was under such conditions that the Muscovite state grew. The state thrived and prospered through the centuries not by a peaceful uniting of neighboring lands, but by forcible seizure of territory after territory. It is difficult to say which played a more important role in the imperialist drive: the Tatar autocracy imitated

by the early Russian princes, or the idea of a Third Rome which the literary men from the North were especially diligent in propagating after the fall of Byzantium, casting Muscovy in the role of a nation with a world mission and later in the role of an all-Russian Big Brother.

What a vast difference is apparent in the development of the Rus-Lithuanian state compared with that of Moscow, both first appearing on the scene of history during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the first case we note the process of voluntary uniting or annexation of the Rus lands. In the second case it was the inevitable practice to use force, cunning, money, all of them often employed in the dealings with the clever diplomacy of the Tatars. The practice of making use of the adversary's weaknesses finally brought about the subjection of the northern principalities to the rule of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, later recognized as the Tsar.

In the case of the republics of Pskov and Novgorod, Moscow kept a watchful eye for a long time on the two neighbors without interfering in their internal affairs, especially since the Grand Duke of Lithuania-Rus was considered a rival. She limited herself to presenting her own candidates for the office of the prince of Novgorod principality, thereby setting up a balance of power against the aristocratic regime of this western republic. There came a time, however, when Novgorod, because of internal friction abetted by Moscow, was unable to resist the encroachments of her imperialist neighbor. Toward the end of the fifteenth century the freedom of Novgorod was destroyed. This was accomplished in a most ruthless manner. Not only did Novgorod cease to be independent, but a severe blow was dealt to her élite. Members of the boyar group, for instance, were exiled into the central regions of Muscovy, while Muscovites were sent into Novgorod to take their place.

The Muscovites were so blinded by their quest for still more territory and power that in destroying the independent or autonomous principalities and states they failed to note that the fall of Novgorod and Pskov, for example, dealt a severe blow to Moscow itself. The doors to Europe were now closed. Relations

with the West in cultural, economic and other fields, to some extent already charted by Novgorod and Pskov, were now at an end. As a result of this isolation the cultural level of the people tended to be very low as late as the seventeenth and even during the eighteenth centuries.

What Ivan III and Ivan IV were to Novgorod, Peter I was for the whole Ukraine; while Catherine II played the role of a nemesis for the Cossack republics and for the non-Russian neighbors in general. Neither Muscovy nor Russia of the Petersburg period could endure the neighboring stranger to enjoy an independent status. This was not simply a desire for territorial aggrandizement. The ultimate purpose was the unification and Russification of everything within reach.

In dealing with independent national units Muscovy tolerated them only until they were ripe for subjugation. The fact that in the Left Bank Ukraine, the Sich and the Don enjoyed a measure of autonomy within the Empire at one time or another did not mean that Moscow was tolerant and understanding of the rights of a people to govern itself. It merely meant that the Empire was not yet sufficiently powerful to make short shrift of their independent status or else considered it inadvisable to interfere for the time being. The imperialist government of Petersburg appeared tolerant, for a time, of the autonomous regimes of the Baltic provinces and of Finland's parliamentary government. It went so far as to make promises to defend these against foreign encroachments. But there always came a day when pledges and promises lost their meaning. Designs for imperialist expansion proved victorious.

The approach toward those who were not Russians was tinged with suspicion of everything strange. The non-Russians were strangers, therefore they must be changed into an image resembling the ruling element, the Russians. Intolerant of the differences existing among peoples, with no ability in the more subtle processes of colonial policy (as, for instance, in the case of the British) Moscow's program was based on discovering the points of least resistance in a given state or people and stirring up internal dissension and conflict.

Extending an arm for new territories to subjugate and conquer,

by the early Russian princes, or the idea of a Third Rome which the literary men from the North were especially diligent in propagating after the fall of Byzantium, casting Muscovy in the role of a nation with a world mission and later in the role of an all-Russian Big Brother.

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The Muscovites were so blinded by their quest for still more territory and power that in destroying the independent or autonomous principalities and states they failed to note that the fall of Novgorod and Pskov, for example, dealt a severe blow to Moscow itself. The doors to Europe were now closed. Relations

with the West in cultural, economic and other fields, to some extent already charted by Novgorod and Pskov, were now at an end. As a result of this isolation the cultural level of the people tended to be very low as late as the seventeenth and even during the eighteenth centuries.

What Ivan III and Ivan IV were to Novgorod, Peter I was for the whole Ukraine; while Catherine II played the role of a nemesis for the Cossack republics and for the non-Russian neighbors in general. Neither Muscovy nor Russia of the Petersburg period could endure the neighboring stranger to enjoy an independent status. This was not simply a desire for territorial aggrandizement. The ultimate purpose was the unification and Russification of everything within reach.

In dealing with independent national units Muscovy tolerated them only until they were ripe for subjugation. The fact that in the Left Bank Ukraine, the Sich and the Don enjoyed a measure of autonomy within the Empire at one time or another did not mean that Moscow was tolerant and understanding of the rights of a people to govern itself. It merely meant that the Empire was not yet sufficiently powerful to make short shrift of their independent status or else considered it inadvisable to interfere for the time being. The imperialist government of Petersburg appeared tolerant, for a time, of the autonomous regimes of the Baltic provinces and of Finland's parliamentary government. It went so far as to make promises to defend these against foreign encroachments. But there always came a day when pledges and promises lost their meaning. Designs for imperialist expansion proved victorious.

The approach toward those who were not Russians was tinged with suspicion of everything strange. The non-Russians were strangers, therefore they must be changed into an image resembling the ruling element, the Russians. Intolerant of the differences existing among peoples, with no ability in the more subtle processes of colonial policy (as, for instance, in the case of the British) Moscow's program was based on discovering the points of least resistance in a given state or people and stirring up internal dissension and conflict.

Extending an arm for new territories to subjugate and conquer,

it was as though imperialistic Muscovy realized the impossibility of the peaceful co-existence of an autocratic Russia on the one hand and, on the other, free peoples united in a federation voluntarily achieved. Fear of libertarian trends and of free peoples and groups within her Empire made Russia, with her institution of serfdom, a representative of the darkest type of reaction in Europe. As time went on she became a demoralizing force not only for her own people, but also for the non-Russians within her borders and even for her neighbors in Europe.

Federalism was an enemy, recognized though not necessarily acknowledged. In the eyes of the ignorant, however, Moscow appeared to be the defender and protector of the rights of the oppressed or of the public interest of a given country. Social demagoguery and a certain degree of elasticity characterized Moscow's expansionist policy, but in one, at least, of her policies she was always consistent.

Interfering in the affairs of an independent or autonomous state Moscow seemingly rallied to the defense of the weak elements against the stronger. A well-integrated, internally strong and sound nation, state or organization did not easily fall prey to imperialist designs. That is why one notes a certain consistency in the juxtaposition of leaders against masses, and masses against leaders, a sinister method of calling forth internal social and class conflicts, not to protect or defend the weak against the overbearing exploiter, of course, but to complete the weakening of a remnant of a nation, state, or organization so as to bring about its final destruction.

This may be clearly observed in Moscow's maneuvers as a representative of the sovereign power on the territories which she had acquired or which came within the sphere of her influence in one way or another. In Novgorod, the prince, an appointee of Moscow, had first of all to serve as a counterbalancing force against the powerful Novgorod aristocracy. At the same time the imperialist government played on the anti-aristocracy sentiments of the masses of the people in so far as these were a flexible tool for its promises to better their lot.

In Poland and Sweden in the eighteenth century the anarchic tendencies of the nobles were encouraged in the struggle against

the king, thereby greatly weakening these countries. In the Baltic countries, on the other hand, a group of privileged German feudal barons, numerically small, was supported against other groups, including the large non-German population. On the Left Bank Ukrain Moscow carried on infiltration within the masses in the Hetmanshchyna (the Hetman state), while it was still autonomous, thus weakening and suppressing the powerful group of leaders, the *starshyna* (the Cossack Officer Corps), the real representative of the government. In the Sich, on the other hand, Muscovite Russia gave support to the *starshyna* to curb the powerful Cossack rank and file.

It might be thought that this inability to understand the needs of other peoples and this unwillingness to organize some sort of mutually advantageous way of life was a characteristic of the Russian government, the bureaucracy and aristocracy alone. This, unfortunately, was not so. Wider circles of the population, including even the Russian intelligentsia, seemed absolutely unable to arrive at a just and fair solution of the problems affecting the non-Russian peoples within the Empire.

Mykhaylo Drahomanov, the Ukrainian scholar and political leader, had a profound understanding of these failings in the Great Russians pointing them out in his work *Historical Poland and Great Russian Democracy*.¹ He wonders why the Russians are unable to grasp the importance of the federative idea, the idea of a voluntary union of peoples. Was it because in its very essence federalism aims at developing and furthering those differences innate in peoples rather than destroying them? Drahomanov points out that of all the studies made of the various political ideologies and movements, the federal ideal has fewest exponents in Russian literature and has the most difficult time making headway among the Russian people.

The same held true in revolutionary circles. Most of the revolutionaries were, in reality, impatient with everything that was strange. "In Russia," writes Drahomanov, "the international slogan 'Prole-

¹ *Sobranie politicheskikh sochineniy M. P. Dragomanova*, Paris, 1905, I.

tarians of All Nations Unite,' was interpreted as 'Proletarians of All Nations Submit to Russia; Be Ye as the Russians.'"²

It would appear at first glance as if conditions changed when the Soviets came to power. Instead of centralization there was a federation of states, a union of Soviet republics. On the surface it appeared as though the Soviet Union had rid itself of the old ways and become a land of nations united.

In reality, however, having adopted the toga of federalism, the October Revolution preserved only its outer form. The substance remained as before—centralization. Moscow continued to dictate all policies down to the most significant. Drahomanov quite aptly forecast the development of Russian socialism by saying that it would be highly centralized, Jacobin in character.³ Now we realize how prophetic were Drahomanov's words. Centralization and state nationalism, these are the fundamental characteristics of socialism as practised under Moscow.

There were at first some indications that the new Russia might have parted ways with the old. Official Soviet phraseology actually borrowed from one of the important political tenets of Drahomanov: cosmopolitan in ideas and aims, national in form and cultural activities.⁴ The Soviets, however, transposed it to read: communist in ideas and aims, national in form only.

Professor Yavorsky, the official ideological interpreter of Ukrainian communism tried in his *Outline of Ukrainian History* to synthesize the two ideas, stressing nationalism not only in form but also in actual content. Because of this he became an object of special interest to the Soviet chauvinists and was exiled to the Solovky.

To adapt ideas to serve national interests was a heresy which Moscow could not allow. Of Drahomanov's form and content the Bolsheviks retained only the form, that is the language, and even this, upon orders from Moscow, has been put through the grindstone to bring it closer to the Russian language. This indeed was

² Drahomanov, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³ M. Drahomanov, "Malorusky internatsionalizm," *Vybrani tvory*, Ukrainian Sociological Institute in Prague (Prague, 1937), I, p. 159.

⁴ M. Drahomanov, "Chudatski dumky pro ukrayinsku natsyonalnu spravu," *Ibid.*, I, p. 236.

a most original interpretation for the famous Drahomanov watchword.

THE IDEA OF FEDERALISM AND RUSSIA'S POLICY
TOWARD THE FREE COSSACK REPUBLICS

Probably nowhere was Moscow's attitude toward the idea of federalism so self-revelatory as in her relations with the free Cossack republics, the Ukrainian Zaporozhe and the Russian Don. To a certain extent this was also true in her relation toward the Ukrainian Hetman state.

There came a time in Moscow's expansionist drive when her eyes turned southward to the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. This began in the sixteenth century, but like Prince Vasili Galitsin's Crimean campaign in 1687, these first attempts met with failure. It was during the reign of Peter I that a definite policy was formulated and carried out.

The two republics, the Zaporozhe and the Don, stood in the way of this expansionist drive southward. In the gradual curtailment, and finally, destruction of their freedoms, the timing and methods as well as the repercussions from these republics have a strange and interesting similarity, and that is why we are considering them. Russia had in mind no federal idea of a union of independent or autonomous states when she set her course southward, but instead the brutal annihilation of peoples who, given a chance, might have continued improving their free institutions, developing into strong democratic states.

After the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, during the years of what is known as the "Great Ruin," the Zaporozhe retained its independence. The Peace of Andrusiv in 1667, which divided the Ukraine between Muscovy and Poland, set Zaporozhe apart as a separate unit. Twenty years later the political situation changed, and on the basis of what has been called the perpetual peace between Moscow and Poland (1686), the Zaporozhe came under the sovereignty of Moscow and the Hetman Regiment of the Left Bank Ukraine. Moscow was preparing to invade the Crimea, in fact to wage war against the Mohammedan Turco-Tatar peoples.

The Zaporozhe, neighboring on the Crimea thus assumed a special significance.

In the case of the Don republic there does not seem to have been any marked dependence on Moscow before 1614. S. G. Svatikov refers to the period before 1614 as one of complete independence,⁵ although it is difficult to describe accurately the state of dependence or independence of the Don Cossacks at this time. In that year the tsar sent the banner to the Don, the first that the Cossacks accepted from Moscow. He also ordered that relations with the Don Host be carried on through the Ambassadorial Office (*Posolsky prikaz*). This meant that the Don was considered to be a separate state yet in a vassal relation to Moscow.⁶

The Stenka Razin rebellion of 1671 speeded up Moscow's aggressiveness. The Don Host which until then had refused to swear allegiance to Moscow's tsars finally on September 29, 1671 swore fealty to Tsar Alexis, thereby becoming a part of the Russian state. The Don Cossacks' right to independent relations with foreign countries was curtailed, as well as the right to give refuge to Moscow's enemies. Svatikov calls this period, from 1671 to 1721, the period of the Don autonomy.⁷ Stenka Razin's rebellion reverberated in the Hetman Ukraine. There have been data claiming that not only did Bryukhovetsky consider plans for a union with the Don republic (at the time he decided to break with Moscow⁸) but that Hetman Mnohohrshny also conferred with Razin. It is possible that the reason why Moscow reconciled herself so readily to the palace revolution at Baturyn (1672) was not only because Mnohohrshny was suspected of being in contact with Peter Doroshenko, but also because he was suspected of conferring with the Don revolutionaries.

The drive against the two republics gained impetus toward the end of the seventeenth century. In the Zaporozhe Moscow built two forts on the Samara in 1688 and 1689. These were constructed

⁵ S. G. Svatikov, *Rossiya i Don 1549-1917* (Vienna, 1924), p. 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁸ O. Hermayze, "Ukrayina ta Din u XVII stolitti," *Zapysky kyyivskoho instytutu narodnyoi osvity* (Kiev, 1928), III, 173 f.

jointly with the Hetman state supposedly against the Tatars. In reality they should be considered as the first step toward actual curtailment of the Zaporozhe. A few years later, after campaigns against Azov (1695-1696) another fort was built, the Kamenny Zaton, this one at the very heart of the Zaporozhe, across from the Sich headquarters.

In 1696 Azov was captured by Peter's army. The Soviet historians, N. S. Chayev, and K. M. Bibikova⁹ consider Moscow's conquest of Azov as a decisive step toward the final abolition of the Don's independence. As a result of this the Azov and Black Seas were from then on closed to the Don Cossacks.

The taking of Azov and the building of the fort of Kamenny Zaton attacked the very nerve centers of the two Cossack republics. Their position was now about the same. The Zaporozhe was now controlled from the North by the two forts on the Samara, the Novobohoroditsky and the Novoserhievsky, where Muscovite garrisons and Hetman troops were stationed. It was through these that colonists from the Hetman state made their way into the Sich territory. From within, control was in the hands of the forces stationed at Kamenny Zaton.

Colonization of the Don was in full swing, in this case from Muscovy, while in the South the Russians in Azov shut off the Don's outlet to the sea. Having taken Azov, Peter I by a decree of 1703 forbade the Don Host to send its representatives to neighboring countries without the knowledge of the Azov Governor, Tolstoy.¹⁰

Reaction to Moscow's imperialist drives was similar in both cases. In the Don it resulted in the Bulavin rebellion of 1707 in which, incidentally, the Zaporozhians took part. In the Zaporozhe itself it led to the Sich, under the leadership of Kost Hordiyenko, joining Charles XII and Mazepa, Hetman of the Ukraine.

It is interesting to note that both in the Don and in the Zaporozhe

⁹ N. S. Chayev i K. M. Bibikova, "Vzaimootnosheniya Moskvyy i Dona nakanune Bulavin-skovo vosstaniya," *Trudy istoricheskovo arkhheograficheskovo instituta akademii nauk S.S.S.R.* (Moscow, 1935), XII, 19.

¹⁰ Svatikov, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

the ruling circles, the *starshyna*, took part in the revolutionary uprisings. The threat of losing all vestiges of independence united all groups. This is especially true of the Don during the first period of the rebellion. But even these revolts, a drastic expression of discontent on the part of the two republics, failed to change Moscow's policy. The Russian government continued with the methods of old, curtailing, suppressing, and finally destroying organizations alien to those of Moscow.

When, after the unsuccessful Prut campaign of 1711, Peter was forced to return Azov to the Turks, he built near the Don capital, Cherkasy, a new fort called Transhament, to which ammunition was transferred from Azov. Somewhat later, after a protest by the Turks, this was transferred north of Cherkasy and called New Transhament.¹¹ This was Moscow's answer to Bulavin's rebellion. Soon the Don territory was covered with many such "Transhaments."

As far as the Sich was concerned, this Ukrainian Cossack stronghold was from 1709-1734 under Tatar sovereignty, nominally under the régime of Philip Orlyk, who had after 1722 lived in Salonika. After the Zaporozhians returned to Russian rule in 1734, and a Sich headquarters was organized near the river Pidpolna, a Moscow controlled fort was built near the Sich. This was in addition to the Russian army divisions stationed in the old Zaporozhian fortifications and along the borders.¹²

Beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century Russia's drive against the Zaporozhian state acquired new intensity. Foreign settlements, Serbian in particular, were organized on territory belonging to the Sich. In the northwest, along the Polish border, there appeared a settlement called New Serbia (1751). Alongside the Don, in the northeast, a colony was founded, called the Slavianoserbia (1754). Out of these and the so-called Ukrainian Line (forts built along the Ukrainian frontier) Moscow created a separate unit, the New Russian Gouvernement (Novorossiyskaya

¹¹ Svatikov, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

¹² P. A. Ivanov, "Materialy po istorii Zaporozhia v XVIII veke," *Zapiski imperatorskovo odesskovo obshchestva istorii i drevnostey*, XXV, p. 66.

guberniya) dependent solely on Moscow, the administration of which was particularly hostile to the Zaporozhians.

During the wars with Turkey (1768-1774) the inhabitants of the newly organized region made ever deeper inroads into the territory belonging to the Zaporozhian Host, taking advantage of the fact that the Cossacks were involved in war. Still earlier, in the 1740s by order of the Russian government the Ukrainian villages (*slobody*) along the Polish borders where many refugees from Russia and even Old Believers were allowed to settle, were made dependent on the Myrhorod Regiment and were thus outside the Cossack administration.¹³

The pace of Moscow's interference in the internal affairs of the two republics was somewhat different. In the case of the Don, Peter behaved pretty much as he pleased, transferring the population, seizing land outright for colonization purposes, issuing orders that the administrative officials capture and deliver refugees and so on. In the Zaporozhe Moscow was more cautious. This was probably due to Mazepa's intervention. The Ukrainian Hetman warned the government about any abuse of power and the employment of drastic measures against the Sich. After the Zaporozhe joined Charles XII and Mazepa in 1709 in the war against Russia it remained free of Russian rule until 1734. During this period it was under the sovereignty of the Turks and Tatars. The subjection of the Don thus came about sooner than that of the Zaporozhe. The latter lost its sovereignty toward the end of the eighteenth century.

Having gained a foothold in the two republics Peter I continued to extend his power by issuing a series of decrees. One of the fundamental rights of the Don's autonomy was undermined by an order of January 18, 1718. According to this the Don Ataman, Vasil Frolov, chosen by the Host's *Krug* in 1717, was to retain his office until further notice. The Don was deprived of the right to choose its leader in a free election.¹⁴ Another decree of March 3, 1721,

¹³ V. Bidnov, "Apolon Skalkovsky yak istoryk stepovoyi Ukrayiny," *Naukovy yuvileyny zbirnyk ukrayinskoho universytetu v Prazi prysvyacheny Masarykovi* (Prague, 1925), I, pp. 328, 331, 334.

¹⁴ Svatikov, p. 149.

ordered the Don and Yaik Cossacks to come under the supervision of the War Collegium which transformed the Don, an autonomous state, to an autonomous region.¹⁵ After the death of Vasil Frolov the tsar refused in 1723 to agree to the Don Krug choice, Ivan Krasnoshchekov. Instead he issued an order that Andrey Lopatin be the Don ataman.¹⁶ From that time on the Don atamans were appointed by the tsars.

A parallel situation arose in the Ukraine of the Hetmans. After the Poltava battle in 1709, Skoropadsky presented to the tsar the so-called Reshytyliv proposals asking that the old rights and freedoms of the Ukraine be confirmed and that several new statutes be added which would meet with the demands of the times. Peter's answer was a decisive *ukaz*, signed in Kiev on July 31, 1709, a unilateral act of the tsar without the participation of the Ukrainian Hetman or Cossack officers as was the case under previous Hetmans.

The drastic change came about on April 29, 1722, when Moscow issued a decree that a Little Russian Collegium be set up in the Ukraine. This was to be made up of Russian officers whose duty it was eventually to take over the work and the power of the Hetman. Another *ukaz* bearing the same date decreed that the affairs of the Hetman Ukraine be transferred from the Department of Foreign Affairs (formerly *Posolsky Prikaz*) to the Senate. This meant that Ukrainian affairs then became the internal affairs of Russia. The autonomy of the Hetman state suffered a severe blow. Finally, on April 29th, 1723, the office of the Hetman, the supreme head of the Cossack Host was abolished. Authority was transferred to Field Marshal Prince Galitsin who, as far as army affairs were concerned, superseded even the Little Russian Collegium.

The end of the Swedish war and the Peace of Nystadt in 1721 brought with it dire consequences to the Don and the Hetman state republics. At this particular time, as we have pointed out already, the Zaporozhian republic was not affected. With the transfer of the Sich to the sovereignty of the Russian tsar, the Zaporozhe

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁶ Svatikov, p. 150.

was once more subjected to a series of suppressive measures akin to those taking place in the Don. With the decrees of 1723 the Russian government limited its interference to the appointing of the Don Host ataman. The other leaders, the Cossack officers, the *starshyna*, continued to be chosen by the Host's Krug. A change came about in 1754 when the election system was abolished and the Cossack *starshyna* was appointed by the War Collegium. The election of all other officials, those of lower rank, was left to the Host.¹⁷

In the Zaporozhe, in the year 1744, the Kiev Governor-General, Leontyev who held control of the Zaporozhe in the absence of a Hetman, proposed to the Senate a series of measures to curb the Zaporozhians, including that of substituting an appointive for an elective system. Among the first to be appointed would be the chief of the Zaporozhian Sich, the *Koshovy*, and the judges. It was also proposed that a list of the names of all Cossacks be drawn up to control the influx of discontented elements into the Sich and that the Koshovy have a Russian officer to assist him. These proposals were rejected at the time by the Senate, and again in 1750 when Leontiev renewed his suggestions for the reorganization of the Zaporozhe.

The reasons for Russia's reluctance to follow up Leontiev's suggestions at the time are clear. The occasion was not propitious for carrying out too drastic a series of changes in the autonomy of the Sich republic. Russia probably realized that much would be gained by waiting. The struggle between the Sich officers and the rank and file had been going on for some time. It was particularly bitter during the last two decades of the Sich. The struggle involved the principle of the periodic (yearly) elections of officers on the one hand, supported by the rank and file, and the principle of the permanency of the Cossack office on the other, supported by the Cossack *starshyna*. It is against this background that Russia's policy towards the republics of the South should be considered. The outstanding characteristic was Russian support of the top officers and officials against the Cossack rank and file.

¹⁷ Svatikov, p. 167.

In the Hetman Ukraine, on the other hand, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Russia supported the Cossack rank and file and the peasants against the *starshyna*. The balance of power influenced Moscow in any appraisal of the situation. To weaken the principle of autonomy and to destroy alien systems Moscow employed deceit and treachery setting group against group, to keep the pot of dissatisfaction boiling. This was in accordance with the old adage of "divide et impera." That serf-ridden Moscow supported the Cossack masses in the Hetman state against the Cossack officers, the *starshyna*, is explicable only because danger to herself lay with the *starshyna*. The *starshyna* was powerful in the Hetman state. The officer's council represented, as it were, the independent status of the Ukraine; upon it rested the reality of Ukrainian statehood.

Indeed it was not that Moscow wanted to support the *starshyna*, but wished to provoke the rank and file against their leaders. Beginning with Peter I these methods became more subtle, causing strained relations not only between the Hetman, the *starshyna*, and the people, but also between the members of the ruling class itself. This happened because Moscow appointed men devoted to Russia, colonels in particular. The policy of appointment, as Myakotin so aptly noted,¹⁸ failed to end any existing abuses with which the Russians constantly accused the *starshyna*. It only hastened the estrangement between *starshyna* and people.

In the Hetman state Moscow played a double rôle. The masses were set against the officers' council, the *starshyna*, whose loyalty was to the Hetman state, and after taking over the appointment of officers and officials, strangers, in particular Russians, were chosen to fill the posts. The regiments of northern Chernihiv, Starodub, Nizhyn came to be known as the Russian domain, headed by Russian colonels, appointed directly by Moscow. Russia chose men loyal to her, rather than those loyal to the Hetman state.

In the Zaporozhe and on the Don the rank and file Cossacks were a menace to Moscow. They were continually being strengthened by refugees, by the discontented escaping from Moscow to

¹⁸ Myakotin, *Ocherki sotsialnoy istorii Ukraïny v XVII-XVIII vekakh* (Prague, 1925).

the Don and from the Hetman state to the Zaporozhe. These rank and file Cossacks were chiefly concerned to defend their freedoms. Both republics had much in common, their democratic way of life, their electoral systems, the communal ownership of land, fisheries, hunting grounds, and so on. The Don was governed by the Host's *Krug* (Circle), the Zaporozhe by the Host's *Rada* (Council). War trophies and booty were divided equally among all the members of the Cossack Host. The leader of the Zaporozhian Sich was chosen each year. So was the leader of the Don army. These Cossacks were Moscow's greatest enemies. In her system of landlordism and serfdom they saw a way of life under which the masters made serfs out of free men. The protest here against serfdom was both lively and vigorous.

It is in this connection that we see the rise of social antagonism in the Don during the second half of the seventeenth century. The Moscowphile group orientated toward Moscow consisted of the top level officers, the *starshyna*, the house-owning Cossacks of the lower Don and the "oldtimers" of the upper Don. Among the first group were many Ukrainians, mostly older men who had settled in the Don and had lived there for some time. The Russians belonged to the second group. In the upper Don, however, it was the refugees from Moscow who played an important rôle imparting to the Cossack way of life the characteristics of a struggle for the rights of man. It may be said that the lower Don was more conservative while the upper Don tended to be revolutionary. The "wretched refuse" (*holytba*) made up of the refugees, the peasants and hunters, was hostile both to Moscow and to the Don ruling groups who sided with the Russian tsar.

A similar situation existed in the Zaporozhe. On the one hand was the *starshyna* with the conservative older elements, on the other the rank and file. The chief officers together with the old Cossacks leaned toward compromise, fearful of endangering relations either with Moscow or with the Hetman state.

In the eighteenth century a fairly large pro-Moscow group in the Zaporozhe may be noted. The rank and file, whose numbers were increasing through the influx of Ukrainian refugees, were a revolutionary element, hostile not only to Moscow with its insti-

tution of serfdom but also to the Hetman state with its powerful, strongly-enthroned *starshyna*.

We do not, however, identify Moscow's policy with that of the Hetman state in relation to the Sich. Not at all. There is no doubt that the Hetman state's attitude toward the Zaporozhe was different from that of Moscow. Only this difference did not appear clearly on the surface since the Hetman state was forced to follow Moscow's policy with regard to the Zaporozhe. Generally speaking the Hetman state was not allowed to participate in decisions relating to Zaporozhian affairs. Beginning with the eighteenth century its control over the Zaporozhe was almost non-existent. At the same time the Hetman state policy was concerned with the acknowledgment of its sovereignty over the entire Ukraine including the Zaporozhe; this was to be not a coercive measure but a cooperative one, leaving the free Zaporozhian Cossacks the right of self-government. It should also be noted that the Hetman state played the role of an intermediary between Moscow and the Zaporozhe. The influx of refugees from the *Hetmanshchyna* (as well as from the Right Bank Ukraine and other territories) into the Zaporozhe posed great difficulties. This was, to a certain extent, one of the bones of contention between the two Ukrainian territories. The hostile attitude of the rank and file of the Zaporozhe toward the Hetman officials was in fact the reaction of an aroused Cossack mass which felt that in the battle of defending its freedom it was losing ground. For in the Zaporozhe too an aristocratic caste, similar to that of the Hetman state, was rising.

Neither the Zaporozhe nor the Don were successful in preserving their democratic way of life under a free elective system, governed by the Host Council and the Host *Krug*. In the conflict between the ordinary Cossacks on the one hand and the *starshyna* and the conservative Cossacks on the other, the *starshyna* was actually victorious.¹⁹

In the Don, the *starshyna* successfully competed with the leadership of the Host *Krug* during the first decades of the eighteenth

¹⁹ N. Vasylenko-Polonska, "Z istoriyi ostannikh chasiv Zaporozhzhya," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu Ukrayins'koyi Akademiyyi Nauk*, IX, (1925), pp. 310 ff.

century.²⁰ In the Zaporozhe the importance of the Host's Council began to wane during the thirties of the same century, its authority gradually passing to the meetings of the *starshyna*, thus giving rise to a separate *starshyna* caste. The struggle here was more bitter and, as we have noted before, the attempts of the rank and file Cossacks during the last years of the Zaporozhian state to throw off the encroaching power of the top level *starshyna* and strengthen the Host's Council took on an exceedingly bitter form.²¹

It is interesting to note how Moscow's policies changed with the changing situation. No better proof is needed of the fact that Moscow was quite unconcerned with the welfare of a given region, province, autonomous state or organization and had only her own imperialist interests at heart than this, that when she finally succeeded in curbing the Hetman state *starshyna*, the Russian government adopted a policy of support for this group against the rank and file who until then had received their support. The officers' group then became the nobility caste, achieving a status more or less equal to that of the gentry of Russia, while the Ukrainian peasants, thanks to this same Russia, sank to the level of the serfs. They too achieved a status of equality, in this case with the Russian serfs.

In the Don, Russian policy took a somewhat different turn.²² It appears that it was the officers, the *starshyna*, who constituted the powerful element, a fact most undesirable in the eyes of Moscow. It was the *starshyna* which defended the historical autonomous rights of the Don. This is especially marked during the first decades of the sixteenth century. As a result, the tsarist government now appeared in the guise of a defender of the rank and file, the common people, supposedly oppressed by the local aristocracy.

A deep gulf separated the two Cossack republics from Moscow. Authoritarian, absolutist Russia was particularly suspicious of free

²⁰ Svatikov, p. 119; Svatikov, "Donskoy voyskovoy krug," *Donskaya letopis*, No. 1, p. 199 ff.; Lev Okinshevych, "Generalna rada na Ukrayini—Hetmanshchyni XVII-XVIII st." *Pratsi komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rusko ho ta ukrayinskoho prava* (Kiev, 1922), VI, p. 385.

²¹ M. Slabchenko, "Sotsiyalno-pravova orhanizatsiya Sichy Zaporozhskoyi," *Pratsi komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rusko ho ta ukrayinskoho prava*, III, p. 330.

²² Svatikov, p. 278.

peoples. The atmosphere of servility and kowtowing gave rise in Moscow to a special type of over-disciplined individual (as it did in Prussia) who seemed to live by the tsarist *ukaz*. Those of an independent nature who could not adjust themselves to the totalitarian way of life under the deities God and Tsar, fled to the Cossack lands to join the ranks of free Cossacks. In the case of the Ukraine there was an additional element, differentiating it from the Don, in that during the rise of the Cossack movement the protests against enslavement involved a protest against aristocratic Poland which, no less than Russia, was adept in the enslavement of the common man.

Freedom was the basic idea underlying life on the Cossack lands. The Cossacks abided by the principle of never giving up those who sought refuge on their territory. Everyone who came to the Zaporozhe or the Don became a free man, like the refugees in the Middle Ages who sought the protection of towns which defended them according to the law that *die Stadtluft macht frei*. The two republics bravely defended these rights. Moscow could not allow it, especially in the case of the Don where the refugees from Russia sought asylum from serfdom, thereby undermining the institution of landlordism in the lands under the tsar. It was a stubborn struggle between two opposing ways of life, but the Cossacks only very slowly and in the face of insuperable odds conceded their positions. After 1671 the Don was forced to yield up to Moscow the political refugees who sought asylum within its boundaries. During the reign of Peter I a plan was instituted whereby even those who fled Russia for religious or social reasons had to be rounded up and delivered to the Russian government. The brutal manner in which the refugees were hunted down by the Russian administration on the Don lands was one of the reasons for the Bulavin rebellion. The Zaporozhe also resolutely defended its rights in this respect. During the eighteenth century, however, Moscow put pressure on the Sichovyks demanding that the *haydamak* peasant rebels be handed back.

Because of this ideal of personal freedom the Cossacks were highly suspicious, if not hostile, to farming as a way of life. Hunting, fishing, and cattle raising were the chief occupations of the

peoples of the republics, the Cossacks in particular. They felt that in the tilling of the land lay the root of that evil which had made one man servile to another. Agriculture was synonymous with serfdom, with the enslavement of freemen. No doubt the refugees from lands where serfdom existed contributed toward the growth of this idea. They were afraid that in adopting agriculture as a way of life they would be thrust back into the serfdom they had just escaped.

Agriculture was not practiced in the Don to any large extent before the second half of the seventeenth century.²³ The first signs appeared about 1685, though as late as 1690 an army decree was issued forbidding the Cossacks to till land under penalty of death.

As time went on, conditions changed. The fields were tilled when the Don Cossacks renounced celibacy and contracted marriages with captive Tatar and other foreign women as well as native ones. At the time the Don republic was organized, celibacy for the Cossacks was mandatory. This was surely to be attributed to the influence of the Zaporozhe which, founded earlier, played the role of mentor to the other Cossack organizations. With marriage there was bound to be a change in the Cossack attitude toward the more peaceable pursuits of farming.

At one time penalties were imposed against Cossacks taking up farming. The Zaporozhe was, however, more lenient with those who transgressed. Celibacy, indeed, (at least in principle) was a required condition of life for the Zaporozhian Cossacks till the end of the republic. A member of the Sich was a warrior *par excellence* unburdened with cares, accustomed to hardship, and as such he scorned peasant labor.

On the Sich territory agriculture appeared during the second half of the eighteenth century when there, too, a separate group of married Cossacks turned to farming. During the final decades of the Zaporozhe the Cossacks went so far as to encourage land cultivation realizing what danger lurked in trying to control large tracts of sparsely populated land. This was, incidentally, one of

²³ Svatikov, p. 26.

the reasons Moscow gave for her colonization of the Zaporozhian lands.

Unwillingness to work the land was not only the cause of the Don and the Zaporozhe being sparsely populated, but indirectly it aroused territorial appetites in others, the Moscow landowners in particular. It also placed the two republics in a position of dependency upon Moscow. Both the Don and the Zaporozhe experienced a scarcity of bread from time to time. Moscow supplied the Don, while Zaporozhe depended on the Hetman state for a supply. Both Moscow and the Hetman state knew quite well how to make capital out of this situation. By curtailing delivery at a critical moment the tsarist government was able to bring the republics to terms, in the case of the Don directly, in the case of the Zaporozhe through the Hetman state. The Pugachev uprising of 1773 among the Yaik Cossacks, who were defending the last of their autonomy, caused considerable fear in Russian government circles for it included the large Povolzhe where the population consisted largely of serfs.

As far as the republic of the Don and the Zaporozhe were concerned this uprising assumed special significance. In 1775 Catherine II set out to change radically and arbitrarily the way of life of the two republics. Changes were made in the administration of border peoples, like the Bashkirs, Kirghiz, and others. As for the Cossacks, the Volga Cossack Host was transferred to the Caucasus, the Yaiks were renamed the Cossacks of the Urals and so on.

The chief impact of the blow, however, fell on the Zaporozhe and the Don. Under the decree of February 15, 1775, the Host of the Don, at the suggestion of Potemkin, was deprived of what little autonomy remained to it and was incorporated into the general system of the imperial government. Civil laws governing the rest of the Russian territory were introduced here. Only in matters strictly military did the Cossacks remain under the direction of the War Collegium.²⁴

It is quite clear why Catherine II chose the year 1775 to bring the Cossacks to terms. The war with Turkey ended in 1774 with

²⁴ Svatikov, pp. 225, 230.

the treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji. While the war lasted and Moscow needed the Cossacks the policy was to refrain from antagonizing them. This was in accordance with the old Russian custom toward war allies: make use of them and then abuse them. When the war ended the Zaporozhian Cossacks were the first to bear the brunt of this policy.

N. V. Vasylenko-Polonska is of the opinion that the Sich was destroyed because it prevented the spread of serfdom and that the Russian government felt that only by destroying it completely would it be able to make serfs out of the Ukrainian peasants. The Russian Empress was also enamoured of the populationist ideas then current not only in Western Europe but also in Russia. She did not wish to have the Sich Cossacks remain celibate even within the borders of the Sich territory. Economic reasons also played a part. After the Kuchuk-Kainardji treaty, a trade route to the Black Sea was wide open except for the Zaporozhe Republic.²⁵

The destruction of the Zaporozhian Host was carried out in the summer of 1775 by two Russian armies returning from the war with the Turks. One numbered 66,000 men, the other 20,000. This maneuver, planned in advance, was finally confirmed by a manifesto of August 3, 1775 as a result of which the Zaporozhian Republic ceased to exist.

In pointing out the policies that Moscow pursued in the case of the two republics, the Don and the Zaporozhe, we have tried to bring out some of the methods she employed in her imperialist drives. Both republics were founded on the principle of the freedom of man. Serfdom did not exist on their territories. Refugees from absolutist Moscow and aristocratic Poland found refuge there.

In her drive towards territorial expansion, in her hostility toward free institutions and her desire to extend serfdom as well as in her expansionist march toward an outlet to the sea, Moscow brought destruction to a way of life in the Don and the Zaporozhe.

²⁵ N. V. Vasylenko-Polonska, "Manifest 3 serpnia 1775 v svitli tohochasnykh idey," *Zapysky istorychno-filolohichnoho viddilu Ukrayinskoyi Akademiyyi Nauk* (Kiev, 1927), XII, pp. 190 ff.

In dealing with autonomous and independent units she has persistently followed a traditional line, beginning with Novgorod and Pskov down to our own time. Moscow has always been an enemy of federalism which values the differences inherent in peoples and nations. Absolutism and totalitarianism in a variety of shades have been her guideposts through the centuries.

GOGOL: ARTIST AND THINKER*

DMITRY ČIŽEVSKY

I

To present an exhaustive analysis of Gogol as artist and thinker is clearly impossible within the scope of these few pages. The purpose of this article is merely to raise certain fundamental problems.

That a single individual should combine the functions of artist and thinker is in itself essentially paradoxical, though it is doubtless not too infrequent a phenomenon in the history of world literature. It is the nature of the literary artist to strive for esthetically satisfying verbal expression, and this primary esthetic factor often forces him to sacrifice the clarity and coherence of his thought. The thinker in him then comes into conflict with the artist; moreover, any thinker is confronted with the fundamental inadequacy of any verbal formulation of thought. This conflict between word and idea, content and form, is a chronic complaint from which every writer must inevitably suffer if he attempts—however unwisely—to be artist and thinker at the same time.

The tragedy of Gogol stems from this contradiction, which is inherent in all his work. It was this conflict which led him at the end of his career to renounce all his earlier writings, as he did so strikingly in his *Author's Confession*; it also explains the anomaly of the *Selected Passages From My Correspondence With My Friends*, in which the level of verbal expression proved so far below the author's expectations. This tragic inner conflict in Gogol's work must be regarded as inevitable: it is not to be explained away by any of the various myths which have grown up to becloud the image of Gogol in the eyes of his contemporaries and of later generations—the myth that he passed through a religious crisis and even a phase of "religious insanity";¹ that he was right in confess-

* This article, with a few small changes, is based on a lecture given by the author at a session of the Academy in New York. The short time allotted to the lecture accounts for the brevity of exposition. The author is also responsible for the spacing of the quotations from Gogol.

¹ It should be noted that the first writer on Gogol to deny the existence of any sharp "breaks" or crises in his development was N. G. Chernyshevsky. In Chernyshevsky's opinion Gogol had always been a religious "reactionary." This should not be forgotten by admirers of Chernyshevsky!

ing to a failure of his creative powers in his later years; that he was ruined by the baneful influence of Father Matvey Konstantinovskiy (indeed this particular myth is rejected even by Soviet scholars); there are many others.

II

Yet Gogol was not only torn by the contradiction between his ideological intentions and the problem of formulating his ideas in words. Both his artistic method and his ideas are themselves shot through with inner contradictions, though they are not the sterile contradictions of creative impotence, but spring from a profoundly productive antagonism between the strength of his creative intuition on the one hand and the power of his searching mind on the other.

The formal aspect of Gogol's work presents a strange mixture of exceptional finish and perfection of craftsmanship with incredible carelessness and disregard of the most fundamental rules of style and even of grammar. Yet we know how carefully, attentively, and painstakingly Gogol worked over every detail of his writings. He himself advised N. Berg, then a literary novice, to revise every manuscript until there was no room left for further corrections, then recopy it and revise it again; this process was to be repeated seven times. "I recopy seven times," Gogol is supposed to have said. This might be regarded as an exaggeration on Berg's part if we did not possess a number of Gogol's manuscripts, which prove that he worked in exactly this way. His final texts were arrived at only after innumerable revisions and corrections of every sentence, every expression, and every word.

But one puzzle is left unsolved: if Gogol labored so endlessly over his style, how could his language be left in such a state? For Gogol's is the most incorrect Russian ever written by any professional writer. To be sure, the problem of "correctness" in literary language is complex and cannot be judged from a narrow, school-masterish point of view. But Gogol not only uses words which are not found in any dictionary and do not occur in any dialect; he even employs forms "forbidden" in normative grammars and nonexistent in the living spoken language. Since it is impossible

to cite examples here,² a reference to Andrey Bely must suffice. Bely was a great admirer of Gogol, but at the conclusion of one of his linguistic analyses he is reduced to exclaiming, "Reader! This is really terrible!"³

There have been attempts to explain the "terrors" of Gogol's Russian by attributing it to his bilingualism, his habit of using Ukrainian as a medium of thought. This explanation is of course correct as far as it goes, but it does not really go very far. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were a considerable number of Ukrainians writing in Russian, some of whom wrote in Ukrainian as well. Many of them were extremely popular in their day, and not all of them are entirely forgotten even today: V. Narizhny and H. Kvitka-Osnovyanenko belonged to the older generation, while Porfiry Baysky (Orest Somov), Hrebinka, and Nestor Kukolnik were contemporaries of Gogol himself; Panko Kulish came somewhat later, and there are many others. It was they who created the so-called "Ukrainian school" in Russian literature. But not one of them wrote Russian like Gogol's! Furthermore, there is no adequate biographical explanation for the imperfections of Gogol's language. Even if he did not acquire a complete mastery of the Russian language while studying at the Nizhyn lyceum, he had plenty of opportunity to do so later. Gogol's manuscripts show how carefully and assiduously he collected materials for his stories, including vocabulary. If he made no attempt to correct his Russian even when contemporary critics pointed out his mistakes, it was not because he could not, but because he did not care to do so.

In his early works Gogol had created a peculiar language of his own, a sort of mixed Ukrainian-Russian. None of the representa-

² I cite a few examples of Gogol's "Russian": *kotenki, rebenki, vorobenki, doski nakladeny, brichka vykachannaya, zagoryunilsya* (instead of "*prigoryunilsya*"), *oklad* (instead of "*uklad*" or "*sklad*"), *ne proizvel izumleniya na obshchestvo, ne poluchiv uspekha, pesni s derevni, iseluyut gde-gde sumrachnoye more, byl uzren shlagbaum, skladennye drova, oglokhly, stoskovaly vzor, nevyraznaya toska, spokoysya, rastoskuet, vzdymilas* (instead of "*vzdymalas*"), *rozovaya dalnost, menya predchuvstvie beret, vzyekhal vo dvor, svet dosyagnul do zabora, sad zaglokhly, obsmotret, na byure, and even—on menya ponravil!*

³ It cannot be proved that it is Gogol who is referred to in Pushkin's famous statement: "I speak much more incorrectly—almost the way *** writes." This would mean that Pushkin regarded Gogol's language as a "model" of incorrectness.

tives of the "Ukrainian school" would have dared to use as many Ukrainian words in their Russian works as Gogol did. He used hundreds. There are about two hundred of them listed in the glossary which he appended to *Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka*. It is typical of him that he did not provide explanations for nearly all the words which would have been incomprehensible to the Russian reader of his time, to say nothing of the humorous proper names, the gist of which was also beyond the grasp of most Russians (and also, fortunately, of the censors). The point is that in stylistic and linguistic *details* Gogol is not in the least concerned about *meaning*. He is much more interested in the *sound* of his prose, and no one has yet discovered the secret of the incomparable euphony and rhythm of his Russian, for instance in *A Terrible Vengeance* or *Taras Bulba* or the fantastic passages in *Viy*. Among other things, the effect is achieved by a constant interplay of Russian and Ukrainian, using the rhythms of Ukrainian folk songs and *dumy* and to a considerable extent Ukrainian colloquial speech. Gogol has occasionally been reproached by Ukrainians for not writing "simple" Ukrainian. But Gogol's use of Ukrainian was in no sense designed to provide "local color"; he could have done that better by writing pure Ukrainian. It was a special, private language which sounded in his ears, a language no one in the world has ever spoken. Whether it is the language of the angels or the demons I shall not undertake to decide. . . . But this unearthly language was shaped and moulded out of elements borrowed from actual "earthly" languages. And so it is not surprising that at times the laws of earthly language and earthly grammar had to submit to Gogol's own will—or willfulness.

III

This being the case, there is no cause for surprise that Gogol has been regarded as the founder of a much later tradition—the *trans-sense language* of the Russian "Futurists." In fact there has not been a single current in Russian literature since Gogol which has not claimed him—and not without some justification—as its primo-genitor. In any event, Gogol was the first Russian writer who was not afraid of linguistic nonsense; it became, in fact, one of his main-

stays. There are a good many passages in his works which simply cannot be deciphered on a rational basis, and these are often the very passages over which Gogol labored with especial care: for example the second request of Ivan Nikiforovich, which translators into all languages usually render as a "meaningful" text, while in fact its whole meaning lies in its utter meaninglessness. It contains only a bare allusion to any kind of sense, and that is a mere commonplace. Such passages also occur in the *Diary of a Madman*, but there they have a more legitimate motivation in the insanity of the main character. There are likewise a number of passages which can actually be translated, but are also essentially meaningless. Here are a few examples:

Khlestakov's famous "We shall retire beneath the shade of streams."

At a banquet in Mirgorod a dish is served which looks "like boots dipped in kvas."

Anton Prokofevich's trousers were "of such a peculiar character that whenever he put them on, all the dogs bit at his calves."

A matchmaker sings the praises of a series of prospective bridegrooms. One of them "is such a wonder he could hardly get through that door." Another "drinks. I won't deny it, he drinks. What can you do? He's a Titular Counsellor." But "he doesn't drink all week long: sometimes a sober day turns up." The third is an "Aulic Counsellor. . . Whatever he says, he lies. . . What can be done? God made him that way. He's sorry about it himself, but he just can't keep from lying."

It is mentioned that something has happened to a certain young girl. "Yes, there was something, I remember something did happen. She either got married or broke her leg."

And the motivation of the suitors' visits to the prospective bride: "I learned from the newspapers that you desire to contract for a supply of firewood." This explanation is perhaps credible, but it induces the other suitor to say, "I too saw some advertisement in the papers. All right, I thought to myself, I'll go. The weather has turned out to be good, and there's grass all along the road. . . ."

"Reader! This is really terrible!" one would like to repeat after Andre Bely. Talleyrand said that language is given man as a cloak for his thoughts; it is apparently given to Gogol's heroes to conceal their total absence of thought!

Any one of Gogol's artistic devices is enough to reveal his extraordinary originality. In particular, Gogol's "nonsense," as a device, is somehow reminiscent of the inner contradiction which pervades his work as a whole: I mean the use of images and expressions in which he juxtaposes utterly incongruous elements. Any number of these incongruities could be culled from any one of Gogol's works. Frequently they are put in the mouths of his characters; at other times they are "objectivized" in various ways; and occasionally they are uttered by the author *in propria persona*. Such expressions may be considered a type of oxymoron. Here are some examples:

Vasily Fedorov, a foreigner
a wine consisting of "burgognon and champagnon together"
a tailor "from London and Paris"
a mayor who "celebrates his name-day both as Anton and as Onufry"
a Turkish dagger on which was engraved by mistake: "Master Savely Sibiryakov"

Ivan Ivanovich Pererepenko, a "bandit and nobleman"
at once a Counsellor of State and a bassoon
a nose which proves to have "the rank of a Counsellor of State"
a well-built carriage without a single spring
a hot-blooded young horse, seventeen years old
and finally, the classical formula of the matchmaker in *The Wedding*:
"After that you are a villain, even if you are an honest man!"

It is a strange world in which such things are possible! But still stranger is the fact that this kind of *antithetic oxymoron* is in some sense a parody on the *coincidentio oppositorum* (the coexistence of opposites in any true being), which in turn is a traditional device in religious literature.⁴

IV

There are other artistic devices which Gogol uses for purposes quite different from those they are ordinarily designed to serve. The most outstanding of these is *hyperbole*. A great deal has been written about Gogol's hyperbolic images and expressions, begin-

⁴ On the *coincidentio oppositorum* in the history of philosophy cf. my book, *Filosofiya H. S. Skovorody* (Warsaw, 1934), pp. 9-17.

ning with V. V. Rozanov's attacks and Valerij Bryusov's characterization of Gogol as "the great master of hyperbole." A few examples:

a tart as big as a hat
 laughter so sonorous that it was "as if two bulls were facing each other and bellowing at once"
 ladies so thin that any one of them could have been hidden in a scabbard
 cockroaches as big as plums looking out from all the corners of the room
 another cockroach the size of a loaf of rye bread (omitted by Gogol from the final version of the text)
 bedbugs that bite "like dogs"
 teacups on a tray—"as great a mass of cups as birds on the seashore"
 the leg of the Greek heroine Bobelina in a painting was "bigger than the entire torsos of those dandies who fill . . . our drawing rooms"
 the hero who "for a midnight snack" eats "a crust of bread weighing half a pood and four pounds of lard"
 the look which Ivan Ivanovich gives his enemy Ivan Nikiforovich: "And what a look! If that glance had been granted executive powers, it would have turned Ivan Nikiforovich into dust."

There are countless numbers of these. Yet in traditional poetics the hyperbole was prescribed for descriptions of a higher order of being; Gogol uses it for just the opposite purpose—he applies it to the lowest orders of being. From the *Lay of Igor's Raid* to Derzhavin the hyperbole had been used to describe what was great and important; in Gogol it is used to describe the trivial. To be sure, this technique is not entirely new. The device of "estrangement" has been employed in satirical literature since ancient times.

What is remarkable is Gogol's use of a particular kind of hyperbole known as *hyperoche*, i.e., the ascription to an object of dimensions of grandeur exceeding all possibilities of description, all verbal techniques known to the author, all imagination, and even all human experience. Here again Gogol follows the same procedure: he applies this "inflated" figure to a lower order of being. For example:

a moustache incapable of depiction by pen or brush
 such waists as you have never even dreamed of

a nymph's breasts [in a painting] such as the reader has surely
 never laid eyes on
 a boot so gigantic that a leg to fit it could hardly be found anywhere
 a name which was even hard to remember
 a cart which "bore no resemblance to anything at all and represented
 some sort of strange creation, quite without form and extraordinarily
 fantastic"
 such letters as have never been seen in the Russian alphabet
 sateens, muslins, and satins of such pale, pale fashionable colors that
 names for them could not be invented
 a cap such as this earth has never seen
 beauty of shoulders such as this earth has never seen
 such dance steps as no one has ever taken even in his sleep
 the charm [of a kind of cloth] was so great that it cannot be
 expressed in words. . . It may be said with assurance that there
 was never anything like it in this world.
 such nonsense as not only bore no resemblance to the truth, but
 even bore no resemblance to anything at all.

Hyperoche, even more than hyperbole, was normally used to describe the lofty and the sacred; it traditionally occurs in descriptions of unearthly beauty or when the writer indicates his inability to depict the exploits of saints or represent the heights of the Godhead.⁵ Derzhavin's *Ode to God* is a notable example of the traditional use of hyperoche:

Traceless One, unfathomable!
 Now I cannot see Thy face:
 My imagining's too feeble
 E'en Thy shadow here to trace.

Such usage of this device can be traced all the way back to the "negative theology" of the Church Fathers, in particular the Areopagitica.⁶

Here again Gogol seems to parody the high style by transferring devices essentially designed for the representation of lofty and sacred things into the mundane sphere of everyday life, of point-less stupidity and vulgarity.

⁵ There are numerous examples of hyperoche in the Bible (there is nothing like it "on the earth" or "under the heavens")—e.g., Judith 11:19; Genesis 6:17; Job 28:24; 41:2; Daniel 7:27; 9:12, etc.

⁶ P. Struve collected some interesting material on this in his article "Neizyasnimy, Nepostizhny" (in one of the Prague miscellanies).

How can we explain the paradoxes of Gogol's style? What is their significance in his system of artistic devices, and what do they tell us about his ideology?

V

This transference of devices by their nature designed to characterize the great, the lofty, and the sacred into the sphere of everyday trivialities might be regarded as an instance of the typical Romantic dualism or "ambivalence" of judgement and expression. It is this Romantic dualism which leads Gogol at one moment to write a pathetic and ecstatic rhapsody on "Rus" (by which, of course, he means—with certain limitations—the Russia of his time), and at another to let fall the observation that "there is no living in Russia for good people; only swine can live there."

But naturally Gogol had no inclination for the sort of parody of "sacred language" which occurs in seventeenth-century parodies on the liturgy, like the *Lamentations of the Kiev Monks* and similar works, which are investigated with such diligence by Soviet scholars. . . . On the contrary, in Gogol this transference of artistic devices from one sphere to another, this parody of the hyperbole and hyperoche, and this oxymoron-like application of the *coincidentio oppositorum* are all intended as an original means of demonstrating the insignificance, unreality, and illusory nature of this lower, earthly existence. In this "mundane" world there prevails a mundane point of view, a mundane attitude toward everyday and lowly things. They are seen "from below." Thus in the eyes of people engrossed in the life of this world what is ordinary and trivial is transformed into something grandiose and magnificent. Dwarfs appear to be giants; huts become palaces; and ant heaps, Monts Blancs. All that is required is a change of perspective. Gogol's story *The Overcoat*, a very important document for his ideology, is entirely constructed around this device.⁷ The countless repetitions of the word "even"—it occurs several times on every page—

⁷ I presented an analysis of *The Overcoat* in my article in the *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie*, vol. XIV (1937), No. 1-2, pp. 63-94 and in Russian in *Sovremennye Zapiski*, No. 67 (1938), pp. 172-195. Recently certain details of these analyses have been utilized in some American works on Gogol.

accentuate this "view from below" both of the fictitious narrator who tells the story and of the hero.

If promotions had been granted him according to his zeal, he . . . might even have become a Counsellor of State. . .

Misfortunes which bestrew life's path not only for Titular, but even for Privy, Actual, Aulic, and any other Counsellors. . .

At a season when even those who occupy high positions feel the frost hurt their foreheads and make the tears come in their eyes. . .

Petrovich has a wife who even wears a mobcap. . .

The landlady made so much smoke in the kitchen that you couldn't even see the cockroaches. . .

The boldest most daring thoughts even flashed through his mind: shouldn't he just put some marten fur on his collar. . .

Once while copying papers, he even narrowly missed making a mistake. . .

Oh, how can he [the chief clerk's assistant] show that he is not proud and even associates with those beneath him. . .

The important personage stamped his foot and raised his voice to such a powerful pitch that even somebody besides Akaky Akakievich would have been frightened. . .

The backs and shoulders, not merely of Titular, but even of real Privy Counsellors were subjected to a thorough chilling on account of this nocturnal removal of overcoats. . .

And so on. There is an "even" on every page of the story. The purpose of this undoubtedly deliberate repetition—we know how carefully Gogol worked over his style—is to underscore the "view from below" of the narrator and his hero. . .

But Gogol also has other means of showing not only the insignificance, but the ephemeral, illusory, phantasmal character of this world. These devices are central in the system of "natural stylistics"⁸ which he created. The first is the fusion of reality and dream,

⁸ On the significance of Gogol's "natural style" as an expression of his romantic *Weltanschauung* cf. my article "Neizvestny Gogol" in *Novy Zhurnal*, No. 27 (1951), pp. 126-159 and especially pp. 154-155.

the *dematerialization of images*. Such, for instance are the cities which dissolve into nothingness:

[Here is Petersburg in the evening.] But as soon as the twilight falls on the houses and streets, and the policeman, covered with matting, scrambles up the ladder to light the street lamp, and engravings which do not dare to show themselves in the light of day peer out of the lowly windows of little shops, then the Nevsky Prospect comes to life again and begins to stir. Then begins that *mysterious* time when the lamps give to everything a sort of alluring and *miraculous* glow. . . . At that time you feel that there is some sort of purpose, or rather something like a purpose. There is something *extraordinarily unconscious* about it; everyone's steps quicken and become in general very uneven. Long shadows flicker along the walls and the pavement, and their heads almost reach the Politseyski Most. . . .

[Paris is the same.] Toward evening all this *magic* pile flared up under the *magic* illumination of gas—all the houses suddenly *became transparent*, shedding a strong light from below; the windowpanes in the shops seemed to have *disappeared, vanished* entirely, and everything that had lain inside them was left unguarded right in the middle of the street, glitteringly reflected in the depths of mirrors. . . .

These images recall the visions later beheld by Dostoevsky's heroes (*A Faint Heart*) of a Petersburg rising in smoke and vapor into the dark nocturnal sky, a representation of the city as a deceiver and a deception. This too is stated by Gogol:

Oh, do not believe this Nevsky Prospect! . . . *It is all deception, all a dream*, all not what it seems! . . . *The whole thing breathes deception*. It lies at any time of day, this Nevsky Prospect, but most of all when the night settles over it in a thick mass and disjoins the white and straw-colored walls of the houses, when the whole city turns into thunder and lightening, myriads of carriages rumble off the bridges, the post-boys shout and leap on their horses, and when *the Demon himself* lights the lamps *only to reveal everything not as it is*.

This dematerialization of the capitals of the world is bound up with Gogol's own experiences. "Petersburg, the department, the snows, the scoundrels—I *only dreamed* all that," he confesses in one of his first letters from Rome. But this is only one of the elements in his exposure of the illusiveness of "base reality." Gogol

has other tricks up his sleeve, among them ones which approach the techniques of contemporary "surrealism." It is difficult to understand why none of the numerous—and usually worthless—commentators on *The Nose* has linked it with Franz Kafka's early novel *Metamorphosis* (*Die Verwandlung*), a work very close to it in basic intention. In *The Nose* actual reality is "lifted," excluded in order to reveal to the author and the reader means of discovering the spiritual reality of the experiences of "Major" Kovalev, a person who at first glance would seem incapable of having any experiences at all. But even in *The Inspector-General* the "Inspector-General," Khlestakov, is an illusion and a dream, a shade and a phantom which emerges from the depths of the bad consciences of the mayor and officials of the town. And in the same way the image of Chichikov at the end of the first part of *Dead Souls* is overcast with an impenetrable cloud of gossip, rumor, conjecture, and supposition, the source of which is also in large measure the bad consciences of the inhabitants of N. ("Everyone began searching in himself for such sins as didn't even exist.") Thus what would seem to be the "super-real" world of officialdom proves to be in the power of illusions, fantasies, and specters!

The clearest instance in Gogol of a phantasmal reality concealed behind the concrete world is his device of *realization of metaphor*. Reality proves to be concealed behind a metaphor or simile or else simply turns into one. After beginning a simile Gogol seems to forget about it, and a strange process takes place: a *sbitenshchik* (a vendor of hot mead) turns into a samovar, Chichikov into a fortress, and Petr Petrovich Petukh into a watermelon.

A *sbitenshchik* was standing at the window with a ruddy copper samovar and a face as ruddy as the samovar, so that from a distance you might have thought there were *two samovars* in the window if one of *them* had not had a beard as black as pitch.

Nozdrev. . . looked the part of a lieutenant storming a fortress, desperate and at his wit's end. . . . *The fortress* he was attacking [Chichikov] looked anything but impregnable. On the contrary, the *fortress* was in such a fright that *its* soul hid in its very heels.

Along with the fish a round sort of man had got entangled [in the net], a man as wide as he was tall, a perfect watermelon or barrel.

He was in a desperate situation and was shouting at the top of his lungs. . . *The watermelon* was evidently not afraid on its own account. . .

[Korobochka's carriage enters the town at night.] A very strange vehicle, which inspired doubts as to what one should call it. It was . . . rather like a fat-cheeked, swollen watermelon on wheels. The cheeks of *this watermelon*, that is, its doors, . . . were very hard to close. . . *The watermelon* was filled with chintz pillows, . . . crammed full of bags of bread loaves, twisted rolls, rusks, biscuits, and pretzels of scalded dough. . .

The sidewalk rushed along beneath him, the carriages with their galloping horses seemed motionless, the bridge stretched and broke at its arch, a house stood upside down, a sentry-box was rushing toward him, and the sentry's halberd together with the gilt letters of a signboard seemed to glisten on his very eyelash. And all this was brought about by a single glance, a single turn of a pretty head.

Thus the world disintegrates and dissolves into nothing; everything proves to be something other than it is; real objects pass through complete metamorphoses: Sobakevich is a "medium-sized bear"; Plyushkin is a "tear on the cloth of humanity"; a nobleman is a "bandit"; a nose is a "Counsellor of State," "a gentleman in a uniform . . . sewn in gold, with a high stand-up collar, wearing suede trousers and carrying a sword at his side." But this fantastic world is described by Gogol so vividly, so graphically, so plastically, and in such bright colors that its equal is hardly to be found in any literature.

VI

Thus the "nothingness" of this world is revealed by techniques once used exclusively to scale the heights of "true being," with its *coincidentio oppositorum*, seemingly unattainable and inexpressible. The world dissolves into nothing; its deceptiveness is disclosed by the mere fact that everything in it proves to be like something else. Moreover, the likeness is usually to something "lower" than itself; Gogol's metaphors are very frequently "downward metaphors," i.e., comparison of a higher order of being to a lower—in particular of human beings to animals or even objects.⁹ Does not Gogol's

⁹ On "downward metaphors" cf. the article just cited, p. 155.

work thus become much more negative and destructive than his nineteenth-century critics supposed? For they regarded him as a realistic satirist who used his art to scourge society, to lay bare the evils of the "Nicolaitan Russia" of his time. But does not his satire in reality appear to be directed against the world itself?

Such a conclusion is tempting, but at bottom erroneous. Gogol did not regard destruction and negation as the aim of art or of literary art in particular. Art is called upon not to destroy, but to create: art must be an "imperceptible step toward Christianity." And for Gogol this means not destruction, but amelioration; not annihilation, but transformation of existing reality:

My friend, in this world we are called upon not to destroy and demolish, but . . . *to turn everything to good ends*, even that which man has corrupted and turned to evil.

For Gogol the central idea in Christian doctrine is precisely this notion of "transformation," of "turning things to good ends." No matter how insignificant this mundane world may be, it is merely corrupt, but not fundamentally evil. In all the "nastiness," "swindlers," "bribe-takers" and "scoundrels" Gogol feels a primary responsibility to seek out the good that lies there hidden and disfigured.

If you consider a swindler not merely as a swindler, but as a man as well, if you consider all the spiritual powers given him for good, which he has turned to evil or left unused. . . only then will you feel how noble our species can be . . . even in a swindler.

And knowledge of "nastiness" helps to show us the way out of this world, where the good is corrupted and disfigured. We

have forgotten that the paths and the roads to this bright future lie hidden here in this dark and tangled present. . . Since I began looking deeper into the nastiness around me, the light has shone forth in my spirit: before my eyes ways of egress, means, and paths begin to be revealed.

The principal method is love for mankind:

Perhaps this man was not born utterly dishonest. . . Perhaps a single drop of love would be sufficient to set him back on the path of righteousness.

It may well be that the concrete means of salvation Gogol proposed in his "strange book," *Selected Passages From My Correspondence With My Friends*, are very naive, unsatisfactory, and unconvincing. In fact, their chief weakness is that they are too concrete. Concreteness is the greatest defect of all utopias. And, by accompanying his outline for a moral and religious utopia with bits of concrete advice on what should be done in the concrete historical situation of Russia under Nicholas I, Gogol himself weakened the efficacy and attractiveness of his utopia. He is a paradoxical figure, this Gogol, divided in his allegiances and striving to reconcile the opposites in his work and combine them into a single moral and religious doctrine. He was by no means a one-sided eulogist of his time, as many passages from this same "reactionary" book make clear. Often he considers the Russia of his time simply as a country "of the past":

On the ship of duty and service each one of us must now be borne out of the slough. Each one of us must now serve, not as he used to serve in the Russia of the past, but in another, heavenly realm, the head of which is Christ Himself.

And Gogol even considers the possibilities of the utopian socialism of that time in the most ecstatic—and probably most successful—essay in the book, *The Glorious Resurrection*:

How fitting this day would be, I thought, for this nineteenth century of ours, when thoughts about the happiness of mankind have become the favorite thoughts of everyone, . . . when many are dreaming about how to *transform all mankind*, . . . when people have even begun to say that *everything should be held in common*—houses and lands.

Of course, this is not an expression of sympathy for socialism, but it indicates a hope that Gogol's utopia might satisfy the socialists too; he does not even attempt to brand their ideal with any negative epithet.¹⁰

But the main thing for Gogol is not an external, juridical, social

¹⁰ V. Gippius called attention to this passage in his brilliant book entitled *Gogol'* (Leningrad, 1924, p. 184). Gippius's book contains a number of excellent observations on Gogol's ethics, but unfortunately "for reasons of censorship" he was obliged to be very timid in his references to the central religious motifs in Gogol's philosophy.

transformation of the world, but the transformation of each individual man, that "renascence" which was to have been the theme of the later parts of *Dead Souls*. The theme is hinted at even in the first part:

Human passions are as numberless as the sands of the sea, and all are different from one another, and all of them, base and noble alike, all begin as man's servants and only later become his terrible masters. . . But there are passions the selection of which comes not from man. . . They are inscribed in us from on high, and in them there is something which summons us incessantly our whole life long. They are destined to accomplish great things on this earth: no matter whether they pass by in an image of gloom or a vision of light, bringing joy to the world—they are equally sent us to perform good works unknown to man. And perhaps in Chichikov himself his driving passion springs not from him, and in his cold existence there is something hidden which will then cause men to fall on their knees in the dust before the wisdom of the heavens.

VII

This fragment, which usually passes unnoticed by most readers of *Dead Souls*, contains the central nucleus of Gogol's philosophy. It likewise helps to explain the fundamental peculiarity of Gogol's writings: the combination of satire and utopianism, of affirmation and denial, of pessimism and optimism, of "laughter visible to the world through unseen and unknown tears." Laughter is used to lay bare the insignificance of this world. Gogol's tears are shed for a world created beautiful by God, yet now corrupted and disfigured. If the artist's glance causes the world virtually to dissolve and disintegrate into nothing, what lies behind this deceptive veil of corporeity and everyday reality is not Nothing, but, on the contrary, true reality, the realm of grace:

Merely glance at the world: it is filled with God's grace. . .

All events, especially unexpected and extraordinary ones, are God's messages to us.

The darkened firmament is the herald of a bright and triumphant dawn.

Gogol was perhaps too optimistic about the means of attaining this world of grace; he believed that if people only recognized the

utter insignificance of this world, the gates of "Supreme Eternal Beauty" or "Heavenly Beauty," as he calls the Divine Reality, would open before them, and not only after this life, but during it. Gogol believed, as we have seen, in the possibility of morally transforming each individual man. He also believed that in this life one could live "another life":

Blessed is he who in *this* life lives by the happiness of *another* life.

Is not every striving by which noble souls seek one another, loving only the other's divine, and not his earthly attributes—is this not a striving toward Christ?

Wherever God manifests Himself, there nothing remains in equilibrium, but marches forward, ever striving to become better and better.

As cosmic satirist, Gogol conceived his function as a means of aiding the reader to recognize the insignificance of this insignificant world and thus further the destruction of demonic deception and unreal illusion; in this way he opens up the path to the world of "Supreme Eternal Beauty." This process is reinforced by his function as preacher: in his private letters, in the *Selected Passages From My Correspondence With My Friends*, the *Author's Confession*, the *Interpretation of the Divine Liturgy*, and of course in personal conversation with persons who regarded him not only as an "accuser" of the contemporary world, but as a guide to Eternity. In a literary sense, at least, Gogol's attempt to propagate his ideas among a wider circle of readers was by and large a failure. The reasons for this failure are various and complex: Gogol's "positive" work did not possess the same straightforwardness and solidity he had revealed as a satirist; his capacity for expressing and formulating his positive ideals proved inadequate to the requirements of his age. He was too far removed from the spiritual needs of his contemporaries—Westernizers and Slavophiles and all the other schools of the period—to be able not only to rebuke them, but also to give them encouragement and faith. It was difficult to find words to touch their hearts. And in general there were no "words" capable of doing this, if one considers the state of the Russian literary language in Gogol's time: the 1840's marked the beginning of a period

of extreme decline in the tradition of homiletic and "sacral" language. The succeeding generation took an ironic attitude toward Gogol's sermons, regarding them as a set of utterly pointless "letters to a Kaluga governess." Gogol did not succeed in "singing a hymn to Heavenly Beauty," and what he said about "Supreme Eternal Beauty" evoked almost no response in that spiritual desert.

But Gogol's failure does not give us the right to forget his importance as a thinker and to consider only one aspect of his work. We must not allow the artist to blot out the thinker.

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE OF THE OGHUZ YABGHU*

OMELIAN PRITSAK

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the Turks in world history, both medieval and modern, lies in its founding of two States: the Empire of the Seljuks and that of the Ottomans. The founders of both Empires were the Turkic tribes known in the sources under the collective names of *Türkmen* or *Oghuz*. Their great migrations in the first half, and in part of the second half of the eleventh century brought them on the one hand into southeastern Europe and then into the Balkan possessions of the Byzantine Empire; on the other hand they pressed into Transoxiana, West Iran, Iraq, and finally also into the Asia Minor possessions of the Byzantine Empire. Like the migrations of many other peoples, these were brought about by the downfall of a steppe empire. In this case it was the downfall of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu.

In the sources, the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu appears under two names: *Türkmen* and *Oghuz* (*Ghuzz*, *Uz*). In Islamic sources there are at least two scholarly etymologies for the word *türkmen*: 1) Persian *türk manand* "similar to the Turks" (to be found as early as Kāšgharī, III, 304), 2) Persian *türk iman* allegedly "the believing Turks", (Nešrī, died 1520). However, from the turcological viewpoint the word *türkmen* is only a collective formed with *-man* or *-men* from *türk*.¹ This explains the fact, among others, that the same people called Türkmen in Central Asia, was known only as Torki in sources of Kievan Rus,² that is without the suffix *-man* or *-men*.

The name *Oghuz* is immediately associated with that of *Toquz*

* The author wishes to dedicate this article to Professor M. Fuad Köprülü.

¹ Compare my *Stammesnamen und Titulaturen der altaischen Völker*, Part I (To be referred to as *Stammesnamen I*) in *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher*, Vol. 24, No. 1-2, Wiesbaden, 1952, 79 (§31, 21).

² In the so-called *Nestor Chronicle* (*Povest' vremennykh let*) we next find, under the year 985, a report on a common campaign by the Torki and the Grand-Duke of Kiev, Vladimir the Great, against the Volga Bulgarians. Sergey P. Tolstov correctly interprets this as an indication of an alliance between the Oghuz Yabghu and the Kiev Grand-

Oghuz, one of the two names for the leading federation of the Turks in Mongolia of the sixth to eighth centuries (*Türk* and *Toquz Oghuz*). At this time the name *Oghuz* was primarily a political concept,³ and should not be considered ethnographical or as a designation for a language group. One indication of this is the fact that the *Oghuz* spoke a different dialect from that of the *Toquz Oghuz*. However, this political term derives from a self-designation which may have originally meant "man, men, the men, or compatriots."⁴ The equally important and fascinating problem of the etymon of *Oghuz*, which appears in names like *Oghur*,⁵ *Oirat*,⁶ etc., lies outside my subject. I shall come later to the title of the *Yabghu*.

As yet there has not only been no monograph on the *Oghuz*

Dukes (*Po sledam drevnekhorezmiyskoy tsivilizatsii*, Moscow—Leningrad, 1948, pp. 255-56 and map on p. 254; to be referred to as *Po sledam*). This is the only mention of the *Torki* until 1054; after that date the *Torki* appear more often, together with the *Polovtsy* (*Qomans*) as the new rulers of the Ukrainian steppe. In the chronicles the following ways of writing the name of this people appear: *tor'ki* (984), *torky* (1054), *torci* (1060, 1093, 1096, 1116), *r'rký* (1080). Here we have the Old Rus (Old Ukrainian) rendering of the name *türk* with the Slavic collective suffix *-i*, *-y*. The vowel *ü*, which does not exist in the Slavic languages, is sometimes given as *o*, sometimes as a reduced vowel. Under the year 1096 we also find the form *Torkmeni*, that is *türkmen* + *i*. The people of the *Torki* are called *torč'in* (e.g. 1097). The city of the *Torki* on the Ros' River in the Ukraine was called *Torc' skyj grad* (as, e.g. 1093). I am quoting from the *Nestor Chronicle* according to the last edition: *Povest' vremennykh let*, ed. by V. P. Adrianova Peretts, Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Volumes I-II, Moscow—Leningrad, 1950.

³ And perhaps also the designation for a military unit, cf. my *Stammesnamen* I, p. 59 and notes 48, 50, and 51 on page 92. A new theory on the relations of the *Türk* (*kök türk*) to the *Toquz Oghuz* has recently been proposed by Franz v. László, but it still to be tested. ("Die Tokuz-Oghuz und die Köktürken" in *Analecta orientalia memoriae Alexandri Csoma de Körös dicata*, *Bibl. Orient. Hungaria*, Vol. 5, Budapest, 1947, pp. 103-109; Turkish translation by Hasan Eren in: *Belleten*, Vol. XIV, No. 53, Ankara, 1950, pp. 37-43.)

⁴ More about this will be found in the (still unpublished) second part of my *Stammesnamen*.

⁵ Cf. Németh Gyula, *A honfoglaló Magyarság kialakulása*, Budapest, 1930, pp. 90-92; Moravcsik Gyula, *Byzantinoturcica*, Vol. II, Budapest, 1943, pp. 196, 152, 189, and 222. Cf. also my *Stammesnamen*, I, 76.

⁶ Cf. Gustaf John Ramstedt, "Etimologiya imeni Oyrat, "Sbornik v chest' semidesyatiletiya Gr. N. Potanina, Zapiski Imp. russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva po otb. etnografiyi, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 547-558.

Yabghu, but up to the most recent times⁷ this ruler has generally been overlooked. Of the numerous still unanswered questions about this almost unknown Empire, I should like to discuss, before I come to my proper subject—two major ones: where the Empire was and when it arose.

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS.

From the data of classic Islamic geographers (e.g. al-Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, Ibn Fadhlān, Mas'ūdī, "Hudūd al-'Ālam", etc.), it appears that in the tenth century the empire of the Oghuz was composed of the territory around the north coast of the Aral Sea with a circumference of 600 to 800 kilometers. Thus the Empire was about as large as Germany in 1914. The western boundary was the River Emba (*Djim*, according to Ibn Fadhlān, *Djam*), on the further bank of which was the territory of the Khazars. The northern neighbors of the Oghuz were the Turkic Kimāks; in the south the Empire of the Yabghus bounded on the two Khorezmian Empires (Urgenč and Khwārezm-Kāth) and then on the Iranian-Islamic Empire of the Sāmānids in Transoxania. In the east the Qarluqs were their neighbors. The Syr-Darya River flowed through the region of the Ghuzz to Otrār (Fārāb), that is to the mouth of the Aris in the Syr-Darya. They felt so closely linked to this river that they called it only the *Öküž*, i.e. "The River *par excellence*", as Kāšgharī (I, 364) says. About 100 kilometers upstream from the mouth of the Syr-Darya it turns toward the Aral Sea. There, between the Syr-Darya and the Aral Sea lay the capital, or rather the winter residence (*refugium*) of the Oghuz Yabghu, the city *Yangikent* "new city," which also appears in the sources in Persian and Arabian translation (*Dih-i-nou*, *Madina al-djadida*). This city corresponds to the ruins of Djankent, which have recently been examined by S. P. Tolstov in connection with the Khorezmian expedition.⁸ Yangikent was not the only city of the Oghuz. Next was the city of *Djand* (near Perovsk), which played

⁷ The only scholar who has devoted his attention to the empire of the Oghuz Yabghu is S. P. Tolstov in his works *Goroda Guzov*, in *Sovetskaya etnografiya*, 1947, Nr. 3, pp. 52-102, and *Po sledam*, pp. 244-265; 270-273.

⁸ *Goroda Guzov*, pp. 57-71.

an important role in the rise of the Seljuks, then *Sauran*, *Sighnaq*, *Sürkend*, *Qarnaq*, and others.⁹ Idrīsī speaks of the numerous cities of the Oghuz, which lay in a row north and south.¹⁰ Idrīsī himself names more than ten of these cities and describes them briefly. This information of Idrīsī's (who wrote in 1153) must have been taken from an older written source (perhaps from al-Djaihānī), for in his time the Oghuz were no longer living north of the Aral Sea. The most recent archeological excavations (of S. P. Tolstov¹¹) show that these assertions are credible, even though it has not yet been possible to identify the individual names. S. P. Tolstov was able to show that the later depopulation of the territory must have resulted from the destruction of the irrigation system. Now the statements of Mas 'ūdī¹² that there were settled as well as nomadic Oghuz become comprehensible. All these facts serve to refute the thesis of Barthold who, in 1929, expressed the opinion that the cities on the territory of the Oghuz were first built as Islamic settlements.¹³ According to him the Islamic merchants were able to achieve what was impossible for Islamic arms. But even Kāšgharī (I, 392) speaks of the city of Sughnaq (today: Sunaq-Qurghan near Otrār) as an Oghuz city. The inhabitants of the Empire of the Yabghu were under the cultural influence of the Khazar Empire¹⁴ and under that of Iranian civilization, particularly that of

⁹ On this point see W. Barthold, *Ocherk istorii turkmenskogo naroda* (to be referred to as *Ocherk*), in *Sbornik Turkmēniya*, Vol. I, Leningrad, 1929, pp. 15-16.

¹⁰ *Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāq*, Manuscript in the Leningrad Public Library, (Ar.n.s. 176, c.), 108b-109b. I am quoting from the translation by S. Volin in *Materialy po istorii Turkmēn i Turkmēnii* (to be referred to as *Materialy*), Vol. I, Moscow—Leningrad, 1939, pp. 220-222.

¹¹ *Goroda Guzov*, pp. 53-75.

¹² *Les prairies d'or*, edited by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Vol. I, Paris, 1851, p. 212.

¹³ E.g. *Ocherk*, pp. 15ff. The testimony of Ibn Fadhlāns can not be accepted as evidence against the existence of cities among the Oghuz, since his path lay chiefly through the region of the nomadic Oghuz.

¹⁴ For political relations between the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu and the Khazars see Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos (died 959)—*De administrando imperio* (Chapters 1-13, 37, 79-80, 164, 166); above all, for the alliance between the Khazars and the Oghuz against the Pechenegs in 900 (Chapt. 37.). The "Jewish" names of the Seljuks, such as *Mikā'il*, *Yūnus*, *Mūsā*, *Isrā'il*, etc., as undoubtedly to be traced to Khazarian cultural influence. Recently Douglas M. Dunlop, relying on later compilations, has sought to show

Khorezm.¹⁵ The encounter of the Oghuz with the Islamic world also left profound traces. The representation of this syncretic cultural picture still remains as a task for research.¹⁶ Although as yet the number of inhabitants can not be estimated even approximately, all sources unite in indicating that the Oghuz were one of the most numerous of the Turkic peoples. All sources also emphasize their wealth, particularly in herds.¹⁷

THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE OF THE OGHUZ YABGHU

When did the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu appear? This question¹⁸ is a difficult one to answer. Unfortunately the accounts dating from the time of the Tāhirids and the first Sāmānids in Transoxiana about their Turkish neighbors have been lost. (As an example I mention only the Meshed manuscript of Ibn al-Faḳīh about such a reporter, Habib b. 'Isā.¹⁹) The Arabian universal historian of the 13th century, Ibn al-Athīr²⁰, has handed down an

that the sovereign of the ancestors of the Seljuks was the Qaghan of the Khazars (of Jewish religion). "Aspects of the Khazar Problem," *Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society*, Vol. XIII, 1951, pp. 34-44.) This thesis is to be rejected since here—according to contemporary evidence (Cf. *infra*)—there can only be a question of the Oghuz Yabghu.

¹⁵ Thus, for instance, the Oghuz nomads made use of the Khorezmian word *pekend* when they asked for bread from the Islamic caravans, Ibn Fadhlān, edited by A. Zeki Validi Togan (*Ibn Fadlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig, 1939, ar. Text 14, Translation 26, commentary 137), edited by A. P. Kovalivsky (*Puteshestvie Ibn Fadlana na Volgu*, Moscow—Leningrad, 1939, ar. Text 201 b translation 63.)

¹⁶ In this connection there is also the question of the spread of Christianity among the Oghuz; cf. W. Barthold, *12 Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens*, Berlin, 1935, p. 104. A. Z. Validi Togan, at least, decides this problem in the negative (*Oghuzların hristiyanlığı meselesine ait in Türkiye Mecmuası*, Vol. II, Istanbul, 1928, pp. 61-67. In this connection we must not forget the pre-Oghuzian "autochthonous" population of the Syr-Darja basin, especially the altaic Huns and Hephthalites and the Iranian Alans and Soghdians, who undoubtedly also had an influence. The problem of the ethnogenesis of the present Türkmén has been treated by Tolstov (*Goroda Guzov*) and also by A. Yu. Yakubovskii (*Voprosy etnogeneza turkmen v VIII-X vv. in Sovetskaya etnografiya*, 1947, No. 3, pp. 48-54) and by A. A. Roslyakov (*Proiskhozhdenie turkmenskogo naroda*, in *Programma VIII nauchnoy konferentsii ashkhabadskogo gosud. pedagog. instituta im. M. Gorkogo*, Ashkhabad, 1950).

¹⁷ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, photostatted edition by Barthold, Leningrad, 1930, 18b; Idrisi, Leningrad Manuscript 108b. At this point compare also Barthold, *Ocherk*, 18.

¹⁸ If I am not mistaken, this is the first time that this has been suggested.

¹⁹ Meshed Manuscript, 172a. I quote from a photocopy in Bonn.

²⁰ edited by C. J. Tornberg, Vol. XI, p. 117. Cf. also M. Th. Houtsma, "Die Ghuzen-stämme," in *WZKM*, Vol. II, Vienna, 1888, p. 219.

important note, which may contribute to the clarification of our problems: "A historian of Khorasān [Abū'l-Hasan Baihaqī, according to Barthold] says the following about the Oghuz. . . . In the time of Caliph al-Mahdī [775-785] the Oghuz migrated from the land of the Toquz Oghuz to Transoxiana; they had been converted to Islam, and assisted the magician al-Muqanna' until his cause was lost . . ." It is clear that this may not be accepted literally; for instance the complete conversion to Islam of the Oghuz, particularly of the ruling house, only took place two hundred years later.²² However the statement that the (Syr-Darya)-Oghuz came thither in the time of al-Mahdī from the Empire of the Toquz Oghuz in Mongolia is important. This information may well be fairly correct, for the following reasons.²³ Turkish tradition mentions the Oghuz and the Qarluq as being politically associated. If we overlook the assertions of Ibn-al-Faqīh²⁴ and Gardizī²⁵ (here I refer to the legend of the rainstone) the reader is immediately struck by the way in which a scholar of the Turkish world such as Kāšgharī always gives the Qarluq and the Oghuz the political names of *Türkmen*.²⁶ Here we must also mention that Kāšgharī links the language of the Oghuz with that of the Qipčaq rather than with that of the Qarluq.²⁷

21 *Sultan Sinddjar i Guzy*, in *Zapiski VO*, Vol. XX, St. Petersburg, 048.

22 See below.

23 In *T'ung-tien* (Ch. 193, p. 6v⁰) by Tu Yu (812), the earlier land of the Alans (*Su-i*, or *Su-t'è*), which lay 5000 li north of Persia (*Ansi*, originally the empire of the Arsacids), was also called *T'è-kü-meng* (according to B. Karlgren, *AD* No. 980, 484, 612, the old pronunciation was *d'ek-kiu-mung*). As early as 1900 Friedrich Hirth proposed the identification of this name with the name *Türkmen* ("Über Wolga-Hunnen und Hiung-nu," in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Akad. der Wiss.*, 1900, p. 264, n. 2). Barthold (*Ocherk*, p. 7) accepts his thesis. If it can indeed be shown that the name *T'è-kü-meng* first appears in Chinese sources in the 8th and 9th centuries, this Chinese evidence will be of value in confirming the statements of Islamic sources about the taking of the Syr-Darya region by the Oghuz in the 8th century.

24 Meshhed Manuscript, 171b-173a.

25 Edited by Barthold, in *Otchet o poyezdke v srednyuyu Aziyu s nauchnoy tsel'yu 1893-94 gg.*, St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 80-81.

26 E.g. *at-turkmān al qarluqiya* (Kāšgharī, *Kitāb diwān lughat at-turk*, Vol. I, Istanbul, 1914-1915, 80, 13-14) and *at-turkmān al-ghuzziya* (ibid. I, 14, 10), and *turkmāniya oghuzziya* (ibid. I, 3, p-10).

27 Thus in Kāšgharī (I, 31-35), we find the following phonetic phenomena, which are typical of the Oghuz and the Qipčaq: the Turkish *y*-, *n*-, *t*-, *-t*, etc. become, in the languages of the Oghuz and the Qipčaq *dj*-, *b*-, *d*-, *-d*, etc. Moreover, the dropping of the inter-vowel *-gh-* is supposed to be typical for the Oghuz and the Qipčaq.

The rise of the Qarluq is connected with the decline of the two T'u-chüe, i.e. the Turkish Empire.²⁸ The second eastern Turkish empire was destroyed by a coalition of the Basmil, Uighur and Qarluq in 742. The old central Asiatic stronghold, the refuge in Ötüken in Mongolia, seat of the mother deity and of the protective genius of the nomad empire (*il ötükān qutı*), fell into the hands of the Basmil leaders. The two chief positions of honor in the State, that of the "Left" and the "Right" Yabghu were awarded to the Uighurian and the Qarluqian rulers in gratitude for their collaboration. The Qarluq ruler obtained the office of Right Yabghu, which corresponded to the position of the *Tarduş-şad* in the empire of the Bilgä-Qaghan. Two years later, in 744, the Ötüken once again fell into other hands. The Left Yabghu, the Uighur *Yabghu ili tubar* (*yeh-hu-hie-li-t'u-fa*), joined by the Right Yabghu, the Qarluq ruler, killed the Basmil-Great-Qaghan; the Uighur now took the holy mountain of *Iduq baş* "whence the empire must be governed," into his possession, and adopted the Great Qaghan title of *Qutlugh Bilgä Kül Qaghan*. According to the law of step-wise progress typical of the Altaic empires, we must assume that the Qarluq ruler was now given the title of Left Yabghu for his services. But who could have obtained the post of Right Yabghu? Here an indication in the encyclopedia of the Sāmānidian scholar al-Khwārizmī (10th century) takes us further. There it states that only the rulers of the Oghuz and the Qarluq had the titles of Djabbūya (Yabghu).²⁹ On the basis of this I should like to consider the Oghuz Yabghu as the second Yabghu of the expanding Uighu Empire.

In the battle of the Central Asiatic people of the 8th century against the Arabs, whose strength had increased particularly after

²⁸ The thesis defended here is based on my article, "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," *ZDMG*, Vol. 101, Wiesbaden, 1951, pp. 270-300.

²⁹ *Liber Majatib al-olām* . . . auctore abū Abdallah Mohammed ibn Ahmad . . . al-Kātib al-Khowarezmī, edited by G. van Vloten, Leiden, 1895, p. 120. The data of Khwarezmī refer to some more ancient Sāmānidian sources which have not been preserved. In the meantime the Yabghu of the Qarluq had already become Qaghan (*Qara-Qaghan*) (cf. my "Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden," pp. 279-287).

the victory over the Chinese at Talas (751), the successors of the West Turks, the Türgiř, tried to maintain their leadership against these Arabian conquerors. In the meantime another claimant to domination over Central Asia appeared, the Tibetans. At a moment when all the opponents were occupied, the Qarluq attacked the region of Türgiř in Semireč'e, and in 766 the two chief West Turkish cities, *Quz Ordu* (*Süyāb, Balasaghun*) and *Tārāz* fell into the hands of the Qarluq. We may well assume that at this time the Oghuz were not sitting idly by, but that it was at the same time that they took possession of regions around the Syr-Darya River.³⁰ This assumption of mine is supported by the previously cited statement of Ibn al-Athīr on the migration of the Oghuz from the regions of the Toquz Oghuz to the Syr-Darya in the time of Caliph al-Mahdī (775-785). Other Islamic sources indicate the presence of the Oghuz around the Syr-Darya at least as early as 820.

For instance Islamic sources mention that in 820-821 the "Toquz Oghuz" invaded the Islamic land of Osruřana.³¹ If, as Balāduri (died 892) reports, at this time the viceroy of the Khorasan 'Abdalāh b. Tāhir (died 844) sent his son "Abdallāh to the regions of the "Ghuzz,"³² this was certainly a countermeasure against this invasion of the Oghuz.

This statement by Balāduri is, moreover, the very first mention in Islamic literature of the name of Oghuz (Ghuzz) that we know of.³³

In Islamic literature the name of *Türkmen* first appears in the works of the geographer of the second half of the 10th century, al-Muqaddasī.³⁴

³⁰ Cf. note 23. We have evidence that at the beginning of the 10th century the friendly relations of the Oghuz extended even to the Volga Bulgarians. The Oghuz *Tarxan* was the son-in-law (or brother-in-law) of the Bulgarian ruler *Almīř* (Ibn Fadhlān, edited by Togan, ar. text 16 = translation 31; edited by Kovalivsky, 202b = translation 65).

³¹ Tabarī, Leiden edition, Vol. III, 1044.

³² *Liber expugnationis regionum*, edited by M. J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1862-1868, 431.

³³ Cf. *Materialy*, I, 78.

³⁴ *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, edited by M. J. Goeje, Leiden, 1872, 274, 275.

In this connection we should mention a statement in the Meshhed manuscript of the work of Ibn al-Faqih, according to which Dā'ūd b. Mansūr b. Abū 'Alī al-Bādsghesī, a contemporary of the Sāmānid Ismā'il b. Ahmad (892-907), who had formerly been viceroy of Khorasan, once received an audience from the son of the Oghuz Yabghu, named *Bālqīq* (?) b. *Djabbūya* (=Yabghu).³⁵

THE DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE OF THE OGHUZ YABGHU

The fall of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu was contemporary with two major events: the rise of the Seljuks in Central Asia and the appearance of the Qoman (Polovtsy) in Western Asia and Eastern Europe. I believe that it may be demonstrated that this contemporaneity was no accident, but rather that these two movements were the cause of the downfall of the Empire of the Yabghu.

Our knowledge of the origins of the Seljuks comes only from tales based on the Seljuk tradition in the works of Ibn al-Athīr³⁶ and Mirkhwānd.³⁷ A work dating from 1067, *Malik-nāme*, which first took up this tradition and drew from these authors, has not been preserved for us. Although the assertions of this Seljuk tradition have already been investigated several times,³⁸ an essential point remains unclear—the relations of the Seljuks to the Empire of the Yabghu, after they left it.

According to the Seljuk tradition, the ancestor of the Seljuks, a certain Tutaq³⁹, and later his son Seldjūk⁴⁰, disagreed with the Yabghu, supposedly in reference to the treatment of the neighboring Islamic lands. Finally Seldjū, who in the meantime had risen to be *Sūbaši* (supreme commander),⁴¹ decided to depart with his tribe into the neighborhood of the Islamic regions.

³⁵ Meshhed Manuscript, 171b ff. I hope to dedicate a special article to the question of the constitution of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu.

³⁶ Vol. 9, 321-325.

³⁷ *Historia Seldschukidorum*, edited by J. A. Vullers, Giessen, 1837, pp. 1-20.

³⁸ Finally through Claude Cohen, "Le Malik-nameh et l'histoire des origines Seljukides," in *Oriens*, Vol. II, Leiden, 1949, pp. 31-65.

³⁹ South-turkic form: *Dudaq*.

⁴⁰ The name is presented in a palatal form (*Seldjūk*) as well as in a velar one (*Saldjuq*).

⁴¹ Cf. also Kāšgharī, I, 397, 9.

He drove the viceroy of the Yabghu from the city of Djand, freed the preponderantly Islamic population from their tribute and settled there with his tribe. Then he adopted Islam and maintained friendly relations with the Sāmānids. Under his orders his son *Arslan* fought the West-Qarakhanid Qaghan Hārūn-Hasan b. Sulaimān (entitled Boghra Xan), who in 992 occupied Bukhara for a time.⁴² This evidence leads us to an important conclusion: the Islamization of a part of the Oghuz, i.e. of the Seljuks, must have taken place before 992. Somewhat later a conflict arose between the Seljuks and the Emir of Bukhara, a Sāmānid⁴³, and the Seljuks fled to the Qarakhanids.⁴⁴ The importance of the Seljuks increased greatly when, in 999, the Qarakhanid Nasr b. 'Alī (*Arslan Ilig*, the so-called *Ilig Xan*) conquered Bucharā and, together with the Ghaznevid Mahmūd, prepared an end to the Sāmānid Empire. They settled in the region of Bukhara. From this time to that of the death of the West Qarakhanid Great Qaghan 'Alī b. al-Hasan (the so-called *Alī Tigin*) (1034), the Seljuks remained in the province of the Qarakhanids.⁴⁵

Gardīzī makes a laconic note on the year 1003⁴⁶: the Yabghu of the Oghuz adopted Islam and became the blood brother of the (last) Sāmānid Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl b. Nūh (died 1005). Up to now this reference has been misinterpreted. Barthold⁴⁷ equated the Oghuzian Yabghu of Gardīzī with the son of the Seljuk Mūsā,

⁴² Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IX, p. 322;—'Utbi, edited by Manini, Cairo, 1286 — 1869-70, Vol. I, 176.

⁴³ As yet the corresponding place of Ibn al-Athīr has not been adequately commented upon, and therefore no opinion has been expressed as to who is to be understood by the "Emir of Bukhara" mentioned here. Here it is a question of the Sāmānid Nūh II b. Mansūr (976-997).

⁴⁴ They then lived in the realm of the Qarakhanid Co-qaghan, i.e. the master of the western part of the Empire, with the title of *Boghra Xan*. He was the follower of Hārūn al-Hasan b. Sulaimān, who died in 992. The connection between the Seljuks and the Qarakhanids was so close that it could not be destroyed even by the Seljuks' disillusionment by the "Boghra Xan" and their resulting return to the region of Djand. Thus they later also sought the shelter of another Westqarakhanid, the *Arslan Ilig* Nasr b. 'Alī.

⁴⁵ Cf. my *Karachanidische Streitfragen 2*, in *Oriens*, Vol. III, Leiden, 1950, p. 220.

⁴⁶ Edited by Barthold, in *Turkestan v epokhu mongolskogo nashestviya*, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1898, p. 13.

⁴⁷ As, for instance, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, London, 1928, p. 289.

who had the title of *Payghu*, for which he wanted to read *Yabghu*, and therefore applied this statement of Gardīzī to the wrong person. In a note to my *Karachanidische Studien*⁴⁸ I was able to demonstrate that among the Turks there was not only the high Central Asiatic Title of *Yabghu*, but also a title of *Payghu* which, like *Toghrul*, *Čaghri* meant "Falcon" or "sparrow hawk," and as such was one of the *bird of prey-Onghuntitles* for the tribal leaders. Like his father, the son of Seldjūk had already been a Muslim for a long time (*terminus ante quem* 992) and therefore could not have first been converted to Islam in 1003. Moreover, as we saw, at that time the Seljuks were the allies of the new masters of Transoxiana, the Qarakhanids. Thus here we have to do with an interesting and important dual political constellation: on one side the Oghuz under the Yabghu and Sāmānids, on the other side the Seljuks and the Qarakhanids. A few years later we hear of a hereditary archenemy of the Seljuks, Šāh-Malik, the ruler of Djand. This hostility became acute when the Seljuks were forced to leave the Qarakhanid region and to move to the Khorasmian and Ghasnevidian regions. Who is this Šāh-Malik? In *Ta'riḫ-i Baihaq* we have his full name: Abū'l-Fawāris Šāh-Malik b. 'Alī al-Berānī, with the honorary title (*al-qāb* Husām addaula wa Nizām al-milla.⁴⁹ The key to this riddle is to be found in the work, published photostatically in Istanbul in 1937, by the 17th century Abū'l Ghāzī (*Šedjere-i Tarāḫima*), historian a ruler of Khiwa. In this work we learn that Šāh-Malik, the ruler of Djand, was none other than the son and coregent of the Oghuz Yabghu of Yangikent, named 'Alī.⁵⁰ Since, as we have seen, this Yabghu had closed a compact of blood brotherhood with the Sāmānids, this explains the title of his son in the form of the Kunya *Abū'l-Fawāris*, which was typical of the Sāmānids (e.g. 'Abd al-

⁴⁸ Still unpublished.

⁴⁹ Abu 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Zaid, *Ta'riḫ-i Baihaq*, edited by Ahmad Bahmanyār, Teheran, 1317=1938, 51.

⁵⁰ *Secerei Teraḫime*, edited by the Turk Dil Kurumu, Istanbul, 1937, pp. 31 ff. On this point compare Tolstov, *Goroda Guzov*, pp. 91-92.

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⁵⁰ *Secerei Terakime*, edited by the Turk Dil Kurumu, Istanbul, 1937, pp. 31 ff. On this point compare Tolstov, *Goroda Guzov*, pp. 91-92.

Malik b.Nūh, died 999⁵¹). Moreover, the reason why the Seljuks were in a feud with Šāh-Malik, the ruler of Djand is now comprehensible.

In the sources, Šāh-Malik only appears as the prince of Djand, even in the thirties and forties, when, as an ally of the Ghaznavid Mas 'ūd b.Mahmūd, he was also the ruler of Khorezm (1041)⁵². At that time his father, the Yabghu 'Alī mentioned in 1003, was no longer alive. Why was Šāh-Malik unable to succeed his father on the throne in Yangikent? A similar question arises when we follow his downfall. After the Seljuks took Khorezm in 1044, Šāh-Malik did not flee to his homeland, Djand or Yangikent, but to Iran (via Dahistān to Kermān and then to Makrān)⁵³, where he died. The only possible explanation for this is that Šāh-Malik was unable to return to his homeland because it was already ruled by other masters. Under the year 1054 the chronicle of old Rus notes the first appearance of the *Torki* in the Ukraine of today. The old Rus designation of Torki corresponds to the Byzantine *Uzoi*, and this name can only mean the Oghuz of the Empire of the Yabghu, who, in his time in 985 had conducted a common campaign with the Kievan Grand-Duke Vladimir the Great against the Volga Bulgarians. But now, in 1054, the Torki appear in the company of another people, the *Polovtsy-Qoman-Qipčaq*, who were to be of importance in the next two hundred years of East European history. These partners were the new leaders of the Torki-Oghuz. They had entered into hegemony over the western steppe. As an outward sign of this the name of Oghuzian Steppe was replaced by that of Qipčaqian Steppe (*Dešt-i Qipčaq*). It is curious that this event of so much importance in the history of the steppe should have found so little echo in the Islamic sources which we have. Only the recently discovered work of Marwazī (c. 1127),

⁵¹ On this point compare the data of Bīrūnī on the role of the Kunya of this sort in the titles of the Sāmānids, *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, edited by Eduard Sachau, Leipzig, 1878, p. 134. L

⁵² Abū'l-Fadhl Baihaqī, *Ta'rih-i Baihaqī*, edited by W. H. Morley, Calcutta, 1862, pp. 857, 868;—Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IX, pp. 325, 346-347.

⁵³ Ibn al-Athīr, Vol. IX, p. 347. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Baihaq* (see note 49), in 433 of the Hegira (1041-42) Šāh-Malik b. 'Alī also reigned in the city of Baihaq.

masterfully edited and commented upon by Vladimir Minorsky, and some of the sources dependent on him, give us information about this migration of peoples.⁵⁴ It was caused by the new circumstances in Eastern Asia. The rise of the Qitai, which led to a chain reaction so to speak, of migrations of peoples.⁵⁵ The Qayī people⁵⁶ set the Qūn in motion; the Qūn then the Šari, this latter attacked the *Türkmen-Oghuz* and together with them pressed into the region of the Pecheneg. As for the name Šari, (literally yellow, pale), I agree with Minorsky⁵⁷ in regarding it as a name for the *Qoman*⁵⁸, namely a Turkish equivalent of the Old Rus name *Polovtsy*⁵⁹ or the medieval Latin *Valvi*⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Vladimir Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, London, 1942, ar. Text 18 = translation 29-30.

⁵⁵ Such a "chain reaction" of the migration of peoples must be regarded as typical for the Altaic migrations of peoples. Apart from the reference of Marwazi, we find in at least three independent sources similar reports. 1) The report of Aristaeas (in Herodotus IV, 12-13) on the migrations of peoples in relation to the migration of the Scythians (8th and 7th centuries B.C.): the Arimaspians set the Issedonians in motion, the Issedonians the Scythians, and the Scythians the Cymmerians. More on this subject is to be found in the work of Wilhelm Tomaschek, "Über das Arimaspiische Gedicht des Aristaeas," in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vol. CXVII, Vienna, 1888, pp. 715-780. 2) the migration of the "Tokharians" (about 129-128 B.C.) which is noted in both Chinese (Report of General Chang-ch'ien in *Shi-chi*, Ch. 123) and Greek sources (Apollodoros of Artemita, to be found in Strabo, Ch. 11 and in Ptolemy Trogus, *Prologue*, 41. Any dependence of one of these sources on the other is completely out of the question. Most recently this migration has been treated by Franz Altheim in *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, Halle (Saale), 1948, pp. 88-105. 3) the migrations in the year 463 B.C.: the *Avars* were attacked by the "griffins" (newcomers) and set the Sabirians into motion; these latter pushed the Saraghur, Oghur, and Onoghur, who then pressed upon the Akatzir. Information on this is to be found in the treatment by Moravcsik "Zur Geschichte der Onoguren," in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, Vol. X, 1930, pp. 53-90. V cf. also Denis Sinor "Autour d'une migration de peuples au V^e siècle" in *Journal Asiatique*, t. 235, Paris, 1948, 1-77.

⁵⁶ On the Qayī see A. Z. V. Togan, "Die Vorfahren der Osmanen in Mittelasien," in *ZDMG*, Vol. LXXXV [95] 1941, pp. 367-373; M. Fuad Köprülü, "Kay kabilesi hakkında yeni notlar," in *Belleten*, Vol. VIII, No. 31, Ankara, 1944, pp. 421-452; Wolfram Eberhard, "Kay'lar kabilesi hakkında sinolojik mülahazalar," in *Belleten*, Vol. XIII, No. 32, 1944, pp. 567-588; Eberhard, "Sinologische Bemerkungen über den Stamm der Kay," in *Monumenta Serica*, Vol. XII, Peking, 1947, pp. 204-223.

⁵⁷ Minorsky, *Marvazi*, p. 100.

⁵⁸ On the names *Qoman*, *Qūn*, and *Valvi* see Németh, "Die Volksnamen *quman* und *qun*," *KCSA*, Vol. III, No. 1, Budapest, 1940, pp. 94-109.

⁵⁹ On the *Polovtsy* see the most recent article by Ananiasz Zajaczkowski, *Związki językowe połowiecko-stowiańskie*, Breslau, 1949 (my report on this is to be found in *Der Islam*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, Berlin, 1952).

⁶⁰ Cf. note 58.

The downfall of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu was, therefore, caused by both internal and external factors, namely the rise of the Seljuks and the migration of the Qomans. These two factors were sufficiently dynamic to set into motion a movement which for centuries was also dynamic enough to determine the course of European history.

THE VARIABILITY OF CHILODONELLA CYPRINI MOROFF

SERHIJ KRASCHENINNIKOW

INTRODUCTION

The work of Jennings (1908a, 1908b) and others has shown that populations of *Paramecium aurelia* and *P. caudatum* consist of biotypes differing in mean size, speed of multiplication, reaction to chemical agents, to temperature, and in number of micronuclei and contractile vacuoles. Clones of *Diffugia corona* differ in mean size and in number of spines and teeth surrounding the shell opening (the mouth) (9, 11, 12, 14, 17) (Jennings, 1910). The theoretical constancy of individual clones is only relative, for later generations, even when reared under uniform conditions, begin to show variation in size of spines, etc. ("le nombre des piquants variant de 0 à 11": L. Cuénot, L'espèce, Paris, 1936).

A similar extreme variability or susceptibility to modification may be observed in many other Protozoa. In several species of *Chlamydomonas* Moewus (1933, 1934) described marked intracolonial variation of individual characters associated with culture on different media. These variations exceeded the limits of variability of certain forms described as independent species by other authors. The same phenomenon was observed by Poljansky and Strelkow (1938) on ciliates of the family *Ophryoscolecidae*. This variability of Protozoa (often called polymorphism) has enlarged our knowledge concerning the species concept but in many cases has not allowed us to determine immediately the limits of a species.

Thus, Dobell and O'Connor (1921) and many other authors explained the different forms of *Balantidium* parasitic in man, ape, pig, and rat by supposing that *Balantidium*, like *Paramecium*, shows extensive size variations characteristic of different races. McDonald (1922) established a new species from the pig, *B. suis*, differing from *B. coli*, which occurs in man, rat, apes and the pig; Jameson (1927) and Pritze (1929) considered *B. suis* and *B. coli* as varieties of one species; and Hegner (1934) did not speak of *B.*

suis and *B. coli* but only of types *suis* and *coli*, considering them as extreme variants of the same species.

More recent papers of American authors dealing with *Balantidium* offer no solution to the problem of the specific identity of the forms found in the pig. Nelson¹ and Atchley² do not consider *B. suis* as an independent species but Hsiung (1939) believes that they are. Pick-Levontin and Cheissin (1940) on the basis of a study of variability of different characteristics in clones of *B. coli* from man and the pig conclude that (cited from an English summary:) "The ciliates of the types *coli* and *suis* may be determined as two races within the species *B. coli*. The races *coli* and *suis* consist of series of biotypes, differing mainly by their reaction norm. For the purpose of *Balantidium* taxonomy it is necessary to carry on a protracted study of clones in order to establish the reaction norm of each of them. Between the extreme forms of *suis* and *coli* there exists a great number of transitional forms owing to a genotypic variability of natural populations." It is interesting that in this case even analysis of clones of this ciliate led to opposite conclusions by Hsiung (1939) on one side and Pick-Levontin with Cheissin on the other, showing again how difficult it is to establish any solution of the question of the species concept in Protozoa.

Of another ciliate Kiernik (1909) says that *Chilodon cyprini* (carp) and *Chilodon hexastichus* (tench) are probably only two variants of the same species and the differences between them could be evoked by ecological conditions. In the same article however this author is ready to express the opposite opinion and to regard *Chilodon cyprini* and *Chilodon hexastichus* as independent species. Similar ambiguous ideas about the two are expressed by Roth (1908, 1910, 1913) who first supposes identity between them but later considers both forms to be independent species.

André (1912) speaks with greater sureness on this question. He compared both forms of *Chilodon* and came to the conclusion that they belong to one species.

A more serious criticism of this question may be found in the article by Ten Kate (1931) who says that the ciliary apparatus, the

¹ Nelson, E. C. *Amer. J. Hyg.* 18, 185(1933); 20, 106(1934); 22, 26(1935).

² Atchley, F. O. *Amer. J. Hyg.* 21, 151(1934); *J. of Parasitol.* 20, 144(1933); 21, 183(1935).

form of the body and the number of contractile vacuoles are not important for this problem. Regarding the pharyngeal basket he thinks that great significance lies in the difference in structure of the organelle of these two forms of ciliate and he assumes *Chilodon cyprini* and *Chilodon hexastichus* should be preliminarily considered as two species.

Moore supposed that two *Chilodon* species appear on trout (see Davis, 1929).

Wenyon (1926) and Doflein-Reichenow (1927-1929) consider *Ch. cyprini* and *Ch. hexastichus* to be separate species. Kahl (1930-31) in his key to the Infusoria considers *Ch. hexastichus* to be a separate species.

Schäperclaus (1935, 1941) favors the identity of *Chilodonella cyprini* with *Chilodonella hexasticha* and points out that the former occurs not only on carp but also on tench, trout and probably on all other fish species of different ages.

Furthermore, I have had an opportunity to use the manuscript of I. Bepaly (Ukrainian, 1937) entitled "Chilodonellosis of the carp." This author believes that representatives of the genus *Chilodon* parasitizing different fish species belong to one species. In my earlier article (Ukrainian, 1939) I have expressed the opinion that the final resolution of the question could be completed only by investigation into the variability of these ciliates in clones.

Since I have not had any opportunity to carry out an investigation with clones it follows as a matter of course that the problem of variability cannot be answered with certainty. As I have collected some materials concerning the variability of this ciliate (on which our knowledge is still very limited), I think it may be expedient to publish these data.

The material for this work was collected in the Ukraine in 1937 and 1940 mainly in the towns of Kiev and Bila-Tserkva and their vicinities, as follows: (1) from Kiev, the Lybed hatchery (*Cyprinus carpio*); (2) Bila-Tserkva, market (*Tinca tinca*), Ross river (*Tinca tinca*, *Cobitis taenia*, *Misgurnus fossilis*), the Rotok hatchery (*Cyprinus carpio*), and the pond of the Husbandry Institute (*Scardinius erythrophthalmus*, *Tinca tinca*, *Carassius carassius* Gibelio); (3) the Mala-Sultanivka hatchery near the railway station of Korchi

on the Kiev-Fastiv line (*Tinca tinca*). In addition I have used the manuscript of I. Bepaly who collected material in Pushcha-Vodytsia in the vicinity of Kiev (*Cyprinus carpio*, *Leuciscus idus*, trout, *Gambusia* sp., telescope fish, *Carassius auratus*³ Nigrosin and Klein's silver lines preparations were used for the investigation.

ORIGINAL DATA

Variability of *Chilodonella cyprini* as exemplified in Fig. 1 (from carp) and Fig. 2 (tench) is analyzed statistically in Figs. 3 and 4. Fig. 3 shows the frequency of occurrence of *Chilodonella* individuals with different numbers of ciliary rows in a sample of 117 specimens. Frequency of the individual variants is marked on the ordinate. The top row of whole numbers under the abscissa corresponds to the frequency occurrence of variants. The middle row shows the general number of ciliary rows of one variant.

The fractions designate the number of ciliary rows of the right (numerator) and left (denominator) system. Thus for example, 6/7 indicates a variant with six ciliary rows of the right and seven of the left one.

The curve is not a regular and symmetrical one but has several peaks, a fact that can be explained by the non-homogeneity of the material (the *Chilodonella* specimens belong to different hosts, see above).

In the second case (Fig. 4) 149 *Chilodonella* specimens have been investigated. Here the corresponding variation curve has also several peaks, though the material belongs to one host (different specimens of *Tinca tinca*). The second curve (B-population, Fig. 4) is more homogeneous (in sense of origin) than the first one (A-population). From the variation curve of Fig. 4 one can see, that all four peaks (the fourth one less well marked) correspond to variants with equal numbers of ciliary rows on both sides (5/5,

³ The hosts of *Chilodonella cyprini* found by me and other authors are the following 17 species of fishes belonging to 7 families. *Cyprinus carpio* L., *Carassius auratus*, *Carassius carassius* Nies, *Carassius carassius* Gibelio, *Cyprinus macrophthalmus*, *Tinca tinca* Cuv., *Scardinius erythrophthalmus* L., *Leuciscus idus*, *Osmerus eperlanus*, *Esox lucius*, *Salmo trutta* L., *Cobitis taenia* L., *Misgurnus fossilis* L., *Gasterosteus aculeatus* L., *Gambusia affinis*, *Phallaceros caudomaculatus* var. (?), *Xiphophorus strigatus*. Zassuchin found *C. cyprini* on the skin of the tadpoles of *Pelobates fuscus* and *Rana esculenta*.

6/6, 7/7, 8/8). The two higher peaks of the variation curve of Fig. 3 (A-population) correspond also to the same relations (6/6, 7/7).

The general frequency of specimens with the same number of ciliary rows on both sides (B-population): 4/4, 6/6, 7/7, 8/8 is equal to 116 (64.44%), of those with unequal numbers (5/4, 5/6, 5/7, 6/7, 7/6, 7/8, 8/6, 10/12, 11/10, 12/13) — 33 (35.56%).

The general frequency of specimens with the same number of ciliary rows on both sides in A-population (Fig. 3) is 61 (52.98%), of those with unequal numbers — 39 (44.02%). Thus the frequency of specimens with the same numbers of ciliary rows (left — right) is equal in both cases to more than half of all variants (64.44% — B-population; 52.98% — A-population). From the variation curve of Fig. 3 (A-population) one can see that there are no specimens with a greater number of ciliary rows on the left side than on the right one. The frequency of specimens which have more ciliary rows on the right side than on the left (6/5, 7/5, 7/6, 8/5, 8/6, 8/7, 9/6, 9/7, 10/7, 11/10, 12/7, 12/9, 12/10, 12/11, 13/10, 13/11, 13/12, 14/11, 14/12) is equal to 56, or 49.8% of the total. The total number of ciliary rows of this population varies between 10 and 26.

The B-population shows the following relations in this regard: the number of specimens with more ciliary rows on the right side (5/4, 7/6, 8/6, 11/10) is equal to 7, or 4.66% of the total. The frequency of specimens with more ciliary rows on the left side (5/6, 5/7, 6/7, 7/8, 10/12, 12/13) is 26, or 13.3% of the total. The total number of ciliary rows of the B-population varies between 8 and 25. The extremes for the totals of both populations are 8-26. The mean is equal to 17 (André gives 8-15).

Thus the A-population is more "right" and the B-population more "left." These data do not coincide with those of André, who says that there are more ciliary rows on the right than on the left. Schäperclaus (1935) has found that occurrence of specimens with a greater number of ciliary rows on the right side than on the left one is not a regular one.

On the basis of the material described here, it may be suggested that probably the phenomena are best explained by assuming a mixture of different races of *Chilodonella cyprini*. Further exact investi-

gations that might solve the question of the variability of this ciliate must unconditionally be based on work with pure culture (clones).

As has been mentioned above, the A-population is a mixture of different races (clones) of *Chilodonella cyprini*. If we look at the specimens belonging to this population from the various hosts we get the following interesting relations concerning this species.

1. Carp No. 1 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 9/6, 9/6.
2. Carp No. 2 7/6, 7/6, 7/7, 7/7, 8/7, 8/7, 9/7, 9/7, 10/7, 12/7.
3. Carp No. 3 6/6, 6/6, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7.
4. Carp No. 4 6/6, 7/7, 12/10, 12/10, 12/9, 12/9, 12/9, 13/10, 13/10, 13/12.
5. Carp No. 5 5/5, 7/5, 7/5, 7/5, 7/5, 7/5, 7/5, 7/6, 8/5.
6. Carp No. 6 11/10, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11, 12/11.
7. Carp No. 7 10/10, 10/12, 11/10, 11/11, 11/11, 11/12, 11/12, 12/12, 12/12, 12/12, 12/12.⁴
8. *Carassius auratus* 6/6, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 8/6, 8/7.
9. *Leuciscus idus* 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 6/6, 7/6, 7/6, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 8/7.
10. *Gambusia* sp. 7/6, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7.
11. The trout 13/11, 13/11, 13/11, 13/11, 13/11, 13/11, 13/12, 13/12, 14/11, 14/12.
12. The telescope 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11, 11/11.
13. ⁵ 7/6, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7, 7/7.

These data show that *Chilodonella cyprini* on

⁴ This case is taken from my work (1939, p. 116).

⁵ This aquarium fish species could not be identified. The Russian name of it is "Krapchatka." It seems to be *Phaloceros caudomaculatus* Hensel var.

different fish species does not have the same number of ciliary rows. Even on the same host (the carp) this ciliate shows great variation, if it is taken from different specimens. Host No. 12 (the telescope fish) is an interesting case because all 10 specimens of *Chilodonella cyprini* have the same number of ciliary rows (11/11). In this case one may speak with a certain sureness about a clone. The ciliates from hosts No. 1, 3, 6, 9 and 11 show very little variability and may also be considered as clones. Variability of the other *Chilodonella cyprini* specimens from hosts No. 2, No. 4, No. 5, No. 7, No. 8, No. 10, No. 12, and No. 13 is also very small and allows us to assume that we have here separate biotypes (clones). To support the suggestion that the forms investigated by me belong to the same species the following fact can also serve: though the above mentioned curves (Figs. 3 and 4) have no regular course in a Daltonian sense, the differences between each two adjoining variants are very little, so that there are no hiatuses in either.

Absence of a hiatus in the progression of the variation curve, however, supports the view just expressed. If on the contrary, the opposite case occurred, namely, the presence of *Chilodonella* forms with 4/4, 5/4, 5/5, 6/6 and others with 13/11, 13/2, 14/11, 14/12 without transitional forms, then we could speak with sureness about two *Chilodonella* species.

It follows as a matter of course that the species described by Kiernik as *Chilodon hexastichus* (6/6) should be dropped.⁶

I should like to offer here my suggestions concerning investigations of clones of *Chilodonella cyprini*: until an artificial medium for cultivation of this parasitic ciliate can be worked out, one might try to get clones on the live host. One could do this as follows. A specimen of the carp (or other fish species, e.g., *Tinca tinca*) is bathed in a 2% solution of sodium chloride for 15 minutes⁷ and then placed in an aquarium where there are no other fishes.

⁶ Certainly this does not exclude the existence of *Chilodonella hexastica* as a pheno copy (R. Goldschmidt "Gen und Ausseneigenschaft, Untersuchungen an *Drosophila*, II-IV, *Zeitschrift ind. Abst. Vererb.* LXIX, No. 1, 70-131, 1935) However, this could only be proved by investigations with clones.

⁷ For some fish species (e.g., the trout, the Crucian) the bath time in sodium chloride must be shorter (Schäperclaus, 1935).

After a few days the fish is examined for the presence of *Chilodonella cyprini* and several days later, examined again. If it is found that the fish is free of parasites, a single specimen of the ciliate from an infected fish is transferred to it with a thin glass pipette under a dissecting microscope. If the infection is successful, one can cultivate the clone further and investigate it.

In my earlier work (1939) I gave a table illustrating the variability of 15 specimens of *Chilodonella cyprini* (Fig. A). These drawings show that the general body form of this species varies rather widely between the outlines which are oval and those which are heart-shaped.

Length of the specimens measured by me (1939) varied between $45.0\text{--}73.3\mu$, the width, between $38.0\text{--}57.6\mu$. *Chilodonella cyprini* was taken in this case from carp. In the present study 71 specimens of *Chilodonella cyprini* from *Tinca tinca* have been measured for length and width of the body. The length varied between $32.20\text{--}65.60\mu$, the width between $25.00\text{--}54.05\mu$. 39 other specimens of this ciliate from the carp showed the following sizes: length $37.60\text{--}68.15\mu$, width $25.85\text{--}63.45\mu$.

The extreme values for all specimens studied are $32.90\text{--}71.3\mu$, (length) and $25.00\text{--}63.45\mu$, (width). The mean values are: length, 52.10μ , width, 44.22μ . The ratio of the length of the body to its width, L/W, of 201 measured specimens of ciliates from different fish species varied between $0.85\text{--}1.88$, with a mean value of 1.36 .

SUMMARY

Variability of the number of ciliary rows of two populations of *Chilodonella cyprini* has been investigated: the population A (117 ciliates from *Cyprinus carpio*, *Carassius auratus*, *Leuciscus idus*, *Gambusia* sp., *Salmo Trutta*, *Cyprinus macrophthalmus*) and population B (149 ciliates from *Tinca tinca*). On the basis of this work it appears that the forms investigated belong to one species — *Chilodonella cyprini*.

It is very probable that transmission of these parasitic ciliates takes place not only within the limit of certain fish species but that different species of fishes can transmit this parasite to each other.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My thanks are due to Dr. D. H. Wenrich for his assistance in editing the English text of this work.

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EXPLANATIONS OF DRAWINGS

1. *Chilodonella cyprini* from carp: schematic arrangement of ciliary rows on ventral side; c, circumoral row; p, preoral row; $l_1 - l_{10}$ left lateral system; $r_1 - r_{12}$, right lateral system; mouth distal to preoral row; after nigrosin and silver techniques.
2. *C. cyprini* from tench. Schematic arrangement of ciliary rows on ventral side. c, circumoral rows; p, preoral row; $l_1 - l_8$ left lateral system; $r_1 - r_7$, right lateral system; mouth distal to the circumoral rows; after silver technique. Leitz oc. 20x B, obj. 1/12 — Reduced in reproduction.
3. Graph of the curve showing the frequency of *Chilodonella* individuals with a different number of ciliary rows (from different fish species: carp, *Carassius auratus*, *Leuciscus idus*, *Gambusia sp.*, Trout, Telescope fish). The frequency of ciliates set vertically on the ordinate. The upper numbers row under the abscissa repeats the number seen from the ordinate. The middle row of numbers designates the sum of ciliary rows of both (right and left) systems in each individual. Numerator of the fractions (the third numbers row) designates the number of ciliary rows of the right and the denominator the number of ciliary rows of the left systems. The number of investigated specimens is equal to 117.
4. Graph of the curve showing the frequency of *Chilodonella cyprini* individuals with a different number of the ciliary rows from tench. The

meaning of the figures under the abscissa is the same as in fig. 3. The number of investigated individuals is equal to 149.

Fig. A. Scheme of the general outlines of 15 specimens of *Chilodonella cyprini* from carp. The right specimen of the middle row the length of which is equal almost to 80μ is probably going to divide. Drawn with aid of camera lucida on the level of the microscopical stage. Zeiss 2 mm oil immersion apochromatic lens and compensation ocular 12. The length of the tube 160 mm. Reduced in reproduction. After nigrosin preparations.

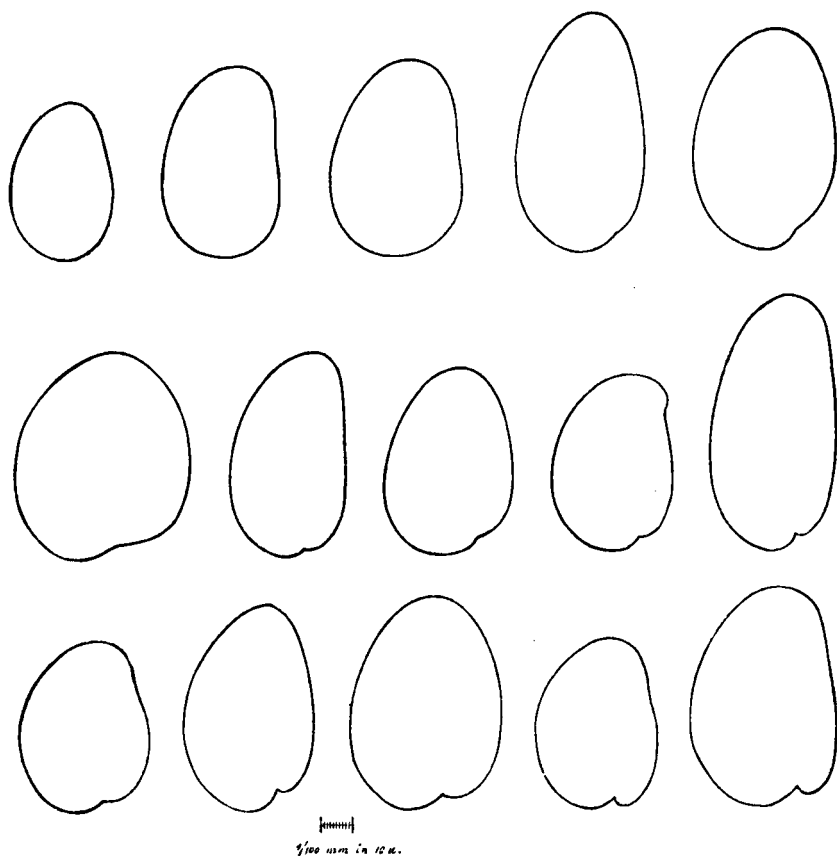


Fig. A.

PLATE 1

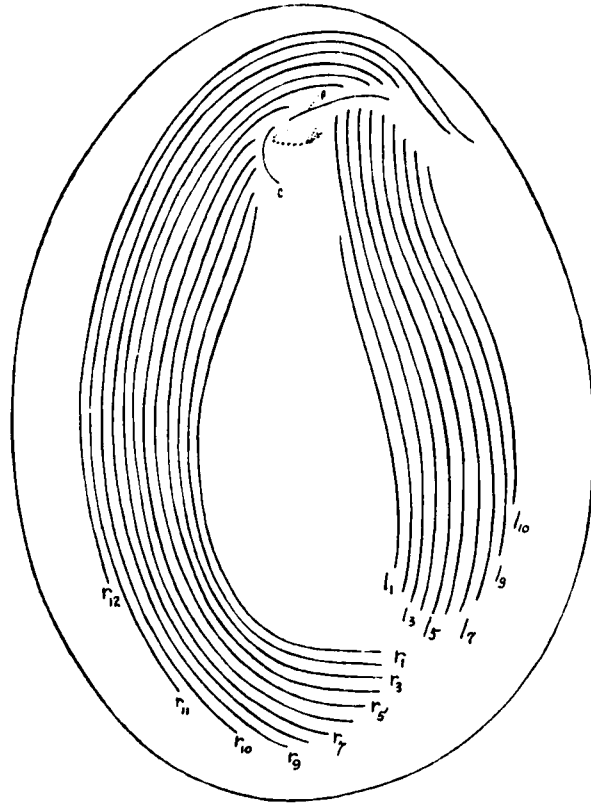


PLATE 2

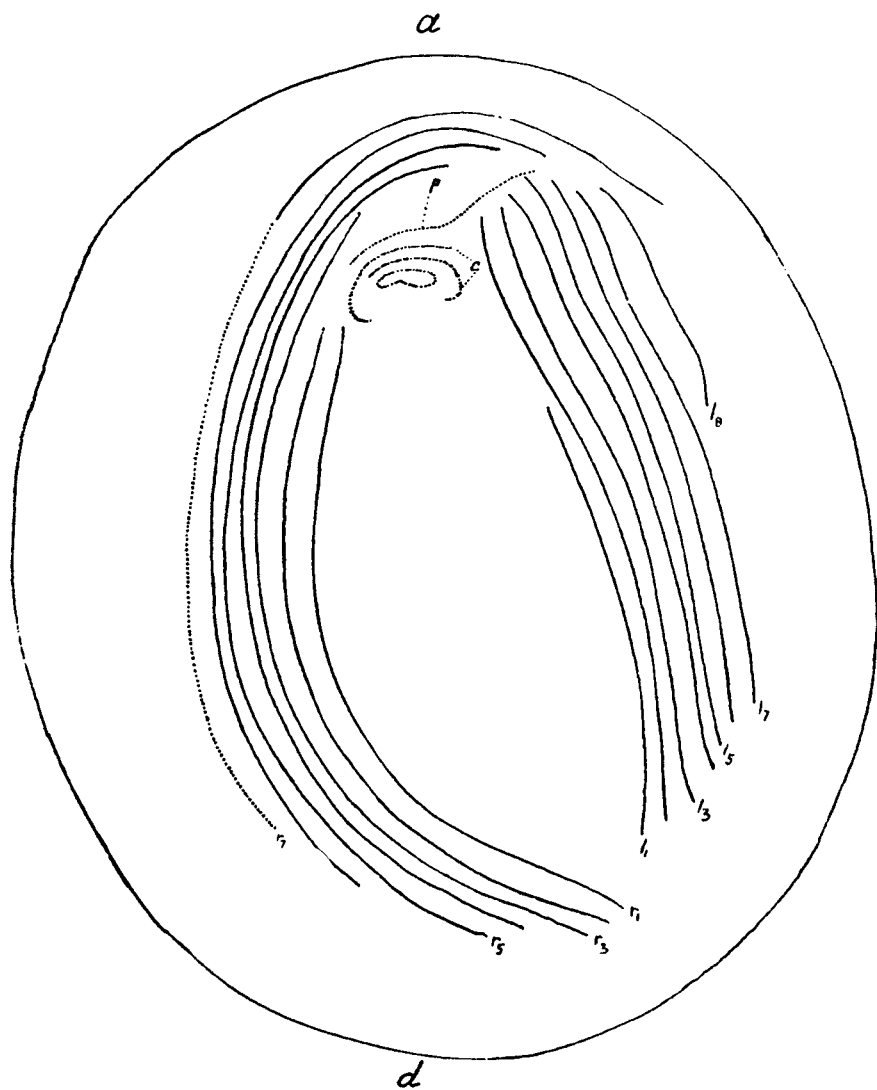
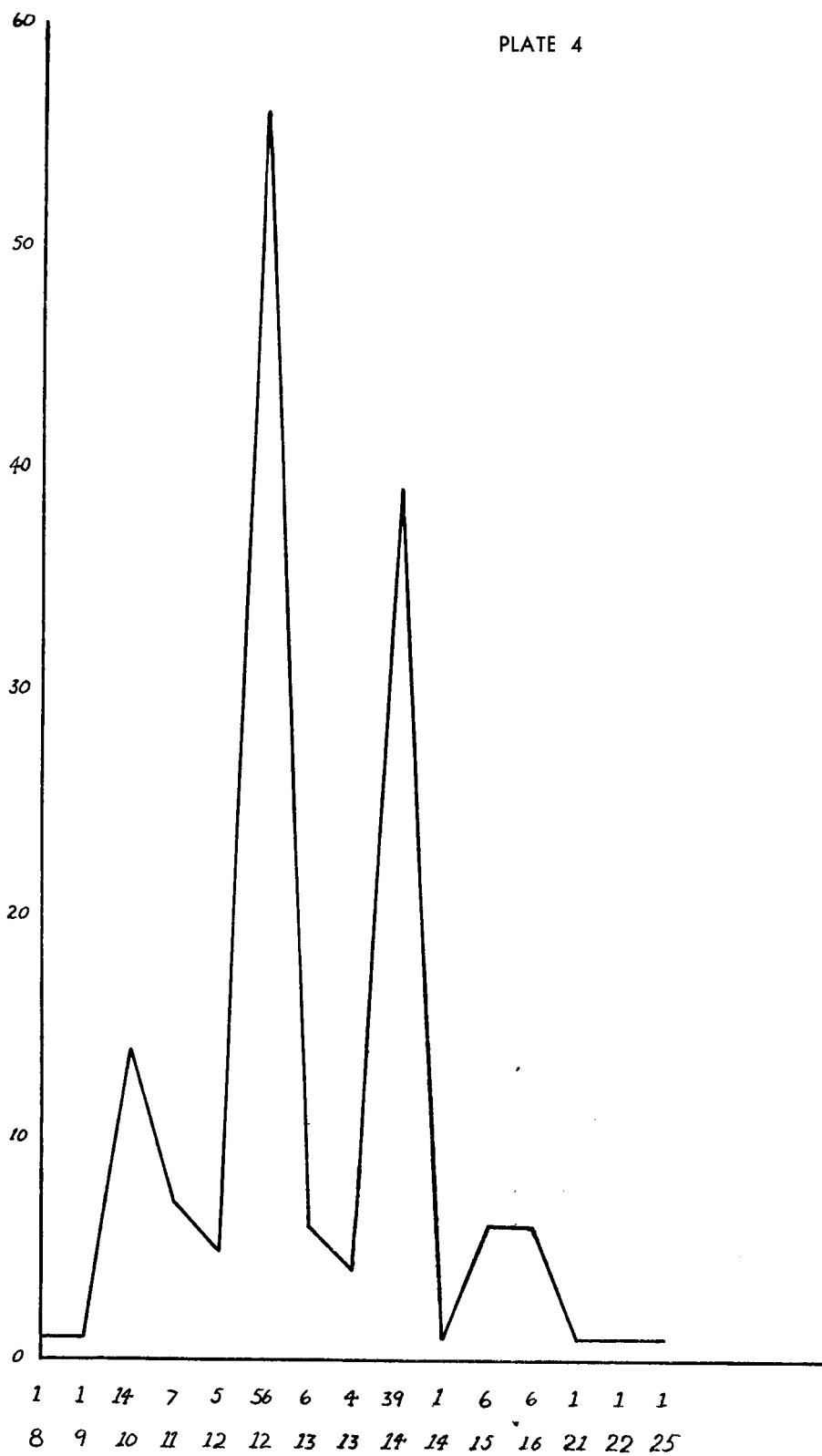


PLATE 4



NOTE

HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION OF EASTERN EUROPE IN THE WORK OF ARNOLD TOYNBEE

LEO OKINSHEVICH

A Study of History, by Arnold J. Toynbee is a work which has quite deservedly attained wide renown not only in specialist circles but also among those of the general public interested in the problems of the philosophy of history and in schematic arrangements of the stages of development of human society. The appearance of this work, as has been pointed out more than once, is not unconnected with the concrete circumstances of the present historical moment. There are evident signs that theories reigning in the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century of a progressive development of human society in any particular direction, depending upon the point of view of a certain scholarly study, are unjustifiable. The historical reality of catastrophic wars and revolutions, of the decline and fall of powerful empires, of basic changes in social ideals and principles itself began to demonstrate most clearly and strikingly its lack of correspondence with most theories of human development from a simple to an intricate, or from a primitive to a perfected, or from a savage to a highly moral condition.

Under such conditions some scholars have returned to the ideas of Vico, so little popular in his own time, which postulate a cyclic development of social organizations of mankind. Spengler belonged to this group of scholars, but Toynbee does not include himself among them. However, although in his work he does not rule out the possibility of an unceasing and progressive development of a civilization not yet at its zenith, it becomes obvious that Toynbee's study is, in essence, of the cyclic school of historical thought.

Whether or not the reader is in agreement with Toynbee's arguments and final conclusions or with his outline of the development of human social organizations, Toynbee's study, in contrast to his predecessors, sets out much fascinating material about the development of social organizations. Much of this is due to the fact that Toynbee employed his specialist historical training in his study of the theory of the historical process. It would be out of place here to characterize all the aspects of Toynbee's study. For us, wishing to touch upon only the one definite theme, it will suffice to discuss them as briefly as possible.

Toynbee considers schemes based on a single historical process for all humanity to be incorrect and without foundation in facts. He believes that the process of historical development is paralleled in a series of social organizations united by community of culture and by a similar, closely related,

historical fate. Such a unification is completed within the limits of definite "civilizations," nineteen of which Toynbee distinguishes although he is prepared to extend this number to twenty-one. "Civilizations" may consist of one people and one social union, or of several, even many.

"Civilizations" themselves are presented as human societies in their historical development. Primitive tribes, not entering upon the path of development, remain centuries behind in their unchanging and unmovable form. "Civilizations" are divided into separate forms. Leaving a few out of account it may be noted that to Toynbee the most essential difference is that between civilizations which have followed the complete process of development and those civilizations in which the process has been incomplete, and which as a consequence of this, have been arrested and frozen in their development at a definite stage. Toynbee regards as a necessary cause of this developmental process the presence of definite material obstacles which a given society can surmount only by straining all its forces and only by leaving aside the primitive condition which does not allow the obstacle to be overcome. If the obstacles are too great, the society (as was the case with the Eskimos and with the Nomads of the Central Asian steppes) can be arrested in its development.

In the growth and development of each society, the creative minority within it plays the leading role. The broader masses of the people are passive and follow behind the creative minority, imitating it, and learning and drilling themselves according to its example. In the course of time, in a majority of the cases studied, the creative minority loses its ability to create new forms of society and to lead society along new paths. However, it remains in its privileged position for a long time to come, being reconstituted as the "dominant" rather than the "creative" minority.

From this time on, society enters upon the path of decline and disintegration. This also occupies centuries and may be accompanied by positive manifestations of external (for example, military) successes or by the development of technical skills. Characteristic and inherent in all known "civilizations" in the period of disintegration is the aspiration of the dominant minority to create a "universal" state. Inside this universal state which is being created or which has been created, the dominant minority is opposed by the proletariat, which Toynbee calls the Internal Proletariat. Now, in contrast to those periods when the minority was creative and the broad masses followed it, this is a force which is inimical to the dominant minority. Another enemy of the dominant minority of the universal state is the External Proletariat, which is presented as barbaric tribes and peoples surrounding the universal state.

In a most complete and detailed manner Toynbee describes and characterizes further the spiritual decay of civilized society and the preparation for its replacement by a new civilization. In this process, the compelling

feature is the adoption by both internal and external proletariat of a new and higher form of religion than the previous one.

This very brief summary of Toynbee's teaching can give only a very incomplete and, because of its brevity, frequently misleading characterization of the views of the English historian concerning the basic paths of development of human societies. Nevertheless this attempt had to be made, otherwise a further examination of a concrete part of Toynbee's study would be impossible or incomprehensible.

Many of Toynbee's theories and arguments have their doubtful aspects and parts are undoubtedly incorrect. Still, his work is a big step forward in the creation of an outline of the historical processes of human society. Among the indubitably positive sides of Toynbee's study, we believe, is his chief aim—a study of the historical path, not so much of individual social organizations united in states or nationalities, but chiefly of the whole complexes of these social unions united by the common possession of basic ideas and by basic similarities in historical development. In our opinion, this differentiation of human societies by their general ability to develop and, further, by their ability to travel completely and not only partially along the path of historical development is undoubtedly correct. Another positive gain is the line of demarcation established between individual civilizations, limiting the unscientific methods of defining the chronologically preceding civilizations by one of the early stages of civilizations chronologically following them, although these latter may have begun their development from far lower forms (for example the unscientific practice of characterizing the Greco-Roman civilization as the original stage of the subsequent European society). The stressing of the role of the "creative minority" is a positive feature, and the transformation of this minority into a "dominant," uncreative one and its subsequent conflict with the masses is incontrovertible.

Toynbee distinguishes nineteen basic civilizations. Among these are: the Sumeric, the Egyptian, the Chinese, the Andean (Inca), Minoan (Crete), Mayan (Central American), Yucatec, Mexic, Hittite, Syriac, Babylonian, Arabic, Iranian, Indic, Hindu, Hellenic, Orthodox-Christian, Western European, and Far Eastern. The author agrees, however, that the Far Eastern civilization must be divided by separating the Japanese civilization from it. The Orthodox-Christian civilization, too, must be divided into the Near Eastern (Byzantium) and the Russian. Thus twenty-one civilizations whose processes of development the author includes in the sphere of comparative research and summary evaluation are actually distinguished.

But here, to begin with, there are more debatable theses. Actually, so that Toynbee's outline of the development of human societies might be recognized as correct, it has to be demonstrably based upon concrete facts. If these concrete facts and historical examples taken from distinct historical periods of distinct social organizations or, in Toynbee's phrase—of separate civilizations, confirm his study, then his thesis will be demonstrated. If,

however, these facts and examples contradict the author's opinions then the latter will be untenable.

However, to provide such a clear and definite answer, the whole complex of historical facts and examples used by the author must also be clear and definite. In the process of verifying this complex of facts and of historical manifestation collected by Toynbee, we can, however, *a priori* admit the possibility that the author did not collect and examine all of them but only those confirming his theory, omitting facts and manifestations which might contradict it. In such a case his thesis would become, at the very least, debatable, and it would be the duty of a scholarly critic to review his schemes on the basis of a wider range of facts.

We may further allow that the facts and historical examples used by the author may be selected completely impartially, that is, those may be introduced which confirm his scheme as well as those which contradict it. However, even in this case the author may incorrectly evaluate the significance of these facts and manifestations and the verification of this evaluation and of the final conclusions upon which it is based are imperative.

It becomes obvious that such an examination of the author's theses is possible both as to the suitability of examples for the theme of Toynbee's work as well as the verification of detail. The first of these courses would demand a great deal of work and would be possible only for an expert with an extraordinarily wide range of knowledge, or for a group of people. The second course would be simple, but since it is concerned only with details, the author's basic positions would remain unaffected.

A middle course is probably more productive. That is the verification of facts relating to those individual civilizations into which Toynbee divides mankind and its historical processes. The confirmation or the refutation of his theses, as far as an entire civilization, is concerned might not be decisive in the evaluation of his work, but would be a vital factor in its general evaluation.

Thus choosing this middle course we limit ourselves in this article to an examination of Toynbee's conclusions relating to the "Russian" part of the "Orthodox-Christian" civilization. If the historical process of development of the peoples of Eastern Europe is examined in the light of a study chiefly of the Muscovite and later of the Russian state (itself a source of controversy, since this state was far from a homogeneous complex) then Toynbee's thesis that historical progress accompanies those peoples who find themselves in unfavorable material and geographic conditions and who, as a consequence of this, are forced to strain all their energies, appears to be strikingly and convincingly affirmed. Only by recognizing this thesis to be correct can the seemingly inexplicable be explained. A powerful state rose on the meager forest tracts of the Moscow river, it battled successfully with the states bordering the Russian, subjugated the peoples of the East European plain, incorporated the fertile Ukraine with a culture closer to that of Western

Europe, conquered its powerful neighbor to the northwest—the Grand Principality of Lithuania, and further subdued huge stretches of the Caucasus, Siberia, Central Asia, Finland, Poland, etc. The measure of external success is astounding when compared with the poverty and the meagerness of the material resources, with the severity of the cold and wet climate.

However, it would seem too that in the creation of the Muscovite state not only were unfavorable material conditions overcome but also certain spiritual foundations. By this we mean that not all the spiritual qualities of the Russian people guaranteed the creation of a great empire.

Agreeing completely with Toynbee when he denies any racial basis for the historicity of human societies, we *a priori* limit our examination of the greater or lesser ability of individual peoples to create a "universal state" and thus create its own independent "civilization." One can speak only of definite prerequisites in the basic character of a people. Often historical examples seem to indicate that the social forces regard the lesser spiritual prerequisites frequently as an obstacle, and in surmounting them find additional strength. The Russian state would seem to be an example of this action. Indeed, in the spiritual make up of the Russian nation there are undoubtedly many positive qualities, several of which are inherent in it to a greater degree than in other peoples. However, one cannot but recognize on the other hand that those qualities which, it would seem, are necessary to the great construction of social unions, are lacking. For example, the Russian people do not seem to have the extremely pedantic love for work or the organic quality of discipline of the Germans. There is little of the spirit of enterprise, of patriotic attachment to the traditional forms of life which distinguish the English, or of that condensation of logical thought which is inherent in the French. By nature, the Russian, taken individually, is more prone to anarchist tendencies. Yet it is this people which created the huge empire which has survived a series of unparalleled catastrophes.

Possibly, however, the following example may hint at the necessity for supplementing Toynbee's outline.

The pages dedicated to the Orthodox civilization of Eastern Europe are scattered throughout the whole work. This is due to his method of supporting definite theses and premises by examples taken from historical experience of various civilizations.

Let us recall that the growth of social organizations on the path of civilization is ascribed by Toynbee to the necessity for overcoming intricate and difficult obstacles. In his opinion, the Slavs entered upon the path of civilization late chiefly because of the absence of any stimulus to overcome these obstacles. The original center of the society established by the Eastern Slavs consisted of the lands along the upper reaches of the Dnieper. Later, in the twelfth century, the center moved to the east, to the banks of the Volga in response to attacks by the Finnish tribes. Still later the center of battle was again transferred to the south, especially to the lower Dnieper, a locale

which in the course of several centuries became the scene of battles with the steppe Nomads.

The universal Russian state was first founded in 1478 after the unification of the Muscovite state with that of Novgorod. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the so-called "Times of Troubles," the attacks of the Nomads were repulsed and by this time final conditions for the formation of the Orthodox state in Eastern Europe had been created.

Describing further the expansion of the Russian state, Toynbee pays special attention to the Cossacks of the south Russian and Ukrainian steppes. He regards them as the chief conquerors of the steppe peoples of the southeastern part of Eastern Europe. The Cossacks, Toynbee believes, had their origin somewhere along the lower course of the Dnieper; from this homeland the Cossack organizations branched out further to the Don, the Kuban, the Terek, the Yaik and the Siberia (Vol. II, p. 157). In battle with the Nomad peoples of the southeastern steppes and with the peoples of the Urals and Siberia, the Cossacks had the upper hand since, as agriculturists, they settled on and became completely acclimatized to the steppe land. Their method of advance to the southeast was to follow the banks of rivers which, depending upon local conditions, allowed them to dominate the entire river basins.

In the wars against the barbarians, the Cossacks, according to Toynbee, themselves were continually transformed from barbarians into fighters against barbarism. This, however, only came about during the course of time and not without opposition. The Dnieper Cossacks who defended their traditions with special stubbornness, in the sixteenth century chose Poland—Lithuania as their suzerain, and only in 1654 did they recognize the power of Moscow. However, even after the last large-scale uprising in 1773, their chief commune was destroyed; some of them went to Turkey, while others reconciled themselves with the Russian government and were resettled on the Kuban where they again entered the ranks of campaigners against the barbaric tribes (Vol. V, p. 313). The Cossacks of the Don, the Yaik, and the Terek were easier to incorporate into the all-Russian state. Later the Cossack organizations of Orenburg, Siberia, and Semirechiye, fulfilled a similar task in battling with the barbaric tribes of the Nomads. In these wars the author lays special emphasis upon the role of the Cossacks of the Yaik (Vol. V, p. 315).

To avoid returning again to the theme of the Cossacks, let us note that the author here commits a whole series of outright errors, most of them in the history of the Cossacks of the lower course of the Dnieper (Zaporozhe). They were not, of course, the creators of the Cossack military organizations on the southern and southeastern borders of the Muscovite state. The author forgets the special national character of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (Ukrainian) and the fact that they originated on the borders, not of the Muscovite, but of the Polish state. Consequently these Cossacks were not

obliged to choose the King of Poland as their suzerain in the sixteenth century; he was already their sovereign. There was no large-scale uprising of the Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1773; however, this is a minor point.

Although the pages devoted to the history of the Cossacks in Toynbee's work are very interesting (there is a very neat observation of the Cossack movement along the rivers and their occupation of the land along the shores) on the whole the significance of the Cossacks is not quite clear. Was this significance decisive in the historical development of the Russian state? The reader, familiar with the basic theses of Toynbee's philosophy of history will undoubtedly expect in his characterization of the historical development of the Orthodox civilization of Eastern Europe that attention will be directed to the chief problem: the birth of a creative minority, its creative activity, its transformation into a dominant minority. To what degree does the history of the Cossacks answer this question?

In this connection the history of the Cossacks does not illumine the basic problem, which is the activity of the aristocracy, that is, a minority moulded by the conditions of that epoch into a separate social class. There is a relatively minor treatment of the activity and the role of the Russian aristocracy in Toynbee's work.

True, the Cossacks also had their own creative (and then dominant) minority, but Toynbee does not touch upon this question. All his attention is concentrated upon the problem of a central Russian state developing into the universal state of Moscow and Petersburg. The universal state of Orthodox civilization which Toynbee identifies with the Russian state, existed, according to him, from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century in a pure form. This was followed by the period of degeneration (when the minority became dominant) most strikingly manifest in the nineteenth century in spite of the external success of this state (Vol. V, p. 311).

As to the internal and external proletariat who are hostile to the universal state, Toynbee makes the following observations. The internal proletariat, he thinks, had three sources in Russia. It was made up of 1) the children and descendants of the exiled schismatics and the later political leaders who came to oppose the state power; 2) descendants of conquered and subjugated western (Poland, The Balticum, Lithuania, Finland) and eastern (Caucasus, Transcaucasian lands) peoples; 3) of primitive barbaric nations in the north and nomadic nations in the southwest of East Europe (Vol. V, pp. 103-104).

It is difficult to agree with this thesis. With regard to the first point, if the descendants of the exiled political opponents of Moscow and Petersburg did not return to their former area and position, they settled in the border areas of the state, becoming organically fused with the local population of these border areas. On the second and third observations it must be noted that, on the whole, the populations of the subjugated nations and states joined to Russia remained in their former areas and continued their old occupations. Often the population thus lost its élite (creative or domi-

nant minority) but this for the most part maintained its position, becoming russified and entering into the body of the upper class of the Russian state.

The origin of the internal proletariat of Eastern Europe is, in essence, the same as in other civilizations: it springs from the population both of the metropolis and of the adjoining areas. According to Toynbee, the external proletariat made an appearance in the history of the civilization of Eastern Europe at the end of the twelfth century. The most striking examples of its battle against the universal state were the domination of the Tatars over Russia and the domination of the "forest barbarians"—Lithuanians over the Byelorussians and the Ukrainians in the Grand Principality of Lithuania (Vol. V. p. 312, n. 1.). This latter instance is not absolutely true, since in the Grand Principality of Lithuania there was no "domination" of the Lithuanians over the remaining population, and it would be more correct to speak only of the rule of the Lithuanian dynasty.

The nature of the external proletariat threatening the civilization of Eastern Europe in more recent centuries, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is not quite clearly stated in *A Study of History*. It is possible, however, that this problem of external proletariat as well as the external danger to the existence of a civilization and of the universal state can be at times regarded as a danger from representatives of other civilizations. Thus, to use Toynbee's terminology, the fall of the Andean, Mayan, Yucatec and Mexic civilizations was a consequence of their collision with the representatives of Western European civilization. As Toynbee notes, the concrete danger of a similar fall for the universal Russian state as a result of colliding with representatives of Western European civilization arose at the beginning of the seventeenth century, during the "Time of Troubles." By repelling this danger, the civilization of Eastern Europe, he believes, prolonged its path of independent development.

However, the possibility of a collision with and the defeat by other civilizations is not excluded, in our opinion, even in subsequent centuries. In our period it is theoretically possible, for example, for the universal state and civilization of Eastern Europe to be destroyed by the universal state and civilization of the Far East (China).

Toynbee is not inclined to consider the communist revolution in Russia and the Soviet state created by it as an expression of the ideas of Karl Marx's social teachings. These ideas (Toynbee boils them down to a repetition, in another form, of the teaching of the Bible, so that instead of God, Marx bows to "historical necessity," the chosen people in the person of the Jews being replaced by the proletariat, and the future kingdom of the Messiah by the dictatorship of the proletariat) were discarded in the conflict between Stalin and Trotsky, and afterwards, in spite of its special form, the Russian Soviet state once more occupies its place in the world as a national empire, similar to the empire of Peter I or of Nicholas I. Russian communism, in his opinion, becomes one of the local variants of national-

ism. Essentially, however, even apart from its ideological basis, (the Western European teaching of Karl Marx) the Russian communist state, far more than the preceding regime, has drawn closer to the Western European civilization.

Of course, many of Toynbee's ideas are disputable. In judging those aspects of Toynbee's work we have already described we are compelled to say that they present no harmonious and rounded view of the history of the development of East European civilization. Much detail, necessary for the further confirmation of the author's outline is not completely developed or is quite glossed over. Some reference has already been made to this. Thus, the basic problem of the formation of the creative minority and its development into a dominant minority is almost untouched. The sections on the internal and external proletariat contain much that is debatable. The year 1478 for the formation of the universal state in Eastern Europe is doubtful. Why is the uniting of the Muscovite Principality with Novgorod considered to be decisive, and not, for instance, the uniting with the Grand Principality of Tver—long-time rival of the Muscovite Principality—or the annexation of the Ukraine?

In the Muscovite state of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the decisive period of its growth, those traits most characteristic of it must be emphasized. Among these may be placed the unique position of the Russian creative (later dominant) minority in its special dependence upon the state it created. As to the state itself, its most characteristic symbol was the beginning of the centralization which has marked its whole history, expressed in the creation of a system of organs of central administration, the so-called "bureaus" (*priказы*), awkward in form but extraordinarily effective.

The changes introduced by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 constitute a cardinal problem in the history of civilization of Eastern Europe. To say that Soviet Russia continues the foreign and, in part, the internal policy of the preceding period is to say very little. The fact is, that the problem of the dominant minority necessarily demands a solution. Can the Soviet state, therefore, still be correctly included in the old scheme of the Orthodox civilization of Eastern Europe? This is not merely to say that this state does not consider itself as "orthodox" but in actual fact it is not. The spiritual break with the preceding period is extraordinarily sharp. The minority, leading the masses, is quite different. Would it not be more correct to recognize that in this particular case we are dealing with an attempt to establish a new civilization accompanied by the acceptance on the part of one section of the population of Marxism as a new type of religion? The geographic concurrence of the borders of the Soviet state with the borders of the former Russian empire is only of secondary significance.

Finally one more note. Toynbee logically limits the problem of the universal state of Eastern Europe to the problem of the Russian state of Mos-

cow, and beyond, to the Russian empire. However, this is undoubtedly a simplification of the problem. The author himself more than once stressed that the presence of one central state formation, concentrating within itself the basic process of the development of a specific civilization, is a possible but not a necessary characteristic. The civilization of Western Europe has up to now not been able to organize such a single trait. Only now are we witnessing attempts at the creation of a Western European federation which, possibly, will remain merely attempts.

Similarly, the problem may be more intricate in the East European civilization, and the history of the development of this civilization is not compelled to limit itself to a simple repetition of the history of the Russian empire. There are, for example, large state formations which existed for a long time parallel to the Russian state. There is the state known as the Grand Principality of Lithuania existing from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries; the state of the Ukrainian Hetmans, existing in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, and such old state organizations as the Georgian and Armenian states in the Caucasus. Is it correct to include the history of these states automatically into that of the Russian state? Is it correct to regard the unity of the civilization of Eastern Europe as dating from the creation in the fifteenth century (let us say) of the universal Russian state? Can one ignore the tendencies towards a national rebirth of the peoples of the Eastern Europe mentioned above?

If we give a negative answer to these questions, then by this very act we recognize the fallibility of a whole series of Toynbee's conclusions with regard to the civilization of Eastern Europe. These particular questions are especially important in connection with the Ukrainian and Byelorussian peoples. Toynbee does not definitely indicate whether they belong to the Eastern or to the Western European civilization. Certain parts of his book lead one to believe that he includes both these peoples entirely within the sphere of the Russian and Orthodox civilization; in other parts (particularly when he speaks of the conflict between the Grand Principality of Lithuania and the Muscovite state) he seems to relegate them to the civilization of the West.

This problem undoubtedly demands solution and necessitates some deeper and complicated research. For the present one can only say that the history of the development of these peoples is first of all an instructive picture of the action of influences from Western and Eastern Europe in rivalry with each other. In the future development of the civilization of Eastern Europe the role of these Slav peoples of the border areas may suddenly become significant.

Evaluating those parts of Toynbee's work dealing with the history of Eastern Europe and "Orthodox" civilization it should be noted that there are some errors, but this is understandable since no one can be a specialist in all fields of world history. More serious is the fact that his presentation does not in many cases support his main outline, and conversely,

material supporting the outline is frequently omitted. Thus, the accuracy of Toynbee's theory with regard to Eastern Europe remains in doubt.

However, this in no way reflects on the fallibility of Toynbee's theory as a whole. This theory, in those sections with which the author is more familiar, is far better supported. Besides this, as he pointed out, at the beginning of this note, the positive aspects make Toynbee's theory deeply interesting. The sections on the "Orthodox civilization" of Eastern Europe bear witness to the fact that Toynbee's scheme requires further verification, some changes, and some additions.

REVIEW ARTICLES
AN AMERICAN STUDY OF THE
UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION

IVAN L. RUDNYTSKY

[John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920; A Study in Nationalism*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, 363 pp.]

John S. Reshetar, the author of *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, has defined the purpose of his work as "an attempt to do justice to a sorely neglected aspect of the Russian Revolution—the Ukrainian effort to attain independent statehood which commenced in 1917 and ended in failure in 1920." (p. vii).

The formulation of this sentence is unfortunate, for it perpetuates the confusion in American literature which arises from the indiscriminate use of the word "Russia" in two different senses. Sometimes it is used to refer to the truly Russian (Great Russian or Muscovite) people and to the territory which they inhabit, and sometimes to the total territory of the former tsarist empire or of the present Soviet Union, and to the multinational population living within these political boundaries. If all of Soviet Eastern Europe is equated to "Russia," then the Ukrainian Revolution can, of course, be considered as an "aspect" of the Russian Revolution. But this terminology does not fit the facts very well, for the immediate practical aim of the Ukrainian Revolution was the shaking off of Russian domination, while the sociological and ideological content, and the direction and rhythm of the development of the Ukrainian Revolution were profoundly different from those of the Russian (in the stricter sense) Revolution. Perhaps it would be more exact to speak, not of the Ukrainian aspect of the Russian Revolution, but of a great East European revolution, in which there was not only a Russian trend, chiefly expressed in the Bolshevik movement, but also a specifically Ukrainian trend.

Apart from this terminological awkwardness, Mr. Reshetar formulates his subject correctly, particularly when he shows that so far the Ukrainian Revolution has been "sorely neglected" in American historical studies. Moreover, this is true not only of the Ukraine, but also of the efforts of all the non-Russian peoples of the former tsarist empire who used the crisis of 1917 to try to reconstruct their national statehood. In studying the great struggle which followed the fall of tsarism in 1917, Western historians tend to see it as a duel between two Russian competitors, the Communist Party and Lenin's Soviet government on the one side, and the White Armies of Gen-

erals Kolchak, Denikin, and Yudenich on the other. This centralistic viewpoint either ignores or underestimates the importance of a third factor, the struggle for independence of the non-Russian peoples, from the Finns in the north to the Armenians and Georgians in the south, and from the Ukrainians in the west to the Turkestanians in the east. There are also sound reasons for considering the autonomistic ambitions of the linguistically Russian groups, such as the Don Cossacks and the Siberians, which showed a strong regional consciousness, as a part of this third force.

As Mr. Reshetar says in his Preface (p. viii):

The person who undertakes to describe and evaluate the events of this period of civil war and revolution cannot but be aware of the large numbers of works with an anti-Ukrainian bias which have come from the pens of Soviet and anti-Bolshevik Russian writers.

It is impossible to give a true picture of the Ukrainian Revolution without drawing upon Ukrainian sources. One of the chief services of Mr. Reshetar's book is that for the first time it makes available to the American reader the voluminous Ukrainian source material on the revolutionary period of 1917-1920. Mr. Reshetar has shown great thoroughness in collecting and using the Ukrainian documents, memoirs, and systematic studies which deal with this period.

A second great value of this book is its scholarly reliability. It is evident that the author has checked and double-checked every fact. We will refer later to matters which we feel are erroneously presented, but they are not errors of a factual nature. As a reference book Mr. Reshetar's *The Ukrainian Revolution* will be irreplaceable for scholars or publicists seeking information in this field.

Moreover, *The Ukrainian Revolution* may certainly be used with profit by Ukrainian as well as American readers. In spite of the mass of material in Ukrainian, there is no such work as this, a complete and relatively short survey. This is connected with the fact that the majority of publications on the Ukrainian struggle for liberation (as the Ukrainians call their revolution of 1917-1920) date from the 1920's, when the authors were still under the immediate impression of the events in which most of them had participated. This naturally led to an inadequate historical perspective. These works have a partly memoiristic, partly documentary, and partly polemical and apologetic character, and even the best of them (e.g. Dmytro Doroshenko's well-known work on the *Tsentralna Rada* and the Hetmanate) do not have that impartiality which can only be achieved some time after the event. In the middle of the thirties, when the time would have been suitable for the writing of a synthetic history of the Ukrainian Revolution, Ukrainian scholars were hampered in their creative work by the political situation of their land. It is obvious that in the Soviet Ukraine no work on the Ukrainian revolu-

tion which could even pretend to be independent and objective could be written. But in the Ukrainian provinces of the Polish State scholarly research was also hindered by censorship and administrative pressure, at least where the history of Ukrainian-Polish relations was concerned. Ukrainians will be grateful to Mr. Reshetar for providing a useful textbook on the most important segment of their recent history.

Another very positive side of the book is its literary quality. Mr. Reshetar has a dexterous command of the English language. His strength seems to lie particularly in irony. In the Preface he says (p. vii): "There is much in this story that is heroic, and there is also the shabby, the tragic, and the ironic." The reader can easily see that for the author the ironic aspects are more congenial than either the heroic or the tragic ones.

The structure of *The Ukrainian Revolution* is simple. The work is divided into seven chapters. The first, "Incipient Nationhood," and the last, "In Retrospect," compose the general historical introduction—a sketch of the situation of the Ukrainian people on the eve of the First World War—and a resume of the results of the Ukrainian Revolution. The middle five chapters treat chronologically the development of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation itself, from the foundation of the revolutionary Ukrainian parliament, *Tsentralna Rada*, in the spring of 1917, to the division of Ukrainian territory between the Soviets and Poland in 1920 (formally confirmed by the Treaty of Riga, March, 1921). In our opinion the most successful chapter in the book is that dedicated to the Hetmanate of 1918. The presence of German troops in the Ukraine then interrupted the course of revolutionary development. The contradictions between appearance and reality and the many diplomatic and political intrigues which characterized the regime of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky give Mr. Reshetar the opportunity to use his talents as a friendly-ironic observer.

A historical work which is correct from a factual point of view does not offer an easy point of attack for the critic, even when he feels clearly that the book is not completely satisfactory. Criticism must focus on the interpretation, or on what has been omitted, rather than on the factual material presented. This may easily make the criticism seem subjective, especially when the critic does not have at his disposal the space necessary for a refutation of the entire thesis of the book. We meet such difficulties in attempting to formulate our objections to Mr. Reshetar's *The Ukrainian Revolution*.

Benedetto Croce says that the work of a historian is to be distinguished from that of a chronicler in that the historian not only gives a skeleton of isolated events, but also attempts to show their relationship and to give a rational explanation. Without being a chronicle, *The Ukrainian Revolution* does not reach the level of a truly historical work in the above sense. Mr. Reshetar's mastery of the political and sociological problems which his book raises does not keep pace with his mastery of the empirical facts. The

reader learns what happened, but usually the "how" and the "why" remain unexplained.

Mr. Reshetar's method is one of governmental or political historiography. In *The Ukrainian Revolution* we can learn about the various party combinations and the order and composition of the governments which the successive waves of the revolution brought in their wake. This historical method, which is probably quite suitable to a treatment of the diplomacy of the Vienna Congress, is rather inadequate for the object of Mr. Reshetar's investigation. The Ukrainian Revolution was primarily a mass movement, and on the whole took place on the local level and in a decentralized way. The successive regimes in Kiev had a very imperfect control and direction of this mass movement. It is true of the history of most revolutions that the leaders are more swept along than leading. This feature, common to revolutions, was intensified by the specific circumstances existing in the Ukraine in 1917-1920. In passing let us note that the gravest internal problem of the young Ukrainian State was the fact that the elite was not strong enough, in either numbers or experience, to canalise the awakened energies of the people. Certainly the nature of the Ukrainian Revolution was such that a historian must study it not only from "above," in the acts and policies of the government, but also from "below," in the attitudes and strivings of the masses. Without the inclusion of the broader social background the facts of political history in the narrower sense remain inchoate. Indeed, by neglecting social phenomena and mass psychology, at times Mr. Reshetar falls into real error in his judgment of events.

In a description of the situation in the Ukraine before the First World War we read the following assertion (p. 92): "Decline rather than growth seemed to characterize the Ukrainian national movement during the post-1907 stabilization of autocracy in Russia." From the context it is easy to see how the author arrived at this conclusion; Mr. Reshetar's attention was concentrated on the Ukrainian political parties, and it is indeed true that after the first upswing during the Revolution of 1905 the various Ukrainian party groups in the Russian Empire were decidedly on the ebb about 1907. This was no isolated phenomenon. For example, the history of the Russian Social Democratic Party shows that in both the Bolshevik and Menshevik fractions there was a distinct crisis at that time. But does this give us the right to speak of a decline of the Ukrainian national movement? This would only be the case if the political parties were the real expression of this movement. Mr. Reshetar seems to assume this tacitly, and nothing could be more mistaken. In reality party differentiation among the Ukrainians was still in an embryonic stage, and conditions in this sector may not be taken as an indication of the general health of the Ukrainian movement. Mr. Reshetar, who has taken great pains to reproduce the contents of some unimportant Ukrainian party pamphlets, has not devoted a single word to the vital organization forms of the Ukrainian movement of the time, the

cooperatives and educational societies, or to the bearers of the movement, folk school teachers, organizers of cooperatives, *Zemstvo* officials, etc., or to the most important problem, namely what echo this work of national enlightenment found among the masses. If Mr. Reshetar had directed his attention to these points, he would have seen that the years immediately preceding the First World War were not ones of decline, but rather of the rapid and successful growth of the Ukrainian national movement.

We have devoted so much attention to this point in order to show by at least one concrete example the erroneous opinions into which Mr. Reshetar's emphasis on the purely political aspects of his subject led him. There are several such mistaken judgments in *The Ukrainian Revolution* which arise from a neglect of the sociological foundation. However, these are more complicated questions than the simple example given above, and we are unable to go into them. One more point should, however, be mentioned in this connection. This is that of the historical results of the Ukrainian revolution. Mr. Reshetar says (p. vii-viii):

In a narrow sense this is the study of a failure because the men who led the Ukrainian movement were defeated. Yet when viewed in its historical perspective, the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1920 was not without effect for it compelled Russia's Communist rulers to acknowledge the existence of the Ukrainian people. This was no mean achievement.

In this the author is correct, but he overlooks a much more important result of the Ukrainian Revolution, the profound mutation which took place in the Ukrainian national consciousness. In the Russian Empire before 1917 there was a Ukrainian ethnic mass and a Ukrainian national movement—but there was still no crystallized Ukrainian nation. The revolution gave an enormous impetus to the process of development of a modern Ukrainian national consciousness. Within a short period of time, the mass of the Ukrainians became aware of themselves as a separate nation, and this idea was confirmed by the great sacrifices made for it. Mr. Reshetar's one-sided emphasis on the proceedings of the governments prevents him from grasping this basic fact. The reader of *The Ukrainian Revolution*, who is not shown the elemental force of this mass movement, and who sees examples of the immaturity and inexperience of the Ukrainian leaders on almost every page, must wonder why the Provisional Government in Petrograd had to bend to the demands of the *Tsentralna Rada*, why the Bolsheviks had to replace their original centralized program by a (seemingly) federalist one, why the Ukraine became the grave of General Denikin's White Army, etc.

Perhaps we shall not err in suspecting that these weaknesses of *The Ukrainian Revolution* arise from a certain scholarly timidity on the part of the author, in which he confuses scientific objectivity with a refusal to commit himself. As long as an author remains within the field of strictly politi-

cal historiography, he can buttress every statement with a footnote. Perhaps if there had been Gallup polls in the Ukraine of 1917-1920, Mr. Reshetar would have ventured into such problems as the changes in mass consciousness, etc. But in fact collective phenomena can only be judged by the generalization of individual symptoms. In doing this no historian can move with absolute certainty, but only by approximation. But this is the method by which all great historians have operated, and a historian cannot avoid the treatment of real historical problems only because giving an answer involves taking a risk. Mr. Reshetar is careful to avoid any evaluation, generalization, or personal interpretation. This is a very narrow view of historical objectivity. Mr. Reshetar is also over-cautious in his treatment of various historical personalities. It is in vain that we seek a connected portrait of Petlyura, Skoropadsky, Hrushevsky, or Petrushevych. In a pointillistic manner Mr. Reshetar draws various individual traits from the memoirs which he used, but without attempting to give a general interpretation of character.

Although Mr. Reshetar calls the Ukrainian Revolution an aspect of the Russian Revolution, he does not show the position and function of the Ukrainian struggle for independence within the total picture of East European history during the fateful years of 1917-1920. And yet, was it not the impossibility of compromise between the Russian White movement and the forces of the non-Russian nationalities (among whom the Ukrainians were the most important) which opened the way to a Bolshevik victory? Was it not Lenin's political realism in recognizing the necessity for concessions to the non-Russian nationalities which clinched the Communist victory? Was it not the West's distrust of the non-Russian nationalities which unconsciously played into the hands of the Russian Communists? Sometimes Mr. Reshetar presents material which bears upon these points (e.g. interesting new data on the treatment of the Ukrainian question at the Paris Peace Conference), but nowhere does he show the relatedness and importance of Ukrainian development within the framework of world history. It would have been helpful to compare the efforts of the Ukrainians with those of other peoples of Eastern and Central Europe, to give a sense of historical proportion to the study of the Ukraine. Perhaps such a comparative investigation would have shown that although the creative force was insufficient for the mastery of the extremely difficult foreign and domestic problems, on the whole there was scarcely another of the "new" nations of Central and Eastern Europe which sacrificed so much in its struggle for independence.

As a last criticism of *The Ukrainian Revolution* we must remark that Galician (West Ukrainian) affairs do not receive the treatment commensurate with their importance, which was considerable. Not only was Galicia forced to bear the brunt of the whole Ukraine's struggle against Poland, it also aided the Dnieper Ukraine in the battle against Russia. Although Galicia was only the equivalent of one of the provinces (*gubernii*) of the Dnieper Ukraine in size and population, it became, thanks to the more favor-

able political conditions it had had under the constitutional Austrian regime, a "Piedmont" of the Ukrainian national movement. The first chapter of Mr. Reshetar's book is entitled "Incipient Nationhood." As a characterization of the internal condition of the Ukrainian people in tsarist Russia before 1914 this is not inapt. But to complete the picture Mr. Reshetar should have said that the Ukrainian people in Austrian Galicia had become a nation in the political sense of the word considerably before 1914, as was proved by Galicia's constructive achievements during the revolutionary period. *The Ukrainian Revolution* may give the reader the impression that the conquest and annexation of Galicia by Poland was merely a local affair. The mutual interdependence of the Russian and Polish fronts in Ukrainian strategy and diplomacy remains hidden. And yet, at the beginning of 1919, it looked as though small but disciplined Galicia, which had been spared anarchy and agrarian riots, might be called to be the crystallization point of the forces of order for all of the Ukraine. The Polish invasion proved to be no less fatal to the Ukrainian cause than those of Soviet Russia and of the White Army of General Denikin.

The incompleteness of Mr. Reshetar's grasp of the Galician question is shown in his treatment of the Greek-Catholic (Uniate) Church. He could have omitted his excursion into the questions of *filioque* and other dogmatic problems in his endeavor to show the differences between the Orthodox Church in the Dnieper Ukraine and the Uniate Church in Galicia. In reality theological questions were of subordinate importance, and the political element was decisive. In Galicia the Uniate Church was a sort of national church for the Ukrainian people; the Eastern Church rites and separate hierarchy distinguished it from Polish Catholicism, while the tie to Rome assured independence from Russian influence. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, however, had long lost the autonomy which it had possessed in earlier centuries, had become incorporated into the Russian Orthodox State Church, and thereby had also been used as an instrument for the denationalization and oppression of the Ukrainian people. These simple facts, which Mr. Reshetar fails to bring out, suffice to answer his question as to the difference in the moral authority of the two Churches among the population.

We hope that the reader of this review will not interpret it as a negative judgment of Mr. Reshetar's book. As we have said, we believe that it is a real contribution to the study of East European history. It is a serious and thorough piece of work. To the author's credit we must also add that it is not only his first work, but also a pioneer effort in this field for American scholarship. Perhaps this excuses excessive caution. The time seems ripe for a rewriting of the history of the "Russian" (East European) Revolution, giving more attention to the struggle of the non-Russian peoples. Mr. Reshetar's *The Ukrainian Revolution* represents an important step in this direction. We hope that other studies will follow.

A NEW RUSSIAN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY

DMITRY ČIŽEVSKY

[Max Vasmer, *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Indogermanische Bibliothek, herausgegeben von Hans Krahe; II Reihe: Wörterbücher). Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1950-51, I-V, XL + 384 pp.]

Slavic etymological dictionaries are in a bad way. The etymological dictionary by Miklosich is quite obsolete, while the new dictionary by Berneker, which was begun before the first world war, remained incomplete after the publication of the first part of the second volume. The etymological dictionary of the Russian language by Preobraženskij remained unfinished due to the author's death and the Revolution. The fragments of the final part of it as published in 1949 by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. are imperfect. The most valuable Slavic dictionary, that of the Polish language by Brückner, is of a popular rather than scientific nature and contains only a limited range of words. The Czech etymological dictionary by Holub is most unsatisfactory.

In view of this, the work of the eminent Berlin Slavist, who undoubtedly is one of the greatest contemporary German Indo-European linguists, will surely fill this gap. In spite of difficult post-war conditions the author has succeeded in amassing considerable material which can hardly be criticized as incomplete, especially since some source material, such as the terminological dictionary by Kočin (1937) is not available outside the U.S.S.R.

For the study of Ukrainian, Vasmer's dictionary is of the greatest importance not only because of the absence of a Ukrainian etymological dictionary, but also because the author does not limit himself to words of the Russian literary language, but cites much material from Russian dialects (the South Russian and North Russian) which have retained many Old Church Slavic words that can also be found in Ukrainian. In most cases, too, the author cites words from other Slavic languages, among them Ukrainian, as a parallel to the Russian words.

Without intending to minimize the value of Vasmer's dictionary, which will certainly remain one of the basic sources for the study of the Slavic languages, I should like to point out some errors and omissions, especially in the history of the Russian and the Ukrainian vocabulary. The corrections are made in alphabetical order:

| page | Russian word | Note |
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| 5 | aglinskij | Vasmer: occurs in 17-18th centuries. This word also occurs in Gogol in sketches for <i>Dead Souls</i> . |

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| 5 | agrik | may be found already in one of the tales about St. Nicholas' miracles, of the pre-Mongolian period, earlier than the legend of Peter and Fevronija given as its source by Vasmer. |
| 7 | Azija | occurs in <i>Kuranty</i> (1665), then in a letter from Peter I (Sobolevskij, <i>Perevodnaja literatura</i> , 1903, quotation from the manuscript of 1661, 1681, pp. 168, 176). |
| 8 | akavitaja | in Ukrainian popular etymology— <i>oķo-vyta</i> , "it makes the eyes pop out of one's head." |
| 8 | akademija | already occurs in a Great Russian manuscript of Raimund Lullus, according to Sobolevskij "before 1650." |
| 9 | akrida | used by Flavius in a different sense, not as "grass-hoppers" but a part of some plant; also in Zyzanij. |
| 12 | aleksandriĳka | the town of Oleksandrija in Kherson district was thus named, not in honor of Alexander the Great, but for the grandson of Catherine II, Alexander. There were no textile factories in Oleksandrija; there were only flour mills and an agricultural machinery factory. |
| 15 | almanach | first used by Maxim Grek, in any case before 1525; not, as Vasmer says, in <i>Domostroj</i> . |
| 16 | ambarskij | Peter I wrote "andurskij" (gamburgskij) acc. to Sobolevskij (p. 73). <i>Ambur</i> dates from 1696. |
| 18 | Anglija | used by Peter I in 1707. |
| 22 | arap | <i>arapskij</i> in the sense of "Arabian" occurs several times in <i>Tajnaja tajnych</i> (man. of the 16th century edited by Speranskij in PDP, 171). |

- not listed: argan frequently used in 17-18th centuries (e.g. Strojev, *Vychody carja Alekseja Michajloviča*, 1674; in the description of Tolstoy's visit to Italy in 1697-98); it can also be found in some copies of the manuscript *Molenije Daniila*.
- 23 arest acc. to Vasmer dating from 1705; but in fact used earlier, in *Apocrisis* (1598).
- 24 arifmetika acc. to Vasmer dates from the time of Peter I. In reality much older—without mentioning Ukrainian editions which were known in Moscow, like *Adelphotos* (1591)—and “arithmetic” book was in the hands of Prince Kurbskij.
- 25 armija acc. to Vasmer, from 1705; in reality occurs in Berynda's work—as *armeja*.
- 26 artykul acc. to Vasmer, from 1704; this word came to Moscow before 1617 from Vyšenskyj's *Začapka* which was published by Golubev from a Moscow text.
- 28 architektura can be found in Berynda (Berynda's architektor is cited by Vasmer).
- not listed: aspect which occurs in 1672 in a poem by Simeon Polockyj on the occasion of Peter I's baptism, and also in Sobolevskij's 18th century manuscript, p. 143.
- 31 asfalt acc. to Vasmer a new word; in fact can be found as early as Nikon's Chronicle, I, 44 (Noah covered his ship with asphalt).
- 44 balahol (Ukr.) more common form—balahula.
- 45 balanda during the Revolution, and perhaps earlier too, term for prison soup given to those under arrest.
- 48 ballotirovat' acc. to Vasmer before 1720; in fact occurs in Prince Kurakin (1708) who uses the term baletovat'—for the choice of bullets.

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| 50 | balyk | Vasmer: e.g. Čechov; occurs earlier (in Gogol at the meeting between Čičikov and Nozdrev). |
| 50 | baljasy | acc. to Vasmer dates from 1703; may be found in the description of Tolstoj's travels in Italy 1697-98. |
| 54 | barachlo | acc. to Vasmer known in Archangel, Orenburg, and Siberia. Common also in the Ukrainian and Russian languages. |
| 56 | barka | not a new word; occurs in Novgorod Chronicle, (PSRL 4, 1) 484. |
| 63 | bafta | although with a different meaning, occurs in Nikon's Chronicle, III, 6. |
| 67 | begeul | Kočin: begul (p. 26). |
| 72 | beleg | in Nikon's Chronicle (I, 35), meaning jewel. |
| 73 | belveder | in Tolstoj's description of visit to Italy —balvard. |
| 84 | bešmet | acc. to Vasmer, in Gogol and Leskov; also in Lermontov (<i>Izmail Bej</i>). |
| 87 | birič | acc. to Vasmer, dates from 1229. Chronicle (PSRL, I, 122) could also be cited. |
| 96 | bljuzgat' | Russian for "talk nonsense" — Vasmer gives only Ukrainian <i>bljuznyty</i> (to flow); lacking is Ukr. <i>bljuznyrstvo</i> (Hrinčenko, I, 118). |
| 98 | bog | Vasmer cites only Ukrainian <i>bih</i> which is rare (only in <i>bih-me!</i>); usually <i>boh</i> (Hrinčenko, I, 102). |
| 111 | bostrok | acc. to Vasmer, oldest example dates from 1720; in fact occurs in 1712 (<i>Zapiski archeologičeskogo obščestva</i> , 1865, XI, appendix). |
| 113 | bot'jan, etc. | Vasmer cited Ukr. <i>bočan</i> ; much more common form— <i>bocjan</i> , <i>bocjun</i> (Hrinčenko, I, 132). |

- 116 braga acc. to Vasmer used frequently in 17th cent. Occurs in Sophian Chronicle (PSRL, II, 333).
- 116 brazga in Dvina "hramotas"—*prazga* (*Issledovanija po russkom jazyku*, II, 5).
- 129 bryla not all the Ukrainian meanings are cited (e.g. *bryla-skelja*, Hrinčenko, I, 141).
- 130 brynec cited from Athanasius Nikitin; but occurs in Sophian Chronicle (PSRL, II, 344) and in Lvov Chronicle (PSRL, I, 307).
- 141 buklja cited as occurring in Leskov; occurs much earlier, in 18th century.
- 144 bumaga to the brands of paper, *kupčataja* (*chlopčataja*) should be added (*Sbornik russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva*, XXXV, 30, and XLI, 268).
- 145 bunčuk cited as first appearing in Gogol; occurs earlier, in Puškin's *Poltava* (1830).
- 149 burmitski žemčug — "e.g. Krylov," — occurs in Tolstoj's travels in Italy in 1697 (*Russkij archiv*, 1888).
- 153 butetenit' described as a word from Oloneck, but *vzbututenit* can be found in Nekrasov; hence it is a literary word.
- 166 valentir in Peter I (1707).
- 167 valtorna acc. to Vasmer in Gogol; but may be found earlier in Deržavin (*z nebes voltorn puskaja grom*).
- 167 val'kirija acc. to Vasmer borrowed from Wagner. Deržavin uses *valka* (instead of *valkirija*) but *valkirija* occurs in *Stichotvorenija* by N. Grammatin, I, 1829.
- 168 vatrushka in literary language—beginning of 19th cent. (1815-17), written as *votruška*; see records of "Arzamas."

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| 188 | vereščaga | in the Russian language used in the Ukraine (Odessa, 1915-1916); the restaurant menus had the word <i>vereščaka</i> (roasted sausage). |
| 188 | povereslo | a Ukr. example (Cherson — the straw binding the sheaf) is missing. |
| 203 | vir | among examples from other Slavic languages the Ukrainian parallel is missing. |
| 206 | Vitja | not only from Victor but often from Vitalij. |
| 209 | vlasnyj | example "vlasnoju rukoju" suggests that this is a borrowing from Ukrainian (not indicated). |
| 210 | vlijanie | in my opinion derived from Latin, in translations from Latin textbooks in 18th cent. (Baumeister: <i>Logica</i>) |
| 212 | vodevil' | why mention only Čechov if this word frequently occurs in 19th century (e.g. Griboedov). |
| 224 | volynka | in Tolstoj (1697). |
| 232 | prjanut' | Ukr. meaning of <i>hynuty</i> cited, but not that of <i>skočyty</i> . |
| 258 | gaplik | Ukr. parallel not mentioned. |
| 262 | gaubica | Peter I used this word (goubica) in 1697. |
| 266 | geran' | in the 19th cent, the word <i>eran'</i> was also used. |
| 266 | gerzog | apart from the variants <i>arcuch</i> , <i>arcug</i> , <i>arcyuch</i> there is also <i>gercyk</i> (Hypatian Chronicle 1235ff.). |
| 270 | girlo | borrowed from Rumanian, but through Ukrainian—Dniprove hyrlo. |
| 272 | glev | Ukr. <i>hlevkyj</i> , <i>hlyvkyj</i> (chlib) should have been mentioned. |
| 275 | glog | apart from Ukr. <i>hlih</i> , also <i>hloh</i> . |

- 277 glupyj the Ukrainian word is mentioned as having the same meaning as the Russian; but in Ukr *hlupyj* often means "blind" (*hlucha nič*). Semantically reminiscent of German *bloede Augen*.
- 292 gondola in Tolstoj (1697).
- 294 gord (plant) perhaps the same as Ukr. *hordyna*.
- 298 goršok Ukr. *horščok* cited; more often *horščyk*.
- 299 gospoda Ukr. parallel not given.
- 312 grud' plural only exists in Ukr. (Hrinčenko, I, 374).
- 317 guba said to appear first in Kotošichin; used in Novgorod Chronicle, edition of 1888, 241; also in *Tverskój Sbornik*, (PSRL, XV, 433).
- 317 gubernator acc. to Vasmer dates from the 17th cent; occurs in 1497, in *Sbornik russkogo istoričeskogo obščestva*, XXXI, I, (1882) pp. 228-29 (*Kubernator*).
- 320 gulja Ukrainian word not given.
- 321 gumence used in the Ukraine (Hrinčenko, I, 382).
- 323 gusenica apart from Ukr. *husenycja*, there is also *husenycja*; also collect. *husen'*.
- 328 damaskovaja (steel) more often *damasskaja* (Gogol, *Terrible Vengeance*).
- 334 devjanosto is very rarely used in Ukrainian (Hrinčenko does not list it).
- 338 delo apart from Ukrainian *dilo* there is also *diló*.
- 342 dereza in Ukr. other plants; cf. German *Je laenger je lieber* (in Westphalia).
- 343 deren, dern word *derne* is cited erroneously (from *Preobraženskij*); Ukr. *deren* (Hrinčenko, I, 411).

- 350 diadema from *diadima*, used as late at 1730 (*Prokopovyč*), TKDA, 1865, 2, 611).
- 351 divizja was used for a long time as an arithmetical term.
- 350 dialektika allegedly borrowed from Hegel, but the word occurs in the Life of Cyril (Constantine), in Damaskin's translation — 10th cent. Examples of its use may be found in Kurbskij and elsewhere. Sobolevskij lists some of them (p. 119, 166, 170-71). For examples from the 17th century see Babkin's article in TODRL 8, (1951), pp. 326-353.
- 351 divit'sja Ukrainian word is erroneously given to mean "to be ashamed" which is equivalent to *smotret'* (Hrinčenko, I, 424).
- 352 diskos an old ecclesiastical word (in *Azbukovnik Sacharov*, I, 152).
- 363 donja Ukr. *donja*, *don'ka* not listed; while non-Ukrainian *doč* is.
- 366 drazniti Ukr. *dražnyty* (Hrinčenko, I, 482).
- 372 drozd Ukr. *drizd* is rare; *drozd* is more common (Hrinčenko, I, 488).
- 373 dročena in Gogol's *Marriage*, *dročenoje*; the question is whether Gogol borrowed this word from the vernacular.
- 374 druk apart from Ukr. *druk*, also *drjuk*, *drjučok* (Hrinčenko, I, 401, 492).
- 393 jezuit accord. to Vasmer used during the times of Peter I. The word was known much earlier, in the "Time of Troubles" (interregnum) at the beginning of the 17th century.
- 412 žvavyj Ukrainian parallel not given.
- 412 žvak the second meaning of this word not given: *žovana strava* (e.g. I. A. Krylov in *Trumf* and also in Skovoroda).

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| 432 | žulik | in the Russian language spoken in the Ukraine this word has yet another meaning: "a small rye bread with raisins"; unknown in Ukrainian. |
| 440 | zala | zalo, accord. to Vasmer "vulgar"; yet used by Čechov and other writers. |
| 444 | zarja | meaning "plant" used by Puškin in <i>Evgenij Onegin</i> 2, 35. The explanation of this term is given by the ethnographer I. Snegirev. |
| 444 | zastromit' | Ukrainian parallel lacking; Vasmer's contention that it is used in the provinces of Kursk, Orel, and the Don, supports the conjecture that it is a Ukrainian loan-word. |
| 455 | zern' | also O. R.: device for adorning of jewelry with silver beads (known as early as 11th century). |
| 460 | zodiak | not, as Vasmer suggests, from the French; this word was used in the 17th cent.—directly borrowed from Latin (e.g. <i>Zodiacus christianus</i> by J. Drexelius which was known in Moscow). |

I also noticed one slip in proofreading—*Zizdra* instead of *Žizdra* on p. 192.

These remarks are not intended in any way to belittle Vasmer's achievement which is of great value. His thoroughness and care as well as his great knowledge of the material will make this dictionary an indispensable handbook for Slavists. It is to be hoped that further fascicles will speed the completion of this dictionary.

BOOK REVIEWS

R. G. A. de Bray, *Guide to the Slavonic Languages*. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, New York: E. P. Dutton and Co. 1952, XXVI + 797 pp.

The appearance of a book which not only offers a compilation of the phonological and morphological systems of all the Slavic languages in one volume, but also claims a new approach to the comparative study of these languages (see Preface, p. XXI) may be regarded as an important event in Slavistics. In the present review we shall limit ourselves to the chapter dealing with the Ukrainian language.

Like all the other chapters in the book, it begins with a brief account of the history of Ukrainian language. Although correct in its main outline, this survey has several major drawbacks which are due to the fact that the author seems to have relied almost exclusively on Soviet sources. Thus, speaking of the boundaries of the area within which Ukrainian is spoken the author follows almost word for word the statement in the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (vol. LV, p. 956) that the "broad lands of Ukraine have been united within one frontier in the Ukrainian S.S.R. (Beyond its borders Ukrainians are to be found in Dobruja, Hungary, on the Lower Volga, in Siberia, and in North America) [p. 69]. As we see, apart from small Ukrainian islands in Dobruja and Hungary, no mention is made of the Ukrainian territories on the eastern border of the Ukrainian S.S.R.—the Kuban, Upper Don, Stavropol, and Tahanrih areas. This falsification of facts is here served to English and American readers as fact. Yet it is difficult to believe that the author was not familiar with works such as N. Durnovo's, N. Sokolov's and D. Ushakov's *Opyt dialektologicheskoy karty russkovo yazyka v Evrope* (Moscow, 1915), where the geographical area of the Ukrainian language is clearly indicated. Up to 1932 there is ample evidence of the existence of a large Ukrainian population east and south east of the Donets and the Don. It was only after that year that the Ukrainian territory in the R.S.F.S.R. became linguistically "undetermined." The present reviewer took part in a conference of dialectologists in Rostov on Don in 1938 and can well recall how the scheduled talk by the staff member of the Krasnodar Pedagogical Institute was cancelled simply because the dialects of the Krasnodar area, which are Ukrainian, could not openly be described as such.

The assertion that "modern literary Ukrainian is founded on the dialect of the Middle Dnieper region around Kiev (p. 69)," is also fallacious. Contemporary literary Ukrainian is not based on any Kievan dialect, but on the south-east dialects (cf. Hantsov, *Dialektolohichna klyasyfikatsiya ukra-*

yinskykh hovoriv, Kiev, 1923; M. Nakonechny, *Prohrama z ukrayinskoyi dialektolohiyi*, Kiev, 1941). Modern Ukrainian can be divided into 1) Northern; 2) South-Western; 3) South-Eastern, the latter becoming the basis for the literary language (cf. my "Dialektna osnova ukrayinskoyi literaturnoyi movy," *Ukrayina*, Paris, 1950, IV).

The statement that "the principles which guided the composition of the latest Ukrainian orthography, published in Kiev in 1946, may serve as a fitting conclusion to what was in the past an often unhappy and stormy struggle for development and as a remarkable example of wisdom in solving (in the very turmoil of war) what has long been a delicate and painful question. As in the second world war, in this case too, the Ukrainians clearly decided not to break away from their Russian brothers in the Soviet Union (p. 72)," is very naive. The new Ukrainian orthography to which the author refers was forced on the Ukrainian people by the Soviet government only after long and severe purges of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in 1929-34, and was an act of political and ideological control by the Communist Party. The forced introduction of the new orthography in the Soviet Ukraine was the first step towards the present state of almost complete substitution of Russian for Ukrainian in the cities of the Ukraine and of the reduction of the Ukrainian language to the speech of the peasants. The author, who elsewhere in his book refers to "the great new experiments in living and organization carried out in the U.S.S.R. in recent years (p. 25)," is not aware of the real condition of Ukrainian language and literature in the U.S.S.R.

The following omissions from the introduction to the chapter are worth mentioning. Among the names of writers who contributed to the development of literary Ukrainian those of Lesya Ukayinka, Mykhaylo Kotsyubynsky, Volodymyr Vynnychenko, Serhiy Yefremov and Agatangel Krymsky are missing. Hrinchenko's dictionary of Ukrainian language was not completely republished in the 1920's. A new edition of it by S. Yefremov and A. Nikovsky was interrupted by the arrest and deportation of those two scholars in 1930. Ukrainian *holova* does not correspond to Russian *hlava* (p. 69). Kulish did not write a Ukrainian grammar (p. 70) but merely a reader.

On the other hand, the author is to be commended on his transliteration of Ukrainian names and placenames, although the use of "Podolia" for Podillya, and "Polessia" for Polissya is debatable.

The outline of Ukrainian phonology and morphology provided by the author is sufficient for the foreign student to grasp the essentials of the language. Additional examples from Ukrainian syntax would be helpful. However, there are some serious errors in the sections dealing with both phonology and morphology. Thus, a fallacious generalization has been made about voiced and unvoiced consonants (*solodky-solotky*, *snih-snikh*, *boh-bokh*, *did-dit*). This feature is characteristic of some Western Ukrainian dialects

only. The author's statement (p. 76) that "final voiced consonants remain partly voiced in the pronunciation of careful speakers, but in rapid conversation they may become unvoiced," is therefore open to the following correction: "the voiced consonants remain voiced before the voiceless ones" (O. Synyavsky, *Normy ukrayinskoyi literaturnoyi movy*, Lviv, 1943, p. 34). The only exceptions are words with *h* (*nihti*, *lehko*, *vohky*) which become *nikhti*, *lekho*, *vohky*, initial *z* before *k*, *p*, *t*, *kh*, and sometimes before *s*, *f*, *ts* (*skazaty*, *styahy*, *ssypaty*, *sfalshuvaty*). But such forms as *sat batkiv*, *vit sela* (p. 76) are not possible. In Ukrainian, voiced consonants remain voiced in the final position.

In morphology the mixed forms *tovaryshu Petrovi* should be *tovaryshevi Petrovi*; erroneous are: *dvokhsoty*, *dvokhtysyachny*, and *sto tysyachiv*; the pronouns *sam*, *samy* are confused. The comparative forms *bilsh hlyboky* and the superlative *samy naykraschchy* (p. 102) are unknown in Ukrainian. Prefix *pre-* (in verbs) (p. 106); imperative *prykhody* and passive participle *vin buv zabyt* are also incorrect. Apart from these there are some obvious slips and printing errors: *jshov* and *ishov*, *yizdzh* and *yizhdzhu*, *zhaty* instead of *tysnuty*, *rozriznity* for *rozriznyaty*, *hrymaty* for *hrymaty*, *baraniy* for *baranyachy*. The accentuation of the Ukrainian text (apart from *vcherá* instead of *vchóra*, *pechény* instead of *pécheny*) is almost faultless. The texts themselves are well selected, although a passage from Lesya Ukrayinka or Kotsyubynsky would have been welcomed. In the bibliography the author does not list two important sources: O. Synyavsky, *Normy ukrayinskoyi literaturnoyi movy*, (Second Edition, Lviv, 1943) and O. Paneyko, *Hramatyka ukrayinskoyi movy*, 1950.

Stripped of its pro-Soviet bias and amended in future editions the Ukrainian chapter of de Bray's book would assume a much higher place among the few reference works in English on the subject.

Vasyl Chaplenko

H. Holoskevych, *Pravopysny slovnyk* (A Dictionary of Ukrainian Language). Eighth Edition, New York: 1952, VIII + 452 pp.

Modern Ukrainian orthography was finally established by the State Orthographic Commission and approved by the People's Commissariat of Education on November 6, 1928. The following year a separate volume (*Ukrayinsky pravopys*, Kharkiv, 1929) appeared containing rules for the new orthography and giving paradigms of inflections. On the basis of this new orthography which was accepted not only by the Soviet Ukraine, but also by most Ukrainians outside the Ukrainian S.S.R., an orthographic dictionary of Ukrainian language was compiled by Professor H. Holoskevych. The seventh, enlarged edition of it containing about 40,000 words, was published

in 1930; it mentioned all variants of the words, including geographic and proper names. All words in this dictionary were accented and therefore it was of inestimable value to the general public.

In 1933, after Skrypnyk, the Ukrainian People's Commissar for Education, was driven to commit suicide, the Soviet government declared the 1928 orthography to be harmful and leading to the separation of the Ukrainian language from the Russian. In 1933 the Soviet government issued a new orthography for the Ukraine based on the principle of "brotherly relations" between the Ukrainian and Russian languages. In fact, however, the new orthography led to the Russification of Ukrainian literary language. Ukrainian orthography, especially in geographic and proper names, as well as in foreign words, was made dependent on Russian, and the Ukrainian letter *g*, which does not occur in the Russian alphabet, was abolished.

Following Soviet charges of "nationalism" in Ukrainian linguistics, many outstanding Ukrainian linguists of that period, among them Professors Hantsov, Kurylo, Synyavsky, Smerechynsky, Sulyma, Tymchenko, and the author of the Ukrainian dictionary, Holoskevych, were deprived of their teaching posts and deported. The Soviet campaign against the Ukrainian language as distinct from Russian, was directed against any objective treatment of Ukrainian. Thus for instance, in 1930 when Professor Eugene Tymchenko mentioned in his *Kurs istoriyi ukrayinskoho yazyka*, (1930), the characteristic features of Ukrainian language as distinct from Russian, he was severely rebuked for this display of "bourgeois nationalism," and was accused of attempting to separate the Ukrainian language from the Russian (cf. S. Vasylykivsky, "Dobyty voroha," *Movoznavstvo*, 1934, I). After 1933 only those Ukrainian scholars who subscribed to the theory of an "unbreakable bond" between Russian and Ukrainian were tolerated by the Soviets.

One of the many books which were banned as the result of this Soviet Russian drive against Ukrainian language was the dictionary by Holoskevych. However, Ukrainian scholars in Western Ukraine and in Europe continued to acknowledge it as the only standard authority on Ukrainian orthography. The new edition of this dictionary will, therefore, be especially welcomed by all Slavists. The present edition, photostatically produced, is still lacking in many words (church terminology) which were banned by the Soviets. However, several other minor errors have been amended. The dictionary, which has appeared with the recommendation of the Linguistic Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., is therefore indispensable in any Slavic library. Its reasonable price (\$4.00) also makes it accessible to the student of Ukrainian.

Petro Odarchenko

Russko-ukrainskiye literaturnye svyazi (Russian-Ukrainian Literary Relations) ed. by N. K. Gudzy, Moscow, 1951, 185 pp.

The appearance of this symposium containing seven articles on Russian-Ukrainian literary relations is connected with the well-known resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine of 1946 on the *Survey of the History of Ukrainian Literature* by Maslov and Kyrylyuk, which was condemned because it devoted insufficient space to Russian-Ukrainian relations and concentrated on the ties between Ukrainian and Western European literature. This tendency of the *Survey* was branded by the Party as a "remnant of bourgeois nationalism." In the last five years the struggle against this deviation has been conducted under the watchword of the "fight against cosmopolitanism." The present book, therefore, is to show the Soviet historians of literature how to approach and how to treat the problems of influences on Ukrainian literature.

The first article, "Brotherhood of Two Peoples," by N. Krutikova has a purely political aim. Based on quotations from Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Manuilsky, and Gorky, it disregards all those facts which contradict the thesis it puts forth. The Ukrainian writers P. Kulish, B. Hrinchenko, and S. Yefremov are branded as "Ukrainian nationalists," who attempted to separate the two brotherly peoples (p.8). To oppose them, the author puts forward Ivan Franko, whose views on Ukrainian literature are completely distorted. The thesis of the "brotherhood of two cultures" is supported by the interest which the Russian writers had in the Ukraine, and by Russian influence on Ukrainian literature. Both these facts are well known and Ukrainian historians of literature always acknowledged them.*

However, the contributors to the present symposium attribute to these facts a new political and ideological meaning, attempting as it were, to re-interpret the whole history of Ukrainian literature from the centralist point of view of the Communist Party. Many of their assertions would need further documentation (e.g. Shevchenko's reaction to Pushkin's poems, pp. 23-24), and many others are arbitrary and unfounded (influence of Mayakovski on Tychyna and Bazhan, p. 34; or the influence of Korniyshuk's plays on the contemporary Russian theater, p. 35). The interpretation of the history of Russian-Ukrainian relations during the Soviet era is a perversion of the facts. The resistance of Soviet Ukrainian writers to Russian domination and to Party controls, which was crushed only after the most severe purges and repressions, is played down, and the author (N. Krutikova) does

* Sypovsky in a study *Ukrayina v rosiyskomu pysmenstvi* (1800-1850) Part I. Kiev, 1928, not even mentioned in the present book, wrote about Ukrainian themes in Russian literature in the first half of the 19th century.

not have the courage to quote Khvylovy on the struggle "against Moscow," but only Stalin's letter to Kaganovich in 1926 (p. 32).

The only article in this symposium which preserves any scientific objectivity is the one by N. Gudzy on the "Literature of the Kievan Rus in the History of the Brotherly Literatures." The author, a member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian S. S. R., formerly professor at Moscow University, a pupil of Volodymyr Peretts, and himself of Ukrainian origin, analyzes the problems of the early literary history of the Kiev Rus and its influence on old Russian and old Ukrainian literature. While believing in the separateness of Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literary history, the author accepts the traditional Russian viewpoint of Kievan literature being the common property of Russians and Ukrainians.

Other articles in the symposium are devoted to special aspects of Russo-Ukrainian literary relations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. These again are intended to be practical illustrations of Krutikova's postulate that "the time has come for wide and detailed studies of Russo-Ukrainian literary relations, for monographs and scholarly studies in order to strengthen the brotherly ties between Soviet cultures" (pp. 40). S. Durilin writes on Kotlyarevsky and Shchepkin, Ye. Kyrylyuk on Shevchenko, A. Kiselev on P. Hrabovsky, M. Bernstein on the journal *Osnova*, and Parkhomenko on Gorky. None of the articles contains anything which would be of any interest to a student of these topics. Moreover, apart from their political bias, they often confuse the reader even in such basic issues as who or what may be regarded as Ukrainian or Russian. Thus, for instance, M. Maksymovych, a Ukrainian by origin, the editor of Ukrainian folksongs, Ukrainian historian and philologist is regarded as a "Ukrainian scholar" (p. 97), although he was a professor at Moscow University and wrote all his works in Russian, while another Ukrainian, Mykhaylo Shchepkin, an actor in the Kharkiv and Poltava theaters, famous for his parts as Chuprun, Makohonenko, and Shelmenko in Ukrainian plays by Kotlyarevsky and Kvitka, appears as a Russian only because he was later one of the most distinguished actors on the Russian stage.

Volodymyr Porsky

Firuz Kazemzadeh, *The Struggle for Transcaucasia: 1917-1921*
New York: Philosophical Library, 1952, XIII + 331 pp.

The learned world of this country has become keenly aware of the fact that the supposed national and political homogeneity of Eastern Europe is a myth and that the history of that segment of Europe is, at best, the sum total of the historical processes of the individual nations inhabiting it. Recent studies by J. S. Reshetar on the Ukraine, by N. Vakar on Byelorussia, by R. E. Pipes on non-Russian nationalities of the U. S. S. R., Grauman on the

Kazakhs, and by Jurgela on Lithuania are the most eloquent testimony to this. Under these circumstances it is not at all surprising that the most recent period of history of three main Caucasian nations, Georgian, Azarbaijani, and Armenian, too, has not escaped the attention of scholars. A proof of this is Firuz Kazemzadeh's book *The Struggle for Transcaucasia*.

Dr. Kazemzadeh's work is intended as a reference work. Twenty-two chapters are subdivided into several sections, each dealing with a specific aspect of a given problem. The author manages to be perfectly detached in his attitude to each party involved — and there are several of them. He is well aware of the oppression of the Caucasian nations by the tsarist régime; on the other hand, he does not idealize the history of the Caucasian nations themselves and several times stresses the fact that the discord among the nations concerned, together with the unfavorable political situation, was the main cause of the catastrophe which followed. Much may be learned from Dr. Kazemzadeh's study by all those who are interested in the solution of Eastern European affairs. The interplay between foreign and domestic factors, so characteristic of the state of affairs in Eastern Europe and the Near East, is well reflected in the author's conclusions. To use the author's own words:

The struggle for Transcaucasia was motivated by foreign as well as domestic causes. As a result of several centuries of disastrous wars with Russia, the Ottoman Empire had lost their Caucasian possessions, but unlike Persia who had reconciled herself with the loss of the northern part of the Azerbaijan, Turkey always hoped for a reconquest of Kars, Ardahan, and Batum. An alliance with Germany seemed the best way to achieve this end. The collapse of Russia in the spring 1917 could have resulted in the complete absorption of Transcaucasia by the Ottoman Empire, had it not been for new national feeling among the Georgians, the Armenians, and the Azerbaijanis.

This introduces a second — domestic factor. Both the Georgians and the Armenians had lost their independence at a time when they had not yet developed that all consuming feeling of nationality which characterizes the modern world . . . The Azerbaijanis had never existed as an independent nation; their cohesion was purely religious, drawing them inevitably towards Shiite Persia. (p. 329).

And further below:

Yet actually, the most important, the decisive issue, was Russia. The British, seeing that better than the Caucasians themselves, left the country before the Red Army reached its borders, and refused to interfere when Russia reconquered Azerbaijan, Armenia, and finally Georgia (p. 331).

Unfortunately, the author, in his strict academic impartiality, refuses to say whether or not, in his opinion, this was the best thing for the British to do, or perhaps this is the author's own way of suggesting to the reader that, after all, it is the reader's privilege to draw his own conclusions.

The factual narrative, following the course of the related events, resembles a drama. The first four chapters (The Background; Transcaucasia before 1917; the March Revolution; the November Revolution) serve as an introduction; the three following chapters on the Transcaucasian quasi-federation (Transcaucasia at the Crossroads; The Batum Conference; The Disintegration of Transcaucasia) for the first and second acts. Chapters VIII through XV depict the culminating period of the drama itself (The Defence and Fall of Baku; Independent Georgia, the German Occupation of Georgia; the British Occupation of Transcaucasia, The Armeno-Georgian Conflict, the Georgian State, Independent Armenia, Independent Azerbaijan). In chapters XVI-XVII the action comes close to the catastrophe (Transcaucasia and the Volunteer Army; Transcaucasia at the Versailles Conference). Chapters XVIII-XXI describe the final solution—surely not the proverbial happy ending (the Fall of Azerbaijan, the Fall of Armenia; Georgia, and Soviet Russia; the Conquest of Georgia).

Dr. Kazemzadeh's thorough knowledge of his material and the method by which he presents it make it hard for a reviewer to find something in the way of a factual mistake. However, in several places, especially those where Caucasian problems intermingle with purely European ones, a few minor corrections could be made. So, for instance, the Commanding General of German troops in Georgia in 1918 was not simply General von Kress (p. 152, 157-159). In fact his name was, in full, General Kress von Kressenstein. General Suleiman Sulkevich, the signatory of the Georgian-Azerbaijani treaty of June 16, 1919 (p. 246) is dismissed as a "Muslim of Lithuanian origin." This would be true if we applied the parlance of the nineteenth century. Gen. Sulkevich was a descendant of a group of Tatars admitted to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the course of the fifteenth century. The majority of these Tatars became Byelorussian in the course of centuries (cf. *Historia Kryvich-Belorusi* by Dr. Stankevich, Veda, 1951) while some were Polonized. Even now, in the fictional post war Polish state a Mullah exists for those slavicized Tatars. The role played by General Sulkevich in the history of the Crimean revolution in 1918, after the collapse of the national Tatar regime of Jafer Seydamet, could also have been mentioned. On p. 86, footnote 29, the author remarks as follows while commenting upon contemporary Transcaucasian-Ukrainian relations: "The Ukrainian government was established with the aid of the Germans." Since the author obviously refers to the Rada government at the time of the Brest Litovsk negotiations, it is difficult to understand how the Rada could be called one established with Germany's aid, since it is known that the Rada gained what amounted to de facto recognition by the Western Powers in November

1917 and that it was the Ukrainian troops who defended the shattered front against the Germans and the Austrians after the collapse of the Kerensky offensive in 1917. If the author refers to the Hetman régime, he is on surer ground, but then he should have been more specific. In any case during the Brest Litovsk negotiations nobody in the Ukraine so much as dreamed of establishing a Hetman régime. This reviewer also thinks it advisable to refer to the government of the South Eastern Union (p. 86) as the South Eastern Cossack Government (Don, Kuban, and Terek), since no Western reader will be able to understand the significance of the establishment of such a union without taking into account the existence of the Cossacks.

The absence of any account of the establishment and the fate of the Caucasian Mountaineer Republic is a drawback. This republic, a purely non-Socialist formation, with a Chechen landowner, Colonel Tapa Chermoyev, as the first head of the government, has tremendous importance for the development of several local Caucasian nationalisms. The author, to be sure, covers the history of Transcaucasia, while the Mountaineers' Republic was Ciscaucasian. But a brief description of this would not be amiss. The misspelled name of the editor of a popular German book on Transcaucasia, and Georgia especially, by Trietsch will have to be corrected in the second edition. Otherwise the bibliography is quite adequate. A new official Soviet version of the struggle for Azerbaijan has been included into *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopedia*, new series, 1950, heading Azerbaijanian S.S.R. Apparently it came out too late to be consulted by the author. For the benefit of Western readers it would be advisable to include in the bibliography the English edition of the well-known work by Zurab Avalov-Avalishvili (*The Independence of Georgia in International Politics*, London, 1940); only the Russian edition (Paris, 1924) is mentioned.

In this reviewer's opinion, there exists at least one more fact which indicates the relative importance of the Caucasian states within the Soviet Union even in our own time. It may seem strange, but the Georgian S.S.R. experienced a not inconsiderable increase of its territory after the Chechen-Ingush and the Kabardino-Balkar Republics had been liquidated in 1944-45, at the expense of the R.S.F.S.R. Sure enough, the present rulers in the Kremlin deemed it convenient not to ignore the demands of the latent Georgian nationalism but to meet them half way. That the government of Independent Georgia unsuccessfully claimed a similar area in 1918-1920 is a fact not without interest.

These otherwise unimportant facts indicate that complex transformations are taking place behind the Caucasian sector of the Iron Curtain, and in order one day to be able to understand the future of the Caucasian nations we would do well to get acquainted with their past, so ably presented by Dr. Kazemzadeh.

Paul Hrycak

THE IGOR TALE EXHIBITION AT HARVARD

Last February Harvard University held an exhibition concerned with the *Igor Tale*, arranged by Professors Roman Jakobson and Dmitry Čiževsky of the Slavic Department with the assistance of Professor Jackson and Mr. Oliver of the Houghton Library. It is well known that the original manuscript, found by Count Musin-Pushkin, perished in the flames during the Moscow fire of 1812. We possess, however, a few copies of the first edition of *Slovo* made by the count and his associates for Catherine the Great in 1800.

Harvard University recently acquired one of these early editions. It formerly belonged to Prince Oldenburg, in whose family it was kept as a tradition since the two families, the Oldenburgs and the Musin-Pushkins were related. This copy of *Slovo* has now been compared by Professor Jakobson with another 1800 edition and the comparison showed differences in spelling, in entire words, even in print. This discovery allows us to see how Musin-Pushkin's commission proceeded in its work: having encountered difficulties in translation of an ancient manuscript, they later revised the first draft, corrected the mistakes, added new interpretations, etc. The revised translation, in which four leaves were taken out and replaced by new ones, was issued the same year (1800). Prince Oldenburg's copy is the only one known so far which really represents the first draft of the translation.

The Harvard exhibition, besides featuring these two copies, presented a large array of translations of *Slovo* into various languages as well as some Slavic and foreign scholarly works on the epic. Among the various Slavic translations of the *Slovo*, there were three Ukrainian versions, one (incomplete) by Taras Shevchenko, and two recent translations, by Svyatoslav Hordynsky (with excellent illustrations by Yakiv Hnizdovsky) and by Metropolitan Ilarion (Ohienko).

Of the foreign translations, there were seven different English versions, two French, (one of them a large illustrated edition), three German, (the earliest and a very good one by Müller (1811), a more recent one by Arthur Luther, and perhaps the best of them all, by Rainer Marie Rilke); a Swedish translation by Jensen, one Spanish, and one Italian.

Slavic and foreign scholarship on the *Igor Tale* was represented by the following works: F. E. Korsh, Peretts, E. B. Barsov (the most extensive monograph on the *Slovo*), Gudzy; a number of Slavic works published abroad, among them by D. Čiževsky, Metropolitan Ilarion, Vasył Chaplenko, several works by R. Jakobson, by K. H. Menges, and a few others.

Also on exhibition were Dobuzhinsky's illustrations to *Slovo* and his sketches for the setting of *Prince Igor* as it was performed at the Metropolitan Opera for the first time, as well as his and Roerich's settings for the same

opera staged in Paris by Dyagilev. Another rare exhibit was a leaf from the score for the opera written in Borodin's own hand. Last but not least, there were Steletsky's drawings of various episodes from the epic. As a humorous touch there was a necktie with the name "Prince Igor" and the symbolic swans printed on it, manufactured by some ingenious firm in New York. The exhibit was of great scholarly interest and was attended by many visitors.

OBITUARIES

ISAAK MAZEPA

The distinguished Ukrainian politician and scientist, a professor at the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute, Isaak Mazepa, died in Augsburg, Germany, on March 18, 1952.

Isaak Mazepa was an ardent fighter for the Ukrainian cause and was one of the founders of the Ukrainian People's Republic in 1917-1919.

Professor Mazepa was born on August 16, 1884, in the village of Kostobober in the province of Chernihiv. He was educated at the Theological Seminary at Novhorod Siversk. In 1904 he graduated from the Novhorod Siversk Gymnasium and entered the biological faculty at the University of St. Petersburg. He completed his studies in 1910. During 1911-1917 he worked with the Russian Ministry of Agriculture as a specialist in the cultivation of meadows and swamps. During that time he published papers on his research in this field.

After the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917, Isaak Mazepa was among the most active of those statesmen trying to build up independent Ukrainian democratic state. He was the leader of the Ukrainian Social-Democratic Party, held many positions of importance in the newborn Ukrainian state, and finally became Minister of the Interior and Premier of the Ukrainian People's Republic. After the occupation of the Ukraine by the Red army he was forced to emigrate, finally settling in Prague.

After the Revolution, Mazepa's scientific interests were obviously divided between political science and his previous specialty in the field of applied botany. Beginning with 1924, he worked for the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy in Podebrady, lecturing on the cultivation of meadows and occasionally doing research on meadows in the Carpathian Ukraine.

In 1927 Isaak Mazepa was appointed by the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy to be a reader in Specialized Agriculture. In 1930 he became a lecturer on the systematisation and morphology of plants. In 1946 he was elected Professor of Botany by the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute in Regensburg. During 1928-44 Professor Mazepa published several works summarizing his botanical research in the Carpathian Ukraine.

At the same time Professor Mazepa worked intensively in the field of political science. In 1931 he received his doctorate from the Faculty of Law and Social Sciences of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. He published books and pamphlets on the problems of the revolution and on the re-birth of the Ukraine.

After World War II, Professor Mazepa became the leader of the forces of Ukrainian democracy in exile. In 1948 he was elected the first President

of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council and remained in this capacity until his resignation early in 1952 because of poor health.

Professor Mazepa was a brilliant, many-sided personality, an ardent patriot, a real democrat, a capable politician, and a hard-working researcher. The following works represent his contribution to the literature on Ukrainian revolution and statesmanship: *Pidstavy nashoho vidrodzhennya* [The Foundation of Our Renaissance] (Augsburg, 1946), and *Ukrayina v ohni buri i revolutsiyi* [The Ukraine in the Maelstrom of the Revolution] (Augsburg, 1948).

ZENON KUZELA

The President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Professor Zenon Kuzela, died near Paris, France, on May 24th, 1952. His death will be mourned by all Ukrainians in the free world and most of all by Ukrainian scholars who will feel it as a most grievous loss.

The late Professor Kuzela was born on June 23, 1882 in the village of Poruchyn, in the province of Berezhany, in Galicia. He was educated in the Gymnasium at Berezhany and at the University of Lviv and in Vienna. His field of studies was in Slavic history, ethnography, and philology. A student of Jagic, he received his doctorate from the University of Vienna in 1906. For some time he worked as a librarian in Vienna. In 1904-1906 he took part in the ethnographic expedition to the Carpathians under the leadership of Ivan Franko and Khvedir Vovk. Later he became a lecturer at the University of Chernivtsi, in Bukovina. After the First World War Dr. Kuzela became a Professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague. Here he was also engaged in library work. Later he moved to Berlin where he became a lecturer and later a Docent at the University. In Berlin Professor Kuzela helped to organize the Ukrainian Scientific Institute of which he was a vice-director.

During the Second World War Professor Kuzela was in charge of KODUS (The Committee to Aid Ukrainian Students). In 1947 he was elected First Vice-President of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and after the death of its President, Professor Ivan Rakovsky in 1949, he was elected President. Since 1950 he had resided at the center for Ukrainian studies created by the Shevchenko Scientific Society at Sarcelles, near Paris.

Professor Kuzela was the author of several studies in Ukrainian ethnography, co-author of a large Ukrainian-German dictionary, and one of the editors of the *Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva*. He held a high and honored place in Ukrainian scholarship.

IVAN ZILYNSKY

A prominent specialist in the field of Ukrainian dialectology and phonetics, member of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, Lecturer in Ukrainian Language at the Charles University in Prague, Professor Ivan Zilynsky died in Prague on April 23, 1952.

The late Professor Zilynsky was born on May 22, 1879 in the village of Krasna in the Lemkivshchyna. He was educated at the Peremyshl Gymnasium and at the University of Vienna. In 1907 he received his doctorate from the University of Vienna for his outline of phonetics of Ukrainian dialects in Austro-Hungary. For a time he worked as a teacher at Berezhany, then in Stanyslaviv and Lviv. He also took an active part in the work of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

As soon as a chair of Ukrainian was established in the University of Krakow, Professor Zilynsky was invited to take the post of extraordinary professor and in this capacity he was active until the outbreak of the First World War. After the war Professor Zilynsky became Professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague, and later became Professor of Ukrainian language at the Charles University in Prague.

Professor Zilynsky remained in Prague when the Russian troops occupied that city. He was arrested, but later released, and continued his previous activities.

Professor Zilynsky was the author of many studies in Ukrainian dialectology and phonetics which appeared in the Publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. His work *Opis fonetyczny języka ukraińskiego* (1932) was published by the Academy of Sciences in Krakow.

MARIA SKUBOVA

Mrs. Maria Skubova, member of the Executive Board of the Foundation of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S. died in New York on April 11, 1952.

Mrs. Skubova, born in Galicia, came to this country in 1907 and worked as a midwife here. After her arrival and up to her death, Mrs. Skubova was very active as a social welfare worker, helping her needy countrymen, organizing Ukrainian clubs, shows, and circles. From 1914 to 1921 Mrs. Skubova was in the Ukraine. She was active as a nurse, first with the Austrian army and later with the Ukrainian army. She demonstrated a high degree of self-sacrifice and devotion to the cause of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation while with the Ukrainian army.

Having returned to America in 1921, Mrs. Skubova worked tirelessly,

collecting funds for the needs of the suffering home land, founded Womens' Organizations, organized exhibitions of Ukrainian art, and demonstrated Ukrainian customs and traditions on various occasions. After the end of World War II Mrs. Skubova undertook relief work for the benefit of Ukrainian refugees in Europe. She sponsored the emigration of hundreds of DP's to this country and helped them in their first steps in this country.

When the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences started its activities in New York early in 1950, Mrs. Skubova was one of the first to render her generous assistance. She helped with her personal funds, collected funds among her friends, helped to legalize our institution, and became a member of the Executive Board of the Foundation of the Academy. Her understanding and active assistance were of inestimable value to the Academy and to Ukrainian culture in general.

CHRONICLE

The Annual Meeting of the Academy held on May 30, 1952, reviewed and approved the reports of the President and the Secretary of the Academy on the previous year's activities. During the year the Academy has shown steady progress in all fields. The publications of the Academy of which the latest are the Special Issue of the *Annals* devoted to Mykhaylo Drahomanov and a Symposium of Science in honor of the late President, Professor Dmytro Doroshenko (in Ukrainian), have earned wide recognition. Among forthcoming Ukrainian publications of the Academy the Symposium of Literature and Science, No. 2, and the illustrated monographs on the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev by Professor Oleksa Povstenko are scheduled to appear in 1952.

Among those present at the Annual Meeting were the following full members of the Academy: Professors Vetukhiv, Timoshenko, Rudnyčkyj, Porsky, Hornyatkevych, Kosenko, Osadcha-Yanata, Chykalenko, Bazylevych, Doroshenko, Okinshevich, Chudyniv, Kocevalov, and Čiževsky.

During the past academic year the following lectures were delivered before the plenary sessions of the Academy:

- 14 October 1951 *Science in the U.S.S.R. and the West*
Speakers:—Professor M. Vetukhiv: *Genetics in the U.S.S.R.*
 —Professor D. Čiževsky: *Soviet Astronomy*
 —Professor M. Mishchenko: *Academician Pavlov and His School*
- 11 November 1951 Conference Commemorating the 110th Anniversary of the birth of Mykhaylo Drahomanov
Guest-speaker: Professor Philip E. Mosely, Director of the Russian Institute, Columbia University: *Drahomanov and the European Conscience*
 —Professor Svitozor Drahomanov: *Drahomanov and the English-speaking World*
 —Dr. I. L. Rudnytsky: *Ukrainian Political and Social Thought and Drahomanov*
- 30 December 1951 —Professor M. Efremov: *A New Understanding of Mendeleyev's Theory*
- 3 February 1952 Memorial Conference in honor of M. Hohol (N. Gogol)
Guest-speaker: Professor L. Stilman (Columbia University): *Gogol and the Ukraine*
 —Professor V. Doroshenko: *In Defense of Gogol*
 —Professor D. Čiževsky: *Gogol: Artist and Thinker*

- 8 March 1952 Memorial Conference in honor of Taras Shevchenko
 Speakers: Professor O. Ohloblyn: *The Ukrainian National Movement in the 18th Century and Shevchenko*
 Professor D. Čiževsky: *The Art of Shevchenko*
- 4 May 1952 —Professor Karl H. Menges (Columbia University):
The Relations Between the Turkic Peoples and the Rus before the 13th Century
- 10 May 1952 Metropolitan Ilarion: *Current Work on the Ukrainian Language*

The following lectures and seminars were held under the auspices of Sections of the Academy:

LITERARY AND PHILOLOGICAL SECTION

- 20 October 1951 —Professor D. Čiževsky: *A Forgotten Epigram by Mazepa, and Beyond the Bounds of Beauty; Poetics of Ukrainian Baroque Literature*
- 9 December 1951 —K. Turkalo: *Language Editing of a Kiev Newspaper in the 1920's*
 —P. Odarchenko: *Lesya Ukrayinka's Translations from the Bible*
- 16 February 1952 —P. Odarchenko: *Shevchenko Studies during the Last Decade*
- 5 April 1952 —Professor D. Čiževsky: *Ukrainian Literature in the Study of Comparative Literature*
 —P. Holubenko: *Contemporary Ukrainian Literary Criticism*
- 26 April 1952 —P. Odarchenko: *Lesya Ukrayinka and M. Drahomanov*
 —Yu. Tyshchenko: *My Reminiscences of O. Oles*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

- 15 September 1951 —L. Bykovsky: *Problems of Bibliographical Methodology*
 —Yu. Tyshchenko: *Ukrainian Newspapers "Selo" and "Zasiv"*
 —P. Odarchenko: *Ukrainian Books in Kazakhstan*

- 17 November 1951 —Dr. S. Demydchuk: *The Ukraine in the American Encyclopedias*
 —Professor J. B. Rudnyčkyj: *Ukrainian Libraries in Canada*
- 16 February 1952 —M. Pankiv: *Byelorussian Bibliography 1946-51*
 —Yu. Tyshchenko: *Ukrainian Bookstores before 1917*
- 10 May 1952 —A. Trachuk: *Reminiscences of the Days of "Krem-
 yanetsky Vistnyk"*
 —M. Surmach: *History of the Ukrainian Bookstore
 "Surma" in New York*

HISTORICAL SECTION

- 3 May 1952 —Professor O. Ohloblyn: *The American Revolution and
 Ukrainian National Movement at the End of the 18th
 and Beginning of the 19th Centuries*
 —L. Bykovsky: *Yuri Lypa as a Practical Politician*
- 17 May 1952 —Rev. V. Kuziv: *Separation of Church and State in
 the United States*
- 18 May 1952 —Dr. Ihor Ševčenko: *The Policy of the Byzantine
 Church Towards Ruś, Lithuania, and Muscovy before
 the 14th Century*

BIOLOGY SECTION

- 16 September 1951 —Professor M. Vetukhiv: *The Congress of Biologists
 in Columbus, Ohio*
- 15 December 1951 in Detroit, Mich.
 —Professor G. Makhiv: *Problems of Ukrainian Geog-
 raphy*
 —Professor V. Petrivsky: *Cataloguing of Ukrainian
 Fauna*
- 2 February 1952 in Detroit, Mich.
 —Professor I. Rozhin and Dr. V. Rozhin: *Contemporary
 Oncology in the Ukraine and in the United States*
 —I. Birko: *New Elements in Ukrainian Fauna*

ECONOMICS SECTION

- 4 April 1952 —Professor I. Zamsha: *The Use of Soviet Sources in
 the Study of Economics*

LAW SECTION

- 14 June 1952 —Professor L. Okinshevich: *The Commission for the History of Ukrainian Law at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev*

MEDICAL SECTION

- 7 June 1952 —First Session, Chairman: Professor M. Mishchenko
 —Professor I. Bazylevych: *The Tasks of Contemporary Gerontology*
 —Professor M. Mishchenko: *The Problem of the Physiological Structure of Individual Experience*
 —Dr. Sophia Parfanovych: *The Present State of Anaesthesia Used in Childbirth*
 —Professor I. Rozhin: *The Stimulation of Immunological Functions in an Organism*

The following lectures were delivered before the Fine Arts Group under the chairmanship of Professor D. Horniatkevych:

- 2 March 1952 —J. Hirniak: *The Beginnings of the Modern Ukrainian Theater*
 —Professor V. Kipa: *Chopin and His Art* (with musical illustrations).

The Fine Arts Group held an exhibition of Ukrainian Art in Newark, N. J. (June 4th-11th, 1952).

The Commission for the Study of Ukrainian History in the inter-war period (1918-1939), created under the auspices of the Historical Section of the Academy, held the following meetings of its Seminar, under the chairmanship of Dr. John S. Reshetar (Princeton University):

- 27 March 1952 —H. Kostiuk: *Periodization of Soviet Ukrainian Literature.*
 5 April 1952 —Yu. Dyvnych: *The Place of Ukrainian Communism in Post-Revolutionary Ukrainian History*
 19 April 1952 —V. Holubnychy: *Soviet Ukraine in the U.N.*
 3 May 1952 —Professor I. Zamsha: *Ukrainian Co-operatives 1917-1920*
 24 May 1952 —G. Luckyj: *Party Policy Towards Soviet Ukrainian Literature (1918-1934)*

One of the most important events in the life of the Academy was the arrival from Europe of its Museum and Library. These collections, containing valuable periodicals, books, personal papers, and photographs collected in Europe since 1945, are now housed in the new offices of the Academy at 11½ West 26 St. The Director of the Museum and Library, Professor V. Porsky, reports progress in the difficult task of cataloguing and reassembling the Library.

The present issue of the *Annals* is the last to be edited by Mr. George Luckyj who has resigned his position as Associate Editor. He is joining the staff of the Dept. of Slavic Studies at the University of Toronto.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following simplified system is used in the transliteration of Ukrainian:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|----|----|---|------|
| а | — | a | н | — | n |
| б | — | b | о | — | o |
| в | — | v | п | — | p |
| г | — | h | р | — | r |
| ґ | — | g | с | — | s |
| д | — | d | т | — | t |
| е | — | e | у | — | u |
| є | — | ye | ф | — | f |
| ж | — | zh | х | — | kh |
| з | — | z | ц | — | ts |
| и | — | y | ч | — | ch |
| і | — | i | ш | — | sh |
| ї | — | yi | щ | — | shch |
| й | — | y | ю | — | yu |
| к | — | k | я | — | ya |
| л | — | l | ий | — | y |
| м | — | m | | | |

In articles on comparative philology the international transliteration [see *Annals*, Vol. I. No. 2 (1951), p. 188] will continue to be used. Christian names, surnames, and placenames will retain their accepted spelling.

CONTRIBUTORS

Stepan Smal Stockyj, (1859-1938), Professor of Philology at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and a full member of the Academy of Sciences in Kiev.

Borys Krupnytsky, historian, Professor at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich.

Dmitry Cizevsky, member of the Slavic Dept. Harvard University.

Omelian Pritsak, Privatdozent at the University of Goettingen, Germany.

Serhij Krascheninnikow, formerly Professor of Zoology at Kiev and Bila Tserkva; now on the staff of the Zoology Dept. University of Pennsylvania.

Leo Okinshevich, leading historian of Ukrainian law, author of several works in Ukrainian and White Ruthenian scholarly series.

Ivan L. Rudnytsky, former student at the universities of Lviv, Berlin, Prague (Ph.D.) and a graduate of the Institute of International Affairs in Geneva; now in this country.

Vasyl Chaplenko, formerly Professor at a Soviet Pedagogical Institute; now editor of a Ukrainian literary magazine in this country.

Petro Odarchenko, formerly lecturer at the Institutes of Nizhyn and Kursk.

Volodymyr Porsky, distinguished archivist and literary historian.

Paul Hrycak, M.A. (History); at present with the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*.

