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Special Issue

A SURVEY OF
UKRAINIAN
HISTORIOGRAPHY
by Dmytro Doroshenko

Ukrainian Historiography
1917-1956
by Olexander Ohloblyn

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SPECIAL ISSUE

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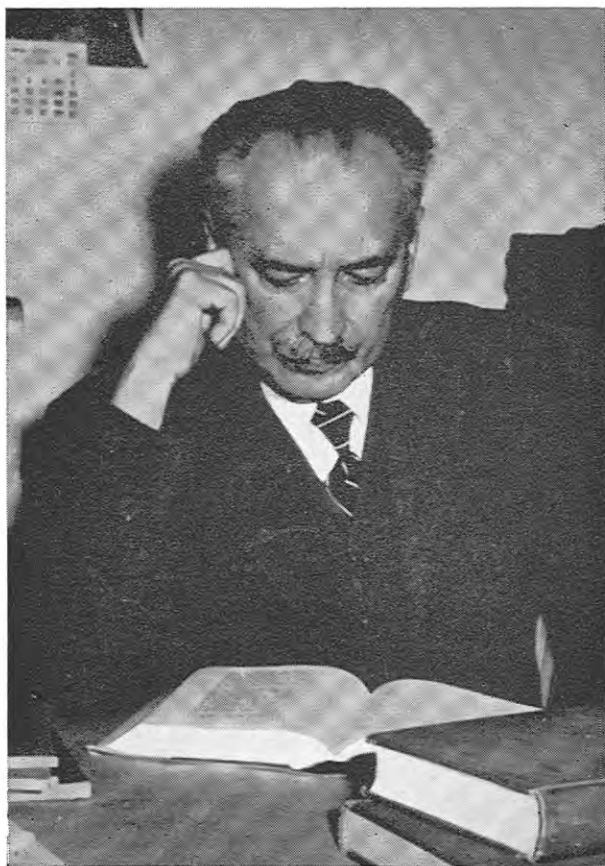
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D. Argonenti

PREFACE

Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko's book, *Ohlyad ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi** (A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography) was published in Ukrainian in 1923 in Prague by the Ukrainian University. This book is composed of a course of lectures given by the author at the Ukrainian Free University, first in Vienna in the spring of 1921 and, more extensively, in Prague during the 1921-1922 academic year.

Doroshenko (1882-1951) was occupied with Ukrainian historiography throughout his scholarly career of nearly fifty years. He worked on a number of problems of Ukrainian historiography, studied with deep insight the most important stages of its development, concentrated on the major Ukrainian historians, such as Antonovych, Drahomanov, Hrushevsky, Kostomarov, Kulish, Lypynsky, and also took an interest in those numerous scholars whose devotion and tireless work helped create Ukrainian historical science. Doroshenko, a prominent Ukrainian historian of the twentieth century, had wide knowledge of, understood and respected his predecessors.

Actually, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography* is the first comprehensive scholarly outline of Ukrainian historiography from its beginnings in the eleventh century up to our time. Moreover, Doroshenko was the first to treat Ukrainian historiography as a development of Ukrainian historical thought, and also first to separate Ukrainian historiography from source studies, but at the same time not isolating historical science from its source.

* Dmytro Doroshenko, *Ohlyad ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi*, published by the Ukrainian University, 1923, Prague, 220 pp.+1.

Doroshenko's complete book has been translated from the Prague edition of 1923. The chapters of the book, their subdivisions and corresponding titles fully agree with the Ukrainian original; the bibliography has been shifted to the end of each chapter.

During the last decades Ukrainian historical science made great progress: numerous Ukrainian scholars have been engaged in historiographical studies and many problems have been worked out more completely than they were at the time Doroshenko wrote his *Survey*. Many details have since been illuminated, many disputable problems elucidated. Therefore a supplementary chapter on the development of Ukrainian historiography from 1917 up to 1956 written by Oleksander Ohloblyn, formerly professor of history at Kiev University, has been added.

In the course of the editorial preparation of this book, Ohloblyn introduced some new data on research in footnotes, completed the bibliography with data on recent publications, and made a few small editorial abridgements, mostly excluding repetitions encountered in the Ukrainian text, which are designated by the punctuation marks [...]. A few negligible inaccuracies of the Prague edition have been corrected and more recent biographical data added on some historians. The data cited by Doroshenko in footnotes on articles reviewing certain historical works have been abbreviated, except data on his own critical articles. Editorial footnotes of the present edition have no asterisks, those by Doroshenko have an asterisk added to the number. Titles of bibliographical sources published in Roman lettering and the names of corresponding authors are cited in full agreement with the original. Those published in Cyrillic lettering are transliterated according to the system shown on page 453.

A Survey of
Ukrainian Historiography
by Dmytro Doroshenko

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this survey of Ukrainian historiography is to outline the development of scholarly research and study in Ukrainian history. That work, unfolding like a chronicle, begins with the eleventh century, that is, from the time of the first literary monuments in the Ukraine-Rus'.¹ Even the old chronicles show a highly developed sense of national solidarity and loyalty to the state. They are deeply interested in their country's past and show a desire to investigate and to elucidate it and thus relate it to contemporary events. This is characteristic also of all other researchers into the past, from earliest times to the birth of the modern era, when old chronicle writing was replaced by new scientific methods of historical research. The development and popularity of historical studies of one's own ancient history also characterized the Ukrainian national revival which began at the turn of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Therefore the present outline of Ukrainian historiography will also deal with the development of Ukrainian national and historical thought.

Before 1917 Ukrainian historiography was not treated fully in a university course. The reason for this was general lack of recognition accorded Ukrainian historical scholarship, which for a long time was given no place in institutions of learning, possessed no scholarly journals of its own, and was for a long time dependent upon Russian or Polish historical sciences. Only during recent decades has Ukrainian historical science begun to assume a separate and independent position among the sciences. For that matter Ukrainian history was afforded scant attention by the universities. Thus Kiev University offered in 1880-90 sporadic lectures on Ukrainian history by Professor Volodymyr Antonovych. [...] For some time in the late 90's of the nineteenth century Professor D. Yavornytsky offered a course on the

¹ The term "Ruś-Ukraine" (Ruś-Ukrayina) is used here according to M. Hrushevsky, who called his monumental history of the Ukraine *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-Ruś).

history of the Cossacks at Moscow University. Not until 1906 did Professor Oleksander Hrushevsky begin to lecture on Ukrainian history at Odessa University, and Professor Oleksandra Yefymenko at the Women's College in St. Petersburg. Professor O. Hrushevsky, who lectured in Ukrainian, left soon after this for St. Petersburg University.

In 1894 a chair of East European history was founded at the University of Lviv. Special attention was devoted to Ukrainian history (lectures were in Ukrainian) and the young professor from Kiev, Mykhaylo Hrushevsky² was appointed to this chair. At that time an intense growth of Ukrainian historical science began in Lviv, where many Ukrainian scholars from all parts of the Ukraine gathered around the Shevchenko Scientific Society.

Individual periods of Ukrainian history had received thorough treatment in the works of Russian historians (Karamzin, Solovyov, Sergeevich, Lyubavsky and others) who regarded the history of the Ukraine as an integral part of Russian history. Similarly, many Polish historians dealt in their works with Ukrainian history as far as it had a bearing on the history of Poland (Szajnocha, Jablonowski, Kubala and others). In both cases Ukrainian history was interpreted in the spirit of either Russian or Polish national ideas, notwithstanding attempts on the part of those historians to be objective and truthful.

Both Russian and Polish historical sciences received powerful support from the state and public institutions and organizations, or even from private individuals who supplied them with funds to aid publications, donated libraries, archives, and collections. Numerous archives, large libraries, collections, scholarly publications of historical material can be found in Russia and Poland as early as the eighteenth century (e.g., the library of Zaluski in Warsaw, the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg). On the other hand, Ukrainian state archives had either almost completely vanished, [...] or had been incorporated into the Russian or Polish archives. Many private collections were also lost [...]—or became part of Russian or Polish museums. Only

² A pupil of V. Antonovych.

recently, during the period of the Ukrainian State,³ were efforts made to organize National Archives.⁴ [...]

In spite of all this, a considerable part of the research into sources of Ukrainian history was completed before 1917. Although carried on in non-Ukrainian institutions and publications, it was to a large extent done by Ukrainian scholars, as for instance in the publications of the Kiev Archeographic Commission. The earliest periods of Ukrainian history received the most intensive treatment and were also studied by many Russian scholars (Karamzin, Solovyov, Sergeevich, Shakhmatov, Prisyolkov, Rozhkov, and others) who usually regard the Kievan Rus' period as common to both Russians and Ukrainians.

Ukrainian historiography, in the strict sense of this word, was weakest in the study of the development of Ukrainian history-writing and the development of the Ukrainian national idea against the background of history. Few attempts have been made to survey Ukrainian historiography scientifically in connection with the development of national self-awareness, which appears to us to be an uninterrupted and unceasing process, although at times held in abeyance under the pressure of unfavorable circumstances. Having been brought up in non-Ukrainian schools and having accepted a distorted view of our own past, even today we are not fully aware of the continuity of the national and historical tradition which bound together Nestor, Velychko and Poletyka, a continuity which was so obvious to the participants of the famed *Protestation* in 1620 (or 1621). They regarded the campaign of the Princes Oleh and Svyatoslav as being in the same tradition as the campaigns of Sahaydachnyi. They vividly felt their ties with the ancient Kievan Rus'-Ukraine. The poverty of our tradition and the weakness of our feeling of attachment to the spiritual and political life of former generations is one of the results of our long existence within the framework of an alien state, oppressed

³ The author refers to the years 1917-1920 when the independent Ukrainian National Republic was created.

⁴ Many Ukrainian archives and manuscripts collections vanished during the years of Soviet rule over the Ukraine, especially during World War II.

by other nationalities. From this point of view, a study of Ukrainian historiography, reflecting the development of researches into Ukrainian history, is most instructive.

From the scanty literature on the subject, first of all must be mentioned the general and very concise survey of Ukrainian historiography by M. Hrushevsky in his introduction to the history of the Ukrainians, in the first volume of the encyclopedia *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoyashchem* (The Ukrainian People, their Past and Present), St. Petersburg, 1914, entitled "Razvitie ukrainskikh izuchenii" (The Development of Ukrainian Studies). Equally general is the survey of Ukrainian historiography of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by M. Vasilenko, "K istorii malorusskoi istoriografii i malorusskago obshchestvennago stroya" (On the History of Little Russian Historiography and Little Russian Social System), *Kievskaya Starina*, XI, Kiev, 1894. The short and now obsolete survey of Ukrainian historiography by the same author is in the Russian Encyclopaedic Dictionary (Brockhaus and Efron). The booklet by V. Bidnov, *Shcho chytaty po istoriyi Ukrayiny* (What To Read on the History of the Ukraine), Kamyanets-Podilsk, 1919, is incomplete and popular in character.

V. Ikonnikov in his work *Opyt russkoi istoriografii* (Survey of Russian Historiography), Kiev, 1908, vol. II, Part 2, pp. 1560-1900 gives a systematic and detailed account of Ukrainian historiography, of Lithuanian, and part of the Polish and Muscovite periods (especially on the so-called Lithuanian and Cossack chronicles).

V. Antonovych, in his lectures on the sources for the historiography of the Ukraine, delivered in the early 1880's and published by his students as *Istochniki dlya istorii yuzhnoi i zapadnoi Rossii* (Sources for the History of South and West Russia), Kiev, 1881, gives a short outline of Cossack chronicles and foreign sources.

The Russian historian, G. Karpov, deals (very tendentiously) with *Istoriya Rusov* and D. Bantysh-Kamensky, and engages in polemics with M. Kostomarov in his book *Kriticheskii obzor razra-*

botki glavnykh russkikh istochnikov do istorii Malorossii otnosyashchysya (A Critical Survey of the Treatment of Chief Russian Sources Relating to the History of Little Russia), Moscow, 1870.

M. Hrushevsky's *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (The History of Ukraine-Rus') contains a wealth of material on sources and literature and offers very valuable excursions into the field of historiography. [...]

The articles by O. Lazarevsky "Prezhnie izyskateli maloruskoi stariny" (Previous Discoverers of Little Russian Antiquity), printed in *Kievskaya Starina* (1895-1897) and published separately in *Ocherki, zametki i dokumenty po istorii Malorossii* (Sketches, Notes, and Documents in the History of Little Russia), are most important. Special mention is made in them of the old Ukrainian historians Ya. Markovych, O. Martos, O. Markovych.

For general reference, the following books are useful: A. Lazarevsky, *Ukazatel' istochnikov dlya izucheniya malorossiiskago kraya* (A Guide to Sources for Study of the Little Russian Land), Vypusk I, St. Petersburg, 1858 (121 pp.), and what may be regarded as a supplement to it: *Ukazatel' inostrannykh istochnikov dlya istorii Malorossii* (A Guide to Foreign Sources of the History of Little Russia), Chernihiv, 1859, by H. Myloradovych. Dmytro Doroshenko's *Ukazatel' istochnikov dlya oznakomleniya s yuzhnoi Rus'yu* (A Guide to Knowledge of Sources of South Russia), St. Petersburg, 1904,⁵ possesses a certain practical value when read together with a review of it by V. Domanytsky in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1904, IX.⁶

⁵ Also D. Doroshenko: "Pokazhchyk literatury ukrayins'koyu movoyu v Rosiyyi za 1798-1897 roky" (Index of Ukrainian Books Published in Russia in 1798-1897) in *Naukovyi Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Universitetu v Prazi, prysvyachenyi T. H. Masarykovi*, part 1, Prague, 1925, pp. 142-238.

⁶ During the last three decades many publications appeared in the field of Ukrainian historiography dealing mostly with certain problems or treating certain source material (see additional bibliography listed after each chapter). There were also a few general surveys published of Ukrainian historiography treating it as a whole, or touching some periods only, mostly modern times.

First of all the works by D. Doroshenko should be mentioned: "Entwicklung

und Errungenschaften der ukrainischen wissenschaftlichen Forschungstätigkeit in der letzten fünfzig Jahren," in *Mitteilungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Instituts in Berlin*, number 1, pp. 1-10, 1927; "Die Ukraine und ihre Geschichte im Lichte der westeuropäischen Literatur des XVIII und der ersten Hälfte des XIX Jhs," in *Abhandlungen des Ukrain. Wiss. Instituts in Berlin*, Vol. I, pp. 1-70, 1927, and a reprint; "Die Entwicklung der Geschichtsforschung in der Sowjetukraine in den letzten Jahren," *Mitteilungen des Ukr. Wiss. Instituts in Berlin*, number 2, pp. 35-56, 1928; "Die Entwicklung der ukrainischen Geschichtsidee vom Ende des 18 Jhs. bis zur Gegenwart," *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Vol. IV, No. 3, pp. 363-379, 1928; "Die ukrainischen historischen Forschungen in den Jahren 1914-1930," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 453-462, 1931; "Neues zur ukrainischen Historiographie," *Slavische Rundschau*, No. 5, pp. 414-419, 1932; "Die osteuropäische Geschichte auf dem VII Internationalen Historikerkongress in Warschau," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 77-88, 1933; "Rozvytok nauky ukraïnoznavstva v XIX st. i na pochatku XX st. ta yiyi dosyahnennya," *Ukrayins'ka Kul'tura. Zbirnyk lektsiy za redaktsiyeu D. Antonovycha*. Course 84, pp. 7-16, Podebrady, 1934. The second edition, Regensburg-Berchtesgaden, 1947. The last published work by D. I. Doroshenko (together with O. Ohloblyn): "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya," *Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva*, published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society, pp. 399-406, Munich-New York, 1949.

In the twenties, D. I. Bahaliy published a few works in the field of Ukrainian historiography, as for instance: *Narys ukraïyns'koyi istoriohrafiyi*, part I. Dzhereloznavstvo (An Outline of Ukrainian Historiography, part I. A Study of Sources); published by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 1923. Part II. *Kozats'ki liťopysy*. (Cossack Chronicles), Kiev, 1925; *Narys istoriyyi Ukrayiny na sotsyal'no-ekonomichnomu grunti* (An Outline of History of the Ukraine on a Social-Economic Basis), Kharkiv, 1928. The first chapter of the book gives a detailed survey of Ukrainian historiography, mainly XIX-XX centuries.

In 1932 D. Bahaliy prepared for publication the first volume of "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya," dwelling on the historiography of the XIX century. However, this volume has never been published.

M. Hrushevsky in his numerous works, published in the twenties and the early thirties, considered general and special problems of Ukrainian historiography. As an example, we shall name here "Ob ukraïnskoi istoriografii XVIII veka. Neskol'ko soobrazhenii," (On Ukrainian Historiography of the XVIII Century. A Few Considerations), *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1934, VII series, no. 3, pp. 215-223. (Other Hrushevsky works pertaining to historiography are listed in the references to corresponding chapters).

The following surveys of Ukrainian historiography are worth mentioning: P. Klepatsky, *Ohlyad dzherel do istoriyyi Ukrayiny*, issue 1, Kamyanyets-Podilsk, 1920; I. Krypyakevych, *Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya*, Lviv, 1923; I. Krevetsky, "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya na perelomi," *Zapysky Naukovoho Towarystva im. Shevchen-*

ka, vol. 134-135, pp. 161-184, Lviv, 1924; I. Krypjakovyč, "L'état actuel de l'historiographie ukrainienne (1921-1926)," *Conférence des Historiens des États de l'Europe Orientale et du Monde Slave*, Vol. II, Compte-rendu et communications, Warsaw, 1928, pp. 109-114; and *Nouvelle*, Paris, 1928, Nos. 1-2; O. Hermayze "Ukrayins'ka istorychna nauka za ostannye desyatylyttya," *Studii z istoriyi Ukrayiny*, vol. II, Kiev, 1929; M. Korduba, "La littérature historique ukrainienne en Pologne et dans l'émigration ukrainienne (1927-28)," *Bulletin d'information des sciences historiques en Europe orientale*, Warsaw, 1929, Nos. 1-2. pp. 73-119, and reprint, Warsaw 1929; M. Korduba, *Compte-rendu de l'historiographie ukrainienne contemporaine*, Warsaw, 1929; O. Hermajze, "Die ukrainische Geschichtswissenschaft in der U.S.S.R.," *Slavische Rundschau*, Prague, 1929, no. 5, pp. 363-366; G. Gautier, "Histoire ukrainienne. Publications en langue ukrainienne parues dans l'U.R.S.S. de 1917 à 1928," *Revue Historique*, vol. 154, pp. 133-146, Paris, 1929, and reprint, Paris, 1930; N. Tschubatyj, "Literatur der ukrainischen Rechtsgeschichte in den Jahren 1919-1929," *Przewodnik Historyczno-Prawny*, Lviv, 1930, and reprint, Lviv, 1931; M. Andrusiak, "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafija 1921-1930 r.r.," *Litopys Chervonoyi Kalyny*, IX-X, Lviv, 1932; *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. XLVIII, no. 1-2, Lviv, 1934; M. Korduba (ed.) *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine en VII-e Congrès International des sciences historiques*, Warsaw, August 1933, The Shevchenko Scientific Society, Lviv, 1933, 123 pp.; N. Tschubatyj, "Gegenstand der Geschichte des ukrainischen Rechtes," *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VII Congrès International des sciences historiques*, Warsaw, August 1933. Lviv, 1933, pp. 69-95; É. Borschak, *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale*. Paris, 1935; (Reprint from *Monde Slave*, 1933-1935); S. Narizhnyi, "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafija," *Ukrayins'ka zahal'na entsyklopediya*, vol. III, Lviv-Stanislaviv-Kolomyia, 1935; M. Korduba, "La littérature historique soviétique ukrainienne. Compte-rendu 1917-31," *Bulletin d'information des sciences historiques en Europe Orientale*, v. 7-8, Warsaw, 1938, and reprint, 1938; M. Andrusiak, "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafija," *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu v Amerytsi*, I. *Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu v Amerytsi*, St. Paul (Minn.)—Prague, 1939, pp. 5-24; É. Borschak, "Histoire de l'Ukraine. Publications en langue ukrainienne parue en dehors de l'U.R.S.S.," *Revue Historique*, vol. 187, pp. 1-30, Paris, 1939, and reprint; B. Krupnytskyj, "Die historische Wissenschaft der Sowjet-Ukraine 1921-41," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, II-IV, Breslau-Berlin, 1941, pp. 125-151; B. Krupnytsky, "Trends in Modern Ukrainian Historiography," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, vol. VI, No. 4, 1950, pp. 337-345; B. Krupnytsky, *Ukrayins'ka istorychna nauka pid Sovvyetamy (1920-1950)*, Munich, 1957.

There were some works published treating the historiography of certain Ukrainian regions. We name here a few publications pertaining to the Carpathian Ukraine: E. Perfetsky, "Obzor ugororusskoi istoriografii," *Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk*, vol. XIX, issue I, Petrograd, 1914; E. Perfetsky, "Nejduležitější studie o dějinách Podkarpatské Rusi," *Sbornik Filosofické fakulty univ. Komenského v Bratislavě*, no. 1-8, 1922.

We will mention a few works on Russian historiography in which some attention was paid to the problems of Ukrainian historiography: V. Picheta, *Vvedenie v russkuyu istoriyu*, Moscow, 1922; *Die Geschichtswissenschaft in Sowjet-Russland 1917-1928*, 1928, (Deutsche Gesellschaft zum Studium Osteuropas); N. Rubinshtein, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, Moscow, 1941; *Dvadtsat' pyat' let istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR*, Institut Istorii AN SSSR, Moscow-Leningrad, 1942; B. Grekov, "Osnovnye itogi izuceniya istorii SSSR za 30 let," *Trudy yubileinoi sessii Akademii Nauk*, Moscow, 1948.

UKRAINIAN CHRONICLES

CHRONICLES FROM XI - XIII CENTURIES

The oldest monuments of Ukrainian historiography are chronicles, the chronological records of current events kept mostly by monks in monasteries. The writing of the chronicles in the Ukraine began in Kiev in the first decades of the eleventh century. Ukrainian chronicles occupy a prominent place in the European historical literature of that time because of their rich content, depth of historical view, critical approach to the sources, and high artistic quality.

The Oldest (Primary, Original, Nestorian) Chronicle was compiled in Kiev at the beginning of the eleventh century. It has not come down to us in a separate form, and has only been preserved as part of later chronicles which have survived.

There are two variants of the oldest chronicle: 1) Southern, in the Volynian Symposium, completed at the end of the thirteenth century, 2) Northern, in the Suzdal Symposium, completed at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The oldest texts (codices) of the first variant are:

a) *Hypatian* (named after Hypatian Monastery near Kostroma, in Rostov-Suzdal Rus' from approximately 1425.

b) *Khlebnikovsky* (of Galician origin) written in the sixteenth century, which has several copies.

The oldest texts of the second variant are:

a) *Laurentian* (after the monk Lavrenti in Suzdal) from approximately 1377.

b) *Radyvylivsky* or *Königsbergian*, from the fifteenth century.

c) *Troyitsky*, from the fifteenth century (burned in 1812 and extant only in copies).

The question of the origin, composition and authorship of these chronicles is one of the most important. For over one hundred and fifty years Russian and Ukrainian scholars have been working to clarify them. Perhaps the greatest single success

has been achieved in the works of the Russian scholar, A. Shakhmatov.⁷

A. Schlötzer was the first to publish the Oldest Chronicle in the Radyvylivsky codex in *Rossiiskaya istoricheskaya biblioteka* (Russian Historical Library), 1767. Schlötzer believed that the Chronicle was written by Nestor and that there was a basic original text which should be found and reconstructed. Later, however, he admitted that this was a very difficult task and that it was hardly possible to establish where the "Nestorian Chronicle" began and where it ended.

In 1775 G. Miller called attention to the note by Sylvester in the year 1116, which read "Abbot Sylvester of St. Michael's Monastery wrote the book of this chronicle," as indicating the boundary of Nestor's chronicle.

In 1824, the Ukrainian scholar I. Tymkovsky began a new edition of the Chronicle but he only brought it up to 1019.

In the 1820's the Moscow Professor M. Kachenovsky published a whole series of articles in which he attempted to prove that the Chronicle as a whole is a later work and that it contains many forgeries. The writings of Kachenovsky and his pupils, who formed the so-called "sceptical school" of Russian historical scholarship, had this positive effect, that they forced other scholars to study and analyze the chronicles more deeply. Studies by Pogodin, Butkov, Sreznevsky, Gedeonov, Kunik, and the Ukrainian scholar Kostomarov appeared, which shed fresh light on the composite character of the Chronicle, revealing its sources and advancing toward a solution of the problems of authorship and editorship of the individual sections.

The publication of the entire texts was of great assistance to further research. In 1846-1871 the Russian Imperial Archeographic Commission published *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (Complete Collection of the Russian Chronicles) which was reissued in the XX century. In 1871-72 the same Commis-

⁷ We should mention that recent studies of chronicles from XI-XIII centuries brought certain corrections of Shakhmatov's conclusions, e.g., M. Prisyol'kov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI-XV vv.* (History of Origin of Russian Chronicles from XI-XV Centuries), Leningrad, 1940.

sion published phototype editions of the full texts of the *Hypatian* and *Laurentian* codices. The Ukrainian scholars M. Kostomarov (*Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, Lectures on Russian History, St. Petersburg, 1861) and O. Markevych (*O letopisyakh*, About the Chronicles, Odessa, 1883-1885) helped a great deal in researches into the earliest as well as later chronicles.

The writings of A. Shakhmatov (1864-1920) had a profound influence on the study of the chronicles. The first of them, *O nachal'nom letopisnom svode* (About the Primary Chronicle Compilation) appeared in 1897 in *Chteniya rossiiskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, and later separately. The results of his work which continued over a period of twenty years are collected in the *Razyskanie o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh* (Investigation into the Oldest Compilation of Russian Chronicles), St. Petersburg, 1908, a reprint from vol. XX of *Letopis' zanyatii arkheographicheskoi kommissii*. On the basis of his studies Shakhmatov published *Povest' vremennykh let* (The Tale of Bygone Years), vol. I, introduction, text, notes, St. Petersburg, 1916 (reprint from vol. XXIX of *Letopis' zanyatii arkheograficheskoi kommissii*). Shakhmatov repeated his conclusions in an article "Letopisets Nestor" (The Chronicler Nestor) published in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*,⁸ Vol. CXXVII-CXXVIII dedicated to Ivan Franko.⁹

A valuable contribution to the study of the chronicles was offered by M. Hrushevsky in the article "Nestor i Litopys" (Nestor and the Chronicle) published in *Pryvit*, a symposium in honor of Franko, Lviv, 1898, and also in the chapter on the "Oldest Chronicle" in the first volume of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'*.

On the basis of research by Shakhmatov and other scholars the following conclusions were reached:

1. The Oldest Kiev Chronicle compilation appeared around 1039, almost simultaneously with the founding of the Metro-

⁸ Abbreviated in the future as ZNTSH.

⁹ See also posthumous work of Shakhmatov, *Obozrenie russkikh letopisnykh svodov XIV-XVI v.v.*, (A Survey of the Compilations of Russian Chronicles from XIV-XVI Centuries), Moscow-Leningrad, 1938.

politanate in Kiev and with the erection of the Cathedral of St. Sophia.

The Kievan text begins with an account of the origin of Kiev. Further, the narrative describes the reign of Oleh in Kiev, his campaign against Tsarhorod (Constantinople) where he put his boats on wheels and reached the very walls of the city; the murder of the second prince of Kiev, Ihor, by Derevlyane; the revenge of Olha; the campaigns of Svyatoslav against the Khazars, Vyatychi and the Bulgars; the attack by the Pechenegs on Kiev and their defeat; the war of Svyatoslav against the Greeks in Bulgaria and his death upon his return at the hands of the Pechenegs; the internecine strife between the sons of Svyatoslav and the accession of Volodymyr; the death of the first Christian martyrs in Kiev; the campaigns of Volodymyr; the conversion of the Bulgarian Tsar Borys to Christianity by Cyril the Philosopher; Volodymyr's tests of faith and his baptism; the campaign against Korsun and the construction in Kiev of the Tithe Church; the death and funeral of Volodymyr; the internal struggle between his sons; the murder of Borys and Hlib, their glorification and their miracles; the reign of Yaroslav the Wise up to the time of the consecration of the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev.

2. This Kievan Chronicle was continued from 1039 to 1073 by the monk Nikon the Great (deceased 1088) in the Pechersky Monastery. Bulgarian and Byzantine chronicles, as well as oral historical tradition, sometimes even in the form of versified legends, were the sources of the Kievan Chronicle. In this way the First Kiev-Pechersky Compilation was created.

Nikon, for a time the abbot of Tmutorokan, supplemented this Kievan Compilation with accounts of the activities of Prince Mstyslav Volodymyrovych of Tmutorokan and Siveria; about his war against the Yasy and Kasohy; his fight with the Kasoh chieftain, Rededyia; the erection of the Church of *Bohorodytsya* in Tmutorokan; and the fight between Mstyslav and Yaroslav at Lystven in 1024 giving, at the same time, a general characterization of Prince Mstyslav. Apart from the additions relating to Mstyslav's reign, Nikon extended the Oldest Kievan Compilation. He told of the death of Yaroslav and the legacy to his

children; the distribution of the Kievan State among the sons of Yaroslav; the wars against the nomads — the Torki and the Polovtsi; he inserted a lengthy account of the Pechersky Monastery and of miracles worked by its celebrated monks, narrated the events in Tmutorokan (1064-1066) and also some local events (the birth of a deformed child which was then drowned in the river); and he ended his work with the year 1073.

3. In 1095 the First Kiev-Pechersky Compilation was supplemented by accounts covering the period 1073-1093. A new redaction of it was called the Second Kiev-Pechersky Compilation. The compiler of this text used as his sources Greek chronicles, Novgorod and Chernihiv chronicles, the lives of saints and folk legends. In an interesting introduction he told of his deep love of his country and its past glories, mingled with sorrow caused by the evil circumstances present when Rus'-Ukraine was ravaged by wild nomad tribes, while the princes quarreled among themselves and spent their time in the pursuit of pleasure and luxury. The Second Kiev-Pechersky text ends with a sombre reflection on the Polovtsian ruin of the Ukrainian lands. The compiler introduced many new details of the baptism of Volodymyr, borrowed from the so-called Korsun Legend (of Greek origin), and about the murder of Prince Borys. [...] The folk tale of Olha's vengeance against the Derevyane is also included.

4. According to Shakhmatov, about the year 1112 a new compilation was begun by the monk Nestor, the author of the life of Saint Theodosius Pechersky. He based his work on the Second Compilation but drew his material from new sources also (the chronicle of George Hamartolos and other Greek monuments, and folk legends), and he included in it four treaties concluded between the Kiev princes and the Greeks. The final product was the well-known *Povest' vremennykh let* (The Tale of Bygone Years), the oldest history of the Ukrainian land, permeated with deep patriotism and most valuable because of its rich political, geographic and ethnographic information (especially about the ethnographic distribution of the Rus' tribes).

5. In 1116 the abbot of the Vydbetsky Monastery in Kiev, Sylvester, reedited the *Povest' vremennykh let*. This second re-

daction of Nestor's work was made with the help of a version of the same work by a certain priest Vasyľ from Peremyshl in 1113-1116. This Vasyľ introduced a dramatic account of the blinding of Prince Vasyľko of Terebovlya and some notes on the events of 1097-1099. All this material was used in the new redaction of Nestor's work by the abbot Sylvester.

6. A year later, in 1117, a third redaction of the Nestorian *Povest'* appeared which devoted much attention to the contemporary heroic prince — Volodymyr Monomakh — and introduced into the text his famous *Pouchenie dityam* (Advice to Children), written sometime between 1100 and 1101.

Povest' vremennykh let became the basis of many later chronicles written in Kiev, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav, and also in the Rostov-Suzdal' Rus' (later Muscovy) and in Byelorussia.

Among these chronicles the following deserve to be mentioned:

1. *Kievsky Litopys* (The Kiev Chronicle) extends up to the year 1200. It is characterized by dramatic treatment, good literary style, and contains many traces of the living spoken language of the Ukraine. It has come down to us in the Hypatian text (1425).

Apart from events of a country-wide nature, the Kiev Chronicle gives details of local Kievan affairs, the lives of princes, and ecclesiastical activities. The chronicler shows special liking for the Prince Izyaslav Mstyslavych, and dwells in particular on the events which took place in Kiev between 1146 and 1154. There is also a detailed description of events between 1175 and 1185, the war against the Polovtsi (with a statement on their ethnography), and the famous campaign of the Siverian Princes against the Polovtsi in 1185, which became the subject of the *Slovo o polku Ihoreve* (The Tale of Igor's Host). The Kiev Chronicle ends with a panegyric devoted to Prince Ryuryk on the occasion of the erection of the wall in the Vydubetsky Monastery. M. Hrushevsky regards the author of this panegyric as the last editor of the Kiev Chronicle.

2. Of even greater literary value is the *Halyts'ko-Volynsky Litopys* (Galician-Volynian Chronicle) which covers the period from 1201 to 1292. Its author was well acquainted not only with Greek sources and literature (e.g., his knowledge of Homer)

but also with West European sources. He is fond of adorning his narrative with poetical legends (e.g., on Yevshan zillya) and is a master of storytelling. Sincere patriotism and a heightened national consciousness characterize the unknown author of the Galician-Volynian Chronicle. This chronicle gives an accurate picture of internal and external conditions in the Western Ukraine during the entire thirteenth century.

The Galician-Volynian Chronicle is divided into two parts: The first (up to 1261) is pragmatic in character. The author's favorite hero is Prince Daniel; his virtues as a man and statesman are highly extolled and his enemies, mainly the rebellious Galician *boyars* and troublemakers among the "Tatar peoples," are severely condemned. The second part, composed in all likelihood in Volodymyr, devotes much attention to Prince Vasyl'ko Romanovych, the brother of Daniel. This part resembles more closely the usual chronicle with a yearly record of events, and contains many additions borrowed from various sources, among them the Pinsk Chronicle which has not been preserved.¹⁰

Editions of Chronicles: *Povest' vremennykh let po Ipatievskomu spisku* (The Chronicle of the Bygone Years According to the Hypatian Text), St. Petersburg, 1871 (phototype edition); *Povest' vremennykh let po Lavrentievskomu spisku* (The Chronicle of the Bygone Years According to the Laurentian Text), St. Petersburg, 1872 (phototype edition); *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (Full Collection of Russian Chronicles): vol. I, *Lavrentievskaya letopis'* (Laurentian Chronicle), Leningrad, 1926-1927; vol. II, *Ipatievskaya letopis'* (Hypatian Chronicle), St. Petersburg, 1908; *Radzivilovskaya ili Kenigsbergskaya letopis'*; *izdanie obshchestva lyubitelei drevnei pismennosti t. 98* (Radyvylivsky or Königsbergian Chronicle; Edition of the Society of Amateurs of Old Literature), St. Petersburg, 1902; L. Leibovich, *Svodnaya letopis' sostavlenneya po vsem izdannym spiskam* (Compiled Chronicle, Edited on the Basis of All Published Texts), vol. I, *Povest' vremennykh let*, St. Peters-

¹⁰ Recent studies showed that the Galician-Volynian Chronicle is composed of a certain number of compilations made in the XIII century by different individuals and in different regions of the Ukraine.

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"LITHUANIAN" OR WEST RUS' CHRONICLES

Very few historical literary monuments belonging to the fourteenth and fifteenth century have been preserved. This can be explained by the turmoil and ravages which the wars left in their wake throughout the land, destroying almost all the literature of that epoch. However, from extracts and traces which have been preserved in later works, we know that the writing of chronicles went on uninterruptedly during these centuries.

The writing of chronicles which began almost simultaneously in Kiev and Novgorod made some advances in Byelorussia, which during the Grand Principality of Lithuania had common political and cultural bonds with the Ukrainian lands, also a part of that Principality. Therefore, the entire cycle of so-called Lithuanian or West-Rus' Chronicles written in Byelorussia is common to both Ukrainian and Byelorussian historiography.

So far, fourteen texts of the "Lithuanian" Chronicles have been discovered. They can be divided into three groups: 1) Shorter or Earlier Redaction which is characterized by abundant news from Smolensk lands; 2) Composite or Second Redaction which contains the history of Old Lithuania and devotes less space to Smolensk; 3) Complete or Third Redaction which gives a detailed history of Old Lithuania and its later period (after Gedymin).

The first redaction dates from the 1440's, the second from the 1550's, the third from the 1560's.

Lithuanian chronicles were based on local Smolensk and Ukrainian (Kiev, Volynia, Podolia) chronicles. Their authors were also familiar with Polish chronicles, official documents, and court circulars. The oldest of them are characterized by their intense love for detail, their pragmatism, and their poetic style.

The following are the more important texts of the Lithuanian chronicles:

Suprasl'sky spisok (Suprasl text) which is preserved in the form of a symposium, compiled in 1520 by Grigorii Ivanovich who served at the court of Prince Semen Odyntsevych. In addition to the "Kiev" Chronicle, which extends from 862 to 1514 and ends with the victory of Prince Ostrozhsky over the Muscovites in 1515, it also comprises the Smolensk and West-Rus' chronicles.

Litopys Avraamky (Avraamka's Chronicle) written in Smolensk in 1495, by order of Bishop Joseph, "by the hand of the sinful bondsman of God, Avraamka."

Barkulabovsky Litopys (Barkulabovo Chronicle) was compiled by the priest Fedir Pylypovych of Smolensk in the village of Barkulabovo near Orsha and Mohyliv at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It contains valuable information about the activities of the Brotherhoods and the beginnings of the Church Union, and is written in beautiful Byelorussian.

Litopys Bykhovtsya (The Chronicle of Bykhovets') from the end of the sixteenth century. It is the most complete of all the Lithuanian chronicles and is based on a great many sources, some of them from the Galician-Volynian Chronicle.¹¹

The Lithuanian Chronicles had considerable influence on Polish chroniclers — Dlugosz, Strykowski, Bielski — and through them, also, on later Ukrainian historiography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Lithuanian Chronicles were published in the XVIth volume of the *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei*, St. Petersburg,

¹¹ This chronicle is known for its literary and dramatic values.

1889, and in the XVIIth volume of the same work under the editorship of S. L. Ptaszycski and A. A. Shakhmatov, St. Petersburg, 1907. Altogether thirteen texts were printed. The fourteenth text "Kronika Vel. knyazstva litovskago i zhmoitskago," 1636, was published by S. Rozanov in *Ukrayins'kyi naukovyi zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Symposium of Science), Moscow, 1915.

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SYNODYKY OR POMYANNYKY

Apart from the chronicles and hagiographical writings of various kinds which contain much historical information, it is necessary to mention also the *synodyky* or *pomyannyky*, special books including lists of names of princes and prominent citizens, used during church memorial services. Among them the following are the most important:

1) The *pomyannyk* of the Kiev Pechers'ka Lavra from the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, edited by S. Golubev in *Chteniya obshchestva Nestora letopistsa*, Vol. VI.

2) *Synodyk* of the Kiev Cathedral of St. Sophia, edited by I. Kamanin in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, vol. IX.

3) *Pomyannyk* of St. Michael's Zolotoverkhyi Monastery in Kiev (sixteenth-seventeenth century) which has an interesting introduction "Ob obnovlenii zapustelago Mezhygorskago monastyrya," (About the Renovation of the Neglected Mezhyhorsk Monastery) by Abbot Athanasius, 1599-1612. This *pomyannyk* includes the names of several Hetmans, colonels, cossacks, and plain citizens. It was published in *Chteniya obshchestva Nestora letopistsa*, 1903-1904, vol. XVII.

4) *Pomyannyk* of the Kiev "Pustynnyi" Cathedral of St. Nicholas, edited by V. Shcherbyna in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, vol. XII.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT IN XVI-XVII CENTURIES
AND THE REVIVAL OF HISTORICAL TRADITION
IN LITERATURE

The great cultural and national movement which began in Western Ukraine as a reaction against the Roman-Catholic Polish pressure in the second half of the sixteenth century, and which had as its main centers Ostroh, Lviv and Kiev, aided the development of a rich theological literature, polemical pamphlets, ecclesiastical and historical treatises, and epistles. Their authors, to prove their points in defense of the national and religious rights of the Ukrainians, had to resort very frequently to history and thus revivify the historical traditions of the Ukrainian great princes and of the ancient Kiev State. For this reason the seventeenth century abounds in chronicles.

Among the voluminous religious, polemical literature of that time can be found several works which are of importance for Ukrainian historiography. *Perestoroha* (Warning) (1605-1606) by Yurko Rohatynets', a distinguished member of the Lviv Brotherhood, belongs in such category. It is rich in material on Ukrainian national life at the end of the sixteenth century. So, also, are the works of Stepan Zyzaniy, Martyn Bronevsky (Khristofor Philalet), Ipatiy Potiy, Meletiy Smotrytsky, Zakharyia Kopystensky and other authors, both Orthodox and Uniate.

For a historian it is of special interest to watch the revival of national historical traditions in these times, and to trace the attempts to create an uninterrupted continuity in the Ukrainian historical process. This is clearly evident in the *Poslanie* (Epistle) to Prince Yarema Vyshnevetsky by Isaya Kopynsky (died in 1640), and in particular in the *Protestatsiya* (Protestation) of the Ukrainian church hierarchy—Metropolitan Iov Boretsky, Bishops Ezekiil Kurtsevych, Isaya Kopynsky and all the clergy in 1620-1621 — addressed to the Polish *Sejm* (Diet) and the entire *Rzecz Pospolita* about the oppression of the Orthodox Ukrainians. The *Protestatsiya* has an important paragraph on the Cossacks, who are described as direct descendants of the old Rus' heroes:

As for Cossacks, we know that these brave men are our kinsmen, brothers, and Christians of Orthodox faith. . . . They are the tribe of the glorious Rus' lineage which sprang from Japhet and fought valiantly against the Greek Empire alike on the Black Sea and on land. It is the army of the same generation which under Oleh stormed Tsarhorod in their boats on wheels. It was they who fought against Greece, Macedonia and Illyria under the leadership of Saint Volodymyr the Great, Rus' Monarch. Their ancestors were baptized together with Volodymyr and accepted through the Byzantine Church their Christian faith into which they are born and christened, and by which they live every day. They do not live like heathens but like Christians; they have their priests, they learn to write, to know their God and their laws. . . .

It is certain that, with the exception of God himself, nobody else in the world does so much good for the enslaved Christians as the Greeks, who buy the freedom of the slaves, or the King of Spain with his mighty fleet, and the Zaporozhian Cossacks with their courage and victories. What other people gain by words and treatises, the Cossacks win by actual deeds.^{12*}

The same feeling permeates *Virshi na zhalosny pogreb zatsnogo rytsera Petra Konashevycha Sahaydachnoho, Hetmana Voyska Zaporozkogo, zlozhony prez inoka Kasiana Sakovycha, rektora shkol kievskikh v bratstvi, movlenye ot yego spudeyov na pogrebi togo zatsnogo rytsera v Kievi v nedilyu provodnuyu r.B. 1622* (Verses for the Funeral of the Noble Knight Petro Konashevych Sahaydachny, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, composed by Kasian Sakovych, Rector of the Kiev Brotherhood Schools, Recited by His Students During the Funeral of the Same Noble Knight in Kiev on the First Sunday after Easter in the Year of Our Lord, 1622). The *Verses* repeat almost literally the sentiment of *Protestatsiya* when referring to the Zaporozhian Host:

The Zaporozhian Host won its freedom in faithful service to king and country. Old chronicles told of their bravery, how they slew the enemies of the fatherland at sea, on land, often on foot or on horseback, although the enemy was well armed. They are Japhet's own tribe. . . .

In the reign of Oleh, the monarch of Rus', they crossed the sea in boats and stormed Tsarhorod. Their ancestors were baptized with

^{12*} The *Protestatsiya* was published by P. Zhukovich in the *Sbornik statei po slavyanovedeniyu*, vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1907.

Volodymyr and lived virtuously according to their faith. They are ready to stand by it and defend it with their lives. Princes and nobles were in their host, and good Hetmans came from it.

Such a good Hetman was Petro Konashevych, the fame of whose knightly deeds were known far and wide. Everybody knows about the Zaporozhian Host and how it is needed by the Country. The Ukraine is kept whole by it and wherever there are no Zaporozhians it lies open to Tatar invasion.

The *Verses* give some biographical data about the famous Hetman, tell of his campaigns and stress his good works in the cultural field:

He donated his property, some to hospitals, other parts to churches, schools and monasteries. Having done this, he ended his life and is buried in the Brotherhood Church in Kiev. He joined the Brotherhood with all his Host and gave it considerable donations. He also went to see the distant Brotherhood at Lviv and liberally endowed it and a church in this town. He gave large amounts of money to the Brotherhood and demanded that it be used for education.

The literature of the period of Khmelnytsky was rich in such verses, which reflected the awakened national consciousness at the time of the great revival of the Ukraine, stirred up by that Great Hetman.^{13*} Even greater literary monuments of that period are the *Dumy* which had their origin in the Cossack milieu. Some *Dumy*, those for instance about Khmelnytsky and Barabash or the death of Khmelnytsky, depict historical events very vividly.

^{13*} See: Iv. Franko, "Studiyyi nad ukrayins'kymy narodnymy pisnyami. Khmelnychyna (dumy, pisni ta virshy)," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vols. 98-106.

UKRAINIAN CHRONICLES OF THE XVII CENTURY

THE "COSSACK CHRONICLES"

The writing of chronicles in the Ukraine continued throughout the Lithuanian and Polish periods, and as in the times of the ancient Kiev State, the chronicles were written for the most part in the monasteries. This type of history writing reached its peak in the seventeenth century when it also transcended the narrow bonds of dry records and assumed the form of pragmatic history with some attempts at synthesis. The writing of the chronicles at the same time ceased to be the exclusive preoccupation of the clergy and monks; there appeared the so-called "Cossack Chronicles," written by laymen, often members of the Cossack Host, who took an active part in, or were witnesses of, the events they described. As a result of the greatly increased national consciousness which reached its climax during the times of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, nearly all the historical works of the seventeenth century were imbued with ardent patriotism. The following are the most important works of that period:

Letopysy Volyni i Oukrayiny (The Chronicles of Volynia and the Ukraine), is an early seventeenth century collection which once belonged to the son of the Kiev mayor, Bohdan Balyka, and later to the monk Illya Koshchakovsky. Today it is preserved in the Ossolineum Library.¹⁴ It contains a compilation of old Ukrainian and Lithuanian chronicles, notes on the Moscow war of 1612 by B. Balyka, biographies of the Metropolitans of Kiev from 988 to 1590, a Ukrainian translation of Opalinski's diary of the Khotyn war, and various other notes.

Hustynsky Litopys (The Hustyn Chronicle) covers the period from the beginning of the Kiev State to 1597. When it was recopied and completed in 1670 by the Hieromonach Mykhaylo Losytsky of the Hustynsky Prylutsky Monastery, this compilation of Ukrainian and Polish chronicles was entitled *Kroynika*. It begins with the Chronicle of Nestor and contains the Galician-

¹⁴ After the Second World War the Ossolineum Library was moved to Kraków; the fate of some of its collection is not known.

Volynian Chronicle recounting the relations of Ukrainian lands with Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Muscovy, Crimea, and Turkey. It extends to the year 1597 and ends with the chapter *O nachale kozakov* (The Beginning of the Cossacks), based on works by Sarnicki^{15*} and Bielski.¹⁶ Losytsky's original contribution begins with a chapter on the early Cossack period, which is followed by chapters on the new calendar,¹⁷ the Church Union, and on the polemical defense of the Orthodox faith and Ukrainian nationhood. The main inspiration of the whole work is love of one's country which is held to be innate in everyone, drawing all toward it like a magnet. Hence the author of the chronicle expresses the hope that the historical past may not be hidden from the Ukrainian people.

Mezhyhorsky Rukopys (The Mezhyhorsky Manuscript), dating from the seventeenth century, contains the chronicles of Kiev and Volynian lands (1393-1611, and 1612-1620), and also the chronicle of the Mezhyhorsky Monastery (near Kiev) from 1608-1700, which is very important for any historian of the city of Kiev or of the Cossack period and is written in an engaging style. Both chronicles were published by V. Antonovych (*Sbornik letopisei, odnosyashchikhsya k istorii yuzhnoi i zapadnoi Rosii*, Kiev, 1888).

L'vivsky Litopys (The Lviv Chronicle), so called by the Galician scholar D. Zubrytsky since it was found in Lviv, from 1498 to 1649, records events from 1498 to 1626 very briefly; but beginning with 1630, the annual entries are much more detailed and deal with events in the Kievan lands, Podolia and Galicia. The author, a Podolian, studied in Medzhybozh in 1621, lived in Kiev in 1626, and became a monk of the Mezhyhorsky Monastery. Kulish assumed that he was a Galician. The *L'vivsky Lito-*

15* Stanislaw Sarnicki, born 1530, a Calvinist preacher in Kraków, was the author of *Descriptio veteris et novae Poloniae* (1595) and *Annales sive de origine et rebus gestis polonorum et lithuanorum, libri VIII* (1587).

16 Marcin Bielski was the author of *Kronika Święta*; his son, Joachim, continued his father's work and wrote *Kronika Polska* which terminated in the year 1599 and contained a chapter entitled *O Kozakach*.

17 The Gregorian Calendar (New Style) was introduced in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII.

pys has been printed several times (e.g., in *Naukovyi Sbornik*, Lviv, 1867).

Khmelyntsky Litopys, from 1636 to 1650, is most valuable for the study of the history of the early period of Khmelnytsky because of the information it contains about the destruction of the country during the wars. It was printed as a supplement to the *Litopys of Samovydyets'*, Kiev, 1878.

A *Podil'sky Litopys* (Podolian Chronicle) also existed, but it has not been preserved.

Apart from these chronicles, we have also many complete or fragmentary monasterial chronicles, containing general as well as specific information about life in the regions around the monasteries:

Hustynsky Monasterial Litopys (1600-1641).

Mharsky Litopys (of the Mhar Monastery near Lubny in the Province of Poltava) contains fragments dated between 1682 and 1775. The story "About the Building of the Stone Church of the Transfiguration in the Mhar Monastery" is most valuable because it provides us with very important information about the construction of stone churches in the Ukraine in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was edited by Lazarevsky (with a preface) and published in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1889, IV-VI.

The Chronicle of the *Motronynsky Monastery* (Chyhyryn District) from 1516 to 1749; fragments from it were published by Mykola Bilozersky in *Yuzhnorusskiya letopisi* (The South Russian Chronicles) Kiev, 1856.

The Chronicle of the *Satanovsky Monastery* (in Podolia) was written in Polish, and copied by the Uniate abbot, Modest Syl-nytsky, between 1770 and 1793. It is preserved in the Ossolineum Library.

The Chronicle of the *Pidhoretsky Monastery* (in Galicia, near Brody), from 1659 to 1715, entitled *Sinopsis ili kratkoe sobranie istorii* (Synopsis or Short Collection of Histories), gives details about Doroshenko's expeditions in alliance with the Turks in 1672 and in later years. Excerpts from it were published by Ivan Franko ("Myron") in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, VII.

Kroynika monastyrya sv. Mykhaila tserkve Zolotoverkhhoho (The Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Michael of the Zolotoverkhy Church)) of the second half of the sixteenth century was based chiefly on the Polish chronicle of M. Bielski.

The church chronicle of Dobromil (in Galicia) covers the period 1648-1700, and was printed by V. Antonovych in *Sbornik letopisei*, Kiev, 1888.

Even in the second half of the sixteenth century the older type of chronicles (Litopysy) were yielding to a new kind (Kroyniky), composed, according to the Polish tradition, in the form of pragmatic treatises, although at the same time preserving the general character of compilations from various older and foreign sources. The composition of such chronicles had become very widespread in the seventeenth century, especially during the second half of it, in connection with the great national and political movement at that time which, after Khmelnytsky's attempt to reestablish an independent Ukrainian state, led to the creation of the Hetman State on the left bank of the Dnieper. The authors of such chronicles, which also bear the names of "histories" and "synopses," were mostly clerics. Among the more important works in that group are the chronicles of T. Safonovych, P. Kokhanovsky, I. Gizel, and L. Bobolynsky.

Theodosius Safonovych was the abbot of St. Michael Zolotoverkhyi Monastery in Kiev between the years 1655 and 1672. In 1672 he wrote a work entitled *Kroynika z letopystsov starodavnykh* (A Chronicle From the Old Chroniclers). The Polish source chiefly used was the work of M. Strykowski.^{18*} The main purpose of Safonovych's work was to provide every Ukrainian with a survey of the nation's history so that he might "be able to answer questions about his country, since people who do not know their national origin are regarded as fools." The author openly acknowledged his debt to foreign sources, saying that he wrote down all he could find in various Rus' and Polish chroniclers.

^{18*} Maciej Strykowski, a Polish historian of the sixteenth century. Author of *Opisanie Sarmacyi europejskiej* and *Kronika Polska, Zmudska, Litewska i wyszystkiej Rusi* (Królewiec, 1582).

The central theme of Safonovych's chronicle is the unity (sobornost') of all Ukrainian lands; he is just as much concerned with the history of Galicia as with the history of Kiev and Volynia. He attempts to point to those factors in history which led to the creation of the Cossack State in the Ukraine. Although lacking literary talent, the author shows in this work great and sincere love for his country and genuine patriotism. His chronicle has not come down to us in the original; it exists only in copies. An edition of it was prepared by Professor Golubev in the publications of the Kiev Archeographic Commission.¹⁹

The chronicle of the Hieromonach Panteleymon Kokhanovsky, the administrator of the Pechersky Monastery (in Kiev), written between 1681 and 1682 under the title *Obshyrnyi sinopsis ruskii* (A Comprehensive Rus' Synopsis), is really a compilation of source material from Ukrainian and Polish chronicles.

Inokentii Gizel, of German descent, was a pupil of Petro Mohyla, and was sent to study at foreign universities. Later he was put in charge of the Pechersky Monastery's printing press, was a professor and rector of the College and, in 1656 became the archimandrite of the Pechersky Monastery. He died in 1683. Gizel was one of the defenders of the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the Moscow Patriarchate. His main work is *Sinopsis ili kratkoe sobranie* (Synopsis or a Short Collection) the first edition of which was published in 1674 in Kiev. The second edition appeared in 1678, and the third in 1680. Among the sources used by Gizel were the works by Strykowski, Kromer,^{20*} Bielski, Guagnini,^{21*} Dlugosz,²² Nestor, and several other Ukrainian and foreign chroniclers.

The material is arranged in the following order: The narra-

¹⁹ The events of 1917-20 and the death of Golubev were responsible for the abandonment of this publication.

^{20*} Marcin Kromer (1512-1589), author of *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*.

^{21*} Alessandro Guagnini (1538-1614), an Italian who served in the Polish army. Author of *Sarmatiae Europaeae Vet Asiaticae descriptio...* (1578) and *Rerum polonicarum tomi tres* (Frankfurt, 1584). A Polish translation of his work containing a chapter on the Cossacks appeared in 1611. A Ukrainian translation was circulated in manuscript form.

²² Jan Dlugosz (1415-1480), famous Polish chronicler, author of *Annales seu*

tion begins with an account of the origins of the Slavs who are regarded as descendants of Japhet, Mosoch, and other patriarchs. The genealogy of the tsars is traced back to Augustus. The narrative takes us from accounts of the first Princes, and of the destruction of Kiev by the Tatars, directly to the expedition of Mamay and to the battle on the Don between him and the Muscovite Prince Dmitrii Ivanovich. There follows a description of the fate of Kiev under Lithuanian rule, and, immediately after it, we learn of the establishment of the Patriarchate in Moscow. After a list of Kiev *voyevodas* and an account of the joining of the Ukraine to Muscovy, the book ends (in the second edition) with the Chyhyryn war of 1677. "Although," writes Ikonnikov, "the *Synopsis* does not omit Northern Russia, in actual fact it is nothing much else than a history of the Kievian Principality, not of all Rus'" (*Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, II, p. 1556). The *Synopsis* became the most popular textbook of history in the Ukraine, and even more so in Muscovy, where it was reprinted in many editions until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Leontii Bobolynsky, the Hieromonach of the Troyitsky Monastery in Chernihiv wrote in 1699 the chronicle [...] which comprises 636 folios, of which the first 350 contain an account of world history up to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks. It is followed by a description of the "Turkish states, how they were created and multiplied into these eastern lands", and by accounts of Lithuanian and Polish history up to the time of Stefan Batory. The chronicle ends with chapters on Ukrainian history, the message of Isaya Kopynsky to Yarema Vyshnevetsky, and a description of the Chyhyryn campaigns of 1677 and 1678. Bobolynsky's chronicle which is written in beautiful Ukrainian, close to the popular speech, was first published in 1854 as an appendix to Hrabynka's Chronicle (Archeographic Commission in Kiev),²³ [...]

chronicae inclyti regni Poloniae opera in 12 volumes, first published in Leipzig in 1711. It is doubtful now whether Gisel was the author.

²³ This comprised only a part of Bobolynsky's chronicle; the complete work has never been published.

THE COSSACK CHRONICLERS

The period of Khmelnytsky and the unprecedented eruption of national and spiritual energy caused by it were recorded in a rather special category of historical works, the so-called "Cossack Chronicles," which began to be written in the second half of the seventeenth century, although the versions that have come down to us date only from the eighteenth century. The central theme of them all is the time of Khmelnytsky, and some of them are devoted to it entirely, while others relate other events only by way of introduction. [...] Their sources include not only old Ukrainian, Polish and other foreign chronicles, but also official documents, diaries, journals and logbooks (which were kept in the Hetman's Chancellery) and even works of poetry. The most characteristic examples of the "Cossack Chronicles," which at the same time are very important works in the field of Ukrainian historiography, are the chronicles of Samovydets', Velychko, and Hrabyanka.

The unknown writer, who was later given the name of "Samovydets'" (Eyewitness), was the author of the book *O pochatku i prychynakh voyny Khmelnytskoho* (The Beginning and the Cause of Khmelnytsky's War) which deals with the period from 1648 up to 1702. The author came from the Right-Bank Ukraine; during the "Ruin" he moved to Siveria, where he wrote this work. The actual writing was not begun until 1672, although preparation for it must have started earlier. It is very likely that the author came from a family of small gentry and was a Chancellery clerk, which made it possible for him to be well acquainted with the world of diplomacy. He describes the siege of Smolensk in 1654 and of Riga in 1655, of which he was an eyewitness. He was present at the Cossack Assembly in Chyhyryn in 1657, took part in the diplomatic mission during the time of Yuriy Khmelnytsky in 1660, and was one of the supporters of Somko. He also gives an eyewitness account of the election of Mnohohrishnyi in 1669, and we can assume that he must have lived for some time at Starodub, since from 1676 onwards he describes events around that town in great detail.

Samovydet's is critical of Hetman Samoylovych, yet he is friendly to Mazepa, emphasizing his descent "from old Ukrainian gentry renowned in military history." He praises Somko and the *Koshovyi* Sirko (Chief of the Zaporozhian Host) and for various reasons dislikes Bryukhovetsky, Vyhovsky, and Doroshenko. As a devout Christian he does not approve of the alliance between Doroshenko and the Turks. A convinced monarchist, he shows great loyalty to Polish King and Moscow Tsar alike. Referring to the oath of allegiance to the latter, he writes that "throughout the Ukraine the people were eager to take it and there was a great joy among them." At the same time Samovydet's is champion of the nobles and the gentry; all his sympathies are on the side of the Cossacks living in townships, and not with those on the Sich. He is a great believer in enlightenment and science.

Samovydet's is as well acquainted with European affairs as he is with the Ukrainian; this is manifest in his references to the war between Austro-Hungary and Turkey in 1683-1691. He is given to moralizing and likes to appraise historical personages and their actions from the viewpoint of his own religious, social, and political convictions. His Chronicle is written in fine Ukrainian showing marked affinity with the vernacular. It was first published by O. Bodyansky in *Chteniia* of the Moscow Society of History and Antiquities; it appeared also as a separate book in Moscow in 1846. A second edition was prepared by Orest Levytsky (Kiev, 1878) based on several copies of the chronicle, with a very valuable introduction by the editor.²⁴

²⁴ During recent decades the Chronicle of Samovydet's has been the subject of many studies by Ukrainian historians. At first the question of authorship attracted the scholars. On the basis of research conducted by Vadym Modzalevsky on the life of the General Treasurer Roman Rakushka, a prominent public figure in seventeenth-century Ukraine (cf Modzalevsky, "Roman Rakushka, odin iz deyatelei Ruiny," *Trudy Chernigovskoi Gubernskoi Arkhivnoi Komissii*, X, 1913; see also Modzalevsky, "Pershyi viys'kovyi pidskarbiy Roman Rakushka," *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu Ukrayins'koyi Akademiyi Nauk*, Kiev, vol. 1, 1919, Vol. II-III, 1920-1922); several historians (V. Romanovsky, M. Petrovsky, O. Ohloblyn) came to accept Rakushka as the author of this chronicle. This supposition was also strongly supported by the monograph on the Samovydet's

The most interesting among the Cossack chroniclers is undoubtedly Samiylo Velychko, the secretary of the General Chancellery. We know that he began his career (1690) late in life by enrolling in the service of the Secretary General, Vasyly' Leontiyevych Kochubey. On various occasions he was entrusted with important official missions. In 1702 he took part in the campaign of the Ukrainian corps which was dispatched to Poland to help Peter I's ally, King August. Around 1704 he came to be employed permanently by the General Chancellery, where, as he himself puts it, he "was not the worst of those engaged in secretarial duties." In 1708 Velychko was dismissed from his post because of his close association with V. Kochubey, whom he always praises as a "kind, wise and God-fearing man," in contrast to Mazepa whom he calls a "Machiavelli," and a "sly fox." Later, after the Swedish War, Velychko found shelter in the home of the Kochubeys in Dykan'ka and lived there until his death, devoting himself to teaching and writing. Before his death, which occurred when he was very old, he became blind.

Velychko was a well educated man and knew Latin, Polish, and German. After completing his main historical work in 1720, he translated from the German into Ukrainian an extensive *Cosmography* (866 pp.), which was completed in Dykan'ka from his dictation in 1728. This translation was signed by Velychko who described himself as "a true son of Little Russia, of Khazar descent, and of all the servants of the Zaporozhian Host, the

Chronicle by M. Petrovsky (*Narysy z istoriyi Ukrayiny, I, Doslidy nad Litopysom Samovydtstva*, Kharkiv, 1930) and was finally approved by Mykhaylo Hrushevsky.

However, in the 1930's Lev Okinshevich expressed the opinion that the author of the Samovydet's Chronicle was Ivan Bykhovets' ("Do pytannya pro avtora litopysu Samovydtstva," *Narysy z sotsiyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny*, UAN, Kiev, 1932), while M. Voznyak ("Kheto zh avtor t.zv. Litopysu Samovydtstva?" *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, CLIII, 1933) tried to prove that the author was a Korsun colonel, Fedir Kandyba. Still earlier (in 1928) M. Andrusiak expressed the same opinion.

The most important contribution to the study of this Chronicle, apart from M. Petrovsky's work, is the article by M. Hrushevsky: "Samovidets 'Ruiny' i ego pozdneishie otrazheniya," *Trudy Instituta Slavyanovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, I, 1932.

humblest." An excerpt from this *Cosmography* dealing with the boundaries of the Muscovite State was printed by O. Levytsky in *Ukrayina*, in 1914.

Velychko's main work, which earned him a distinguished place in Ukrainian historiography, is known as *Skazanie o voine Kozatskoi* (or in full: *The Tale of the Cossack War Against the Poles Begun by Zynoviy Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, Lasting for Eight Years; and for the Poles and Other States Lasting for Twelve Years. How He, Khmelnytsky, with the Help of Almighty God, Broke Loose with the Cossacks and Tartars from the Polish Yoke and Willingly Placed Himself Under the Rule of the Most Illustrious Russian Monarch, Aleksei Mikhailovich. Based on Works of the German Author, Samuel Puffendorf,*^{25*} *the Cossack Author Samuil Zorka, and the Pole, Samuel Twardowski,*²⁶ *who Described this War in Polish Verse in his Work Entitled "Wojna domowa," this Account is Related Now in Historical Style and in Little Russian Speech as Composed by Samiylo Velychko, Former Secretary of the General Chancellery, in the Village of Zhuky in Poltava District, in the Year 1720).*

This sizable work of Velychko has not come down to us

^{25*} Samuel Puffendorf (1632-1694), a well known German historian and jurist. Author of *Commentariorum de rebus Suecicis libri XXVI* (Utrecht, 1686), and *De rebus a Carolo Gustavo Sueciae rege gestis commentariorum libri VIII* (Nuremberg, 1696).

²⁶ Samuel Twardowski (1600-1660), Polish writer, participant in the Cossack wars, wrote a poem *Wojna domowa z Kozaki i Tatary, Moskwa, potym Szwedami i z Węgry*, . . . published in 1681. On the whole objective in its treatment of events, the poem was very popular among the Ukrainians. There were two Ukrainian translations of it, one by the secretary of the Lubny Regiment, Stepan Savytsky (Part I), another by S. Velychko (Part II and Part III). The poem was fully translated by Stepan Lukomsky, but this translation did not survive to modern times.

However, in M. Hrushevsky's opinion, Stepan Savytsky's *Povest' o kozatskoi voine s polyakami*, 1718, had an independent historiographic value, as one of the works created by "the famous class of military clerks of post-Mazepa time," together with the works by Velychko and Hrabynka (M. Hrushevsky, "Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVII veka. Neskol'ko soobrazhenii," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1934, no. 3).

complete; there are gaps for the period 1649-52, and 1700-23. Apart from the sources mentioned by Velychko in the title, Kromer and Guagnini are also cited. The author is well acquainted with contemporary Polish and Ukrainian literature; he quotes poems, satirical verses, panegyrics, epitaphs, Gizel's *Synopsis*, and the works of Galatowski. He is also familiar with the constitution of the Polish *Sejm* and speeches delivered in the *Sejm* which were printed in Kraków in 1677, and he illustrates his work frequently with the help of quotations from poetry, epitaphs, and orations.

The manuscript begins with the continuation of the diary of Maciej Tytlewski about the Khotyn war of 1620. There follows the "universal" (proclamation) by Ostryanyn of 1638, a translation of Okolski's diary, a biography of B. Khmelnytsky and an excerpt from Puffendorf's account of the causes of the Polish-Ukrainian wars. The narrative goes on to describe the period of Khmelnytsky [...] the war between Poland and Sweden, and the time of "Ruín," and ends with the year 1700.

The author's point of view and his political and national orientation are best expressed in his preface, where he reveals the motives which prompted him to write his work and sets out his views on the task of a Ukrainian historian:

Is there anything so pleasant, kind reader, and so satisfying to the curious disposition of man, apart from his physical satisfactions, as the study of books and the knowledge of past events and human actions? . . . I myself learned this when, being worried, I devoted myself to reading, and having learned of various human mishaps and tribulations, I have come to bear my own troubles with patience, in accordance with the precept of the Bible. Moreover, having perused chronicles and histories of foreign nations, I saw in them glory that can never be darkened.

The chivalrous and heroic deeds of our Sarmatian Cossack ancestors, which equal those of foreign nations, have been left unrecorded by our writers and have been covered with a mantle of oblivion. And even if a Cossack writer wrote anything worthy, to preserve what he saw in his own time, he did this for the most part for his own use, in a few scanty words, without mentioning the causes or the results of what happened. If, in the writing of this old Cossack ancestor of ours there is anything praiseworthy,

then it comes not only from our own lazy historians, but from foreign, Greek, Latin, German, and Polish historians, who are difficult to translate into the Cossack language, and also impossible to obtain in Little Russia...

Hence, not because of idleness, but because I could not help following the old writers, I had not dared to write about the past glories of famous Cossack war leaders.

However, in the years when the mighty Swedish army was in Poland and Saxony... together with auxiliary Little Russian troops dispatched by the Poles against the Swedes, traversing the Little Russian Ukraine from Korsun and Bila Tserkva to Volynia and into the Rus' Principalities as far as Lviv, Zamostya, and Brody, I saw many towns and castles empty and deserted, and the walls, constructed once by men to resemble hills, now serving as the homes and refuge for wild beasts. The city walls, such as I saw then in Chohansk, Konstantyniv, Berdychiv, Zbarazh, and Sokal, as we passed them on our way, were but little populated, some of them quite abandoned, ruined, levelled to the ground and overgrown with weeds, only housing snakes, reptiles and worms.

Having looked once more I saw the wide Ukrainian fields and valleys, forests and orchards, the oak groves and the ponds and lakes overgrown with moss and wild bush. Not in vain, however, did the Poles, regretting the loss of the Ukraine, call this country a paradise, because before the war of Khmelnytsky it was like another promised land, flowing with milk and honey.

There I saw in various places many human bones, dry and bare under the naked sky and I asked myself: Whose bones are these? My answer was: The bones of all those who died in those wastes. My heart and spirits were oppressed, since our beautiful land—the Little Russian Ukraine, which before was so full in the blessings of the world, has now been turned by God's will into a desert, and our own famous forefathers have been forgotten. I have asked many old people why this has happened, for what reasons and by whom was this land of ours turned into ruin, but their replies were different and contradictory. Therefore, I found it impossible to learn from these various explanations the true reason for the downfall and destruction of our country.

In order to find an answer to these painful questions about the bitter fate of his country, Velychko turned to the historical works of Samuel Twardowski (*Wojna domowa*, Kalish, 1681), to Samuel Puffendorf (in Russian translation published in St. Petersburg in 1718) and to the diary of Samiylo Zorka, the

secretary to Bohdan Khmelnytsky,²⁷ as well as to the "annals and records of the Cossacks," and used them as his main source of Ukrainian history. He thought his work very imperfect and at the end of his preface asked his readers to excuse and to amend the errors in his book.

Velychko's work shows a serious attempt to combine pragmatic history with artistic writing. While depicting the destruction of the suburbs of Lviv by the Tatars in 1670, he borrows the description directly from Tasso's *The Liberated Jerusalem*. Equally artistic is his description of the devastation of the Right-Bank Ukraine under the rule of Doroshenko: "and the Ukraine fell like Babylon." In the opinion of Ikonnikov, the work of Velychko is a scholarly and well systematized history of the Ukraine. V. Antonovych has stressed the fact that the inclusion of many documents from the Cossack Chancellery and archives, such as hramoty, proclamations, letters, treaties, adds special value to this work. The most characteristic features of Velychko's style are his great sincerity, his warm feeling for artistic effects, and his sense of humor. The deep patriotism of Velychko places him with the Ukrainian chroniclers of the Kiev period, who also lamented the destruction of the Ukraine by the Mongols.

Velychko's Chronicle was published in 1848-1864 by the Kiev Archeographic Commission, under the title *Letopis' sobytii v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVII v.* (Chronicle of Events in South-West Russia in the XVII Century), published by the Vremennaya kommissiya dlya razbora drevnikh aktov. Vol. I, Kiev, 1848; Vol. II, Kiev, 1851; Vol. III, Kiev, 1855; Vol. IV, Kiev, 1864.

The text of this edition was based on the copy belonging to M. Pogodin which, it can be assumed, corresponded with the original. Later, another copy of the Chronicle, which had belonged to H. Poletyka, was found in the library of M. Sudiyenko. Ten miniature portraits of the Hetmans were added to the original. The Chronicle was edited by M. Rigelman and I. Sam-

²⁷ The question of the authenticity of Zorka's diary was hotly debated by Ukrainian historians in the 1920's. While P. Klepatsky defended the diary as being authentic, M. Perovsky declared it to be forged by Velychko.

chevsky. The author's preface was followed immediately by the *Skazanie* and not the introductory chapters, which were printed in an Appendix in vol. IV. Velychko wrote in good Ukrainian which he called either "the Cossack tongue," or "the Little Russian speech."²⁸

Another prominent Cossack chronicler is Hryhoriy Hrabynka, who also devotes the greater part of his work to the period of Khmelnytsky. Hrabynka came from Hadyach; in 1686 he joined the Cossack forces, in 1717 was made regimental justice, and in 1723 he went with Polubotok to St. Petersburg and was imprisoned there. In 1730, owing to the intervention of Hetman Apostol, Hrabynka was appointed the Hadyach Colonel. He lost his life in the campaign against the Tatars in 1738.

Hrabynka was a well-read man and had a good knowledge of foreign literature. His work is entitled *Deistviya prezelnoi brani* (or in full: *The Events of the Most Bitter War of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Zaporozhian Hetman, Against the Poles at the Time of the Most Illustrious Polish Kings, Vladyslav and Casimir, Begun in 1648 and Not Ended Ten Years After Khmelnytsky's Death, Composed from Many Chronicles, a Diary Written During that War, and Eyewitness Accounts by Hryhoriy Hrabynka in Hadyach in 1710*).

Hrabynka's main sources, as he himself lists them, are the following: 1) "A diary of our soldiers written in camp," 2) "Church and lay chronicles," 3) Gizel's *Synopsis*, works of Kromer, Bielski, Strykowski, Guagnini, Kochowski,^{29*} Twardowski, Puffendorf, and Hübner,³⁰ 4) official documents (privileges, letters, treaties, lists of Hetmans and colonels, and verses).

There are two editions of Hrabynka's work: a) the earlier,

²⁸ The Archeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences under the chairmanship of M. Hrushevsky published Part I of Velychko's Chronicle (Kiev, 1926), as the first volume of *Monumenta Litterarum Ucrainicarum*, prepared by K. Lazarevsky.

^{29*} Wespazjan Kochowski (1633-1699), participated in the Vienna campaign of 1683. Author of *Annalium Poloniae ab obitu Vladislavi IV Climacteres*, 3 vol. (Kraków, 1683, 1688, 1698) where he deals with the events of 1648-1676.

³⁰ Hübner, the rector of the Johanneum in Hamburg, (died 1731), was the author of *Kurze Fragen aus der politischen Historia*.

rich in Church Slavisms and full of verses, published by the Kiev Archeographic Commission; b) the later, containing many Russianisms, without any verses, published by Tumansky in 1793. The popularity of Hrabyanka's work can be seen from the fact that about twenty copies of it have been preserved.

The Events of the Most Bitter War is primarily a monograph on Khmelnytsky, although it contains the history of the Ukraine from the earliest times to the election of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky in 1708. However, the period of Khmelnytsky is treated in great detail, while the events preceding it are summarized in an introductory chapter, entitled "The Origin of the Name of the Cossacks and a Short Summary of their Earliest History." In attempting to explain the origin and the name of the Cossacks, Hrabyanka polemizes with the Polish writers on the question of the name "Cossack." He disputes Kochowski's claim that the word is derived from "koza (goat) since they (the Cossacks) were first occupied with the care of goats and later showed goat-like swiftness in battle." He also objects to Strykowski's assumption that "the word derives from the name of an ancient leader, Kozak, who defeated the Tatars on many occasions." Hrabyanka's own explanation is that "the word 'Cossack' comes from 'Kozar,' an ancient Scythian tribe, which descended from Homer, the first son of Japhet." According to Hrabyanka, the Mongols, after having destroyed the Khazar Empire, began to call the Kozars, Cossacks.

The early history of Kievan Rus' occupies very little space. [...] It is followed by an account of the Cossacks' retreat behind the Dnieper rapids, as a result of Polish pressure. The Church Union, the Polish oppression of Ukrainians and the injustice done to Khmelnytsky by Czaplinski are given as the causes of the Cossack rebellions. The events of 1648-1655 are divided into twelve sections, which form the main part of the work. After Khmelnytsky's death, events are described only sketchily and become a mere chronological list. The ideal and the hero of the whole work is Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

An edition of Hrabyanka's work appeared in 1854, published by the Kiev Archeographic Commission and prepared by I.

Samchevsky using six different copies as a base, one of which used to belong to H. Poletyka. Several pages depicting the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainians with Moscow rule during the times of Bryukhovetsky were deleted by censorship. They were printed in 1894 by O. Lazarevsky in *Kievskaya Starina*, XI. Lazarevsky expressed doubt as to the authenticity of Hrabyanka's Chronicle, but when a new copy of it from 1756 was discovered in Sorochyntsi, he accepted Hrabyanka's authorship (*Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, III).³¹

The writing, copying and compiling of chronicles was very widely spread in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the first decades of the eighteenth century. It was encouraged by the Cossack *starshyna* who were intensely interested in their past. Such chronicles were often written or compiled by men in high office. Apart from Colonel Hrabyanka's chronicle, we also have a *Kronichka* (A Brief Chronicle) (1452-1715) written by Pavlo Polubotok,³² which was included in his diary by Yakiv Markovykh.

In the thirties of the eighteenth century there appeared *Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii* (A Short Description of Little Russia) which is considered to be an attempt to change Hrabyanka's Chronicle into a didactic history of the Ukraine. Apparently with this aim in mind, the author of this chronicle tries to link the Kiev period with the Cossack period of Ukrainian history.³³

His style is clear and simple, free from Hrabyanka's rhetoric. In the language there are traces of Church Slavic or Polish, although foreign words are very numerous and there is considerable Russian influence. Ukrainian is mostly manifest in phonetics. The *Short Description* was a very popular work, and Hetman Rozumovsky ordered a copy of it to be made and given to the

³¹ Hrabyanka's Chronicle was the subject of several studies in the 1930's. The most valuable of them is the article by M. Hrushevsky ("Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVIII v. Neskol'ko soobrazhenii," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1934, No. 3). Symon Narizhnyi in his article "Deistviya prezelnoi brani," *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva u Prazi*, vol. II, 1939, expresses doubts concerning Hrabyanka's authorship.

³² Pavlo Polubotok, appointed Hetman of the Ukraine from 1722 to 1724.

³³ The *Kratkoe Opisanie* terminates with entries for 1734.

Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. It was first published by V. Ruban in 1777 (*Kratkaya letopis' Malyya Rossii s 1506 po 1776 god*, St. Petersburg, 1777), under the editorship of the former colonel of Kiev, Chancellor O. Bezborod'ko, who added to it his own account of the events from 1734-1776, supplied as an "explanation of actual methods of government of Little Russia" and appended a list of the Hetmans and high ranking Cossack officers. The *Short Description* enjoyed its greatest popularity in the second half of the eighteenth century.³⁴

It also provided material for another historical work compiled in 1742, *Letopisets ili kratkoe opisanie* (or in full: *Chronicle or a Short Description of Important Events, and What Happened, and in What Year in the Little Russian Ukraine, on Both Banks of the Dnieper, and Who the Hetman Actually Was and When.*) The narrative continues as far as 1737. The author belonged to the Cossack *starshyna* who were elevated after the Swedish War.³⁵ He has no love for Mazepa and writes that "Mazepa perished in Bendery, in the ninetieth year of his wicked life." Similarly, in his opinion, "the memory of the perjurer and traitor, Orlyk, has faded." However, he remembers with some sorrow the fate of Baturyn, and he is very dissatisfied with the establishment of the Little Russian Collegium. "This Collegium," he writes, "existed until 1728. Many worthy men were murdered, and all kinds of levies were imposed, and the poor people suffered from usurious practices. Such trickery was used by the members of the Collegium and no record was kept of bribes accepted in cash; they milked Little Russia thoroughly." [...]

The author, a well educated man, knew Latin, and his language, although full of Russianisms, is close to the spoken language. In his *Chronicle* he is reserved and modest; however, he does

³⁴ *Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii* was published as a supplement to the *Litopys of Samovydets'*, Kiev, 1878.

³⁵ P. Klepatsky published in the 1920's an article about this so-called Lyzohub's *Letopisets* expressing the opinion that Yakiv Lyzohub, heneralnyi obozny (second in rank of Zaporozhian Cossack Army and Political Organization—and chief of its artillery) was its author.

not like the Zaporozhians, whom he accuses of robberies committed in 1663 and apparently condoned by Ivan Bryukhovetsky. His work was published by Mykola Bilozersky (*Yuzhnorusskiya letopisi*, Kiev, 1856); a second edition, based on a different version, was edited by V. Antonovych (*Sbornik letopisei*, Kiev, 1888).

Of the later Cossack chronicles, all dating from the middle of the eighteenth century, the following deserve to be mentioned:

Povest' (or in full: *A Tale of What Happened in the Ukraine, How it Came Under Lithuanian Rule, Until the Death of the Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host, Bohdan Khmelnytsky*). It was edited and published by O. Bodyansky in Moscow, 1847.

Letopisets (or in full: *A Chronicle of Rus' and Polish Lands; What Happened in What Year*). This work is divided into two parts; the first, written in the Right-Bank Ukraine, deals with the period from 1587 to 1691; the second written in Chernihiv, encompasses the period between 1692 and 1750. The first part is the more important for the historian. This chronicle which, in all probability, was written by three authors, is characterized by its very pure language. The general tone is objective, with very few reflections. Somko and his comrades are referred to as "martyrs." It contains many interesting details, such as the circumstances of Vyhovsky's death, and the Turkish attack on the Krekhiv Monastery in Galicia in 1672. This chronicle is known to have been edited several times. It was first published by M. Bilozersky in 1856 (*Yuzhnorusskiya letopisi*) who named the chronicle "Chernihiv" after the place in which it was found. The second edition published by O. Lazarevsky, included the part covering the period 1703-1725, which must have been written by one of the Hetman's secretaries, who was an eyewitness of Polubotok's arrest (*Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, IV-VI).

Soon after the abolition of the Hetmanate in the Ukraine in 1764, there appeared other historical works which summarize, as it were, the periods of the independent, and later, autonomous Cossack Ukraine.

The author of the first of them is Petro Ivanovych Symonovsky (1717-1809), [...] graduated from the Mohyla Academy in Kiev

and studied in Halle, Wittenberg, Königsberg, [...] He wrote in 1765 *Kratkoe opisanie o kozatskom malorossiiskom narode* (or in full: *A Short Description of the Cossack Little Russian People and of its Military Exploits, Compiled from Various Foreign Sources: German—Büsching, Latin—Bezoldi, French—Chevalier*; ³⁶ and *Rus' Manuscripts by the Staff Companion, Petro Symonovsky in 1765*).

Apart from the sources mentioned, Symonovsky also used Hrabynka's Chronicle. His work begins with the chapter on the "Explanation of the Name 'Cossack'" in which he gives a brief history of the Ukraine compressed into three pages, mentions the Cossack sea-faring expeditions, and cites the letter of Sirko to the Sultan as a proof of Cossack bravery. The other chapters deal with the first Hetman, Ruzhynsky, Hetman Pidkova, Hetmans Nalyvayko and Khmelnytsky and other Hetmans. The chronicle ends with the description of the election of Hetman Rozumovsky in Hlukhiv on February 22, 1750. It is obvious that the author was not pleased with the abolition of the Hetmanate, since he believed "that the termination of the Hetman government was harmful to Little Russia." Symonovsky's Chronicle was edited by O. Bodyansky in *Chteniya*, No. 2. Moscow, 1847, and also appeared separately, Moscow, 1847.

Another writer of that period, Stefan Lukomsky, was a little older than Symonovsky. He was born in 1701 in Uman. His father, Vasyľ, fought in the ranks of Paliy's army and then went over to the Left-Bank Ukraine. Stefan graduated from the Kiev Academy in 1730. In 1731, on orders from Hetman Apostol, he was given a post in the office of the General Chancellery; later he became Colonel Quartermaster in the Pryluky regiment.

While still a captain at Pryluky, Lukomsky translated from the Polish the Diary of Okolski, *O Ostryaninovoi voine z lyakhami*

³⁶ Pierre Chevalier, *Histoire de la guerre des Cosaques contre la Pologne. Avec un discours de leur origine, país, moeurs, gouvernement et religion*, Paris, 1663. An English translation of this work appeared in London in 1672: *A Discourse on the Origin, Country, Manners, Government and Religion of the Cossacks [...]* and the *History of the Wars of the Cossacks Against Poland* (translated by E. Brown).

(Of the War between Ostryanyn and the Poles), supplementing it with his own account of the events between 1639-1648. Later he translated from the Polish the notes on the Polish-Turkish war of 1620-21 by Tytlewski, again adding to them much of his own material. Lukomsky designed both these translations as an introduction to his translation of Twardowski's poem *Wojna Domowa*. At the end of his life, in 1770, when already in retirement, he wrote *Sobranie istoricheskoe* (or in full: *A Historical Compilation from the Works of Guagnini and Ancient Chronicles*). It comprises the period from the time of Gedymin to the end of the sixteenth century. It was printed in 1878 as an appendix to the Chronicle of Samovydet's. Lukomsky's translation of Tytlewski was published earlier (1864) in the fourth volume of Velychko's Chronicle. [...] Lukomsky's autobiography was published by Orest Levytsky in *Kievskaya Starina*, IX, 1890.³⁷

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³⁷ *Opisanie o Maloi Rossii*, compiled in 1751 by the army clerk, Hryhoriy Pokas, also belongs to this group of historical works.

domowa, Ternopil, 1910; P. Klepatsky, *Ohlyad dzherel do istoriyi Ukrayiny*, vol. I, Kamyanets', 1920, pp. 96-115; M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusi*, vol. VIII, part 2, Kiev-Vienna, 1922; M. Horban', *Narysy z ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafii, ch. I, Novyi spysok litopysu "Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii,"* Kharkiv, 1923; M. Voznyak, *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi literatury*, vol. III, part 2, Lviv, 1924; D. Bahaliy, *Narys ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafii, II, Kozats'ki litopysy*, Kiev, 1925; V. Romanovsky, "Khto buv Samovydetś?" *Ukrayina*, 1925, V, Kiev; M. Petrovsky, "Do pytannya pro pevnist' vidomostey Litopysu Samovydtsya y pro avtora Litopysu (Romana Rakushku-Romanov'skoho)," *Zapysky Nizhens'koho Instytutu Narodnoyi Osvity*, vol. VI, Nizhen, 1926; O. Ohloblyn, "Do pytannya pro avtora Litopysu Samovydtsya," *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, vol. VII-VIII, Kiev, 1926; M. Petrovsky "Psevdo-diyariush Samiyla Zorky," *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, vol. XVII, Kiev, 1928; A. Yershov, "Pro litopysni dzherela istorychnykh prats' Stepana Lukomśkoho," *Zapysky Nizhens'koho Instytutu Narodnoyi Osvity*, vol. VIII, Nizhen, 1928; M. Andrusiak, "Do pytannya pro avtorstvo Litopysu Samovydtsya," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vol. 149, Lviv, 1928; A. Yershov, "Koly i khto napysav Hustynsky litopys?" *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vol. 100, part 2, Lviv, 1930, pp. 205-211; M. Petrovsky, *Narysy z istoriyi Ukrayiny. vol. I. Doslidy nad Litopysom Samovydtsya*, Kharkiv, 1930; M. Hrushevsky, "Samovidets 'Ruiny' i ego pozdneishie otrazheniya," *Trudy Instituta Slavyanovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, vol. I, 1932, pp. 157-193; L. Okinshevych, "Do pytannya pro avtora Litopysu Samovydtsya," *Narysy z sotsyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny*, VUAN, vol. I, pp. 1-26, Kiev, 1932; M. Voznyak "Khto zh avtor t.zv. Litopysu Samovydtsya?" *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, vol. 153, part I, Lviv, 1933; M. Hrushevsky, "Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVIII v. Neskol'ko sobrazhenii," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1934, No. 3, pp. 215-223; S. Narizhnyi, "Deystviya prezelnoy brani," *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*,

vol. II, Prague, 1939, pp. 149-182; and separately, Prague, 1938; D. Čiževsky, *Istoriya ukrains'koyi literatury*, vol. II, Prague, 1942; C. Borelius, *Safonovičs Chronik im Codex AD¹⁰ der Västeraser Gymnasialbibliothek, eine sprachliche Untersuchung*, Uppsala, 1952; O. Ohloblyn, "Hryhoriy Pokas ta yoho 'Opisanie o Maloi Rossii'" (1751), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, I, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., New York, 1952, pp. 61-73; D. Čiževsky, *Istoriya ukrains'koyi literatury*, New York, 1956.

UKRAINIAN MEMOIRS

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES, NOTES, DIARIES

Ukrainian memoirs began to be written at a very early date. The autobiographical note by Prince Volodymyr Monomakh in his *Pouchenie* (Advice) written toward the end of his life (he died in 1125) may be regarded as one of the first of these. Abbot Daniel's *Palomnyk* (Pilgrim) also has an autobiographical character. Born in the Chernihiv region, this abbot visited Palestine in 1106-1108 and left a very valuable account of his experiences there.

Of the later memoirs the following are the most important: 1. The *Dnevnyk* (diary) of Fedor Yevlashevsky, *zemskii podsudok* from Novgorod, which covers the period 1564-1604 and gives interesting data on the internal relations in both the Ukraine and Byelorussia in the second part of the sixteenth century (published in the *Kievskaya Starina*, 1884); 2. Notes by Bohdan Balyka-Bozhko, the Kiev mayor, on the siege of Moscow in 1612 (published in the *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882); 3. *Diariush albo spisok diev pravdivykh v spravi pomnozhenya i obyasnennya viry pravoslavnoy golosheny* (Journal or List of True Events Concerning the Expansion and Propagation of the Orthodox Faith), by the abbot of Berestya, Athanasius Fylypovych (killed by the Poles in 1648), which extends over the period 1638-1648 and includes an account of the author's journey to Moscow in

1638 to beg a donation from Tsar Michael; telling also of the fight against the Poles in the defense of the rights of the Orthodox faith (published in *Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka*, v. IV). This diary is supplemented by a story of the "death in 1648 of the late Father A. Fylypovych of blessed memory, as related and written down by his followers."

However, most important for Ukrainian historiography are the memoirs by Samiylo Zorka, Mykola Khanenko, Yakiv Markovych, and other distinguished Ukrainians of the Hetman era.

Samiylo Zorka, "the old secretary" of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was the one who delivered a splendid, moving oration, recorded by the chronicler Velychko, at the funeral of the Great Hetman. Zorka also kept a diary which has not been preserved and we know only those pages from it quoted by Velychko. This what we learn about Zorka himself from Velychko:

[...] Samoil Zorka from Volynia ... remained Khmelnytsky's secretary throughout the entire Cossack war against the Poles. He was well informed of all events and happenings and recorded them in his diary which was in the possession of my friend, the clerk Sylvester Bykhovets'. His father, Ioan Bykhovets', who was secretary to the Hetmans at Chyhyryn, copied this diary for his own use. Having received it from my friend [...] I copied in an abbreviated form the most essential passages relating to Khmelnytsky's triumphs and included them in my work. However, in Zorka's diary there was also Khmelnytsky's correspondence with foreign kings and rulers, which (it was very valuable) I left uncopied because, being overburdened with secretarial duties, I lacked time to do it.³⁸ [...]

Mykola Khanenko came from the family of Hetman Mykhaiylo Khanenko. [...] He was born in 1693. Mykola Khanenko was a student at Kiev Academy where he met Yakiv Markovych, later the author of *Memoirs*. In 1710 he entered military service, and from 1717 he was employed in the General Chancellery. In 1721 he had risen to the post of the senior secretary of the Chancellery; he was a close associate of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky and later of Hetman Polubotok. In 1723 together with Polubotok he went to St. Petersburg, was arrested and spent two years in

³⁸ Part I, p. 54 of publication mentioned in footnote 28.

prison, returning to the Ukraine only after his release in 1726. Here he became the justice of the Starodub regiment, then in 1741 he became the Cornet General. Khanenko died in Hlukhiv in 1760.

That Khanenko was a highly cultured man is obvious from the written advice he gave to his son, Vasyl', before sending him to study at foreign universities.

Apart from the Official Journal of the General Chancellery, Khanenko also kept a private *Dnevnik* (diary) wherein he recorded all kinds of personal and family events, as well as political news. This diary is an excellent source for the study of the social, economic, and cultural life in the Hetman Ukraine for over a quarter of century.

Diariush (Journal), dating from 1722, was published by O. Bodyansky, with a valuable preface, in the Moscow *Chteniya*, 1858, I, and also separately.

A part of *Dnevnik* (1732-33), edited by Archbishop Filaret Humilevsky, was published in *Chernigovskiya eparkhial'nyya izvestiya* (Chernihiv Diocesan News), 1865.

A complete *Dnevnik*, of 1727-1753, (edited by Lazarevsky) appeared in *Kievskaya Starina* (1883-1884), and also separately (Kiev, 1884).

A supplement to *Dnevnik* (1719-1721) and *Partikulyarnyi Zhurnal* (A Special Journal) of 1754 were printed in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1896, VII-IX (ed. A. Titov).³⁹

A close contemporary and schoolfellow of Khanenko was Yakiv Andriyevych Markovych (1696-1770). He was the son of the Lubny colonel Andriy, whose sister Nastya was married to Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky. Markovych was a student at the Kiev Academy where he was a favorite of Teofan Prokopovych. He married Polubotok's daughter, Olena, and owned the village of Svarkov near Hlukhiv. In spite of these excellent family connections, Markovych had no brilliant career. In 1721 he was appointed colonel of the Lubny regiment, deputizing for his father who was visiting St. Petersburg. In 1725-1727 he took

³⁹ See O. Ohloblyn, *Khanenky*, Kiel, s. a. (1949).

part in the Sulak campaign in the Caucasus, and in 1739 he was in the campaign against Khotyn. In 1732 he was a candidate for the general *bunchuzhnyi*, but failed to win this post and remained "the staff companion." In 1741 Markovych was in St. Petersburg to greet the Empress Elizabeth, and not until 1762 did he receive the nominal rank of general treasurer.

A man of wide education and broad cultural interests, Markovych symbolized the Ukrainian Cossack *starshyna*, who sought favors at Moscow in order to strengthen their own position. From his diary he emerges as an exemplary head of the family, energetic and very active in the affairs of his own estate. His *Dnevni Zapysky* (Daily Notations) are richer in detail than the diaries of Khanenko, providing an unusual wealth of comment on political, economic, and cultural affairs as well as on meteorology (weather conditions were noted down daily).

The accounts of the Sulak campaign in 1725-27, the Khotyn campaign in 1739, and data on Hetman Apostol are of special historical interest.

The manuscript of the *Dnevni Zapysky* begins with *Khronika* (Chronicle) (1452-1715) written by Markovych's father-in-law, Pavlo Polubotok, which is followed by the diary itself extending from 1717 to 1767. Some pages in the year 1723 are torn out, probably because they contained the humiliating experiences of Hetman Polubotok. The manuscript consisted of ten volumes.⁴⁰[...]

Dnevni Zapysky were edited for the first time by the author's grandson, Oleksander Markovych, under the title *Dnevnye Zapiski malorossiiskago podskarbiya Yakova Markovicha* (Daily Notes of the Little Russian Treasurer, Yakiv Markovych), Moscow, 1859, 2 vols. This edition covered a complete diary (1717-1767) but appeared in condensed form in Russian translation. A scholarly edition was published by Lazarevsky in *Kievskaya Starina*, titled *Dnevnik general'nago podskarbiya Yakova Markovicha* (The Diary of the General Treasurer, Yakiv Marko-

⁴⁰ The original of Markovych's *Dnevni Zapysky* is in custody of the Manuscripts Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev.

vych), vol. I, Kiev, 1893, vol. II, Kiev, 1895, vol. III, Kiev, 1897. These three volumes include the diary's text from 1717-1734. A continuation of this edition was undertaken by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv, under the direction of V. Modzalevsky. *Dnevnyk Yakova Markovycha*, 1735-1740 (The Diary of Yakiv Markovych, 1735-40) was published as the XXIInd vol. of *Zherela do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy* (Sources of the History of the Ukraine-Rus'), Kiev-Lviv, 1913. This effort was not sustained, and therefore the scholarly edition of Markovych's diary ended with the year 1740.

Apart from these Ukrainian memoirs, there exist also extracts from memoirs in foreign languages which were written by Ukrainians and which are directly relevant to Ukrainian history. Thus a diary kept by the Hetman's son, Petro Danylovych Apostol, was written during 1725-1727 in French, when he was held as a hostage in St. Petersburg before the election of his father as Hetman. Petro Apostol, apart from French, knew German and Italian. Excerpts from his diary were printed by Lazarevsky in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, XI. Later, a Russian translation of the complete diary was published in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, VII-VIII. Apostol's diary contains some interesting details on social and political life during the reign of Catherine I.

Hetman Pylyp Orlyk left a most valuable diary, written in Polish, during his wanderings in emigration, when he tried to create an interest in the Ukrainian cause in European courts.⁴¹ His diary covers the period from 1720 to 1732 and has the title *Diariusz podróży, który w Imię Troycy Przenajświętszey zaczął się w roku 1720 miesiąca Oktobra dnia 10* (A Travel Journal, Begun in the Name of the Most Holy Trinity in the Year 1720, in the Month of October, on the Tenth Day), and its motto is *Iesus et Maria sint mihi in via. Quod felix, faustum fortunatunque sit.*

The diary begins with the Hetman's departure from Stockholm in October, 1720, and narrates the journey through Bruns-

⁴¹ See: B. Krupnytsky, *Het'man Pylyp Orlyk. Ohlyad yoho politychnoyi diyal'nosti*, Warsaw, 1938.

wick, Thüringia, Prague, Breslau, Kraków, Moldavia, Galats, Filipopol to Salonika where Orlyk lived in most unhappy circumstances for twelve years. The diary ends after an account of the unsuccessful trip by the Hetman's son, Hryhoriy, to the Crimea in 1732, where he intended to persuade the Khan to start a war with Russia. Apart from personal adventures and impressions of foreign lands, Orlyk notes in his diary all the political events relating to the Ukraine, his own activities and diplomatic correspondence, meetings with various statesmen and diplomats, and his general reflections on life and history.

From his diary, this unhappy Ukrainian Hetman emerges as a fervent patriot, devoted to the idea of reestablishment of an independent Ukrainian state. [...]

The first news of Orlyk's diary was given by the Polish writer, F. Rawita-Gawroński, in the article "Filip Orlik, nieuznany hetman kozacki," (Filip Orlik, an unacknowledged Cossack Hetman) in *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1899, III, and reprinted in book form in *Szkice historyczne* (Historical Sketches), Lviv, 1900. On the basis of Rawita-Gawroński's discovery, a short article on that subject by V. Horlenko appeared in *Otbleski* (Reflections), St. Petersburg, 1905. Alfred Jensen gave Orlyk's diary a fuller treatment in his article "Dnevnyk Orlyka" (The Diary of Orlyk), *ZNTSH*, Lviv, 1917, vol. CXXIII-CXXIV.⁴²

⁴² The material of *Dnevnyk* was used in a short article by F. Holychuk, "Fylyp Orlyk v Halychyni," *Naukovyi Zbirnyk, prysvyachenyi M. Hrushevs'komu*, Lviv, 1906.

The original of *Diariush* of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk in five volumes, years 1720-1732, is in custody of the Archives of the French Foreign Ministry in Paris. The Ukrainian historian, Elie Borschak, discovered it there in 1920. See I. Borschak, "Orlikiana," *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina*, no. IV, Vienna, 1923, pp. 342-351; also *Ukrayina*, III, Paris, 1950, p. 147. The diary has been preserved almost fully. Earlier researchers used an incomplete copy of *Diariush* which has been in the custody of The Czartoryski's Museum in Kraków.

The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw had begun to publish the *Diariush* and succeeded in publishing one volume edited by I. Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych: *Diyariy Hetmana Pylypa Orlyka*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1936. The printing of volume II was interrupted by World War II.

According to certain sources, P. Orlyk wrote his diary while still living in the Ukraine, and later in emigration in Bendery, and also after that in the 1730's

In addition to private diaries, official records from the time of the Hetman State in the Ukraine have also been preserved. Among these are first of all the so-called *Diariushi* or *Zhurnaly* (Journals) kept in the General Chancellery during the reign of Ivan Skoropadsky and Danylo Apostol. They recorded all the events at the Hetman's court and gave the contents of the most important correspondence handled by the Chancellery.

It is interesting that as early as the second half of the seventeenth century special journals devoted to current events in Western Europe were kept in the General Chancellery. Thus, for instance, in 1692 Secretary Samiylo Punverytsky (Polverynsky) kept a record of Western European political and military events. Ukrainian Hetmans had their agents in Poland who in their turn had correspondents in all parts of Europe. On the basis of these reports special "reyestryky" (registers) were composed which are mentioned by Velychko. In one such report, dated 1679, which is preserved in the Archives of the Kiev Archeographic Commission, detailed information is furnished on current happenings in France, Alsatia, Lotharingia, Austria, Holland, Sweden, and Poland. Some of these reports were published in the *Arkhyv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (The Archives of South-West Russia), part 3, vol. II, Nos. 84, 155, 218. From the *Diariushi* (Journals) of the times of Skoropadsky and Apostol which, according to Lazarevsky, were used for administrative purposes and kept by senior secretaries of the Chancellery, the following have so far been published:

1. The chief of these is by the well-known memoir writer, Mykola Khanenko, who wrote it in the first half of 1722. It is entitled *Diariush ili zhurnal* (or in full: *Diary, Journal, or Everyday Record of Events and Ceremonies Which Took Place at the Court of His Illustrious Grace, Yoann Skoropadsky, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Host on Both Banks of the Dnieper, in the Service of the Most Illustrious Imperial Majesty, and also*

up to 1739. However these parts of Orlyk's *Diariush* have not been preserved. See Elie Borschak, "L'Hetman Orlyk à Salonique, 1723-1724," *Revue des Études Slaves*, v. XXVII, pp. 52-60, and I. Borshchak, "Het'man Orlyk u Soluni (1723-1724)," *Ukrayina*, V, 1951, p. 357.

of Affairs Conducted Through the Military Chancellery, Begun in 1722 and Completed in the Same Year by the Senior Secretary of the Chancellery, Mykola Khanenko). This *Diariush*, prefaced and edited by O. Bodyansky, was published in the Moscow *Chteniya*, 1858, I, part 5. The most interesting parts of this *Diariush* are those dealing with the old Hetman's visit to Moscow, his death after his return, and his funeral in the Hamaliyivsky Monastery.

2. *Diariush* (Journal) for the second part of 1722 and for 1723 was kept by the secretaries Pylyp Borzakovsky and Ladynsky. It was published by O. Lazarevsky in *Chteniya obshchestva Nestora letopistsya*, Kiev, 1896, XII, part 3, under the title *Dnevnik getmanskoï kantselyarii 1722-1723 g.* (The Diary of the Hetman Chancellery 1722-1723).

3. *Diariush* (Journal) for the period of Hetman Apostol's visit to Moscow (January 9–September 6, 1728) was published in Sudyenko's *Mater'ialy dlya otechestvennoi istorii*, vol. I, Kiev, 1853.

The journals for the periods 1727-1731 and 1750 have not been published and are preserved in the Library of Kiev University.

Apart from the prefaces to the above editions by Lazarevsky and Bodyansky, a short account of the journals may be found in I. Dzhydzhora's "Do istoriyi heneral'noyi viyskovoyi kantselyarii," (On the History of the General Military Chancellery), *ZNTSH*, vol. CVII.

Ukrainian memoir writers of the eighteenth century also deserve mention.

Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Barsky (1701-1747), member of a well-known Kiev family, the brother of a famous Kiev architect, Ivan Hryhorovych-Barsky (1713-1785), roamed across the Orthodox East for twenty years. His travel notes were first published by V. Ruban in 1778. The best edition, containing reproductions of drawings, is that by N. Barsukov: *Stranstvovaniya Vasiliya Grigorovicha-Barasko po svyatykh mestam Vostoka*, 1723-1747 (The Wanderings of Vasyl' Hryhorovych-Barsky to the Holy Places of the East), St. Petersburg, 1885-87, 4 vols. Very interest-

ing letters of Hryhorovych-Barsky to his brother Ivan were edited by O. Lazarevsky, *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1874, No. 9, and were reprinted in Barsukov's book.

The memoirs of Hryhoriy Vynsky (born in Pochep in 1752, and educated in Kiev) written around 1810 and entitled *Moe vremya* (My Times) reflect the impressions gathered in St. Petersburg and in the Province of Muscovy by an enlightened Ukrainian. Vynsky was struck by the crude behavior of the Russian nobles (dvoryanstvo) and their cruel treatment of the serfs. At every step he felt the superiority of his own "Little Russian education." Vynsky's memoirs were published in *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1877, No. I; the second (separate) edition was published in 1915 in Petrograd.

The memoirs of Illya Tymkovsky (1777-1853) describe social and school life in Pereiaslav and Kiev at the end of the eighteenth century. The author was born in Pereiaslav in a gentry Cossack family and was a student at Pereiaslav Kolegiya (college) and the Kiev Academy. He became a professor at Kharkiv University and later the Director of the Novhorod Siversky Gymnasium. Tymkovsky's memoirs were printed in *Moskvityanin*, 1852, Nos. 17-20, and reprinted in *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1874, No. 6. A useful article on Tymkovsky is N. Shugurov's "Il'ya Fyodorovich Timkovsky," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, VIII-X.

THE UKRAINIAN PAST IN FOREIGN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE XVIII CENTURY

Ukrainian historiography at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century found some measure of support in the works of foreign historians devoted to the Ukraine. The Russian government, aiming to completely abolish the autonomy of the Hetman State, Zaporozhe, and Slobozhanshchyna, began to pay more attention to the history, the legal foundation of the social structure, the administrative structure, and the statistical and economic data concerning provinces where

Empire Status was to be introduced. This stimulated the writing of a great many historical and descriptive works dealing with the newly acquired provinces, as for instance, *Topograficheskoe opisanie Chernigovskago Namestnichestva* (Topographical Description of the Chernihiv Vicegerency) by O. Shafonsky (1786) or *Topograficheskoe opisanie Khar'kovskago Namestnichestva s istoricheskim predvedomleniem byushykh v sei strane s drevneishikh vremen peremenakh* (Topographical Description of Kharkiv Vicegerency with Historical Information about this Country's Changes since Earliest Times), Moscow, 1788. On the other hand, the incorporation of Galician Ukraine into Austria evoked interest in these lands among Austrian scholars, to which the works of Engel and others bear the best witness.

From the Russian works dealing with the Ukraine, it is necessary to mention *Istoriya o kozakakh zaporozhskikh* (or in full: A History of Zaporozhian Cossacks, their Origin and their Present Condition) which was compiled in the second part of the eighteenth century by Prince S. Myshetsky. The author, an officer in the Russian army, lived for four years in Zaporozhe in the 1740's and left a most interesting account of the system and the life of Zaporozhe. This work was published in the Moscow *Chteniya*, 1847, vol. VI, and separately, Moscow, 1847, and was reprinted in the *Zapiski Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, Odessa, 1851.⁴³

The Pole, Stanislaw Zarulski, a captain in the Russian army, wrote *Opisanie o Maloi Rossii i Ukraine* (A Description of Little Russia and the Ukraine) which was published in the Moscow *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 8.

Gerhard Friedrich Miller (1705-1789), a Russian historian of German descent⁴⁴ began to work on the history of the Ukraine while studying sources of Russian history. He published two

⁴³ See also N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, "Istoryky Zaporizhzhya XVIII st.," *Yubileyni Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, "Do istoriografii Zaporizhzhya XVIII st.," *Pratsi L'vivskoho Derzhavnogo Universitetu im. I. Franka*, 1940, v. I.

⁴⁴ See: S. H. Cross, *The Contribution of Gerhard Friedrich Müller to Russian Historiography*, Harvard, 1916.

articles "O nachale i proiskhozhdenii kozakov" (The Beginning and Origin of the Cossacks) and "Izvestiya o kozakakh zaporozhskikh" (News of the Zaporozhian Cossacks) in *Sochineniya k pol'ze i uveseleniyu sluzhashchiya* (Works for Use and Amusement), 1760, vol. IV-V. However, even more extensive material was found among his unpublished papers which were edited later by O. Bodyansky in the Moscow *Chteniya*: 1) "Zapiska o malorossiiskom narode i zaporozhtsakh," (A Note about the Little Russian People and the Zaporozhians), 1846, No. 3; 2) "Sokrashchennoe uvedomlenie o Maloi Rossii," (A Short Report on Little Russia), geographical survey, 1846, No. 4; 3) "Razsuzhdenie o zaporozhtsakh i kratkaya vypiska o malorossiiskom narode i zaporozhtsakh," (A Treatise on the Zaporozhians and a Brief Note on the Little Russian People and the Zaporozhians), *ibid.*; 4) "Raznye materialy do istorii Zaporozh'ya otnosyashchiesya," (Various Materials Relating to the History of Zaporozhe), 1847, No. 6. M. Hrushevsky believed that most of these studies were undertaken at the direction of the Russian government.

In the German historiography of the last decades of the eighteenth century there are several works based on Polish and Ukrainian sources.

To this group belongs *Geschichte der ukrainischen und saporogischen Kosaken*, (Leipzig, 1789) by Carl Hammersdorfer. The pamphlet by Händlowich "Ausführliche und wahrhafte Schilderung der saporoger Kosaken," (Pappenheim in Francken, 1789), was based, as V. Shchurat proved, on an article by H. I. Poletyka in a Viennese calendar (see hereinafter). However, the most important works in German are those by Engel.

The Austro-Hungarian historian, Johann Christian Engel (1770-1814) born in Transylvania, a pupil of Schlötzer in Göttingen, wrote some works, three of which deal directly with Ukrainian history:

1. *Commentario de republica militari seu comparatio Lacedaemoniorum, Gretensium et Cosaccorum*, Göttingen, 1790.

2. *Geschichte von Halitsch und Wladimir bis 1772, verbunden mit einer Auseinandersetzung der österreichisch-ungarischen*

Besitzrechte auf dieses Königreich; nach russischen und polnischen Jahrbüchern bearbeitet, 2 part, Vienna, 1792-93.

3. *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Kosaken, wie auch des Königreichs Halitsch-Wladimir*, Halle, 1796.⁴⁵

A French work, J. B. Scherer's *Annales de la Petite Russie ou histoire et des Cosaques de l'Ukraine ou de la Petite-Russie, des Cosaques Saporogues* (Paris, 1788, vol. I-II) is based on the *Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii*.⁴⁶

Among later works on the Ukraine the following foreign historians—T. Czacki's *O nazwisku Ukrainy i początku kozaków*, *Nowy Pamiętnik*, Warsaw, 1801 (Russian translation in Uley, 1811); Ch. L. Lesur, *Histoire des Cosaques précédée d'une introduction ou coup d'oeil sur les peuples qui ont habité les pays des Cosaques avant l'invasion des Tartares*, Paris, 1813-14; and Gretzmüllern, *Die ukrainischen Kosaken und ihre Unterwerfung an Russland*, Hormayer's Arkhiv, 1814—should also be noted.

All the above works use sources on which Ukrainian historiographers at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries also relied in their studies of Ukrainian history.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See: B. Krupnytsky, *Johann Christian von Engel und die Geschichte der Ukraine*, Berlin, 1931; B. Krupnytsky, "J. Chr. Engels Geschichte der Ukraine," *Abhandlungen des Ukr. Wiss. Institutes in Berlin*, Bd. III, Berlin, 1931; B. Krupnytsky, "'Istoriya Ukrayiny y ukrayins'kykh kozakiv' Y. Kh. Engelya ta 'Istoriya Rusiv'," *Ukrayina*, ch. 3, Paris, 1950, pp. 162-166.

⁴⁶ D. Doroshenko, "Shererovy 'Annales de la Petite Russie' a jejich misto v ukrajinske historiografii," *Sbornik věnovaný J. Bidlovi*, Prague, 1928, pp. 351-358; O. Ohloblyn, "'Annales de la Petite Russie' Sherera y 'Istoriya Rusov'," *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universitetu*, vol. V, Munich, 1948, pp. 87-94.

⁴⁷ D. Doroshenko "Die Ukraine und ihre Geschichte im Lichte der westeuropäischen Literatur des XVIII und der ersten Hälfte des XIX Jhs.," *Abhandlungen des Ukr. Wiss. Institutes in Berlin*, v. I, Berlin, 1927; E. Borschak, *L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe occidentale*, 1935 (Reprint from *Monde Slave*, 1933-1935).

UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE NATIONAL RENAISSANCE

A characteristic feature of Ukrainian historiography is the fact that it gathered fresh and powerful impetus at the very time when the Russian government, after suppressing the Mazepian movement, made strong efforts to limit the autonomy of the Hetman State, to abolish the Hetmanate itself (substituting for it the Little Russian Collegium) and to control the administration of this Ukrainian State. [...] This phenomenon may be regarded as characteristic of the history of various nations which, when threatened by more powerful neighbors with destruction, feel the importance of their historical traditions and direct their attention to the past to find there moral support, a legal basis and strength for the struggle against oppression, in the name of their own social and political rights. This sentiment—powerful, though not openly expressed—is present in all Ukrainian historiography of the eighteenth century. We witness the decay and destruction of certain old forms of Ukrainian social and political life, and, simultaneously, the birth of a national revival whose roots reach deep into historical tradition and are thus linked to the general ideas of Romanticism and Populism, which originated in Western Europe.

P. Zhytetsky in his study *Eneida Kotlyarevskago i eya drevniyeshii spisok* (Kotlyarevsky's Eneida and Its Older Text), Kiev 1900, maintained that Kotlyarevsky's work was not an unusual or unexpected phenomenon, but an expression of the unbroken ties with the Ukrainian literature of the past; that Kotlyarevsky must be regarded as the most talented Ukrainian writer of the eighteenth century, not as the first and only one who used the Ukrainian vernacular in a work of literature. While analyzing the Ukrainian literature of the first decades of the nineteenth century, even as far as Shevchenko, and carefully scrutinizing its sources, it is impossible not to notice its close relation to the national and historical traditions of the Hetman Ukraine, still fresh in the people's memory. This close relationship was

often emphasized by Drahomanov, who pointed out the influence of *Istoriya Rusov* on Shevchenko.

Yet the Ukrainian historiography of the nineteenth century took a highly critical attitude to the Hetman period of Ukrainian history, and especially to the Hetman State in the eighteenth century. Its eminent representatives, Kostomarov and Kulish, severely condemned the upper classes of Ukrainian society of that period, and declared the Hetman State to be a "withered tree," which had to die of its own canker. The most thorough and thoughtful historians of social life during the Hetman State, O. Lazarevsky and O. Yefymenko, did not spare dark colors in picturing the class egoism of the Cossack *starshyna*, its selfish policies and tendencies.

It is true enough that the times immediately following the Swedish campaigns represent a sad picture of moral decay and the loss of a sense of social responsibility among the Cossack *starshyna*. Some of its best representatives went into exile, dedicating themselves to the idea of an independent Ukrainian state, to use P. Orlyk's words, "ab omni extra dominatione." Those who remained were terrorized by the policy of the Russian government. In this situation the worst elements rose to the top, that is, men who could win Moscow's confidence. The first decades after Mazepa's fall are full of corruption, violence and fraud on the largest scale by such men as Galagan, Andriy Markovych, Kochubey, Lysovsky, and many others who, having won favor with the Tsar, knew no limits to their licentious powers, acting often with the support of the Russian government and the Russian nobility. The history of Polubotok's protest and its tragic end crushed even more forcibly the opposition among those Cossack officers who were forced to live within the continually dwindling circle of their class and economic interests.

Yet it would be incorrect and unscientific to judge the Cossack *starshyna* of the eighteenth century from a later point of view. Ukrainian historiography has erred precisely in this respect. It ignored or belittled the defense of the Ukrainian autonomy by the Cossack *starshyna*, the preservation by it of Ukrainian national and historical traditions, which then inspired and fos-

tered Ukrainian literature, and finally the fact that the first protest against that social evil—serfdom—came from the representatives of the Cossack nobility: Hryhoriy Poletyka and Vasyly Kapnist.

This tendency—belittling one's own history, being blind to its past glories—was shrewdly observed by Mykhalo Drahomanov, who remarked that the darker sides of Ukrainian history can best be learned from Ukrainian historians. "Somehow Ukrainians," he wrote, "are not in the habit of boasting about their own ancestral traditions, probably because their independence and their aristocracy disappeared so long ago, and there has been no one to teach them to take pride in their glorious past."⁴⁸

On the other hand, the very same Lazarevsky, who so severely criticized the old Hetman State and its leaders, in his other works about them gave ample evidence of the fact that the Cossack *starshyna* and their descendants were fervent patriots, helping to preserve the traditions and the memories of the Cossack Ukraine [...] Today, when the idea of an independent Ukrainian state has been resurrected and even, in 1918, realized for a short time, for an understanding of the Ukrainian historical tradition one must turn to the Ukrainian patriots of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, who have preserved the idea of the glorious past of Ukrainians as a free and independent people [...]

With the collapse of the Mazepian movement, with its concept of an independent, single Ukrainian state, united under one Hetman, the Left-Bank Ukraine remained the only part of Ukrainian territory where the forms of autonomous statehood were preserved. Although limited, this autonomy of the Hetman State gave a certain protection to the cultural development of the country. The brilliant flowering of Ukrainian culture, which

⁴⁸ M. Drahomanov, "The Lost Epoch. Ukrainians Under Muscovite Tsardom: 1654-1876," *Mykhalo Drahomanov, A Symposium and Selected Writings*, a special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (3), New York, 1952, p. 154.

we see on the Left-Bank Ukraine in the last decades of the seventeenth century in a relatively peaceful time, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century up to the Swedish campaign, placed the Hetman Ukraine on the same level as the most cultured European countries. Even the Muscovite terror and the policy of economic exploitation of the country, pursued by the Russian government after the fall of Mazepa, took a long time to destroy this culture.

The Hetman State comprised the territory of what is now the Chernihiv and Poltava provinces on the left bank of the Dnieper and the city of Kiev on the right bank of the Dnieper. About one million people lived within this territory at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The cultural center of this area was the Mohyla Academy in Kiev with 1200 students. This highest educational institution was open to young men of all classes of society from the son of the Hetman to the son of the plebian. It attracted many foreign students from other Slav nations. Apart from the Academy, there were two colleges in Chernihiv and Pereyaslav (the so-called Slobidska Ukrayina had its own college in Kharkiv). Almost every village had a school of its own, maintained by the villagers themselves. In 1748 there were 866 schools in the territory of the seven Hetman regiments (no data is available for the other three regiments) which meant about one school per one thousand inhabitants.

In the Slobidska Ukraine (the present province of Kharkiv) there were in 1732 one hundred and twenty-four schools. Even the distant Zaporozhe, which, however, was closely connected with the life in the Hetman State, had a military school, where one hundred and fifty youths were taught, in addition to subjects usual in those days, swordsmanship and horse riding. Special military instruction (the so-called "military exercises") was also introduced in the Hetman State in the middle of the eighteenth century. Besides the schools, there were what were called "wandering tutors" (*mandrovani dyaky*) who taught children in small hamlets and on secluded farms (*khutors*).

It was quite common in those days to study abroad. It was not

only men who devoted themselves to scholarship who went to European universities, as in the case of Prokopovych (who studied in Rome) or Skovoroda (who was in Budapest and Bratislava). Sons of the Cossack *starshyna* often went to foreign, mostly German, universities. Many Ukrainians in the eighteenth century were students at Kiel, Göttingen, Stuttgart, Halle, Königsberg and Breslau universities. Knowledge of foreign languages was widely spread. Apart from Latin, which was then the language of science and diplomacy, other European languages were also widely known. As an example we can take Petro Apostol, the son of the Myrhorod colonel, who wrote his diary in French. [...] Ivan Poletyka in 1750 became a professor at the Medical Academy in Kiel, thus beginning a long tradition of Ukrainian professors teaching at foreign universities. The Hetman State supplied scores of scholars to Muscovy. Even during the reign of Peter I, almost all the bishops in Muscovy came from the Ukraine. Beginning with the reign of Elizabeth, when the son of the ordinary Ukrainian cossack Rozum, Count O. Rozumovsky, became the husband of the Empress, Ukrainians began to occupy prominent positions as Chancellors, Ministers of State, University professors and school directors. Although the flow of cultural forces from the Ukraine meant a great loss to the country, it would be wrong to think that among the Ukrainians who went to Muscovy there were only careerists. They were attracted to Moscow and St. Petersburg by the wide scope of metropolitan life offered there, and to some of them their participation in the building of a great empire seemed a means of helping their own weakened country.

The steps which the Russian government took in 1764 and later to abolish the Hetmanate, encountered no active opposition among the Cossack *starshyna* who were guaranteed their social privileges. That there was great concern over the loss of the autonomous rights can be seen from the fact that, in the elections to the Legislative Commission in 1767, all delegates were urged to demand the return of the "old liberties." Among the more active circles of the Cossack *starshyna* there were plans for a more drastic protest, as seen from the secret mission of Vasyli' Kapnist to

Berlin in 1791.⁴⁹ Closely connected with these attempts by Ukrainian patriots to defend their rights [...] is one of the most important monuments of Ukrainian political thought of the eighteenth century—the well-known *Istoriya Rusov* (History of the Rusy) which according to Mykola Vasylenko,^{50*} begins modern Ukrainian historiography.

ISTORIYA RUSOV

The date and authorship of *Istoriya Rusov* are among the most controversial topics in Ukrainian historical science. According to Lazarevsky the manuscript of the *Istoriya Rusov* was found in the following manner. Around 1828, while cataloguing the library in Hrynev in the Starodub District, which had been inherited by Prince Golitsyn from Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky, who had previously inherited it from Count Bezborod'ko, Laykevych and Hamaliya, members of the Starodub court, found a manuscript which they gave to the Marshal of the Chernihiv Province, Stepan Shyray, who made a copy of it. On the basis of this copy several other copies were made by Starodub landowners. [...] Shyray sent one copy to D. Bantysh-Kamensky, so that he could use it for the second edition of his *Istoriya Maloi Rossii* (The History of Little Russia), 1830. M. Maksymovych already knew of it in 1829 and reported that "in 1830 *Istoriya Rusov* was being circulated in several copies." In spite of its considerable size, the manuscript was copied many times and was read with interest by the Ukrainian public. Some copies of it reached Byelorussia and Russia.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See: O. Ohloblyn, "Vasyl' Kapnist (1756-1823)," *Literaturno-Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Vol. 1, Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., New York, 1952, pp. 177-194; *Zbirnyk "Ukrayins'koyi Literaturnoyi Hazety"* 1956, Munich, 1957, pp. 167-196.

^{50*} *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, XI, p. 249.

⁵¹ As a result of recent studies it was found that *Istoriya Rusov* had been known already in 1825. See: O. Ohloblyn, "Persha drukovana zvistka pro 'Istoriyu Rusov'," *Nasha Kultura*, 1951, No. 2 (167), pp. 28-35.

The manuscript was not signed, but it was possible to learn about its alleged author from the preface which gave the following account of the genesis of the work:

That celebrated and learned representative of the Little Russian gentry, Mr. Poletyka, setting out as a deputy to the great Imperial Commission for the drafting of a new code, found it necessary to seek out his native history. On this account he approached his former teacher, the Byelorussian Archbishop George Konysky, a Little Russian by birth, who for a long time was a prefect and rector of the Kiev Academy. Thereupon this bishop communicated unto Mr. Poletyka this chronicle or history, assuring him that it was written in very early times in the Mohyliv cathedral by learned men who, for documentation, consulted scholars from the Kiev Academy and several famous Little Russian monasteries, and especially those in which Yuri Khmelnytsky, the former Little Russian Hetman, lived as a monk, for he left to them many papers of his father, Hetman Zynoviy⁵² Khmelnytsky, and those very journals of memorable national events which were newly checked and corrected. Mr. Poletyka compared this history with several other Little Russian chronicles and found it to be the best of them all, and used it during the proceedings of the Commission. This history being the work of so many authorities ought to be authentic.

According to this preface, therefore, the author of the *Istoriya Rusov* was the Archbishop of Byelorussia, George Konysky (1718-1795). The history first became known under his name and was also published by O. Bodyansky in *Chteniya Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh* (Moscow, 1846), and also separately. However, it was early admitted that its tone and historical views could hardly be attributed to an Orthodox bishop.

The Russian poet, Pushkin, who thought very highly of the *Istoriya Rusov* and devoted a special article to it in his *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary) where he also reprinted two extracts from this history,⁵³ called its author "a Little Russian Titus Livy," and "a great artist." At the same time Pushkin expressed doubts about Konysky's authorship and remarked that in the author "the heart of a noble beats under the monk's cassock."

⁵² Bohdan Zynoviy Khmelnytsky.

⁵³ "The Introduction of the Church Union" and "The Death of Ostryanytsya."

Maksymovych was even more sceptical when he wrote this to the editor, Bodyansky, in 1870:

Would it not be advisable to learn where is the copy of *Istoriya Rusov* which Bantysh-Kamensky received from Stepan Shyray and which gave rise to the popularity of this remarkable work? My talks with Sudiyenko^{54*} and attempts to penetrate the correspondence of the deputy from Lubny, Poletyka, have not solved the problem. I should very much like to discover the name of the talented anonymous author of that factually incorrect but highly artistic embellishment of Little Russian history. I am so much convinced that not Konysky but someone else still alive in the first quarter of the nineteenth century is its author that I am ready to dispute your objections.^{55*}

Yet many decades passed before Maksymovych's conjecture that the real author of the *Istoriya Rusov* should be sought in connection with the name of the Lubny deputy, Poletyka, was strengthened by the evidence uncovered by Lazarevsky in the correspondence of Poletyka.

Excerpts from this correspondence were published by Lazarevsky in *Kievskaya Starina* (1891, IV) under the title "Otryvki iz semeinago arkhiva Poletik" (Excerpts from the Family Archives of the Poletykas). On the basis of this correspondence Lazarevsky advanced the theory that Hryhoriy Poletyka himself was the author of *Istoriya Rusov* ("Dogadka ob avtore *Istorii Rusov*," A Conjecture as to the Author of the *Istoriya Rusov*, *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, IV). Later he confirmed this supposition and the entire correspondence of Hryhoriy Poletyka ("Chastnaya perepiska G. A. Poletiki 1750-1784," Private Correspondence of H. A. Poletyka) was published in *Kievskaya Starina* and edited by O. Lazarevsky (Kiev, 1895).⁵⁶

Poletyka's letters made frequent mention that he collected material for a history of the Ukraine and that he worked a great deal at it. His deep patriotism is mentioned by several corres-

^{54*} M. Sudiyenko, a landowner of the Novhorod Siversky District, publisher of material on Ukrainian history.

^{55*} *Chteniya Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, 1887, I, 177.

⁵⁶ V. Ikonnikov was the first to express an opinion on H. Poletyka's authorship (1874).

pondents, who warned him on several occasions begging him to destroy their letters for fear of their being intercepted by the Russian government. Finally, in addition to this evidence, Poletyka's activity at the Commission in 1767, where he staunchly defended the autonomous rights of the Ukraine, led Lazarevsky to conclude that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* was no one other than Hryhoriy Poletyka himself. The preface, which ascribes the authorship to Konysky, Lazarevsky regarded as a piece of deception to hide the true author. In addition, Lazarevsky supported the theory of Poletyka's authorship by interpretation of some passages of the *Istoriya Rusov*. In one of them Hetman Mnohohrishnyi, who died in exile in Siberia, is represented as having died and having been buried in Baturyn. This inaccuracy Lazarevsky attempted to explain by the fact that Mnohohrishnyi's daughter was married to one of Poletyka's ancestors.

The correspondence of the family Poletyka, discovered by E. Onatsky, showed that Hryhoriy Poletyka was writing a history.

The date of the *Istoriya Rusov* remained uncertain, although indications in the text point to 1770. Some doubts as to the authorship were raised by letters from Hryhoriy's son, Vasyl' Poletyka, showing that he, too, was working on a history of the Ukraine. This prompted V. Horlenko to express the opinion that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* was Vasyl' Poletyka. Most scholars, however, tended to agree with Lazarevsky's surmises.

It is possible, therefore, to assume that the author of *Istoriya Rusov* was Hryhoriy Poletyka.⁵⁷ Hryhoriy Andriyevych Poletyka

⁵⁷ In his later works D. I. Doroshenko arrived at the opinion that there were two authors of *Istoriya Rusov*: H. A. Poletyka and his son, Vasyl' Poletyka. In 1938 D. Doroshenko wrote: "To say the least, Vasyl' Poletyka edited this work and stressed its autonomous and republican tendencies." (*Mazepa*, Zbirnyk, vol. 1, Warsaw, 1938, p. 6).

During the last decades many researches tried to find out who wrote *Istoriya Rusov*. In 1925 M. Slabchenko expressed the opinion that Count Alexander Besborod'ko, the Chancellor of the Russian Empire, was the author. The same opinion was repeated in 1928 by P. Klepatsky. In the 1930's Andriy Yakovliv and Mykhaylo Voznyak presented many arguments for this opinion.

In 1931 M. Petrovsky suggested that Vasyl' Lukashevych, a well-known Ukrainian

(1725-1784) was a descendant of an old Cossack family in the Romen County of the Province of Poltava. His ancestors came in the seventeenth century to the Left-Bank Ukraine from Volynia. His father, Andriy Poletyka, was a staff companion. Hryhoriy Poletyka was educated at the Kiev Academy and afterwards he went to seek his fortune in Muscovy. An accomplished linguist, he became an interpreter at the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1746. Between 1764 and 1773 he was inspector of the Naval Nobles' Corps; in 1767 the Lubny District elected him its deputy to the Commission for "drafting a project of the new code," in Moscow. Poletyka appeared before the Commission as an ardent defender of the autonomy of the Hetman State. He compiled: a *Sbornik prav i privilegii malorossiiskago shlyakhetskva* (A Compendium of Rights and Privileges of the Little Russian Gentry); *Zapiska, kak Malaya Rossiya vo vremya vladeniya pol'skago razdelena byla i o obraze eya upravleniya* (Memorandum on How Little Russia Was Divided and Governed During the Polish Reign); *Zapis', chto Malaya Rossiya ne zavoyovana a prisoedinilas' dobrovol'no k Rossii* (A Record that Little Russia Was not Conquered in War but Joined Russia Voluntarily);⁵⁸ *Vozrazhenie deputata G. Poletiki na nastavlenie Malorossiiskoi Kollegii gospodinu zhe deputatu D. Natal'inu* (Objections of Deputy Poletyka to Directions Given to Deputy Natal'in by the

patriot of the beginning of the 19th century, wrote *Istoriya Rusov*. His statement, however, was not supported by scholarly arguments.

In the 1940's, O. Ohloblyn hypothesized that Opanas Lobysevych, Ukrainian public figure and writer of the second half of the 18th century, was the author.

Elie Borschak is of the opinion that Vasyli' Poletyka was the author, although in 1923 M. Horban' objected to this possibility.

The question is still being discussed. However, the disputes concerning the authorship resulted in many special studies of *Istoriya Rusov*, which established such important points as the time when the work was being written, its ideology, sources, political and ideological influences, etc. Most of the students are of the opinion that *Istoriya Rusov* was written some time late in the 18th century or during the first two decades of the 19th century. O. Ohloblyn thinks that *Istoriya Rusov* originated from the Novhorod-Siversk region early in the 19th century and its author was connected with the Novhorod-Siversk circle of Ukrainian patriots of the end of the 18th century.

⁵⁸ *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, VUAN, vol. 1, Kiev, 1926, pp. 142-146.

Little Russian Collegium);^{59*} and *Mnenie na chitannyyi v Kommissii proekt pravam blagorodnykh* (An Opinion on the Project of the Rights of Nobility Read Before the Commission)^{60*}—all for the use of the Commission. At the same time Poletyka wrote a longer treatise: *Istoricheskoe izvestie* (or in full: *A Historical Account of How Little Russia Came Under the Rule of the Polish Republic and What Conditions It Yielded to the Russian Tsars, and a Patriotic Discourse on the Way It Could Be Established Today so that It Could Be of Benefit to the Russian State Without Being Deprived of Its Rights and Liberties*).⁶¹ In all these works Poletyka defended the Hetman State as an independent national unit, voluntarily joined to the Russian State by international treaties.

In 1741 Hryhoriy Poletyka began to assemble a library and collection of documents in St. Petersburg. [...] Having married the daughter of the Justice General Hamaliya, one of the wealthiest men in the Hetman State, he could afford to leave the state service in 1773 and devote himself entirely to his favorite work—researches into Ukrainian history. His love for the antiquity of the Ukraine he passed on to his son Vasyľ. Hryhoriy Poletyka died in 1784 in St. Petersburg.

Poletyka's political and historical views expressed in these writings reach their fullest and best expression in his *Istoriya Rusov*, which indeed may be regarded as a synthesis of his outlook. Comparing the argumentation, style, and language of Poletyka's discourses and treatises with the *Istoriya Rusov*, there is little doubt that they were written by the same man, who was obviously attempting to present a history of the Ukraine in the light of national ideology. The author of *Istoriya Rusov* was not a historian by profession. Historical science in the second half of the eighteenth century was at a low level of development and historical criticism was just beginning to develop. Historical

^{59*} *Chteniya Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, Moscow, 1858, III, Miscell., pp. 71-102.

^{60*} *Sbornik Russkago Istoricheskago Obshchestva*, v. 36.

⁶¹ *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, VUAN, Vol. I, Kiev, 1926, pp. 147-161.

sources were unknown, uncollected, and unchecked. At that time history was regarded as having a moral and didactic purpose. In view of this, and also considering the great patriotism of the author, it is no wonder that *Istoriya Rusov* does not represent a work of scholarship, but rather a political pamphlet. It was of very little value as research into the Ukrainian past, but it helped to awaken national thought in the Ukraine.

In his introduction, the author states the motives which prompted him to write his book: to give a true picture of his native country's past, to find in it a basis for the idea of a Ukrainian State, and finally to illustrate the character of this statehood and to defend the forms which had been preserved. The author dwells on the poverty of sources for the study of Ukrainian history. He writes:

There were many historians and chroniclers in Little Russia. Yet since this country was, as it were, destined and dedicated to ruin from frequent invasions by foreign tribes, and even more frequent attacks and wars waged by neighboring peoples, and, lastly, from incessant internal quarrels and strife, and suffered all kinds of destruction, slaughter, and conflagrations, and was, so to speak, stained and soaked with human blood and covered with ashes, how could anything be preserved undamaged in such an unhappy country?

Foreign historians, who wrote about the Ukraine, are charged by the author of *Istoriya Rusov* with tendentiousness, hostility, and falsification:

Polish and Lithuanian historians, who are justly suspected of embroidering and glorifying the facts about themselves, in their description of the history of our Rus' people, whom they regarded as allegedly subject to the Poles, altogether belittled their exploits, which were undertaken for the benefit of their common fatherland—their own as well as the Polish.

Those historians concealed the rights and privileges enjoyed by the Rus' people in that fatherland, identifying them as insignificant slaves. And when they reached in their histories the period of Polish tyrannies over the Rus' people because of the Church Union, which they themselves had invented, and how this Rus' people became liberated from the Polish yoke owing to their courage and unparalleled bravery, these foreign writers disgorged their lies and

slanders on the Rus' people and its leaders, calling them rebellious bondsmen, who raised rebellions as it were through sheer lawlessness. However, the exploits of the Rus' Hetmans Kosynsky, Nalyvayko, Ostryanytsya, and lastly the great achievements of Khmelnytsky, their correspondence and their proclamations, show exactly the contrary, and every sensible person will see in them undeniably true and glorious deeds. Everybody will also admit that all men have the right to protect their lives, property, and liberty.

This faulty presentation of Ukrainian history by foreign historians in the past lends to *Istoriya Rusov* a vindictory quality. The author puts his personal views into the mouths of historical personages, such as Nalyvayko, Khmelnytsky, Mazepa, and Polubotok; their utterances reveal his own beliefs about the past of the Ukraine.

The title *Istoriya Rusov* was used in order to cover a wide ethnographic and historical scope. "The Slavs are said to originate from Japhet... they were called Slavs from the founder of the Slavic dynasty, Prince Slaven, a descendant of Ross, a grandson of Japhet." Nestor and "other members of the Kiev Academy, founded by the Greek philosopher, Cyril," are cited as historical sources for the autochthony of the Rusy. Further evidence is drawn from Slavic names of places and ruins and from the Greek historians Ptolemy, Herodotus, Strabo, and Diodorus. The name *Rus'* is derived from fair-haired (*rusyavyi*), just as the name *Pechenihy* means "those who eat baked (*pechenyi*) food"; the name *Polyane* is derived from *pole*; *Derevlyane* from "wooden houses," etc.

The historical development of the Ukrainian people is presented by the author in the following manner: The Ukrainian State was founded in Kiev. Weakened by the attacks of the Tatars, this State had to seek an alliance with Lithuania and later Poland. Events up to the middle of the sixteenth century are narrated very briefly. The author shows great sympathy towards the Polish King Stefan Batory, whom he compares to the Roman Emperor Titus. He relates, according to Hrabynka and other Cossack chroniclers, the legend about the so-called reform of the Cossacks and presents Polish-Ukrainian relations as idyllic.

"At that time," he writes, "there were no quarrels over the cities, the privileges and religions, which often trouble people's minds. And what was most admirable was that perfect understanding existed between the two main religions—the Roman and the Russian."

This idyllic harmony was destroyed, according to the author, by the Church Union, instituted by Pope Clement VIII. It appeared in "the hide of a fox, but with the jaws of a wolf." Some of the Orthodox clergy were tempted by personal advantages to go over to the other Church, but those in opposition gathered in Berestya and declared that the clergy alone cannot decide such an important matter, "not having any authority from the people to introduce a new faith, rites, changes, and novelties; without this, it cannot burden the people with licentious rules and innovations. Clergymen were elected by the people and maintained at the people's expense; they cannot absolve themselves of all their obligations without the people's consent."

The Church Union and the efforts made by the Polish government to Polonize the Ukraine led to a long and bitter war between the Poles and the Ukrainians. The situation became worse when the Ukrainian gentry "not being able to stand the Polish pressure and the loss of their property and social rank," forsook their people.

The author's portrayal of the struggle waged by the Ukrainian Cossacks against Poland is in harmony with traditions of Ukrainian historiography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He regards it as a series of wars of liberation leading to the emergence of such Cossack heroes as Kosynsky, Nalyvayko, Taras Fedorovych (Taras Tryasylo), Hunya, Ostryanyn (Ostryanytsya) and others. In the manifesto issued by Nalyvayko the ideology of this struggle is defined in clear and biting words. In addition to these heroes, the author shows a special liking for Sahaydachnyi, "the elected Rus' Prince or Hetman."

The greatest hero of the entire work, however, and the central figure of Ukrainian history is Bohdan Khmelnytsky. The characterization of Khmelnytsky is not personalized but consists

of a heaping up of the conventionally great virtues of a statesman, military leader and gentleman.

Discussing the political relations between the Ukraine and Poland, and later with Muscovy, the author does not forget to mention wherever he can the moral and cultural superiority of the Ukrainian people over their neighbors. He contrasts the generosity, stability, and hardiness of the Ukrainians with the treachery and fickleness of the Poles. Barbarian Moscow is compared several times with the culture of the Ukraine. The most outspoken condemnation of Moscow comes from the mouth of the Tatar Khan in his speech to Khmelnytsky, whom he advises against an alliance with Moscow:

In Moscow, all classes of people are almost illiterate, and with their numerous faiths and sects they are more like heathens. In their cruelty they surpass the savages, and despite their ignorance and coarseness, they have a high opinion of themselves.

All their faith consists of discussion of crosses and ikons.

The religious beliefs of the *starovery* (Old Believers) the author describes as "peasant drivel, borrowed from the pagans and multiplied by stupid superstitions." The Muscovite social order, especially serfdom, is also severely condemned. "The serfs," writes the author, "are sold on the market and on the estates of their owners like cattle, and are frequently exchanged for dogs." During the time of Ruin the Cossacks were favorably inclined toward the Turks because "they possess no serfs and do not trade in people, as is done in Muscovy." The Cossack Colonel Bohun, thus characterizes the Muscovite social system: "Serfdom and slavery dominate the Muscovite scene to a large degree. The people do not recognize anything as their own, but all is God's and the Tsar's, and men, in their opinion, are born only in order to be serfs, not to possess anything."

There is no wonder, therefore, that this cultural disparity was reflected in the relations of the Cossacks toward Moscow.

The Zaporozhian Cossacks were extremely displeased with the union with Russia and its general attitude... and stated their reasons which, although they seemed insignificant, had wide ac-

ceptance among the people. The Cossacks, during the campaigns they undertook together with the Russian soldiers, suffered greatly from the Russians who mocked their shaved heads. These Russian soldiers, wearing grey peasant coats and patched rags, unshaven and bearded, looking quite like peasants, yet had great self-esteem which showed itself in the odious habit of giving all other nationalities derogatory names, such as *polyachishki*, *niemchurki*, *tatarishki*, etc. Following this custom, they called the Cossacks "chuby," or "khokhly" who, in turn, were enraged by it, and fought and quarrelled with the Russians very frequently until finally they reached a stage of irreconcilable hostility and aversion.

Writing on the Pereyaslav Treaty, the author alleges that the Muscovite delegates swore in the name of the Tsar and the Muscovite Tsardom to respect for ever the conditions of the agreement.

The period of Ruin does not receive much attention, and its personalities are not regarded favorably. The author's attitude towards Vyhovsky and Doroshenko is negative; the latter is accused of atrocities and made responsible for the devastation of the country. His attitude towards Mazepa is mixed. Mazepa is described as of Polish descent. His qualities are given in the manner described by Voltaire, and special emphasis is laid on his learning, military exploits and his "profound wisdom." Mazepa's action in destroying before his death those papers which could have compromised many of his followers is regarded by the author as an act of great generosity. The author's real opinion of Mazepa and Peter I has to be read between the lines. Perhaps the key to it is in Mazepa's speech to the Cossacks, after crossing Desna in 1708, which was actually the Hetman's political program. The author quotes it without comment:

We should fight neither together with the Poles, nor with the Swedes, nor with the Great Russians, but, having gathered our military forces, we should... defend our own native land, repelling all who attack it... When, in the future, peace will come to the warring nations, our country must be reinstated in the position it occupied before the Polish domination, with its own princes, with all the previous rights and privileges characterizing a free nation. Two leading states in Europe, France and Germany, offered to sponsor such a move and the latter insisted upon such an action

at the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, during the reign of Emperor Ferdinand III. This was not fulfilled, however, through lack of foresight and due to internal differences among our ancestors... It is well known that we first had what the Muscovites now have; the government, seniority, and the name Rus' itself passed from us to them...

This speech having mentioned the alliance between the Ukraine and Sweden at the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and the participation of a Ukrainian corps in the conquest of Warsaw and Kraków, ended with the following tirade:

What people are we then, if we do not realize our benefits and do not forestall obvious danger? Such insensitive people are more like a herd of animals, and are scorned by all nations.

The author condemns severely the atrocities committed by the Muscovites after the capture of Baturyn and the killing of Mazepa's followers in Lebedyn and Romen:

He who despises horrors and fear is famous among all men, but those who took part in the bestial atrocities at Lebedyn, which in their cruelty surpassed all human imagination, cannot even be mentioned in words. Now it is time to reflect and to pass judgment. If, according to the words of the Saviour himself expressed in the Bible—words which are irrevocable and final—all blood shed on land will exact penalty, [...] then what a penalty is due for the blood of the Rus' people, shed from the time of Hetman Nalyvayko to the present day, and shed in large streams for one reason alone, that (the Rus' people) sought liberty, or a better life in its own land and had the natural human intention of bringing this about!

On several occasions the author contrasts the bestiality of the Russians with the good behavior of the Swedes toward the Ukrainian population. The Muscovite victory is explained by the author as being due to their numerical superiority over the Swedes. At the same time he is careful to point out that the Cossacks of Mazepa kept strict neutrality so that they could not be reproached with fighting against men of the same faith. This neutrality, however, brought no gains to the Ukrainians. Describing the celebration of the Treaty of Nystad, 1721, in Moscow

and the general jubilation on that occasion, the author remarks ironically that the Ukrainians alone were not rewarded for their loyalty; on the contrary, they were given, "evil in exchange for good, hatred for love."

Tsar Peter I is not popular with the author. This antipathy is never openly expressed, but it is evident from occasional remarks such as about the trial of Tsarevich Aleksei, or about how the kindness of a Ukrainian noble was regarded as insolence by Peter I, who could not understand the nobleman's Ukrainian.

What the author lacked courage to say about Peter I he expressed in his portrayal of Peter's chief aid, Menshikov, which at the same time is also a condemnation of the Tsar.

Beginning with the period of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky, the author writes as if he were an eyewitness of events. The Muscovite policy towards the Hetman State in the Ukraine is realistically depicted. He describes forced labor on the canals, the billeting of the Muscovite army in the Ukraine, the abuses and violence of the Muscovite administrators, [...] the terrorist methods of the "Secret Chancellery"—all this is related often very dramatically as of the recent past.

Hetman Polubotok is portrayed with a great deal of admiration. The author ascribes to him a patriotic speech in defense of Ukrainian autonomy. In this speech, which has great literary value, Polubotok stresses the advantages which Moscow received from union with the Ukraine. "Our people," he says, "being of the same faith and ethnic origin as yours, have strenghtened your state... at a time when your state was still very young and was just emerging from the 'Time of Troubles,' and was still insubstantial.... We, with our people, have not ceased to help all of you in all your military undertakings and exploits."

The author has no favorable regard for Hetman Rozumovsky, although he chiefly blames H. Teplov⁶² for the policy which led to the abolition of the Hetman State. In the Heman's adviser, who was an agent of Moscow, he sees the cause of all evil, al-

⁶² Hryhorii Teplov, adviser of Hetman Cyril Rozumovsky and an agent of the Russian government.

though Rozumovsky is also taken to task for his ingratitude to the people and the country. Describing the abolition of the Hetman State, the author remarks ironically that Rozumovsky found consolation for the loss of the Hetman scepter (*bulava*) in the estates which were given him. With no less irony he describes the Cossack *starshyna* which patiently waited for the abolition of the Hetman State, hoping that they themselves would become prosperous landowners at the people's expense, leaving their nation to await the promises of the Almighty; yet they were greatly mistaken, since nothing like this occurred later."

Istoriya Rusov ends with the news of the Turko-Russian war: "At the beginning of 1769 there followed a military campaign, and a real war with Turkey started which will end with God knows what result." This information is also an indication of the date of this work.

The publication of *Istoriya Rusov* in 1846 was an important event in Ukrainian historiography and was deservedly credited to O. Bodyansky, although criticism of the work itself soon pointed to its historical errors and its obsolescence as a history. Maksymovych was the first to write a scientific review of it, calling it a factually incorrect, but highly artistic picture of the Ukrainian past. He also compared it to *dumy*. "It is like the popular historical *duma*, full of artistic enthusiasm and sensitive and true interpretations of events and personages." Russian historical criticisms by Solov'yov^{63*} and Karpov^{64*} regarded *Istoriya Rusov* very unfavorably and even with some hostility for its "tendentiousness." Criticism by Kostomarov, although also negative, was based on a different viewpoint which charged the author with being anti-democratic ("Poezdka v Baturin," *Poryadok*, 1881, No. 97). On the other hand Drahomanov valued *Istoriya Rusov* as "the first monument of new Ukrainian political thought" (*Istoricheskaya Polsha i veliko-*

63* S. Sobov'yov, "Ocherk istorii Malorossii do podchineniya eya tsaryu Alekseyu Mikhailovichu," *Otechestvennyya Zapiski*, 1848, part 11.

64* G. Karpov, *Kriticheskii obzor istochnikov do istorii Malorossii otnosyashchikhsya*, Moscow, 1870.

ruskaya demokratiya, p. 64). M. Vasylenko is of the opinion that with *Istoriya Rusov* one begins Ukrainian historiography, and that its author "undoubtedly assisted directly or indirectly the awakening among the Little Russian intelligentsia of the striving towards self-knowledge, which showed itself in the study of the past and present of the Little Russian people," ("K istorii malorusskoi istoriografii," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, XI, p. 249).

From the 1820's onward, when it became widely known, *Istoriya Rusov* had great influence on the formation of an interpretation of Ukrainian history in a patriotic spirit. Its influence spread not only among Ukrainian but also among Russian writers.[...] Ryleev used *Istoriya Rusov* when composing his poems on Ukrainian themes. So did Hohol (Gogol) in his historical novels, especially in *Taras Bul'ba*. On the basis of this work, I. Sreznevsky composed his pseudo-folk *dumy* in *Zaporozhskaya Starina*. M. Kostomarov, Hrebinka, Metlynsky, Mykola Markevych, Kulish, Shyshatsky-Illich—all of them were much indebted to *Istoriya Rusov* where they found many topics and suggestions, and also inspiration for their works.

Yet the most profound influence of all was exercised on Shevchenko by *Istoriya Rusov*. According to Drahomanov, "no other work, apart from the Bible, had such an influence on Shevchenko's outlook in 1844-45 as *Istoriya Rusov*." *Istoriya Rusov* left a strong impression⁶⁵ upon Shevchenko's poems: *Ivan Pidkova*, *Hamaliya*, *Vybir Nalyvayka*, *Lyakhm*, *Tarasova nich*, and *Haydamaky* (in part).

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⁶⁵ There was a close connection between *Istoriya Rusov* and the *History of Ukraine* written late in the 18th century by Arkhip Khudorba, former *soznyk* (officer) of Sheptaky of the Starodub regiment. The contemporary readers stated that the *History* was written "too freely and against the Russian government." This work has not been preserved.

IV, VI, X; M. Maksymovych, *Sochyneniya*, vol. I, pp. 301-302, 305-306, Kiev, 1876; V. Horlenko, "Iz istorii yuzhno-russkago obshchestva nachala XIX v.," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1893, No. 1. (reprinted in the collection *Yuzhnorusskie ocherki i portrety*, Kiev, 1898); L. Maikov, "Malorusskii Tit Livii," *Zhurnal ministerstva narodnago prosveshcheniya*, 1893, No. 5 (reprinted in the *Istoriko-literaturnye ocherki*, St. Petersburg, 1895); N. Vasilenko, "K istorii malorusskoi istoriografii," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, XI; A. Hrushevsky, "K kharakteristike vzglyadov Istorii Rusov," *Izvestiya Otd. russ. yaz. i slov. Imp. Akad. Nauk*, vol. XIII, St. Petersburg, 1908, No. 1, pp. 396-427; A. Hrushevsky, "K sud'be Istorii Rusov," *Chteniya obshchestva Nestora letopistsa*, XIX, part 2; E. Onatsky, "Shche pro avtora Istorii Rusov," *Nashe Mynule*, I, Kiev, 1918; D. Doroshenko, "Istoriya Rusov, yak pamyatka ukrayins'koyi politychnoyi dumky druhoi polovyny XVIII stolittya," *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina*, III, Vienna, 1921; I. Beley, "Prychynok do pytannya pro chas poyavy Istoriyi Rusov," *ZNTSH*, VII; A. Lazarevsky, "Zapiska G. Poletiki o nachale Kievskoi Akademii," *Chteniya*, XI; L. Janowski, *O tak zwanej "Istorii Rusow"*, Kraków, 1913; M. Horban', "Kil'ka uvah do pytannya pro avtora 'Istoriyi Rusov'," *Chervonyi Shlyakh*, Kharkiv, 1923, VI-VII, pp. 146-150; M. Slabchenko, *Materiyaly do ekonomichno-sotsyal'noyi istoriyi Ukrayiny XIX stolittya*, v. I, Odessa, 1925, pp. 103-105; P. Klepatsky, "Lystuvannya O. A. Bezborod'ka z svoym bat'kom, yak istorychne dzherelo," *Yuvilleynyi zbirnyk na poshanu akad. M. S. Hrushevs'koho*, v. I, Kiev, 1928; A. Yershov, "Do pytannya pro chas napysannya 'Istorii Rusov', a pochasty y pro avtora yiyi," *Yuvilleynyi zbirnyk na poshanu akad. M. S. Hrushevs'koho*, v. I, Kiev, 1928, pp. 286-291; L. Koshova, "Shevchenko ta Istoriya Rusov," *Shevchenko*, I, Kharkiv, 1928; A. Yakovliv, "Do pytannya pro avtora Istoriyi Rusiv," *ZNTSH*, vol. 154, Lviv, 1937, pp. 77-92; M. Voznyak, *Pseudo-Konytsky i pseudo-Poletyka ("Istoriya Rusov" u literaturi y nautsi)*, Lviv-Kiev, 1939; B. Krupnytsky, *Beiträge zur Ideologie der "Geschichte der Reussen" (Istoriya Rusow)*, Berlin, 1945; É. Borschak, *La légende historique de l'Ukraine. Istoriya Rusov*,

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FIRST EFFORTS TO COLLECT AND PUBLISH UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL MATERIAL

During the last decades of the eighteenth century Ukrainian history became the center of interest for many educated Ukrainians. Ukrainian patriots, realizing that the old forms of Ukrainian social and political life were becoming extinct, and that at the same time memories of the heroic period of Ukrainian history were becoming dim, hastened to collect ancient monuments in order to preserve at least in literature and in the libraries some traces of the past, and to strengthen in this way the further development of a Ukrainian national revival.

Attempts were made to rescue historical documents and archives from destruction. Some individual collectors, like A. Chepa, succeeded in gathering considerable material which they placed at the disposal of scholars. Attempts were made to publish some of the historical sources, not only those relating to history itself (as for example the "Cossack Chronicles"), but also to geography, ethnography, statistics, and all that aids the study of the Ukraine's past. [. . .]

At the same time, the first efforts were made to introduce into literature the Ukrainian language as spoken by the people, in

place of the learned and scholastic language of the past. Opanas Lobysevych (1732-1805), the son of the *znachkovyi tovarysh*⁶⁶ from Pohar in the Starodub regiment, who from 1785 to 1787 was the marshal of nobility of the Novhorod Siversky, translated Virgil's *Eclogues* into Ukrainian vernacular. [...] Lobysevych was also preparing an edition of "interludes" by Konysky and Tansky "in honor of our motherland."⁶⁷ [...] Thus the way was prepared for the great achievement of Ivan Kotlyarevsky.

Ukrainian patriots making these efforts to preserve the traditions of the past, looked hopefully to the new generation for support and encouragement. "We shall be fortunate," writes V. Poletyka to A. Chepa, "if we will see new patriots defending with the same steadfastness the rights, the privileges and the liberties of our country. On the other hand, we must turn away from the evil betrayers of the country, the infamous egoists."⁶⁸

Among those who made a great contribution to Ukrainian historiography, either by collecting and preserving documentary material, or by publishing it and analyzing it in their writings, were O. Bezborod'ko, V. Ruban, F. Tumansky, O. Rigelman, O. Shafonsky, M. Antonovsky, A. Chepa, V. Poletyka, Ya. Markovych, and V. Lomykovsky.

Oleksander Bezborod'ko (1747-1799) was the son of the Secretary General, Andriy Bezborod'ko (1711-1780). He was educated in Hlukhiv and in the Kiev Academy, served in the General Court, in 1774 became a colonel in Kiev, but as early as 1775 went to St. Petersburg, where he became secretary to Catherine II, and later a Minister of State, Chancellor, and Prince. A very influential politician during the reign of Tsar Paul I, he succeeded in restoring the General Court and some other administrative

⁶⁶ Member of Cossacks upper class directly under regimental colonels.

⁶⁷ N. Petrov, "Odin iz predshestvennikov I. P. Kotlyarevskago v ukrainskoi literature, A. K. Lobysevich," *Sbornik statei po slavyanovedeniyu, izdav. Akademiei Nauk*, vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1904, pp. 57-63. See also O. Ohloblyn, "Opanas Lobysevych (1732-1805)," *Literaturno-Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, No. 3, Korigen-Kiel, 1948, pp. 3-10.

⁶⁸ V. Horlenko, "Iz istorii yuzhno-russkago obshchestva," *Yuzhno-russkie ocherki i portrety*, Kiev, 1898, p. 57.

agencies in the Ukraine, which had been abolished by Catherine. From St. Petersburg, Bezborod'ko corresponded with friends in the Ukraine about collecting materials for Ukrainian history. In 1775 he prompted his countryman, Vasyl' Ruban, who was also in the service at St. Petersburg, to write a Little Russian history, and asked his father in the Ukraine to send Ruban books and manuscripts relating to the history of the Ukraine "since there are men who intend to publish a history of Little Russia." [...]

Encouraged by Bezborod'ko, Ruban published Ukrainian and Cossack chronicles.

Vasyl' Ruban (1742-1795) was born in the Romen District and educated at the Kiev Academy. Later he went to St. Petersburg where he chose a literary career, and in 1774 he became secretary to Prince Potemkin and interpreter at the Military Collegium. With the help of Bezborod'ko he published the following historical materials:

1. *Kratkiya politicheskaya i istoricheskaya svedeniya o Maloi Rossii* (or in full: *Brief Political and Historical Information About Little Russia Together with a List of Ukrainian Roads and Mails, a Register of Clergy and Public Servants, also the Total of Population. Gathered from Various Places and Edited by Vasyl' Ruban*, St. Petersburg, 1773, 99 pp.).

2. *O privilegiiakh korolevskikh v bytnost' Kievskoy pod Pol'sheyu* (or in full: *Royal Privileges Issued to Kiev Schools Under Polish Rule and the Imperial Charters Issued to Them on Kiev's Return to Russia*), *Starina i Novizna*, St. Petersburg, 1773, pp. 107-130.

3. *Kratkaya letopis' Malyya Rossii* (*A Short Chronicle of Little Russia from 1506 till 1776 with an Account of Its Government, with a List of Former Hetmans, General Officers, Colonels and Clergy; Also Description of the Land, Its People, Towns, Rivers, Monasteries, Churches, Number of People, and Other Information*, St. Petersburg, 1777, 248+60 pp.).

4. *Zemleopisanie Malyya Rossii* (or in full: *A Description of the Little Russian Land, Its Cities and Towns, Rivers, Number of Monasteries and Churches, the Number of Elected Cossacks,*

Cossack Helpers and Plebeians According to the Census of 1764; also A Note on the Poltava Regiment, Information about Roads and Mails, and Alphabetical List of all Classes and Supplementary Information on Churches of all Dioceses, St. Petersburg, 1777, pp. 118) [...]

The most valuable of them all is *Kratkaya Letopis' Malyya Rossii*, which reproduces the text of *Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii* composed in the 1730's.

Almost simultaneously with Ruban, another Ukrainian, *Fedir Tumansky* (1757-1810), who worked in the field of Russian literature, also undertook the publication of Ukrainian historical material. Graduated from the Königsberg University, he later became a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg. In the journal *Rossiiskii Magazin* (Russian Magazine), which was published by him in St. Petersburg from 1792 to 1794, he published the following materials:

1. *Vypiska iz zapiski 1749 g.* (or in full: *Extract from a Note of 1749 on the Election in the Zaporozhian Sich of the Koshovi Atamans, Military Justices, Secretaries and Osauls, and also Colonels, Which Was Usually Held During the New Year. Rossiiskii Magazin*, 1792, I, pp. 187-98.)

2. *Manifest Getmana Bogdana Khmel'nitskago* (from *Bila Tserkva*), *ibid.*, 1793, II.

3. *Letopisets Malyya Rossii*, *ibid.*, 1793, II-III.

Oleksander Rigelman (1720-1789) was of German origin. His father came to Russia from Brunswick in the early eighteenth century. Young Rigelman was born in St. Petersburg. In 1738 he finished the Nobles' Corps (College) and participated as a military engineer in the Turkish campaign. In 1741-43 he lived with the Zaporozhians, while measuring new boundaries. During 1745-48 he resided in the Hetman State and drew plans for Ukrainian cities. From 1747 to 1749 he assisted in the building of fortifications around Kiev [...] In 1782 he retired with the rank of major-general and lived in Andriyivka, near Chernihiv, together with his second wife, a Ukrainian, nee Lyzohub.

In 1778 Rigelman wrote *Istoriya malorossiiskaya ili povestvo-*

vanie o kozakakh. In Andriyivka he revised this work and renamed it *Letopisnoe povestvovanie o Maloi Rosii i eya narode i kozakakh voobshche* (Narrative Chronicle of Little Russia and its People, and about the Cossacks in General), 1785-86. For some reasons, although the book was prepared for publication, it was not published until sixty years later.

Rigelman's work begins with a preface addressed to the reader in which the author states that historical accounts of the Ukrainian past have previously been inaccurate:

Although a great deal is known about Little Russia, its people, and that in early times it was under the rule of the Kiev princes... the two available histories of Little Russia by unknown authors, in spite of the fact that they are in agreement in describing the period of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his successors... are full of omissions and give false account of the origin of their people, based obviously on fables.

Rigelman supplemented these two histories by such sources as 1. Books on the ancient Russian peoples; 2. Chet'i Minei; 3. Synopsis; 4. Substance of Polish and Russian histories; 5. The History of Azov; 6. Old Russian court records. [...]

The work is divided into four parts in six books. The author defends the theory of the Slavic origin of Ukrainians. "The Cossack or Little Russian people," he writes, "is descended from the more ancient Slavs, and not from any other people, as they themselves write." Rigelman rejects the stories by Guagnini, Strykowski, and others about *Kozars* and *kozerozh*. According to him the original home of the Slavs was between the Dnieper, Dniester and Vistula, in Red Ruś (Galicia). He tells of Kiy, Shchek and Khoriv, and dates the appearance of the Cossacks from the tenth century. The Cossacks were in the service of the Kievan princes, although they frequently fought against them, until Prince Mstyslav Volodymyrovych defeated them and slew their leader, Rededya, whose death "opened up the way to the Ukraine." The Tatars came later. In the fourteenth century he mentions Cherkesy or Cherkasy. From then on there follows a traditional exposition of Ukrainian history. Rigelman frequently

uses the terms *Ukraine*, *Ukrainians*. In his last chapters dealing with the eighteenth century, Rigelman records some very valuable data on the life of the Zaporozhians and their military system [...]

The work ends with a panegyric in honor of Catherine II and Rumyantsev, "the Commander-in-Chief of all Little Russia," for "their services and generosity towards that country." The author completes his history with the year 1787.

The Supplement (*Pribavlenie k sei letopisi*) is divided into five parts: 1. What Happened in the Ukraine in 1787 (about the journey made by Catherine II through the Ukraine); 2. Description of the Zaporozhian Cossacks (an interesting account of the Zaporozhian life and customs); 3. A Short Description of the Customs of the Little Russian People; 4. Notes; 5. A List of Names of All Former Hetmans of Little Russia (begins with Dashkevych and gives short biographies). Rigelman's work also includes twenty-eight of his drawings of Ukrainian types, which have great artistic and historical value, and two maps.

Rigelman, who was a Ukrainianized German in the Russian army, treats Ukrainian history from the viewpoint of a foreigner. He is sympathetic toward the Ukrainians, but at the same time remains loyal to Russia, especially in the last chapters of his work. Rigelman was also the author of *Istoriya ili povestvovanie o Donskikh kozakakh* (History of the Don Cossacks) written in 1778, and published in *Chteniya* in 1847.

According to Ikonnikov, "the works of Rigelman give a systematically arranged history of Little Russia from its beginning to the merger of its self-government with general (Russian) institutions, and hovers on the borderline between a chronicle and a critical history" (*Opyt russkoi istoriografii*, II, p. 1953).

Rigelman's *Narrative Chronicle of Little Russia*, edited by Bodyansky, appeared in the Moscow *Chteniya*, 1847, Nos. 5-9, and separately in Moscow, 1847, 665+XIV pp. with 28 illustrations and 2 maps.

Opanas Shafonsky (1740-1811), the son of a Cossack captain, a student at Halle and Strassburg universities, and president of

the Criminal Court of the Chernihiv Vicegerency, in 1786 wrote *Chernigovskago namestnichestva topograficheskoe opisanie s kratkim geograficheskim i istoricheskim opisaniem Malyya Rossii* (A Topographical Description of the Chernihiv Vicegerency with a Brief Description of the Geography and History of Little Russia). This is a most valuable work, containing a wealth of information on the Hetman State in the eighteenth century. Shafonsky's manuscript circulated among students of Ukrainian history, and was published in 1851 in Kiev, the expense met by M. Sudiyenko.

Mykhaylo Antonovsky (born in Borzna in 1759), a graduate of the Kiev Academy and Moscow University, served in the Admiralty and was later employed as a librarian in the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg. He contributed *Istoriya o Maloi Rossii* (History of Little Russia) to the work by I. G. Georgi, *Opisanie vsekh obitayushchikh v rossiiskom gosudarstve narodov*, St. Petersburg, 1799, vol. IV. pp. 233-277 (A Description of All Peoples Inhabiting the Russian Empire). Antonovsky's Memoirs were published in *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1885, vol. I.

Andriyan Chepa was born in the early 1760's in the Poltava District. He served at the Zemsky Court in Romen and later in the Office of the Little Russian Governor General, Rumyantsev. He died around 1822. On his estate in Chepurkivka (Pyryatyn District) Chepa collected a great number of documents and historical materials. He planned to publish a Ukrainian historical journal modelled upon Novikov's *Drevnyaya rossiiskaya biblioteka*. Chepa was in correspondence with V. Poletyka, Rigelman, Ya. Markovych, Berlinsky, and Bantysh-Kamensky to whom he loaned his materials.

In a letter to V. Poletyka, dated February 17, 1810, he wrote: "I am busy gathering all kinds of papers relevant to Little Russian history. I collect not only historical documents, but various records relating to the rights, conditions, and customs of the people. . . . I arrange my papers on Little Russia in order, so that they may be of use . . . Perhaps, if not I, then someone else will later make use of my collection for the benefit of our country."

It was a great pity that Chepa's collection, apart from some manuscripts which were on loan to his friends, perished in a fire in Chepurkivka.

Vasil' Poletyka (1765-1845), the son of the probable author of *Istoriya Rusov*, Hryhoriy Poletyka, was a student at Vilno University and, like his father, collected materials on Ukrainian history. These materials, he wrote to Count N. Rumyantsev, "were collected with great difficulty and care by my father in the last years of his life and afterwards by me, and they relate for the most part to Little Russian history, the writing of which was his task and then became mine." [...] "Among my manuscripts," wrote Poletyka to Chepa on April 23, 1809, "I find those by my father to be the best. The mind of a great scholar and the spirit of a patriot shines through them. From him I learned to love the people and my country, and also gained the knowledge of how best to defend them. It is flattering and pleasant for a son to have such a father as his teacher and mentor. It would be unforgivable to neglect his work. Little Russians, you owe him eternal gratitude. He is worthy of your monuments, and it will be best for all of you to keep him in your hearts."

In the same letter Poletyka expounds his views on the tasks of the Ukrainian historian, which are very much the same as those in the preface to *Istoriya Rusov*. "I am trying in vain to find documentary evidence for Little Russian history. Up to now, we have not had in our possession any complete histories of our country. Some important traces of them are lost because of the destruction of our country. Therefore a historian finds many obstacles and often throws his pen away. Aside from that, it will be left to posterity to assess his work dispassionately."

On the basis of these extracts from V. Poletyka's letters and for other reasons as well, V. Horlenko advanced the suggestion that Vasyl' Poletyka and not his father was the author of *Istoriya Rusov*. Basing his argument on the conviction, expressed earlier by Maksymovych, that Hryhoriy Poletyka knew Ukrainian history too well to commit many factual errors, Horlenko maintained that, hidden behind the two well-known Ukrainian personalities,

George Konysky and Hryhoriy Poletyka, was none other than Vasyl' Hryhorovych Poletyka.

Still another Poletyka, *Hryhoriy Ivanovych Poletyka*, the cousin of Hryhoriy Andriyevych Poletyka, who was the counsellor of the Russian Embassy in Vienna, made a small contribution to Ukrainian historiography. According to Lazarevsky, he was "a rare type of Ukrainian and European," and a man of high culture; he corresponded with Hryhoriy Poletyka and supplied him with foreign books on the Ukraine. As V. Shchurat has shown, Hryhoriy Ivanovych Poletyka was almost certainly the author of an anonymous article "Saporoger Kozaken" which appeared in *Wiener Taschenkalender zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, 1788, and served as a basis for the well-known booklet on the Zaporozhian Cossacks by Händlowich, published in 1789.^{69*}

Yakiv Mykhaylovych Markovych (1776-1804), the grandson of the author of the memoirs, was educated at Hlukhiv [...] and Moscow; he served in the guards and later with the help of Troshchynsky and Bezborod'ko received the post of interpreter at the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. While still in St. Petersburg he collected material for a large work on the Ukraine and was in correspondence with Chepa, from whom he borrowed some manuscripts. Markovych published only one part of his projected work. In 1804 he committed suicide probably as a result of financial difficulties.

In 1798 Markovych published in St. Petersburg a 98-page book entitled *Zapiski o Malorossii, eya zhitelyakh i proizvedeniyakh*, part 1 (Notes on Little Russia, Its Inhabitants and Products), which he dedicated to D.P. Troshchynsky. The author is a great enthusiast for his country. "Up to now," he writes, "Little Russia has not been described in detail by anyone. I have attempted to portray it not as a historian or scientist, but as a young son of hers who devotes his first record of feeling and understanding to his mother country."

The book consists of the following parts: (1) Historical

69*. V. Shchurat, "Zherelo zvistok Hendl'ovyka pro zaporozhtsiv," *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, v. 128, Lviv, 1919.

Survey of the Country, Today Called Little Russia, from the Earliest Times to the Eleventh Century; (2) Earlier and Modern Social Systems of Little Russia; (3) Physical Description of Little Russia; (4) Chief Characteristics of the Ukrainians; (5) Rivers of Little Russia; (6) List of Minerals Discovered up to Now in Little Russia.

Markovych finished his historical account with the end of the reign of Yaroslav the Wise and announced that a continuation would follow in the next part of his work. "Little Russia," according to Markovych, "was the cradle of the Rossy... The origin of the Cossacks is undermined by history... perhaps the most plausible theory is that in the sixteenth century, a Little Russian by the name of Dashkevych, having seen frequent attacks by the Crimean Tatars, persuaded many of his countrymen to organize a defense of their land against the enemy. This proved successful and the defenders came to call themselves Cossacks—or 'lightly armed.'" The Cossacks were finally organized after the reform of Stefan Batory.

The most interesting parts are sections three and four of the book in which Markovych relates his personal impressions of life and nature in the Ukraine. "Whoever has a tender heart," he writes, "and whoever finds spiritual satisfaction in the contemplation of nature, having seen Little Russia, he will agree that nature in this country has real splendor. At least, I called it so in my heart."

Having cited favorable comments on the Ukrainians made by foreign writers (Friebe, Scherer and others) [...] Markovych continues thus:

It would appear that a people so endowed with qualities would in some way be overbearing towards others. Yet on the contrary, a Little Russian is by nature gentle and good; he has one fault—a little vanity. He receives every traveller with the greatest generosity and hospitality. He is glad if he can offer him food and assistance, and his spirit of generosity is hurt when a reward is offered for it. Poverty does not lead Little Russians to crime, since in the villages and towns hospitals and homes for aged people are available for the poor and the ailing. Everybody offers them food and clothing.

With equal enthusiasm Markovych writes about the Ukrainian language and folksongs.

In ancient times the inhabitants of Little Russia had spoken a Slavic language which was later lost or spoilt during the time when they lived in slavery under the Tatars, Lithuanians, and the Poles. Despite this, in the Little Russian language or the speech as it is used today, some traces are still visible of the happy clime and tender spirit of its original creators. If one deletes from it vulgar words used by the common people, and borrowings from the Germans, the French and the Crimean Tatars—and then evaluates its spirit, it would surely be admitted that this language is pleasant and soft, full of poetic expressions and diminutives which reflect the fine sensibility of its inventors. It could be called the language of love...

Let us take, as an example, the Little Russian songs; they contain most beautiful images and impressions of nature, a simple but complete exposition of love, and their melodies always correspond to the thoughts. If their content is dramatic and depicts separation of lovers or family, then the melody of the song expresses this feeling with all its power. The untutored songstress often demands compassion from nature. She tells of her unhappiness to all the surrounding objects asking the birds to carry her sorrowful news to her dear ones. Music in her mouth becomes alive with all the passions of the soul. This inborn liking of the Little Russians for music makes their country another Italy.

The book by Markovych appeared in the same year as Kotlyarevsky's *Eneyida* (1798). Its value lies, not in the factual information, but in the enthusiastic and ardent love for his country which was communicated to the readers. After Markovych's death the following incomplete studies were found among his papers: (1) "Vypiski kasayushchiesya do Malorosii" (Notes Relating to Little Russia); (2) "Fizicheskoe opisanie Malorossii" (Physical Description of Little Russia, based on the notes by Güldenstädt who travelled in the Ukraine in 1774); (3) "Flora Ucrainica" 1798, giving Ukrainian names of plants. A. Chepa writing after Markovych's death, mentioned that "he completed a history of Little Russia," but in fact Markovych was only in the process of gathering material for such a work.

Vasyl' Yakovlevych Lomykovsky (1778-1845), a descendant of Hetman Apostol, finished Military College in St. Petersburg,

served in the army, and later lived in retirement on his *khutir* "Trudolyub" near Myrhorod. He was a student of Ukrainian antiquity and collected *dumy*. Later his researches helped Kostomarov and Zhytetsky. Lomykovsky was the author of the following works:

(1) "O Malorossii. O drevnikh obychayakh Malorossiiskikh, o sluzhbe voinskoi i grazhdanskoi, o chinakh i dolzhnastyakh chinovnikov. Po alfavitu. Pisano 1808 goda." (About Little Russia. About Ancient Little Russian Customs, of Military and Civil Service, Grades and the Duties of Officials. Alphabetically Composed in 1808).

(2) In 1809 he translated from the French Scherer's *Annales de la Petite Russie*, 1788.

(3) "O pervobytnykh zhitelyakh Malorossii oboikh storon Dnepra," 1812 (About the Original Inhabitants of Little Russia on Both Banks of the Dnieper).

(4) "Zapasy dlya malorossiiskoi istorii." (Materials for Little Russian History).

Lomykovsky's first work is of real importance since, in alphabetical order, it gives an explanation of many professional terms of special objects or terms used in everyday life. Some explanations are drawn from personal experience and knowledge of village life; of special interest are the words: *kazus*, *kantselyarysty*, *kantselyarii*, *kaftany*, *kozaki*, *kolegiya malorosiis'ka*, *komornyk*, *komisary*, *kompromis*, *korovai*, *korona*, *kontush*. Lazarevsky edited this work under the title "Slovar' malorusskoi stariny" (A Dictionary of Little Russian Antiquity), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, VII-IX, and separately. This also includes a biography of the author.

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HISTORICAL THEMES IN UKRAINIAN LITERATURE OF THE XVIII CENTURY

Interest in the past of one's country and the feeling for historical tradition going back to ancient times and expressing the continuity of national life, was reflected in the Ukrainian literature of the eighteenth century. Historical themes are equally present in the scholastic works of the so-called Kievan school, in the anonymous popular poetic works, and in the first works of modern Ukrainian literature. There is no time here to dwell on all of them; we should like to mention only the drama *Vladimir* by Teofan Prokopovych (1705), dedicated to Mazepa, with all its apotheosis of Volodymyr the Great, and the play *Milost' Bozhiya Ukrayinu Osvobodivshaya* (The Liberation of the Ukraine by the Grace of God) (1728) by Teofan Trofey-

movych, which glorifies Bohdan Khmelnytsky. We should like to consider in some detail a lesser known work of the eighteenth century, It is a versified history of the Ukraine, *Geroichni stikhi o slavnnykh voennykh deistviyakh voisk zaporozhskikh, vkratse z raznykh gistorii prostorechno sochinenny. Pisany zhe goda 1784* (Heroic Verse About Glorious Military Deeds of the Zaporozhian Host, From Various Histories, Briefly Composed in the Year 1784). A note "written on August 21, 1784, in the Uman region," was appended to the end of the work.

The author was a monk, familiar with historical sources and relying on Old Chronicles, Baronius, and Polish and Ukrainian Chronicles. The aim of the author is to glorify Zaporozhe; he carefully avoids anything that might cast a shadow on "Cossack glory." He dedicates his work to the Zaporozhian Host in the final "Dedication":

By those who treasure the past of their country, a truthful description of the glorious deeds of their ancestors, which not only tells of their honor and qualities but also serves as an example for others, will be welcomed. There are many instances of brave peoples, the Greeks, the Romans, and others, who regarded their histories as guides to action. In this, you the Slaveno-Russian people of the Zaporozhian Host must follow them, yet there is no need for you to borrow foreign models of bravery and virtue. For these, select them from your own ancestors whom I have described in my work [...]

According to the author, the Slavs are descended from Japhet [...] When the Crimea was occupied by the Turks and Kiev came under Polish rule, then the Cossacks (whom he calls at first Kozars) organized the defense of the Ukraine. They were very brave, yet their masters, the Poles, did not appreciate their services, which were rendered not only in the defense of the Ukraine, but of the Polish kingdom too, and they treated them badly. When the Poles introduced the Church Union in the Ukraine, the Cossacks rose under the leadership of Khmelnytsky, whom the author compares to Moses. "Your mother country, Ukraine," cried Khmelnytsky to the Cossacks, "asks your help. It is time to saddle the horses and to defend our faith with the sword." There follows a detailed and dramatic account of the

Cossack wars against the Poles. Khmelnytsky's fame spread all over the world, from the Turkish Sultan to the kings of Sweden and Hungary, yet he decided to accept the suzerainty of the Russian tsars. The story ends with a panegyric in honor of the Zaporozhians.

It is possible that these verses were composed earlier than 1784, since Empress Anna (1730-1740) is mentioned at the very end of the book, and the Zaporozhian Sich, the object of glorification, did not exist in 1784. It is possible that this work was written soon after 1734, when the Zaporozhians left Tatar protection and the Turko-Russian war was beginning. These "heroic verses" were published by N. V. in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, I, under the title "Pamyatnik ukrainskoi literatury kontsa XVIII veka" (A Monument of Ukrainian Literature of the End of the Eighteenth Century).

UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE EARLY XIX CENTURY; STUDIES OF REGIONAL HISTORY; NEW ATTEMPTS AT A SYNTHESIS

During the first decades of the nineteenth century Ukrainian historiography followed the path marked out in the previous century. Its main objective was to acquaint the Ukrainians with their past. The interest in Ukrainian history which, heretofore, had been directed to the country as a whole and was in large measure an expression of Ukrainian patriotism, now became more particularized. Researches into local antiquities and preoccupation with detailed studies now became more common, adding great value to the history of the country as a whole through the use of local documents and archives.

One of the first students of local history was Mykhaylo Markov (1760-1819), the director of the Chernihiv Gymnasium in the early nineteenth century. He is the author of the following works:

(1) "Pis'mo v chernigovskuyu gimnaziyu o drevnosti goroda Chernigova, s mnieniem o proizvedenii nazvaniya ego," (A Letter to the Chernihiv Gymnasium about the Past of the Town of Chernihiv, with a Supposition as to the Origin of Its Name), *Litsei*, 1806, part 2. book I.

(2) "O gorodakh i seleniyakh Chernigovskoi gubernii, upominaemykh v letopisi Nestora, kak oni sleduyut v nei po porядку godov," (About Cities and Settlements of the Chernihiv Province Which are Mentioned in Nestor's Chronicle, in Order in which They are Mentioned There), Chernihiv, 1813.

(3) "Vvedenie v malorossiiskuyu istoriyu ili kratkoe opisanie yuzhnoi chasti rossiiskago gosudarstva vo vremena drevniya: kak nakhodilas' ona pod vladeniem Litvy i Pol'shi, kak vozvratilas' Rossi i poluchila nazvanie Malorossii," (Introduction to Little Russian History, or a Short Description of the Southern Part of the Russian Empire in Ancient Times; How It Fared under Lithuanian and Polish Rule, How It Was Returned to Russia, and Received the Name Malorossiya) *Ukrainskii Vestnik*, Kharkiv, 1817, No. 9-10.

(4) "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," (Chief Monuments of Chernihiv), *Chteniya*, 1847, I.

Illya Kvitka, the uncle of Hryhoriy Kvitka (Kvitka-Osnov'yanko) wrote "Zapiska o Slobodskikh polkakh s nachala ikh poseleniya do 1766," (A Note About the Slobodsky Regiments from the Time of Their Settlement to 1766), Kharkiv, 1812, thus laying a foundation for the history of the Slobidska Ukraine.

First attempts to study the history and archeology of Kiev were made by *Maksym Fedorovych Berlinsky* (1764-1848). Born in the Putyvl District where his father was a priest, he was a descendant of an old noble family from Podolia. From 1776 to 1786 he was a student at the Kiev Academy and then of the Teachers' Seminary in St. Petersburg. In 1788 he became a teacher of the Main Public School (Glavnoe Narodnoe Uchilishche) in Kiev which was later transformed into a Gymnasium. In 1834 he was appointed an inspector of this school, but in the same year he retired and lived in Kiev up to his death.

A keen student of Ukrainian history, Berlinsky was especially interested in the archeology and history of Kiev. It was through his efforts that a series of popular articles appeared in the journals and magazines of the day to spread the knowledge of Ukrainian history among a wide circle of readers. Berlinsky's archeological studies are of particular value, since they record faithfully some Kiev monuments in their original form, that is before they were either destroyed or restored. Berlinsky's main works are: (1) *Kratkoe opisanie Kieva* (A Short Description of Kiev), St. Petersburg, 1820; (2) "Istoricheskoe obozrenie Malorossii i goroda Kieva" (A Historical Survey of Little Russia and the City of Kiev), unpublished, but excerpts were printed in *Molodyk*, Kharkiv, 1844; (3) "Razdelenie Malorossii na polki" (Division of Little Russia into Regiments), *Ulei*, 1811, No. 3; (4) "O Kieve," (About Kiev), *ibid.*, No. 8; (5) "O Kievskoi Akademii" (About the Kiev Academy), *Sorevnovatel' prosveshcheniya*, 1819, No. 7; (6) "Pokorenie Kieva Gedyminom," (The Conquest of Kiev by Gedymin), *Ulei*, 1811, No. I; (7) "Opisanie naidennykh v gorode Kieve raznykh starinnykh veshchei" (A Description of Various Ancient Objects Found in the City of Kiev), *Ukrainskii Zhurnal*, 1824, No. 11.

In 1802 Berlinsky wrote a history of Kiev and began to work on the history of the Ukraine using the writings of Symonovsky as one of his chief sources. However, this remained incomplete. Berlinsky's work, in the opinion of V. Shcherbyna, "represents a continuation of the old Little Russian chronicles... In Little Russian historiography he occupies a place between the Little Russian chroniclers of the eighteenth century, like Ruban and Symonovsky, and the historians of the nineteenth century." [...]

In the second and third decades of the nineteenth century many Ukrainian and Russian journals devoted much space to articles and studies on the Ukrainian past. Among them were those describing old Ukrainian monasteries and churches. To this group belong *Kratkoe istoricheskoe opisanie Kievo-Pecherskiya Lavry* (Kiev, 1817) by Metropolitan Samuil Myslavsky (1731-1796); *Opisanie Kievo-Sofiiskago sobora i kievskoi ierarhii* (A Description of the Kiev Sophia Cathedral and the Kiev

Hierarchy), Kiev, 1825; and *Opisanie Kiev-Pecherskoi Lavry* (Kiev, 1826) by Metropolitan *Eugenii Bolkhovitinov* (1767-1837), beautifully printed and illustrated.

Many contributions on Ukrainian antiquities appeared in *Ukrainskii Zhurnal* 1825: "Opisanie Kremenchuga" by A. Kornelius (No. 4); "Opisanie Gadyacha i ego poveta," by N. Bubliyevich (No. 6); "Vospominanie o Chernomorii," by Ivan Sbitnev (No. 11-12); "Vesennyyaya progulka po Valkovskim okrestnostyam," by I. Vernet (No. 13); "Opisanie goroda Priluk i ego poveta," by A. Meshchersky (No. 13); "Vypiski iz moego puteshestviya po Izyumskomu uezdu," by I. Vernet, (No. 19-20), and others.

Aside from these detailed studies on local topics, there were other attempts at a larger synthesis of the history of the Ukraine. D. Bantysh-Kamensky takes the first place among these Ukrainian historians. The appearance of his *Istoriya Maloi Rossii* (A History of Little Russia) in 1822 was the kind of epoch-making event to be compared with the publication of N. Karamzin's *Istoriya gosudarstva rossiiskago* in 1816.

Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky (1788-1850) was the son of the learned Russian archivist, *Nicholas Bantysh-Kamensky* (1737-1814) who came from a Moldavian family which settled in the Ukraine in Mazepa's times. N. Bantysh-Kamensky was born in Nizhen and was educated at the Kiev Academy and later at Moscow University. In 1762 he became an assistant to the well-known Russian historian and archivist, G. Miller, in the Moscow Archives. Soon he became the first professionally trained archivist in Russia. In 1780-84 he published *Diplomaticheskoe sobranie del mezhdru rossiiskim i pol'skim dvorami s samago onykh nachala po 1700 g.*, 5 vols. His *Istoricheskoe izvestie o vznikshei v Pol'she Unii* appeared in 1805 and was reprinted in Vilno in 1864.

Dmytro Bantysh-Kamensky was born in Moscow, was educated at home and, for a short time, at Moscow University, and became an assistant to his father. He travelled on duty to Serbia, and as a result of this journey there appeared *Puteshestvie v*

Moldaviyu, Valakhiyu i Serbiyu (Moscow, 1810), which also contains impressions of Kiev, Poltava, Nizhen, and Kamyanets. In 1816 he became chief secretary to the Little Russian Governor General, Prince Nicholas Repnin, remaining in this post for five years. It was then that he began writing a history of the Ukraine (encouraged perhaps by Prince Repnin himself).⁷⁰ As sources he used some works by his father, the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the archives of the former "Little Russian Collegium" which were kept at Chernihiv, the archives of Prince Repnin and other official and private documents. His work bore fruit in the publication of *Istoriya Maloi Rossii so vremen prisodineniya onoi k rossiiskomu gosudarstvu pri tsare Aleksee Mikhailoviche, s kratkim obozreniem pervobytnago sostoyaniya sego kraya* (A History of Little Russia, from the Time of Its Union with the Russian State Under the Reign of the Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, Together with a Short Survey of its Previous Condition), Moscow, 1822, 4 vols. (LIV + 153, VIII + 324, VII + 243, XI + 303 pp.). This artistically produced edition included nine portraits of Ukrainian Hetmans. Among the sources listed in the work, "The Authentic Little Russian Documents 1620-1757, Preserved in the Archives of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs" is mentioned first of all, although the author relied on them less than on the chronicles. His approach to history is hardly critical. In the appendix there are twenty documents from the years 1654 to 1672, beginning with the Pereyaslav Treaty.

A second edition, in three volumes, of Bantysh-Kamensky's history was published in 1830. *Istoriya Rusov* was included as a new source. In 1842 a third edition of this work was published in three volumes, with maps, plans, portraits of Hetmans, and facsimilies of old documents.

In his work Bantysh-Kamensky relates the history of the Ukrainian land from the earliest times. Stressing the Ukraine as the indigenous origin of Ukrainians, he dwells briefly on the

⁷⁰ Prince N. Repnin participated directly in Bantysh-Kamensky's writing of *Istoriya Maloi Rossii*. For instance, N. Repnin wrote about the battle near Berestechko in 1651.

Princely and Lithuanian periods, describes the Cossack period in greater detail and devotes most attention to the Hetman Ukraine of 1654-1764. He mentions the changes and reforms at the end of the eighteenth century and does not omit the Ukrainian revival in literature (Kotlyarevsky and others). His tone is detached and matter of fact; the feeling of great loyalty to the Russian Empire is evident throughout; the author dedicated the second edition of his history to Tsar Nicholas I.

The chief value of Bantysh-Kamensky's work lies in his use of archival material. His *History of Little Russia* was also intended as a comprehensive and complete survey of Ukrainian history. Its popularity can be judged from the fact that three editions of it were published and sold within a period of twenty years in spite of the high price. For a long time it was used as the only complete textbook of Ukrainian history. A fourth edition in one volume, was published in 1903, in Kiev.

In 1832 Bantysh-Kamensky published *Zhizn' Mazepy* ('The Life of Mazepa') in Moscow. [...]

After he left the service of Prince Repnin, Bantysh-Kamensky had a distinguished career in the civil service. He was governor in Tobolsk and Vilno, and was later a Councillor of the Ministry of the Interior. He died in Moscow in 1850.

What Bantysh-Kamensky lacked in patriotism and enthusiasm for the Ukrainian past may be found in the works of two of his contemporaries, O. Martos, and M. Markevych. Both had much closer ties with the Ukraine than Bantysh-Kamensky and felt the spirit of the Ukrainian tradition in history more keenly.

Oleksa Martos (1790-1842), the son of the well-known sculptor, Ivan Martos, was born in the District of Poltava and educated in St. Petersburg in the School of Engineering. He served as an officer in the Russo-Turkish war in 1806-1812. Not wishing to serve under the notorious Arakcheev he left the service in 1818. In 1822 he went to Siberia as a civil servant and served until his death in many regions of Russia.

While still a youth, Martos became interested in Ukrainian history. When he was in Suchava in 1810 he searched for the place where Tymish Khmelnytsky was killed, and in 1811 he

visited the grave of Mazepa in Galats. In his diary he left the following record of it:

Mazepa died far away from his country whose independence he defended. He was a friend of liberty and therefore deserves to be honored by posterity. After his expulsion from Little Russia, its inhabitants lost their sacred rights which Mazepa had defended for so long with great enthusiasm and patriotic ardor. He is no more, and the name of Little Russia and its brave Cossacks have disappeared from the list of peoples who, although small in numbers, are yet famous for their way of life and their constitution.

Now rich Little Russia is reduced to two or three provinces. That such is the common destiny of states and republics, we can see from the history of other nations. Mazepa was also a benefactor of the sciences. He helped to expand the Kiev Academy, adding to it the Bratsky Monastery, which was renovated and decorated at his expense, and endowing it with a library and rare manuscripts. And yet this founder of the Academy, of many churches and charitable institutions is anathematized from the pulpit during the first Sunday of the Great Fast together with Sten'ka Razin and other thieves and robbers. Yet what a difference! The latter was a bandit guilty of sacrilege, while Mazepa was a most learned and philanthropic man, a brilliant military leader and the ruler of a free and happy people. I heard this odious ceremony performed by the Metropolitan and the bishops and all the clergy in Kiev, altogether disparaging the name of our church.^{71*}

In the middle of 1822, Martos wrote to a relative of his:

For a long time I have been occupied with the history of our country and, thanks to good fate, three volumes of it ending with the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky have been submitted to the censorship. Five volumes were planned altogether which would end with the abolition of the Hetmanate. The fifth section, giving the details of Mazepa's revolution, is based on genuine sources and was completed some time ago. The fourth part still remains to be written. It will be very rich in material since it describes the events from Khmelnytsky onwards, which up to now have been presented in different lights by the Little Russian and the Polish chronicles.

I know the works of Bantysh-Kamensky and I am very glad that he had undertaken to explore the "wild lands" of Ukrainian history. The more spokesmen it has the more glory they will earn.

71* *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1893, II, 345.

However, Martos' history was never published.⁷² Only two chapters from the third volume were published in the *Severnyi Arkhiv* (1822, No. 13-14, and 1823, Nos. 6, 12, 13): (a) "Otryvok iz istorii Malorossii," (1650-1651), about Berestechko; (b) "Otryvok" (Excerpt), about the marriage and the death of Tymish Khmelnytsky. Both are characterized by a vivid style. Among his sources the author mentions: Pastorius (*Bellum Scythico-Cosacicum* 1652) and Chevalier (1663), as well as Polish and Ukrainian chronicles, particularly by Hrabynka.

Martos sent the manuscript of his work to Professor Ustryalov, who reviewed it favorably and recommended it to Tsar Nicholas I, whereupon the author was awarded a golden ring. But soon after that the manuscript was lost. Extracts from *Severnyi Arkhiv* were reprinted by O. Lazarevsky in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, II.

Martos left his "Memoirs" which by chance were bought by an antiquarian at Yaroslavl and were then printed in *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1893. They refer to the years 1806-1816.

Mykola Markevych (Markovych) (1804-1860) came from a well-known family. He was born in the village of Dunayets' in Hlukhiv District and educated in the private school of the writer Pavlo Biletsky-Nosenko in Pryluky, and later at the Pedagogical Institute in St. Petersburg. In 1831 Mykola Markevych made his literary debut by publishing a book of verses, *Ukrainskiya melodii* (Ukrainian Melodies). He was most interested in Ukrainian ethnography and history and collected archival materials and documents which, after his death, were deposited (in 1870) in the Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow as "Markevych Archives."⁷³

The result of his scholarly work was a five-volume *Istoriya Malorossii* (A History of Little Russia) published in Moscow in 1842-43. The text is contained in two volumes, while docu-

⁷² Three volumes of *Istoriya Yuzhnoi Rossii* (History of South Russia) by Andriy Yak. Storozhenko (1790-1857) were also never published. The author was a well known collector of Ukrainian antiquity.

⁷³ The personal M. Markevych archives are in the custody of the Institute of History of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. His diary is also there.

mentary material covers the remaining three volumes. Markevych's sources are the Cossack chronicles, *Istoriya Rusov*, and notes; but he claims that his main source was the Archival Collection of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow, although G. Karpov argues that he used only those documents from the Archives which were reprinted by Bantysh-Kamensky. The greatest single influence on Markevych's work was that of *Istoriya Rusov*. From this source he took the information about the legendary Hetmans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was under the spell of its interpretation of Ukrainian history. It was no wonder, therefore, that Markevych's *History* exerted a very deep influence on and was a source of national inspiration for many of his contemporaries, among them Shevchenko. Only his supplement, containing documentary material, had any scholarly value. The Moscow historian Karpov, who chides Markevych for his "petty Little Russian patriotism," admits that several generations were brought up on his work.^{74*}

In the third and fourth volumes of Markevych's *History*, documents were reprinted from the *Sobranie gosudarstvennykh gramot i dogovorov* (Collection of State Decrees and Treaties), comprising decrees, treaties, and diplomatic correspondence relating to the Ukraine. In the second part of the third volume, texts of agreements made by the Ukrainian Hetmans with Moscow, from Khmelnytsky to Apostol, were printed under the title *Akty getmanskie* (The Hetman Acts). They are reproduced very carelessly, from the Archives of Hetman Rozumovsky, which the author secured from his brother, Mykhaylo Markevych. The fifth volume reprints lists of Cossack regiments, companies, the Sich *kuren's*, the register of the rulers of Little Russia from 882 to 1796, a list of the Cossack high-ranking officers, colonels, high dignitaries of Ukrainian origin, metropolitans, bishops, (Orthodox and Catholic), rectors of the Kiev schools, and chronological tables.

At a later date Markevych published an article on the Cossacks

^{74*} G. Karpov, *Kriticheskii obzor . . . istochnikov do istorii Malorossii*, p. 29, Moscow, 1870.

("O kozakakh") in the *Chteniya*, in which he repudiated the opinion that the Cossacks were descended from Torki or Berendii or that, in general, they were a distinct nationality. The Cossacks were described by him as a "Little Russian army which defended several million Slavs, called Little Russians, from whom they were descended, and were later called 'Cossacks' or 'free men.'"

The main purpose of Markevych's work was to popularize Ukrainian history among the Ukrainian society of that day. This aim he also pursued in several articles, published in various journals:

"Pervaya lyubov', podvigi i konchina Timosha Khmel'nitskago," *Mayak*, 1840, No. 5; "Getmanstvo Barabasha," *Russkii Vestnik*, 1841, II; "Mazepa," *Mayak*, 1841, No. 33-34; "O pervykh getmanakh malorossiiskikh," *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 8; "Akty poyasnyayushchie istoriyu Malorossii," *ibid.*; "Dostoprimechatel'nyya urochishcha v Novgorod-Severskom uezde," *Geograficheskaya Izvestiya*, 1848, No. 62.

Markevych published his studies in ethnography in *Obychai, poveriya, kukhnya i napitki malorossiyan*, Kiev, 1860 (The Customs, Beliefs, Cooking and Beverages of Little Russians). This was supposed to have been the first part of a larger work: "Vnutrennyaya zhizn' Malorossii ot 1600 goda do nashego vremeni" (Internal Life of Little Russia from 1600 to Our Time), on which he worked for years but never completed. The book *Customs and Beliefs* was to be followed by "Money and Prices, Weights and Measures in Little Russia from 1715 to 1855," and "A History of Monasteries in Little Russia." Both were preserved in manuscript.

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On M. Markevych: A. Lazarevsky, "Prezhnie izyskateli malorusskoi stariny," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, II (reprinted in his *Ocherki, zametki i dokumenty po istorii Malorossii*, vol. II, Kiev, 1895); A. Pypin, *Malorusskaya etnografiya*, St. Petersburg, 1891; "Pominka o N. Markeviche kak istorike," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1902, IX; A. Hrushevsky, "N. A. Markevich," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, 1911, I.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL STUDIES AND THEIR RELATION TO HISTORIOGRAPHY A "PEOPLE" AS AN OBJECT OF RESEARCH

In addition to history, ethnography proved to be another rich source that nurtured the Ukrainian national revival in the nineteenth century. Interest in the common people, its language and oral literature began in the period of Romanticism, which originated in Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century and soon spread to Slavic lands. "The deepest source of this revival," wrote A. Pypin, "lies in the living forces of the national being, in the new social, literary, poetic interest in the peo-

⁷⁵ D. I. Doroshenko wrote a special article on D. Bantysh-Kamensky which was due to appear in 1939 in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, but it was never published.

ple, which is characteristic not only of Slavic but of all European life in modern times.... Ethnographical studies revealed the rich originality of the Ukrainian people, while history uncovered its ancient traditions." The life of the people becomes, therefore, an object of study.... The Romantics attempted to find in it traces of national characteristics which have disappeared from the life of the educated classes.... Folksongs and folklore in general began to be regarded as a repository of unspoiled antiquity.

The first study in ethnography appeared in the Ukraine as early as 1777 when Hryhoriy Kalynovsky published *Opisanie svadebnykh prostonarodnykh ukrainskikh obryadov v Maloi Rossii i v slobodskoi ukrainskoi gubernii* (A Description of Ukrainian Wedding Customs of the Common People in Little Russia and in the Slobidska Province of the Ukraine), St. Petersburg. Yet ethnographical studies gathered serious impetus only in the nineteenth century. In 1819 Prince Nicholas Tsertelev published *Opyt sobraniya starinnykh malorossiiskikh pesnei* (A Collection of Ancient Little Russian Songs) which included ten *dumy* and songs. Tsertelev regarded the publication of these fragments as an act of patriotism. "If these verses," he wrote in the preface, "cannot serve as an explanation of Little Russian history then at least they reveal the poetical genius of the people, its spirit, customs, and last but not least, that high morality which has always been characteristic of the Little Russians and which they carefully preserve to this day as the only heritage of their ancestors which escaped the rapacity of neighboring peoples."

In 1827 a young Moscow professor, M. Maksymovych, published his *Malorossiiskaia pesni* (Little Russian Songs) with an enthusiastic preface about the qualities of Ukrainian folksongs. Other collections of folksongs were published by Maksymovych in 1834 and 1849. I. Sreznevsky published in Kharkiv (1833-38) his *Zaporozhskaya starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity) where, besides genuine folksongs, he included some of his own imitations of folk poetry. In 1836 P. Lukashevych published *Malorossiiskaia i chervonorusskiya narodnyia dumy i pesni* (Little Russian and Red Russian Folk *Dumy* and Songs).

All these publications opened to both scholars and wide circles of readers a new field—that of folklore in which the people's soul was, as it were, richly reflected through the course of centuries. Folksongs, *dumy*, and historical songs began to be regarded as historical monuments and in some cases were held to be more authentic than written documents. Much space was devoted to folksongs and oral tradition in historical studies, and some enthusiasts of Ukrainian folklore, like Mykola Hohol (Nicholas Gogol), who also contemplated a history of the Ukraine, regarded folksongs as possessing a greater value than written chronicles.

The most famous representative of this ethnographic trend⁷⁶ among the historians was Mykola Kostomarov. In 1844, at Kharkiv University, he defended his dissertation on the "Historical Significance of Russian Folk Poetry," to the astonishment of some of the professors who regarded the "peasant songs" as unworthy of scholarly inquiry. Kostomarov's approach to history was based on the belief that not the deeds of hetmans and princes but movements within the mass of the people represent history. Therefore he devoted himself to the study of those periods of history when mass movements gained the upper hand (the Cossack insurrections, the period of Khmelnytsky, the rebellion of Sten'ka Razin) and in his work used folklore as one of his main sources. Kostomarov remained faithful to his views to the end of his life and his opinion was best expressed in a lecture on "The Relation of Ethnography to History," in the 1860's:

The historians paid attention to the state and its development; they regarded the people as soulless masses, material for the state, which alone, it seemed, was capable of growth... A historian who explores the life of human society, that is of people in the past, comes in close contact with the ethnographer who studies the contemporary life of the people. On the other hand, an ethnographer can understand the life of a people only by knowing its historical past.

Most Ukrainian historians of the 1830's and 1840's were also ethnographers. Naturally the Romantic interest in the people did not express itself in ethnography alone. It was also ap-

⁷⁶ Modern Ukrainian historiography defines this trend as "populist."

parent in deep sympathy for the social and economic needs of the people and in the desire to explore the reasons for their loss of political freedom, decay of the social system, the disappearance of Ukrainian educated and upper classes, and the enslavement of the peasantry of the Ukraine. This manifested itself very strikingly in the works of Kostomarov, Kulish (in the first period of his activity) and, later, Antonovych and Lazarevsky.

The founding of the universities in Kharkiv (1805) and Kiev (1834) led to the creation of two centers of culture which helped in the education of a new generation of Ukrainian intellectuals and stimulated historical research according to new scholarly methods. [...] The efforts of the Russian government to establish archeographic commissions in Kiev, Vilno, and Vitebsk, and to constitute and safeguard archives, although part of the Russification policy, had a good influence on the development of Ukrainian historiography by giving it new means and sources for study. The work of Ukrainian historian-ethnographers of the 1830's and 1840's formed the basis for a scientific appraisal of Ukrainian history as a whole and stimulated first attempts toward a scholarly synthesis, a development which came much later.

First among the Ukrainian historian-ethnographers was Maksymovych. He was followed by Sreznevsky, Bodyansky, Kostomarov, and Kulish. Apart from these, there were many less distinguished but equally deserving scholars: M. Sudiyenko, O. Markovych, M. Bilozersky, M. Zakrevsky, and popular writers like H. Kvitka, the brothers Passek, and others.

Mykhaylo Maksymovych (1804-1873), born in the province of Poltava, came from an old Cossack gentry family. He was educated in the Gymnasium in Novhorod-Siversky and at Moscow University, where he was a graduate of the literary and physico-mathematical faculties. In 1827 he received his Master's degree and became a lecturer in botany. In 1833 he was appointed full professor at Moscow University. In 1834 he became professor of Russian literature at the newly founded University of Kiev of which he was also the rector.

In 1845 he retired from teaching and settled in his *khutir* Mykhaylova Hora, near Zolotonosha, opposite Kaniv on the Dnieper,

where he lived and worked until his death [...] He was a friend of Pushkin, Hohol (Gogol), and Shevchenko, and had a great influence on the young Kulish.

Maksymovych gained a reputation for himself by publishing a collection of folksongs. In 1827 his first collection *Malorosiiskyiya pesni* (The Little Russian Songs) appeared in Moscow. In the preface, the author proclaimed his enthusiastic belief in the value of Ukrainian folk poetry.

It seems that the time has come to recognize the real value of folk art; a desire has been expressed that a truly Rus' poetry should be created. The best of our poets do not follow models from foreign works, but help to develop original poetry which has its roots in the native soil, but which has long been overshadowed by foreign transplantations, only occasionally succeeding in piercing through them.

In this respect those monuments deserve most attention which are most expressive of the people's art—that is the folksongs, where the soul is full of feeling, and the stories reflect a people's phantasy. They often contain fables, beliefs, customs, and sometimes real events which have not been preserved in other sources... Therefore the legends relating to popular mythology and customs, and the collections of songs are very important.

With this in mind I devoted myself to such topics in Little Russia and for the first time published a selection of folksongs of this country... being convinced that they occupy one of the first places among songs of Slavic peoples.

Maksymovych's collection includes women's, lyrical, and historical songs. The book made a great impression, and in response to it Hohol (Gogol), among many others, wrote his article on Ukrainian songs.

In 1834 Maksymovych published *Ukrainskiya narodnyya pesni* (Ukrainian Folksongs), Part I, and in 1849 *Sbornik ukrainskikh pesen'* (A Collection of Ukrainian Songs), Part I. Both contain historical songs and *dumy*. Both editions were discontinued after the appearance of the first parts.

From ethnography Maksymovych turned to history. He wrote neither comprehensive surveys nor monographs but left a great number of short treatises, articles, and critical reviews. A scholar of great erudition and critical perceptivity, Maksymovych render-

ed the greatest service to Ukrainian historiography by his critical evaluation of sources and by his analysis of individual problems of Ukrainian history. He was a very prolific writer and contributed to almost all the scholarly journals in Russia and the Ukraine, drawing public interest to the study of Ukrainian history. [...] Maksymovych had no doubt that the history of Kievan Rus' is an integral part of Ukrainian history. To this question he devoted his "O mnimom zapustenii Ukrainy" (Of the Supposed Desolation of the Ukraine), "Pis'ma k Pogodinu o samobytnosti malorossiiskago narechiya," (Letters to Pogodin Concerning the Originality of the Little Russian Dialect), 1856, 1863, and *Istoriya drevnei russkoi slovesnosti* (A History of Old Russian Literature), 1839, where he demonstrated the connection between the early and later period of Ukrainian history.

Maksymovych published several symposia on history, archeology, and literature in which he included many of his articles. The *Kievlyanin* (The Kievan), Kiev, 1840, 1841, 1849, and *Ukrainets* (The Ukrainian), Moscow, 1859, 1864, contain the following articles of interest: "Obozrenie starago Kieva" (Survey of Old Kiev), *Kievlyanin*, I; "O nadgrobiyakh v Pecherskom monastyre" (About the Epitaphs in the Pechersky Monastery), *ibid.*; "O gorodakh Peresopnitse i Dubrovitse" (About the Towns of Peresopnitsa and Dubrovitsa), *ibid.*; "Vydubetsky Monastyr" (Vydubetsky Monastery), *ibid.*, II; "Skazanie o getmane Petre Sagaidachnom" (The Tale About Hetman Sahaydachnyi), *ibid.*, III; and others.

Among other articles by Maksymovych the following deserve to be mentioned:

Skazanie o Koliievshchine (A Tale About the Koliyi Movement), written 1839, published in 1875; *O getmane Sagaidachnom* (About Hetman Sahaydachnyi), 1843, an account of the life and activities of this famous Hetman; *Bubnovskaya sotnya* (The Bubnovskaya Company), 1848, a monograph about the surroundings of Bubnov in Poltava Province; [...] *O prichinakh vzaimnago ozhestocheniya malorossiyan i polyakov v XVII v.* (The Reasons for the Mutual Bitterness Between the Little Rus-

sians and the Poles in the XVII Century), 1857, a polemic against an article by M. Grabowski in Kulish's *Zapiski o yuzhnoi Rusi; O mnimom zapustenii Ukrainy v nashestvie Batiyya* (About the Supposed Desolation of the Ukraine During the Invasion of Batiy), 1857, a correction to the hypothesis put forward by Pogodin that the Kiev lands were populated by the Great Russians before the Mongol invasion, and that during the Tatar domination the country was devastated and only later populated by settlers from the West Ukraine; *Obozrenie gorodovykh polkov i soten', byushykh na Ukraine do smerti B. Khmelnytskago* (A Survey of Town Regiments and Companies in the Ukraine Before the Death of Khmelnytsky), 1856; *Pis'ma o Bogdane Khmelnytskom* (Letters about Bohdan Khmelnytsky) 1857-59, reflections and notes on the well-known monograph by Kostomarov; *Ob istoricheskom romane Kulisha "Chorna Rada"* (About the Historical Novel by Kulish: *Chorna Rada*), 1857; *Istoricheskie pis'ma o kozakakh zaporozhskikh* (Historical Studies of Zaporohian Cossacks), 1863, concerned with the work of V. Antonovych.

Most important are Maksymovych's commentaries on Ukrainian chronicles—on the occasion of the publication of Hrabianka's work (in *Moskvityanin*, 1856, No. 17-18) and "Yuzhnorusskiya letopisi" by Bilozersky (in *Russkaya Beseda*, 1857, book 3).

A complete edition of Maksymovych's works was published at the expense of the South-Western Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, edited by V. Antonovych, in three volumes: *Sobranie sochinenii* (Collected Works), Kiev, 1876-1880. The first volume contains all historical studies by Maksymovych; the second volume, studies in historical topography, archeology and ethnography; the third, philological and literary studies.

Maksymovych responded to all the controversial issues of his day; he polemized against Pogodin concerning the independent status of the Ukrainian language [...]. He also published Ukrainian translations of the *Lay of the Host of Igor* (1857) and of the *Psalms* (1859).

In 1841, while in Kiev, Maksymovych had intended to found

a historical association for the study of Ukrainian history. His idea found partial realization in the creation in 1843 of the "Vremennaya komissiya dlya razbora drevnikh aktov" (Temporary Commission for the Study of Old Materials) in Kiev.

Izmail Sreznevsky (1812-1880) was born in Yaroslav in Muscovy, but spent his childhood in Kharkiv where his father was a professor at the University. Upon the completion of his studies in 1837 Sreznevsky also became a professor of Kharkiv University.

While still at the university, Sreznevsky was an enthusiastic student of Slavic folklore, in particular of Ukrainian songs and history. During his visit to a landowner's family in the Katerynoslav Province he wrote down folksongs and *dumy* and visited the aged Kotlyarevsky in Poltava. In 1831 he published in Kharkiv *Ukrainskii almanakh* (Ukrainian Almanac) containing Russian and Ukrainian works of literature. In 1833 he began publishing his *Zaporozhskaya starina* (Zaporozhian Antiquity), six issues of which appeared before 1838. In the *Uchenyya Zapiski* (Proceedings) of Moscow University for 1834, Sreznevsky published articles on Ukrainian folksongs and on Skovoroda. During these years many of his articles on Ukrainian history appeared in various journals:

"Palii," *Syn otechestva*, 1834, No. 14; "Vygovsky i Pushkar," *ibid.*, No. 47; "Ivan Barabash," *Moskovskii Nablyudatel'*, 1835, I; "Martynets (Bryukhovetsky)," *ibid.*, II; "Styrskoe delo," *Severnaya Pchela*, 1835, No. 178; "Martyn Pushkar," *Ocherki Rossii*, 1838, I; "Yurii Khmelnichenko," *Priboavleniya k Russkomu Invalidu*, 1838, No. 20; "Kozaki-gaidamaki uniatskoi voyny 1594-1654" (Cossacks-haydamaks of the Uniate War), *Ocherki Rossii*, 1840, II.

Sreznevsky published as separate books *Ukrainskaya letopis' 1640-57* (Ukrainian Chronicle), Kharkiv, 1835 (an outline of the reigns of the Hetmans Barabash and Khmelnytsky, with extracts from the chronicles and folksongs); and *Istoricheskoe obozrenie grazhdanskago ustroistva Slobodskoi Ukrainy* (A Historical Survey of the Social System of the Slobidska Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1839, written on the basis of archival materials. The

latter book was described by D. Bahaliy as a "most serious treatise," (*Istoriya Slobids'koyi Ukrayiny*, p. 296) and by A. Pypin as "an outstanding work," (*Malorusskaya etnografiya*, St. Petersburg, 1891, p. 95). In 1838 Sreznevsky published in Moscow Kotlyarevsky's *Natalka Poltavka* as the first in the series *Ukrainskii Sbornik* (A Ukrainian Symposium). In 1841 it was followed by *Moskal' Chariivnyk, Ukrainskii Sbornik*, II. Sreznevsky was also a contributor to Passek's *Ocherki Rossii* and to the Encyclopedic Dictionary by Plushar. [...] Enthusiasm for things Ukrainian is manifest in all Sreznevsky's works.

In his article "Vzglyad na pamyatniki ukrainskoi narodnoi slovesnosti" (A View of the Monuments of Ukrainian Folk Literature) printed in *Uchenyya Zapiski Imperatorskago Moskovskago Universiteta*, 1834, VI, Sreznevsky writes:

At present there is no need to demonstrate that the Ukrainian (or as it is called the Little Russian) tongue is a language and not, as some argued and many believed, a dialect of the Russian or Polish languages.

It is one of the richest Slavic languages, no less abundant in vocabulary and expressions than Bohemian, as artistic as Polish and as melodious as Serbian. Although still unpolished, in flexibility and syntax it can compare with the well developed languages. It is a poetical, musical, and artistic language.

Sreznevsky was a great believer in the Ukrainian literature of the future:

Why should the deep-thinking Skovoroda, the unsophisticated Kotlyarevsky, the imaginative Artemovsky, the witty Osnov'yanyenko and several other promising writers from whom the Ukraine can expect honor, remain alone in the desert of Ukrainian literature? The language of Khmelnytsky, Pushkar, Doroshenko, Paliy, Kochubey, Apostol, should transmit to coming generations the glory of these great men of the Ukraine.

Sreznevsky's fervent patriotism and his untiring work in the field of Ukrainian history make him one of the most distinguished participants in the Ukrainian national revival in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1839 Sreznevsky went on a scholarly mission to the Slavic lands. In 1841 he returned to Khar-

kiv. He was made a professor at St. Petersburg University in 1843. From that time onwards his enthusiasm for the Ukraine diminished considerably. Later he even spoke openly against the Ukrainian language as having a distinct character. Yet his early works had left their deep trace on Ukrainian historiography.

Among his most influential works was his *Zaporozhskaya Starina*. As a motto, Sreznevsky chose a quotation from Kotlyarevsky ("So it was once during the eternal memory of the Hetman State") and another one from Mickiewicz ("It's still and quiet everywhere"), contrasting in this way the famous past of the Ukraine with its present insignificance. In his introduction Sreznevsky wrote:

By sending forth into the world my collection of Zaporozhian *dumy* and songs I intended to render a small service to lovers of folk poetry, and in particular to those wishing to learn about the Zaporozhian past, the life, the customs and exploits of this military people, who have earned for themselves a place of honor by their bravery and courage, their influence on the entire southeast of Europe and also on Asia Minor, especially in the seventeenth century, and by the individual mode of life and system of organization, so different from their neighbors.

Ukrainian chronicles only mention the exploits of these people at random and rarely touch on the internal life (of the Zaporozhians). The exploits themselves are described very briefly, often incorrectly, each contradicting the other.

Of still smaller value are the Polish chronicles; less still the Moldavian. Lastly, the Russian chronicles barely mention the Zaporozhians. The paucity of written materials for the history of Zaporozhe makes it necessary to seek other sources, which may be found in abundant, inexhaustible supply in folk legends.

The narrators of these folk tales about the past are the *kobzars-bandurysts* (Ukrainian minstrels).

In the memory of these old men the Zaporozhian past is still alive and therefore they are more important than the chronicles. Although the legends related by them must be critically scrutinized, they are nevertheless indispensable for everyone who wants to know the history of the Zaporozhians and of the Ukraine. . . . The fact that these legends are very little known prompted me to collect them and . . . after seven years of preparation I succeeded in gathering a considerable number of songs, *dumy*, and legends.

Sreznevsky did, in fact, collect Ukrainian folksongs; in this work he was helped by his friend, Fedir Evetsky, a landowner from the Province of Katerynoslav who was a student of Ukrainian history and ethnography. Yet Sreznevsky did not confine himself to the publishing of folksongs; in his patriotic enthusiasm, desiring to shed light on some obscure passages and personages in history, he resorted to what some Czech patriots were doing at that time: he composed songs and *dumy*, publishing them as folksongs. A somewhat similar forgery was later committed by Shyshatsky-Illych of Chernihiv who supplied Kulish with *dumy* for his *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi* (Notes on the Southern Rus'). Sreznevsky's forgeries were discovered as early as the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of critical investigations by Kostomarov^{77*} and Drahomanov.^{78*} [...]

Zaporozhskaya Starina was a very popular work and although it spread incorrect information about the Zaporozhians it helped to arouse wide public interest in Ukrainian history. It has no scholarly value.

Osyb Bodyansky (1808-1876) was born in Varva in the Lokhvytsya District into a family of modest means having clergy and landowner ancestry. He was educated at the Seminary at Pereyaslav, and later at Moscow University from which he graduated in 1834. Even in Pereyaslav Bodyansky showed great interest in Slavic studies; he also learned Polish and Serbian. In 1837 Bodyansky defended his dissertation on the "Folk Poetry of Slavic peoples," and was afterwards sent to the Slavic lands. After his return in 1842 he was appointed professor of "Slavic Dialects" at Moscow University.

^{77*} See Kostomarov's works: book review of Kulish's *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi* in *Otechestvennyya Zapiski*, 1857, vol. 112; his article "Istoricheskoe znachenie yuzhno-russkago pesennago tvorchestva (*Beseda*, 1872); review of *Istoricheskaya pesni malorusskago naroda* by Antonovych and Drahomanov (*Vestnik Evropy*, 1874, XII); and the article "Istoriya kozachestva v pamyatnikakh yuzhno-russkago pesennago tvorchestva," *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1880-83.

^{78*} See, M. Drahomanov and V. Antonovych, *Istoricheskaya pesni malorusskago naroda* and M. Drahomanov, *Politychni pisni ukrayins'koho narodu*, Geneva, 1883-1885.

Bodyansky was also interested in Ukrainian literature. A sincere Ukrainian patriot, he was an enthusiastic student of Ukrainian folklore and history. While still a student, Bodyansky wrote Ukrainian verses and published them in the Moscow Journal *Molva* (1833) under the pseudonym Boda Varvynets'. Later, under the pen name I. Mastak, he published articles on Ukrainian literature in the *Uchenyya Zapiski* of Moscow University and in 1835 he published a book *Naški ukrayins'ki kazky zaporozhtsya Is'ka Materynky*, Moscow, which is a translation in verse of Ukrainian fables. He ended his introduction to this book with the words of a folksong "Sabres are rusty, rifles are triggerless, but the heart of the Cossack does not fear the Turks." In 1835 Bodyansky published in *Uchenyya Zapiski* an article "O drevnem yazyke yuzhnykh i severnykh rusov" (About the Ancient Languages of the South and North Rusy). In 1845 Bodyansky edited D. Zubrytsky's *Kritiko-istoricheskaya povest' Chervonoï ili Galitskoï Rusi* (A Critical Historical Tale of the Red or Galician Ruś).

As a Slavist Bodyansky rendered great service to Russian and Ukrainian scholarship by publishing *O vremeni proiskhozhdeniya slavyanskikh pis'men* (About the Time of the Origin of Slav Writing) 1855; *Izbornik Svyatoslava* (The Collection of Svyatoslav); *O drevneishem svidetel'stve chto tserkovnyi yazyk yest' slavyano-bolgarskii* (The Oldest Evidence that the Church Slavic Language is Slavic-Bulgarian); the Russian edition of Shafarik's works (*Slovanské starožitnosti*, and *Slovanský národopis*); and other works without which, as Drahomanov said, it would be difficult to imagine any progress in Slavic studies.

Bodyansky's main contribution to Ukrainian scholarship was as a historian, connected with his activities as secretary of the "Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom universitete" (Society of Russian History and Antiquities at the Moscow University) in 1845-48, 1849-76. Bodyansky was the editor of the Society's periodical publication *Chteniya*, which under his influence became for some time a journal of Ukrainian studies.

In 1846 Bodyansky printed *Istoriya Rusov in Chteniya* (No. 1-4, and separately) and though many people doubted whether the censorship would let it pass, the famous history appeared complete, marking a triumph for Ukrainian historiography. Later, from the manuscript sent by P. Kulish, he published *Letopis' Samovidtsa o voynakh Bogdana Khmel'nitskago i o mezhdousobitsakh byushikh v Maloi Rossii po ego smerti* (The Chronicle of Samovydet's of the Wars of Bohdan Khmelnytsky and Of the Internecine Strife in Little Russia after His Death), *Chteniya*, 1846, No. 1-2, and separately, II+152+VI. pp.

Most Ukrainian monuments were published in *Chteniya* between 1847-48:

1. *Letopisnoe povestvovanie o Maloi Rossii* (A Narrative Chronicle of Little Russia) by A. Rigelman.

2. *Kratkaya istoriya o buntakh Khmel'nitskago i o voine s tataramy, shvedami i ugrami* (A Short History of Khmelnytsky's Rebellion and of the War against the Tatars, Swedes, and Hungarians), *Chteniya*, 1847, and separately, Moscow, 1847, II+56 pp. This is a translation from the anonymous Polish work *Historia o buntach Chmielnickiego, o wojnie z Tatarami, ze Szwedami i z Węgrami za króla Władysława i Jana Kazimierza przez lat dwanaście krótko zebrana, ab anno 1647 anno 1648*, published in Breslau, in 1842.

3. *Kratkoe istoricheskoe opisanie o kozatskom malorossiiskom narode* (A Brief Description of the Cossack Little Russian People) by P. Symonovsky.

4. *Istoriya o kozakakh zaporozhskikh* (A History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks) by Prince Myshetsky.

5. *Istoricheskie sochineniya o Malorossii i Malorossiyanakh* G. F. Millera (Historical Works on Little Russia and Little Russians by G. Miller), *Chteniya*, 1847, VI+92 pp.

6. *Perepiska i drugiya bumagi shvedskago korolya Karla XII, pol'skago Stanilava Leshchinskago, tatarskago khana, turetskago sultana, general'nago pisarya F. Orlika i kievskago voevody Iosifa Pototskago* (Correspondence and Other Papers of the Swedish King, Charles XII, the Polish King, Stanislaw Leszczynski, the Tatar Khan, the Turkish Sultan, the Secretary General,

F. Orlyk, and the Kiev voyevoda, I. Pototsky), *Chteniya*, 1847, No. 1.

7. *Pis'ma gr. Golovkina k getmanu Skoropadskomu* (Letters of Count Golovkin to Hetman Skoropadsky), *ibid.*

8. M. Markov, "O dostopamyatnostyakh Chernigova," *ibid.*, and his "Otvety na nekotorye voprosy o Maloi Rossii" (Answers to Some Questions on Little Russia), *ibid.*

9. *Zapiska Preosv. Koniskago o tom, chto v Rossii do kontsa XVI v. ne bylo unii s rimskoi Tserkov'yu* (A Note from the Most Reverend Konysky that there was no Union with the Roman Church in Russia before the XVI Century), *Chteniya*, 1847, No. 8.

10. *Dve gramoty tsarya Alekseya Mikhailovicha o malorossiiskikh kozakakh k voevodam 1651 g.* (Two Decrees of the Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich to the Voevodas on the Little Russian Cossacks in 1651), *Chteniya*, 1847, No. 7.

11. *O meste progrebeniya getmana I. Skoropadskago* (The Place of Burial of Hetman I. Skoropadsky), *ibid.*, No. 9.

12. *Pis'mo koshevogo Gordienka k Voevode Kamennago Zatonu, D. Shenshinu 1704 g.* (A Letter of the Koshovyi Hordiyenko to the Voevoda of the Kamennyi Zaton, D. Shenshin in 1704), *ibid.*

13. *O bunte goroda Pinska i usmirenii onago v 1648 g.* (The Rebellion of the Town of Pinsk and Its Suppression in 1648), *ibid.*

14. *Povest' o tom, chto sluchilos' na Ukraine . . . azh do smerti B. Khmel'nitskago* (A History of Real Events in the Ukraine . . . up to Khmelnytsky's Death), *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 5.

15. *Pis'ma k getmanu Mazepe ob ego sestre g-zhe Voinarovskoi* (Letters to Hetman Mazepa about His Sister, Mrs. Voinarovska), *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 5.

16. *Pis'ma getmana Mazepy k gosudaryam Ivanu i Petru Alekseevicham* (Letters of Hetman Mazepa to the Tsars Ivan and Peter Alekseevich), *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 5.

17. *Kratkoe istoricheskoe opisanie o Maloi Rossii do 1765 s dopolneniyami o zaporozhskikh kozakakh 1789* (A Brief Histori-

cal Description of Little Russia to 1765 with Supplement Concerning the Zaporozhian Cossacks 1789), *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 6.

18. *Nachalo Unii* (The Beginning of the Union) by D. Zubrytsky, *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 7.

19. *Letopisets o pervom zachatii i sozdanii svyatyya obiteli monastyrya Gustynskago* (A Chronicle of the First Beginnings and the Erection of the Hustyn Monastery), *Chteniya* 1848, No. 8.

20. *Opisanie o Maloi Rossii i Ukraine*, (A Description of Little Russia and the Ukraine) by S. Zarulski, *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 8.

21. *Pis'ma Petra I k getmanu Skoropadskomu* (The Letters of Peter I to Hetman Skoropadsky), *ibid.*

22. *Malorossiiskaya perepiska, khranyashchayasya v arkhive Moskovskoi Oruzheinoi Palaty* (The Little Russian Correspondence, Preserved in the Archives of the Moscow *Oruzheynaya Palata*), *ibid.*

23. *O pervykh getmanakh malorossiiskikh* (The First Little Russian Hetmans) by N. Markevich, *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 9.

24. *Zamechaniya do Maloi Rossii prinadlezhashchiya* (Notes Relating to Little Russia), *Chteniya*, 1848, No. 10.

25. *Pis'ma k getmanu Skoropadskomu ot tsaritsy Ekateriny Alekseevny i tsareven* (Letters to Hetman Skoropadsky from Tsarina Catherine Alekseevna and Princesses), *ibid.*

26. *Akty, ob'yasnyayushchie istoriyu Malorossii i otkrytye N. Markevichem* (Documents Explaining the History of Little Russia, Discovered by N. Markevich), *ibid.*

The publication of so many Ukrainian materials evoked sharp protest from Russian scholars. Following the printing in *Chteniya* of Fletcher's travel notes in Muscovy in the sixteenth century, Bodyansky was suspended as secretary of the Society. Fletcher's Notes, which painted Muscovy in very dark colors, were held to be unsuitable for publication, and blame for their appearance was attributed to Bodyansky, the editor. *Chteniya* ceased publication and Bodyansky was ordered to be transferred to Kazan. However, he resisted the transfer and in 1849 he was allowed to remain in Moscow. In 1849-58 *Vremennik* was pub-

lished instead of *Chteniya*, and in 1858 *Chteniya* was again allowed to appear with Bodyansky as editor (until 1876).

In 1847 *Chteniya* printed "Ukrainskiya narodnyya predaniya" (Ukrainian Folk Legends) by P. Kulish, but this was not allowed to be sold because of the trial of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. They were later printed by Kulish in *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi*.

In later *Chteniyas* there appeared the *Diariush of M. Khanenko*, (1858-59); *Istochniki malorossiiskoi istorii* by Bantysh-Kamensky (1858) in two vols.; *Reestra vsego Voiska Zaporozhskago v 1649 godu* (The Register of the Entire Zaporozhian Host in 1649), 1874, and separately, 1875; and *Narodnyya pesni Galitskoi i Ugorskoi Rusi* (The Folksongs of the Galician and Hungarian Rus') by Yakiv Holovatsky, in three volumes, published in 1878, after the death of Bodyansky.

Bodyansky's activity in the "Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei" was of the greatest value to Ukrainian historiography. It was due to his efforts that a series of most important sources of Ukrainian history (*Istoriya Rusov*, the History of Rigelman and the *Chronicle* of Samovydet's) became available in scholarly editions. This enabled the scholars to use these sources in further research.

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Mykola Kostomarov (1817-1885) was born in the village of Yurasovka in the Ostrohozhsk District of the Province of Voronizh. His father was a landowner, his mother a peasant serf. Kostomarov was educated in the Gymnasium at Voronizh and at Kharkiv University from which he graduated in 1838. For some time he served in the Dragoon Regiment, but his interest in scholarship proved stronger. He returned to Kharkiv and in 1842 printed his *O znachenii Unii v Zapadnoi Rossii* (The Significance of the Union in Western Russia) which he intended to defend as his Master's thesis. Through the opposition of the local clergy, his thesis was rejected and even destroyed.⁷⁹ Kostomarov was forced to write a thesis on a different topic, which

⁷⁹ Later on Kostomarov, having revised and enlarged this work, published it under the name "Otryvki iz istorii yuzhno-russkago kozachestva do Bogdana Khmel'nitskago" (Fragments from the History of South-Russian Cossacks in Pre-Khmelnytsky Times) in *Biblioteka dlya Chteniya*, 1865, I-III; in Kostomarov's completed works this study was published under the name "Yuzhnaya Rus' v kontse XVI v." (South Rus' at the End of the XVI Century). The original text was reprinted in the symposium *Naukovo-publitsystichni i polemichni pysannya M. Kostomarova*, edited by M. Hrushevsky, Kiev, 1928.

he completed in 1844—"Ob istoricheskomi znachenii russkoi narodnoi poezii" (The Historical Significance of Russian Folk Poetry).

Later Kostomarov was appointed to a teaching post in Rivne; in 1846 he became a professor of "Russian History" at the University of Kiev.

Kharkiv, with its university established in 1805 at the expense of the local nobility, sons and grandsons of the Cossack *starshyna*, became in the early nineteenth century the cultural center for the Left-Bank Ukraine. The ideas of a Slavic renaissance became popular here at a very early date, while a romantic enthusiasm for the people and an interest in ethnography helped to stimulate Ukrainian cultural life. Three Ukrainian journals (*Ukrainskii Vestnik*, Ukrainian Messenger, 1816-1819; *Ukrainskii Zhurnal*, Ukrainian Journal, 1824-25; and *Ukrainskii Al'manakh*, Ukrainian Almanac, 1831) were published in Kharkiv. They printed articles on Ukrainian history and Ukrainian poems by P. Artemovsky-Hulak, who for a time was the rector of the University. The Ukrainian poet and ethnographer, A. Metlynsky, was professor of literature at the University; Professor Sreznevsky was publishing his *Zaporozhskaya Starina*; while in 1834 there appeared the first Ukrainian literary almanac, *Utrennyaya Zvezda*, which was followed by the almanacs *Snip* and *Molodyk*.

Kostomarov's student days were spent in this atmosphere of Slavic and Ukrainian renaissance. He became an ardent believer in both of them, and started to write in Ukrainian, to record folksongs and to learn Slavic languages and folk poetry. In 1838 he published his historical drama *Sava Chalyi*, in 1839 *Ukrayins'ki Balady*, and in 1840 the book *Vitka*. In *Molodyk* Kostomarov printed his first survey of Ukrainian literature, written from the viewpoint of the Slavic revival. During his stay in Volynia, Kostomarov recorded many songs and visited historical sites. In Volynia, and still more in Kiev, Kostomarov acquainted himself with Polish revolutionary propaganda. It was under its influence that he conceived of a secret Ukrainian organization, which was later founded under the name of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius (Kyrylo—Metodiivs'ke Bratstvo). Apart from

Kostomarov, Mykola Hulak, Vasyl' Bilozersky, and many others were members of this society, while Shevchenko and Kulish were closely associated with it. The political ideal of the Brotherhood was a free federation of all Slavic peoples, and its practical aim was a Ukrainian national revival through emancipation of the peasantry.

Kostomarov's ideas of that time found their most striking manifestation in his *Knyhy Bytiya ukrayins'koho narodu* (Books of the Genesis of the Ukrainian People) which he wrote under the influence of Mickiewicz's *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego*. Written in Biblical style, it is a survey of Ukrainian history from the point of view of republican democracy, Pan-Slavism and Ukrainian messianism. The work ends with this prophesy: "The Ukraine shall rise from her grave and shall call on all her Slavic brothers, and they will all rise... And the Ukraine will be an independent republic in a Slav Union. Then all will say, pointing to the place on the map showing the Ukraine, behold, the stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone."⁸⁰

⁸⁰ *Knyhy Bytiya* was first published by P. Zaytsev in book 1 of *Nashe Mynule*, Kiev, 1918. He added his study "*Knyhy Bytiya* as a Document and Creative Work." Actually Zaytsev gave the above name to this Kostomarov work, which did not have any name in the original and was known among the members of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius as "Catechism."

In 1921 in Lviv M. Voznyak published this work as a booklet.

In 1947 two new publications of *Knyhy Bytiya* appeared. The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Germany (Augsburg, 1947) published this work, edited by B. Yanivsky (V. Miyakovsky) with a supplement by him: "*Knyhy Bytiya* by M. Kostomarov." The second publication was that by Elie Borschak, who edited it and wrote a preface and footnotes of historical and philological character (Paris, 1947).

We name a few modern scholarly publications dealing with *Knyhy Bytiya*: J. Gołąbek, "'Księgi narodu polskiego' A. Mickiewicza i 'Knyhy bytiya ukrayins'koho narodu' M. Kostomarov," *Sbornik práce Sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze*, 1929, Svazek II, Prague, 1932; J. Gołąbek, *Bractwo św. Cyryla i Metodego w Kijowie*, Warsaw, 1935; L. Biletsky, "'Knyhy Bytiya Ukrayins'koho Narodu' yak deklaratsiya prav ukrayins'koyi natsii," *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universitetu u Prazi*, vol. III, 1942; I. Sydoruk, *Ideology of Cyrillo-Methodians*,

As a result of the uncovering of the organization of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius by the Russian government in the spring of 1847, Kostomarov was arrested and imprisoned in Petropavlovskaya Fortress. He was later deported to Saratov, where he was forced to serve as a clerk until 1856. It was at that time that he devoted himself to the study of history, concentrating especially on the period of Khmelnytsky. His first articles—"Per-vye voiny malorossiiskikh kozakov" (The First Wars of the Little Russian Cossacks), *Molodyk*, 1842, III; "Mysli ob istorii Malorossii" (Thought about Little Russian History), *Biblioteka dlya chteniya*, 1846, No. 9; and "Ivan Svirgovsky,⁸¹ ukrainskii getman XVI v." (Ivan Svirhovsky, a Ukrainian Hetman in the Sixteenth Century), *Moskvityanin*, 1855, No. 19-20—are still reminiscent of earlier historiographies with their reliance on *Istoriya Rusov* and the Chronicles. Only with the publication of new source material in *Chteniya* and *Pamyatniki*, and through the Polish historical publications which were sent to him in Saratov by his Polish friends, did Kostomarov enlarge his historical horizon. His work culminated in the large monograph *Bogdan Khmelnytsky i vozvrashchenie Yuzhnoi Rusi k Rossii* (Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Return of the Southern Rus' to Russia), which was published in the *Otechestvennyya Zapiski*, 1857, I-VII with an introduction "Bor'ba ukrainskikh kozakov s Pol'sheyu v pervoi polovine XVII v. do B. Khmelnitskago."⁸² In 1859 this work appeared in book form, entitled *Bogdan Khmelnytsky* (2 vols.). A third edition of this work was published in 1876, (3 vols.).

The new tsar granted amnesty to Kostomarov, and in 1859 he was appointed professor at St. Petersburg University and was able to use both domestic and foreign sources in his further

Winnipeg-Chicago, 1954; *Kostomarov's "Books of Genesis of the Ukrainian People"* with a Commentary by B. Yaniv'skyi, New York, 1954.

In some works doubts were expressed in regard to Kostomarov's authorship of *Knyhy Bytiya*. There were suggestions that Shevchenko was its author or co-author; there was also an opinion expressed that the book was a collective creation of members of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. We think that those opinions have not been proved.

⁸¹ To be more exact—"Svyerchovsky."

⁸² *Otechestvennyya Zapiski*, 1856, No. 9.

research. With the founding of the Ukrainian monthly *Osnova* (1861-1862), the period of greatest achievement by this distinguished scholar began. *Osnova* published the following studies by M. Kostomarov:

"Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi" (Thoughts of the Federal Principle in the Ancient Rus'); "Dve russkiya narodnosti" (Two Russian Nationalities); "Cherty narodnoi yuzhnorusskoi istorii" (Features of South Russian Popular History); "Getmanstvo Vygovskago" (The Hetman Rule of Vyhovsky); "Getmanstvo Yuriya Khmel'nitskago" (The Hetman Rule of Yuri Khmelnytsky); and some journalistic articles. [...]

Kostomarov's views of history were formed at a time when he was enthusiastic in defense of ethnography as a no less genuine source for the study of history than historical documents and "dry chronicles"... In an article "Ob otnoshenii russkoi istorii k etnografii" (The Relationship of Russian History to Ethnography) Kostomarov maintained that the task of history is not only to recreate an external picture of the past, but to delve into the internal life and to sense "the psychology of the past." [...]

Having placed the community, and therefore the people, as the center of historical studies, Kostomarov paid great attention to ethnography. History and ethnography, he held, are complementary; a historian explores the past of the people and an ethnographer is interested in its present; yet each has much to learn from the other. The characteristics of the present condition of a people have meaning only if regarded as a product of past forces in that nation. Both ethnographers and historians often make the same error: they consider the material for the topic as if it were the topic itself. Notes or descriptions which related to the customs of a people were classed as ethnography. Yet what was forgotten was that the main object of ethnography, this "science about the people, is the people themselves—not their external manifestations."

Kostomarov believed that not only the life of the peasants but also of the other social classes should become the object of ethnographic studies. The province of ethnography should, in his opinion, embrace the law, politics, and all events which affect

the life of a society. . . His conclusion was that "an ethnographer should be a contemporary historian and a historian should deal in his works with the ethnography of the past."

Kostomarov's view of Ukrainian history is most evident in the articles he contributed to *Osnova*. In his treatise "Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi" (*Osnova*, 1861, I) Kostomarov developed the theory that in the first period of Ukrainian history, during the *viche* (assembly) system, the Rus' State consisted of a federation of six nationalities: Ukrainian, Siverian, Russian, Byelorussian, and the peoples of Pskov and Novgorod. The common ties uniting them all was one language and similar customs, one dynasty, one Christian faith and the Church. Each nationality lived on its own land, and they were all united in one federation [. . .]. The middle of the twelfth century may be regarded as a period when the policies of the Princes satisfied the aspirations of the separate ethnic units for autonomy within this federative state—the Rus', or "Ruška Zemlya." "Both natural and historical circumstances prompted the Rus' people to remain independent in their own lands, yet united in this federation. Rus', therefore, was on the way to a federation, when the Tatar onslaught completely changed the system of our social and political life."

The article "Dve russkiya narodnosti," (*Osnova*, 1861, III) discusses the relations between Ukrainians and Russians and stresses the differences which exist between the two peoples, formed during the course of history:

The Ukrainians are characterized by individualism, the Great Russians by collectivism. . . In the political sphere, the Ukrainians were able to create among themselves free forms of society which were controlled no more than was required for their very existence, and yet they were strong in themselves without infringing on personal liberties. The Great Russians attempted to build on a firm foundation a collective structure permeated by one spirit. The striving of the Ukrainians was towards federation, that of the Great Russians towards autocracy and a firm monarchy.

The Great Russian element has in it something grand and creative: the spirit of totality, the consciousness of unity, the rule of practical reason. The Great Russian can live through all adversities

and select the hour when action is most fitting and circumstances most favorable.

The Ukrainians lack such qualities. Their free spontaneity led them either to the destruction of social forms or to a whirlpool of strivings which dissipated national efforts in all directions. Such testimony about these two peoples is provided by history.

In their efforts to fulfill an ideal, once and for all, and in a concrete form, the Great Russian people are inclined to materialism and lag behind the Ukrainians as far as spiritual life and poetry is concerned. . . . As in the social, so in the family life of the Great Russians there is little of what constitutes poetry in the life of the Ukrainians. . . .

A Great Russian cares little for nature. The Great Russian peasants do not like to plant flowers in their gardens; in the Ukraine every peasant cottage is full of flowers. Moreover, the Great Russian is often an enemy of vegetation. I have seen peasants cut down all the trees around their houses. . . . believing that they would not look good among trees. Even the educated people whom I have met are indifferent to the beauty of nature.

The Great Russians are deficient in imagination; they have few superstitions but many prejudices. On the other hand, it is at once apparent that the Ukrainians have many superstitions, especially in the Western Ukraine. There, in almost every house you can hear a poetic tale of how the dead ones come to life again in different disguises. . . . Charms, with their quaint customs, the world of ghosts in varying shapes and apparitions to make the hair stand on end—all blend in artistic pictures. Sometimes the story-tellers themselves do not believe what they tell, yet as long as they have a sense of beauty, they will continue to transform the old content into an ever new form.

. . . In Great Russia the people believe in devils, witches, demons—beliefs which they inherited from earlier times. They have very few fantastic tales; even the devils and demons are materialistic in Great Russian tales. . . .

In their social beliefs the Great Russians are different from Ukrainians as a result of their different historic heritage. The urge to unite individual parts into a whole, the denial of personal interests in the name of social good, the highest respect for social judgment—all these features manifest themselves in the large family life of the Great Russians and in their sacrifices for the community (*mir*). A Great Russian family is one unit, with property in common. . . .

The Ukrainians, on the other hand, hate this system. . . . A common duty, not voluntarily undertaken but inevitable, they regard

as a great burden, while among the Great Russians these duties substitute their strivings for personal liberty.

Compulsory common use of the land and responsibility of all for one appear to a Ukrainian to be the worst and most unjust kind of servitude. His history has not taught him to suppress his feeling for private property or to regard himself as a servant of some abstract commune and be responsible for other members of it.

The relations between the Ukrainians and the Poles are quite different. If, linguistically, Ukrainians are less close to the Poles than they are to the Great Russians, in national character they are more akin to the Poles...

To be sure, there is a deep gulf which separates the Poles and the Ukrainians, a gulf which may never be bridged. Poles and Ukrainians are like two branches growing in opposite directions; one is pruned and has born refined fruit—the nobility; the other produced peasantry. To put it more bluntly: the Poles are aristocratic while the Ukrainians are a democratic people. Yet these two labels do not reflect the histories of the two peoples; the Polish aristocracy is very democratic; the Ukrainian democracy is very aristocratic. The Polish nobility has tried to remain within the limitations of its own class; in the Ukraine, on the other hand, the people have equal status and rights and often produce individuals who climb much higher and attain more for themselves, but in turn are again absorbed by the mass of the people from which they stem. Here and there this struggle often weakens the social structure, providing an opportunity for another people, who know the value of a strong community, to seize it...

This article by Kostomarov was very popular and was for a long time regarded as "the gospel of Ukrainian nationalism."

In "*Cherty narodnoi yuzhno-russkoi istorii*" (Characteristics of National History of South Russia), *Osnova*, 1861, Kostomarov has, in the opinion of Drahomanov, "gathered the threads of the history of the Kievan pre-Mongolian Rus' and the Cossack Ukraine" in an attempt to show the continuity of the national ideals and forms of social organization in all the periods of Ukrainian history.

Kostomarov also expressed his views on Ukrainian history in many of his journalistic writings, defending Ukrainian rights against Russian and Polish appetites. In the article "*Pravda Moskvicham o Rusi*" (The Truth About Rus' Told to the Muscovites) Kostomarov debates with the Russian journalists, who

attacked his "Two Russian Nationalities," and he accuses them of Muscovite exclusiveness. In his article "Pravda Polyakam o Rusi" (The Truth about Rus' Told to the Poles) he opposes Duchinski's theory of the Turanian origins of the Great Russians and denies Polish claims to Ukrainian lands, which they advanced on so-called "historical grounds" and old treaties, i.e., "the marriage of Yahaylo (Jagiello), the Lublin and Berestya Unions, old Andrusiv and Moscow treaties, by means of which the Polish patriots are attempting to claim Ukrainian territory. These claims have no validity. One can write books about all these things, learned treatises and lectures; much of this material of the past can serve as a subject for painters, dramatists, novelists, or opera composers, but it cannot be used as a basis for the practical solution of our international relations." These relations, Kostomarov claimed, can only be settled on the basis of a just social order, national liberty and democracy.

Kostomarov's article "Ukraina" (Ukraine), which appeared anonymously in Herzen's *Kolokol* (Bell), No. 61, in 1860,^{83*} was even more outspoken on the history of the Ukraine and her two neighbors—Russia and Poland. The account of Ukrainian history given here by Kostomarov is, to use Shevchenko's words, like "the poem of a free people." The Ukrainian people always appears to be permeated by a freedom-loving spirit. Kostomarov thought it was a credit to the Ukrainian Church that all elements connected with the nobility and those having privileges abandoned the Church. The fact that in the seventeenth century the Ukrainians failed to rebuild their state, Kostomarov explains as due to the desertion of the Ukrainian upper classes who became "intoxicated" with Polish ideas, so hostile to the Ukrainian people [...]

He categorically rejects the Polish and Russian claims to Ukrainian territory. "The disputed territories do not belong to either of the claimants; they belong to the people who have inhabited them since time immemorial and who live and work in

^{83*} Published in Ukrainian: M. Kostomarov, *Pys'mo do vydavtsiv "Kolokola,"* with M. Drahomanov's preface, Lviv, 1902.

them now." Kostomarov envisaged the future of the Ukraine as a member of a Slav federation: "On the territory where the people speak Ukrainian," he wrote, "our Southern Rus' should form its state which would be a member of the Slav Union, which we hope for and believe in, and would preserve its individuality, not based on a principle of centralization but on equal rights." The article ends with the admonition that "neither the Russians nor the Poles should call their own the land settled by our people."

Kostomarov ceased to lecture in 1861 and from that time on he devoted himself to study and research, as a member of the Archeographic Commission in St. Petersburg, and edited *Akty Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (The Documents of Southern and Western Russia). Some of his monographs dating from that time are based on the work he did for the Commission.

Continuing his work on the history of the Ukraine, Kostomarov wrote his monograph on the *Ruyina* (the reign of Bryukhovetsky, Mnohohrishnyi, Samoylovych), first printed in *Vestnik Evropy*, 1879-80; and "Mazepa i Mazepintsy" (Mazepa and Mazepists), *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1882-84; as well as some shorter articles on Polubotok, and on B. Khmelnytsky as an ally of Turkey. In the last years of his life Kostomarov wrote his *Russkaya istoriya v zhizneopisaniyakh eya vazhneishikh deyatelei* (1874-76) which gave the biographies of Volodymyr the Great, Yaroslav the Wise, King Danylo, Petro Mohyla, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Galyatovsky, Radyvylovsky, Baranovych, Dmytro Rostovsky, and Mazepa.⁸⁴

Remaining faithful to his belief in the value of ethnography, Kostomarov frequently returned to ethnographical materials and sources. His "Ob istoricheskom znachenii yuzhnorusskago pesnotvorchestva" (Of the Historical Significance of South Russian Folksongs), *Beseda*, 1872, repeats the central opinions expressed in his doctoral dissertation. He even attempted to write a history of the Cossack period based on the folksongs: "Istoriya kozachestva

⁸⁴ It was translated into Ukrainian by O. Barvinsky and published in the 1870's in the periodical *Pravda*, Lviv, and separately, as *Rus'ka Istoriya v zhyttyepysakh yiyi nayholovnishykh diyateliv*, v.v. I-III, Lviv, 1878; a new Ukrainian edition in Lviv, 1918: *Ukrayins'ka istoriya v zhyttyepysakh yiyi nayznamenytishykh diyachiv*.

v yuzhnorusskikh narodnykh pesnyakh" (The History of the Cossacks in South Russian Folksongs), *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1880-83. In spite of the fact that he used many folksongs for this purpose, the work is of little value, since the author was not critical of his material and accepted as Ukrainian many of the folksongs which are of a common Slavic heritage. In this work he was also hindered by censorship which banned some passages from the folksongs.

Kostomarov did not confine himself to Ukrainian history. He wrote several works on Russian and Polish history, while still being primarily interested in popular mass movements and revolutions. In 1859 he published *Bunt Steŋ'ki Razina* (The Rebellion of Steŋka Razin) in which he depicts the struggle of the Don Cossacks against the Muscovite State. Kostomarov's *Severno-russkiya narodopravstva* (Democracy in Northern Russia), comprising the history of the republics of Novgorod, Pskov, and Vyatka, in which Kostomarov saw an analogy with the pre-Mongolian Rus', and later, the Cossack Ukraine, was published in 1863. In his studies—*Nachalo edinoderzhaviya v drevnei Rusi* (The 'Beginning of the Monarchy in Ancient Rus'), *Kulikovskaya bitva* (The Battle of Kulikovo), and *Ivan Susanin*—Kostomarov analyzes certain episodes from the history of Muscovy, and explodes the legends which Russian historiography had formed around Dmitrii Donskoi or Susanin. Kostomarov's criticism was not well received in Russia. Kostomarov painted in equally dark colors the life in Muscovy in *Ocherk domashnei zhizni i nraov velikoruskago naroda v XVI i XVII stol.* (A Survey of Domestic Life and Customs of the Great Russian People in the XVI and XVII Centuries), 1860, and *Smutnoe Vremya v Moskovskom Gosudarstve* (The Time of Troubles in the Moscow State), 1866. Kostomarov devoted his monograph *Poslednie gody Rechi Pospolitoi* (The Last Years of the *Rzecz Pospolita*), 1869-70, to the history of Poland analyzing the cause of Poland's downfall which he attributed to her aristocracy—the epitome of her national spirit.

Kostomarov approached the study of great national movements in the Ukraine, sometimes social and sometimes religious in origin and frequently directed against the state, from the point

of view of a republican and a democrat. His opinion on the respective merits of the monarchical and the republican systems was most succinctly expressed in *Bogdan Khmelnytsky*:

A monarchy with all its possible evils—its servitude, injustice, licentiousness, and ignorance—has this advantage, that if the ruling power happens to fall into the hands of a wise man, then reforms and changes for the better are possible. A bad republic, on the other hand, is doomed. The republican system is undoubtedly the best and most desirable, but it must be accompanied by what is best in humanity: equal rights, social justice, and cultural advancement. If these qualities are absent, the republican system leads to ruin and, sooner or later, such a state will either cease to be a republic, or will fall under foreign domination. There is no force which can save a bad republic from disintegration.^{85*}

Kostomarov, therefore, did not sympathize with the absolutist tendencies of the old Princes and later of the Cossack Hetmans, who attempted to create a state founded on the privileged Cossack class. Himself holding a rather vague notion of Slav federation (perhaps even under the crown of the tsar), Kostomarov failed to see in the history of the Cossack Ukraine any urge to create a state, and explained the politics of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Vyhovsky, Doroshenko, and Mazepa in terms of their personal advantages or in terms of the narrow and selfish interests of the Cossack *starshyna*. This is why Kostomarov showed a preference for the Zaporozhian Cossacks who held no clear political ideal, but were ready to rebel against any hetman whom they regarded as insufficiently democratic. Vyhovsky, Doroshenko, and above all, Mazepa, are painted in dark colors. The implication of Kostomarov's monographs is that the Ukrainian people were incapable of forming a better state organization than that of the Zaporozhian Sich, and since such a state could last only for a short time, there was no choice but to seek the protection of Moscow, whose despotism and lack of culture Kostomarov deplored.

Kostomarov failed to recognize the great efforts made by Khmelnytsky to organize a state, and in his monograph the

^{85*} M. Kostomarov, *Bogdan Khmelnytsky*, v. I, pp. 200-201. St. Petersburg, 1884.

figure of that great hetman appears weak and lifeless; it is almost completely overshadowed by elemental mass movements. Later, having gained access to the documents which clarified Khmelnytsky's relations with Turkey, Kostomarov revised his view of him (see his article, "Bogdan Khmelnytsky-dannik Otomanskoi Partii"). "Now," he wrote, "the historical significance of Khmelnytsky should appear in a different light. His successors, Bryukhovetsky, Doroshenko, and Orlyk, and other less distinguished Cossack leaders, did not contradict Khmelnytsky's policy when they strove for the creation of a Ukrainian state under the authority of the Ottoman Porta. They followed the uneven path of Khmelnytsky, and Yurko Khmelnytsky, who was granted the title of the Prince of the Little Russian Ukraine by the Sultan, was a not unworthy son of his father."

From the point of view of the development and growth of the national idea in the Ukraine, Kostomarov's historical interpretations represent a retrogression if we compare them with those of the author of *Istoriya Rusov*, whom Kostomarov chided for his "anti-democratic" spirit. Kostomarov's ideas were very favorably received by the Ukrainians and the Russians in the 1860's and 1870's. They liked his Populism and his glorification of popular mass movements and their leaders. Yet from the point of view of the development of a national consciousness Kostomarov's ideas obscured the outlines of the Ukrainian historical tradition, as it was postulated by Ukrainian historians in the early nineteenth century. Behind his authority and his views expressed in the 1880's in *Vestnik Evropy* (The Messenger of Europe), wherein he attempted to pacify the Russian government by assuring it that the Ukrainian movement was harmless, there lay concealed those Russophiles who attempted to relegate any interest in the Ukraine's past to the level of a bookish preoccupation.

Kostomarov was famous for his style which gained him great popularity among his readers. Influenced by the Romantic movement, he believed that a historian's task was not only to teach but also "to paint the history of the past so as to awaken the interest of the reader." Kostomarov had a really creative imagination. He was never satisfied with a "dry" exposition, but always

attempted to portray the past artistically. His historical monographs are dramatized chronicles. Not satisfied with scholarship alone, Kostomarov sometimes turned to the writing of poetry and of prose. His historical novel *Chernigovka* (1881), depicting the times of Doroshenko, is of real interest.

In spite of some drawbacks, Kostomarov's writings were tremendously significant for the development of Ukrainian historiography. "Before Kostomarov," writes V. Antonovych, "specialized historical science hardly existed in the Ukraine. It was still very chaotic, enveloped in prejudices and fictional hypotheses which were largely borrowed from *Istoriya Rusov* [...]. Kostomarov was the first to collect and rely entirely on the original sources; he never used secondary sources or earlier histories. He trusted only those materials he found in archives and collections. Those he analyzed very carefully and only after thorough and critical scrutiny did he use them to write the history of an event, a period, or a personage. His great gift lay in his ability to portray everything artistically, and all his readers enjoyed his works. The happy combination of these qualities in Kostomarov was very rare among historians. Perhaps in Western Europe the closest to him was the Frenchman, Augustine Thierry."⁸⁶

The edition of *Akty otnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii, sobrannye i izdannye Arkheograficheskoi Kommissieyu*, St. Petersburg, 1861-1878, which Kostomarov published in ten volumes, is of great value. His materials were drawn from *Dela Malorossiiskago Prikaza*, which were preserved in the Archives of the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow.

Apart from that Kostomarov was the editor of the third, fourth and fifth volume of the *Trudy* (Works) of the ethnographic expedition of P. Chubynsky in the Right-Bank Ukraine (1872, 1874, 1877).⁸⁷

⁸⁶ V. Antonovich, "Kostomarov kak istorik," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1885, V, pp. XXVII, XXX-XXXI.

⁸⁷ Complete historical monographs and studies by Kostomarov were published in eight volumes in St. Petersburg, 1903-1906.

Panteleymon Kulish (1819-1897) was born in the little town of Voronizh, in the Hlukhiv District of the Province of Chernihiv, into the family of a small landowner of Cossack descent. He was educated in the Gymnasium in Novhorod-Siversky and at Kiev University where he failed to complete the course. In Kiev he made the acquaintance of Professor Maksymovych and under his influence began to write. Kulish's first study, based on folk legends collected in his hometown, was printed by Maksymovych in his *Kievlyanin*, in 1840. Kulish owed his early interest in Ukrainian ethnography to Maksymovych's influence, although his enthusiasm for folk literature began to show itself while he was still attending the Gymnasium. Without completing his university studies due to financial difficulties, Kulish began teaching, first in Lutsk, in Volynia (1842) and then in Kiev. In 1846 with the assistance of the rector of the university in St. Petersburg, Pletnyov, Kulish received a teaching post in St. Petersburg. In 1847 he married Oleksandra Bilozerska,⁸⁸ the daughter of a landowner in Borzna District, the sister of V. Bilozersky, later the publisher of *Osnova*. In the same year Kulish went abroad to prepare himself for a professorship in the field of Slavic studies. However, he was arrested in Warsaw for membership in the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. After spending several months in the fortress jail, Kulish was banished to Tula and not until 1850 did he receive permission to leave it, though until 1856 he was forbidden to publish anything under his own name. The end of the 1850's and especially the period of his association with the *Osnova*, marked the peak of Kulish's literary work. At the beginning of the 1860's Kulish gradually transferred his activities to Galicia, where he later made many enemies after radically changing his views on Cossack history. At the beginning of the 1880's, after unsuccessful attempts to bring about an understanding between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Galicia, while staying in Lviv (1881-82), Kulish abandoned his former public activities and settled in

⁸⁸ O. M. Bilozerska-Kulish (1828-1911), a well-known Ukrainian writer who published her works under the pen name Hanna Barvinok.

his wife's *khutir* near Borzna where he lived until his death, working most of the time on Ukrainian translations of the Bible and Western European classics.

Lacking specialized training, as most Ukrainian historiographers of old times, Kulish based his study of Ukrainian history on his deep love for folk poetry, being specially fascinated by its main theme: the Cossack Ukraine. At first he intended to write a "Ukrainian Iliad" and his poem *Ukrayina: Od pochatku Ukrayiny azh do bat'ka Khmelnyts'koho* (Kiev, 1843) was written with this purpose in mind. In this poem, partly from the folksongs and partly from his own imagination, he recreated the course of Ukrainian history from the invasion of Batyi to the times of Khmelnytsky. The whole work bears a strong resemblance to Sreznevsky's *Zaporozhskaya starina* and was certainly composed under its influence. At that time Kulish was under the strong spell of *Istoriya Rusov* and therefore he idealized the Cossack period. He also drew inspiration from the folksongs, many of which he had heard during his travels in the Right-Bank Ukraine. In 1843 Kulish published a historical novel *Mikhailo Charnyshenko ili Malorossiya vosem'desyat let nazad* (Mykhaylo Charnyshenko or Little Russia Eighty Years Ago), about the last days of the Hetman Ukraine, in which the action takes place in the neighborhood of Hlukhiv so familiar to the author from the time of his youth.

Kulish's brief stay in Volynia and his later acquaintance with the Polish writers, M. Grabowski and K. Swidzinski, both of whom were landowners in the Ukraine, had opened before him the rich world of Polish historiography which held many sources for the study of Ukrainian history. Even at that time Kulish must have begun to regard Polish domination of the Ukraine not as exploitation but as colonization of the Ukrainian wastelands and their cultural advancement, while the Cossacks were only capable of destruction and showed no creative initiative. In his fascinating novel *Chorna Rada*, written in the 1840's, Kulish paints Zaporozhe in dark colors, scoring the demagoguery and vulgarity while idealizing the representative of the cultured *starshyna* class, the appointed Hetman Somko. Yet his *Povest' ob*

ukraïnskomo narode (A Tale about Ukrainian People), St. Petersburg, 1846, written for younger people as an epic poem of Ukrainian history, shows that Kulish was still very much under the influence of the older forms of Ukrainian historiography.

The Chronicle of Samovydet's, which Kulish found and sent to Bodyansky for publication, helped to dampen his earlier enthusiasm for the Cossacks. During his banishment in Tula, Kulish devoted himself to a prolonged study of history using many books and sources sent to him by Bodyansky. When, in the 1850's, he was allowed to publish, his critical attitude to the Cossack Ukraine had increased considerably. In 1856-57, with the financial assistance of two Chernihiv landowners, H. Galagan, and Vasyl' Tarnovsky, Kulish published *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi*, (Notes about Southern Rus') in which apart from valuable ethnographical material, he printed historical sources, e.g., *O neporyadkakh v Malorossii* (On the Disorders in Little Russia) by Hryhoriy Teplov; *O prichinakh vzaimnago ozhestocheniya polyakov i malorossiyan v XVII stoletii* (The Causes of Mutual Bitterness between the Poles and Little Russians in the XVII Century) by M. Grabowski, documents with notes, all displaying the Hetman State of the eighteenth century and its distinguished leaders, as for instance Pavlo Polutbotok, in a very unfavorable light. Kulish's "Epilogue" to his novel *Chorna Rada* (in Russian translation) gives his views on Russo-Ukrainian relations in the past; the Ukrainians, he believed, proved incapable of creating their own state, and union between the Ukraine and Russia was inevitable and historically justified.

As in the case of Kostomarov (whose friend Kulish became in the 1840's), Kulish reached the peak of his creativeness during the time in which he helped to publish *Osnova*. In *Osnova* he printed the first chapter of his *Istoriya Ukrayiny od naydavni-shykh chasiv* (The History of the Ukraine from the Earliest Times), 1861, IX, which was planned as the beginning of a large work, intended not only for the general public but also for those who "are not satisfied with historical artistry and wish to get at the sources themselves." The work was never completed and

only the first part, which is an introduction to early Ukrainian history as far as the eleventh century, exists. In his preface Kulish admits that his history may not be pleasing to all his countrymen, especially to those who are admirers of the Cossack Ukraine. "What if they do not see here the past as usually painted in books? It has become customary to view the whole of our history from the Cossack period. Yet the Cossacks were but the luxuriant flowers and sometimes the thistles amid our wild steppes. Much else also grew, flourished, and died there, and all of it belongs to the history of our Ukraine."

Besides this first chapter of his Ukrainian history, Kulish published in *Osnova* two popular studies, *Khmelnychchyna* (The Times of Khmelnytsky), 1861, III, and *Vyhovshchyna* (The Times of Vyhovsky), 1861, XI-XII. They were also intended to be the first in a series of studies of historical periods [...] Kulish's general view of Ukrainian history was expressed in scattered writings in *Osnova* and elsewhere. It can be condensed into two theses: 1) A very critical attitude to the eighteenth century Hetman State, which led him to condone the suppression of this State by the Russian government; 2) An attempt to seek the cultural forces in the seventeenth century Ukrainian history as an antidote to the "wild and ignorant" Cossacks. In one of his novels written in Russian, *Ukrainskiya nezabudki* (Ukrainian Forget-Me-Nots), Kulish voiced a strong accusation against the Hetman State in the eighteenth century, describing it as a rotten tree which even if untouched by the Russian government would have fallen apart on its own account because of the indifference of the masses, who were conscious of the yoke only as a result of the selfish policies of the Cossack *starshyna*. Kulish does not notice any positive qualities in the Ukrainian aristocracy of the eighteenth century which was descended from the Cossacks. He also opposed the traditional portrayal of the Polish and Polonized landlords. "In Ukrainian as well as in Great Russian literature," he wrote in a footnote to his poem *Velyki provody*, "it has become an established custom to portray the old Polish and Ukrainian landlords as barbarians. Yet many of these landlords

and nobles represent the finest example of humanitarianism, if looked at from an aristocratic point of view. That is why such a figure as Yarema Vyshnevetsky is even now considered to be the pride of the conservative Poles. They were real heroes of their convictions." (*Osnova*, 1861, I, pp. 65-66). Finding it difficult to see ideal representatives of his "spiritual heroes," and "cultured masterminds" among the seventeenth century Ukrainians, Kulish invented in his poem *Velyki provody* a Cossack Holka [...] who lives in 1648 and is endowed by Kulish with some of the qualities of Yuriy Nemyrych,⁸⁹ yet this character is so idealized and generalized that he fails to be convincing.

Kulish's studies in the 1860's, while working at the St. Petersburg Public Library and in the Warsaw archives and libraries, further strengthened his negative view of the Cossack period. His passionate temperament and political ardor led him to express his views, regarded by many as "national treason," very sharply and uncompromisingly.

Only in two fragmentary studies in Ukrainian history [...] did Kulish preserve an absolute detachment and objectivity. They were: "Ruyina" (*Meta*, 1863, No. 2, 1864, No. 5), and "Pochyny lykholittya lyads'koho i pervi kozats'ki buchi" (The Origins of the Polish Time of Troubles and the First Cossack Rebellions) *Nyva*, 1865. For Kulish the "Ruyina (Ruin) was the history of the rule and decay of the nobility and gentry on both banks of the Dnieper." He hoped that a clever reader of his work "might realize how wretched was this civilization which benefited only the upper class, giving it freedom, power, and wealth by taking these from others, and made a snare out of Catholicism so that people who accepted it were forever ostracized by their fellow countrymen." Kulish deplored the domination of "the landlord class which flourished at the cost of the millions of peasants who were left in dark ignorance and poverty." Therefore he is indifferent to the downfall of *Rzecz Pospolita*, this "Polish civilization in the Ukraine." In this

⁸⁹ Yuriy Nemyrych (1614-1659), a Ukrainian statesman, Chancellor of the Great Rus' Principality, one of the leaders of Ukrainian Arianism.

respect the Cossacks appear in a favorable light. "Under Cossack banners," he wrote, "our Rus', so slighted by her neighbors, showed to the whole world in the seventeenth century that she could free herself from her rapacious occupants and put the people's will above politics. . . . The great Cossack wars strengthened our ties with our ancient history, which the academicians of our neighbors accept as their own, without mentioning our past. . . . This is why we should honor the Cossack glory in our works. Like the common people who sing of the Cossacks in their songs, we honor the deeds of the past by our scholarly endeavors."

However, Kulish pleaded for the greatest detachment and objectivity: "We should write the whole truth about our ancestors, the Cossacks, and about their enemies; let the reader judge as he pleases. We shall not pass in silence over any act of cruelty committed by the Cossacks, nor shall we hide from the public eye the brave deed of a noble."

"Ruyina" has two chapters: a short survey of Ukrainian history from the earliest times to Stefan Batory, and an account of political, social, and economic life in the Ukraine in the second half of the sixteenth century. Kulish regarded the *viche* (assembly), or as he called it "the people's law," as the mainstay of the Ukrainian political and social system. Therefore, in his opinion, the victory of the Tatars over the Kievan princes was beneficent since "it put an end to the mounting supremacy of the princely power over the power of the assembly." The assembly or "people's law" remained, therefore, the basic principle of Ukrainian history; it never became extinct, and it could not be suppressed by savage neighbors. It must also constitute the basis for any future system of government in the Ukraine, since the Ukrainian people have not lost this paramount ideal of theirs, in spite of the long period of subjugation and servitude. As a result of the Tatar domination, even the Church in the Ukraine lost its aristocratic character and became "a union of brother-countrymen and the common property of the people."

The "assembly law" was best expressed in the Cossack organization which attracted to itself the finest elements of Ukrainian

society. The Cossacks became the defenders of the political, social, and national freedom of the Ukraine, and they were accepted as such by the Ukrainian people as a whole. Thus it is obvious that Kulish was still under the influence of "Populism," and its most prominent exponent, Kostomarov.⁹⁰ Another of his studies "Pochyny lykholittya lyads'koho," is written from the same point of view, although Kulish declares in the preface that he had based it on Polish sources and had ignored the Ukrainian chronicles which are full of phantasy. His admiration for the Cossacks had greatly diminished. Kulish was especially critical of Prince Constantine Ostrozhsky who "with one hand printed the Bible [...] and with the other protected the bloody bandits," and Nalyvayko whom he dethroned from the honored position of "defender of the faith," as created by the "monkish chroniclers and their stupified pupils."

In 1868 Kulish published a lengthy treatise, "Pervyi period kozatstva od yoho pochatku do vorohuvannya z lyakhamy" (The First Period of the Cossacks from Its Beginning to the Hostilities with the Poles), *Pravda*, Lviv, 1868, No. 1-17, 25-35. This work does not manifest Kulish's hostile attitude towards the Cossacks, which was typical in his later publications, but he was already gloomy here about the role of the Cossacks in Ukrainian history. "Having destroyed the mighty Polish kingdom... the Rus' people's spirit failed to create a new edifice of freedom on the smouldering ruins. New beasts of prey were allowed to dominate them instead of the old ones." For this study Kulish used a great deal of material and showed deep and critical understanding of the sources. Therefore M. Hrushevsky commended Kulish's study by saying that "it depicted the social background of Cossack history and was free to a large degree from legendary tradition. It may be classed as the most valuable of all recent historiographies, and it is to be regretted that it [...] had little influence on contemporary literature."⁹¹*

⁹⁰ In one of his later articles D. I. Doroshenko wrote that "the 'populism' in Ukrainian historiography began with Kostomarov's works" (*Ukrainyins'kyi Litopys*, 1947, No. 7-8, p. 31).

⁹¹* M. Hrushevsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*, v. VII, Kiev, 1909, p. 567.

"Pervyi period" was the prototype, as it were, of a larger work which was to be a complete history of the Cossack Ukraine. The first volume of this history appeared in 1873 in St. Petersburg, entitled *Istoriya vozsoedineniya Rusi* (History of the Reunion of Rus'). The second volume appeared a year later, and in 1877 the third volume (brought up to 1620) came out, followed by the *Materialy dlya istorii vozsoedineniya Rusi* (The Materials for the History of the Reunion of Rus'), the last part of this work to be published.⁹² In the *Istoriya vozsoedineniya Rusi* Kulish attempted to evaluate afresh the contemporary Ukrainian historiography, the last word on which had been said by Kostomarov. Basing his work chiefly on Polish sources and belittling the value of Ukrainian sources, Kulish tried to demonstrate that the Cossacks were not a creative force in Ukrainian history, but that, on the contrary, they ruined the culture of the Polish and Ukrainian landowners and nobles, who were the "colonizers of the wild steppes," and builders of a social order. He emphasized the importance of the bourgeoisie in Ukrainian history and pointed out their meritorious defense of their faith and nationality against Polish pressure. At the same time Kulish repeated his contention, previously expressed in the epilogue to *Chorna Rada*, that the Ukrainian people were incapable of creating their own state and that therefore the merger of "northern" and "southern" Rus' was historically inevitable. Instead of the former idealization of Ukrainian life, we find utter contempt expressed here for the people whom Kulish reduces to a quasi-animal level. Ukrainian history, for Kulish, contains "much that is anti-rational," while Polish history "often charms us with its events," (*op.cit.*, I, preface, p. 1-2). Yet in spite of all its culture, Poland's social foundation was disrupted; very early a struggle began between the landlords and nobility on the one hand, and equal rights for the people on the other. Apart from that, Poland suffered as a result of her urge to Polonize and Latinize Rus'. The Nemesis of history was, therefore, just—when quite contrary to

⁹² The second volume of Kulish's *Materials* dwelling on the 1620-1630 years has remained in manuscript.

the nobles' wishes it "levelled the rights of all people in Poland, torn as it was into three parts." (*op. cit.*, I, p. 13).

Not satisfied with sharp criticism of the Ukrainian historiography of earlier days, Kulish also attacked Kostomarov as a representative of the "Ukrainian Cossackophiles," and Shevchenko as "the poet of the Cossack Ukraine." Kulish called Shevchenko's muse "half drunk and reckless," and said that the greater part of what Shevchenko wrote is "not better than dust, to be blown about by the winds." (*op. cit.*, II, p. 24).

Because of his extreme views, partly caused by frustrated ambition, and his rhetoric, even the valuable parts of Kulish's work remained under a cloud. Among these are Kulish's exposition of the origin of the Cossack movement and its first political actions, and the social background of the urban population and of the "brotherhoods." The volume *Materialy* is very valuable.

Kulish's tone is even more vehement in assailing the Cossack and Haydamak periods in his articles "Malyovana Haydamachchyna" (The Over-Decorated Haydamak Period), *Pravda*, 1876, No. 9-12, and "Kozaki v otnoshenii k obshchestvu i gosudarstvu" (The Cossacks in Their Relation to Society and State), *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1877. This latter article prompted Kostomarov to write "O kozakakh" (About the Cossacks), *Russkaya Starina*, 1878.

From the time of the publication of *Istoriya vozsoedineniya Rusi*, which was the cause of a deep rift between Kulish and Ukrainian society, his preoccupation with attacks on the Cossacks became an obsession. He devoted to this some of his poetic and dramatic works, which serve as a commentary on his historical works (e.g., his collections of poetry *Khutorna poeziya* (1882), *Dzvin* (1893), the poems *Marusya Bohuslavka*, *Kulish u pekli*, *Hryts'ko Skovoroda*, the dramas *Bayda*, *Tsar Nalyvay*, *Petro Sahaydachnyi*). In his pamphlet *Krashanka rusynam i polyakam na Velykden' 1882 roku* (An Easter Egg Presented to the Ruthenians and the Poles on Easter 1882) Kulish wanted to be a conciliator between the Poles and the Ukrainians by contending that Ukrainian-Polish hostility in the past had been due to the intrigues of both Catholic and Orthodox clergy. [...] Kulish hoped that the Poles, who were "richer, more powerful,

on a higher level of culture and more experienced in politics," would be the first to welcome such an agreement. As is well known, Kulish's efforts were fruitless since the reasons for Polish-Ukrainian discontent lay deeper than Kulish assumed.

Towards the end of his life Kulish attempted to complete his work on the history of the Ukraine which he had begun by publishing *Istoriya vozsoedineniya Rusi*. He published *Otpadenie Malorossii ot Pol'shi, 1340-1654* (The Secession of Little Russia from Poland, 1340-1654) in three volumes (Moscow, 1888-89), offering nothing original and repeating his charges against the Cossacks. The whole work resembles a political pamphlet rather than a historical study. The history of the Cossack Ukraine appears as a tale of pillage, banditry, and ruin. Khmelnytsky was a bandit and a traitor, while Kostomarov's study of him is described by Kulish as a "debased Clio." The appearance of *Otpadenie Malorossii* provoked no response from Ukrainian historians; only the Moscow historian, G. Karpov, defended Khmelnytsky as the sponsor of union with Russia in his article "V zashchitu B. Khmel'nitskago," *Chteniya*, Moscow, 1889.

Kulish's last historical study, "Ukrainskie kozaki i pany v dvadtsatiletie pered buntom Khmel'nitskago" (Ukrainian Cossacks and Landlords in Two Decades Before the Rebellion of Khmelnytsky), (*Russkoe Obczrenie*, 1895) was written in a similar spirit.

Passionate and violent in his impulses, Kulish was driven by an urge to search for truth, yet he was dissatisfied with the explanations offered by contemporary historiography. Looking at life from too theoretical an angle, Kulish could not formulate for himself a clear idea of the national and political strivings of the Ukrainian people, while he had abandoned the earlier position won by the author of *Istoriya Rusov*. He was confused by conflicting beliefs in the "people's law," the cultural mission of the Polish aristocracy, and the state functional mission of Moscow, and had therefore lost sight of those forces in Ukrainian history which worked towards the creation of a Ukrainian state. He is a tragic figure in the Ukrainian National Revival and he failed to occupy

the place in Ukrainian historiography for which he was qualified by his talent and his sharp critical mind.

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PUBLISHERS OF HISTORICAL MATERIALS AND RESEARCHERS INTO LOCAL ANTIQUITY

As has already been mentioned, apart from great scholars like Maksymovych, Bodyansky, Kostomarov, and Kulish, there were many less prominent workers in the field of Ukrainian historiography during the 1840's and 1850's. They all came from the ranks of the Ukrainian gentry which had best preserved the traditions of the past and cultivated it like the earlier generations. It is only in the 1860's and 1870's, when cosmopolitan and radical ideas came to the Ukraine from Muscovy, that this old Ukrainian patriotism and this old spirit of national and historical tradition began to disappear among the gentry, descendants of the Cossack *starshyna*. From that time onwards the Ukrainian movement was mostly represented by the members of other classes, mainly by the urban intelligentsia. That is the reason for the decay of national and historical tradition at the end of the nineteenth century, when the problem of Ukrainian independence had to be raised anew and the young generation found little support for their claim to Ukrainian independence among the older people, brought up in the spirit of ideas of Populism and statelessness. Hence the younger generation, not having found any support in tradition, relegated the question of Ukrainian statehood to a secondary plane and became interested in other problems raised by the Russian progressive circles, which influenced the ideas of the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

M. Sudiyenko, O. Markovych, and M. Bilozersky, were most active in publishing historical materials.

Mykhaylo Sudiyenko (1803-1871) was a wealthy landowner in the District of Novhorod Siversky where he owned the beautiful Ochkino estate on the River Desna. From 1848-57 he was the chairman of the Kiev Archeographic Commission. His greatest contribution to Ukrainian historiography was his publishing of *Opisanie Chernigovskago namestnichestva* (The Description of the Chernihiv Vicegerency) by O. Shafonsky, Kiev, 1851. He published also *Materialy dlya otechestvennoi istorii*, Kiev, 1853, 2 vols., which contained the journal of Hetman Apostol's journey to Moscow in 1728, as well as the latter's proclamations, a description of his estates, and the correspondence of Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky.

Oleksander Markovych (1790-1865), the younger brother of Yakiv Mykhaylovych Markovych, one of the most cultured and educated men of his time, was Marshal of Nobility of the Chernihiv Province and resided at his estate in the village of Svarkiv near Hlukhiv, which had been acquired by his grandfather, the author of *Diary*. Markovych collected materials on Ukrainian history and printed some of them in 1824 in the journal *Ukrainskii Zhurnal*. He was the compiler of *Istoricheskaya i statisticheskaya zapiska o dvoryanskom soslovii i dvoryanskikh imushchestvakh v Chernigovskoi gubernii* (Historical and Statistical Note About the Nobility and the Nobles' Estates in the Province of Chernihiv) published in *Materialy dlya statistiki Rossiiskoi imperii* (Materials for Statistics on the Russian Empire) of the Ministry of the Interior, 1841, vol. 2. It was later republished in Chernihiv (1894) [...]. In 1859 Markovych published the *Diary* of his grandfather as *Dnevnyya Zapiski malorosiiskago general'nago podskarbiya Yakova Markovicha* (The Daily Notes of the Little Russian General Treasurer, Yakiv Markovych), Moscow, 2 vols. [...]

Mykola Bilozersky (1833-1896), the brother of Oleksandra Kulish and of Vasyľ Bilozersky, the editor of *Osnova*, was a landowner in the District of Borzna. During his youth he was strongly influenced by Kulish. He was interested in Ukrainian

ethnography and participated in the publication *Sbornik malorusskikh pesen'* (A Collection of Little Russian Songs) by A. Metlynsky (1854). Bilozersky published *Yuzhnorusskiya letopisi, otkrytyya i izdannyya N. Belozerskim* (South Russian Chronicles, Discovered and Edited by M. Bilozersky), vol. I, Kiev 1856. It comprised: 1) "Chernigovskaya letopis' 1587-1750" (The Chernihiv Chronicle 1587-1750); 2) "Kratkoe letoizobrazitel'noe opisanie 1506-1783" (A Short Chronicle from 1506-1783); 3) "Khronologiya vysokoslavnykh i yasnovel'mozhnykh getmanov 1506-1765" (A Chronology of the Renowned and Illustrious Hetmans 1506-1765); 4) "Imyannaya rospis' malorossiiskikh getmanov 1505-1782" (A Chronological Index of Little Russian Hetmans 1505-1782); 5) "Slovo vo vremya bezdozhdiya" (Sermon at the Time of Drought); 6) "Lement lyudey pobozhnykh, shcho sya stalo v Lytovskoy zemli" (Lament of the Pious People on Events in the Lithuanian Land). This publication was well received by Maksymovych, Kostomarov, and Lazarevsky. At the end of his life Bilozersky published two articles in *Kievskaya Starina*, one about Shevchenko (1882, X), and "Otryvki i zametki o malorusskoi starine" (Notes and Extracts About Little Russian Antiquity), 1884, V.

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Among the numerous researchers in local antiquities, *Mykola Zakrevsky* (1805-1871), the historian of Kiev, deserves special mention. As early as 1836 he published *Ocherk istorii goroda Kiev* (An Outline of the History of Kiev), Revel; later he published an expanded edition of it entitled *Letopis' i opisanie goroda Kiev* (A Chronicle and Description of the City of Kiev), Moscow, 1858; and finally *Opisanie Kiev*, (A Description of

Kiev) in 2 vols. published by the Moscow Archeological Society in Moscow, in 1868. This is the most important work on the history and archeology of Kiev. Zakrevsky is also the author of a collection of ethnographic material entitled *Starosvetskii bandurista* (An Old-fashioned Bandurist), Moscow, 1860-61.

Archbishop *Filaret Humilevsky* (1805-1866), although not of Ukrainian origin, rendered great service to the history of the Ukrainian Church, to the administration of Kharkiv and Chernihiv Provinces, and to the history of the population of these lands. He studied local archives while he was the Bishop of Kharkiv and Chernihiv and published the results of his investigations in *Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisaniie Khar'kovskoi eparkhii* (A Historical and Statistical Description of the Diocese of Kharkiv), 1857-1859, and *Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisaniie Chernigovskoi eparkhii* (A Historical and Statistical Description of the Chernihiv Diocese), 1871-74.

Hryhoriy Kvitka, (1778-1843), the "father" of the Ukrainian novel, wrote several distinguished historical studies of the Slobidska Ukraine: 1) *Kratkoe opisaniie zhizni Ioasafa Gorlenka* (A Short Description of the Life of Ioasaf Horlenko), Kiev, 1836; 2) "Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisaniie Slobozhanshchiny" (A Historical-Statistical Description of the Slobozhanshchyna), *Khar'k. Gub. Vedomosti*, 1838; 3) "Golovatyi, Materialy dlya istorii Malorossii" (Holovatyi, Materials for Little Russian History), *Otechestvennyia Zapiski*, 1838, No. 11; 4) "O slobodskikh polkakh" (Of the Slobidsky Regiments), *Sovremennik*, 1840; 5) "Ukraintsy" (The Ukrainians), *Sovremennik*, 1841; 6) "Gorod Khar'kov" (The City of Kharkiv), *Sovremennik*, 1840.

Hryhoriy Danylevsky (1829-1890) devoted himself to the history of the Province of Kharkiv in his *Ukrainskaya starina* (Ukrainian Antiquity), 1863.

Vadym Passek (1807-1842) also dealt with the history of the Kharkiv Province in several of his works. He aided in the popularization of Ukrainian history through his *Ocherki Rossii* (Russian Survey), 5 vols., 1838-42, in which Sreznevsky was one of the collaborators. Passek is also the author of *Istoriko-statisticheskoe opisaniie Khar'kovskoi gubernii* (A Historical and Sta-

tistical Description of the Kharkiv Province), published in the first volume of the *Materialy dlya statistiki Rossiiskoi Imperii* (1839); there appeared also Passek's *Goroda Khar'kovskoi gubernii* (The Towns of the Kharkiv Province).

Apolon Skal'kovsky (1808-1898) devoted himself to the history of Zaporozhe and the South Ukraine. He made use of the archives of the Last Zaporozhian Sich. In 1840 he published *Ocherki Zaporozh'ya* (A Zaporozhian Survey) in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, 1840, Nos. 3-4. In the same year there appeared in Odessa his *Istoriya Novoi Sechi ili poslednyago Kosha Zaporozhskago* (A History of the New Sich, or of the Last Zaporozhian Kish) which because of its rich documentary material continues to be useful today. A second edition of it was published in 1846, and in 1885-86 a third edition came out in three volumes in Odessa. Skal'kovsky also wrote the following articles: "Snosheniya Zaporozh'ya s Krymom v 1749 g." (The Relations Between Zaporozhe and Crimea in 1749), *Odesskii Vestnik*, 1841, No. 72-73; "Naezdy gaidamak na Zapadnuyu Ukrainu v XVIII st. (1738-1768)" (The Raids of the Haydamaks on Western Ukraine in the XVIII Century, 1738-1768), Odessa, 1845; [...] "Dunaitsy: Epizod iz turetskoi kampanii 1769-1774 gg." (Dunaytsy: An Episode from the Turkish Campaign of 1769-1774), *Vremennik*, 1854, No. 19; and others. Later he published in *Kievskaya Starina* "Filip Orlik i zaporozhtsy" (Philip Orlyk and the Zaporozhians), 1882, IV; "Neskol'ko dokumentov iz istorii gaidamachestva" (Some Documents from the History of the Haydamaks) 1885, X; "Astronom Eiler v Sechi Zaporozhskoi v 1770 g." (Astronom Eyler on the Zaporozhian Sich in 1770), 1891, X; and others.

The Katerynoslav Archbishop *Havriil Rozanov* (deceased 1856) contributed a great deal to the history of Zaporozhe. He was the author of a treatise on the Zaporozhian Samara Monastery (1838), of "Otryvok iz povestvovaniya o Novorossiiskom krae 1751-1786" (Notes of the Narrations on the Novorossiia Land 1751-1786), *Zapiski Odesskago obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, III-V, 1853; *Ocherk povestvovaniya o Novorossiiskom krae iz ori-*

ginal'nykh istochnikov pocherpnutyi (A Survey of the Novorossia Land Based on Original Sources), 1857; and he was the editor of the *Memoirs of Mykyta Korzh*, an old Zaporozhian Cossack, (1842).⁹³ His works based on archival material are still useful.

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⁹³ *Memoirs of Mykyta Korzh* were published in Ukrainian by Oleksa Storozhenko in Vol. 2 of his *Ukrayins'ki opovidannya*, St. Petersburg, 1863.

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OFFICIAL STEPS TO ORGANIZE ARCHEOGRAPHIC RESEARCH IN THE UKRAINE; ATTEMPTS TO FOUND A PUBLICATION DEVOTED TO UKRAINIAN HISTORY

As early as the 1840's Maksymovych suggested that a learned society should be created in Kiev to devote itself to the study of the Ukrainian past. This idea, although in a different form, found support in government circles, and in 1843 a *Vremennaya Komissiya dlya razbora drevnikh aktov* (Provisional Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents) was created as an affiliate of the Governor General's Office in Kiev, Volynia, and Podolia. The government's purpose in creating the *Vremennaya Komissiya* was to concentrate and assemble under its control all the archives and collections of historical documents that would demonstrate that this land had been "Russian since time immemorial," and that the policy of Russification which the government pursued at that time (after the suppression of the Polish uprising in 1830-31) was justified by history and was an attempt to restore the country to the form in which it had existed before Polish rule.

Yet the execution of this idea was entrusted to men who were concerned first of all with scholarship and who, in addition, were Ukrainian patriots. Therefore the *Vremennaya Komissiya* turned out to be a body which rendered great service to Ukrainian historiography, by publishing volumes of valuable materials and sponsoring the creation of Central Archives in Kiev to house materials from the Left-Bank as well as the Right-Bank Ukraine.

The first President of the *Vremennaya Komissiya* was the Chief Secretary of the Governor's Office, N. Pisarev, and his assistant was Baron S. Shoduar (Chaudoir). However, Pisarev was very soon replaced by Mykhaylo Sudyenko.[...] Among the members of the Commission and its editors were Professors Maksymovych, Ivanyshchev^{94*} and V. Dombrovsky; among the

^{94*} *Mykola Ivanyshchev* (1811-1874), born into an old Ukrainian clergy family, was a professor and rector of the Kiev University, a historian and specialist in history of law, and studied public (so-called *kopni*) trials in the Right-Bank Ukraine. His study "O drevnikh sel'skikh obshchinakh v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii"

contributors who were to collect and record historical materials were P. Kulish, T. Shevchenko and M. Rigelman.

In 1846-48 the Commission collected a wealth of material (including notes by Professor Ivanyshév on archeological findings near Perepyatykha) and began to publish its series *Pamyatniki* (Memoirs). The four volumes of the *Pamyatniki* comprised:

Vol. I (Kiev, 1845), second edition 1848; third edition 1898:

- a. Records of the Luts'k Khrest'o-Vozdv'yzhensky Brotherhood, 1617-1713 (constitution of the Brotherhood, privileges, decrees, and resolutions).
- b. Documents on relations between peasants and landlords, 1490-1596.
- c. Documents on the history of the Ukraine, 1648-49; official and private correspondence, "Universals," decrees, reports and notes on the time of Khmelnytsky.

Vol. II (Kiev, 1846), second edition, 1898:

- a. Records of the Kiev Bohoyavlensky Brotherhood, 1615-1787.
- b. Ustav o volokakh (Land-owning Staute) of King Sigismund-August, 1557.
- c. Documents on the history of the Ukraine, 1650-51.

Vol. III (Kiev, 1852); second edition, 1898:

- a. Records of the Lviv Brotherhood, 1586-1637.
- b. Documents on landownership by landlords in the 16th century.
- c. Documents on the history of the Ukraine, 1652-1660.

Vol. IV (Kiev, 1859):

- a. Records of minor brotherhoods and monasteries.
- b. Description of Volynian castles, 1545.
- c. Documents on the history of the Ukraine, 1660-64.

(On Ancient Country Communities in South-West Russia) was published in *Russkaya Beseda*, 1857, II, and separately, Kiev, 1863. It was reprinted in *Sobranie Sochinenii* (Collected Works) by Ivanyshév, Kiev, 1876. The Ukrainian translation was published in the supplement to volume XV of the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*, Lviv, 1893.

Simultaneously with the *Pamyatniki* there appeared three fascicles of *Drevnosti* (Antiquities) with text describing archeological discoveries by Ivanyshév and with drawings by T. Shevchenko.

In a separate series the following Cossack chronicles were published:

1) *Letopis' sobytii v Yougo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVII st. sostavlen-naya v 1720 g. b. kantselyaristcm Malorossiiskoi Generalnoi Kantselyarii Samoilom Velichkom*, (A Chronicle of Events in South-West Russia in the XVII Century Composed in 1720 by the Former Secretary of the Little Russian General Chancellery, Samoil Velychko), 4 volumes, 1848, 1851, 1855, 1864.

2) *Letopis' gadyachskago polkovnika Gr. Grabyanki s prilozhe-niem otryukov iz letopisnago sbornika, pisannago v 1699 g. ieromonakhom L. Bobolinskim i reestra chernigovskikh knyazei pogrebennykh v Chernigove, sostavlennago 1792 g. prot. Le-vitskim* (A Chronicle by the Hadyach Colonel H. Hrabynka with a Supplement Containing Extracts from a Compilation of Chronicles Written in 1699 by the Hieromonach L. Bobolynsky, and a Register of the Chernihiv Princes Buried in Chernihiv, Written in 1792 by Archpriest Levitsky), 1853.

The book *Zhizn' knyazya A. Kurbskago v Litve i na Volyni* (The Life of Prince Kurbsky in Lithuania and in Volynia), the records edited by Ivanyshév, was also published by the Commission, 2 volumes, 1849.

The activity of the Commission was intensified in the 1860's after the second Polish uprising in 1863, when the government increased its drive against Polish influences in the Right-Bank Ukraine and granted fresh funds to support the Commission's publications. Michael Yuzefovych, the notorious begetter of the 1876 *Ukaz*⁹⁵ was the president of the Commission from 1857 to

⁹⁵ The *Ukaz* of Tsar Alexander II, dated May 18, 1876, forbade publishing in the Ukrainian language; it was inspired by the Russian administration in the Ukraine.

1889. The high level of the publications, however, was due to V. Antonovych, the secretary and editor to the Commission.

Among the collaborators in the work of the Commission in the 1870-80's were the following scholars: S. Ternovsky, T. Lebedyntsev, M. Vladimirsky-Budanov, I. Novytsky, Orest Levytsky, M. Storozhenko, S. Golubev, I. Kamanin, A. Storozhenko; in the 1890-1900's also M. Hrushevsky, M. Yasinsky, M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, N. Molchanovsky, V. Shcherbyna, A. Krylovsky, and V. Kordt.

The chief publication of the Commission was now *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of South-West Russia) which appeared in eight separate series: 1) documents concerning Church history; 2) history of self-government by the nobility; 3) history of the Cossacks and the Haydamaks; 4) history of the gentry; 5) history of the townsfolk; 6) history of the peasantry; 7) colonization; 8) history of class organizations and local customs.

The volumes in the different series appeared at irregular intervals and contained, as a rule, a preface by their editors. For reasons of space it is only possible to indicate briefly the contents of those publications having tremendous importance in Ukrainian historiography.

The first series (1859-1914) comprised 12 volumes on the history of the Ukrainian Church from 1481 to 1798 (including the Church Union, the subjugation of the Kiev Metropolitanate to the Moscow Patriarch, the last period of the Orthodox Church in Galicia, the Stavropigian Brotherhood in Lviv, records of ecclesiastical literature and polemics). Among the prefaces (which often reached the proportions of a monograph), the one by O. Levytsky ("Vnutrennee sostoyanie Zapadno-russkoi Tserkvi v Pol'sko-Litovskom gosudarstve v kontse XVI v. i Uniya"—Inner Condition of the West Rus' Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State at the End of the XVI Century and the Church Union), vol. VI, 1884, is outstanding, while the introductions by T. Lebedyntsev, S. Ternovsky, S. Golubev, and V. Antonovych are also valuable.

The second series (1861-1910) in 3 volumes, comprises docu-

ments concerned with the nobles' self-government in the Right-Bank Ukraine, and the history of provincial assemblies and their resolutions (from the sixteenth century to 1726). The editors of this series were Ivanyshch, Kamanin, and M. Storozhenko.

The third series (six volumes) is of special importance. The first volume contains documents on the Cossacks 1500-1648, prefaced by V. Antonovych ("O proiskhozhdenii kozachestva"—On the Origin of the Cossacks), 1863. The second volume contains documents on the Cossacks (1679-1716) with Antonovych's preface "Posledniya vremena kozachestva na pravom beregu Dniepra" (The Last Days of the Cossacks on the Right Bank of the Dnieper), 1868. The third volume contains documents on the Haydamaks (1700-1768) with a preface by Antonovych "Izsledovanie o gaidamachestve" (A Study of the Haydamak Movement), 1876. The fourth volume contains documents on the uprising of Khmelnytsky (1648-54) with an introductory study by I. Kamanin "Uchastie yuzhno-russkago naseleniya v vozstanii B. Khmel'nitskago" (The Participation of the South Rus' Population in the Insurrection of B. Khmelnytsky), 1916. The fifth volume contains documents on the Volynian unrest in 1789 with an introduction by V. Antonovych "O mnimom krest'yanskom vozstanii na Volyni" (The Alleged Peasant Uprising in Volynia), 1902. The sixth volume, edited and prefaced by N. Molchanovsky, contains the documents of the Swedish State Archives, 1649-60, concerning relations with the Ukraine (1908).

The fourth series consisted of one volume of documents dealing with the origin of the gentry families from 1442-1760, edited by V. Antonovych, who also wrote a study "Ob okolichnoi shlyakhete" (The Neighboring Gentry), 1867.

The fifth series comprised two volumes, devoted to the townsfolk. The first volume contains documents on the towns in Volynia, the Province of Kiev, and Podolia in 1432-1798, accompanied by a treatise by V. Antonovych "Izsledovanie o gorodakh v Yugo-Zapadnom krae" (A Study of Towns in the South-West Lands), 1869. The second volume (in two parts) contains materials about the Jewish population, 1765-1791, with a study by I. Kamanin (1891).

The sixth series also comprised two volumes: The first, with a study by I. Novytsky "Ocherk istorii krest'yanskago sosloviya v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XV-XVIII v." (A Survey of the History of the Peasants in South-West Russia in the XV-XVIII Centuries), 1876. The second volume was prefaced by V. Antonovych "O krest'yanakh Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii" (The Peasants of South-West Russia), 1870.

The seventh series, in three volumes, was devoted to the colonization of the Right-Bank Ukraine (1386-1668) with an introductory study by M. Vladimirsky-Budanov.

The eighth series consisted of six volumes. The first two volumes, with an introduction by M. Hrushevsky, contained documents concerning the Barskoe Starostvo in the XV-XVIII centuries. Hrushevsky's study is entitled "Barskoe starostvo, isto-cheskie ocherki" (Barskoe Starostvo; Historical Sketch), 1893-1894. The third volume is entitled "Akty o brachnom prave i semeinom byte v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XVI-XVII vv." (Documents Concerning Marriage Laws and Family Life in South-West Russia in the XVI and XVII Centuries), with a study by O. Levytsky (1909); the fourth volume: "Akty o zemlevladdenii v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii XV-XVIII vv." (Documents Concerning Ownership of Land in South-West Russia in the XV-XVIII Centuries) with an introduction by M. Vladimirsky-Budanov, "Tserkovnye imushchestva v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii XVI v." (The Church Estates in South-West Russia in the XVI Century), 1907; the fifth volume: "Akty ob ukrainskoi administratsii XVI-XVII vv." (Documents on the Ukrainian Administration in the XVI-XVII Centuries), with a study by M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky "Ukrainskiya starostva v pervoi polovine XVI v." (Ukrainian Starostva in the First Half of the XVI Century), 1907; the sixth volume: "Akty o zemlevladdenii XV-XVIII v." (Documents on Land Ownership in the XV-XVIII Centuries), 1911, with a study by M. Vladimirsky-Budanov "Zastavnoe vladenie." Three other volumes were scheduled to appear: the seventh and eighth, edited by M. Yasinsky, "Akty o kopnykh i dominial'nykh sudakh XVI-XVIII vv." (Documents on Public and *Dominiyalni* Courts in the XVI-XVIII Centuries), and the ninth, edited by M. Dov-

nar-Zapol'sky, "Akty o naselenii Volynskago voevodstva XVI-XVIII vv." (Documents Concerning the Population of the Volynian Province in the XVI-XVIII Centuries).⁹⁶

Two indispensable reference works were also published by the Commission: *Ukazatel' imen lichnykh* (An Index to Proper Names), 1878, and *Ukazatel' imen geograficheskikh* (An Index of Geographical Names), 1883, compiled by I. Novytsky.

Apart from *Arkhiv* the Commission continued to publish texts of chronicles and other historical material:

1. *Letopis' Samovidtsa po novootkrytym spiskam* (The Chronicle of Samovydet's According to Newly Discovered Texts), edited by O. Levytsky with a study by him, supplemented by the Khmelnytsky Chronicle, *Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii* (A Short Description of Little Russia) and *Sobranie istoricheskoe* (Historical Collection), by S. Lukomsky, 1878.

2. *Sbornik letopisei otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (A Collection of Chronicles Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia), edited by V. Antonovych, 1888.

3. *Sbornik materialov dlya istoricheskoi topografii g. Kieva* (A Collection of Materials Relating to the Historical Topography of Kiev) edited by V. Antonovych, 1874.

4. *Paleograficheskii Izbornik* (A Paleographic Collection) compiled by I. Kamanin, 1909.

5. *Materialy po istorii russkoi kartografii* (Materials for the History of Russian Cartography); two volumes with old maps of the Ukraine, compiled by V. Kordt.⁹⁷

[...] the Commission published *Sbornik materialov po istorii Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (A Collection of Materials for the History of South-Western Russia), two volumes, 1914, 1916, which contained several important studies: the monograph on the Kievan Bishop J. Vereshchynsky by A. Storozhenko; "Dokumenty epokhi

⁹⁶ These volumes have not been published.

⁹⁷ The third volume of the Cartographic Collection of V. Kordt was published by the Archeographic Commission of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: *Materialy do istoriyi kartohrafiyi Ukrayiny* (Materials for the History of the Cartography of the Ukraine), part I, Kiev, 1931.

B. Khmel'nitskago 1656-57" (Documents of the Epoch of B. Khmelnytsky 1656-57), and "Dogovory B. Khmel'nitskago s Pol'shei, Shvetsiei i Rossiei" (Treaties by B. Khmelnytsky with Poland, Sweden, and Russia), both by I. Kamanin.^{98*}

Almost simultaneously with the creation of the Vremennaya Komissiia in Kiev, similar commissions were established in Vitebsk and Vilno. Some publications of these commissions, especially *Akty izdavaemye Vilenskoyu Arkheographicheskoyu Komissiei* (Documents Published by the Vilno Archeographic Commission) are important for those historians who specialize in the "Lithuanian" period of Ukrainian history.

In 1839 an Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei (Society of History and Antiquities) was founded in Odessa. It issued a publication (*Zapiski*) in which much space was devoted to Zaporozhe and South Ukraine, although attention was chiefly focused on the history of the Black Sea Coast. Among the contributors who wrote on the Zaporozhian past were: N. Murzakevych, N. Vertilyak, O. Andriyevsky and others. The *Zapiski* also printed some historical materials as, for instance, *Istoriya o zaporozhskikh kozakakh* (A History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks) by Prince S. Myshetsky, a description of the Dnieper from 1687 (vol. III), and "Stateinyi spisok V. Tyapkina i N. Zotova," about the Bakhchisaray Treaty in 1681 (vol. II).

The need for the publication of a periodical exclusively devoted to Ukrainian history was very acute. A. Chepa planned such a historical journal but his plans were not realized, and Ukrainian scholarship remained without an organ of its own. Ukrainian literary magazines, like *Ukrainskii Zhurnal* or the symposia *Molodyk* (edited by I. Betsky) and *Kievlyanin* (edited by M. Maksymovych) also published many articles on Ukrainian history, but since they existed only for short periods, their importance was secondary. Kulish's *Zapiski o Yuzhnoi Rusi* did not become a periodical and ceased publication after the second volume.

^{98*} About the Commission activities see: O. Levytsky, *Pyatidesyatiletie Vremennoi Komissii dlya razbora drevnikh aktov* (Fifty Years of the Provisional Commission for the Study of Ancient Documents), Kiev, 1893; also Volume I of Commission's *Sbornik*, Kiev, 1914.

Some contributions to Ukrainian history were printed in *Chteniya* of the Moscow Historical Society, due only to the personal efforts of O. Bodyansky. [...]

The appearance in St. Petersburg in 1861 of the Ukrainian periodical *Osnova*, edited by Vasył' Bilozersky, was therefore of the greatest importance to the development of Ukrainian historiography. This journal was devoted to Ukrainian history and during the two years of its publication it performed a great service to Ukrainian scholarship. Twelve issues of *Osnova* were published in 1861 and ten in 1862. It printed, among others, Kostomarov's articles *Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi*, and *Dve russkiya narodnosti*; Kulish's *Khmelnychchyna*, and *Istoriya Ukrainy od naydavnnyshykh chasiv*; the treatises by O. Lazarevsky on the speech of Polubotok before Peter I and on Ukrainian schools and hospitals in the 18th century; P. Yefymenko's studies; and several other most valuable articles and notes.

Apart from the articles, *Osnova* published some historical material, the most valuable of which were: the "Journal" of the Ukrainian Deputies during their journey to St. Petersburg in 1745 before the election of the new Hetman (1862), II; A Contemporary Note on the Uman Slaughter of 1768 (1862, III); A letter of Hetman Orlyk to the Metropolitan Stefan Yavorsky in 1721 (a most important document for the study of Mazepa's policy), 1862, X. In the section "Documents," correspondence (e.g., between Peter I and Mazepa), proclamations, and official papers were also published. The journal, too, provided a current bibliography of literature on Ukrainian history and ethnography. Its general trend was dictated by Kostomarov's idea of democracy and Ukrainian autonomy, and in Kulish's articles there was the necessary "self-criticism in appraising the present and the past," which, as stated in the preface to the first issue, was the aim of the journal. After the expiration of *Osnova* in 1862 Ukrainian historical science was once again left without a journal for two decades.

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THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REVIVAL IN THE
RIGHT-BANK UKRAINE; THE "UKRAINIAN SCHOOL"
IN POLISH LITERATURE; THE "KHLOPOMANY";
VOLODYMYR ANTONOVYCH

Ukrainian national tradition was best preserved in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the former Hetman State and in the territory of the *Slobidska Ukraine* because there the forms of Ukrainian statehood, established in the seventeenth century, continued for the longest time. Many old social customs were kept there as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. Most important of all, the Ukrainian aristocracy, offspring of the Cossack elders, was most firmly established here on the left bank of the Dnieper, and under the superficial layer of Russian culture, language, and manners, it still continued to follow the traditional pattern of life. This explains why the sons and grandsons of the Cossack officers were among the first Ukrainian cultural protagonists in the nineteenth century. For a long time the Ukrainian national movement was kept alive by the representatives of the Ukrainian nobility and gentry, and only later were they joined by the representatives of other social classes, whose most outstanding spokesman was the peasant serf—Taras Shevchenko.

The situation in the Right-Bank Ukraine was different. Here, after the destruction of the Cossacks in the early eighteenth century, there was no social group remaining which could defend the Ukrainian cause. Great spontaneous mass movements, such as the *Haydamaky*, brought little benefit to the national revival, causing only bloodshed and ruin. The Ukrainian Orthodox nobility, already decimated in the prolonged wars of the XVII

century, had been thoroughly Catholicized and Polonized. Its ranks were supplemented by colonists from Poland. Even the clergy, both Uniate and Orthodox, accepted the external forms of Polish culture. The only remaining representatives of the Ukrainian people and its tradition were impoverished and illiterate peasants—serfs. The cultural hold of Polish influence was strengthened after the fall of the *Rzecz Pospolita*, when Poland came under Russian domination and when, under the able leadership of T. Czacki,⁹⁹ the Right-Bank Ukraine was covered with Polish educational and cultural institutions, the most prominent of which was the Lyceum in Kremenets, in Volynia.

Yet even among the Polonized Ukrainian nobility there lay hidden a weak spark of Ukrainian national consciousness. Ethnically, the typical representative of the Polonized Ukrainian nobility differs even today from the Polish nobility.^{100*} Their attachment to the Ukrainian land and their love of the Ukrainian landscape is so deep as to betray them at once as Ukrainians. Therefore, in the nineteenth century, when the Romantic movement coming from the West reached the Right-Bank Ukraine, in opposition to the Polish tradition which always portrayed the Cossacks as the age-long enemies of Poland, a group of Polish poets and writers in the Ukraine formed the so-called "Ukrainian School" and set out to idealize the Cossack past.

Beginning with the poet A. Malczewski (1793-1826), the author of the poem *Marya*, several representatives of this School devoted themselves in their works to the portrayal of Ukrainian history. B. Zaleski (1802-1886), S. Goszczyński (1803-1876), A. Groza (1807-1875), T. Olizarowski (1814-1879), and M. Czajkowski (1808-1886) belong to this group of writers. Some of the writers of the "Ukrainian School," like B. Zaleski and T. Padura (1801-1872) wrote in Ukrainian as well as in Polish. This literary "Ukrainian" trend in Polish literature was not limited to poetry and belles-lettres alone. It led to an awakening among

⁹⁹ Count Tadeusz Czacki, a well-known Polish scholar and educator, active in the Right-Bank Ukraine at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

^{100*} See: J. Talko-Hryncewicz, *Szlachta ukraińska, Materyaly antropologiczno-archeologiczne*, wyd. Akad. Umiejętności w Krakowie, 1897, v. XI.

Polish scholars of an interest in Ukrainian history and ethnography [...]

In addition to *Michał Grabowski* (1805-1863) who, besides historical novels of Ukrainian life, wrote historical studies, the following Polish writers made contributions to Ukrainian historiography: *Edward Rulikowski*, the author of the most valuable monograph *Opis powiatu wasilkowskiego* (A Description of Vasylykiv District), Warsaw, 1853; of the article "Dawne, drogi i szlaki na prawym brzegu Dniepra" (Old Roads and Paths on the Right Bank of the Dnieper), *Ateneum*, 1878, III-IV; and of the book (published posthumously) *Opis powiatu kijowskiego* (Description of Kiev District), Kiev, 1913; *Tadeusz Jerzy Stecki* (1838-1888), the author of several studies concerned with Volynia: *Wołyń pod względem statystycznym, historycznym i archeologicznym* (Volynia, From a Statistical, Historical and Archeological Point of View), Lviv, 1864-71, 2 vols.; *Gotfryd Ossowski*, *Antoni Nowoselski*, *Izydor Kopernicki*, and later *Alexander Jablonowski*, *Marjan Dubiecki*, *Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński*, and *Józef Tretiak* belonged to the same group.

All of these writers were brought up in the strong national traditions of the old Polish state which they believed was tolerant toward Ukrainian culture, and they therefore regarded themselves as Polish citizens, just as *Hohol* (Gogol) and *Danylevsky* considered themselves citizens of Russia. During their upbringing and schooling they belonged to the Polish culture and state and therefore could not conceive of an independent status for the Ukraine, except as part of Poland.

Yet even among the Polonized Ukrainians in the Right-Bank Ukraine there arose in the 1850's a movement which led many of them back to the ancestral traditions of the Ukraine. This trend undoubtedly had its origin in the "Ukrainian School" among the Polish writers. Yet the main impulse for this retreat from the Polish toward the Ukrainian camp came from two social trends—the so-called "balahul'stvo" and later the so-called *khlopomanstvo* (literally, "lovers of the peasants"). The first of them manifested itself in the 1830's and 1840's, the second in the 1850's. "Balahul'stvo" was a sort of democratic protest by the

gentry against the overbearing nobility and powerful landowners. It was a romantic gesture against outworn modes of life and thought and was linked with glorification of the Cossacks—an attempt to imitate the peasants, their speech and customs, and to sing their songs. With all its romantic and eccentric elements “balahul’sstvo” awakened a certain interest in the Ukrainian past.

Khlopomanstvo, which arose in response to the revolutionary ideas of the Polish fighters for freedom (like S. Konarski who was executed in Vilno in 1839) and to Western European influences, was more serious in character. The so-called “Khlopomany” or “Purists” adopted the platform of the emancipation of the peasantry and democratization of the social system. “Khlopomany,” as one of their followers ably put it, “were democrats; they ridiculed aristocratic prejudices and the interminable appeal to historic traditions... They recognized that the peasants are not ‘cattle’ and that they should be respected and educated in their native language. They understood the necessity for religious toleration and for immediate liberation of the serfs.”

“Khlopomanstvo” which started among the students, the sons of the gentry who were attending Kiev University, produced in the 1850’s a group of men who uncompromisingly adopted the Ukrainian position and left the Polish milieu. Together with representatives of the Ukrainian students from the Left-Bank Ukraine they formed the “Ukrayins’ka Hromada” (Ukrainian Community). This group was headed by Volodymyr Antonovych, Kost’ Mykhal’chuk, Borys Poznansky, and Tadeush Ryl’sky.

In their activities they met with great obstacles. They had left the Polish community at a time when Polish youth was preparing itself for an uprising, and as a consequence their step was regarded by the Poles as an act of national treason. Such accusations were made publicly against Antonovych and his comrades and forced them to defend themselves publicly also. This movement from Polish to Ukrainian national traditions, which never assumed wide proportions, was limited to individuals who, nonetheless, made a most valuable contribution to Ukrainian culture. In particular, Antonovych became one of

the greatest figures of modern Ukrainian historiography and is often regarded as its Nestor.

Volodymyr Antonovych (1834-1908) was born in Makhnivka in the Province of Kiev, into a small landowning family. He was educated at the Lyceum in Odessa and later at Kiev University, where he completed two courses of studies: medical (1855) and historico-philological (1860). For some time he was a school teacher, and in 1870, after receiving his Master's Degree he obtained the post of Professor of Russian History at Kiev University. [...] After 1863 he also held a post in the Archeographic Commission, and in 1881 he was elected chairman of the "Nestor the Chronicler Society" in Kiev. He died in Kiev in the spring of 1908.

Antonovych played a very active part in Ukrainian life for over fifty years, particularly when he was the chairman of the Kiev "Stara Hromada" (Old Community). His influence spread to Galicia where an agreement, chiefly due to his efforts, was reached in 1890 between Polish and Ukrainian parliamentarians whereby new concessions were brought about for Ukrainian cultural development, especially in the University of Lviv and schools. Antonovych was also instrumental in publishing *Pravda* in Lviv (1888). When in the same year the Germans displayed an interest in the Ukraine and plans for a "Kievan Kingdom" were discussed, Antonovych was approached as the representative of the Dnieper Ukraine. He was not, however, primarily interested in the political propagation of the Ukrainian cause.

Antonovych expressed his national credo at the beginning of his scholarly and public career when a Polish journalist from the Right-Bank Ukraine, Zenon Fisz (1820-1870) writing under the nom de plume of Tadeusz Padalytsya,^{101*} branded him as a "renegade." In reply Antonovych wrote his *Moya ispoved'* (My Confession) in *Osnova*, 1862, I, pp. 83-96.

In this article he discusses Polish-Ukrainian relations and attacks the contention, which the Polish defenders of "historic

^{101*} He wrote a few studies treating Ukrainian ethnography and geography; the most known are his *Opowiadania i Krajobrazy* (Stories and Geographical Essays), two volumes, Vilno, 1856.

Poland," among them Padalytsya, always maintained, that the old *Rzecz Pospolita* had a highly advanced social and political system.

Antonovych wrote:

There is good reason to doubt that the political and social system of the nobility and gentry in the old *Rzecz Pospolita* was ideal, and that the Ukrainian people was, according to an unwritten law, a collection of bandits and rabble capable only of incendiarism and riot... I have never maintained that Polish history is devoid of glory; I believe that "golden freedom" really existed in Poland—but only for the nobles. It is true that the nobility and gentry whether Polish, Ruthenian, or Lithuanian, were free from oppression. It is also true that the Polish gentry shared its rights and privileges with the gentry in Lithuania and the Ukraine. Yet of what profit was this to the common people who had no voice in the government, neither in the *Sejm* nor in the Court, where they were not given the right to defend themselves? Of what benefit is it to the people that the gentry were treated with courtesy, when that same courtesy was, in a way, responsible for many of the ills of the people, because it was a product of the Polish social and political life. The goal towards which the Ukrainian people was striving was civil self-government. . . .

You wish to strengthen the rule of the gentry in the Ukraine; you wish to keep the Ukrainian people in total subjugation, and you are prepared to use any means to achieve this. The people want to own the land and you deny it to them. Now you cannot forbid the allotment of land, but you have imposed fabulous prices for its purchase. You not only do not favor the cultural enlightenment of the peasants, but you actively obstruct by perverted accusations and denunciations the activities of those who wish to do such work.

To Padalytsya's charge that he was defending the Haydamaks, Antonovych replied: "It is true that we are proud of Gonta and Zaliznyak as representatives of the people in their time, as indeed they were. It is not our fault that the gentry kept the peasants in a state of ignorance, abused them each day morally and materially and in the end the gentry paid a high price for it. It is your responsibility to remove the causes of these rebellions; for our part we do not wish to see them repeated and that is why we are in favor of spreading enlightenment among the peasants."

Finally, Antonovych comes to a personal defense:

You are right, Mr. Padalytsya; I am a renegade. But you forgot that it is important to know the meaning of this word and to realize what has been renounced and what accepted in its place. Fate decreed that I be born into a family of gentry in the Ukraine. In my boyhood I shared all the views and social and national prejudices of my milieu. Yet when I grew up I calmly reconsidered my position in society and the ambitions of my class, and I realized that morally my class is doomed because it does not renounce its claims to the country and the people. I realized that the Polish gentry have this choice before them if they want to be at peace with their conscience: either to come to love the people amongst whom they live, to take to heart the people's interests and needs, to return to the people and to the ancestral national tradition which their predecessors abandoned, to demonstrate their penitence by unceasing work and love and thus to wash away the injustices which they have inflicted on the common people, who have fed generations of landlords and received in return abuse and contempt—or, if the courage to do all this is lacking, to move to the Polish lands inhabited by Polish people, so as not to be parasites. This would liberate them from the constant reproach that they are colonists, who live by the labor of others and yet obstruct the path of development of a people to whose country they came uninvited, that they have foreign ideas, and that they belong to those who wish to bring to a halt native progress without taking responsibility for their actions.

I chose the first course, since I was not so spoiled by gentry customs and prejudices as to find it more difficult to part with them than with the common people, among whom I grew up, whom I knew and sympathized with, seeing their hard lot in every village which was governed by one of the gentry; to whose melancholy songs I listened and whose kind words and sorrowful tales I often heard. . . . I came to love the people more than my gentry habits or dreams.

Antonovych related further how he tried to reach a compromise with the gentry, how he attempted to persuade them that their policy in the Ukraine was destructive—all in vain. Therefore he had no choice but to abandon his class, that privileged strata of society—the gentry, and join the ranks of those who wished to work for the welfare of the Ukrainian people. Antonovych declares at the end that he is as proud of his “secession” as if, had he been a slave owner, he had become an abolitionist.

Antonovych's friends went through a similar evolution and they all joined him in his stand, committing themselves to defend the people's lot.¹⁰² Their ideology was identical with that which the Ukrainian Populists developed in the Left-Bank Ukraine, by means of which, like the Russian "conscience-stricken noblemen," they were trying to absolve their sins against the people by devoting themselves to cultural enlightenment among the peasants.

However, neither the *Khlopomany* on the Right-Bank nor the Populists on the Left-Bank of the Dnieper, who now joined forces in the Kiev *Hromada* (Community), developed a clear political ideal or a definite program of their own. In practice, the "love for the people" of these young enthusiasts was limited to small-scale educational and cultural work (Sunday schools, publication of popular literature) while some of them abandoned their studies and became village clerks. The absence of a definite national outlook and of awareness of being part of a historical tradition had an effect on Antonovych's studies in the field of history where his achievement is the greatest.

His work in historiography was centered in the Kiev Archeographic Commission. As a member of its Editorial Board, Antonovych was responsible for the publication of seven large volumes of documentary material relating to different aspects of the history of the Right-Bank Ukraine. Limited in his studies as to sources and content by the regional interests of the Commission, Antonovych did not endeavor to encompass Ukrainian history as a whole, or to give a comprehensive survey of it. He always avoided generalizations and the wider synthesis. This was often held against him (e.g., by Drahomanov^{103*}) but he directed

¹⁰² See Antonovych's autobiographical notes: *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, 1908, VII-IX; *Ukrayina*, 1924, I-II; V. Antonovych, *Tvory*, vol. I, Kiev, 1932.

See also B. Poznansky's memoirs in *Ukrainskaya Zhizn*, 1913; and K. Mikhal'-chuk's memoirs in *Ukrainskaya Zhizn*, 1914.

^{103*} This characteristic of Antonovych's work was also mentioned by M. Hrushevsky: "Very seldom, and then only in a light, almost imperceptible manner, did he (Antonovych) mention in a special scholarly study some broad conclusions of a social-political or national character. He rather hinted at such conclusions, which could be understood only by the attentive sympathetic reader. Very

all his critical efforts to the analysis of individual phenomena in the Ukrainian past, clearly circumscribed by time and place. Herein also lies the value of Antonovych's studies. As a rule, Antonovych wrote an introductory study to each volume of material in the series *Arkhiiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Archives of Southwestern Russia).

Only toward the end of his life did Antonovych attempt to give a survey course of Ukrainian history, starting with the times of the Cossacks, in the lectures he delivered to a private circle in 1895-96, published in 1897 in Chernivtsi under the title *Besidy pro chasy kozats'ki na Ukrayini* (Talks about the Cossack Times in the Ukraine).¹⁰⁴ These lectures, which may be regarded as a kind of synthesis of his work, are most valuable for an understanding of Antonovych's interpretation of history. In his introduction Antonovych explained why he chose the Cossack period as the central theme for his lectures. In this period, according to him, "The basic idea which expressed the will of the people, manifested itself best of all." He considered that every nation had in its history a central idea which it embraced because of conditions—geographical, cultural, and others—under which it lived. This central idea had manifested itself in the Great Russian nation in the principle of authority of the state power, which the people honored so much that they renounced their personal liberties. Through absolutism, the Great Russians were able to organize a powerful state and to conquer other nations. The Poles, according to Antonovych, embraced the principle of democratic aristocracy, while the Ukrainians devoted themselves to the ideal of government by assembly—a principle of the broadest democracy and recognition of the individual rights of all citizens.

often he showed no key to the ideological background of his study... Historian-philosopher, greatly inclined to synthesis and schematization, he did not like to take people into the laboratory of his thoughts, presenting them instead with a ready and a possibly simplified picture of a certain epoch, or of a certain complicated historical or social process." (*Zapysky Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva v Kyievi*, v. III).

¹⁰⁴ The author preferred the title *Vyklady* (Lectures). The second publication of this work appeared in 1912 in Kolomyia, entitled *Korotka istoriya Kozachchyny* (A Short History of the Cossack Host).

This latter principle is the most difficult to realize in life. It can be achieved only when

the masses of the people are at a high level of culture and are convinced of the goodness and value of this idea, and when they are ready to make sacrifices in order that it might be realized. When the level of culture is low and social interests are dominated by personal gain of individuals and classes, democracy cannot develop or flourish. We find evidence of this in the brightest period of the Cossack Ukraine—the time of Khmelnytsky—when in spite of the most auspicious historical circumstances the central ideal of the Ukrainian people could not be realized because of lack of culture and perseverance. . . . The tragic fate of Ukrainian history has its origin in this, that the Ukrainian people never succeeded in creating a high standard of civilization or strong self-discipline, since those who came to be its leaders lacked the culture necessary for such leadership.

Antonovych interprets the entire Ukrainian history in the light of cultural and political immaturity of the Ukrainian people. He is a severe judge of Khmelnytsky. "If we consider," he writes, "what power the people gave to him and how badly he used it, we must admit his political ineptitude." Denying him any political ability, Antonovych does not blame Khmelnytsky for his failure. "He raised the banner of revolution," he writes, "at a time when the people had the chance to throw off their chains. Yet he did not know what to do next." Therefore the great Cossack movement under the leadership of Khmelnytsky was led to ruin. "Having liberated themselves from what was evil, the people failed to build what they needed, or to express what they desired. At times their instincts became palpable, but no clear ideal ever emerged."

The figure of Mazepa is painted by Antonovych in glowing colors.

He was the only real political figure in the seventeenth century and a fervent and sincere patriot. Yet he disregarded the democratic ideals of the people and did not seek their friendship, while trying to attract the Cossack elders in order to create a strong, privileged caste which would support him in his struggle against the Muscovite government. He intended to organize the Ukraine

according to the pattern of the neighboring states, where he saw monarchies supported by aristocracies. . . .

Therefore Mazepa's chief aim was to create such an aristocracy in the Ukraine. He was convinced that only then would the Ukraine be able to achieve autonomy.

Yet it was here, according to Antonovych, that Mazepa made his worst mistake. "His main fault was," he wrote, "that he ignored the interests of the people, or perhaps he did not understand them and dreamt of the Ukraine as a state ruled by an aristocracy. If Mazepa had not been blinded by this idea the people would have supported him."

Antonovych's main conclusions are rather pessimistic; in his last remarks he talks of a "national revival," meaning by this an ethnic nationality group as the only means to give voice to Ukrainian ideas, and he consoles his readers by citing the example of the Irish, who even though they lost their language, did not lose their nationality.

The importance of Antonovych's studies for Ukrainian historiography lies not in his conclusions or in any general views on Ukrainian history, but in his analysis of segments of that history. He prepared the small bricks out of which the later structure of Ukrainian historical science was built. In 1863 the first volume of Part III of *Arkhiiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* containing the documents on the Cossack Ukraine (1500-1648) appeared, edited by Antonovych who also wrote an introductory study "O proiskhozhdenii kozachestva" (The Origin of the Cossack Host). Influenced by Kostomarov's ideas of the social system of the ancient Rus' expressed in *Osnova*, Antonovych regards the Cossack as a new form of the old social *viche* (assembly) system. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, according to Antonovych, "a communal social order arose from the native element, which was given the foreign name "Cossacks" taken from the Tatars. Their princes assumed the special title of Hetman . . . and in their internal organization the Cossacks represented the tradition of the Slav communities by submitting themselves to judgment by the assembly which was called the *Rada*."

This view, called phantastic by Hrushevsky, was later aban-

doned by Antonovych who in his *Besidy pro kozats'ki chasy* considered the Cossack organization to be a military order, although based on the principle of the "assembly."

Further volumes of *Arkhiv* were: *O proiskhozhdenii shlyakhetskikh rodov v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (The Origin of the Gentry Families in Southwest Russia), 1867; *Poslednie vremena kozachestva na pravom beregu Dnepra po aktam 1679-1716 g.* (Last Period of the Cossacks on the Right-Bank of the Dnieper According to Documents of 1679-1716), a most valuable monograph on the movement of S. Paliy, and other Cossack Chieftains in the Right-Bank Ukraine; *O gorodakh v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii po aktam 1432-1798 g.* (The Towns of South-West Russia According to Documents of 1432-1798), 1870; *O krest'yanakh v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii po aktam 1700-1798* (The Peasants of South-West Russia According to Documents of 1700-1798), 1870; *Ob Unii i sostoyanii Pravoslavnoi Tserkvi s poloviny XVII do kontsa XVIII v.* (The Church Union and the Condition of the Orthodox Church from the Middle of the XVII to the End of the XVIII Century) 1871; *O gaidamachestve* (The Haydamak Movement) 1876;^{105*} *O mnimom krest'yanskom vozstanii na Volyni v 1789 g.* (The Alleged Peasant Uprising in Volynia in 1789), 1902.

Antonovych was also the author of the following monographs:

1. "Ocherki istorii Velikago Knyazhestva Litovskago do poloviny XV v." (Sketches of the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania up to the Middle of the XV Century) in *Kievskiya Universitetskiya Izvestiya*, 1877-78.

2. "O koldovstve v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rusi po aktam XVI-XVIII vv." (Witchcraft in Southwestern Rus' According to Documents of XVI-XVIII Centuries) in Chubynsky's *Trudy*, vol. I, p. 2, 1877; a Ukrainian translation appeared in Lviv in 1905 entitled *Chary na Ukrayini*.

3. "Kiev, ego sud'ba i znachenie v XIV-XVI st." (Kiev, Its Fate and Significance in the XIV-XVI Centuries), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, I.

105* Ukrainian translation, *ibid.*, vol. XIX, Lviv, 1897.

4. "Umanskii sotnik Ivan Gonta" (The Uman Captain, Ivan Gonta), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, XI.^{106*}

5. "Pany Khodyki, vorotily kievskago samoupravleniya v XVI-XVII vv.," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, II.

All of them (with the exception of the one on Gonta) were reprinted in the collection *Monografii po istorii Zapadnoi i Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Monographs on the History of Western and Southwestern Russia), Kiev, 1885.

Antonovych was the editor of *Sbornik materialov dlya istoricheskoi topografii Kieva i ego okrestnostei* (Collection of Materials for the Historical Topography of Kiev and Its Surroundings), Kiev, 1874; *Sbornik letopisei, otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii* (A Collection of Chronicles Relating to the History of Southern and Western Russia), Kiev, 1888; *Memuary otnosyashchiesya k istorii Yuzhnoi Rusi* (Memoirs Relating to the History of Southern Rus'), 2 vols., Kiev, 1890-96, printed earlier in *Kievskaya Starina*; "Dnevnik Stanislava Osvetsima" (The Diary of Stanisław Oświęcim), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882 I-II, V-VI, IX-XII; "Zapiski Karla Khoetskago" (Notes by Karol Chojecki), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, I, III, XI-XII. Antonovych was also responsible for the historical part of *Istoriesheskiya pesni malorusskago naroda* (The Historical Songs of the Little Russian People), Kiev, 1874-75.

Besides scientific works Antonovych also wrote popular historical studies. To this category belong his biographies of the Hetmans Konashevych (Sahaydachnyi), Yuriy Khmelnytsky, Vyhovsky, Teterya, Bryukhovetsky, Khanenko, and P. Doroshenko, published in *Istoriesheskie deyateli Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (Historical Personages of Southwestern Russia), Kiev, 1884, which is an album of the Hetmans with biographies, published at the expense of Vasyl' Tarnovsky (the biography of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in this selection is by O. Levytsky). One of the best examples of Antonovych's popular writings is his *Lektsii po geologii i istorii Kieva* (Lectures on Geology and History of Kiev), Kiev, 1897,

106* Ukrainian translation, *ibid.*, vol. XIX.

which he originally delivered together with the geologist, Professor P. Armashevsky.

Not infrequently Antonovych took part in discussions on Ukrainian national and social problems. His voice was always calm and his attitude objective. In a similar vein he wrote his article in defense of the Ukrainian language (*Kievskaya Starina*, 1899) written on the occasion of the ban on the use of Ukrainian during the Archeological Congress in Kiev in 1899. His famous review article on Sienkiewicz's novel *Ogniem i mieczem* (With Fire and Sword) is of great interest, showing his tendentiousness in the description of Ukrainian life: "Pols'ko-russkiya otnosheniya XVII v. v sovremennoi pol'skoi prizme" (Polish-Rus' Relations of the XVII Century from a Contemporary Polish Point of View) *Kievskaya Starina*, 1885, V. A Ukrainian translation appeared in Lviv, in 1902 and in Vienna in 1915.¹⁰⁷

As early as 1870, when he lectured in the Kiev Society of Nestor the Chronicler on Ukrainian burial mounds, Antonovych began to work on the prehistoric archeology of the Ukraine. As time went on he devoted more and more of his time to archeological studies, often taking part in expeditions. Antonovych may therefore be regarded as one of the founders of Ukrainian archeology. In the last years of his life Antonovych found in archeology a refuge from current problems which, as may be seen from the "Lectures on the Cossack Times," had a depressing influence upon him. The following archeological studies by Antonovych deserve to be mentioned: "Arkheologicheskaya nakhodki i raskopki v Kieve i Kievskoi gubernii v 1876" (The Archeological Findings and Discoveries in Kiev and the Province of Kiev in 1876), *Chteniya obshchestva Nestora Letopistsa*, 1877, vol. I; *Raskopki v zemle drevlyan* (Excavations in the Land of the Drevlane), St. Petersburg, 1893; *Arkheologicheskaya karta Kievskoi gubernii* (The Archeological Map of the Province of Kiev), Moscow, 1895; *Arkheologicheskaya karta Volynskoi gubernii* (The Archeological Map of the Volynian Province).

¹⁰⁷ A few of the Antonovych articles of journalistic character were reprinted in Volume I of his *Tvory* (Works), published by the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, 1932.

Moscow, 1902; *Opisanie monet i medalei, khranyashchikhsya v Numizmaticheskom muzee universiteta sv. Vladimira* (Description of Coins and Medals Preserved in the Numismatic Museum of the University of St. Vladimir), Kiev, 1896.

From among Antonovych's students there rose an entire school of famous historians who devoted themselves to the analysis of the history of certain regions of the Ukraine and Byelorussia or of separate periods of Ukrainian history. D. Bahaliy, P. Holubovsky, N. Molchanovsky, M. Hrushevsky, I. Lynnychenko, M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky, V. Lyaskoronsky, P. Ivanov, O. Andriyashev, V. Danylevych, O. Hrushevsky and several other scholars were among them. They all helped to advance the scientific exploration of Ukrainian history.

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THE SOUTHWESTERN SECTION OF THE GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY IN KIEV; MYKHAYLO DRAHOMANOV

After *Osnova* ceased publication in 1862, the activity of Ukrainian scholars in St. Petersburg who had gathered around it declined considerably. The center of Ukrainian scholarly life moved to the Ukraine, primarily to Kiev. Here in the early 1870's a group of people working in various fields of scholarship created an organization which co-ordinated their work and in a short time became the focal point of scholarly activities. This was the South-West Section of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (Yugo-Zapadnyi Otdel Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva) founded at the beginning of 1873.

The Russian Geographical Society was a learned institution which did not share the reactionary chauvinist views held by most Russian societies of the time and was favorably inclined to

Ukrainian studies. In 1869-70 it financed the ethnographic expedition in the Right-Bank Ukraine led by Pavlo Chubynsky (1839-1884) which resulted in the production of seven most valuable volumes of ethnographic and folklore materials (St. Petersburg, 1871-78). Therefore the group of Ukrainian scholars in Kiev thought it best to accept the membership of the Geographic Society and thus to form its Southwestern Section. Hryhoriy Galagan (1819-1888)^{108*} a landowner from Chernihiv and Poltava provinces and a well-known benefactor of Ukrainian literature, was elected chairman, and P. Chubynsky secretary of the Society. Among members of the Society were the following prominent Ukrainian scholars: V. Antonovych, F. Vovk, M. Drahomanov, P. Zhytetsky, O. Lonachevsky, M. Lysenko, K. Mykhal'chuk, M. Ziber, O. Rusov, I. Rudchenko.

Some of the Society's members were in Galicia and Bukovina (M. Buchynsky, H. Kupchanko, O. Terletsky). The purpose of the Society was to conduct research in the ethnography and economy of the Ukraine. In these fields lay its greatest achievements. Two volumes of *Zapiski* (1873-74) were published under the auspices of the Society. They comprised studies by V. Antonovych on industry in the Right-Bank Ukraine in the eighteenth century, F. Vovk on village fairs and handicrafts, P. Chubynsky on the village Sokyrentsi, M. Lysenko on the kobzar O. Veresay, M. Drahomanov on the traces of knightly epic poetry in Ukrainian folksongs, P. Ivashchenko on the religious cults of the Ukrainians as reflected in Ukrainian proverbs, and P. Chubynsky on an inventory of the peasant household. Among the materials were: Popular names of plants by A. Rohovych and F. Vovk, the *Dumy* of O. Veresay, a collection of folksongs from Bukovina, (edited by O. Lonachevsky with a study of Bukovina by H. Kupchanko) and *Dumy* from the Nizhen District recorded by P. Ivashchenko. The Society also published two volumes of *Istoricheskiya pesni malorusskago naroda* (Historical Songs of the Little Russian People) with explanations by V. Antonovych and M. Drahomanov, Kiev, 1874-75; *Malorusskiya narodnyya pred-*

108* Galagan's obituary in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, XII.

niya i razskazy (Little Russian Legends and Stories) collected by M. Drahomanov, Kiev, 1876; and the collected works of M. Maksymovych. It was also due to the Society's initiative that the Archeological Congress was held in Kiev in 1874, thus helping to create interest in Ukrainian studies. The role which the Southwestern Section of the Geographic Society played in the Ukraine as the center for Ukrainian scholarship and science was considered dangerous enough by the government to have closed the Society when its ban on Ukrainian literature, issued on May 18, 1876, was published.

Among the scholars whose activity was very closely connected with the Southwestern Section of the Russian Geographic Society was *Mykhaylo Drahomanov* (1841-1895).¹⁰⁹ Although his chief work lay in the field of folklore and literary history, he cannot be bypassed in any survey of Ukrainian historiography because of the great influence which his views on history and his studies of Ukrainian folksongs had on his contemporaries. Drahomanov himself admits in his autobiography¹¹⁰ that he became a Ukrainian patriot through the study of Ukrainian folksongs which led him to love the common people and their destinies. Drahoma-

¹⁰⁹ Mykhaylo Petrovych Drahomanov was born on September 6, 1841, in the town of Hadyach, Poltava Province, into a family of old Ukrainian Cossack gentry. He was educated at the Poltava Classical Gymnasium and Kiev University. In the years 1864-1875 Drahomanov was an assistant professor (staff *dozent*) of ancient history at Kiev University. After 1876 he became an emigré and lived mainly in Switzerland, where he organized the publishing of Ukrainian literature. He published the magazine *Hromada* (Community) and other publications. After 1889 he was a university professor in Sophia. He died in 1895.

Drahomanov was a well known Ukrainian scholar (ancient history, Ukrainian folklore, history of literature) and a prominent public figure.

About Drahomanov's works in the field of the history of Rome, see F. Slyusarenko's article in *Drahomaniv's'kyi Zbirnyk* (Symposium on Drahomanov) published by the Drahomanov Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute, Prague, 1933.

¹¹⁰ Drahomanov's "Autobiography" was published in the book by M. Pavlyk, *Mykhaylo Petrovych Drahomanov, 1841-1895. Yoho yubiley, smert', avtobiohrafiya i spys tvoriv*, Lviv, 1896; and in *Byloe*, 1906, book 6, St. Petersburg. It was also published separately, Kiev, 1917. A new publication of the "Autobiography" appeared in M. Drahomanov's *Vybrani tvory* (Selected Works), vol. 1, New York-Prague, 1937.

nov's work was not in the field of Ukrainian history, but he wrote two works which are truly historical: the popular book *Pro ukrayins'kykh kozakiv, tatar ta turkiv* (About Ukrainian Cossacks, the Tatars and the Turks) Kiev, 1876; and "Propashchyi chas; Ukrayintsi pid moskovs'kym tsarstvom 1654-1876" (The Lost Epoch; Ukrainians Under Muscovite Tsardom, 1654-1876). The latter work was to be published in the 6th book of *Hromada* (Community). Unfortunately this volume remained incomplete in fifty-six proof sheets which comprise the introduction and the beginning of the first chapter entitled "The Liberties of the Zaporozhian Host."

This incomplete work is of the greatest interest. The socialist and federalist Drahomanov, who in his *Peculiar Thoughts on the Ukrainian National Cause* declared that nowhere did he see the necessity or the basis for political separation of the Ukraine from Russia but on the contrary saw many common interests between the Ukrainians and the Russians, here regards the entire period of common life in the Russian State as wasted. He admits that the Hetman State had the makings of a good political order which was thwarted by unfavorable external circumstances; he recognizes the great value of a state tradition within a nation and regrets that the Ukrainians could not preserve it.

Somehow the Ukrainians are not in the habit of boasting about their own ancestral traditions. . . . For one brief moment in the thirties and forties of this century, when enlightened Ukrainians began to find out about their heritage, a handful of people bragged loudly about the glory of the Cossack Ukraine, but they were quick to discover its dark sides—and now, if anyone wants to learn of these dark spots he can best do so from the works of Ukrainian historian themselves.¹¹¹

Drahomanov often reproached Ukrainian historians with neglect, in their zeal to be democratic, of many "positive phenomena of the historical process and of those Ukrainian historical figures

¹¹¹ M. Drahomanov, *Propashchyi Chas* (The Lost Epoch), Lviv, 1909, pp. 7-8; see also Mykhaylo Drahomanov. *A Symposium and Selected Writings*, special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. II, No. 1 (3), New York, 1952, p. 154.

who were accused of being 'aristocratic.'" In his well-known letter to the Kievans he wrote that "the works of our democratically-minded historians and *Khlopomans* falsify the facts most of all, since they revile not only men like Mazepa, but also those like Vyhovsky and Polubotok, while keeping silent about Peter I, and Catherine II."^{112*}

While discussing the historical work of the Russian scholar Solovyov who "changes his view of the Cossack elders and the common people several times in the same chapter, according to their attitude to the Muscovite tsardom," Drahomanov writes:

Unintentionally Ukrainian historians have supported this perversion of Ukrainian history by Russian scholars. They have indicated the faults of the Cossack elders, not sparing such defenders of Cossack freedom as Vyhovsky, Mazepa, Polubotok. . . . The works of these Ukrainian historians are used by the enemies of the Cossack order and by the partisans of tsarism. But so far these historians have not pointed out the great harm done to the Ukrainian people by the tsarist system (for no modern Ukrainian historian has written an exact account of the eighteenth century Ukraine) and they are unable to do so because of tsarist censorship. Therefore the whole history of social life in the Ukraine, like that of the ideas of the Ukrainian people about the states under whose domination it has lived and still lives, i. e., Russia and Poland, has not yet been shown in its true light.^{113*}

Most of all Drahomanov blamed the Ukrainian historians, among them Kostomarov and Antonovych, for the vagueness of their national outlook and their submissiveness to official Russian views, and in particular for their failure to provide a synthetic ideology. Practically any work of Ukrainian historians, he maintained, was written so "objectively" that it lent itself to almost any, even to an anti-Ukrainian, interpretation.

Drahomanov's most valuable and penetrating observations on Ukrainian historiography (e.g., on *Istoriya Rusov*) are scattered throughout his writings, and it is regrettable that he, who possessed so much talent, a clear understanding of Ukrainian his-

^{112*} *Lysty do Franka* (Letters to Franko), v. 2, Lviv, 1908, p. 19.

^{113*} M. Drahomanov, *Politychni pisni ukraïns'koho narodu* (Political Songs of the Ukrainian People), part I, Geneva, 1883, p. XVIII.

torical development, and great erudition, never undertook the task of writing a complete history of the Ukraine.¹¹⁴

As regards the relation of history to ethnography, Drahomanov, unlike his predecessors, did not think that the folksongs could explain history better than the "dry chronicles," although he believed that a people's mentality and views on social and political problems were reflected in its folklore. In the early 1870's together with Antonovych, Drahomanov planned to publish a collection of historical songs which "reflected social changes." It was to comprise all the published variants of folksongs, supplemented by materials from manuscripts sent to the editors from the Russian and Austrian Ukraine, and checked against the chronicles and official documents, creating in this way, as it were, "a history of social life in the Ukraine, according to the songs of her present inhabitants." A part of this plan was accomplished in the edition of the *Historical Songs of the Little Russian People*, vol. I, Kiev, 1874, which contained songs of the princely retinue (*druzhyna*) and songs about the wars against the Turks and the Tatars. In the second volume of this work, Kiev, 1875, songs were printed dealing with the struggle of Khmelnytsky against the Poles. These publications created great interest in the European scholarly world. Western European scholars like A. Rambaud, W. Ralston, W. Morfill, A. Leroy-Beaulieu praised the work very highly. Rambaud wrote that through this publication the "*membra disjecta* of the Ukrainian nationality are reassembled in Kiev." The books also provoked a lively discussion among the folklorists. Veselovsky, Jagič, Orest Miller denied that the songs of the first volume related to the princely period. Ranged against them was Kostomarov (*Vestnik Evropy*, 1874,

¹¹⁴ His views in regard to the Ukrainian historical process, M. Drahomanov expressed also in his paper presented at the International Congress of Writers in Paris in 1878. This paper was published as a booklet under the title *La Littérature Ukrainienne proscrite par le gouvernement Russe* (Ukrainian Literature Persecuted by the Russian Government), Geneva, 1878. In the same year this booklet was published in Ukrainian in Lviv, and later was published a few times in other languages. A revised and supplemented edition was published under the title "La letteratura di una nazione plebea" in *Rivista Internazionale del Socialismo*, Milano, 1880.

XII) who supported Drahomanov's views in his "Istoriya kozachestva v pamyatnikakh pesennago tvorchestva" (The History of the Cossacks in Folksongs), the beginning in *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1880, 1883, and the end in *Literaturnoe Nasledie*, St. Petersburg, 1890.

Drahomanov continued his scholarly work abroad where he published:

1. *Politychni Pisni ukrayins'koho naroda XVIII-XIX v. z uvahamy M. P. Drahomanova* (Political Songs of the Ukrainian People in the XVIII-XIX Centuries, with Notes by M. P. Drahomanov), vol. 1., Geneva, 1883. This volume contains songs about the end of the Cossack autonomy, the destruction of the Sich in 1709 and the emigration of the Zaporozhians to Turkey in 1710-1734.

2. The second volume of the *Politychni pisni* appeared in Geneva in 1885 and contained songs about the Hetman State and Slobidska Ukraine in the eighteenth century until the abolition of Ukrainian autonomy. Each of the songs has a valuable historical commentary.

3. "Novi ukrayins'ki pisni pro hromads'ki spravy, 1764-1880" (New Ukrainian Songs on Social Affairs, 1764-1880), *Hromada*, 1881, and separately, Geneva, 1881.¹¹⁵

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¹¹⁵ D. I. Doroshenko intended to write a monograph on M. Drahomanov. In his letter to O. Ohloblyn, dated October 29, 1942, Prague, he wrote: "If time permits, I intend to write a popular book on Drahomanov, similar to that on Antonovych. I greatly esteem Drahomanov as a patriot, scholar, and politician. Both his political and his social ideas now belong to history and, like his political activity, are subject to historical criticism. But since Drahomanov's activity was inspired by a genuine and ardent love of his homeland, it has left an imprint which does not depend on the manner in which this love was expressed. I believe that the Ukrainian cause would have been morally weaker, and poorer in ideas, if there had been no Drahomanov, just as if there had been no Shevchenko..." See: *Mykhaylo Drahomanov, A Symposium and Selected Writings*, a special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. II, No. 1 (3), New York, 1952, pp. 34-35. This intention of Doroshenko was not realized.

Lviv, 1896; N. Vasilenko, "Politicheskie vzglyady Dragomanova," *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, Moscow, 1912, VI; M. Hrushevsky, "Drahomanov v politychnim i natsional'nim rozvytku ukraïnstva," *Boritiesya-Poborete*, No. 5, 1920; M. Hrushevsky, *Z pochy-niv ukraïyns'koho sotsyialistychnoho rukhu. M. Drahomanov i Zhenevs'kyi sotsyialistychnyi hurtok*, Vienna, 1922; D. Zaslavsky, *M. P. Dragomanov, Kritiko-biograficheskii ocherk*, Kiev, 1924, II edition, Moscow, 1934; M. Hrushevsky, "Misiya Drahomanova," *Ukrayina*, 1926, II-III, Kiev; O. Hermayze, "M. Drahomanov i ukraïyns'ka istoriohrafiya," *Ukrayina*, 1926, II-III, Kiev; M. Voznyak, "Zakordonna misiya Drahomanova," *Ukrayina*, 1929, I-II; E. Borschak, *Le mouvement national ukrainien au XIX siècle*, Paris, 1930; F. Savchenko, *Zaborona ukraïynstva 1876 r.*, Kiev, 1930; M. Hrushevsky, "Mikhailo Petrovich Drahomanov," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, vol. V, p. 233, New York, 1931; D. Doroshenko, "Drahomanov i ukraïyns'ka istoriohrafiya," *Drahomanivs'kyi Zbirnyk. Pratsi Ukrayyns'koho Vysokoho Pedahohichnoho Institutu im. M. Drahomanova v Prazi*, vol. II, Prague, 1932 (English translation in *Mykhaylo Drahomanov, A Symposium and Selected Writings*, in a special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. II, No. 1 (3), New York, 1952); *Arkhiv Mykhayla Drahomanova*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1938; D. Doroshenko, "M. Drahomanov and the Ukrainian National Movement," *Slavonic Review*, London, April, 1938; *Mykhaylo Drahomanov. A Symposium and Selected Writings*, a special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. II, No. 1 (3), New York, 1952.

KIEVSKAYA STARINA AND ITS CLOSER COLLABORATORS

Crushed by government repression, the efforts of the Ukrainians in Kiev to organize their scholarly activities were renewed in the 1880's, and were crowned with success by the founding of *Kievskaya Starina* (Kievan Antiquity). The Ukrainian move-

ment in the 1870's was still not sufficiently strong to have withstood the repressions imposed upon it in 1876. The same people, members of *Stara Hromada* (Old Community) who had sent Drahomanov abroad for planned political action of a radical nature, soon ceased to support him, abandoning their intention of stirring up wide discussions on political problems. They came to regard Drahomanov's activity as harmful, since it hindered the "reconciliation with the government" (with very small concessions to the Ukrainians, which in the end remained unfulfilled, by the government) as demanded, for instance, by the old Kostomarov in his articles in *Vestnik Evropy* in 1881-82. Instead of the recently developed wide interest in social work, the tendency was now to cultivate "apolitical culture," that is to encourage research in Ukrainian history, archeology, language, literature, art, and ethnography in order to preserve the foundation of the Ukrainian national revival, yet at the same time to be strictly confined to a purely academic interest.

In the development of the national idea this signified a serious retreat, although as far as Ukrainian historiography was concerned, this meant progress in assembling new materials and publication of new studies which, however, steered clear of controversial subjects and avoided any synthetic or ideological approach, a fact regretted by Drahomanov.

In 1873 a Historical Society of Nestor the Chronicler was founded at Kiev University. When, in 1881, V. Antonovych was elected its chairman the Society received a new lease on life. From then on the Society's *Chteniya* published more Ukrainian material, chiefly historiographic (O. Lazarevsky, I. Kamanin). The activity of Antonovych as professor at the University also helped in the concentration and training of Ukrainian scholars. Finally in 1882, owing to the efforts of Teofan Lebedyntsev, the monthly *Kievskaya Starina* was founded. The significance of this periodical in Ukrainian historiography is so great that it deserves special mention.

Teofan Lebedyntsev (1826-1838) was a member of a clergyman's family in the province of Kiev. He was a contributor to *Osnova* and to local Kiev periodicals, and he edited the second

volume of the first series of *Arkhiiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii* (1864) containing documents on the struggle between the Orthodox and Uniate Churches in the eighteenth century, and a treatise on the well-known protector of the *Haydamaks*, the Archimandrite Melkhisedek Znachko-Yavorsky. Lebedyntsev is to be credited with the organization of the *Kievskaya Starina*, which attracted many distinguished contributors, giving it a clear national character. After Lebedyntsev, the editor of the *Kievskaya Starina* was the Starodub landowner, Oleksander Lashkevych, followed by Yevhen Kyvlytsky, and after 1893 by Volodymyr Naumenko who continued to hold this post until 1907 when, for one year, *Kievskaya Starina* was changed to a Ukrainian monthly *Ukrayina* (Ukraine). This was also the end of the publication which is justly regarded as an encyclopedia of Ukrainian historiography. For reasons of space it is impossible to give here the contents of the *Kievskaya Starina* during the twenty-five years of its publication. Suffice it to say that among its contributors were the following scholars: M. Kostomarov, V. Antonovych, M. Drahomanov (whose articles appeared under the nom de plume of P. Kuz'mychevsky as well as others), P. Yefymenko, O. Yefymenko, O. Lazarevsky, M. Storozhenko, A. Storozhenko, M. Dashkevych, P. Zhytetsky, K. Mykhal'chuk, O. Rusov, Ya. Shulhyn, N. Molchanovsky, V. Horlenko, M. Shuhurov, V. Naumenko, I. Luchytsky, M. Petrov, S. Holubev, V. Ikonnikov D. Bahaliy, M. Sumtsov, I. Franko, A. Skal'kovsky, V. Shcherbyna, O. Levytsky, M. Vasylenko, M. Hrushevsky, A. Krymsky, M. Bilyashevsky, V. Hnatyuk and others.

The following historical materials appeared in *Kievskaya Starina*:

The Diary of M. Khanenko (1884-86); Daily Notes by Yakiv Markovych (1893-97); Memoirs of Mykhalon Lytvyn, (M. Tyshkevych) (1889); Diary of St. Ośwęcim (1882); Notes of Bozhko Balyka (1882); Notes by the Confederate Karol Chojecki 1768-76 (1883); Notes by Baron de-Tott on the Tatar Invasion of the Steppe Ukraine in 1769 (1883); Notes of the Nobleman from Novo-Oskol, Ostrozhsky-Lokhvytsky 1771-1846 (1886); Notes by P. Seletsky 1821-1846 (1884); Memoirs by B. Poznansky of the

Polish Uprising in the Ukraine 1863 (1895); Memoirs of M. Chalyi (1890-96); correspondence of several prominent Ukrainians in the nineteenth century, including the letters of Kulish, the "Lyubetsky Archives" of Count Myloradovych (1897), as well as a wealth of documents.

In 1899-1901 *Arkheologicheskaya letopis' Yuzhnoi Rossii* (Archeological Chronicle of Southern Russia), edited by M. Bilyashevsky, appeared as a supplement to *Kievskaya Starina*. In 1902 this supplement became an independent periodical (1902-04). Apart from that, *Kievskaya Starina* printed scores of treatises and articles on the history of Ukrainian culture, especially on art. Beginning with 1897, Ukrainian belles-lettres began to appear in the *Kievskaya Starina*. (Earlier Russian censorship had allowed only old literary works to be reprinted in Ukrainian, while in new works only local dialogues could be printed in Ukrainian.) From 1897 on *Kievskaya Starina* became the leading organ of Ukrainian literature in the Dnieper Ukraine, since in addition to literary works it also published reviews, bibliography, and literary chronicles.

The closing down in 1907 of *Ukrayina* which was the continuation of *Kievskaya Starina* was a severe blow to Ukrainian historiography despite the existence of several other literary and scholarly periodicals.

In 1911 Gubernskaya Uchenaya Arkhivnaya Komissiya (The Learned Archival Commission) of the Province of Poltava issued a *Sistematicheskii ukazatel' zhurnala Kievskaya Starina* (1882-1906), compiled by members of the Commission: I. Pavlovsky, V. Shchepot'ev, A. Yavovsky, and the student, B. Chyhryntsev. Corrections and additions to the above book were made by Volodymyr Doroshenko in his *Systematychnyi pokazhchyk do Kyivus'koyi Staryny i Ukrayiny* (A Systematic Guide to the journals *Kievskaya Starina* and *Ukrayina*), Lviv, 1912, (reprint from ZNTSH, vol. CIX). [...]

Taking stock of the material with which *Kievskaya Starina* enriched Ukrainian historiography, it is at once obvious that the largest part of it was devoted to the history of the Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to the

history of the Left-Bank Ukraine in general. The chief authority in this field was *Oleksander Lazarevsky*¹¹⁶ (1834-1902). A descendant of a Cossack gentry family in the District of Konotop, a graduate of St. Petersburg University and a lawyer by profession, Lazarevsky (together with several of his brothers) was a friend of Shevchenko in the last years of the poet's life, and took an active part in the publishing of *Osnova*. These circumstances explain Lazarevsky's outlook and his Populist sympathies. Lazarevsky began to write in the 1850's, contributing to the *Chernigovskiya Gubernskiya Vedomosti* (Chernihiv Provincial News), 1853-59, a very detailed chronicle of Ukrainian literature, notes and reviews of all the major works in the field of literature and history. In *Osnova* he published two articles: "Govoril li P. Polubotok rech' pered Petrom I?" (Did P. Polubotok Make a Speech Before Peter I?) *Osnova*, 1861, VIII, and "Statisticheskaya svedeniya ob ukrainskikh narodnykh shkolakh i gospiatalyakh v XVIII v." (Statistical Data About Ukrainian Elementary Schools and Hospitals in the XVIII Century), *Osnova*, 1862, V.

While working in the 1860's in Chernihiv, Lazarevsky came across a part of the so-called "Rumyantsevsky Opys"¹¹⁷ and on

¹¹⁶ He was a pupil of academician M. Sukhomlinov, a philologist.

¹¹⁷ *Rumyantsevsky Opys* presents materials of the general inspection of the Left-Bank Ukraine (Hetman State), carried out by the order of the Governor General, Count Pyotr Rumyantsev, in the second half of the 1760's. This *Opys* embraced all the ten regiments of the Hetman State and contained detailed information on population, economy and landownership. Later the materials of the *Opys* were in the custody of the Chernihiv, Poltava, and Kiev archives. Part of the material was destroyed, e.g., by fire in Poltava. After many transfers, the files of the *Rumyantsevsky Opys* were concentrated in the Kiev Central Archives of Ancient Documents in the late 1920's.

Rumyantsevsky Opys is a valuable source of the history of the settlement, economy, landownership, and also social relations and life in the Left-Bank Ukraine (Hetman State) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Only a small part of the material has been used by the scholars, a still smaller part was published. O. Lazarevsky and Mykola Konstantynovych compiled and published *Obozrenie Rumyantsevskoi Opisi* (Review of Rumyantsevsky Opys), but only a part (the greatest) of the *Opys* was mentioned.

For more about the *Rumyantsevsky Opys*, see D. Bahaliy, "General'naya Opis' Malorossii," *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, XI; and a reference book, *Tsentral'nyi Arkhiv Davnikh Aktiv u Kyievi*, edited by V. Romanovsky.

the basis of it he wrote his excellent monograph "Malorossiiskie pospolitnye krest'yane (1648-1783)" (Little Russian Peasants, 1648-1783), *Zapiski Chernigovskago Statisticheskago Komiteta*, 1866, I, where for the first time he proved by documentation that serfdom in the Left-Bank Ukraine was introduced not by the decree of Catherine II, but as the result of a long social and economic development which lasted almost a century and a half.^{118*} Apart from that Lazarevsky published "Obozrenie Rumyantsevskoi opisi Malorossii" (A Review of the Rumyantsev Description of Little Russia) in the *Chernigovskiya Gub. Vedomosti*, 1866-68, 1873, and separately.

From that time onwards, Lazarevsky concentrated all his research on the internal history of the Hetman State, the ancient families, the ownership of land, and population. Most of his writings were published in the *Russkii Arkhiv* (1870's) but with the appearance of *Kievskaya Starina* he became one of its chief contributors, printing in it his studies, materials, notes and reviews. Some of his works were published in *Chteniya* of the Society of Nestor the Chronicler. The following are the most important works by Lazarevsky:

1. *Konotopskaya starina* (Konotop Antiquity), Chernihiv, 1862.
2. "Ocherki stareishikh dvoryanskikh rodov Chernigovskoi gubernii" (A Survey of the Old Nobility Families of the Province of Chernihiv), *Zapiski Chernigovskago Statisticheskago Komiteta*, 1868, II.
3. "Ocherki iz byta Malorossii v XVIII v." (Sketches from Little Russian Life in the Eighteenth Century), *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1871, No. 11, 1873, No. 3.
4. "Ocherki malorossiiskikh familii" (Sketches on the History of Little Russian Families), *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1875, I-III, 1876, III.
5. "Pavel Polubotok" (Pavlo Polubotok), *ibid.*, 1880, No. I.
6. "Lyudi Staroi Malorossii" (Men of Old Little Russia), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, I, III, VIII, 1884, I, 1885, V, 1886, I, VII, 1887, VI-VII, VIII, 1888, X, 1893, XI.

^{118*} Was republished in 1908 in Kiev with a preface by M. Vasylenko. The Ukrainian translation in vols. XI-XII of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*.

7. *Opisanie Staroi Malorossii. Materialy dlya istorii zaseleniya, zemlevladeniya, upravleniya* (Description of Old Little Russia, History of Settlement, Landownership, and Administration); vol. I, *Polk Starodubsky* (The Starodub Regiment), Kiev, 1888; vol. II, *Polk Nezhinsky* (The Nizhen Regiment), Kiev, 1893; *Polk Prilutsky* (The Pryluky Regiment), Kiev, 1902. This is Lazarevsky's main work which comprises a vast amount of material based on documentary sources and is, according to Hrushevsky, a reference work for all students of the history of the Hetman State.

8. *Iz istorii sel i selyan Levoberezhnoi Malorossii* (The History of the Villages and the Peasants in the Left-Bank Little Russia), Kiev, 1891.

9. "Istoricheskie ocherki Poltavskoi Lubenshchiny XVII-XVIII v." (Historical Survey of the Lubny District in the Province of Poltava in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), *Chteniya Obshchestva Nestora Letopistsa*, Kiev, 1896, XI.

10. "Ivan Romanovich Martos (1760-1831)," *ibid.*, 1895, X.

11. "Lubenshchina i knyaz'ya Vishnevetskie" (The Lubny District and the Princes Vyshnevetsky), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1896, I-III, and separately, Kiev, 1896.

12. "Prezhnie izyskateli malorusskoi stariny (Poletiki, Ya. Markovich, A. Martos, A. Markovich)" (Earlier Researchers into Little Russian Antiquities, Poletykas, Ya. Markovych, O. Martos, O. Markovych), *ibid.*, 1891-97. These articles as well as many others were reprinted in *Ocherki, zametki i dokumenty po istorii Malorossii*, five fascicles of which appeared in Kiev, in 1891-1899.

13. "Sudy v Staroi Malorossii" (Courts in Old Little Russia), *ibid.*, 1898, VII-VIII.

14. *Zamechaniya na istoricheskiiya monografii D. P. Millera o malorossiiskom dvoryanstve i statutovykh sudakh* (Comments on the Historical Monographs by D. P. Miller on Little Russian Nobility and the Statute Courts), Kharkiv, 1898.

15. "Zametki o Mazepe" (Comments on Mazepa) regarding the book by F. Umanets', *Kievskaya Starina*, 1898, III, IV, VI.

16. "Iz semeinoi khroniki Berlov," (The Family Chronicle of Berlos), *ibid.*, 1899, I.

Kievskaya Starina also published diaries of Markovych and Khanenko and several other monuments edited by Lazarevsky. He was also the editor of family archives: Sulymovsky Archive containing family documents of the Sulymas, Skorupas and Voytsekhovyches of the XVII-XVIII centuries, Kiev, 1884; the Motyzhynsky Archive, Kiev, 1890; Documents of the Pereyaslav Regiment of the XVII-XVIII centuries, Kiev, 1890; and the Lyubetsky Archive of Count Myloradovych, Kiev, 1898.

Undoubtedly the greatest authority on the old Hetman State, Lazarevsky contributed a great deal to the clarification of the problems and controversies presented by this period of Ukrainian history. His opinion of the social and political system of the Hetman State in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very negative. As if on purpose, he dwelt on the darker sides of this period, and therefore Russian attempts to destroy the Hetman State appeared justified. While analyzing separate phenomena of Ukrainian history, Lazarevsky often disregarded the wider historical frame of reference and therefore left a one-sided interpretation of the history of the Hetman Ukraine, and especially of individual figures and of the Cossack elders. This is what Hrushevsky wrote on Lazarevsky's approach to history:

In their sharp criticism of the Cossack elders, Lazarevsky and his school were somewhat one-sided and unjust since they blamed the Cossack elders in matters in which the policy of the Russian government in the Ukraine was also partly responsible. Furthermore, they emphasized the economic exploitation pursued by the Cossack elders and failed to see their more idealistic instincts. Yet the Cossack elders were undoubtedly Ukrainian patriots and their ambition to rise to a higher level of culture cannot be explained by their desire to get rich. The idea of Ukrainian autonomy which these Cossack elders defended could not be explained in terms of any material advantages they hoped to gain for themselves. Often they sacrificed their estates and their careers for the sake of this ideal. Yet Lazarevsky's school, while seeing the economic gains accruing to the Cossack elders, forgot to describe the reverse side of the picture and therefore often produced biased interpretation.^{119*} [...]

119* *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, v. 47, pp. 4-5.

Just as Lazarevsky devoted himself to the history of the Left-Bank Ukraine, another close collaborator of the *Kievskaya Starina*, *Orest Levytsky* (1849-1922), studied the Right-Bank Ukraine, in particular Volynia, specializing in the social life of the 16th-18th centuries. Levytsky came from a gentry family in the Province of Poltava; his father was a clergyman. A graduate of Kiev University, in 1874 Levytsky became secretary of the Kiev Arkheographic Commission. Later he was among the closest collaborators of the *Kievskaya Starina*, and still later of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev.¹²⁰ His major works are:

1. "Ocherk vnutrennei istorii Malorossii vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka" (A Survey of the Internal History of Little Russia in the Second Half of the XVII Century), *Kievskiya Universitetskiya Izvestiya*, 1874-75, and separately.

2. "Afanasii Filippovich, igumen brest-litovskii i ego deyatelnost' v zashchitu Pravoslaviya ot Unii" (Afanasiy Filippovich, the Abbot of Brest Litovsk and his Activity in Defense of the Orthodox Church Against the Church Union), *ibid.*, 1878.

3. *Opyt izsledovaniya o letopisi Samovidtsa* (An Attempt to Analyze the Chronicle of Samovydet's) preface to the text of the Chronicle by the Kiev Arkheographic Commission, Kiev, 1878.

4. "O semeinykh otnosheniyakh v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rusi XVI-XVII v." (Family Relationships in Southwest Rus' in the XVI-XVII Centuries), *Russkaya Starina*, 1880, XXIX, No. 11.

5. "O sotsinianstve v Pol'she i Yugo-Zapadnoi Rusi" (Socinianism in Poland and Southwest Rus'), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, Nos. 4, 5, 6.¹²¹

6. "Vnutrennee sostoyanie zapadno-russkoi Tserkvi v pol'skolitovskom gosudarstve v kontse XVI st. i Unii" (Internal Condition of the West Rus' Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State at the End of the XVI Century and the Church Union), preface to the sixth volume, part 1, of *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, Kiev,

¹²⁰ O. Levytsky was a full member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and in 1921-22 was its acting president.

¹²¹ The abridged translation of this work, with a preface by D. Čiževsky was published in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. III, No. 1 (7), New York, 1953, pp. 485-508.

1884—Ukrainian translation in the eighth volume of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*.

7. "Osnovnyya cherty vnutrennyago stroya zapadno-russkoi Tserkvi" (The Main Characteristics of the Inner Structure of the Western Rus' Church), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1884, VIII.

8. "Yuzhnorusskie arkhierei v XVI-XVII v." (The South Russian Bishops in the XVI and XVII Centuries), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, I.

9. *Ipatii Potei, kievskii uniatskii mitropolit* (Ipatiy Potiy, the Uniate Metropolitan of Kiev), St. Petersburg, 1885. [...]

10. "Pro shlyub na Ukrayini-Rusi XVI-XVII v." (Marriage in the Ukraine-Rus' in the XVI and XVII Centuries), published under the nom de plume of Levko Mayachynets' in *Zorya*, 1885. New edition in *Literaturno-Naukova Biblioteka*, No. 130, Lviv, 1906.

11. "Ocherki starinnago byta na Volyni i Ukraine" (Sketches of the Old Life in Volynia and the Ukraine), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1889, IV, XI, and 1891, I.

12. "Afanasii Zarutsky, malorusskii panegirist kontsa XVII i nachala XVIII veka" (Afanasiy Zarutsky, the Little Russian Eulogist of the End of the XVII and the Beginning of the XVIII Century), *ibid.* 1896, II.

13. "Ocherki narodnoi zhizni v Malorossii XVII v." (Outlines of the People's Life in Little Russia in the XVII Century), *ibid.*, 1901, and separately. [...]

14. "Obychnyya formy zaklyucheniya brakov v yuzhnoi Rusi v XVI-XVII st." (Common Forms of Contracting Marriages in the South Rus' in the XVI and XVII Centuries), *ibid.*, 1906, I. [...]

15. "Cherty semeinago byta v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rusi XVI-XVII vv." (Family Life in South-West Rus' in the XVI-XVII Centuries), preface to the third volume, part VIII, of the *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, Kiev, 1909.

16. "Nevinchani shlyuby na Ukrayini" (Illegitimate Unions in the Ukraine), *Zapysky Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva v Kyievi*, III, 1909.

17. "Tserkovni spravy na Zaporozhu" (Church Affairs in Zaporozhe), *ibid.*, IX, Kiev, 1912.

18. "Velychko i yoho 'Kosmohrafiya'" (Velychko and His 'Cosmography'), *Ukrayina*, 1914, III.

19. "Ob aktovykh knigakh, otnosyashchyhsya k istorii Yugo-Zapadnago kraia i Malorossii" (Books of Documents Relating to the History of the Southwestern Land and Little Russia), *Trudy XI arkheologicheskago s'ezda v Kieve*, v. II.

All Levytsky's works are based on archival materials. He possessed the great gift of delineating the characteristic features of a period or a person and portraying them in a dramatic manner. This talent manifested itself particularly in his historical tales, such as "Ganna Montovt, izhizni volynskago dvoryanstva XVI v." (Hanna Montovt, from the Life of the Volynian Nobility of the XVI Century), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, I-III; "Anna Aloiza, knyazhna Ostrozhskaya" (Anna Aloiza, the Ostroh Princess), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, XI. Later Levytsky published several more of his tales in the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*; these appeared in book form, entitled *Volyns'ki opovidannya* (The Volynian Tales) Kiev, 1914.

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RESEARCH ON UKRAINIAN HISTORY IN RUSSIAN AND POLISH HISTORIOGRAPHY

Surveying the development of research on Ukrainian history in the works of foreign scholars, mainly Russian and Polish, was not my task. However, since those works, especially beginning with the second half of the last century, influenced development of Ukrainian historiography, contributing new material, giving new interpretation and posing new problems, the most important studies of the Ukrainian past in Russian and Polish historiography must be briefly considered here.

The early period of Ukrainian history was considered by Russian historians from the eighteenth century onwards (Karamzin) to be the beginning of the "Russian State," "Russia," or the "Russian people." This view has prevailed in Russian historiography until today, and all Russian historians, in dealing with the development of the Great Russian nationality in the thirteenth century, begin their histories from the Kievan period as the origin of "Russian statehood," (V. Klyuchevsky, S. Platonov, and others). The Kievan period, therefore, has been well studied by Russian historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and some of their discoveries (by V. Sergeevich, A. Shakhmatov, M. Prisyolkov, and A. Presnyakov in the Kievan period, and by M. Lyubavsky, I. Lappo, V. Picheta, and others in the period of the Lithuanian Rus' State) have enriched Ukrainian historiography.¹²²

¹²² The works of E. Golubinsky on the history of church are worth mentioning, the studies of A. Lappo-Danilevsky on the Galicia-Volynian sigillography, and

Much less attention was devoted by Russian historians to Ukrainian history of the 16th-18th centuries, the period of the Cossacks and the Hetman State, since the connection of those periods with Muscovite history is not so close. Here, too, all the Russian historians took the same approach and regarded those periods of Ukrainian history as an integral part of general Russian history, often limiting the history of the Ukraine to the Cossack period. Thus, the well-known Russian scholar, *Sergei Solovyov* (1820-1879), the author of a *History of Russia*, regarded that period as part of the all-Russian Cossack movement, directed against the "state." Therefore Solovyov regards all the attempts by the Russian government to limit and suppress Ukrainian autonomy as the struggle of "the state" against anti-state elements. Solovyov is the author of the following works: *Ocherk istorii Malorossii do podchineniya yeya tsaryu Alekseyu Mikhailovichu* (A Survey of Little Russian History up to the Time of Her Subordination to the Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich), *Otechestvennyya Zapiski*, 1848, Nos. 11, 12, and 1849, No. 2; "O nekotorykh rukopisyakh i redkikh pechatnykh sochineniyakh XVI i XVII st., otnosyashchikhsya k istorii Malorossii" (Some Manuscripts and Rare Publications of the XVI and XVII Centuries Relating to the History of Little Russia), *Bibl. Zapiski*, 1858; "Malorossiiskoe kozachestvo do B. Khmelnytskago" (Little Russian Cossacks Before B. Khmelnytsky), *Russkii Vestnik*, 1859; *Istoriya Rossii s drevneishikh vremen* (History of Russia from Earliest Times) in 29 vols., 1851-1879, contains valuable materials relating to the history of the Hetman State taken from the Moscow Archives.

The pupil of Solovyov, *Gennadii Karpov* (1838-1890), who for a time was a professor at Kharkiv University, devoted himself exclusively to Ukrainian history while working in the Moscow archives and in the Moscow Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei. He sharply attacked the Ukrainian historians Kostomarov and Kulish; his views represented centralist Moscow tendencies. Among his works are: "Istoriya bor'by moskovskago gosudarstva s pol'sko-

others. For the history of the Ukraine of the seventeenth century, P. Zhukovich's studies contributed valuable documentary materials, also the works by E. Shmurlo, B. Nol'de, and others.

litovskim" (The History of the Struggle of the Muscovite State against the Polish-Lithuanian State), *Chteniya*, 1866; *Kriticheskii obzor istochnikov do istorii Malorossii otnosyashchikhsya za vremya 1654-1672* (A Critical Survey of Sources for the History of Little Russia Relating to the Years 1654-1672), Moscow, 1870; *Kostomarov kak istorik Malorossii* (Kostomarov as a Historian of Little Russia), Moscow, 1871; "Kievskaya metropoliya i moskovskoe pravitel'stvo v 1654 g." (The Kiev Metropolitanate and the Moscow Government in 1654), *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie*, 1871, Nos. 8-9; "Peregovory o soedinenii Malorossii s Velikorossiei" (Negotiations about the Union of Little Russia with Great Russia), *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya*, 1871, Nos. 11-12; "Nachalo istoricheskikh deyanii B. Khmel'nitskago, Moscow, 1873; "Dionisii Balaban, mitropolit Kievskii" (Dionisiy Balaban, the Kievan Metropolitan), *Pravoslavnoe obozrenie*, 1874, No. I; "Mefodii Filimonovich, episkop Mstislavskii i Orshanskii, blyustitel' kievskoi metropolii, 1661-1668" (Mefodiy Filimonovich, the Bishop of Mstyslav and Orsha, the Administrator of the Kievan Metropolitanate, 1661-1668), *ibid.*, 1875, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 11-12; "Malorossiiskie goroda v epokhu prisoedineniya Malorossii" (The Little Russian Cities at the Times of the Amalgamation of Little Russia), *Letopis' zanyatii Arkheograficheskoi komissii*, 1877, VI; "V zashchitu B. Khmel'nitskago" (In Defense of B. Khmelnytsky), *Chteniya*, 1889, I; Karpov was the editor of vols. X, XI, XIV of the *Akty Yuzhnoi i Zapadnoi Rossii*.

Later the Russian historians, A. Vostokov, V. Einhorn, V. Myakotin and others, also worked in the field of Ukrainian history, contributing their articles to *Kievskaya Starina*. [...]

Polish historians, primarily those who came from the Ukraine, also showed interest in Ukrainian history. Their works were written in the spirit of regional patriotism and they tended to regard the Ukraine as their homeland. Therefore most of them were hostile to the rise and development of a Ukrainian nation, and saw in the struggle against Polish rule a fight of the "steppe rabble" against the Polish State and culture.

The Polish historian Karol Szajnocha dealt with Polish-Ukrainian relations in his monograph *Dwa lata dziejów naszych 1646 i 1648* (Two years of Our History, 1646 and 1648), Lviv, 2 vols., 1865-69.¹²³

Alexander Jablonowski (1829-1911), born in the Province of Kiev, was the first Polish historian to devote himself almost entirely to Ukrainian history. In the series *Źródła dziejowe* (Historical Sources), edited by him and A. Pawiński, separate volumes entitled *Ziemie ruskie* (The Rus' Lands) contained valuable material concerning the population, administration, and economic life of the Ukraine under Polish rule. They were accompanied by several treatises by Jablonowski which were later reprinted in his collected works, *Pisma*, 5 vols., 1910. Based on documents these studies—as well as Jablonowski's "Handel Ukrainy w XVI w" (Trade in the Ukraine in the XVI Century), *Ateneum*, 1895, II; "Kozaczyzna a legitymizm, dwie legendy polityczno-historyczne Ukrainy—batoryńska i baturyńska" (The Cossack Movement and Loyalism. Two Legends from Ukrainian History, Batorian and Baturian), *Ateneum*, 1896, VIII; "Zadnieprze" (The Land Beyond the Dnieper), translation published in *Kievskaia Starina*, 1896—are a most valuable contribution to Ukrainian historiography.

Without dwelling on his lesser studies we should like to review briefly two works by Jablonowski which form a synthesis of his long scholarly work and reflect best his views on Ukrainian history. They are *Historia Rusi południowej do upadku Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (History of Southern Rus' Up to the Fall of the Polish Republic), Kraków, 1912, and *Akademia Kijowsko-Mohylańska* (The Kiev Mohyla Academy), Kraków, 1899-1900. In the first work, written under the sponsorship of the Kraków Academy of Sciences as a survey of Ukrainian history, in which as Professor S. Smolka says in the preface, "a Pole could find everything he ought to know about the Ukraine," Jablonowski gives a history of the Ukrainian lands which were a part of *Rzecz*

¹²³ Second edition: Warsaw, 1900.

Pospolita. In his opinion, "these lands never constituted a political, ethnographic or even geographic entity; even in the most ancient times they never formed a territorial state and did not contain within their boundaries all the ethnic elements which formed the majority of their population." Hence the Ukrainian population could only consolidate itself within the frontiers of *Rzecz Pospolita* and thus gain more definite geographic boundaries. The Poles were the element which brought law and order to the chaotic Ukrainian masses, so that organized social and cultural forms of Ukrainian life existed only as long as they were under Polish influence.

Jablonowski does not credit the Cossack wars during the time of Khmelnytsky with any national or political purpose. He blames the Ukrainian Polonized gentry for the demoralization and conservatism which, in the history of the Polish State, provided support for the reactionary forces and hindered the progressive elements who strove to reform and save Poland. Jablonowski's *History of Southern Rus'* ends with the fall of the *Rzecz Pospolita*.

It is little wonder that, having taken such an attitude to Ukrainian history, Jablonowski's survey is in fact the history of Polish domination and influences in the Ukraine. His treatment of Ukrainian history is not falsification of the facts, but a one-sided emphasis and interpretation.^{124*}

Similarly, in his history of the Mohyla Academy in Kiev, Jablonowski limits himself to the history of Polish cultural influences in the Ukraine. He regards the Academy as the product of an exclusively Polish culture and as a center of Polish education which declined because of the weakening of its connections with Poland.

A contemporary of Jablonowski, the Podolian *Józef Rolle* (1830-1894), wrote several historical studies of the Right-Bank Ukraine, all in semi-belletristic form which he published under the pseudonym of Dr. Antoni J. in a series *Sylwetki i szkice historyczne*. They have a certain scholarly value, since most of them

^{124*} M. Zaliznyak, *ZNTSH*, v. 116.

were based on documentary sources. Some of the thirty stories were printed in translation in *Kievskaya Starina*.¹²⁵

Marjan Dubiecki (born in Zaslav, in Volynia in 1838), a graduate of Kiev University and a participant in the Polish uprising of 1863, wrote an interesting monograph *Kudak, twierdza kresowa i jej okolice* (Kodak, the Border Fortress, and Its Surroundings), Kraków, 1879, second edition 1900. In his book *Obrazy i studia historyczne* (Historical Sketches and Studies), Warsaw, 1899, he gave an account of the early history of Zaporozhe. Dubiecki regards the Ukrainian people as an "uncultured mob," completely incapable, under any circumstances, of creating its own intelligentsia or culture. Therefore he regards all the culture in the Ukraine as Polish in origin.

A representative of what may be regarded as a "Ukrainian" school in Polish historiography was *Franciszek Rawita-Gawroński* (born in 1846 in the Province of Kiev). He wrote a great deal about Ukrainian literature, Shevchenko, Padura, and finally turned to Ukrainian history. He is the author of *Ustrój państwowo-społeczny Rusi w XI i XII w. w zarysie* (An Outline of the Government and Social Structure of Rus' in the XIth and XIIth Centuries), Lviv, 1896. Rawita-Gawroński also wrote articles on Cossack history which are collected in *Studia i szkice historyczne I-II*, Lviv, 1899-1900, and in *Rzeczy i sprawy ukraińskie*, Kiev, 1913. His chief works in which he takes a totally negative attitude to the Cossacks are *Historia ruchów hajdamackich w XVIII w.* (A History of the Haydamak Movement in the XVIII Century), 2 vols., Lviv, 1899-1901, and *Bohdan Chmielnicki*, 2 vols., Lviv, 1905-1909.

Both works are written in the manner of a pamphlet directed against the Cossacks. Rawita-Gawroński pursues Ukrainian historians with the same enmity, especially V. Antonovych whom he regards as a renegade. See his *Wł. Antonowicz, zarys jego dzia-*

¹²⁵ His son, Michal Rolle, a historian of cultural life in the Right-Bank Ukraine of the nineteenth century, is the author of the monograph *Ateny Wolyńskie*, Lviv, 1923 (2d ed.), on the Kremenets' Liceum, and of a book of essays, *In illo tempore*, Brody-Lviv, 1914.

lalnosci społeczno-politycznej i historycznej (V. Antonovych, a Sketch of His Social, Political and Historical Activities), Lviv, 1912.

A much more objective treatment of Ukrainian history may be found in *Kazimierz Pulaski's Szkice i poszukiwania historyczne* (Historical Sketches and Explorations), Warsaw, 1887, which contains a series of sketches on the early history of the Cossacks, and in *Jozef Tretiak's* excellent monograph *Historia wojny chotimskiej* (1621) (The History of the Khotyn War, 1621), Lviv, 1889, second edition, Kraków, 1921.¹²⁶

Equally detached and objective was the greatest Polish historian of the Khmelnytsky era—*Ludwik Kubala* (1838-1918). The center of his studies was the reign of Wladyslaw IV and Jan Kazimierz, that is, also of the Cossack wars. His monograph *Jerzy Ossolinski*, 2, vols., was published in 1883. It was followed by *Szkice historyczne*, I-II (Historical Sketches), Kraków, 1880-1893, second edition, 1896, which deal with the period between 1648-1654; *Wojna moskiewska r. 1654-55* (The Moscow War, 1654-55), Warsaw, 1910; *Wojna Szwedcka r. 1655-1656* (The Swedish War, 1655-56), Lviv, 1913; *Wojna brandenburska i najazd Rakoczego w r. 1656 i 1657* (The Brandenburg War and the Invasion by Rakoczy in 1656 and 1657), Lviv, 1917; *Wojny duńskie i pokój Oliwski 1657-1660* (The Danish War and the Peace of Oliwa, 1657-1660), Lviv, 1918. A complete edition of Kubala's works began to appear in Warsaw in 1923.

Kubala's studies, extremely well documented, detached and scientific in spirit, form a contrast to other Polish histories of the Ukraine. Kubala's characterization of Khmelnytsky (in *Wojna moskiewska*) may be cited as an example of his objectivity; notwithstanding his condemnation of the historic enemy of Poland "who even now threatens us from his grave," he pays tribute to him as a great military and political leader.

¹²⁶ The works by Tadeusz Korzon are worth mentioning.

RESEARCH ON UKRAINIAN HISTORY
IN THE 1880's AND 1890's

The closing down of the Southwestern Section of the Geographic Society did not put an end to Ukrainian scholarly activities in Kiev, nor did it disperse Ukrainian scholars, although some former members of the Society (Drahomanov, Vovk, Ziber) went abroad. The work was carried on in new centers which were formed around the *Kievskaya Starina* and the Society of Nestor the Chronicler. The fact that the most important Chair of "Russian" History at Kiev University was occupied by V. Antonovych was of very great significance for the development of Ukrainian historiography. He not only trained whole cadres of students who worked in the field of Ukrainian and Byelorussian history, but he also set a standard for others by the high quality of his work and by his critical perception. Some of his former students were appointed to university posts and thus created new centers for the study of Ukrainian history. Among these were D. Bahaliy, professor at Kharkiv University, I. Lynnychenko, in Odessa, and M. Hrushevsky in Lviv. The Kiev Archeographic Commission, guided by its secretaries V. Antonovych and later O. Levytsky, continued to supply students of Ukrainian history with new materials for research.

The 1880's and 1890's were, therefore, a period not only of accumulation of source materials, but also of many detailed area researches into Ukrainian history which made possible a synthesis of historical studies, accomplished only in the twentieth century.

In particular the Princely Period became the subject of scholarly interest. In this field the works of M. Dashkevych are most outstanding. Mykola Dashkevych (1852-1906),¹²⁷ a pupil of Antonovych and later professor of history of European literatures in Kiev, distinguished himself by his study of Kotlyarevsky (*Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, 1898), and especially by his survey of Ukrainian

¹²⁷ He was later a full member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

literature which he wrote in the form of a critique of a book by Professor M. Petrov in *Otchet o 29 prisuzhdenii premii Gr. Uvarova* published by the Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, 1888. He is also the author of the study "Oleksiy Popovych, ta duma Burya na Chornomu mori" (Oleksiy Popovych and the Duma Storm over the Black Sea), reprinted from the Special Symposium in honor of V. Antonovych, Kiev, 1905.

Apart from his literary studies Dashkevych also left several works on history:

1. "Knyazhenie Daniila Galitskago po russkim i inostrannym izvestiyam" (The Reign of Danylo of Halych, According to Russian and Foreign Data), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1883, and separately (a Ukrainian translation appeared in the fifth volume of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*).

2. "Bolokhovskaya zemlya i eya znachenie v russkoi istorii," *Trudy Arkheologicheskogo s'ezda 1874 g.*, II, and separately (Moscow, 1878).

In the latter work Dashkevych discusses the origin of the Cossacks and suggests that the cradle of the Cossacks must be sought in the territory where the old chronicles place the so-called Bolokhivtsi. This theory attempts to connect the rise of the Cossacks with the popular movement against the princes in the thirteenth century, when separate communities [in that territory] accepted the suzerainty of the Tatars in protest against the rule of the princes.

3. "Pervaya uniya Yugo-Zapadnoi Rusi s katolichestvom" (The First Union of Southwestern Rus' with Catholicism), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.* 1884, and separately.

4. "Bor'ba kul'tur i narodnostei v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve v period dinasticheskoi unii Litvy s Pol'shei" (The Cultural and National Struggle in the Lithuanian-Rus' State During the Period of Dynastic Union Between Lithuania and Poland), *ibid.*, 1884.

5. "Noveishie domysly o Bolokhove i Bolokhovtsakh" (Latest Conjectures about Bolokhiv and Bolokhivtsi), *ibid.*, 1884, IV, and separately.

6. "Zametki po istorii Litovsko-Russkago gosudarstva (Notes on the History of the Lithuanian-Rus' State), Kiev, 1885.

7. "Yeshche razyskaniya i voprosy o Bolokhove i Bolokhov-tsakh" (Further Investigations and Problems of Bolokhiv and Bolokhivtsi), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1899.

8. "Rytsarstvo na Rusi v zhizni i poezii" (The Rus' Knight-hood in Life and Poetry), *Chteniya Obshchestva Nestora leto-pistsa*, XV, XVI, 1903.

General problems of the Princely Period were treated by D. Bahaliy in his "Udel'nyi period i ego izucheniya" (The 'Udelny' Period and the Study of It), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883; and by I. Lynnychenko, "Kievskoe veche" (The Kiev Assembly), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1881, and separately. The problem of the constant changes of nationalities in the southern steppes of the Ukraine as well as of its nomad inhabitants was discussed by Irodion Zhytetsky in "Smena narodnostei v yuzhnoi Rossii" (The Shifting of Peoples in South Russia), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, V, VII, 1884, VIII, IX, XI), and in Petro Holubovsky's, *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy do nashestviya tatar, Istoriya yuzhnorusskikh stepei IX-XIII vv.* (The Pechenegs, Torki and Polovtsy Before the Tatar Invasion, a History of the South-Russian Steppes in the IX-XIIIth Centuries), Kiev, 1884.

The history of separate areas and regions of the ancient Ukraine-Rus' and of Byelorussia was treated in a series of monographs by several authors. The history of the Siveria Land is the subject of two monographs which appeared in the same year: *Istoriya Severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV stoletiya* (The History of the Siveria Land up to the Middle of the Fourteenth Century), Kiev, 1882, by P. Holubovsky; and *Istoriya Severskoi zemli do poloviny XIV stoletiya*, Kiev, 1882, by D. Bahaliy. Written at a later date are the following works by Roman Zotov: *O chernigovskikh knyaz'yakh po Lyubetskomu sinodiku i o chernigovskom knyazhestve v tatarskoe vremya* (The Chernihiv Princes According to the Lubech Synodik and the Chernihiv Principality during the Tatar Rule), St. Petersburg, 1893; Petro Ivanov *Istoricheskiya sud'by Volynskoi zemli s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XIV v.* (Historical Fate of the Volynian Land from the

Earliest Times to the End of the XIV Century), Odessa, 1895; and Oleksander Andriyashev *Ocherki istorii Volynskoi zemli do kontsa XIV v.* (A Historical Survey of the Volynian Land to the End of the XIV Century), Kiev, 1887.

The following studies must also be mentioned:

Nikandr Molchanovsky, *Ocherk izvestii o Podol'skoi zemle do 1434 g.* (An Outline of Information About the Podolian Land to 1434), Kiev, 1885; A. Longinov, *Chervenskie goroda* (The Cherven Cities), Warsaw, 1885; [...] Mitrofan Dovnar-Zapol'sky, *Ocherk istorii Krivichskoi i Dregovichskoi zemel' do kontsa XII stol.* (An Outline of the History of the Krivichian and Drevovichian Lands to the End of the XIIth Century), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1890-1891, and separately; M. Hrushevsky, "Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV v." (An Outline of the History of Kiev Lands from the Death of Yaroslav to the end of the XIVth Century), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, and separately, Kiev, 1891; P. Holubovsky, *Istoriya Smolenskoï zemli do nachala XV v.* (The History of the Smolensk Land Up to the Beginning of the XV Century), Kiev, 1895; Vasyl' Lyaskoronsky, *Istoriya Pereyaslavskoi zemli s drevneishikh vremen do poloviny XIII st.* (The History of the Pereyaslav Land from the Earliest Times to the Middle of the XIII Century), Kiev, 1897; Vasyl' Danylevych, *Ocherk istorii Polotskoï zemli do kontsa XIV v.* (An Outline of the History of the Polotsk Land to the End of the XIV Century), Kiev, 1897; Oleksander Hrushevsky, *Ocherki istorii Turovskago knyazhestva* (An Outline of the History of the Turov Principality), Kiev, 1902, and *Pinskoe Poles'e* (The Pinsk Polesie), Kiev, 1901; V. Ploshchansky, *Proshloe Kholm skoi Rusi po arkhivnym dokumentam XV-XVIII v.* (The Past of the Kholm Rus' According to Archival Documents of the XV-XVIII Centuries), vol. I-II, Vilno, 1899, 1901.

Ivan Lynnychenko, pupil of Antonovych and professor at Odessa University, directed his attention to the history of Galicia. He is the author of several studies in this field:

1. "Arkhivy v Galitsii" (The Galician Archives). *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, VII, X.

2. "Kriticheskii obzor noveishei literatury po istorii Galitskoi Rusi" (A Critical Survey of the Recent Literature on the History of Galician Rus'), *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1891, VII.

3. "Yuridicheskaya formy shlyakhetskago zemlevladieniya i sud'ba drevnerusskago boyarstva v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rusi v XIV-XV st." (Legal Forms of Ownership of Land by the Gentry and the Fate of the old Boyars in Southwestern Rus' in the XIV-XVth Centuries), *Yuridicheskii Vestnik*, 1892, VII-VIII.

4. "Cherty iz istorii soslovii Yugo-Zapadnoi (Galitskoi) Rusi XIV-XV v." (Highlights of the History of the Classes of Southwestern (Galician) Rus' in the XIV-XVth Centuries), *Uchenyya Zapiski Mosk. Universiteta*, 1894, and separately, (Ukrainian translation in Vol. VII of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*).^{128*}

The works of *Ivan Filevich*, a professor at Warsaw University also deal with Galicia:

"Bor'ba Pol'shi i Litvy-Rusi za Galitsko-Vladimirskoe nasledie, Istoricheskii ocherk" (The Struggle between Poland and the Lithuania-Rus' for the Halych-Vladimir Legacy, a Historical Survey), St. Petersburg, 1890; and "Ocherk karpatskoi territorii i naseleniya" (A Survey of the Carpathian Territory and Population), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1895, IV-V. Filevich is also the author of the pretentious but unscholarly *Istoriya drevnei Rusi* (History of the Ancient Rus'), vol. I., Territory and Population, Warsaw, 1896.

Many researchers found their field in the history of the Ukraine within the borders of the Lithuanian-Rus' State, and later of Poland. The greater part of the work on the history of the Grand Principality of Lithuania was done by a professor at Moscow University, *Matviy Lyubavsky*,¹²⁹ who is the author of *Oblastnoe delenie i mestnoe upravlenie Litovsko-Russkago gosudarstva* (The Regional Divisions and Local Government of the Lithuanian-

^{128*} Still earlier the following work of M. Smirnov pertaining to the history of Galicia was published: *Sud'ba Chervonoi ili Galitskoi Rusi do soedineniya eya s Pol'shei* (Fate of the Red or Galician Rus' Before Its Union with Poland), St. Petersburg, 1860; Ukrainian translation in *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*, v. V.

¹²⁹ A well-known Russian historian of Byelorussian origin. Later a full member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences.

Rus' State), Moscow, 1893, *K voprosu ob udel'nykh knyaz'yakh i mestnom upravlenii v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve* (The Problem of the "Udelni" Princes and Local Government in the Lithuanian-Rus' State), St. Petersburg, 1894; *Litovsko-russkii Seim* (The Lithuanian-Rus' Diet), Moscow, 1901; *Ocherki istorii Litovsko-Russkago gosudarstva do Lyublinskoi unii vklyuchitel'no* (Historical Sketches of the Lithuanian Rus' State Up to and Including the Lublin Union), Moscow, 1910, 2nd ed. 1915 [...].

In the works *Seimy Litovsko-Russkago gosudarstva do Lyublinkosi unii 1569 g.* (The Diets of the Lithuanian-Rus' State Up to the Lublin Union 1569), by Professor Mykola Maksymeyko of Kharkiv University, and *Rada Velikago Knyazhestva Litovskago v svyazi s Boyarskoi Dumoi drevnei Rossii* (The Council of the Grand Principality of Lithuania in Relation to the Boyar Duma of Ancient Russia), vols. I and II, parts I, II, Tomsk, 1903, 1904, 1912, by Professor I. Malynovsky of Tomsk University, the structure of government of that state is discussed. A general outline of the government of the Lithuanian—Rus' State is given in I. Lappo's *Velikoe knyazhestvo litovskoe vo vremya ot zaklyucheniya Lyublinskoi unii do smerti S. Batoriya* (The Grand Principality of Lithuania from the Lublin Union to the Death of S. Batory), vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1901.¹³⁰

The history of Lithuanian-Rus' law and the history of its classes was treated by Professor Mykhaylo Vladimirsky-Budanov of Kiev University. [...] His works include *Nemetskoe pravo v Litve i Pol'she* (German Law in Lithuania and Poland), St.

¹³⁰ For more detailed information on I. Lappo's works, see, L. Okinshevich, *The Law of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Background and Bibliography*, New York, 1953. The following monograph of I. Lappo is worth mentioning: *Litovskii Statut 1588 goda* (The Lithuanian Statute of 1588), Kaunas, vol. I, parts I (1934) and II (1936), vol. II, 1935.

It is necessary to mention also works by Volodymyr Picheta (later professor and rector of the Byelorussian State University, a full member of the Byelorussian Academy of Sciences and of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), especially his monograph *Agrarnaya reforma Sigizmunda Avgusta v Litovsko-Russkom Gosudarstve* (Agrarian Reform of Sigismund August in the Lithuanian-Rus' State), vols. I, II, Moscow, 1917.

Petersburg, 1868, (a Ukrainian translation in vol. XXIII-XXIV of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*) ; "Naselenie Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii ot vtoroi poloviny XIII v. do poloviny XV v." (The Population of South-West Russia from the Middle of the XIIIth to the Middle of the XVth Century), *Arkhiiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*, ser. VII, vol. I; *Ocherki iz istorii litovsko-russkago prava* (An Outline of the History of Lithuanian-Rus' Law), Kiev, 1882; "Pomest'ya litovsko-russkago gosudarstva" (Estates in the Lithuanian Rus' State), *Chteniya Nestora*, vol. II, Kiev, 1889; *Naselenie Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii ot poloviny XV do 1569 g.* (Population of Southwestern Russia from the Middle of the XVth Century to 1569), Kiev, 1890, ser. VII, vol. 2 of the *Arkhiiv*; "Peredvizhenie yuzhno-russkago naseleniya v epokhu B. Khmel'nitskago" (The Movement of the South-Russian Population in the Period of Bohdan Khmelnytsky) in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, and separately; *Cherty semeinago prava Zapadnoi Rossii v polovine XVI v.* (The Characteristics of the Family Laws in Western Russia in the Middle of the XVI Century), *Chteniya Nestora*, IV, 1890; "Formy krest'yanskago zemlevladeniya v Zapadnoi Rossii XVI v." (Forms of Peasant Landownership in Western Russia in the XVI Century), *Kievskii Sbornik*, 1892; "Krest'yanskoe zemlevladienie v Zapadnoi Rossii do poloviny XVI v." (Peasant Landownership in Western Russia up to the Middle of the XVI Century), *Chteniya Nestora*, VII, 1893; the two latter articles were translated into Ukrainian and appeared in vol. XXII of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*; *Ocherki iz istorii litovsko-russkago prava* (An outline of the History of Lithuanian-Rus' Law), Kiev, 1893; *Komu prinalozhit glavnaya rol' v dele zaseleniya Ukrainy v kontse XIV i nachale XVII v.* (Who Played the Leading Role in the Colonization of the Ukraine at the End of the XIV and the Beginning of the XVII Century), *Arkhiiv*, Ser. VII, vol. 3.¹³¹

Fedir Leontovych, a professor at Odessa University, and later

¹³¹ M. Vladimírsky-Budanov also compiled a well-known *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkago prava* (Selections of the History of Russian Law), 1874, and a few later editions.

at Warsaw University, worked in the same field: "Krest'yane Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii po litovskomu pravu XV-XVI vv." (The Peasantry of Southwestern Russia in Lithuanian Law of the XV and XVI Centuries), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, Kiev, 1863, X, XI, and separately; "Istoricheskie izsledovaniya o pravakh litovsko-russkikh evreev" (Historical Studies on the Rights of Lithuanian-Rus' Jews), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1864, III-IV, and separately; "Russkaya Pravda i Litovskii Statut" (*Russkaya Pravda* and the Lithuanian Statute), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1865, II, III, IV; "Ocherki istorii litovsko-russkago prava. Obrazovanie territorii Litovsko-Russkago gosudarstva" (Outlines of History of Lithuanian-Rus' Law. Formation of the Territory of the Lithuanian-Rus' State), *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, St. Petersburg, 1893, III, VI, XII, 1894, I-III, and separately, St. Petersburg, 1894; "Istochniki litovsko-russkago prava" (The Sources of Lithuanian-Rus' Law), *Varsh. Univ. Izv.*, 1894, I, and separately; "Soslovnii tip territorial'no-administrativnogo sostava Litovskago gosudarstva i ego prichiny" (The Social Pattern of the Territorial and Administrative System of the Lithuanian State and Its Causes), *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1895, VI, VII; "Panskii dvor v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve" (The Household of the Nobility in the Lithuanian-Rus' State), *Varsh. Univ. Izv.*, 1895, V; "Krest'yanskii dvor v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve" (The Peasant Farmstead in the Lithuanian-Rus' State), *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1896, II-IV, VII, X, XII, 1897, IV-V; "Sel'skie promyshlenniki v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve" (Village Tradesmen in the Lithuanian-Rus' State), *Varsh. Univ. Izv.*, 1897, IV-VII; "Sel'skie remeslenniki v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve" (Village Craftsmen in the Lithuanian-Rus' State), *Varsh. Univ. Izv.*, 1898, II-III.

Arkadiy Verzilov, a pupil of Antonovych, is the author of "Ocherk torgovli Yuzhnoi Rusi s 1480-1569" (An Outline of Trade of Southern Rus' 1480-1569), *Zemskii Sbornik Chernigovskoi gubernii*, 1898, I-VI, and separately, Chernihiv, 1899.

The social and economic history of the Lithuanian-Rus' State was the subject of a study by Professor *Mytrofan Dovnar-Zapolsky* (1867-1934), of Kiev University, a pupil of Antonovych, who wrote:

Gosudarstvennoe khozyaistvo Velikago Knyazhestva Litovskago pri Yagellonakh (The Economic Policy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania during the Reign of the Yagellony), Vol. I., Kiev, 1900; *Iz istorii litovsko-pol'skoi bor'by za Volyn' (dogovory 1366 g.)* (The History of the Struggle between the Lithuanians and the Poles for Volynia—Agreements of 1366), Kiev, 1896; "Zapadno-russkaya sel'skaya obshchina v XVI veke" (The West-Russian Peasant Commune in the XVI Century), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1897, VII; "Krest'yanskaya reforma v Litovsko-Russkom gosudarstve v polovine XVI veka" (Agricultural Reform in the Lithuanian-Rus' State in the Middle of the XVI Century), *ibid.*, 1905, III-IV; "Ukrainskiya starostva v XVI veke" (Ukrainian Starostva (office of the county head) in the XVI Century), introduction to vol. 5, Ser. VIII of *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*.

M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky also edited important collections of documents:

Dokumenty Moskovskago Arkhiva Ministerstva Yustitsii (Documents of the Moscow Archives of the Ministry of Justice) vol. I, Moscow, 1897; *Akty Litovsko-Russkago gosudarstva* (The Documents of the Lithuanian-Rus' State) vol. I., up to 1529, Moscow, 1899, (reprint from *Chteniya* of the Historical Society).¹³²

The history of the peasantry in the Lithuanian-Rus' State is contained in I. Novytsky's (1844-1890) *Ocherk istorii krest'yanskago sosloviya v Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii v XV-XVIII v.* (An Outline of the History of the Peasantry in South-West Russia in the XV-XVIII Century), introductory study to the first volume of materials concerning the Ukrainian peasantry, published by the Kievan Archeographic Commission, Ser. VI, v. I; a Ukrainian translation of it appeared in vol. XXI of the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*, [...]

¹³² M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky wrote quite a few works on the history of Byelorussia, the Ukraine, and Russia, mostly dwelling on the nineteenth century. He also wrote on the subject of Byelorussian ethnography. His studies on the history of national economy of the Ukraine and Byelorussia are worth mentioning, in particular the *Istoriya russkago narodnago khozyaistva* (History of Russian National Economy), vol. I, Kiev, 1911; *Narodnoe khozyaistvo Byelorussii 1861-1914* (National Economy of Byelorussia), Minsk, 1926.

The studies by O. Yefymenko are devoted to the problem of landownership and land-use: "Dvorishchnoe zemlevladienie v Yuzhnoi Rusi" (The Joint Land Ownership in Southern Rus'), *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1892, 4-5; also her "Arkhaicheskiya formy zemlevladieniya u germantsev i slavyan" (The Ancient Forms of Land Use by the Teutons and the Slavs), *Vestnik Evropy*, 1896, 12; "Litovsko-russkie danniki i ikh dani" (The Lithuanian-Rus' Tribute-payers and Their Tributes), *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1903, I. All these studies were reprinted in *Yuzhnaya Rus'*, I, St. Petersburg, 1905.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century considerable interest was shown in the study of the Old Ukrainian law which was usually referred to as "Russian." The monuments of the Kievan period, such as the *Russkaya Pravda*, had previously been analyzed by Russian scholars.^{133*} Now the main attention was directed toward Lithuanian-Rus' law, its origins, theory and practise. Apart from general surveys like those by M. Vladimirovsky-Budanov, N. Zagoskin, or M. Yasinsky, there appeared the following monographs on the history of Lithuanian-Rus' law:

F. Leontovych, *Ocherki istorii litovsko-russkago prava* (An Outline of the History of Lithuanian-Rus' Law), St. Petersburg, 1894.

S. Bershadsky, *Litovskii Statut i pol'skiya konstitutsii* (The Lithuanian Statute (Code) and Polish Constitutions), St. Petersburg, 1893.

Barshevsky, *Kratkaya istoriya Litovskago Statuta* (A Short History of the Lithuanian Statute), Kiev, 1882, (reprint from *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, VI).

M. Yasinsky, "Ustavnyya gramoty litovsko-russkago gosudarstva" (The Local Statutes of the Lithuanian-Rus' State), Kiev, 1889 (Reprint from *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*). [...]

^{133*} Highly valuable studies by V. Sergeevich, professor of St. Petersburg University, and author of the well-known study *Knyaz' i veche* (The Prince and the Assembly), St. Petersburg, 1867, also treated this subject: *Rus'ka Pravda* (Rus' Law), St. Petersburg, 1899; *Lektsii i izsledovaniya po istorii russkago prava* (Lectures and Studies on the History of Russian Law), St. Petersburg, 1883; *Russkiya yuridicheskaya drevnost* (Russian Juridical Antiquities), two volumes, St. Petersburg, 1895-96, and others.

M. Maksymeyko, *Istochniki ugolovnykh zakonov Litovskago Statuta* (Sources of the Criminal Code of the Lithuanian Statute), Kiev, 1894.

I. Malynovsky, *Uchenie o prestuplenii po Litovskomu Statutu* (A Study of Crime According to the Lithuanian Statute), Kiev, 1894.

F. Taranovsky, *Obzor pamyatnikov magdeburgskago prava zapadno-russkikh gorodov litovskoi epokhi* (A Survey of the Monuments of the Magdeburg Law of the Western Rus' Cities in the Lithuanian Period), Warsaw, 1897.

I. Lappo, "Zemskii sud v Velikom kn. Litovskom pri kontse XVI v." (Land Courts in the Grand Principality of Lithuania at the End of the XVI Century), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1897, VI.

M. Yasinsky, *Ocherki po istorii sudoustroistva v Litovsko-russkom gosudarstve, Glavnyi Litovskii Tribunal* (An Outline of the History of the Judicial System in the Lithuanian-Rus' State, the Chief (Supreme) Lithuanian Tribunal), Kiev, 1901; *Lutskii tribunal, kak vysshaya sudebnaya instantsiya dlya Volynskago, Bratslavskago i Kievskago voevodstv v poslednei chetverti XVI v.* (The Lutsk Tribunal as the Highest Court Authority for the Volynian, Bratslavian, and Kievan *Voyevodstva* in the Last Quarter of the XVI Century), *Chteniya Obshchestva Nestora Letopistsa*, vol. XIV, Kiev, 1900.

Oleksandra Yefymenko, "Narodnyi sud v Yuzhnoi Rusi" (The People's Court in Southern Rus'), *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1893, IX-X.

The history of the Ukrainian Church and of the great religious strife in the XVI and XVII centuries which, in turn, had a deep influence on cultural and national life, was a favorite field for scholars, partly because Russian institutions of learning (which had the backing of the government) showed great concern for the struggle between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, and published studies and material in support of the official Russian point of view. The most representative of such tendentious scholarship is the work of a professor at St. Petersburg Theologi-

cal Academy, Mikhail Koyalovich, 1828-1891.^{134*} The best example of a collection of materials compiled for the purpose of countering Polish and Catholic claims is *Pamyatniki russkoi stariny v zapadnykh guberniyakh, izdavaemye s Vysochaishago soizvoleniya P. N. Batyushkovym* (Monuments of Russian Antiquity in Western Provinces, Published with the Sanction of the Sovereign by P. N. Batyushkov). Books I-IV of this publication (1868) were comprised of pictures of Volynia (Volodymyr-Volynsky, Lutsk, Ovruch, Ostroh); books V-VI (1870-1874) are prefaced with a study by V. Vasil'evsky, *Ocherk istorii goroda Vil'ny* (A Survey of the History of the City of Vilno); books VII-VIII (1885) are entitled *Kholm'skaya Rus'* and contain materials mostly on the history of ecclesiastical life of the country (by Ya. Holovatsky, O. Levytsky, A. Longinov, I. Malyshevsky, M. Petrov, N. Strashkevych, and S. Sholkovych).

In addition to these officially sponsored histories of the Church, written in the spirit of Russian Orthodoxy and patriotism, the following works, besides those mentioned earlier (by V. Antonovych, S. Ternovsky, O. Levytsky), deserve to be enumerated:

Fylyp Ternovsky, "Pyotr Mogila, biograficheskii ocherk" (Petro Mohyla, a biographical sketch), *Kiev'skaya Starina*, 1882, VI.

I. Chystovych, *Ocherk istorii zapadno-russkoi tserkvi* (Sketch of Western Russian Church History), 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1882-1884. [...]

Studies by Mykola Petrov: *Kiev'skaya Akademiya vo vtoroi po-*

^{134*} *Litovskaya tserkovnaya uniya* (Lithuanian Church Union), two volumes, 1859-62; *Lektsii o zapadno-russkikh bratstvakh* (Lectures on Western-Rus' Brotherhoods), 1862; *Lektsii po istorii Zapadnoi Rossii* (Lectures on the History of Western Russia), 1864; *Dokumenty, ob'yasnyayushchie istoriyu Zapadnoi Rossii i eya otnosheniye k Vostochnoi Rossii i Pol'she* (Documents Explaining the History of Western Russia and its Relation to Eastern Russia and Poland), 1865; *Dnevnik Lyublinkago Seima 1569 g.* (The Diary of the Lublin Diet of 1569), 1869; *Istoriya vozsoedineniya zapadno-russkikh uniato v starykh vremen* (History of the Reuniting of the Western Russian Uniates of Old Times), 1873; *Istoriya russkago samoznaniya po istoricheskim pamyatnikam i nauchnym sochineniyam* (History of Russian Self-awareness as a Nation on the Basis of Historical Monuments and Scholarly Studies), 1884.

lovine XVII v. (The Kiev Academy in the Second Half of the XVII Century), Kiev, 1895; and others.

Stepan Golubev, *Pyotr Mogila i yego spodvizhniki* (Petro Mohyla and His Champions), 2 vols., Kiev, 1883-98; *Istoriya Kievskoi Akademii* (The History of the Kiev Academy), Kiev, I, 1886; "Ocherki iz istorii Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii za XVIII st." (An Outline of the History of the Kiev Theological Academy in the XVIII Century), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, v. XXV; "Zapadno-russkaya Tserkov' v epokhu P. Mogily" (The West-Russian Church in the Time of P. Mohyla), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1898, I-VI.

Konstantin Kharlampovych, "Ostrozhsкая shkola" (The School of Ostroh), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, V-VI; *Zapadno-russkiya pravoslavnyya shkoly v XVI i nachale XVII vv.* (West-Russian Orthodox Schools in the XVI and the Beginning of the XVII Century) Kazan, 1898.

A. Papkov, *Bratstva, Ocherk istorii zapadno-russkikh bratstv* (The Brotherhoods, A Survey of the History of West-Russian Brotherhoods), Moscow, 1900.

A. Yakushevich, *Revnitel' pravoslaviya, kn. K. I. Ostrozhsky (1461-1530) i pravoslavnaya Litovskaya Rus' v ego vremya* (A Partisan of the Orthodox Faith, Prince K. I. Ostrozhsky (1461-1530) and the Orthodox Lithuanian Rus' during His Time), Smolensk, 1897.

D. Vyshnevsky, "Kievskaya Akademiya v pervoi polovine XVIII v." (The Kiev Academy in the First Half of the XVIII Century), Kiev, 1903.

Numerous articles by Reverend P. Orlovsky printed in the *Kievskaya Starina*. [...]

Two important works were devoted to the history of Kiev:

M. Petrov, *Istorko-topograficheskie ocherki drevnyago Kievа* (Historical and Topographical Sketches of Ancient Kiev), Kiev, 1897; V. Ikonnikov, "Kiev 1654-1855, istoricheskii ocherk" (Kiev 1654-1855, A Historical Sketch), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1904, and separately.

Kievskaya Starina gathered the richest material dealing with Cossack history. Apart from studies by Lazarevsky, it printed scores

of articles, notes and other material on the Hetman State. For the early history of the Cossacks the article "K voprosu o kozachestve do Bogdana Khmel'nitskago" (On the Problem of the Cossacks up to the Time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky), *Chteniya Obshchestva Nestora Letopistsa*, VIII, and separately, Kiev 1894, by I. Kamanin, is very important. In this article, which caused wide discussion,^{135*} the author attempted to revive the old theory of the origin of the Cossacks, that they were at first composed of separate small communities with a prince at the head of each of them.

Andriy Storozhenko also wrote about the Cossacks before the time of Khmelnytsky: "Svod dannykh o Yane Oryshevskom, zaporozhskom getmane vremen korolya Stefana Batoriya" (Collection of Data about Yan Oryshevsky, Zaporozhian Hetman at the Time of King Stefan Batory), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, I; and "Knyaz' D. I. Vishnevetsky" (Prince D. I. Vyshnevetsky), *ibid.*, 1897, III. A staunch friend of the Cossacks, the Catholic Bishop of Kiev, Joseph Vereshchynsky, at the end of the XVI century propagated the idea of a Cossack crusade against the Turks and the Tatars, which was the subject of two studies by A. Storozhenko: "Kiev trista let nazad" (Kiev Three Hundred Years Ago), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, II; and "Starinnyi proekt zaseleniya Ukrainy" (An Old Scheme for Populating the Ukraine), *ibid.*, 1895, III. Later Storozhenko wrote a monograph: *Stefan Batorii i dneprovskie kozaki, Izsledovaniya, pamyatniki, dokumenty, zametki* (Stefan Batory and the Dnieper Cossacks, Studies, Monuments, Documents, Notes), Kiev, 1904; which like all his other works, was strongly influenced by Polish historiography, with its preconceptions about the statesmanly and cultural mission of the Poles in the Ukraine in the second half of the XVI century. A.

^{135*} In connection with this work, M. Lyubavsky wrote the article "Nachal'naya istoriya malorusskago kozachestva" (Initial History of Little-Russian Cossacks), *Zhurnal Ministerstva Norodnago Prosveshcheniya*, 1896, VII, having raised the theory that the Cossacks originated from the remaining Tatar colonization of the Kievan lands at Vitovt's time. Lyubavsky's views were supported by A. Jablonowski in *Zródła dziejowe*, v. XXII, 1897, and also by V. Kotsovsky, see *ZNTSH*, vol. VII.

Storozhenko is also the author of "Rodion Dmitrashko, polkovnik pereyaslavskii" (Rodion Dmytrashko, the Pereyaslav Colonel), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1893, IV; "Serbin Vuk, polkovnik pereyaslavskii" (Serbyn Vuk, the Pereyaslav Colonel), *ibid.*, 1894, I; and *Ocherki Pereyaslavskoi stariny* (Sketches of Pereyaslav Antiquity), Kiev, 1900, in which book the articles previously published in the *Kievskaya Starina* were reprinted.

The early history of the Cossacks is also treated in:

I. Novytsky, "Knyaz'ya Ruzhinskie" (The Princes Ruzhynski) *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, IV.

F. Nykolaychyk, "Pervyya kozatskiyya dvizheniya v Rechi Pospolitoi" (The First Cossack Movements in the *Rzecz Pospolita*), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1884, III-IV; "Novyi istochnik o kozatskom vozstanii 1625 g." (A New Source for the Cossack Rising in 1625), *ibid.*, 1889, X; "Z druhooho kintsya, korotkyi ohlyad Sivers'koyi Ukrayiny" (From Another Angle, a Short Survey of the Siverian Ukraine), *Zorya*, Lviv, 1886.

Ivan Kamanin (1859-1921) specialized in the period of Sahaydachnyi and Khmelnytsky. A graduate of Kiev University, he was for a long time director of the Central Archives in Kiev and one of the best archivists in the country. Although interested too in the XVIII century, his main attention was focused on the time of Khmelnytsky. He edited and published a great deal of source material relating to that period and he was a close collaborator with *Kievskaya Starina* and *Chteniya Obshchestva Nestora Letopistsa*. His main works are:

1. "Novye istoricheskie materialy o B. Khmelnitskom" (New Historical Materials on B. Khmelnytsky), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, VII.

2. "Poslednie gody samoupravleniya Kievskoye po Magdeburgskomu pravu" (The Last Years of Kiev Self-Government According to the Magdeburg Laws), *ibid.*, 1888, V, VIII-IX, and separately.

3. "Mazepa i ego prekrasnaya Elena" (Mazepa and His Beautiful Helen), *ibid.*, 1886, XI.

4. "Materialy dlya istorii kozatskago zemlevladieniya 1494-

1668" (Materials for the History of Cossack Landownership, 1494-1668), *Chteniya Nestora*, 1894, VIII.

5. "K voprosu o kozachestve do B. Khmel'nitskago" (On the question of the Cossacks Before Bohdan Khmelnytsky, *ibid.*

6. "Statisticheskiya dannyya o evreyakh v Yugo-Zapadnom krae vo vtoroi polovine XVIII v." (Statistical Data about the Jews in the Southwestern Land in the Second Half of the XVIII Century), introductory study in *Arkhiv Yugo-Zap. Rossii*, ser. V, vol. II, Kiev, 1889.

[...]

7. "Ocherk getmanstva P. Sagaidachnogo" (A Sketch of the Hetmanate of P. Sahaydachnyi), *Chteniya Nestora*, XV, Kiev, 1901, and separately

8. "Pisnyia pro Sahaydachnoho i Doroshenko" (A Song About Sahaydachnyi and Doroshenko), *Zapysky Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva*, III, Kiev, 1909.

9. "Pokhodzhennya Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho" (The Family Origin of Bohdan Khmelnytsky), *ibid.* XII, Kiev, 1913.

10. "Uchastie yuzhnorusskago naseleniya v vozstannii B. Khmel'nitskago" (The Participation of the South-Russian Population in the Uprising of B. Khmelnytsky), a preface to *Arkhiv*, ser. III, vol. IV.

11. "Dokumenty epokhi B. Khmel'nitskago, 1656-57" (Documents of the Period of B. Khmelnytsky, 1656-57), *Sbornik Kievskoi Komissii*, v. I, Kiev, 1911.

12. "Dogovory B. Khmel'nitskago s Pol'shei, Shvetsiei i Rossiei" (Agreements between Khmelnytsky and Poland, Sweden, and Russia), *ibid.*, v. II, Kiev, 1916.

The studies, *O Bogdane Khmel'nitskom* (About Bohdan Khmelnytsky), Kharkiv, 1882, by P. Butsky;^{136*} and *Adam Kysel', voevoda kievskii* (1580-1653) (Adam Kysil', the Voyevoda of Kiev), Kiev, 1885, reprint from *Kievskaya Starina* by I. Novytsky, also refer to the time of Khmelnytsky, while the work of

^{136*} V. Antonovych wrote a critical review of this pretentious book, which did not bring anything new either in materials or in views to Khmelnytsky's movement. See *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, book II.

Vasyl' Vovk-Karachevsky, "Bor'ba kozachestva s Pol'shei vo vtoroi polovine XVII veka" (The Struggle of the Cossacks against Poland in the Second Half of the XVII Century), *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1898-99, and separately, contains a survey of the Cossack wars against Poland.

Several articles by *A. Vostokov*^{137*} in *Kievskaya Starina* are also devoted to the history of the Hetman state:

"Kozeletskaya rada" (The Assembly of Kozelets), 1887, II; "Nezhinskaya rada" (The Assembly of Nizhen), 1888, V; "Pervyya snosheniya B. Khmelnytskogo s Moskvoy" (First Relations Between B. Khmelnytsky and Moscow), 1887, VIII; "Sud i kazn' Gr. Samoilovicha" (The Trial and Execution of H. Samoylovych), 1889, I; "Poltavskii polkovnik Ivan Chernyak" (The Poltava Colonel, Ivan Chernyak), 1889, IX; "Sud'ba Vygovskikh i polkovnika Ivana Nechaya" (The Fate of the Vyhovskis and Colonel Ivan Nechay), 1890, I; "Posol'stvo Shaklovitogo k Getmanu Mazepe" (The Diplomatic Mission of Shaklovityi to the Hetman Mazepa), 1890, V. [...]

The diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and Muscovy in the second half of the XVII century receive ample treatment in the works of *Vitalii Einhorn*:

O snosheniyakh malorossiiskago dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom pri Aleksee Mikhailoviche (The Relations Between the Little Russian Clergy and the Moscow Government at the Time of Aleksei Mikhailovich), Moscow, 1894; "Diplomatičeskiya snosheniya moskovskago pravitel'stva s Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainoi v 1673 g." (Diplomatic Relations between the Moscow Government and the Right-Bank Ukraine in 1673), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1898, V; "Ostavka A. L. Ordyn-Nashchokina i ego otnoshenie k malorossiiskomu voprosu" (The Dismissal of A. L. Ordyn-Nashchokin and His Attitude to the

^{137*} Aleksander Vostokov (1857-1891), a Russian from Moscow Province, was employed by the Archives of the Ministry of Justice in Moscow and wrote his studies on the basis of documents and published them in *Kievskaya Starina*. His obituary, written by I. Kamanin, was in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1892, II.

Little Russian Problem), *ibid.*, 1897, XI; "Moskva i Malorosiya v upravlenie A. Ordyn-Nashchokinym Malorossiiskim Prikazom" (Moscow and Little Russia at the Time of A. Ordyn-Nashchokin's Administration in the Little Russian *Prikaz* (Office)), *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1901, I; "Kievskii voevoda P. Sheremet'ev i nezhinskii magistrat 1666-1669 g." (The Kiev *Voyevoda* P. Sheremet'ev and the Nizhen Magistrate 1666-1669), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, XI; "P. Shmatkovsky, protopop glukhovskii i ego snosheniya s moskovskim pravitel'stvom 1658-1673 g." (The Archpriest P. Shmatkovsky of Hlukhiv and His Relations with the Moscow Government in 1658-1673), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1892, X; *Snosheniya malorossiiskago dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Aleksey Mikhailovicha* (The Relations Between the Little Russian Clergy and the Moscow Government during the Reign of Aleksei Mikhailovich), Moscow, 1899.

Nikandr Molchanovsky (1858-1906), a pupil of Antonovych, wrote on the political history of the Hetman State in the second half of the XVII and the early XVIII century [...]. He went to Budapest and Stockholm where he worked in the state archives and later published the results of his research on the diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and these countries in the middle of the XVII century in vol. VI of the third series of the *Arkhiv Yugo-Zapadnoi Rossii*. Molchanovsky was a steady contributor to the *Kievskaya Starina*, in which he published among others the following articles: "Angliiskoe izvestie o zaporozhtsakh 1736 g." (An English Report on the Zaporozhians in 1736), 1889, XI; "Donesenie venetsianskago posla Alberto Vimina o Bogdane Khmel'nitskom i o kozakakh" (Report made by the Venetian Envoy Alberto Vimina on Bohdan Khmelnytsky and the Cossacks), 1900, II; "Neskol'ko dannyykh o smerti i nasledstve getmana Mazepy" (Some Data about the Death and Legacy of Hetman Mazepa), 1903, I.

In 1897 a book entitled *Hetman Mazepa* by *Fedir Umanets'* (1841-1908), appeared in St. Petersburg. Its author, a landowner from the Hlukhiv region and an active member of the "Zemstvo" in Chernihiv Province was not a trained scholar, although he

had previously written several articles on Polish-Ukrainian relations.^{138*}

In his book on Mazepa, Umanets' attempted to revise the traditional opinions of Mazepa, indicating in his introduction that "the long interval of time since Mazepa's day now makes possible a calm and objective appraisal of the great hetman and his work in the light of historical conditions." Using published materials and some new sources from the private collection of the Markovych and Doroshenko families, Umanets' concludes that Mazepa was a great statesman and a sincere Ukrainian patriot, and tries to rectify the malicious inventions and legends about this hetman, which were circulated as a result of hostile Russian and, partly, Ukrainian historiography. Umanets' opinions were regarded so dangerous that not one liberal Russian periodical offered to print his study for fear of censorship. The author, therefore, was obliged to print a small number of copies at his own expense, fearing that it might be confiscated. However, the book did appear and stirred up wide and favorable response. O. Lazarevsky corrected some statements of Umanets' about the social policy of Mazepa in his *Zametki o Mazepe* (Comments about Mazepa).

A study by the Kiev Professor *Oleksander Kistyakovsky* (1833-1885) was specially devoted to the legal and judicial history of the Hetman State: *Ocherk istoricheskikh svedenii o Svode zakonov deistvovavshem v Malorossii pod zaglaviem "Prava, po kotorym suditsya malorossiiskii narod"* (A Survey of Historical Sources of the Code of Laws Obtaining in Little Russia Under the Title "Laws by Which the Little Russian People Are Tried"), printed at first in *Kiev. Univ. Izv.*, 1875, VI-XII, 1876, I-XII, 1877, I-XII, 1878, XI, XII, and later (1879) separately. Kistyakovsky was an old contributor to *Osnova*, worked in the field of common law, and was a member of the "expedition" led by P. Chubynsky. From subsequent literature on the courts of the Hetman State,

^{138*} His study was later published: "Knyaz' Konstantin-Vasilii Ostrozhs'ky" (Prince Konstantyn-Vasylii Ostrozhs'ky), *Russkii Arkhiv*, 1904, IV.

we must mention: articles by O. Lazarevsky, O. Levytsky (vide *supra*), and by D. Miller (vide *infra*). [...]

M. Vasylenko, I. Telychenko, V. Myakotin, I. Luchytsky, and O. Andriyevsky, aided by the rich archives in Kharkiv and Kiev, explored the social history of the Left-Bank Ukraine.

Mykola Vasylenko (1866-1935), a graduate of Dorpat (Tartu) University, due to political circumstances did not become a lecturer at Kiev University. [...] He was a permanent contributor to *Kievskaya Starina* and later to the Kiev and Lviv *Zapysky*. During the period of the independent Ukrainian State in 1918, he was Minister of Education and a senator. Later he was elected President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.¹³⁹ Most of Vasylenko's works deal with the Hetman State in the eighteenth century:

1. *General'noe sledstvie o maetnostyakh Gadyatskago polka* (A General Investigation of the Estates of the Hadyach Regiment), Poltava, 1893.

2. "K istorii malorusskoi istoriografii i malorusskago obshchestvennago stroya" (The History of Little Russian Historiography and the Little Russian Social System), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1894, XI-XII.

3. "General'noe sledstvie o maetnostyakh Kievskago polka 1729-30 g." (A General Investigation of the Estates of the Kiev Regiment in 1729-30), *Chteniya Nestora*, VII.

4. "Materialy dlya istorii ekonomicheskago, yuridicheskago, i obshchestvennago byta Staroi Malorossii, t. 1. General'noe sledstvie o maetnostyakh Nezhinskago polka 1729-30 g." (Materials for the Economic, Juridical and Social History of Old Little Russia, vol. 1. General Investigation of the Estates of the Nizhen Regiment in 1729-30), *Chernigovskii Zemskii Sbornik*, and separately, Chernihiv, 1901; vol. 2, "Ekstrakt iz ukazov, instruktsii, uchrezhdenii i pr. 1756 g." (An Extract from the Decrees, Instructions, Decisions, Etc., of 1756), Chernihiv, 1902; vol. 3, "General'noe sledstvie o maetnostyakh Chernigovskago polka"

¹³⁹ The scholarly activities of M. Vasylenko in the twenties are described in the supplementary chapter of this book, compiled by O. Ohloblyn.

(General Investigation of the Estates of the Chernihiv Regiment) Chernihiv, 1908.

5. "Pervye shagi po vvedeniyu polozhenii 19 fevralya v Chernigovskoi gubernii" (First Steps Toward Introduction of the February 19 Directions¹⁴⁰ in the Chernihiv Province), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1901, and separately.

6. "O. M. Bodyansky i ego zaslugi po izucheniyu Malorossii (O. M. Bodyansky and His Achievements in the Study of Little Russia), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1903, and separately.

7. "Teplov i yoho zapyska 'O neporyadkakh v Malorossii'" (Teplov and His Notes 'On the Disorders in Little Russia'), *Zapysky Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva v Kyievi*, IX, 1911.

8. "Z istorii administratsiynoho ladu na Ukrayini za chasiv Het'manschyny" (History of the Administrative System in the Ukraine at the Time of the Hetmanate), *ZNTSH*, vol. CVIII.

9. "Novi prychnyky do istorii Het'manschyny XVII-XVIII v." (New Light on the History of the Hetman State in the XVII-XVIIIth Centuries) *ibid.*, vol. CXVI.

In 1916 Vasylenko published his survey of Ukrainian history in the Lithuanian-Polish period up to the time of Khmelnytsky: *Ocherki po istorii Zapadnoi Rusi i Ukrainy* (An Outline of the History of Western Rus' and the Ukraine). It contains a valuable bibliography.

Almost at the same time as Vasylenko, another scholar began to work in the field of social and economic history of the Hetman State. He was *Venedikt Myakotin* (1867-1937) who for the most part used the Kiev Central Archives and the Kharkiv Historical Archives. His article "Prikreplenie krest'yan v Levoberezhnoi Malorossii" (Subjection of the Peasants to Serfdom in the Left-Bank Little Russia) *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, 1894, II, in which he adopted the same attitude as O. Lazarevsky, prompted Vasylenko to write his *K istorii malorusskoi istoriografii*. Myakotin surveyed the available sources for study of the peasantry in the Left-Bank

¹⁴⁰ The Peasants Reform of February 19, 1861, is referred to here, which abolished serfdom in Russia and in the Ukraine.

Ukraine in his "Dela po istorii krest'yanstva Levoberezhnoi Malorossii v XVIII v. v Kievskom Tsentral'nom Arkhive" (Sources for History of the Peasantry in the Left-Bank Little Russia in the Kiev Central Archives), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, II. Twenty years later Myakotin returned to the same theme in his *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Malorossii*, (Essays on the Social History of Little Russia), 1: "Vozstanie B. Khmelnytskogo i ego posledstviya" (The Uprising of B. Khmelnytsky and Its Consequences), *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, 1912, VIII, IX, X, XII—and 2: "Formy zemlevladieniya v Levoberezhnoi Malorossii XVII-XVIII v." (Forms of Landownership in the Left-Bank Little Russia in XVII-XVIII Centuries), *Russkoe Bogatstvo*, 1913, IX-XII and in later years.¹⁴¹

A professor at Kiev University, *Ivan Luchytsky* (1845-1918) wrote the following works on the economic and social history of the Left-Bank Ukraine:

"Obshchinnoe zemlevladienie v Malorossii" (The Communal Use of Land in Little Russia), *Ustoi*, 1882, No. 7.

"Sledy obshchinnago zemlevladieniya v Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v XVIII veke" (Traces of Communal Use of Land in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the XVIII Century), *Otechestvennyya Zapiski*, 1882, No. XI.

"Malorossiiskaya sel'skaya obshchina i sel'skoe dukhovenstvo v XVIII veke" (The Little Russian Peasant Commune and the Village Clergy in the XVIII Century), *Zemskii Obzor*, 1883, No. 6.

Materialy dlya istorii zemlevladieniya v Poltavskoi gubernii v XVIII v. (Material on History of Landownership in the Poltava Province in the XVIII Century), Part I: *Kozach'i vladieniya Zolotonoshkago uezda* (Cossack Possessions in the District of Zolotonosha); *Statisticheskiya tablitsy zemlevladieniya v Poltavskoi gubernii, sostavlennyya po "Opisi malorossiiskikh polkov" 1767 g.* (Statistical Tables on the Possession of Land in the

¹⁴¹ A new publication of this work by Myakotin: *Ocherki sotsial'noi istorii Ukrainy v XVII-XVIII stol.*, I-III, Prague, 1924-1926, reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Na chuzhoi storone*, issue X, XIII, Prague, 1925.

Poltava Province Compiled According to the "Listings of the Little Russian Regiments" in 1767), Kiev, 1883.

Sbornik materialov dlya istorii obshchiny i obshchestvennykh zemel' v Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v XVIII v. (A Collection of Materials on the History of the Commune and Communal Lands in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the XVIII Century), Kiev, 1884.

Syabry i syabrinnoe zemlevladienie v Malorossii (Communal Landowners and Their Use of Land in Little Russia), St. Petersburg, 1889.¹⁴²

Krest'yanskaya pozemel'naya sobstvennost' (Peasant Land Possessions), Kiev, 1896.

In his later works Luchytsky turned to the history of the abolition of serfdom in the Ukrainian lands in Austria and Russia: "Iz nedavnyago proshlago" (From the Recent Past), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1901, IV; "Krest'yanskaya reforma v vostochnoi Avstrii (v Bukovine)" (Peasant Reform in Western Austria (Bukovina)), *ibid.*, 1901, III-V.

The abolition of the autonomous system in the Left-Bank Ukraine and Ukrainian participation in the Commission set up by Catherine II in 1767, was the subject of a study by *Ivan Telychenko*: "Soslovnyya nuzhdy i zhelaniya malorossiyan v epokhu Ekaterininskoi komissii" (The Needs and Wishes of the Little Russians at the Time of Catherine's Commission), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, VIII-XII, 1891, I-II, and separately; "K istorii finansov v Malorossii i Slobodskoi Ukraine" (History of the Finances of Little Russia and the Slobidska Ukraine), *ibid.*, 1888, III; "Protest slobodskoi starshiny protiv reform 1765 g." (The Protest of the Slobidsky Cossack Elders Against the Reform of 1765), *ibid.*, 1888, IX-X.

Oleksiy Andriyevsky (1845-1902) specialized in the history of the Hetman State in the second half of the eighteenth century and published 10 fascicles of *Istoriesheskie materialy iz arkhiva Kievskago gubernskago pravleniya* (Historical Materials from

¹⁴² The same theme was treated in the work by M. Kovalevsky, "Obshchinnoe zemlevladienie v Malorossii v XVIII v." (The Communal Landownership in Little Russia in the XVIII Century), *Yuridicheskii Vestnik*, 1885, 1.

the Archives of the Kiev Provincial Government), Kiev, 1882-1886; he was also the author of *Materialy dlya istorii Yuzhnorusskago kraya XVIII stoletiya* (1715-1794), *izvlechennye iz starykh del Kievskago gubernskago arkhiva* (Materials on the History of the South Russian Land in the XVIII Century (1715-1794), Compiled from the Kiev Archives), published by the Odessa "Obshchestvo istorii i drevnostei," 1886; *Materialy dlya istorii Zaporozh'ya* (Materials on the History of Zaporozhe), *ibid.*, 1893; *Akty Voronezhskie* (Voronizh Documents), Voronizh, 1887; "Poslednie kievskie sotniki" (The Last Kiev *Sotniki*), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1896, and separately; "Komissiya 1749 g. dlya razbora vzaimnykh pretenzii tatar i zaporozhtsev" (The 1749 Commission for Settling the Mutual Claims of the Tatars and the Zaporozhians), *ibid.*, 1895.

Mykola Storozhenko, the brother of Andriy Storozhenko, was a member of the Kiev Archeographic Commission and editor of those volumes of the *Arkhiu* which were devoted to the gentry seymyky (assemblies) in the Right-Bank Ukraine. He also worked on the history of the Hetman State. Among his works are: "Il'ya Novitsky, okhochekomonnyi polkovnik" (Illya Novytsky, the Volunteer Colonel), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1885, VII, 1886, IX; "Reformy v Malorossii pri grafe P. Rummyantseve" (The Reforms in Little Russia at the Time of Count Rumyantsev), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, III, IX; "A. F. Shafonsky," *Kiev. Univ. Izv.* 1886, X; "K istorii malorossiiskikh kozakov v kontse XVIII i nachale XIX v." (History of the Little Russian Cossacks at the End of the XVIII and the Beginning of the XIX Century), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, IV, VI, X, XI, XII.¹⁴³

Andriy and Mykola Storozhenko also published *Storozhenky, Famil'nyi arkhiv* (The Family Archives of the Storozhenkos), Kiev, 1902-1912, 8 vols., which abounds in material concerning

¹⁴³ Later M. Storozhenko published such works as: "Osada m. Krylova" (The Siege of the Town of Krylov), *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu Ukrayins'koyi Akademiyi Nauk*, issue I, Kiev, 1919; "Do biohrafiyi Kulisha: I, Kulish u Kyivo-Pechers'kiy shkoli, II, Lysty Kulisha do M. V. Storozhenka" (On the Biography of Kulish: I, Kulish in Kiev-Pechersk School—II, Kulish's Letters to M. V. Storozhenko), *ibid.*, issue II-III, Kiev, 1922-23.

the Hetman State in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁴⁴

The Slobidska Ukraine had a great student of its history in *Dmytro Bahaliy* (1857-1932), a pupil of Antonovych, who became a professor at Kharkiv University in the early 1880's. Having begun his work with the Princely Period (*vide supra*) Bahaliy soon turned to the history of the Hetman State, making use of the Kharkiv archives, which had a rich store of materials.

He wrote: "General'naya opis' Malorossii" (A General Description of Little Russia), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, XI; "Zaimanshchyna v Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v XVII i XVIII stol." (Taking Possession of Land in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), *ibid.*, 1883, XII; "O rabotakh kozakov na Ladozhskom kanale" (Labor of the Cossacks on the Ladoga Canal), *ibid.*, 1884, IV, XI; "Magdeburgskoe pravo v Levoberezhnoi Malorossii" (The Magdeburg Law in Left-Bank Little Russia), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1892, III, (a Ukrainian translation appeared in vol. XXIV of *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*).

Beginning with the 1880's the greater part of Bahaliy's works were devoted almost exclusively to the history of the Slobidska Ukraine and South Ukraine. By his works, D. Bahaliy actually created the scholarly history of the Slobidska Ukraine, the most important being:

"Ocherki iz istorii kolonizatsii stepnoi okrainy Moskovskago gosudarstva" (A Survey of the History of Colonization of the Steppe Borderlands of the Muscovite State), *Chteniia Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei*, 1886, and separately, Moscow, 1887. [...]

"Kolonizatsiya Novorossiiskago kraia i ego pervye shagi po puti kul'tury" (Colonization of New-Russia Land and Its First Steps on the Road to Culture), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1889, IV-VII.¹⁴⁵ [...]

"Materialy dlya istorii kolonizatsii i byta Khar'kovskoi i otchasti Kurskoi i Voronezhskoi gubernii" (Materials on the Colo-

¹⁴⁴ Volumes VII and VIII of *Storozhenky, Famil'nyi arkhiv* include "Malorossiiskii Rodoslovnik" (Little Russian Book of Genealogical Records), volumes I-II, see *supra*.

¹⁴⁵ Second edition (in Ukrainian): *Zalyudnennya Poludnevoyi Ukrayiny*, Kharkiv, 1920.

nization of the Province of Kharkiv and Partly on the Provinces of Kursk and Voronizh), *Sbornik Khar'kovskago Ist.-filolog. obshchestva*, I, 1886, II, 1890.

His articles on the economic and social system of the Slobidska Ukraine were published in *Ukrainskaya Starina* (Ukrainian Antiquity), Kharkiv, 1896; *Ocherki iz russkoi istorii* (Sketches from Russian History), Kharkiv, 1913; *Opyt istorii Khar'kovskago Universiteta* (A Survey of the History of Kharkiv University), Kharkiv, 1893-1904, 2 vols.; *Istoriya goroda Khar'kova* (The History of the City of Kharkiv) written together with D. Miller, 2 vols., Kharkiv, 1905-1906.

Bahaliy devoted special attention to Hryhorii Skovoroda whose activity was connected with the Province of Kharkiv. He was the editor of Skovoroda's works, published in 1894 by the Historical and Philological Society of Kharkiv, for which he wrote a long introductory study on the life and work of this great Ukrainian philosopher. In addition to that, Bahaliy wrote an article for *Kievskaya Starina*, entitled "Ukrainskii filosof, G. S. Skovoroda" (The Ukrainian Philosopher, H. S. Skovoroda), 1895, I-II.

Bahaliy's comprehensive survey of the history of the Slobidska Ukraine is in his *Istoriya Slobids'koyi Ukrayiny* (History of the Slobidska Ukraine), illustrated, Kharkiv, 1918. [...]

The history of the Kievan Rus' is treated by Bahaliy in his *Russkaya istoriya, I, Knyazheskaya Rus'* (A History of Russia, vol. I, Rus' of the Princes), Moscow, 1914.¹⁴⁶

With Bahaliy's assistance and participation, it was possible to establish in Kharkiv a new center of Ukrainian scholarship—the Istoriko-filologicheskoe Obshchestvo pri Khar'kovskom Universitete (The Historical and Philological Society at the University of Kharkiv)—which furthered the development of Ukrainian studies in history, archeology, ethnography, art, and philology. It was founded in 1876 with the active aid of the famous Ukrainian scholar Oleksander Potebnya. The Society began to pub-

¹⁴⁶ For the scholarly activities of D. Bahaliy in the twenties, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

lish its *Sbornik* (Symposium) [...] which contained much historiographical material. Apart from Bahaliy, among its contributors were M. Plokhynsky and D. Miller, pupils of Bahaliy and both distinguished archivists.

Mykhaylo Plokhynsky was the author of the following studies: "Materialy dlya istorii vnutrennei zhizni Levoberezhnoi Ukrainy" (Materials on the Social History of the Left-Bank Ukraine), *Sbornik*, III; "Getman Mazepa v roli velikorusskago pomeshchika" (Hetman Mazepa in the Role of a Great Russian Landlord), *ibid.*, IV; "O tsyganakh v Getmanshchine i Slobodskoi Ukraine" (The Gypsies in the Hetman State and the Slobidska Ukraine), *Khar'kovskii Kalendar'*, Kharkiv, 1890; "Tsygane v Staroi Malorossii" (The Gypsies in Old Little Russia), *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie*, 1890, VII.

Dmytro Miller is the author of the following most valuable studies: "Ocherki iz istorii i yuridicheskago byta Staroi Malorossii, Sudy zemskie, grodskie i podkomorskie v XVIII v." (Sketches on the History and Juridical System of the Old Little Russia, The Civil, Criminal, and Podkomorskie Courts), *Sbornik*, VIII, Kharkiv, 1896; "Prevrashchenie malorusskoi starshiny v dvoryanstvo" (Transformation of the Little Russian Cossack Elders into Nobility), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1897, I-IV; "Pikineriya," *ibid.*, 1899, XII.

Viktor Barvinsky, also a pupil of Bahaliy, was a member of the younger circle of Kharkiv scholars. He was the author of the monograph *Krest'yane v Levoberezhnoi Ukraine v XVII-XVIII v.* (Peasants in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), Kharkiv, 1909, which also appeared as an article in *Sbornik Khar'kovskago Ist.-filolog. obshchestva*; as well as of several articles in the above *Sbornik* of Kharkiv, *Kievskaya Starina* and the Lviv *ZNTSH*; and of "Iz istorii kozachestva Levoberezhnoi Ukrainy" (From the History of the Cossacks in the Left-Bank Ukraine), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1910, I.

The following works deal with the history of the Slobidsky Regiments: N. Gerbel, "Iz yumskii Slobodskoi kozachii polk"

(The Izyum Slobidsky Cossack Regiment), St. Petersburg, 1852; P. Golovinsky, "*O kozach'yikh slobodskikh polkakh*" (The Cossack Slobidsky Regiments), St. Petersburg, 1864; P. Golodolinsky, *Istoriya Sumskogo polka* (The History of the Sumy Regiment), Moscow, 1902; E. Al'bovsky, *Khar'kovskie kozaki. Vtoraya polovina XVII st. (po arkhivnym istochnikam)*, 1 kn. 1 toma *Istorii Khar'kovskogo polka* (The Kharkiv Cossacks in the Second Half of the XVII Century, Book 1 of vol. I, The History of the Kharkiv Regiment), St. Petersburg, 1914, and *Istoriya Khar'kovskogo Slobodskogo kosach'yago polka, Pervaya polovina, XVIII st.* (The History of the Kharkiv Cossack Regiment, The First Half of the XVIII Century), vol. I, Book II, St. Petersburg, 1915.

The history of the culture of the Slobidska Ukraine is covered by: H. Danylevsky, *Ukrainskaya starina* (Ukrainian Antiquity), Kharkiv, 1866; the articles by D. Bahaliy; A. Lebedev, *Khar'kovskii kollegium, kak prosvetitel'nyi tsentr Slobodskoi Ukrainy do uchrezhdeniya v Khar'kove universiteta* (The Kharkiv Collegium—a Center of Educational Life in the Slobidska Ukraine Before the Foundation of Kharkiv University), Moscow, 1886; M. Sumtsov, *Slobozhane; Istorychno-etnografichna rozvidka* (The Slobidsky people, a Historical and Ethnographical Study), Kharkiv, 1919.

Closely associated with Kharkiv was P. Yefymenko who, together with Bahaliy, labored to assemble the Historical Archives of the Historical and Philological Society, which contained important documents on the history of the Left-Bank Ukraine and the Hetman State. *Petro Yefymenko* (1835-1906) began writing by contributing to *Osnova*. In 1862 he was charged with "Ukrainian separatism" and deported to Archangel Province. After his return to the Ukraine he lived in Kharkiv and was connected with *Kievskaya Starina*. His articles relate mostly to the history of the Hetman State: "Arkhir Malorossiiskoi kollegii pri Khar'kovskom universitete" (The Archives of the Little Russian Collegium at Kharkiv University), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, I; "Poslednii pisar' Voiska Zaporozhskago Globa" (The Last Secretary

of the Zaporozhian Host, Hloba), *ibid.*, 1882, VIII; "Ssyl'nye malorossiiane v Arkhangel'skoi gubernii, 1708-1802" (The Deported Little Russians in the Archangel Province in 1708-1802), *ibid.*, 1882, IX; "Shpitali v Malorossii" (Hospitals in Little Russia) *ibid.*, 1883, IV; "Ekonomicheskiya zametki o starine i materialy" (Notes and Materials on History of Economy), *ibid.*, 1888, IV; [...] and a whole series of notes and short articles.

The works of P. Yefymenko's wife, *Oleksandra Yefymenko*, (1848-1918) are of wider interest. Of Russian descent, a native of Vologda, she married P. Yefymenko during his years of exile. Having come with him to Kharkiv, she devoted herself to the study of Ukrainian history. On the basis of archival documents from the Little Russian Collegium, O. Yefymenko made a special study of the community (*kopni*) courts: "Kopnye sudy v Levoberezhnoi Ukraini" (The 'Kopni' Courts in the Left-Bank Ukraine), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1885, X; "Narodnyi sud v Zapadnoi Rusi" (The People's Court in Western Rus'), *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1893, VIII-IX. In her study "Yuzhno-russkiya bratstva" (The South Rus' Brotherhoods), *Slovo*, 1880, X-XII, Yefymenko attempted to find a link between the Ukrainian and other Slavic brotherhoods in the sixteenth century. Based on the work of the Polish historian J. Rolle, she wrote a most readable history of the Right-Bank Ukraine from the middle of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth century: "Ocherki istorii Pravoberezhnoi Ukrainy" (Sketches of History of the Right-Bank Ukraine), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1895, and separately. She also dealt with the history of the Right-Bank Ukraine in her "Iz istorii bor'by malorusskago naroda s Polyakami" (From the History of the Struggle of the Little Russian People Against the Poles), 1872; and in "Bedstviya evreev v Yuzhnoi Rusi v XVII st." (The Sufferings of the Jews in Southern Rus' in the XVII Century), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, VI. The following works are devoted to the history of the Hetman State: "Malorusskoe dvoryanstvo i ego sud'ba" (The Little Russian Nobility and Its Lot) *Vestnik Evropy*, 1891, IV; "Dvenadtsat' punktov Vel'yaminova" (The Twelve Vel'yaminov

Points), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1888, X (which also includes the Points found by O. Yefymenko in the Archives of the Little Russian Collegium); "Turbaevskaya katastrofa" (Turbay Catastrophe), *ibid.*, 1891, III (a Ukrainian translation appeared in the XIX volume of the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*). All the above articles were collected and published in *Yuzhnaya Rus'* (The Southern Rus'), 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1905. [...]

In 1896, when the editors of *Kievskaya Starina* announced a contest on the subject of a history of the Ukraine, O. Yefymenko wrote her survey. It was rejected by the *Kievskaya Starina* and did not appear until 1906 as *Istoriya ukrainskogo naroda* (A History of the Ukrainian People), in the series *Istoriya Evropy po stranam i narodam* (History of European Countries and Peoples) published by Brockhaus and Efron, St. Petersburg. This is a popular study, written in the lively manner so characteristic of the author and devoting much space to the social history of the Ukraine.¹⁴⁷ In 1907 Yefymenko published an even shorter *Istoriya Ukrainy i eya naroda* (A History of the Ukraine and Its People), St. Petersburg. Her last work was *Pochatkovyi pidruchnyk ukrayins'ko-moskovs'koyi istoriyi dlya shkil narodnikh* (An Elementary Manual of Ukrainian and Muscovite History for Public Schools), Kharkiv, 1919, which appeared after the death of the author in the stormy days at the end of 1918. In the words of D. Bahaliy, Oleksandra Yefymenko "working in the field of Ukrainian history has achieved fame for herself by her gifted studies which, because of their brilliance, attracted the attention of many readers, thus contributing to the dissemination of historical knowledge on a basis of scholarly, established facts."

Apart from A. Skal'kovsky, the history of Zaporozhe did not attract historians for a long time. Some new light was shed on the history of the New Sich by the studies of *Hryhoriy Nadkhyn*, a native of Katerynoslav, in his: "Pamyat' o Zaporozh'i i posled-

¹⁴⁷ The second (Ukrainian) edition of O. Yefymenko's *Istoriya Ukrayins'koho narodu* was published in two volumes in Kharkiv, 1922, with a supplement by D. Bahaliy.

nikh dnyakh Zaporozhskoi Sechi" (Recollections of Zaporozhe and the Last Days of the Zaporozhian Sich), *Chteniia*, 1876, No. 3; and in "Padenie Sechi i zaporozhskaya tserkov' v Novomoskovske" (The Fall of the Sich and the Zaporozhian Church in Novomoskovsk), *Russkii Vestnik*, 1873, No. 8. Nadkhyn sharply criticized the policy of the Russian government which led to the abolition of the Zaporozhe, emphasizing the latter's great services in colonization and in defense of the Ukrainian steppes.

Dmytro Evarnytsky (Yavornytsky), 1855-1940, a native of Kharkiv and a graduate of Kharkiv University (1881), devoted himself specially to the history of the Zaporozhe [...] It was not until 1896-1902 that Evarnytsky succeeded in becoming a lecturer at Moscow University where he gave courses on the history of the Ukraine and the Zaporozhe. In 1902 he was elected director of the Katerynoslav Museum, founded by O. Pohl. He settled in Katerynoslav and devoted himself to further research on Zaporozhian history. Evarnytsky travelled widely to consult all the archives of Russia that possessed documents concerning Zaporozhe, and he made numerous journeys into former Zaporozhian territory, collecting rich topographical, historical, and archeological material on Zaporozhian life in the eighteenth century. The results of his research were published in several scholarly journals and as separate books. Evannnytsky was also the author of a general survey of Zaporozhian history: *Istoriia Zaporozhskikh kozakov* (A History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks), vol. I., St. Petersburg, 1892, 2nd edition, St. Petersburg, 1900, vol. II [...] St. Petersburg, 1895, vol. III [...] St. Petersburg, 1897.

Evarnytsky lacked the scientific method and critical faculty to enable him to produce a truly modern historical work. His general survey of the Zaporozhian past (especially vol. I) is chiefly valuable for the material it contains. His article "Glavneishie momenty iz istorii zaporozhskago kozachestva" (Highlights of the History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks), *Russkaya Mysl'*, 1897, I, which was originally an introductory lecture to the history of Zaporozhe, shows also an imperfect grasp of the Ukrainian historical process. Evarnytsky's main contribution

to Ukrainian historiography lay in his accumulation and systematization of source material. His articles in this field were as follows: "Zhizn' zaporozhskikh kozakov po razskazu sovremennika-ochevidtsa" (The Life of the Zaporozhian Cossacks According to an Account by a Contemporary Eyewitness), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, XI; "Topograficheskii ocherk Zaporozh'ya" (A Topographical Outline of Zaporozhe), *ibid.*, 1883, V-VII; "Chislo i poryadok Zaporozhskikh Sechei" (The Number and Order of the Zaporozhian Siches), *ibid.*, 1884, V, VIII; "Ostrov Khortitsa na Dnepre" (The Island Khortyt'sya on the Dnieper), *ibid.*, 1886, I; *Zaporozh'e v ostatkakh stariny i predaniyakh malorusskago naroda* (The Zaporozhe in Remaining Tales and Legends of the Little Russian People), 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1888 (based on the author's travels in the South Ukraine, and with many illustrations); *Sbornik materialov dlya istorii zaporozhskikh kozakov* (Collection of Material Concerning Zaporozhian History), St. Petersburg, 1889; *Ocherki po istorii zaporozhskikh kozakov* (Sketches About the History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks), St. Petersburg, 1889; *Vol'nosti zaporozhskikh kozakov* (The Liberties of the Zaporozhian Cossacks), St. Petersburg, 1890 (most valuable); *Koshevoi ataman I. D. Sirko* (The Koshevyi Chieftain I. D. Sirko), St. Petersburg, 1894 [...]; *Po sledam zaporozhtsev* (In the Footsteps of the Zaporozhians), St. Petersburg, 1898 (travel sketches); *Iz ukrainskoi stariny* (From Ukrainian Antiquity), St. Petersburg, 1900 (text in Russian and French with illustrations by S. Vasyl'kivsky and M. Samokysh); *Istochniki dlya istorii zaporozhskikh kozakov* (Sources for the History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks), 2 vols., Vladimir Gubernsky, 1903, archival material from 1681-1788; "Getman Pyotr Sagaydachnyi" (The Hetman Petro Sahaydachnyi), *Letopis' Ekaterinoslavskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii*, v. X., Katerynoslav, 1913; *Dve poezdki v Zaporozhskuyu Sech Yatsenka-Zelenskago, monakha poltavskago monastyrya* (Two Visits to the Zaporozhian Sich of Yatsenko-Zelensky, a Monk from a Poltava Monastery, in 1750-1751) Katerynoslav, 1915; *Ukrayins'ko-rus'ke kozatstvo pered su-*

dom istoriyi (The Ukrainian-Rus' Cossacks Before the Judgment of History), Katerynoslav, 1919.¹⁴⁸

The following authors also contributed to the history of the Zaporozhe:

Lev Padalka: "Byla li na ostrove Tomakovke Zaporozhskaya Sech" (Was there ever a Zaporozhian Sich on the Island of Tomakovka?) *Kievskaya Starina*, 1893, IV, 1894, IV; "Po voprosu o sushchestvovanii Zaporozhskoi Sechi v pervye vremena kozachestva" (On the Question of the Existence of the Zaporozhian Sich in the First Period of the Cossack Movement), *ibid.*, 1894, V, VI; "Nad Velikim Lugom" (On the Great Meadow), *ibid.*, 1897, VI.

Andriy Shymanov: "Predsmertnaya pozemel'naya bor'ba Zaporozh'ya" (The Last Land Battle of the Zaporozhe), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, XII.

Petro Ivanov: "K istorii zaporozhskikh kozakov posle unichtozheniya Sechi" (History of the Zaporozhian Cossacks after Destruction of the Sich), *Zapiski Odesskago Obshchestva istorii i drevnostei*, XXV.

Mykola Bilyashevsky:¹⁴⁹ "Vzyatie i razorenije Zaporozhskoi Sechi v 1709 g." (The Taking and Destruction of the Zaporozhian Sich in 1709), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1896, V.

The previously mentioned articles by A. Storozhenko and O. Andriyevsky also belong to this category. *Yakiv Novytsky* and *Vasyl' Bidnov* (see *infra*) also wrote on the history of the Zaporozhe in the second half of the eighteenth century. [...]

The Haydamak movement of the eighteenth century was treated in the following studies, in addition to older works on that subject by A. Skal'kovsky, V. Antonovych, and T. Lebedyntsev:

Danylo Mordovets', *Haidamachchyna* (The Haydamak Movement), St. Petersburg, 1870, 2nd edition 1884 (of little value); Ya. Shulhyn, "Ocherk Kolievshchiny po izdannym i neizdannym

¹⁴⁸ About later scholarly activities of D. I. Evarnytsky, see the supplementary part of this book.

¹⁴⁹ The prominent Ukrainian archeologist, director of the Kiev Historical Museum, later a full member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

dokumentam" (A Survey of the Koliyi Movement According to Published and Unpublished Materials), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, II-VII, and separately (a Ukrainian translation appeared in vol. XX of the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*). *Yakiv Shulhyn* (1851-1909) was a contributor to *Kievskaya Starina*, a member of the *Stara Hromada*, and the author of the following studies: "Pavel Polubotok, polkovnik Chernigovskii" (Pavlo Polubotok, the Chernihiv Colonel), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1890, XII; "Neskol'ko slov o Pravoberezhnoi Ukraine v polovine XVIII v." (A Few Words about the Right-Bank Ukraine in the Middle of the XVIII Century), *ibid.*, 1891, VII; "Ukrayina pislya 1654" (The Ukraine after 1654), *ZNTSH*, XXIX-XXXI, (signed L. Ch.); [...] M. Kostomarov, "Materialy dlya istorii Koliivshchiny ili rezni 1768 g." (Materials Concerning the Koliyi Movement in 1768), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1882, VIII; T. Ryl'sky's "Razskaz sovremennika o priklyucheniyakh ego vo vremya Koliivshchiny" (A Contemporary's Account of Events at the Time of the Koliyi Movement), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1887, I; and the articles by Volodymyr Shcherbyna in *Kievskaya Starina* also dealt with the Haydamak Movement.

The first volumes of *Kievskaya Starina* printed some articles on that period of Zaporozhian history when the Cossacks, after the destruction of the Sich, migrated to Turkey, e.g., F. Kondratovych (Fedir Vovk), "Zadunaiskaya Sech po mestnym vospominaniyam i razskazam" (The Sich Beyond the Danube According to Local Lore and Story), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1883, I, and separately; "Russkiya kolonii v Dobrudzhe" (Russian Colonies in Dobrudzha), *ibid.*, 1889, I-III [...].

The Kuban has a literature of its own. To it belong: *Ivan Popko: Chernomorskie kozaki v ikh grazhdanskom i voennom bytu* (The Black Sea Cossacks, Their Social and Military Organization), St. Petersburg, 1858; *Terskie kozaki s starodavnikh vremen* (Cossacks of Terek from Earliest Times), St. Petersburg, 1880; *Prokip Korolenko* (1834-1913), *Chernomortsy*, (The Black Sea Cossacks), St. Petersburg, 1874 (history of the Black Sea Cossacks from 1775 to 1842); *Predki kubanskikh kozakov na*

Dnēpre i na Dnēstre (The Ancestors of the Kuban Cossacks on the Dnieper and the Dniester), Katerynodar, 1901; *Koshevyie atamany Chernomorskago kozach'yago voiska* (The Koshovi Chieftains of the Black Sea Cossack Host), St. Petersburg, 1902.

Fedir Shcherbyna (1849-1936), a Kuban Cossack: "Istoricheskie ocherk Kubanskago kozach'yago voiska" (Survey of the History of the Kuban Cossack Host), in the symposium *Kubanskoe voisko* (The Kuban Host), 1888; *Istoriya kubanskago kozach'yago voiska* (History of the Kuban Cossack Host), vol. I, Katerynodar, 1910, vol. 2, 1913. In the twenties Shcherbyna became a professor and rector at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague.

P. Dmytrenko, *Sbornik materialov dlya istorii kubanskago kozach'yago voiska* (Collection of Material for the History of the Kuban Cossack Host), Katerynodar, 1896-98.

Besides these general studies of the various periods of Ukrainian history, there were several studies of purely local interest. They include: M. Simashkevych, "Istoriko-geograficheskie i etnograficheskie ocherki Podolii" (Historical, geographical, and ethnographical sketches of Podolia), *Podol'skiya Eparkhial'nyya Vedomosti*, 1875-76; numerous works by Mykola Teodorovych on the history of Volynia; Mytrofan Oleksandrovych, *Osterskii uезд* (Oster District), Kiev, 1881; Oleksander Khanenko's *Gorod Pogar, istoricheskii ocherk* (A Historical Sketch of the Town of Pohar) in the *Chernigovskiya Gubernskiya Vedomosti*, 1871; Count Hryhoriy Myloradovych's several studies on the history of Chernihiv Province.

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Articles by I. Luchytsky in *Kievskaia Starina*, 1885, II, and V. Naumenko, *ibid*, 1895.

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Literature on the Historical and Philological Society at the University of Kharkiv:

S. Narizhnyi, "Kharkivs'ke Istorychno-Filolohichne Tovarystvo," *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, vol. V, Prague, 1944, and separately.

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I. Dzhydzhora, "Z noviyshoyi ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi," *ZNTSH*, v. LXXI; D. Bahaliy, "O. Ya. Yefymenko," *Zapysky*

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D. Doroshenko, "D. I. Evarnytsky," *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, 1913, XII; A. Avchinnikov, *Prof. D. I. Evarnytsky*, Katerynoslav, 1913.

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M. Hrushevsky, "Pamyati Ya. Shulhyna," *ZNTSH*, 1912, I; V. Shcherbyna, "Pamyati Ya. Shulhyna," *Zapysky Ukr. Naukovoho Tovarystva u Kyryvi*, vol. X, Kiev, 1912.

MYKHAYLO HRUSHEVSKY AND THE SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY IN LVIV

The suppression of the Ukrainian printed word by the Russian government in the 1870's not only obstructed the development of Ukrainian literature, but also that of historiography. This was true in spite of the fact that the official ban on Ukrainian publications did not include historical documents, as was clearly stated in the Ukaz issued by the Tsar in 1876. No prohibition was placed on studies in Ukrainian history so long as they were written in Russian and within the limits of the general censorship rules. Even more serious than the tsarist ban, however, was the reaction within Ukrainian society, which set in as a result of the prohibitions and repressions, restrained the development of the Ukrainian national movement, lowered the level of political thought, thus weakening national consciousness and depriving the study of the Ukrainian past of any clear guiding ideas.

Before the 1860's, the Ukrainian national movement was sustained almost exclusively by the efforts of the Ukrainian gentry, who were descendants of the Cossack elders, and who represented the strivings of their class in their preservation of the old traditions of Ukrainian statehood and by their creation of an organi-

zation with a definite political program, like the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. At the beginning of the 1860's the character of the Ukrainian national movement changed. Although still headed by representatives of the gentry, who also gave financial support for Ukrainian publications and institutions, the Ukrainian movement under the influence of Russian radicals and cosmopolites began to include ever wider strata of society and to assume the character of an intellectual and democratic credo. However, despite the criticism and partial negation of the old traditions which this new attitude demanded, [...] the new Ukrainian movement, inspired not only by the poems of Shevchenko, but also by the ideas of the Russian radicals and Populists, failed to create a clear political platform adapted to all the specific needs of Ukrainian life.^{150*}

The Ukrainian *Osnova* was, in its social and political program, merely a "South Russian" variant of Russian democratic liberal-

150* Pavlo Zhytetsky, one of the most prominent figures of the Ukrainian movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, characterizes the world-outlook of the generation of the sixties as follows:

"From the older generation of Ukrainophiles we inherited romantic views regarding the people and our nationality. We idolized the people as a life-giving force that will cure all the wounds of our artificially-cultured mode of life, that will give the answer to all our questions concerning the individual and social freedom, concerning happiness for individuals and the community... I have to add that this faith in the people was not as naive as it was before in the forties and in the fifties. We already knew that freedom was not sufficient without knowledge, without a European education. We also knew that nationalism in its pure form tends to lead man's ideas to conservatism. In the problems of our national movement we did not trespass the limits of self-defense. We hated the Polish as well as the Russian nationalism characterized by state violence... Kostomarov was our teacher in national-political problems... We were under the great influence of his scholarly publications, especially two of them: *Mysli o federativnom nachale v drevnei Rusi* (Thoughts on the Federative Principles in Ancient Rus') and *Dve russkiya narodnosti* (Two Rus' Nationalities). These two works, as other works by Kostomarov, were based on ideas of democracy which in the past had been cultivated by the Ukrainian people. We deemed that we should awaken this idea in people's souls and concentrate our political and social life around it. This idea was not worked out in detail, but it was our lodestar..." (From Zhytetsky's speech at the Shevchenko Memorial Meeting in 1887 or 1888, *ZNTSH*, vol. 116, Lviv, 1913, pp. 178-181).

ism, and Ukrainian Khlopomany (Peasant Lovers) or Khokhlomany¹⁵¹ (Ukrainian Lovers) with their national costumes, Sunday schools, distribution of leaflets in the market squares, and their services as teachers and village scribes resembled the Russians' "going to the people." Very soon the more active and devoted Ukrainian democratic Populists (D. Lyzohub, D. Kybal'chych, V. Debahoriy-Mokriyevych, Ya. Stefanovych, all belonging to the Ukrainian gentry by birth) joined the ranks of the Russian social revolutionary fighters, regarding the Ukrainian national interests as secondary and hoping that these national interests would be safeguarded by social reform on an all-Russian scale, for which they worked. To them the ethnographic characteristics of the Ukrainian people, their local traditions^{152*} and language were superficial and trivial, and to regard them as important in any way was tantamount to subscribing to harmful and reactionary nationalism. For those who were less radical, Populism was often limited to the use of national costumes and language, the singing and recording of folksongs—mere superficial attitudinizing.

The time of the *Osnova* did not therefore produce any political or national program which would satisfy the practical needs of life, such as city self-government, *zemstvos* on the left bank of the Dnieper and in the South Ukraine, new courts, universal military training and the development of railroads and industry. Most of the so-called "Ukrainophiles" (the term came into use at that time), although brought up on the poetry of Shevchenko and the monographs of Kostomarov, regarded the Ukrainian movement as a local version of the Russian progressive movement and thought that it might be satisfied with Ukrainian literature for domestic use, the introduction of the Ukrainian language in schools, and freedom to perform Ukrainian concerts and plays.

¹⁵¹ *Khokhly*—nickname for Ukrainians.

^{152*} Ukrainian social-revolutionaries of the all-Russian trend, aware, for example, of the cossack traditions among the peasants, and even their love for Ukrainian books (see *Memoirs* by Debahoriy-Mokriyevych), used these traits deceitfully to provoke revolts by the peasants. They also played on the traditional monarchist feelings of Ukrainian peasantry, as was done by Ya. Stefanovych in the Chyhyryn District by his "Tsar Letters."

The reduction of the Ukrainian cause to such narrow limits and its separation from the political, social, and economic needs of the country led to this anomaly: that when local self-government was instituted in the Ukraine with representatives of all classes participating in it, Ukrainian national interests played no role in town or village governments, confining themselves to formal declarations on the need for teaching Ukrainian in schools, and to such occasional events as the anniversary celebration for Kvitka-Osnov'yanenko by the Kharkiv *zemstvo* and the decoration of Shevchenko's grave by the Poltava *zemstvo*.

Therefore, since the Ukrainian movement was not regarded by wide circles of people as connected with real needs of life, but became identified by many either with rebellious sedition (in the Right-Bank Ukraine with the Haydamak movement) or with reactionary nationalism, or even with foreign inspired separatism, it is no wonder that it lacked the necessary internal power of resistance to oppression by a government which saw a great danger in it as a separatist movement, in spite of assurances by men like Kostomarov who attempted to describe it as innocent and loyal.

After the repressions of the 1870's, even in Kiev itself, in the Stara Hromada, which for a decade had acted as headquarters of the Ukrainian movement, the prevailing mood was that of retreat. The same Hromada which, in 1876, sent Drahomanov abroad so that he could create there a free Ukrainian center for the written word, soon came to consider his activity as harmful, attempted to persuade him to give it up and finally disowned him. Drahomanov's attempts to persuade the Kievans to transfer Ukrainian publishing activities abroad were unsuccessful since they had given up their belief in active struggle against the regime and, instead, supported the theory of the purposelessness of struggle, of compromise, and finally the idea of "apolitical culture." Abandoned by his former supporters and aided only sporadically by his friends (S. Podolynsky, Ya. Shulhyn, and later M. Kovalevsky), Drahomanov attempted to print in Geneva political (*Hromada*), literary (the works of Shevchenko and P.

Myrnyi), and scholarly (*Political Songs*) publications, but his efforts received little encouragement and made scarcely any impression on the Ukraine, which could not be reached by his efforts. Drahomanov tried to find support among the liberal *zemtsi* (members of the Zemstvo), mainly among those in Chernihiv Province, because they showed Ukrainophile tendencies, and he published a liberal periodical *Vol'noe Slovo* (The Free Word). Later Drahomanov drafted his program of the All-Russian federation "Vil'na Spilka" (Free Union), and finally concentrated his attention on Galicia, where possibilities for definite political action in a Ukrainian spirit existed.

During the 1880's there was a lull in the Dnieper Ukraine, during which very little under the heading of historical synthesis was written. Attention was concentrated on collection of materials and on study of Ukrainian ethnography, history, archeology, language, which might later furnish the historians with the necessary sources for a great task. This work often had no Ukrainophile coloring, but was carried on by local institutions [...] occasionally receiving official government support where it was directed against Polish elements, as for example in the Right-Bank Ukraine.

Those who attempted to write wider syntheses were either such as Kulish, who wrote in the spirit of the "reunification of Rus'," or like the Kiev Archeographic Commission, which followed the official governmental historiography and whose head Yuzefovych was at one time both the inspirer of the 1876 ban and, in 1888, the initiator of the project to erect the monument to Bohdan Khmelnytsky as the alleged champion of the "one-and-indivisible Russia."

The lull which threatened to extinguish the Ukrainian movement, was interrupted only by a few heroic efforts of individuals like O. Konysky, B. Hrinchenko, and T. Zin'kivsky, who each separately propagated the idea expressed earlier by Drahomanov and Kulish. They all pleaded that the center of the Ukrainian movement be temporarily transferred to Galicia [...] This idea finally saved the Ukrainian renaissance from the decay into which

it was falling, being reduced to a type of certain "Provencalism" as expressed, for instance, by the Ukrainian theater, whose tours in Moscow and St. Petersburg were a great success.

The movement toward Galicia began when Ukrainian authors started to print their works in Galician publications (*Svit, Zorya, Dilo*). Later purely Ukrainian periodicals were established, *Zorya* having become one of them; *Pravda* (1888-1894) was of special importance. This cooperation with Galician publications free from censorship, connections with Galicia where active Ukrainian social and political life was in existence, spiritual contact with Drahomanov and his activities by way of Galician publications—all this resulted in the formation of several groups^{153*} which tried to push the Ukrainian cause forward, away from the dead point of apolitical Ukrainophilism. These groups later amalgamated in one all-Ukrainian organization and actually initiated the future Ukrainian movement. Their greatest value was in introducing a political trend to the Ukrainian cause, although they (at least some of them) still associated this cause with the dissemination of social-revolutionary ideas of the Russian pattern.

It is natural that those people, who were not appeased with the weak role of the Ukrainian movement as just a South-Russian particularism and tried to lead it to the wider road of a national political movement, should turn to history in an attempt to revive old traditions and find a relation between their aspirations and the past, where they found support. They were not satisfied with the Ukrainian historiography of the 1880's and early 1890's which, though storing rich material, shunned any approach toward a synthesis, and avoided national Ukrainian problems and interest. Therefore attempts were made in Galicia to publish in Ukrainian translation earlier works by Ukrainian

^{153*} There were two main trends in the ideology of these groups: One was the more cosmopolitical-radical, developed under influence of Drahomanov's ideas and whose sympathies leaned toward the periodical *Narod* (People), published under Drahomanov's spiritual leadership. The men associated with the second trend grouped around Konysky and Antonovych. They were rather moderate in social-economic problems but manifested active national aspirations.

historians written in Russian. *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*, edited by Oleksander Barvinsky in Ternopil, published translations of Kostomarov and other authors made by Ukrainians from the Dnieper Ukraine. Galician papers and journals also began to devote considerable space to Ukrainian history. The need for a synthesis in historiography was evident in the contest held by *Kievskaya Starina* for an outline of Ukrainian history, and in the publication of Antonovych's *Besidy (Vyklady) pro kozats'ki chasy na Ukrayini* (Lectures on the Cossack Period in the Ukraine).

Even earlier, just the beginning of the 90's, the idea was formulated in Kiev of founding in Galicia a Ukrainian institution of learning which, free from censorship, would be best able to serve the interests of Ukrainian scholarship and, in particular, of Ukrainian history, the history of its language and literature. In 1892 this idea was realized by the transformation into an institution of learning of the Shevchenko Society (Tovarystvo imeny Shevchenka), founded in 1873 in Lviv upon the initiative of a group of Poltavians¹⁵⁴ with the support of the landowner Elizabeth Myloradovych.¹⁵⁵

Ukrainian historiography in Galicia had not at that time reached an advanced stage of development, although there were attempts to organize historical research on local antiquity. The outstanding pioneers of national revival in Galicia, Ivan Vahylevych (1811-1866) and Yakiv Holovatsky (1814-1888), although they had an interest in history, worked primarily in the fields of linguistics and ethnography. Yakiv Holovatsky, who in 1867 emigrated to Russia, became the head of the Archeographic Commission in Vilno. He was the author of *Materialy k istorii Galichyny s 1772 goda* (Materials for the History of Galicia after 1772), 1886, and several articles on the history of the Stavropigian Brotherhood in Lviv.

The first professional Galician historian was *Denys Zubrytsky*

¹⁵⁴ Also by O. Konysky, D. Pyl'chukiv, M. Zhuchenko.

¹⁵⁵ See: D. Doroshenko, "Elizaveta Ivanovna z Skoropads'kykh Myloradovych," *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina*, v. V, Vienna, 1925.

(1777-1862) who came from a gentry family in the Syanok region. Brought up in the spirit of old-fashioned literary and social views and influenced very strongly by the Russian historian M. Pogodin, Zubrytsky embraced the idea of "the oneness of Russian people," and regarded the Ukrainian language as a "language of cowherds." His own works were written in German, Polish, or in *yazychiye*,¹⁵⁶ which he thought was literary Russian. They include: *Die griechisch-katholische Staupigialkirche in Lemberg und das mit ihr vereinigte Institut*, Lviv 1830; *Historyczne badania o drukarniach rusko-slawiańskich w Galicyi* (A Historical Study of Rus'-Slavic Printing Houses in Galicia), Lviv, 1836 (translated into Russian in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1838); *Rys historyi narodu ruskiego* (An Outline of the History of the Rus' People), Lviv, 1836 (Bodyansky published the Russian translation of this work in *Chteniya* under the title "Kritiko-istoricheskaya povest' vremennykh let Chervonnoi ili Galitskoi Rusi," Moscow, 1845); *Kronika miasta Lwowa* (The Chronicle of the City of Lviv), Lviv, 1844; *Istoriya Galitsko-russkago knyazhestva* (The History of the Halych-Rus' Principality), 3 vols., Lviv, 1852-55; "Galitskaya Rus' v XVI veke" (The Galician Rus' in the XVI Century), *Chteniya*, Moscow, 1862.

Most of Zubrytsky's works are based on archival sources and are, therefore, still of some value today.

Another self-taught Galician historian and archeologist was the Reverend *Antin Petrushevych* (1821-1900). He was the author of many articles and treatises on the history of ancient Rus', and in particular on Galician history, though his works have the character of compilations of source material. Petrushevych possessed a sharp critical faculty, but as Franko pointed out, "he knew little of scientific methods and of the logic of composition and was prone to stop at every detail and start polemics over the minutest problems." His chief work is *Svodnaya galitsko-russkaya letopis' 1500-1772* (The Composite Galician-Rus' Chronicle 1500-1772), Lviv, 1872-74, and for 1772-1840, Lviv, 1889. This is a rather mechanical compilation of a tremendous amount of

¹⁵⁶ A peculiar Russian dialect used at that time in Galicia.

material on Galician history, as though it were a continuation of Zubrytsky's work. Other studies by Petrushevych are devoted to local history, particularly to towns and churches of Galicia: "Zhytie Iova Knyaginetskago, osnovatelya skita Manyavskago" (The Life of Iov Knyahynetsky, the Founder of the Manyavsky Hermitage), *Zorya galitskaya yako al'bum*, Lviv, 1860; *Kto byli bolokhovskie knyaz'ya?* (Who were the Princes of Bolokhovo?), Lviv, 1871; *Istoricheskoe izvestie o tserkvi sv. Panteleimona bliz Galicha* (Historical Reports about the Church of St. Panteleimon near Halych), Lviv, 1881; *Byushaya Radovetskaya episkopiya na Bukovine* (The Former Radivtsi Bishopric in Bukovina), Lviv, 1885; *Kratkoe istoricheskoe izvestie khristianstva v Prikarpatykh stranakh* (A Short Historical Account of Christianity in the Sub-Carpathian Regions), Lviv, 1882. Petrushevych played a prominent part in proving the forgery of the Czech "epic poems," "Sud Lyubushi" (The Trial of Lyubusha) and others—cf. his articles in *Slovo*, 1877-78.

As early as 1848 a famous "Congress of Rus' Scholars" in Lviv founded the Galician-Rus' Matytsya (Halyts'ko-Rus'ka Matytsya) whose aims were to encourage research on Galicia and its history. This society published several volumes of *Galitskii Istoricheskii Sbornik* (Galician Historical Symposium) containing mostly documents as well as studies by Petrushevych. In 1865-66 it published two volumes of *Naukovyi Sbornik* (A Scientific Symposium), edited by Ya. Holovatsky, and in 1869-74 it published *Literaturnyi Sbornik* (A Symposium of Literature) which also contained historical material. In 1885-86 the *Literaturnyi Sbornik* was revived; two volumes were published, the first containing studies by Petrushevych and Sharanevych. As the *Nauchno-Literaturnyi Sbornik* it continued to be published in 1896-97 and in 1901-1908, but apart from articles by Petrushevych it did not contain any significant historical studies.

The Stavropigian Institute (Stavropigiysky Institut) in Lviv which followed in the footsteps of the famous Stavropigian Brotherhood dating from the second half of the fifteenth century, was another institution whose purpose was to cultivate the

growth of literature and scholarship in Galicia. Having come under the domination of the so-called Moscowphiles, who also controlled the Galician-Rus' *Matytsya* and the Ukrainian National institution *Narodnyi Dom* (People's Home), this society did not develop any striking or wide activities, all its publications having been written in *yazychiye* and bearing the stamp of lifeless scholasticism. One of its publications, *Vremennik* (Annals), began to appear in 1863, printing articles by Petrushevych, Holovatsky and their circle on archeological-ecclesiastical themes. In 1887 the Stavropigian Institute published a *Yubileynoe izdanie v pamyat' 300-letnyago osnovaniya L'vovskago Stavropigiiskago Bratstva* (The Jubilee Edition in Memory of the 300th Anniversary of the Foundation of the Stavropigian Brotherhood in Lviv) commemorating its tercentenary. Besides the study by Sharanevych, this de luxe edition contained documents on the history of the Stavropigian Brotherhood. Additional collections of documents were: *Diplomata statutoria a Patriarchis Orientalibus confraternitati Staupigianae Leopoliensi ab a. 1586 ad a. 1593 data*, Lviv, 1894 (edited by I. Krystynyatsky); *Monumenta confraternitatis Staupigianae Leopoliensis (1518-1600)*, Lviv, 1895 (edited by V. Mil'kovych); *Zbirnyk L'viv'skoyi Stavropigiyi, My-nule i suchasne* (A Symposium of the Lviv Stavropigiya, Past and Present), vol. I, Lviv, 1920 (edited by K. Studynsky).

The People's Home (*Narodnyi Dom*), founded in 1848 in Lviv, began to publish a small paper *Vestnik Narodnago Doma* (Messenger of the *Narodnyi Dom*) which for the first two decades printed, almost exclusively, studies by Petrushevych, the most valuable of them being concerned with the history of the town of Halych and the archeological discoveries made in its vicinity. Later Pylyp Syvstun published his articles there on Galician history. In 1914 *Vestnik Narodnago Doma* ceased publication, but in 1921 it reappeared printed in Russian, under the editorship of Yul. Yavorsky.

Among the old generation of Galician scholars, the only real historian was *Isidor Sharanevych* (1829-1901). Born near Halych, he graduated from Lviv University and in 1871 became professor

there of the History of Galician Territory and of the Volodymyr Principality, and later professor of Austrian history. Despite having strong Moscowphile tendencies, Sharanevych was tolerant toward the Ukrainian cultural movement. He lectured in Polish and most of his works were written in Polish or in German. Most of them were devoted to the history of Galicia: *Starodavnyi L'vov* (Ancient Lviv), Lviv, 1860; *Starodavnye galitskie goroda* (Ancient Galician Towns), Lviv, 1861-62; *Istoriya Galitsko-Volodimirskoi Rusi* (A History of the Galician-Volodymyrian Rus'), Lviv, 1863, which according to Hrushevsky was for a long time a most valuable textbook; *Rys wewnętrznych stosunków Galicyi Wschodniej w drugiej połowie XV wieku* (An Outline of the Internal Conditions of Eastern Galicia in the Second Half of the XV Century), Lviv, 1869; *Die kritische Blicke in die Geschichte der Karpathenvölker im Alterthume und im Mittelalter*, Lviv, 1871; *Die Hypatios-Chronik als Quellen-Beitrag zur österreichischen Geschichte*, Lviv, 1872; *Rzut oka na beneficia Kościoła ruskiego za czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* (A Glimpse of the Benefits of the Rus' Church Under the Polish Republic), Lviv, 1875; *Patryarchat Wschodni wobec kościoła ruskiego i Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, Lviv, 1879; *O latopisach i kronikach ruskich i rusko-litewskich XV i XVI w.* (Rus' and Rus'-Lithuanian Chronicles of the XV and XVI Centuries), Lviv, 1882; *Stavropigiiskaya tserkov' Uspeniya v L'vove* (The Stavropigian Church in Lviv), Lviv, 1888; *Nikolai Krasovsky, stareishina Stavropigiiskago Bratstva vo L'vove* (Mykola Krasovsky, the Elder of the Stavropigian Brotherhood in Lviv), Lviv, 1895; *Iosif Shumlyansky, episkop L'vovskii ot 1667 do 1708 g.* (Yosyf Shumlyansky, Bishop of Lviv from 1667 to 1708), Lviv, 1896; *Tserkovnaya Uniya na Rusi i uliyanie eya na zmenu obshchestvenago polozheniya mirskogo russkago dukhovenstva* (The Church Union in Rus' and Its Influence on the Social Conditions of the Rus' Clergy), Lviv, 1897. He was also the author of several studies on the archeology of Galicia.

Apart from Sharanevych the following popularizers of history in Galicia deserve to be mentioned: Vasyli' Il'nytsky (1823-1895),

the author of several popular studies on the history of the Galician-Volodymyrian Principality; Yuliy Tselevych, author of the *Istoriya Skyta Manyavs'koho* and several studies of the Galician opryshky; Omelyan Partytsky, the author of the *Starynna istoriya Halychyny* (Ancient History of Galicia), I (from the VII century B.C. to 110 A.D.), Lviv, 1894; Korniylo Zaklynsky, a talented historian, the author of the *Rus'ki litopysy i litopystsi XVII st.* (Rus' Chronicles and Chroniclers in the XVII Century); *Litopys' Khmelnytska* (The Khmelnytsky Chronicle); *Znosyny tsi-sarya Rudolfa II z kozakamy* (Relations of the Emperor Rudolf II with the Cossacks), Zorya, 1880; and *Znosyny kozakiv z shvedamy i z knyazem Yuriyem Rakochi* (Relations between the Cossacks and the Swedes and Prince Yuriy Rakoczy), Lviv, 1883; Pylyp Swystun (1844-1916), the author of *Prikarpatskaya Rus' pod vladeniem Avstrii* (The Carpathian Rus' under Austrian Rule), Part I, 1772-1848, Part II, 1850-1895, Lviv, 1895-96; and several articles in the *Vestnik Narodnago Doma*, of which he was the editor for a certain time; Volodymyr Mil'kovych, professor at Chernivtsi University, and F. Labensky.

The following works were devoted to the history of the Church Union:

Anton Dobryansky, *Istoriya episkopov soedinennykh eparkhii Peremyshl'skoi, Samborskoi i Sanotskoi ot naidavneishikh vremen do 1794, po istochnikam sochinennaya* (A History of the Bishops of the United Bishoprics of Peremyshl, Sambir, and Sanok from the Earliest Times Up to 1794, Based on the Sources), Lviv, 1894;

Yuliy Pelesh, professor at Lviv University and later a Bishop; *Geschichte der Union der ruthenischen Kirche mit Rom von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Wien, 2 vols., 1878-80.¹⁵⁷

The prominent Galician Populist, Oleksander Barvinsky, who as early as the 1870's began to print translations of Kostomarov's

¹⁵⁷ The following works devoted to the history of the Carpathian Ukraine are worth mentioning: I. Dulishkovych, *Istoricheskaya cherty ugro-russkago naroda* (Historical Features of the Hungarian-Rus' People), 3 volumes, Uzhgorod, 1875-1877; O. Dukhnovych, *Istoriya Pryashevskoi Eparkhii (v Ugorskoi Rusi)* (History of Pryashev Diocese in the Hungarian Rus'), translated by Archpriest K. Kustodiev, 1877.

articles (mainly his biographies of prominent historical figures), became the publisher in 1886 of the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka* (Rus' Historian Library), which aimed to print translations of the most important works dealing with Ukrainian history. This series included the following books:

Vol. I, S. Kachala, *Korotka istoriya Rusy* (A Short History of Rus').

Vol. II, M. Kostomarov, *Dvi rus'ki narodnosti* (Two Russian Nationalities); *Federatyvni osnovy* (Federal Principles); *Rysy narodnyoyi ukrayins'koyi istoriyi* (An Outline of the History of the Ukrainian People).

Vol. III, D. Ilovaysky, *Knyazhyi period istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy* (The Princely Period in the History of the Ukraine-Rus'), a chapter from the book by the Russian historian.

Vol. V, M. Smirnov, M. Dashkevych, I. Sharanevych, studies of Galicia.

Vol. VII, I. Lynnychenko, *Suspi'lni verstvy Halyts'koyi Rusy XIV-XV v.* (Social Classes of the Galician Rus' in the XIV and XV Centuries).

Vol. VIII, V. Antonovych and O. Levytsky, on church relations in the Ukraine in the XVI-XVIII Centuries.

Vols. IX-XII, M. Kostomarov, *Bohdan Khmelnytsky*.

Vol. XIII, M. Kostomarov, *Het'manuvannya Vyhovs'koho i Yuriya Khmelnyts'koho* (The Hetmanate of Vyhovsky and Yuriy Khmelnytsky).

Vols. XIV-XVI, M. Kostomarov, *Ruyina* (Ruin).

Vols. XVII-XVIII, M. Kostomarov, *Mazepa i mazepyntsi* (Mazepa and the Mazepians); V. Antonovych, *Ostanni chasy kozachchyny na pravim berezi Dnipro* (The Last Days of the Cossack Movement on the Right-Bank of the Dnieper).

Vol. XIX, Studies of the popular movements in the Ukraine in the XVIII century: Yu. Tselevych on *opryshky*, V. Antonovych on Gonta, and O. Yefymenko, *Turbayivs'ka katastrofa*.

Vol. XXI-XXII, I. Novytsky, Vladimirsky-Budanov, Antonovych, studies of the Ukrainian peasantry.

Vol. XXIII-XXIV, D. Bahaliy and V. Antonovych, studies of Ukrainian towns and townsfolk.

Beginning with vol. XVI the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka* was published by the Shevchenko Scientific Society. The series ceased publication in 1904. Most of the translations were made by Ukrainians from the Dnieper Ukraine; the translations in the first volumes are reasonably good, but in some of the later ones they are very bad. The omission of documentation and sources deprives the first fifteen volumes of any scholarly value.

The Shevchenko Society, founded in 1873 to support Ukrainian belles-lettres and learning, during the first two decades of its existence had supported only a few literary publications. Not until after its reorganization in 1892 did the Scientific Shevchenko Society devote itself fully to scholarship. Its *Zapysky* (Proceedings) began to appear in 1892 as the main publication of the Society. Quite a few authors from the Dnieper Ukraine promised to contribute their works to the *Zapysky* and they actually did so in the first issues (1892-93): M. Hrushevsky, "Hromads'kyi rukh na Ukrayini-Rusi v XIII vitsi" (The Social Movement in the Ukraine in the XIII Century), *ZNTSH*, v. I; O. Konysky; Panachovnyi, "Starodavni hrets'ki kolonii bospors'ki v mezhakh teperishnyoyi Kubans'koyi oblasti" (Ancient Greek Bosphorus Colonies on the Territory of Today's Kuban Region), *ZNTSH*, v. II; O. Chernyakhivsky; T. Ryl'sky; P. Ivanov, "Kartka z istoriyi Volyni na pochatku XIV viku" (A Note from Volynian History of the Early XIV Century), *ZNTSH*, v. II. There were also articles by Galicians. Cooperation from the Dnieper Ukraine authors did not develop sufficiently and during the first years of its publication the *Zapysky* relied chiefly on Galician contributors. However, at that time there came to Lviv a young scholar from the Dnieper Ukraine who not only reorganized the Shevchenko Scientific Society but helped to make it the center of Ukrainian scholarship, and in particular of historiography. He was Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, who in 1894 was appointed professor of History of Eastern Europe "with particular emphasis on the history of the Ukraine" at Lviv University.

Mykhaylo Hrushevsky (1866-1934) was born in Kholm and came from the family of a well-known educator-administrator who belonged to an old clerical family in the Kiev Province. He was a graduate of Kiev University where he had been a student of Antonovych. Even in Kiev he had attracted attention by the following historical studies: "Yuzhnorusskie gospodarskie zamki v polovine XVI veka" (The Grand Duke's South Russian Castles in the Middle of the XVI Century), *Kiev. Universitetskiya Izvestiya*, 1890, No. 2; "Volynskii vopros 1077-1102" (The Volynian Problem of 1077-1102), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, v. XXXIII; *Ocherk istorii Kievskoi zemli ot smerti Yaroslava do kontsa XIV v.* (A Survey of the History of the Kievan Land from the Death of Yaroslav to the End of the XIV Century), Kiev, 1891; *Barskoe starostvo* (The Bar Starostvo), Kiev, 1894.

Antonovych, who was himself offered the chair at Lviv, proposed that Hrushevsky take it instead. Once in Lviv, Hrushevsky became the president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society (1897) and it was due to his organizing ability that this society became the leading learned institution devoted to Ukrainian studies not only in Galicia, but in the entire Ukraine. The Society was divided into Sections, and the *Zapysky* were made the organ of the Historical and Philosophical Section. Later an Archeographic Commission was formed and special publications were established for various fields of Ukrainian historiography. For sixteen years (1897-1913) Hrushevsky stood at the helm of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and during that time the Society gained wide recognition in the world of scholarship, published hundreds of volumes in Ukrainian, built up a large library and museum, gathered around it scores of Ukrainian scholars, and, in the words of Hrushevsky himself, "created a Ukrainian scholarship for all the world of culture to see." While lecturing at Lviv University Hrushevsky trained several scholars, who later made great contributions to Ukrainian historiography. Among them the two most prominent were S. Tomashivsky and I. Krypyakevych.

After the first revolution in Russia (1905), an opportunity

arose for starting Ukrainian publications and scholarly institutions afresh in the Dnieper Ukraine, and Hrushevsky transferred to Kiev the *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (The Literary and Scientific Herald), which since 1898 had appeared under his editorship in Lviv.¹⁵⁸ Now he paid frequent visits to Kiev, held public lectures there on the history of the Ukraine, and played a prominent role in Ukrainian public life. Finally he became the chairman of the *Ukrayins'ke Naukove Tovarystvo* (Ukrainian Scientific Society), founded in Kiev in 1907. He organized its scholarly activities and set up the publication of *Zapysky* (Proceedings) of the Society. From this time onward Hrushevsky gradually transferred his activities to the Dnieper Ukraine. In 1913 certain disagreements resulted in Hrushevsky's resignation from active work in the Lviv Scientific Society and he concentrated his work in the Kiev Ukrainian Scientific Society, under whose auspices he started a new historical quarterly *Ukrayina* in 1914.

At the outbreak of the First World War Hrushevsky was in Galicia. Subsequently he left for Vienna and Italy, returning to Kiev in the fall of 1914. There Hrushevsky was arrested and, after three months in prison, banished, at first to Simbirsk and later to Kazan. In 1916 he was allowed to move to Moscow, and after the Revolution of 1917 he returned to the Ukraine. Here he became the president of the *Tsentral'na Rada*¹⁵⁹ (Central Council), joined the extremist social-revolutionary trend, and broke with his former political adherents and collaborators. After the fall of the *Tsentral'na Rada* in April 1918, Hrushevsky withdrew from the wide political scene and in 1919 he emigrated abroad.¹⁶⁰

Hrushevsky's scholarly work was interrupted by the beginning

¹⁵⁸ See: V. Doroshenko, "Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk," *Ukrayins'ki Bibliolohichni Visti*, UVAN, I, Augsburg, 1948.

¹⁵⁹ The Ukrainian democratic government.

¹⁶⁰ In 1924 Hrushevsky returned to the Ukraine, became a full member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and the head of its Historical Section. In 1931 he was banished to Moscow, in 1934 he died in Kislovodsk, in the Caucasus. For his scholarly activities in 1920-1930 see the supplementary chapter of this book.

of the Revolution and his present works have little in common with his past scholarly studies which brought him fame and merited respect.

Hrushevsky's *magnum opus* is his *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (History of the Ukraine-Rus') in eight volumes.¹⁶¹ All his other numerous works have the character of either preparatory studies or treatises on certain periods or subjects of Ukrainian history, which seemed to have been prepared for inclusion in his *History*. [...]

The most meritorious value of Hrushevsky's work for Ukrainian historiography lies in the fact that he established and presented to the scholarly world a well-based scheme of the history of the Ukrainian people throughout the whole territory they inhabited and throughout their historical development, and that he proved the continuity and integrity of this process. Hrushevsky followed this scheme in his *History of Ukraine-Rus'* and in his lectures, while he expounded its theory in his article "Zvy chayna skhema 'russkoyi' istoriyi i sprava ratsional'noho ukladu istoriyi skhidnoho slovyanstva" (The Traditional Scheme of "Russian" History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs), *Sbornik stattei po slavyanovedeniyu*, published by the Imperial Academy of Sciences, I, St. Petersburg, 1904.¹⁶²

The traditional scheme of "Russian" history, in Hrushevsky's opinion, is an old scheme which has its beginnings in the historiographic scheme of the Moscow scribes; and its basis lies in the genealogical idea—the genealogy of the Moscow dynasty. With the beginning of scientific historiography in Russia, the scheme served as a basis for the history of the Russian State. The same arrangement was adopted in the science of the history of the Russian law. This consisted of three divisions: the Law of the Kievan State, of Muscovy, and of the empire.

Thus through tradition and long usage, people have become

¹⁶¹ *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* by Hrushevsky was reprinted in New York, 1954-1957.

¹⁶² The English translation appeared in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, Vol. II, No. 4 (6), New York, 1952, the German translation, in *Beiträge zur Ukrainekunde*, published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, Berlin, 1935, issue III.

accustomed to this scheme, which, as Hrushevsky stressed, is full of irrationalities. He pointed out that the Kievan State, its laws and culture, were the creation of one nationality—the Ukrainian—while the Vladimir-Moscow State was the creation of another nationality—the Great Russian. The Kievan Period did not pass into the Vladimir-Moscow Period, but into the Galician-Volynian Period of the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries and, later, to the Lithuanian-Polish of the fourteenth-sixteenth centuries. By accepting this traditional Russian scheme one obscures the origin of the Great Russian and Ukrainian peoples. The old viewpoint persists that the history of the Ukraine, of the “Little Russian” people, begins only with the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries, and in general the history of the Ukraine appears in piecemeal fashion as *membra disiecta*. The history of the Byelorussian people is lost altogether. The attempt to include the Grand Principality of Lithuania in the “history of Russia” is also inept, since that principality was a highly heterogeneous body. The Lithuanian element (usually ignored by Russian historians) played an important part in it. The Grand Principality of Lithuania was more closely connected with the Byelorussian people who had a decisive influence on it, while the Ukrainian lands, although they formed a part of it, did not have such comparable influence.

Generally speaking, what is referred to as Russian history involves a combination of several concepts or rather a competition between several concepts:

1. The history of the Russian State (formation and growth of the state organization and the territory involved).
2. The history of Russia, that is, the history of events that took place on its territory.
3. The history of the “Rus’ nationalities.”
4. The history of the Great Russian people (in terms of state organization and cultural life).

Each of these concepts, logically pursued, might become a justifiable subject for scientific presentation, but by combining these various concepts, none receives a complete and logical evaluation. There could be no “all-Russian” history (*obshcherusskaya*),

just as there is no "all-Russian" nationality. There may be a history of all the "Russian nationalities," if one wishes to call it so, or a history of the East Slavs. "It seems to me," Hrushevsky says, "that the most rational approach to the entire problem would be to present the history of each nationality separately in accordance with its development, from the beginning until the present." On the basis of this approach, Hrushevsky, himself, worked on the history of the Ukrainian nationality. He stated that the history of the Great Russian nationality is almost ready. All that is needed is to rearrange its beginning (in place of the usual Ukrainian-Kievan attachment) and to cleanse its pages of the various episodes lifted out of the histories of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The history of Byelorussia should be compiled in the same way.¹⁶³

In his second article published in the *Sbornik statei po slavya-novedeniyu*, entitled "Spirni pytannya staro-rus'koyi etnografii" (Controversial Issues of the Old Rus' Ethnography), Hrushevsky discussed another equally important problem—tracing the groups of East Slavic tribes which gave origin to the Ukrainian people. V. Antonovych, beginning with the late 1870's, had made attempts to determine the distribution of the East Slavic tribes on the basis of archeological discoveries of types of burial customs. He and his followers tried, on the basis of those studies, to locate the territories of certain tribes. Yet the study by the Russian archeologist, A Spitsyn, "Razselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym" (The Settlement of the Old Russian Tribes According to Archeological Data), *Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.*, 1899, VIII, written in order to determine ethnographic relations on the basis of archeological evidence, disclosed serious gaps, incompleteness and obscurity on these questions.

A new attempt to solve this problem was made by A Shakhma-

¹⁶³ This problem is also treated in the following works: D. Doroshenko, "Was ist osteuropäische Geschichte? (Zur Abgrenzung der ukrainischen und russischen Geschichte)," *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, Band IX, 1934, Heft I; N. Chubaty, "The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe," *Proceedings of the Historical-Philosophical Section, Shevchenko Scientific Society*, Vol. I, New York-Paris, 1951.

tov.¹⁶⁴ He divided the East Slavic tribes into the following groups: 1) Southern, between Prypyat' and the Dnieper; 2) Middle tribes, living on the Left-Bank of the Dnieper, and the Drehovychi on the Right-Bank; 3) Northern—the Kryvychi and the Novgorod Slavs.

The Ukrainians, according to Shakhmatov, had their origin in the southern group, which beginning with the fourteenth century also colonized devastated Left-Bank lands. The Byelorussians stem from the western part of the middle group, which later found itself separated from it by inclusion in the Grand Principality of Lithuania. The Great Russians are the descendants of the eastern part of the middle group and of the northern group which later united in the Muscovite State.

Hrushevsky, while accepting the general outline of this distribution worked out by Shakhmatov, tended to disagree on the position of the tribe of Siveryane, whom he placed within the Right-Bank part of the southern group. Hrushevsky supported his views by evidence of cultural and political ties and by common ethnographic features, for instance, the burial customs.¹⁶⁵

Hrushevsky's studies of the earlier periods of Ukrainian history and of the Lithuanian Period are scattered in the first volumes of the *Zapysky* of the Shevchenko Scientific Society.¹⁶⁶ They formed an introduction and a preparation to a great work planned by M. Hrushevsky at the end of the 90's—a systematic scholarly survey of the whole history of the Ukraine. The state of Ukrainian historiography in the 1890's, especially the valuable contributions

¹⁶⁴ A. Shakhmatov, "K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii" (On the Subject of the Formation of Russian Dialects), *Russkii Filologicheskii Vestnik*, 1894, and other studies.

¹⁶⁵ V. Shcherbakivsky voiced some critical opinions in regard to Hrushevsky's conception of the origin of the Ukrainian people. See his article, "Kontseptsiya Hrushevs'koho pro pokhodzhennya ukrayins'koho narodu v svitli paleoetnologiyi" (Hrushevsky's Concept of the Origin of the Ukrainian People in the Light of Paleethnology), *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, Prague, 1941, v. 5 and separately, Prague, 1940.

¹⁶⁶ They are also collected in two volumes of *Rozvidky i Materialy do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy*" (Studies and Material for the History of the Ukraine-Rus'), Lviv, 1896 and 1897.

of Antonovych and his pupils, made it possible to attempt a synthesis of Ukrainian history, a summation of studies of older generations of scholars. This was also demanded by the increased pace of the Ukrainian national revival which heightened the spirit of the Ukrainians.

Ever since the works of Bantysh-Kamensky and M. Markevych, the Ukrainians had been left without such synthetic works. The studies of Maksymovych, Kostomarov, and Kulish showed that it was not possible to write such a work until all the documentary evidence had been assembled and appraised, until certain parts and periods of Ukrainian history would be clarified. Several decades after publication, the best works of Kostomarov and Kulish lost much of their value and, in the eyes of the modern historian, are not far removed from good historical fiction or publicist pamphlets. This happened due to old methods and old-fashioned views applied to the tasks of historical science.

At the beginning of the 1880's Stefan Kachala, a political figure in Galicia, attempted to write a comprehensive study of Ukrainian history, *Istoriya Rusy* ('The History of Rus'), vol. I of the *Rus'ka Istorychna Biblioteka*, 1886; it was also published in Russian in the *Kievskaya Starina*, as well as in Polish. The result was only a popular work, not a scholarly one.

M. Hrushevsky who came to Galicia as the first professor of Ukrainian history, equipped with the excellent training he had received from Antonovych, with great erudition and a fundamental scientific method, felt the need for such synthesis all the more. Indeed, he believed it was his patriotic duty to produce a comprehensive history of the Ukraine.¹⁶⁷ To this task he devoted all his great talent and knowledge. In 1898 the first volume of his

¹⁶⁷ Hrushevsky wrote in his *Avtobiohrafiya* (Autobiography), 1906, pp. 9-10: "Very early, when I was still in Kiev, I dreamed of writing a complete history of the Ukraine. I felt that this was a question of honor, not only on my own part, but that of our generation, notwithstanding contrary views held by more prominent old generation representatives of Ukrainian historiography who thought the time was not ripe enough for writing such a history—that there was not sufficient material, that there were large gaps... I looked upon this work as the task of my life."

Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy appeared in Lviv marking, as he himself wrote in the preface, the 100th anniversary of the rebirth of Ukrainian literature,¹⁶⁸ which at that time was celebrated in all centers of Ukrainian cultural life. As his chief aim, Hrushevsky, like the members of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, proclaimed the quest for historical truth. In the introduction to the first volume, while reviewing the sad past of the Ukraine full of tragic struggle for the free life among the family of peoples, Hrushevsky wrote: "Our history shows us a sad picture, sadder than the histories of other peoples, but a nation which has not lost faith in its destiny must have the courage to look at the unadorned truth of history in order to find strength in it, not despair. 'Learn the truth and the truth will make you free.'"

It was the intention of the author to assemble and scrutinize all available sources on the history of the Ukrainian people, and to show and clarify the political, social, economic, and cultural aspects of the historical process embracing the Ukrainian people of the entire territory inhabited by them. The historical outline itself is preceded by a survey of the history of the territory now occupied by Ukrainians, based on archeological studies. Hrushevsky's concept of history does not give priority to the people's strivings to found their own state, but to their desire to secure the maximum social and economic benefits. A representative of Ukrainian Populism—which, in denying the significance of the Ukrainian state tradition, failed to create a political ideal of its own, believing instead that the emancipation of the Ukrainian people could be fulfilled within the Russian or Austrian states—Hrushevsky attached little value in his own works to the strivings of the Ukrainian Princes and Hetmans to create a Ukrainian state and even condemned them for their disregard of the social and economic interests of the common people, while demanding sacrifices from them. The key to understanding of Hrushevsky's concept of history may be found in one of his later articles, in which he tried to justify not only his interpretation of history, but also his participation in current history, and to explain

¹⁶⁸ Since the Publication of *Eneyida* by Kotlyarevsky in 1798.

away the excesses of the social revolution as "the inevitable barbarity of life." In his opinion even the destruction of one's own state may be justified if it does not satisfy the social-economic needs of the people, such as the socialization of land and the "Soviet" structure of government.

"I was brought up," writes Hrushevsky, "in the strict tradition of Ukrainian radical Populism, which originated with the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, and firmly believed that, in the conflict between the people and the government, blame attaches to the government since the interests of the working people are the highest good, and if they are flouted the people are free to change their social system."^{169*} Guided by this basic tenet, Hrushevsky evaluated the movement of the Ukrainian masses against the Poles in the same light as the opposition of the common people to their princes, as in the case of the "Tatar people" against King Danylo in the thirteenth century or against the Hetmans during the time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1649-50. In this respect Hrushevsky shares the views of Ukrainian historians of Kostomarov's times:

Modern Ukrainian historiography and all who had anything to do with Ukrainian history, under the influence of those ideas, eagerly followed any manifestations of the people's activity, irrespective of whether there were conflicts with their own rulers at the time, or a struggle against a foreign state. The favorite topics for Ukrainian historiography were: the strife between the Princes and the Assembly (*viche*) in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the social movements in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the peasant uprisings in the Western Ukraine (Mukha's) in the fifteenth century, the beginning of the mass movement in the Ukraine in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the opposition of the Zaporozhe to the Hetmanate in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the uprising of Petryk and other movements in the Hetman State, the Haydamak movement and similar manifestations of protest in Galicia, the peasants' attempts to regain their lost liberties, as for example the Kiev Cossack movement in 1855... they were only fragmentary facts preserved in historical documents and passed

169* M. Hrushevsky, "Ukrayins'ka partiya sotsyialistiv-revolutsioneriv ta yiyi zavdannya," *Boritiesya-Poborete*, Vienna, 1920, No. I, p. 12.

on to us, which we tried to connect up with analogous, but more fully conscious, social revolutionary movements in Western Europe.^{170*}

The inclination to see in the movement of the Ukrainian masses in the past a development parallel to the activities of Western European social-revolutionaries became evident in Hrushevsky's thoughts only after the 1917 Revolution. Yet it is important to stress the absence of the idea of the national state in Hrushevsky's *History of the Ukraine-Rus'* and in his general courses on Ukrainian history.

The first volume of the *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (2nd edition, Lviv, 1904, 3rd edition, Kiev, 1913) contains a survey of prehistoric life in the Ukraine from the time of the appearance of the first human beings there, and discusses the question of the original home of the Slavs, and the colonization of Ukrainian territory by non-Slavic tribes. It also gives a survey of Slavic colonization of this territory, describes the culture and life of the Ukrainian tribes, the formation of the Ukrainian-Rus' state and its life as far as the middle of the eleventh century. Apart from numerous critical notes, the volume contains in an appendix a short treatise on the Primary Chronicle and the Norman theory. This volume was well received by scholars thanks to the richness of the scholarly material used and the preciseness of the author's critical approach. When in 1906 a German translation of it appeared (*Geschichte des ukrainischen Volkes*, Band I, Leipzig), the Polish scholar, Alexander Brückner, wrote as follows:

Hrushevsky's work is testimony to the excellent scholarship and versatility of this Ukrainian historian. He has completely mastered the vast literature of his subject—archeological as well as philological and historical—most of all the Russian sources which have so far been sealed off from the Western scholar. The author astonishes us with his knowledge of the Russian and German sources, some of them not widely known. Coupled with this fabulous erudition is his acute, independent judgment and his well-controlled method—all of an exceptionally high quality.¹⁷¹

^{170*} *ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁷¹ *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, v. XX, p. 665, Lviv. Some critical remarks in regard to the first volumes of the *History of the Ukraine-Rus'* were made by Ivan Franko

The second volume appeared in 1899 (second edition, 1905), dealing with the history of the Kievan State itself and of the separate lands up to the middle of the thirteenth century. The third volume, published in 1900 (second edition 1905), was devoted to the Galician-Volynian state, the Dnieper Ukraine under Tatar domination until the beginning of the fourteenth century, and to a survey of cultural life in the Ukraine up to the time of the Tatars, with a very valuable survey of the literature of the time. The fourth volume came out in 1902 (2nd edition in 1907 in Kiev), dealing with the history of Ukrainian lands under Lithuanian-Polish rule until 1569. The fifth volume appeared in 1905 and contained an outline of the social, political, ecclesiastical systems and of life in the Ukraine in the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries. The sixth volume (1907) is devoted to a survey of economic conditions in the Ukraine in the fourteenth-seventeenth centuries, as well as to the national-cultural and religious life of that period. Beginning with vol. VII the *History* began to appear in Kiev, bearing the subtitle "Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Kozachchyny" (The History of the Ukrainian Cossacks). The seventh volume contains a history of the Cossack Ukraine up to 1625, Kiev, 1909. The first part of vol. VIII (Kiev, 1913) is devoted to a history of the Cossacks, 1626-38;¹⁷² the second part (Moscow, 1916) covers the period 1638-1648; part III (Moscow, 1918) the period 1648-1650.¹⁷³ In 1922 Hrushevsky republished the second part of vol. VIII in Vienna, adding to it a very valuable survey of historiography pertaining to the times of Khmelnytsky, and the third part, entitled: *Khmelnychchyna v*

in his book, *Prychynky do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy* (Material for the History of the Ukraine-Rus'), Lviv, 1912. *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* by M. Hrushevsky, as well as his scheme of the Ukrainian historical process, were praised by some of the best representatives of Russian historical science; for example, see A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie Velikorusskago gosudarstva. Ocherki po istorii XIII-XV stoletii*. (Formation of the Great-Russian State. Essays on the History of the XIII-XV Centuries), Petrograd, 1918, pp. 1-2.

¹⁷² Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko, *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, 1913, book XI.

¹⁷³ This publication was lost in Moscow during the Revolution.

roztsviti (The Flowering of the Period of Khmelnytsky), Vienna, 1922.¹⁷⁴

Ukrainian scholarly reviewers were unanimous in calling the *History* a monumental work, pointing out that it comprises an inexhaustible wealth of material dealing with Ukrainian history throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, and that no one conducting research for that period can dispense with it. In the opinion of one of the critics,^{175*}

The History of the Ukraine by Hrushevsky is undoubtedly the most striking example of Ukrainian scholarship. It is an expression of a highly developed national consciousness and marked a step forward in our cultural and national-political development. [...]

We stated already that the *History* could not have a great influence on the development of Ukrainian political ideas because of the author's underestimation of the importance of Ukrainian statehood in the historical process. The tremendous importance of this work lies in the systematic summation of information, its scholarly examination and analysis. This vast store of knowledge about the history of the Ukraine is coordinated around the focus of one central thought: the continuity of the historical evolution of the Ukrainian people on the territory settled in the dawn of the history of humanity. Hrushevsky's work is a huge encyclopedia comprising all the results of previous studies of Ukrainian historiography.¹⁷⁶

In response to the needs of the public, Hrushevsky also wrote a short survey of Ukrainian history, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskago naroda* (A Survey of the History of the Ukrainian People), St.

¹⁷⁴ Vol. IX of the *History of the Ukraine-Rus'* was published in Kiev: the first part in 1928, the second in 1931. Volume X (covering the time up to the year 1658) was published after Hrushevsky's death, Kiev, 1937.

^{175*} Vasyli' Herasymchuk, "Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, yak istoriohraf Ukrayiny" (M. Hrushevsky as a Historiographer of the Ukraine), *ZNTSH*, v. 133, Lviv, 1922, p. 9.

¹⁷⁶ A part of the *History of Ukraine-Rus'* was published in the Russian translation: *Kievskaya Rus'*, Kiev, 1912, and *Istoriya Ukrainskago kozachestva do soedineniya s Moskovskim Gosudarstvom*, v. I, Kiev, 1913, v. II, Kiev, 1914. Volume I of *Istoriya Ukrainskago kozachestva* was reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, Moscow, 1913, book IV, 1914, book I.

Petersburg, 1904,¹⁷⁷ 2nd edition 1906,¹⁷⁸ 3rd edition 1911, which was based on lectures delivered by him in 1903 at the Russian School of Higher Learning for Social Sciences in Paris.

This work, which offered a complete survey of Ukrainian history, was also the first of its kind and quickly gained recognition. The very fact that this book appeared in Russia and that, in contrast to Russian official and unofficial historiography, it portrayed Ukrainian history as an uninterrupted process beginning in Kiev in the ninth century and continuing throughout the centuries, despite the loss of Ukrainian statehood and the partition of the Ukrainian territory among the neighboring states, was a significant event in the Ukrainian national movement which just then, at the beginning of the new century, had gathered fresh impetus. A few years later this concise outline was republished in a somewhat more popular form, with hundreds of illustrations: *Ilyustrovana istoriya Ukrayiny* (An Illustrated History of the Ukraine), Kiev 1911,¹⁷⁹ later editions, Kiev, 1913, 1917, and Vienna, 1921.¹⁸⁰ Simultaneously a Russian edition appeared in St. Petersburg in 1912.¹⁸¹

An even shorter version of it appeared in *Pro stari chasy na Ukrayini* (Ancient Times in the Ukraine), St. Petersburg, 1907. Hrushevsky was also the author of the ample outline, *History of the Ukrainian People*, included in the first volume of the Encyclopedia *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoyashchem* (Ukrainian People: Its Past and Present), St. Petersburg, 1914. The most interesting part of this outline is that on Ukrainian historiography, entitled "Razvitie ukrainskikh izuchenii v XIX veke" (The Development of Ukrainian Studies in the XIX century).¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Vestnik Vospitaniya*, St. Petersburg, 1905, book I.

¹⁷⁸ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Vestnik Vospitaniya*, St. Petersburg, 1906, book III; *Ukrainskii Vestnik*, St. Petersburg, 1906, No. 3.

¹⁷⁹ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Ukrainshaya Zhizn'*, Moscow, 1912, book I.

¹⁸⁰ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Khliborobs'ka Ukraina*, book III, Vienna, 1921.

¹⁸¹ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, Moscow, 1912, book XII.

¹⁸² Hrushevsky's popular surveys of Ukrainian history were published in English, *A History of Ukraine*, edited by Prof. O. J. Frederiksen, preface by Prof.

In the same category with popular literature, having a profound influence on the reading public, is Hrushevsky's *Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Ukraini v XVI-XVII v.* (The Cultural and National Movement in the Ukraine in the XVI and XVII Centuries), Kiev-Lviv, 1912,¹⁸³ 2nd edition, Vienna, 1920.¹⁸⁴

From the time Hrushevsky became the president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, the development of scholarly studies there began on a large scale, as well as in the milieu around it, and Ukrainian historiography in particular took on a new lease on life. With the first years of his professorship, Hrushevsky began bringing out a school of his students who, under his guidance, worked on certain problems and periods of Ukrainian history and published their material and works in various publications of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. They worked mostly on the history of the Lithuanian-Polish and Cossack periods.

Bohdan Barvinsky, the son of the well known Galician patriot, Oleksander Barvinsky, devoted himself chiefly to the period of the Galician-Volynian State and the Lithuanian-Rus' Principality. His main works are: *Z'yizd knyazya Danyla z uhors'kim korolem Beloyu IV v Preshburzi 1250 r.* (Conference of the Prince Danylo with the Hungarian King Bela the Fourth, in Preshburg, 1250), Lviv, 1901; "Preshburzky z'yizd v spravi spadshchyny po Babenbergakh" (Preshburg Conference on the Question of the Babenberg Inheritance), *ZNTSH*, v. LII, and separately, Lviv, 1903; *Zhygymont Keystutovych, velykyi knyaz' Lytous'ko-rus'ky*

George Vernadsky, New Haven, 1941; in French, *Abrégé de l'histoire de l'Ukraine*, Paris-Geneva-Prague, 1920; in German, *Ein Überblick der Geschichte der Ukraine*, Vienna, 1914; *Die ukrainische Frage in ihrer historischen Entwicklung*, Vienna, 1915; *Geschichte der Ukraine*, I, Lviv, 1916; in Bulgarian, *Pregled na ukrainskata istoriya*, Sofia, 1914.

¹⁸³ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, Moscow, 1912, book IX.

¹⁸⁴ The bibliography of M. Hrushevsky's works published in 1888-1904, was compiled by I. Levytsky in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk prysvychenyi Prof. M. Hrushevs'komu uchenyamy i prykhyl'nykamy* (Symposium of Scholarly Works Dedicated to M. Hrushevsky by his Students and Followers), Lviv, 1906; 1905-1928, "Bibliohrafiya prats' akad. M. S. Hrushevs'koho" (Bibliography of Academician M. S. Hrushevsky's Works) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu Akad. M. S. Hrushevs'koho* (Book of Praise in Honor of M. S. Hrushevsky), vol. III, Kiev, 1929.

(Zhygymont Keystutovych, the Lithuanian-Rus' Grand Prince (1432-1440)), Zhovkva, 1905; *Istorychni prychnyky. Rozvidky, zamitky, i materiyaly do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy* (Contributions to History—Studies, Notes and Material for the History of the Ukraine-Rus'), v. I, Zhovkva, 1908, v. II, Lviv, 1909; "Kil'ka dokumentiv i zamitok do chasiv vel. knyaziv Svydryhayla i Zhygymonta Keystutovycha" (A Few Documents and Notations on the Time of the Grand Princes Svydryhaylo and Zhygmont Keystutovych), *ZNTSH*, v. CXV.

Evhen Barvinsky is the author of the following works: "Nabih kozakiv na Ochakiv v 1534" (The Cossack Raid on Ochakiv in 1534), *ZNTSH*, XVIII; "Prychnyky do istoriyi znosyn tsisarya Rudol'fa II i papy Klymenta VIII z kozakamy v 1593-94" (A Contribution to the History of Relations of the Emperor Rudolf II and Pope Clement VIII with the Cossacks, in 1593-94), *ZNTSH*, X.

*Stepan Rudnytsky*¹⁸⁵ the author of "Kozats'ko-pol's'ka viyna 1625 r." (The Cossack War Against the Poles in 1625), *ZNTSH*, XVII; "Ukrayins'ki kozaky v 1630-35 rokakh" (The Ukrainian Cossacks in 1630-35), *ZNTSH*, XXXII; "Nove dzherelo do istoriyi Khmelnychchyny" (A New Source for the History of the Period of Khmelnytsky), *ibid.*, XXIII-XXIV.

Omelyan Terletsky was the author of "Politychni podiyi na Halyts'kiy Rusi v r. 1340 po smerty Boleslava-Yuriya II" (Political Events in the Galician Rus' in 1340 after the Death of Boleslav-Yuriy II), *ZNTSH*, XII; "Kozaky na Biliy Rusi v 1654-1656" (The Cossacks in Byelorussia in 1654-1656), *ZNTSH*, XIV.

Oleh Tselevych is the author of "Uchast' kozakiv v Smolenskiy viyni 1633-34 r." (Cossack Participation in the Smolensk War of 1633-34), *ZNTSH*, XXVIII; "Prychnyky do znosyn Petra Doroshenka z Pol'shcheyu v 1670-72 r." (A Contribution to the Relations Between Petro Doroshenko and the Poles in 1670-72), *ibid.*, XXV.

Stefan Tomashivsky (1875-1930) was one of the most promising of Hrushevsky's students and his close collaborator. He was

¹⁸⁵ Later the well-known geographer.

later appointed a *dozent* in Austrian history at Lviv University, devoting himself chiefly to the periods of Khmelnytsky and Mazepa. The most important of his works are:

"*Materiyaly do istoriyi Khmelnychchyny*" (Materials for the History of the Period of Khmelnytsky), *ZNTSH*, XIV (1896); [...] "*Samuil Kazymyr Kushevych, l'viv's'kyi raytsya, i yoho zapys-na knyha*" (Samuil Kazymyr Kushevych, the Councillor of Lviv, and His Record Book), *ibid.*, XV (1896); "*Narodni rukhy v Halyts'kiy Rusi 1648 r.*" (Popular Movements in the Galician Rus' in 1648), *ibid.*, XXIII-XXIV, and separately, Lviv 1898; "*Pershyi zazyvnyi lyst Khmelnyts'koho*" (The First Letter of Appeal by Khmelnytsky), *ibid.*; *Z istoriyi halyts'ko-rus'kykh soymyviv* (The History of the Galician Rus' Assemblies), Lviv, 1898; *Pohlyad na stan lyudnosti L'viv's'koyi zemli v seredyni XVII v.* (A View of the Conditions of the Population of Lviv Province in the Middle of the XVII Century), Lviv, 1901; "*Slovats'kyi vyslannyk na Ukrayini 1708-1709*" (A Slovak Envoy in the Ukraine, 1708-1709), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk, prysvyachenyi prof. M. Hrushevs'komu*, Lviv, 1906; "*Volodymyr Antonovych*" *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk*, 1906, and separately; "*Iz zapysok Karolintsiv pro 1708-1709 r.*" (The Carolite Notes on the Events of 1708-1709), *ZNTSH*, XCII, 1909, and separately; *Prychynky do istoriyi Mazepynshchyny* (A Contribution to the History of the Period of Mazepa), Lviv, 1910; "*Uhorshchyna i Pol'shcha na pochatku XVIII stolittya*" (Hungary and Poland at the Beginning of the XVIII Century), *ZNTSH*, LXXXIII-LXXXVI, 1908, and separately, Lviv, 1909; *Pershyi pokhid B. Khmelnyts'koho v Halychynu* (Khmelnytsky's First Campaign in Galicia), Lviv, 1914.

In the latter study Tomashivsky related the events of 1648 from the rout of the Polish armies at Pylyavtsi to Khmelnytsky's retreat from Zamostya, and concluded that after the destruction of the Polish army near Pylyavtsi the Cossack campaign was merely a token in character and was also carried on in order to satisfy the claims of their Tatar allies from the lands outside the Cossack territory. In the opinion of Tomashivsky, Khmelnytsky's main purpose was to intimidate the Poles and to make them

submissive; Khmelnytsky's withdrawal from Zamostya, after the completion of his main purpose, was dictated by the danger of a winter campaign and the need to organize the vast country which, after the victories of 1648, found itself under Cossack rule. Tomashivsky was concerned with the history of 1649 in his "Odyn moment pid Zborovom 1649 r." (One Moment near Zboriv in 1649), *Zbirnyk v chest' Franka*, ZNTSH, vols. CXVII-CXVIII, Lviv, 1914.

Tomashivsky's *Ukrayins'ka istoriya, I, Starynni i seredni viky* (Ukrainian History, I, Ancient Times and Middle Ages) appeared in Lviv in 1919¹⁸⁶ and attempted to give a short survey of the political development of the Ukraine. According to the author, the following three historical currents are manifest in Ukrainian history: 1) the age-old contrasts between the forest and steppe areas of the Ukraine—the defense of the plains against the nomads of the steppe and the colonization of the land—this struggle against the steppes passing through several stages including one that was dominated by the Cossacks; 2) the political and cultural contrast between the East and the West, which in the Ukraine assumed the form of a Polish-Ukrainian conflict; 3) the political, economic and cultural contrasts between the South and the North. "The steppe, Poland, and Muscovy—these form the triangle of the Ukrainian historical-political destiny . . . Understanding of the important ideas involved in this triangle helps to measure what was positive, creative and valuable in Ukrainian history and what was destructive and harmful. The conquest of land, the separation and the creation of a distinct cultural and national entity, finally the establishment of the state—these are the landmarks to guide the historians of the Ukraine." From this point of view Tomashivsky analyzed Ukrainian history up to the end of the fifteenth century.¹⁸⁷

Myron Korduba (1876-1948) also devoted himself chiefly to the study of the Khmelnytsky period. He is the author of: "Persha

¹⁸⁶ Second edition: S. Tomashivsky, *Istoriya Ukrayiny. Starynni i seredni viky*, Munich, 1948 (mimeographed).

¹⁸⁷ About later scholarly activities of Tomashivsky, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

derzhava slavyans'ka" (The First Slav State), *ZNTSH*, XIII; "Suspil'ni verstvy ta politychni partiyyi v Halyts'kim knyazivstvi do polovyny XIII st." (Social Classes and Political Parties in the Galician Principality Up to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century), *ibid.*, XXXI-XXXII; "Proba avstriys'koho poserednytstva mizh Khmelnytskym i Pol'shcheyu" (Austrian Attempt to Mediate Between Khmelnytsky and Poland), *ibid.*, LXXXIV; "Vene-tsiys'ke posol'stvo do Khmelnyts'koho, 1650" (A Venetian Envoy to Khmelnytsky in 1650), *ibid.*, LXXVIII; "Borot'ba za pol's'kyi prestol po smerty Volodyslava IV" (The Struggle for the Polish Throne After the Death of Wladyslaw IV), introduction to the XII volume of *Zherela do istoriyi Ukrainy-Rusy*, Lviv, 1912; "Moldavs'ko-Pol's'ka hranytsya na Pokuttyu po smerty Stefana Velykoho" (The Moldavian-Polish Border in Pokutye After the Death of Stephen the Great), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906; "Mizh Zamostyem ta Zborovom (storinka znosyn Semyhorodu z Ukrayinoyu i Pol'shcheyu)" (Between Zamostya and Zboriv—Relations of Transylvania with the Ukraine and Poland). *ZNTSH*, CXXXIII.¹⁸⁸

Vasyl' Herasymchuk wrote the following studies on the early post-Khmelnytsky period: "Vyhovsky i Yuryi Khmelnytsky," *ZNTSH*, vols. LIX-LX; "Pered Chudnivs'koyu kampaniyeyu" (Before the Chudniv Campaign), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906; "Vyhovsky i Hadyats'ka uniya" (Vyhovsky and the Treaty of Hadyach), *ZNTSH*, LXXXVI, LXXXVII, LXXXVIII, LXXXIX; "Chudnivs'ka kampaniya 1660 r." (The Campaign of Chudniv 1660), *ibid.*, CX, CXI, CXII, CXIII, CXIV, CXVI.

Denys Korenets' also worked on the Vyhovsky period: "Znosyny Ivana Vyhovs'koho z Pol'shcheyu v rr. 1657-58" (The Relations of Ivan Vyhovsky to Poland in 1657-58), *ZNTSH*, XXXVIII; "Povstannya Martyna Pushkarya" (The Uprising of Martyn Pushkar), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906.

Ivan Dzhydzhora (1880-1919) devoted himself almost exclusively to a history of the Hetman State in the eighteenth century:

¹⁸⁸ For later scholarly activities of M. Korduba, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

"Z noviyshoyi ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiiyi (Ohlyad prats' O. Yefymenkovoyi)" (From the Recent Ukrainian Historiography—An Account of the Works by O. Yefymenko), *ZNTSH*, LXXI; "Materiyaly moskovs'koho Arkhiva Ministerstva Yustyttsiyyi do istoriyyi Het'manshchyny" (The Materials of the Moscow Archives of the Ministry of Justice Concerning the History of the Hetman State), *ibid.*, LXXVI; "Novi prychnyky do istoriyyi vidnosyn rosiys'koho pravytel'stva do Ukrayiny v 1720-1730" (New Light on the History of the Relation of the Russian Government to the Ukraine in 1720-30), *ibid.*, LXI; "Ukrayina v pershiy polovyni 1738 r." (The Ukraine in the First Half of 1738), *ibid.*, LXIX; "Do istoriyyi heneral'noyi viys'kovoyi kantselyariyyi" (On the History of the General Military Chancellery), *ibid.*, CVII; "Ekonomichna polityka rosiys'koho pravytel'stva suproty Ukrayiny v 1720-30" (The Economic Policy of the Russian Government Towards the Ukraine in 1720-30), *ibid.*, LXXXVIII, CI, CIII, CV; "Reformy Malorosiy'skoyi Kolegiyyi na Ukrayini v 1722-23 rokakh" (The Reforms of the Little Russian Collegium in the Ukraine in 1722-23), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906.¹⁸⁹ [...]

Ivan Krevetsky (1883-1940), "Rus'ka sil's'ka militsiya na uhors'kiy hranytsi v Halychyni v 1848-49 r." (Ruthenian Village Militia on the Hungarian Border in Galicia in 1848-49), *ZNTSH*, LXIII, LXIV; "Halychyna v druhiy polovyni XVIII v., perehlyad novykh publikatsiy" (Galicia in the Second Half of the XVIII Century; a Review of New Publications), *ibid.*, LXXXI; "Sprava podilu Halychyny v 1846-50 rr." (The Division of Galicia in 1846-50), *ibid.*, LXXXVI, LXXXVII; "Tsutsylivs'ka tryvoha v 1848 r. (prychynky do ostannikh dnyv panshchyny v Halychyni)" (The Tsutsyliv Alarm in 1848—Material on the History of the Last Days of Serfdom in Galicia), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906; "Batalion rus'kykh hirs'kykh stril'tsiv 1849-50" (A Battalion of the Ruthenian Mountaineer Sharpshooters), *ZNTSH*, CVII; "Sproby orhanizatsiyyi rus'koyi natsional'noyi gvardiyyi v Haly-

¹⁸⁹ I. Dzhydzhora's works on the history of the Hetman State were republished by the Historical Section of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: I. Dzhydzhora, *Ukrayina v pershiy polovyni XVIII viku* (Ukraine in the First Half of the XVIII Century), Kiev, 1930.

chyni 1848-49 r.” (An Attempt to Organize the Ruthenian National Guard in Galicia in 1848-49), *ibid.*, CXIII; “Pid protektsiyu Velykoho kurfyursta (do polityky P. Doroshenka)” (Under the Protection of the Great Kurfürst—The Policy of P. Doroshenko), *ibid.*, CXVII-CXVIII.

Ivan Krypyakevych: “Materiyaly do istoriyi l’vivs’koyi torhovli” (Materials Relating to the History of Lviv Trade), *ZNTSH*, LXV; “Rusyny vlastyteli u L’vovi v pershiy polovyni XVI v.” (Ruthenian Property Owners in Lviv in the First Half of the XVI Century), *Naukovi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906; “Rusyny u L’vovi v pershiy polovyni XVI v.” (Ruthenians in Lviv in the First Half of the XVI Century), *ZNTSH*, LXXVII, LXXVIII, LXXIX; “Z diyal’nosti Posevina” (The Activities of Posevin), *ibid.*, CXII; “Kozachchyna i Batoriyevoi vol’nosti” (The Cossacks and the Privileges of Batory), introduction to vol. VIII of *Zherela do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy*, Lviv, 1908; “Novi materiyaly do istoriyi Synodiv 1629” (New Material for the History of Synods, 1629), *ZNTSH*, CXVI, 1913; “Ukrayins’ki kozaky v evropeys’kykh politychnykh plynakh 1620-1630 rokiv” (Ukrainian Cossacks in European Political Plans of 1620-1630), *ibid.*, CXVII-CXVIII; “Do kharakterystyky Ilyasha Karaimovycha” (The Characteristics of Ilyash Karaimovych), *ibid.*, CXXII; “Z kozats’koyi sfragistyky” (The Cossack Sphragistics), *ibid.*, CXXIII-CXXIV; “Arkheohrafichna diyal’nist’ M. Kostomarov” (The Archeographic Activity of M. Kostomarov), *ibid.*, CXXVI-CXXVII; “Serby v ukrayins’kim viys’ku (1650-60)” (Serbians in the Ukrainian Army—1650-60), *ibid.*, CXXIX; “Ukrayins’kyi derzhavnyi skarb za Bohdana Khmelnytskoho” (The Ukrainian State Treasury at the Time of Bohdan Khmelnytsky), *ibid.*, CXXX; “Uchytel’ Bohdana Khmelnyts’koho (Andriy Gontsel’ Mokrsky)” (Khmelnysky’s Teacher—Andriy Gontsel Mokrsky), *ibid.*, CXXXIII.¹⁹⁰

The history of the Church occupied the following scholars: *O. Sushko*, “Predtecha tserkovnoyi uniyi 1596 (Benedykt Her-

¹⁹⁰ For further scholarly activities of Prof. I. Krypyakevych, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

best)" (The Precursor of the Church Union of 1596—Benedykt Herbest), *ZNTSH*, LIII, LV, LXI; "Yesuity v Pol'shchi" (The Jesuits in Poland), *ibid.*, LVII, LVIII.

Bohdan Buchynsky, "Studiyyi do istoriyi tserkovnoyi Uniyi" (Studies of History of the Church Union), *ZNTSH*, LXXXV, LXXXVI, LXXXVIII, LXXXX.

Fedir Sribnyi, "Studiyyi nad orhanizatsiyeyu l'vivskoyi Stavropigiiy vid kintsya XVI do polovyny XVIII st." (Studies on the Organization of the Lviv Stavropigiya from the End of the XVI to the Middle of the XVIII Century), *ZNTSH*, CVIII, CXI, CXII, CXIV, CXV.

Mykola (Nicholas D.) Chubaty, "Zakhidna Ukrayina i Rym v XIII v. u yikh zmahannyakh do tserkovnoyi uniyi" (Western Ukraine and Rome in the XIII Century in Their Efforts to Achieve a Church Union), *ibid.*, CXXIII-CXXIV.¹⁹¹

Nearly all the above works had some of their origins in the historical seminar conducted by M. Hrushevsky or in the school of his scholarly followers, and were mostly based on archival materials, which the authors gathered from the Archives in Lviv, Kraków, Vienna, Warsaw, Kharkiv, Moscow, St. Petersburg. Therefore almost all these works present new and scholarly studies of material and sometimes very valuable conclusions.

Apart from those immediately connected with M. Hrushevsky and a circle of Galician scholars, there were some authors from the Dnieper Ukraine who published their articles in the *Lviv Zapysky* of the Shevchenko Scientific Society. Their cooperation extended beyond 1905, up to the date the *Zapysky* were banned in Russia.

To the above-mentioned group belonged: Olena Radakova, "Ukrayins'ki kozaky na Ladozhskim kanali" (Ukrainian Cossacks on the Ladoga Canal), *ZNTSH*, XII; Oleksander Lototsky (1870-1939), the prominent Ukrainian public figure and author, "Soborni krylosy na Ukrayini ta Biliy Rusy v XV i XVI vv." (The Cathedral Choirs in the Ukraine and Byelorussia in the XV and the XVI Centuries), *ibid.*, IX; "Suspil'ne

¹⁹¹ For N. Chubaty's further activities, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

stanovyshche biloho (svits'koho) dukhovenstva na Ukrayini i Rosiyi v XVIII v." (The Social Position of the Clergy in the Ukraine and Russia in the XVIII Century), *ibid.*, XXI;¹⁹² Vasyly' Domanytsky, (1877-1911) one of the younger students of V. Antonovych, was the author of "Kozachchyna na perelomi XVII v. (1591-1603) (The Cossack Host at the Turn of the XVI and beginning of the XVII Centuries (1591-1603)), *ibid.*, LX-LXIV; "Prychynky do istoriyi povstannya Nalyvayka" (Notes on the History of Nalyvayko's Uprising), *ibid.*, XL; "Chy bula reforma Batoriya?" (Was There a Batory Reform?), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk*, Lviv, 1906. Among later contributors to the *Zapysky* were the following scholars: Oleksander Hrushevsky, Vyacheslav Lypynsky, Mykola Vasylenko, Vadym Modzalevsky, Mykhaylo Slabchenko, Viktor Barvinsky, Mykhaylo Tyshkevych.

The Archeographic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society began to publish a series of collections of historical materials and documents, entitled *Zherela do istoriyi Ukrayiny-Rusy*. [...] Vols. I-III (1895-1900), comprising the so-called "Lyustratsiyi korolivshchyn v starostvakh Halyts'komu, Peremyshl's'komu, Syanots'komu, Kholms'komu, Belzs'komu i L'vivs'komu 1564-1566 rokiv" (The Royal Estates Revisions of the *Starostva* of Halych, Peremyshl', Syanok, Kholm, Belz, and Lviv in 1564-66), edited by M. Hrushevsky, who also wrote the prefaces: "Ekonomichnyi stan selyan na Podnistrov'yu halyts'kim v polovyni XVI v. na osnovi opysey korolivshchyn" (The Economic State of the Peasantry in the Dniester Areas of Galicia in the Middle of the XVI Century According to the Accounts of the Royal Estates); "Ekonomichnyi stan selyan v Peremyshl's'kim starostvi v polovyni XVI v." (The Economic State of the Peasantry in the Starostvo of Peremyshl in the Middle of the XVI Century); "Ekonomichnyi stan selyan v Syanots'kim starostvi v seredyni XVI v." (The Economic State of the Peasantry in the Starostvo of Syanok in the Middle of XVI Century); vols. IV-VI (1898-1901) contain Galician documents and Chronicles, 1648-1657, with introduc-

¹⁹² For further scholarly activities of Lototsky, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

tions by S. Tomashivsky: "Z zhyttya halyts'ko-rus'kykh soymyktiv 1648-1649" (The History of the Galician Rus' Assemblies 1648-1649), and "Pohlyad na stan lyudnosti l'vivs'koyi zemli v seredyni XVII v." (The State of the Population of the Lands of Lviv in the Middle of the XVII Century); vol. VII (1903) contains "Lustrations" from 1570, with Hrushevsky's preface "Ekonomichne stanovyshche l'vivs'kykh selyan v seredyni XVI v." (The Economic Condition of the Lviv Peasantry in the Middle of the XVI Century); vol. VIII (1908), comprises materials of the history of the Cossacks up to 1630 (edited by Ivan Krypyakevych); vol. XII, materials concerning the history of the Cossacks—diplomatic documents from the period of Khmelnytsky (edited by M. Korduba); vol. XIII (published in Kiev, 1913), Diary of Yakiv Markovych 1735-1740 (edited by V. Modzalevsky); and vol. XVI (1919), "Vatican Materials Concerning the History of the Ukraine—Reports of the Nuncios on the Ukraine 1648-1657," edited by S. Tomashivsky.

The Bibliographical Notes in the *Zapysky*, which were discontinued after 1914, are most valuable. All new publications in the field of Ukrainian historiography, ethnography, archeology, and philology were reviewed there.

The importance of the publications by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the development of Ukrainian historiography can be compared to that of *Kievskaya Starina*. *Zapysky* continued the fine tradition of the defunct *Kievskaya Starina*. Chief credit for the success of the Shevchenko Scientific Society must be given to M. Hrushevsky who was the editor of its *Zapysky* for twenty years.

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(I. Borshchak), "Pamyati Ivana Krevets'koho," *Ukrayina*, IV, Paris, 1950.

FIRST DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY SCHOLARSHIP IN THE DNIEPER UKRAINE

The relief afforded by the 1905 Revolution to cultural and scholarly work in the Ukraine made it possible to create purely Ukrainian scholarly institutions. In 1906 *Kievskaya Starina* began to publish articles in Ukrainian and a year later it transformed itself into the Ukrainian journal *Ukrayina*, which was published for one year only. The editors and contributors to the old *Kievskaya Starina* also undertook to found a Ukrainian scholarly institution in Kiev. Among them were V. Antonovych, P. Zhytetsky,

V. Naumenko, and I. Luchytsky. They obtained permission from the government to found the *Ukrayins'ke Naukove Tovarystvo* (The Ukrainian Scientific Society) in 1907. M. Hrushevsky, who at that time transferred his activity from Lviv to Kiev, was elected its first president in 1908.¹⁹³ The Society began to publish its *Zapysky* (Proceedings) and later also Symposia (*Zbirnyky*), edited by the medical, technical, and ethnographic sections. [...] The Society was able to attract not only former contributors to *Kievskaya Starina*, such as O. Levytsky, I. Kamanin, M. Vasylenko, M. Bilyashevsky, and M. Petrov, but also some Kievan scholars who had thus far remained aloof from Ukrainian life [...] and even several Russian scholars who were friendly to the Ukrainians (A. Shakhmatov and G. Il'insky). One of the prominent scholars contributing to the *Zapysky*^{194*} was Professor Volodymyr Peretts, later a member of the Imperial Academy in St. Petersburg. His pupils also contributed their works to the publication. In 1914 the Society began to publish the historical periodical *Ukrayina*.

The outbreak of the First World War marked the beginning of the persecution of the Ukrainian Scientific Society. Its president, M. Hrushevsky, was arrested and deported. Some of its members [...] resigned. The new president, Naumenko, led the Society through the most difficult war years. The *Ukrayina* ceased publication at the end of 1914 because of very severe censorship. For example, the censor insisted it must be printed in Russian orthography. The *Ukrayins'kyi Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (The Ukrainian Scholarly Symposium) which replaced *Ukrayina* had to be printed in Moscow. Its first volume was published in 1915, the second in 1916. It contained the following works: vol. I, M. Hrushevsky, "Novi hipotezy z istoriyi starorus'koho prava" (New

¹⁹³ Beginning with 1913 D. I. Doroshenko was the secretary of the Society. See D. Doroshenko, *Moyi spomyny pro davnye mynule*, 1901-1914 (My Recollections of the Past, 1901-1914), Winnipeg, 1949, p. 15 ff.

^{194*} The following authors published their works pertaining to Ukrainian historiography in *Zapysky*: B. Buchynsky, M. Vasylenko, M. Hrushevsky, O. Hrushevsky, B. Hrinchenko, L. Dobrovol'sky, V. Danylevych, O. Levytsky, V. Modzalevsky, H. Pavlutsky, M. Stadnyk, A. Shakhmatov, V. Shcherbyna.

Hypotheses on the History of the Old Rus' Law); S. Rozanov, "Kroynika 1636 roku" (The Chronicle of 1636); L. Dobrovol'sky, "Z Kyivys'koyi 'kozachchyny' 1855 roku" (The Kiev "Cossacks" in 1855); V. H. (V. Modzalevsky), "Lysty Mazepy do svoho starosty" (Mazepa's Letters to his *Starosta*); vol. II, M. Hrushevsky, "Noviysha literatura po istoriyi V. Knyasivstva Lytovs'koho," (New Literature Relating to the History of the Grand Principality of Lithuania); L. Orlenko (O. Levytsky), "Sprava Kseniyi Rozlach" (The Affair of Kseniya Rozlach); V. Naumenko, "'Zhalovannaya hramota' poltavs'komu polkovnyku Ivanu Chernyaku 1718 r." (*Zhalovannaya Hramota* Given to the Poltava Colonel Ivan Chernyak in 1718); V. H. (Vadym Modzalevsky), "Z rodynnykh vidnosyn na Het'manshchyni v druhiiy polovyni XVII stolittya" (Some Family Relations in the Hetman State in the Second Half of the XVII Century).

The *Zbirnyk pamyaty Tarasa Shevchenka* (1814-1914) (Symposium Commemorating Taras Shevchenko, 1814-1914), comprising most valuable documents and concerned with the history of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, was published in 1915.

After the 1917 Revolution the Ukrainian Scientific Society renewed the publishing of *Ukrayina*, and later in 1921 it issued *Zbirnyk Sektsiyi Mystetstva* (A Symposium of the Arts Section) which contained a series of important articles on the history of Ukrainian culture (V. Modzalevsky on the "lyudvisars'ky" and "konvyysars'ky" art in the Ukraine in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries; as well as treatises by O. Hutsalo, F. Ernst, F. Shmit, D. Shcherbakivsky).

In 1922 the Ukrainian Scientific Society, following an order by the Soviet government, merged with the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Toward the beginning of the twentieth century the so-called Archival Commissions (Arkhyvni komissiyi) were founded in Poltava, Katerynoslav, and Chernihiv (1895). Their task was the preservation of local archives and historical monuments and publication of studies and archival documents chiefly pertaining to

local history. These commissions made significant contributions to Ukrainian historiography having brought to light and clarified the history of certain regions.

The Poltava Archival Commission published *Trudy* (Works), with the following contributors: I. Pavlovsky, L. Padalka, V. Shchepot'yev, Matviy Astryab, and others. [...]

In addition to those, the Poltava Commission published the following works: *Aktovyya knigi Poltavskago gorodovogo uryada XVII v.* (Books of Records of the Poltava City Government in the XVII Century), three issues, Poltava-Chernihiv, 1911-1914; *The Guide to the Kievskaya Starina*, separate works by Padalka, Pavlovsky, and others.

Ivan Pavlovsky devoted himself chiefly to the study of Poltava's history. He is the author of the articles on Poltava in *Kievskaya Starina*, 1902; *Ocherk deyatel'nosti malorossiiskago general-gubernatora kn. A. B. Kurakina (1802-1808)*, (A Survey of the Activity of the Governor-General of Little Russia, Prince A. B. Kurakin, in 1802-1808), Poltava, 1914; *Poltavtsy, ierarkhi, gosudarstvennye i obshchestvennye deyateli* (The Poltavians Hierarchs, State and Public Officials); *Kratkii biograficheskii slovar' uchenykh i pisatelei Poltavskoi gubernii s poloviny XVIII v.* (A Short Biographical Book of Scholars and Writers of the Poltava Province from the Middle of the XVIII Century), Poltava, 1912; *Pervoe dopolnenie k kratkomu biograficheskomu slovaryu* (The First Supplement to the Short Biographical Dictionary), Poltava, 1913, (a second supplement appeared later), and other works on the history of Poltava.

Lev Padalka, a former contributor to *Kievskaya Starina*, published the following studies under the auspices of the Poltava Archival Commission: *Rus',* Poltava, 1912; *Proshloe Poltavskoi territorii i eya zaselenie: Izsledovaniya i materialy s kartami* (The Past of the Poltava Territory and its Colonization: Studies and Materials accompanied by Maps), Poltava, 1914; *Karta kozatskikh polkov na poltavskoi territorii* (A Map of the Cossack Regiments in the Poltava Territory), Poltava, 1914; *Karta Boplana o zaseleonii Poltavskoi territorii vo utoroj chetverti XVII v.* (Beauplan's

Map Showing the Colonization of the Poltava Territory in the Second Quarter of the XVII Century), Poltava, 1914; *K istorii Poltavskoi eparkhii, istoricheskie i bytovye ocherki, zametki i perepiska po arkhivnym dannym* (On History of the Poltava Diocese; Sketches on History and Customs, Notes and Correspondence Based on Archival Sources), Poltava, 1916.

The Chernihiv Archival Commission also published *Trudy* (Works). The chief contributors were: A. Verzilov, Petro Doroshenko (author of the treatise on the history of serfdom in the Left-Bank Ukraine, and on Metropolitan Dmytro of Rostov),¹⁹⁵ V. Modzalevsky, and Petro Dobrovol'sky.

The most prominent of these was *Vadym Modzalevsky* (1882-1920), a talented historian, genealogist, archivist, and historian of art. In 1911 he settled in Chernihiv and became director of the V. Tarnovsky Museum and at the same time the secretary to the Archival Commission. He devoted himself chiefly to the social history of the Hetman State, paying particular attention to the histories of old families. He published many works mostly based on a thorough study of archival materials. The following are worth mentioning: "Slukhi o naznachenii Kantakuzina Getmanom Malorossii v 1718 g." (Rumors about the Appointment of Kantakuzyn as the Little Russian Hetman in 1718), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1904, VI; "General'nyi sud'ya Ivan Charnysh i ego rod" (The Chief Justice Ivan Charnysh and His Family Origin), *ibid.*, 1904, III-V; "Poltavskaya intriga 1714 g." (The Poltava Intrigue of 1714), *ibid.*, 1905, XI-XII; "Zamitky do istoriyi rozdilu vil'nykh kozats'kykh gruntiv v XVII v." (Notes on the History of the Distribution of Free Cossack Lands in the XVII Century), *ZNTSH*, CXII; "Materialy dlya istorii Poltavskago polka," (Materials for the History of the Poltava Regiment), *Trudy Poltavskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii*, vol. I-II; "Roman Rakushka, odin iz deyatelei Ruiny" (Roman Rakushka, a Statesman in the Period of the Ruin), *Trudy Chernigovskoi Uchenoi Arkh. Komissii*, vol. X, and separately, Chernihiv, 1913 (later the same

¹⁹⁵ See: D. Doroshenko, "Pamyaty P. Ya. Doroshenka (1858-1919)," *Stara Ukrayina*, Lviv, 1924, VII-VIII.

article in an expanded form appeared under the title "Pershyi viys'kovyi pidskarbiy Roman Rakushka" in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu Ukr. Akademiyi Nauk*, vols. I, II-III, 1919, 1922-1923; "Sud'ba malorossiiskikh pushkarei" (The Fate of the Little Russian Gunsmiths), *Trudy Chernig. Uch. Arkh. Kom.*, v. XI, and separately, Chernihiv, 1915; "Materialy i zametki" (Materials and Notes), *ibid.*, and separately, Chernihiv, 1915.

Modzalevsky's major work, *Malorossiiskii rodoslovnik* (Little Russian Genealogical Dictionary) began appearing in 1908 financed by Andriy and Mykola Storozhenko. The last (IV) volume, [...] was published in Kiev in 1914 and contained accounts of families from P—S.¹⁹⁶ Modzalevsky collaborated with V. Lukomsky in *Malorossiiskii gerbovnik, s risunkami Egora Narbuta* (The Little Russian Book of Heraldry Illustrated by Yuriy Narbut), St. Petersburg, 1914, which is the main source for the study of Ukrainian heraldry. [...] Modzalevsky was the general editor of the following works: *Dnevnyk Yakova Markovycha, t. IV, 1735-1740* (The Diary of Yakiv Markovych, vol. IV, 1735-1740), Kiev, 1913; *Aktovyya knigi Poltavskago gorodovogo uryada* (The Books of Records of the Poltava City Government), Poltava-Chernihiv, 1911-1914; *Aktovaya kniga Starodubskago gorodovogo uryada 1693*, Chernihiv, 1914¹⁹⁷ [...].

Modzalevsky spent the last years of his life in Kiev, organizing the Central Ukrainian Archives (1918).

The Katerynoslav Archival Commission founded in 1905, published the *Letopis'*. The research conducted by the Commission was devoted primarily to the history of the Zaporozhe, the colonization of the Zaporozhian lands after the fall of the Sich, and their administrative, ecclesiastical, and cultural development. Among its chief contributors were: V. Bidnov, Oleksander Bohumil, D. Doroshenko, D. Evarnytsky (Yavornytsky), Ya. Novytsky, Volodymyr Picheta and Antin Synyavsky.

¹⁹⁶ The last, v. V, has not been published, being left in manuscript form.

¹⁹⁷ V. Modzalevsky's monograph on the glass-works in the Chernihiv Province in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was published after his death by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: V. Modzalevsky, *Huty na Chernihiushchini*, Kiev, 1926.

Vasyl' Bidnov (1874-1935), born in the Kherson region and a graduate of the Theological Academy in Kiev, studied the history of the Zaporozhe on the basis of the Katerynoslav Archives. His main works are: "Materialy po istorii tserkovnago ustroistva na Zaporozh'i" (Materials Concerning the Church System of the Zaporozhe), *Letopis' Ekater. Uch. Arkh. Kom.*, vol. IV, Katerynoslav, 1907; "Materialy po istorii kolonizatsii byvshikh zaporozhskikh vladenii" (Materials Concerning the History of Colonization of the Former Zaporozhian Lands), *ibid.*, X, Katerynoslav, 1916; "Zaporozhskii zimovnik" (Zaporozhian Winter Camp), Katerynoslav, 1915; "Materiyaly do istoriyi Zadunays'koyi Sichy" (Materials Concerning the History of the Sich Beyond the Danube), *Ukrayina*, 1914, III; *Shcho chytaty po istoriyi Ukrayiny* (What to Read on the History of the Ukraine), Kamyanets-Podilsk, 1919. In 1918 Bidnov became professor of Church History at the university in Kamyanets-Podilsk and later at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague.¹⁹⁸

Yakiv Novytsky (1847-1925), born in the Katerynoslav Province, devoted himself chiefly to the study of the topography and life of the Zaporozhe. He collected many historical songs which were published partly in the *Sbornik* (Symposium) of the Historical and Philological Society of Kharkiv ("Malorusskiya pesni"), vol. VI, Kharkiv, 1894, and partly in the *Letopis'* of the Katerynoslav Archival Commission. He is also the author of "Istoriya goroda Aleksandrovska" (The History of the Town of Aleksandrovsk), vol. III of the *Letopis'*, Katerynoslav, 1907; and *Opisanie granits i gorodov byushei Azovskoi gubernii* (Description of the Boundaries and the Cities of the Former Azov Province), Aleksandrovsk, 1910.

Among other institutions of learning in the Ukraine the following should be mentioned:

Obshchestvo izsledovatelei Volyni (The Society for Studies of Volynia) in Zhytomyr, and Volynskoe Tserkovno-Arkheologi-

¹⁹⁸ For Bidnov's scholarly activities in emigration, see the supplementary chapter of this work.

cheskoe Obshchestvo (Volynian Ecclesiastic-Archeological Society) which published *Volynskii istoriko-arkheologicheskii sbornik* (Volynian Historical and Archeological Symposium), Zhytomyr, vol. 1, 1896, vol. II, 1900. A collaborator with these societies, O. Fotynsky, is the author of *Iz semeinoi khroniki dvoryan Zagorovskikh vo vtoroi polovine XVI v.* (The Family Chronicle of the Nobles Zahorovskys in the Middle of the XVI Century), Zhytomyr, 1900.

The Obshchestvo lyubitelei izucheniya Kubanskoi Oblasti (Society of Amateurs to Study the Kuban Region) was active in Katerynodar, and the Tserkovnoe Istoriko-Arkeologicheskoe Obshchestvo (The Ecclesiastical Historical-Archeological Society) in Kamyanets-Podilsk. The most prominent scholar of the latter, the Rev. Yevtyim (Yukhym) Sitsynsky (1859-1937), born in Podolia, was graduated from the Kiev Theological Academy, and participated in V. Antonovych's archeological excavations in Podolia. His most important works are: *Bakota—drevnyaya stolitsa Poniz'ya* (Bakota—the Old Capital of Poniz'ya), Kamyanets-Podilsk, 1889; *Materialy dlya istorii monastyrei Podol'skoy eparkhii* (Materials Concerning the History of the Monasteries in the Podolian Diocese), Kamyanets-Podilsk, 1891; "Semeinaya zhizn' v Podolii v pervoi polovine proshlogo veka" (Family Life in Podolia in the First Half of the Last Century), *Kievskaya Starina*, 1891, IV; *Gorod Kamenets-Podol'skii, Istoricheskoe opisanie* (The Town of Kamyanets-Podilsk—A Historical Description), Kiev, 1895; and his *magnum opus*, *Istoricheskiya svedeniya o prikhodakh i tserkvakh Podol'skoi eparkhii* (Historical Data Concerning the Parishes and the Churches of the Podolia Diocese) in 7 vols., Kamyanets-Podilsk, 1895-1911. [...] At the beginning of 1919 Sitsynky was appointed a *Privat-dozent* at the university in Kamyanets-Podilsk where he specialized in Podolian history.

The great upsurge in the Ukrainian national movement during the first decade of the twentieth century manifested itself, among other things, in an intensified interest in Ukrainian history and the demand for a comprehensive study of the Ukrainian past. The Ukrainian reading public also increased rapidly and even

the obsolete history of the Ukraine by Bantysh-Kamensky, republished in Kiev in 1903, found a ready market.

The relaxation of censorship controls made possible the publication both in Russian and in Ukrainian of histories of the Ukraine, which regarded Ukrainian history as an unbroken development. The first of these studies was by M. Hrushevsky, *Ocherk istorii ukrainskago naroda* (An Outline of the History of the Ukrainian People). It was followed by O. Yefymenko's *Istoriya ukrainskago naroda* and *Istoriya Ukrainy i eya naroda* (The History of the Ukraine and Its People), which, although placing less emphasis on the national aspect of history, were popular because of their easy narrative style. Yefymenko's both books were well illustrated. Still another richly illustrated history of the Ukraine, *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (History of the Ukraine-Rus') by Mykola Arkas, was published in 1908 in St. Petersburg. Its author was not a historian by profession, but with the scholarly assistance of Vasyl' Domanytsky he succeeded in giving a vivid account of Ukrainian history. His book sold a great number of copies throughout the country, planting everywhere the seeds of national consciousness. A second edition was published in 1912 (after the author's death in 1909) and the third edition—in 1922, in Berlin.¹⁹⁹ *Ilyustrovana istoriya Ukrayiny* (The Illustrated History of the Ukraine) by Hrushevsky, containing reproductions of photographs and old portraits, was published in 1911.

The recently granted freedom to use the Ukrainian language in publications, the possibility of maintaining closer contacts with Galicia and its Ukrainian scientific centre in Lviv, the creation of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev—all these aided in the normal development of Ukrainian historiography in the Ukraine. Ukrainian history became here and there the subject of university lectures. Professor Olexander Hrushevsky offered a course of lectures on Ukrainian history at Odessa University (in Ukrainian), and later at St. Petersburg; O. Yefymenko lectured at the Higher Courses for Women in St. Petersburg. [...]

At the same time, however, there was a shortage of younger

¹⁹⁹ There were also later publications: *Istoriya Ukrayiny*, Buenos Aires, 1947.

scholars in the field of Ukrainian history. While the old scholars were decreasing in numbers, very few younger ones were devoting themselves to Ukrainian history. This was chiefly due to the fact that in all the universities in the Ukraine, and especially in Kiev, the greatest emphasis was placed on Russian history, taught in the staunch, Muscovite spirit. Therefore numerous publications and discoveries of new historical material far outnumbered original and critical studies by local researchers. However, there were some works published in the pre-revolutionary period which deserve to be mentioned:

The history of the Kievan Rus' was the subject of works by Mikhail Prisyolkov, of the University of St. Petersburg: "Mitropolit Ilarion, kak borets za nezavisimuyu russkuyu Tserkov'" (Metropolitan Ilarion—a Fighter for an Independent Russian Church), *Sbornik statei, posvyashchyonnykh, S. F. Platonovu*, St. Petersburg, 1911; *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X-XII vv.* (Sketches on the Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Kievan Rus' in the X-XII Centuries), St. Petersburg, 1913.

Pavlo Klepatsky,²⁰⁰ was the author of *Ocherki po istorii Kievskoi zemli, t. I, Litovskii period* (Sketches on the History of the Kiev Lands, vol. I, The Lithuanian Period), Odessa, 1912.

Volodymyr Parkhomenko wrote *Drevne-russkaya knyaginya Ol'ga (vopros o kreshchenii eya)* (The Old Rus' Grand Duchess Olga—Problem of Her Baptism), Kiev, 1911; "K istorii nachalnago khristianstva na Rusi" (The History of Early Christendom in Rus'), *Izv. otđ. russ. yaz. i slov.*, 1914; *Nachalo Khristianstva na Rusi, Ocherki iz istorii Rusi IX-X v.* (The Beginning of Christianity in Rus'—Sketches on the History of the Rus' in the IX-X Centuries), Poltava, 1913; *Ocherk istorii Pereyaslavsko-Borispol'skoi eparkhii (1733-85) v svyazi s obshchim khodom malorossiiskoi zhizni togo vremeni* (A Sketch of the History of

²⁰⁰ For more about P. Klepatsky, see the supplementary chapter of this book.

Alexander Presnyakov, later a professor of St. Petersburg University, wrote the monograph *Knyazhoe pravo v drevnei Rusi* (The Princely Law in Ancient Rus'), St. Petersburg, 1909.

the Pereyaslav-Borispol Diocese, 1733-85, in Connection with the General Course of the Little Russian Life of That Period), Poltava, 1910.

The following authors contributed to the history of the Church (XVII-XVIII Centuries) in the Ukraine:

Platon Zhukovych, *Seimovaya bor'ba pravoslavnago zapadno-russkago dvoryanstva s tserkovnoi uniei (s 1609 g.)* (The Parliamentary Struggle of the Orthodox West Rus' Nobility Against the Church Union (from 1609)), in 6 fascicles, St. Petersburg, 1901-1910. This work gives a survey of the religious struggle of the Orthodox Ukrainians and Byelorussians from the end of the sixteenth century up to the death of Zhygymont III, and, in the words of M. Hrushevsky, "it is a most valuable contribution, characterized by a wealth of material and a sharp and careful analysis of the events. It has therefore become an important reference work and has increased our knowledge of the period." [...] Zhukovych wrote also the following studies: "Protestatsiya mitropolita Iova Boretskago i drugikh zapadno-russkikh ierarkhov 28 aprelya 1621 g." (The Protest of the Metropolitan Iov Boretsky and other Western Rus' Hierarchs on April 28th, 1621), *Sbornik statei po slavyanovedeniyu*, vol. III, St. Petersburg, 1907; and "Materialy dlya istorii kievskago i l'vovskago soborov 1629 g." (Materials Concerning the Sobors in Kiev and Lviv in 1629), *Zapiski Akad. Nauk po ist-fil. otd.*, vol. VIII, and separately, St. Petersburg, 1911.

Rev. Fedir Titov: *Russkaya pravoslavnaya Tserkov' v pol'skolitovskom gosudarstve v XVII-XVIII vv. (1654-1795)* (The Russian Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State in the XVII-XVIII Centuries (1654-1795)), vols. 1-III, Kiev, 1905-1916.²⁰¹

²⁰¹ Rev. F. Titov wrote also the following works: *Tipografiya Kiev-Pecherskoi Lavry. Istoricheskii ocherk* (The Printing-House of the Kiev-Pechersk Monastery, Historical Outline), vol. I, Kiev, 1918; and *Prilozheniya k I tomu* (Supplements to vol. I), Kiev, 1918; *Stara vyshcha osvita v kyyivs'kii Ukraini* (Ancient High Education in Kievan Ukraine), Kiev, 1924; *Materiyaly do istoriyi knyazhnoyi spravy na Ukraini* (Material for the History of Book Production in the Ukraine), Kiev, 1924.

There were also several monographs on the history of church relations published at that time:

V. Bidnov (*vide supra*), *Pravoslavnaya Tserkov' v Pol'she i Litve* (The Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania), Katerynoslav, 1908.

Konstantyn Kharlampovych, *Malorossiiskoe vliyanie na velikorusskuyu tserkovnuyu zhizn'* (Little Russian influence on Great Russian Ecclesiastical Life), Kazan, 1914.

A few other monographs were published on Ukrainian and Byelorussian hierarchs. These works were written by alumnae of Kiev Theological Academy and were printed mostly in its *Trudy*.

Volodymyr Chekhivsky, a monograph on Metropolitan Hawriil Banulesko-Bodoni, Kiev, 1909.

V. Ivanytsky, a monograph on Viktor Sadkovsky—the Bishop of Pereyaslav.

I. Rybolovsky, *Varlaam Vanatovich, arkhiepiskop kievskii, galitskii i Malyya Rusi* (Varlaam Vanatovych, the Archbishop of Kiev, Halych and Little Russia), Kiev, 1908.

Rev. Mykola Shpachynsky, *Kievskii Mitropolit Arsenii Mogilyansky* (The Metropolitan of Kiev, Arseniy Mohylyansky), Kiev, 1907.

S. Kurhanovych, *Dionisii Zhabokritsky, episkop Lutskii i Ostrozhskii* (Dionizy Zhabokrytsky, the Bishop of Lutsk and Ostroh), Kiev, 1914.

A. Osinsky, *Meletii Smotritsky, arkhiepiskop Polotskii* (Meletiy Smotrytsky, the Archbishop of Polotsk), Kiev, 1912.

Works by Pylyp Klymenko were devoted to the history of the guilds in the Ukraine: *Zapadno-russkie tsekhi v XVI-XVIII vv.* (The West Rus' Guilds in the XVI-XVIII Centuries), Kiev, 1911; He is also the author of *Iz istorii finansovago stroya goroda Dubno (konets XVII—nachalo XVIII v.)* (The Financial History of the Town of Dubno—End of the XVII to the Beginning of the XVIII Century), Kiev, 1914.²⁰²

202 For later studies of P. Klymenko, see the supplementary chapter.

The history of the Hetman State in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is treated in the work of Ivan Rosenfel'd: *Pri-soedinenie Malorossii k Rossii 1654-1793 gg; istoriko-yuridicheskii ocherk* (The Annexation of Little Russia to Russia, 1654-1793, a Historical and Legal Study), Petrograd, 1915. The author reviews scholarly works on the Pereyaslav Treaty and expresses the opinion that the Treaty called for an incomplete incorporation of the Ukraine into Russia.²⁰³

Mykhaylo Slabchenko, born in 1882 in Odessa, graduate of Odessa University, specialized in the history of the Hetman State. In his monograph *Malorusskii polk v administrativnom otnoshenii* (The Little Russian Regiment in Its Administrative Aspect), Odessa, 1909, Slabchenko considered the relations between Moscow and the Ukraine after 1654 and concluded that the Ukraine became the vassal of Moscow as a result of the Pereyaslav Treaty. Later, after studying the emergence of the landowning class from among the Cossack elders, Slabchenko explained the character of the Cossack Regiments as military and administrative units. Slabchenko's conclusions were criticized by another specialist in the field, Mykola Vasylenko, who in his article "Z istoriyi ustroyu Het'manshchyny" (Concerning the History of the Structure of the Hetman State), *ZNTSH*, CVIII, declared that Slabchenko's conclusions that "the Hetman Ukraine was a democratic republic, based on democratic institutions," are not well founded. Vasylenko also disagreed with Slabchenko as to the role of the Ukrainian nobility in the Left-Bank Ukraine, the staff companions (*bunchukovi tovaryshi*), and the regimental courts. In the discussion between these two scholars, both expressed their views in "Shche do istoriyi ustroyu Het'manshchyny XVII-XVIII st." (More About the Structure of the Hetman State in the XVII-XVIII Centuries), *ZNTSH*, CXVI, in which Vasylenko continued to maintain that Slabchenko's book, in spite of its brilliance, was not completely scholarly.

Slabchenko's second work is *Opyty po istorii prava Malorossii XVII i XVIII v.* (Studies of the History of Little Russian Law

²⁰³ See: *Ukrayina*, II, Paris, 1949, p. 129.

in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), Odessa, 1911, consisting of special studies of legal procedure. [...] This work was also criticized by Vasylenko who charged that its conclusions were hasty and its sources too limited.²⁰⁴

Yuriy Maksymovych, the pupil of Dovnar-Zapol'sky, [...] was the author of: *Malorossiia v upravlenie Grafa P. Rumyantseva-Zadunaishkago* (Little Russia Under the Rule of Count P. Rumyantsev-Zadunaysky), Nizhen, 1913; *Voinskiia ekzertsitsii v Malorossii vo vtoroi polovine XVIII v.* (Military Exercises in Little Russia in the Second half of the XVIII Century), Nizhen, 1913; *Vybory i nakazy v Malorossii v Zakonodatel'nyu komissiyu 1767 g., Chast' I, Vybory i sostavlenie nakazov* (Elections and Mandates in Little Russia to the Legislative Commission in 1767, Part I, Elections and Composition of Mandates), Nizhen, 1917.

Yet undoubtedly the most significant work in the field of modern Ukrainian historiography during the first two decades of the present century was that of Vyacheslav Lypynsky. It may be said without exaggeration that, apart from Hrushevsky's works, Lypynsky's studies represent the greatest achievement in modern Ukrainian historiography.

Vyacheslav Lypynsky (1882-1931), born in Volynia, came from old gentry stock, which had become entirely Polonized. He was educated at the Gymnasium in Kiev where he already came to regard himself as a Ukrainian. As a student he took an active part in Ukrainian national life. He studied at Kraków and Geneva universities. In 1909 in Kraków he published a book, *Szlachta ukraińska i jej udział w życiu narodu ukraińskiego* (Ukrainian Gentry and Its Participation in the Life of the Ukrainian People), in which, recalling the close relation between the Ukrainian Polonized gentry in the Right-Bank Ukraine and the Ukrainian people, he suggested that this gentry was bound to reunite itself with the people by becoming its leaders. Lypynsky himself headed a group of "Ukrainians of Polish culture" and propagated his ideas in the journal *Przegląd krajo-*

²⁰⁴ For further scholarly activities of M. Slabchenko, see the supplementary chapter.

wy, published in 1909 in Kiev. From the very beginning of his activity Lypynsky believed in the reestablishment of Ukrainian statehood, and later he became the spiritual father of the Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine (Soyuz Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny) which aimed to rebuild an independent Ukrainian state. When, for a short duration at least, his dreams were fulfilled in 1918, he became the Ukrainian envoy to Vienna. After that time he lived in emigration,²⁰⁵ and published his *Lysty do brativ-Khliborobiv* (Letters to Brother Agrarians) printed in *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina*, and separately, Vienna, 1926²⁰⁶. There he developed his idea of the Ukrainian toilers monarchy in the traditional form of the Hetmanate.²⁰⁷

In 1912 Lypynsky edited in Kraków a large work, *Z dziejów Ukrainy* (Fragments from Ukrainian History), dedicated to the memory of V. Antonovych and his circle who earlier, in the middle of the nineteenth century, had left the Polish camp and reaffirmed their Ukrainian nationality. The book comprises several studies by Lypynsky, the longest, a monograph on Stanislaus Michael Krychevsky, the famous supporter of Khmelnytsky. In it he analyzes the part played by the Ukrainian gentry and nobility in Khmelnytsky's rebellion. This class came to play a prominent part in the foreign policy and diplomacy of the Great Hetman and helped him build a state, adding broad range to his policy. After Khmelnytsky's death, however, the gentry failed to preserve the Ukrainian State and preferred their interests to the public good. In this monograph [...] Lypynsky surveyed the entire history of the Ukrainian gentry during the period of Khmelnytsky and the latter's policy. "This work," wrote I. Krypyakevych, "is the first of its kind, but it is a work of utmost significance, based on rich material, with broad historical perspective. In the future no student of the Khmelnytsky

²⁰⁵ In 1926 Lypynsky became a professor of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin; however, due to poor health, he left for Austria where he died in 1931.

²⁰⁶ Reprinted in New York in 1954.

²⁰⁷ In emigration, Lypynsky published once more an expansive work of historiographical character: *Relihiya i Tserkva v istoriyi Ukrayiny*, Philadelphia, 1925; the second printing Lviv, 1933.

period will be able to dispense with it, and many of Lypynsky's views will become the basis of modern Ukrainian historiography."^{208*}

In addition to Lypynsky's long monograph, *Z dziejów Ukrainy* contained Hrushevsky's "Ukrayins'ka shlyakhta na perelomi XVI-XVII v." (Ukrainian Gentry at the Turn of the XVI-XVII Centuries); and "Shveds'ko-ukrayins'kyi soyuz 1708 r." (The Swedish-Ukrainian Alliance in 1708); Lypynsky's "Vidhomyny mynuvshyny" (Echoes of the Past); and "Dvi khvylyny z istoriyi porevolutsiynoyi Ukrayiny" (Two Moments from the History of the Post-Revolutionary Ukraine), relating to Khmelnytsky's occupation of the Pinsk region and the Treaty of Hadyach; and others.

Continuing his study of the history of Ukraine in the seventeenth century, Lypynsky wrote the following articles based on the unpublished documents: "Heneral artyleriyi Velykoho Knyazivstva Rus'koho" (A General of Artillery of the Grand Duchy of Rus'), based on the Nemyrych archives, *ZNTSH*, LXXXVII, and "Ariyansky soymyk u Kyselyni na Volyni v mayu 1638 r." (The Arian Assembly in the village of Kyselyn in Volynia in May, 1638), *ibid.*, LXXXVI.

In emigration Lypynsky began to republish his earlier works in Ukrainian, rewriting and completing them. In 1920²⁰⁹ there appeared in Vienna the third volume of his *Istorychni studiyyi ta monohrafiyyi* (Historical Studies and Monographs), entitled *Ukrayina na perelomi, 1657-59. Zamitky do istoriyi ukrayins'koho derzhavnoho budivnytstva v XVII stolitti* (The Ukraine at the Turning Point, 1657-59, Notes on History of the Building of the Ukrainian State in the XVII Century).²¹⁰ In this work, which is a new version of his earlier *Dwie chwile z dziejów porewolucyjnej Ukrainy* (Two Moments from the History of Post-Revolutionary Ukraine), Lypynsky analyzes in particular the diplomatic activity

^{208*} *ZNTSH*, v. CXV. See also a review by D. Doroshenko in *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, 1912, X, Moscow.

²⁰⁹ Actually, the book was published in 1921.

²¹⁰ Reprinted in New York, 1954. English translation of chapter III, dealing with the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654, in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, vol. III, No. 2 (8), 1954.

of the Ukrainian government in 1656-57, the participation of the Ukrainian gentry in the building of the Hetman State, and the voluntary accession to this State of the Pinsk region. At the same time he evaluated the policies of Khmelnytsky, from the autonomy envisaged in his early plans to the eventual creation of an independent state. Lypynsky offers a brilliant analysis of the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) which he regards as just "another alliance directed this time against Poland, concluded for the sake of the liberation of the Ukraine from Polish rule, being in the same category as Khmelnytsky's earlier treaties with the Crimea and Turkey," (p. 29). The treaty was, therefore, "a military alliance against Poland and the Tatars, secured in the form of a protectorate," (p. 30), "a complete and legal emancipation from the Polish *Rzecz Pospolita*, and this emancipation was what the Ukrainian signatories and the neighboring rulers had in mind when concluding the Pereyaslav Treaty," (p. 33). Lypynsky stressed the importance of the assembly in Chyhyryn in October, 1656, the institution of the Khmelnytsky dynasty, and of the statutory changes in the Cossack Host made under the influence of the gentry which, he believed, had a stabilizing effect on the Cossacks and helped to win them from the idea of autonomy to the idea of an independent state.

Lypynsky's work is entirely permeated with the spirit of national consciousness and with an awareness of Ukrainian national state aspirations, and contains what Ukrainian historiography had previously lacked so lamentably (from Kostomarov and Antonovych onward), having developed under the influence of three factors: the ideology of Russian statehood, that of Polish statehood, and the Ukrainian cultural-democratic, but stateless ideology. Lypynsky believed the prime task of Ukrainian historiography to be the resurrection of historical tradition and the continuation of those clear political ideas which had guided the Ukrainian ancestors in the periods of Khmelnytsky and Mazepa. "Only when we rid ourselves of the notion, forced on us in a time of decay—that we are incapable of forming a state, that we are an inferior people who can only rebel and are forever victimized—only

when we realize the broad sweep of our history, the extensive plans and conceptions of statehood of our forefathers, shall we be able to appraise the actions of these ancestors and to evaluate truthfully the facts of our history," (p. 17).

Reviewing Lypynsky's *Ukrayina na perelomi*, S. Tomashivsky wrote that "this most valuable book on the one hand, introduces the reader into the very laboratory of state-making, which the Ukrainian people had first developed after the period of the Princes, and on the other hand, it clearly shows the reasons for the eventual ruin of their plans."²¹¹ Lypynsky's works reflect most clearly the Ukrainian Revolution and Ukrainian statehood in 1917-20. They will continue to be a source of inspiration to future generations of Ukrainians. [...]²¹²

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²¹¹ S. Tomashivsky, "Istoriya i polityka," *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina*, III, Vienna, 1921, p. 169. See also a review by D. Doroshenko in *Knyzhka*, Stanyslaviv, 1921, No. 4.

²¹² The last three pages of D. I. Doroshenko's *Ohlyad Ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi*, dwelling on the developments in Ukrainian historical science in 1917-1922, are included in the supplementary chapter.

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Ukrainian Historiography

1917-1956

by Olexander Ohloblyn

UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN THE DNIEPER
UKRAINE

Restoration of Ukrainian statehood in 1917 opened new prospects for the development of Ukrainian historiography. The scientific research of the Ukraine's past became a matter of national urgency. The tempo of historical studies quickened, particularly of problems of Ukrainian statehood in the past. The spotlight was turned on the history of the Ukrainian Cossack-Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Out of this period comes a major work of Ukrainian historiography, Vyacheslav Lypynsky's *Ukrayina na perelomi* (The Ukraine at the Turning Point). Ukrainian historical publications began to spread: *Zapysky Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva u Kyievi* (Proceedings of the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev) and *Ukrayina* (The Ukraine) renewed publication, and a new historical periodical, *Nashe Mynule* (Our Past) made its appearance in Kiev (1918-1919). In addition, there was a whole series of other publications, both in the capital and in the provinces, particularly in Kharkiv. The establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev (November 14, 1918), of Ukrainian State Universities (in Kiev and Kamyanets-Podilsk) and a Department of History and Philology in Poltava, of Chairs of the History of the Ukraine and Ukrainian Law in the existing universities (Kiev, Kharkiv and Odessa), the establishment of the National Archives, the National Library and the National Museum—all this held out a bright future for Ukrainian historical science.

The Ukraine's occupation by Soviet Moscow, however, and partition of Ukrainian territory among neighboring states, changed conditions much to the detriment of Ukrainian science. A number of Ukrainian historians were forced to flee abroad, and those who stayed home under alien rule were gradually deprived of the opportunity to engage in free, scholarly research. Even under such unfavorable circumstances, nevertheless, Ukrainian historical research went on, and even broadened in scope. The traditional

schema of the Ukrainian historical process, formulated and scientifically validated by M. Hrushevsky, was accepted and developed further when imbued with a new ideological (national) content and spirit; Ukrainian historians abroad, in Galicia and even in the Soviet-occupied homeland continued research begun during the period of the Third Ukrainian State (1917-1920) and carried it to new heights.

Ukrainian historical research developed most extensively in the Dnieper (Eastern) Ukraine. Old traditions of scientific research, activities of numerous learned societies and institutions, particularly of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the actual presence of prominent scholars of the older and younger generations, the wealth of archival material which became accessible to scholars after 1917, and finally, what is probably most significant, a broad national arena of historical thought and devotion; all this provided favorable conditions for the development of Ukrainian historiography in the nineteen-twenties.

In the field of Ukrainian history, scientific research went on in the old university centers (Kiev, Kharkiv and Odessa), as well as in provincial centers (Nizhen, Katerynoslav-Dnipropetrovsk, Poltava, Chernihiv and others), in which historical studies were tied organizationally with pedagogical institutes (in the nineteen-twenties they were called Institutes of Public Education),²¹³ with archives, museums, national historical and cultural monuments, and local geographic societies, etc. In the larger university centers the work was of general significance to the whole Ukraine; in smaller centers it was local in scope. Both, however, working in ideo-scientific and frequently in organizational contact with each other (particularly in the area of publications), joined forces in contributing to a great upsurge of Ukrainian historiography in the nineteen-twenties.

The main center of Ukrainian historical studies in the 1920's was Kiev, particularly the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences

²¹³ In 1920 the universities in the Ukrainian SSR were reorganized. Institutes of Public Education (Instytuty Narodnoyi Osvity—I. N. O.) were established.

(VUAN)²¹⁴ with its numerous historical institutions. The work of scientific research went on in several ideological-scientific centers.

Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, 1866-1934, (see *supra*), headed the historical center which was the most active. Hrushevsky returned from abroad in 1924 to continue his work in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. He renewed the activities of the Historical Section of the Ukrainian Scientific Society which was merged with VUAN. Many commissions, chiefly historical, were established within the Section. The commissions were: Ancient Ukrainian History, History of the Cossack Period, Modern History of the Ukraine, Ukrainian Historiography and a whole series of commissions for regional studies of Ukrainian history, such as the Commission for Kiev and the Right-Bank Ukraine, the Commission for the Left-Bank Ukraine, the Commission for the Southern Ukraine, the Commission for the Western Ukraine, and others. In addition, M Hrushevsky headed one of the two Academic Chairs of the History of the Ukrainian People, headed the Historical and Archeographic Commission of VUAN and devoted much time to the Historical-Geographic Commission headed by his brother, Oleksander Hrushevsky.

M. Hrushevsky's establishment in Kiev of a Scientific Research Chair of Ukrainian history was of major importance. This institution, which gathered around it several well-known Ukrainian historians, was primarily concerned with educating new ranks of Ukrainian historians. During the period of its existence (1924-1930) the Chair prepared a series of candidates for independent scientific research and published three volumes of *Studii z istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Studies in the History of the Ukraine), Kiev, 1926-1930, and several monographs, chiefly of seventeenth to nineteenth-century Ukrainian history, which came out in other VUAN publications.

Probably of greatest importance was the broad scientific-historical undertaking of publications, organized by M. Hrushevsky within the framework of the Government Publishing House of

²¹⁴ This abbreviation will be used henceforth.

the Ukraine and VUAN in Kiev. The magazine of history *Ukrayina* which was re-established at that time (1924-1930) united a majority of Ukrainian historians and played a leading part not only as far as the Dnieper Ukraine was concerned, but also for all Ukrainian historical science and even for all Ukrainian studies regardless of political boundaries. This magazine published many scholarly articles, monographs, materials, and chronicles, and maintained a large department of review and bibliography, with the active participation of M. Hrushevsky.

In addition, a whole series of other periodical and non-periodical publications appeared under Hrushevsky's editorship, all of them important for Ukrainian historiography, in particular: *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi VUAN* (Scientific Collection of the VUAN Historical Section), 6 vols., Kiev, 1924-1929; *Za Sto Lit* (Over a Period of a Century), 6 vols., Kiev, 1927-1930; *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN* (Proceedings of the Historical-Philological Department of VUAN); works of the Historical Section; collections: *Kyyiv ta yoho okolytsya* (Kiev and its Environs), Kiev, 1926; *Chernihiv ta Pivnichne Livoberezhzhya* (Chernihiv and the Northern Left-Bank), Kiev, 1928;²¹⁵ *Kyyiv's'ki zbirnyky istoriyi, arkheolohiyi, pobutu i mystetstva* (Kiev Collections of History, Archeology, Customs and Arts), vol. I, Kiev, 1931;²¹⁶ *Ukrayins'kyi Arkhiv* (Ukrainian Archive), 4 vols., starting with 1929;²¹⁷ *Ukrayins'kyi*

²¹⁵ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, vol. IV, No. II, Breslau, 1928.

²¹⁶ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VIII, No. 1, Berlin, 1933.

²¹⁷ Among these, publications to be noted are: "Heneral'ne slidstvo pro mayetnosti Starodubs'koho polku 1729-1731 r.r." (General Investigation of the Estates of the Starodub Regiment for the years 1729-1731) in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkhiv*, vol. I, Kiev, 1929, edited by K. Lazarevskaya; "Kodens'ka knyha sudovykh správ" (Kodnya Book of Judicial Cases), *ibid.*, vol. II, Kiev 1931, edited by O. Hermayze; "Perepysni knyhy 1666 roku" (Census Reports for the Year 1666), *ibid.*, vol. III, Kiev, 1931, edited by V. Romanovsky; "Heneral'ne slidstvo pro mayetnosti Lubens'koho polku 1729-1731 r.r." (General Investigation of the Estates of the Lubny Regiment for the years 1729-1731), *ibid.*, vol. IV, Kiev, 1931, edited by K. Lazarevskaya. Also published was: *Opys Novhorodsiver'skoho Namistnichystva 1779-1781 r.r.*

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Along with this work of scientific organization and publication, M. Hrushevsky conducted great scientific-research work in the field of Ukrainian history, Ukrainian historiography, history of Ukrainian literature and folklore. He continued his major work *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* (History of Ukraine-Rus'), bringing out its ninth volume, dealing with the history of the Khmelnytsky period between 1651 and 1657 (the first half-volume, Kiev 1928, the second, Kiev 1931). The last (tenth) volume of *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy* pertaining to the years 1657 and 1658 came out

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²¹⁸ Review by D. I. Doroshenko on: "Naukovo-publistsystychni i polemichni pysannya Kostomarova" (Scientific-Journalistic and Polemic Writings of Kostomarov), Kiev, 1928, in *Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes*, vol. II, Berlin, 1929.

²¹⁹ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VII, No. 1, 1932.

after Hrushevsky's death, edited by his daughter K. Hrushevskia (Kiev, 1937).

Hrushevsky also continued his other major work which he had started abroad, *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature). Volumes one through five were published in Lviv and Kiev between 1923 and 1927. Subsequent volumes were not published.

In connection with his research on the Khmelnytsky period, Hrushevsky published several documentary studies in publications of the Ukrainian and Russian Academies of Sciences and in other publications, in particular: "K istorii Pereyaslavskoi Rady 1654 goda" (On the History of the Pereyaslav Council of 1654) in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (News of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), 1929.

Also of considerable importance to Ukrainian historical science were numerous articles by M. Hrushevsky on the subject of Ukrainian historiography (with reference to individual historical works or to prominent individual historians) of the Cossack-Hetman period, as well as of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Particularly deserving of mention are his sketches about M. Makymovych, M. Kostomarov, P. Kulish, O. Lazarevsky, V. Antonovych and M. Drahomanov published in *Ukrayina*; and the publications from the last period of his life focused on Ukrainian historiography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially: "Samovidets 'Ruiny' i ego pozdneishie otrazheniya" (Samovydet's *Ruiny* and Later Repercussions) in *Trudy Instituta Slavyanovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Works of the Institute of Slavic Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), v. I, 1932; and "Ob ukrainskoi istoriografii XVIII veka. Neskol'ko soobrazhenii" (On Ukrainian Historiography of the XVIII Century. A Few Considerations) in *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR*, 1934, VII series, No. 3.

Hrushevsky gathered around the Historical Section of VUAN and its periodicals many Ukrainian historians, both from and outside of Kiev, and even those who lived beyond the Ukrainian SSR (particularly in Galicia). Several generations of scholars

gathered around his Scientific-Research Chair, among them V. Antonovych's disciples—O. Hrushevsky, V. Danylevych, V. Shcherbyna; M. Dovnar-Zapol'sky's disciples—P. Klymenko, O. Hermayze; new Kievan disciples of Hrushevsky and of his brother O. Hrushevsky, who worked as candidates of the scientific-research chair—O. Baranovych, M. Tkachenko, S. Shamray, S. Hlushko, V. Yurkevych and others.

Oleksander Hrushevsky (born 1877), assistant-professor at the universities of Odessa and St. Petersburg, subsequently professor of Kiev University, carried on studies of the social-economic history of the Ukraine and particularly of the Lithuanian and Cossack-Hetman period. His monograph *Goroda Velikago Knyazhestva Litovskago v XIV-XVI v. v., Starina i bor'ba za starinu* (Cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the XIV-XVI Centuries, Antiquity and the Struggle for Its Form of Life) was published in Kiev in 1918. Among his numerous research works and articles published in the 1920's we must note "Universal ta hramoty livoberezhnym ratusham u XVII v." (Seventeenth Century Universals (Proclamations) and Decrees Issued to City Halls of the Left-Bank) in *Yuvileynyi zbirnyk, prysvyachenyi Akad. M. S. Hrushevs'komu*, vol. I, Kiev, 1928.

Volodymyr Shcherbyna (1850-1936) continued his research in the history of Kiev, mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He published a collection of articles, *Novi studiyi z istoriyi Kyieva* (New Studies of the History of Kiev), Kiev, 1926, and a collection of decrees pursuant to Magdeburg privileges of the City of Kiev in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Archeographic Collection), vol. I, Kiev, 1926. Other noteworthy published works of his are: "Do pytannya pro statyi B. Khmelnyts'koho v redaktsiyi 1659 r." (The Problem of B. Khmelnytsky's Articles in the 1659 Edition) in *Yuvileynyi zbirnyk...*, vol. I, Kiev 1928; and "Doba Kozachchyny v livoberezhniy Ukrayini" (The Cossack Period in the Left-Bank Ukraine) in *ZNTSH*, vol. C, Lviv, 1930.

Plylyp Klymenko (born 1880), professor of Kamyanets-Podilsk University, worked on the social-economic history of the Ukraine

in the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, and, particularly, he continued research in the history of guilds in the Right-Bank Ukraine. He published a monograph, *Tsekhy na Ukrayini* (Guilds in the Ukraine), Kiev, 1929;²²⁰ and a series of researches and articles, especially: "Misto i terytoriya na Ukrayini za Het'manshchyny" (Cities and Territories in the Ukraine during the Hetman Period) in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN* (Proceedings of the Historical-Philological Department of VUAN), vols. VII-VIII, Kiev, 1926; "Do istoriyi m. Nizhena" (History of the City of Nizhen), *ibid.*, vol. XV, Kiev, 1927; "Promyslovist' i torhivlya v Podil's'kiy huberniyi na pochatku XIX st." (Industry and Commerce in the Podolia Province in the Early XIX Century) in *Yuvileynyi zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. Bahaliya* (Jubilee Symposium Dedicated to Academician D. Bahaliy), Kiev, 1927.

Osyf Hermayze (born in Kiev, 1892), a graduate of Kiev University and later professor at Kiev University (INO), focused his attention on scientific research in the Ukrainian national-revolutionary movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the social-political history of the Ukraine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His *Narysy z istoriyi revolyutsiynoho rukhu na Ukrayini* (Sketches from the History of the Revolutionary Movement in the Ukraine), vol. I, Kiev, 1926, was the first, and thus far the only, monographic study of the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP). He also published documentary materials, such as: *Neleha!ni vidozvy z nahody Shevchenkovykh rokovyn* (Clandestine Proclamations on the Occasions of the Shevchenko Anniversaries), Kiev, 1925; and "Materiyaly do istoriyi Ukrayins'koho rukhu za svitovoyi viyny" (Materials on the History of the Ukrainian Movement During the World War) in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, vol. I, Kiev, 1926; and others.

Hermayze also studied and wrote about the history of Decembrism in the Ukraine, particularly "Rukh dekabrystiv i ukrayin-

²²⁰ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, Vol. VI, Nos. 2-3, 1931.

stvo" (The Decembrist Movement and Ukrainianism) in *Ukrayina*, vol. VI, Kiev, 1925.

Hermayze's research in the history of the Koliyi Movement of 1768 is of a documentary character, especially his separate extensive study "Koliyivshchyna v svitli novoznaydenykh materialiv" (The Koliyi Movement in the Light of Newly-discovered Materials) in *Ukrayina*, vols. I-II, Kiev, 1924. He was the editor of the so-called "Kodnya Knyha sudovykh aktiv" (Kodens'ka Book of Judicial Cases), records of the Polish investigation and trial of participants in the Koliyi Movement, published in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkhiv* (Ukrainian Archive), vol. II, Kiev, 1931.²²¹

Hermayze's study "Ukrayina ta Din u XVII st." (The Ukraine and the Don in the XVII century) in *Zapysky Kyivskoho Instytutu Narodnoyi Osvity* (Proceedings of Kiev Institute of Public Education), vol. III, Kiev, 1928, offers a detailed account of Ukrainian-Don relations during that period.

Noteworthy among other numerous writings of Hermayze are his historiographic articles, particularly "M. Drahomanov i Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya (M. Drahomanov and Ukrainian Historiography) in *Ukrayina*, vols. II-III, 1926; and his reviews of contemporary Ukrainian historiography.

In 1929 Hermayze was arrested for implication in the affairs of "Spilka Vyzvolennya Ukrayiny" (The Union for Liberation of the Ukraine) and deported. This interrupted his work in the field of Ukrainian historiography in which he had engaged on such a broad scale in the nineteen-twenties.

Among Hrushevsky's disciples and younger associates, the following achieved prominence:

Oleksa Baranovych, who studied the social-economic history of the Right-Bank Ukraine from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. He published the monograph *Zalyudnennya Ukrayiny pered Khmelnychchynoyu. Volyns'ke voyevodstvo* (Pop-

²²¹ The book was published without the editor's foreword and without mention of his name. It was reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, 1933.

ulation of the Ukraine Before the Khmelnytsky Period. Province of Volynia), Kiev, 1913; and a series of documentary studies, notably: "Narysy magnats'koho hospodarstva na pivdni Volyni" (Sketches of the Magnate Economy in Southern Volynia) in *Studii z istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Studies from the History of the Ukraine), vol. I, Kiev, 1926 and vol. III, Kiev, 1930; "Pans'ke hospodarstvo v klyuchi Volodars'kim za chasiv Koliyivshchyny" (Landlord Economy in the Volodarsky Estates During the Koliyi Movement) in *Yuvileynyi zbirnyk, prysvyachenyi Akad. M. S. Hrushevs'komu*, vol. I, Kiev, 1928; and others.²²²

Mykola Tkachenko worked in the field of the social-economic history of the Left-Bank Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, studying the history of peasants in particular. He published "Narysy z istoriyi selyan na Livoberezhnyi Ukraini v XVII-XVIII v.v." (Sketches from the History of Peasants in the Left-Bank Ukraine During the XVII-XVIII Centuries) in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, vol. XXVI, Kiev, 1931 and separately printed; and a series of studies and articles.²²³

Serhiy Shamray worked on the social-economic history of the Ukraine, mainly of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He published a monograph, "Kyyivs'ka kozachchyna 1855 roku. Do istoriyi selyans'kykh rukhiv na Kyyivshchyni" (Kiev Cossacks in 1855. On the History of Peasant Movements in Kiev Province)

²²² The scientific work of O. Baranovych in the Ukraine was interrupted in 1934. Not until after World War II did his works begin to appear in Russian scholarly publications. Worthy of mention are: "Upadok goroda Rechi Pospolitoi (Starokonstantinov)" (Fall of the City of *Rzecz Pospolita* (Starokonstantinov) in *Voprosy istorii* (Problems of History), No. 8, Moscow, 1947; "Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy XVI st." (Population of Cis-Steppe Ukraine in the XVI Century) in *Istoricheskie zapiski* (Historical Proceedings), No. 32, Moscow, 1950; "Fol'varki v yuzhnoi Volyni vo vtoroi polovine XVIII veka" (Estates in Southern Volynia in the Second Half of the XVIII Century) in *Akademiku B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu semidesyatiletiya* (On the Seventieth Birthday of Academician B. D. Grekov), published by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Moscow, 1952; and others.

²²³ Following an interruption in the 1930's, M. Tkachenko continues his scientific work in Kiev.

in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, vol. XX, Kiev, 1928, and separately; and a series of studies and articles.

Viktor Yurkevych worked on Ukrainian history of the mid-seventeenth century and published a monograph, *Ukrayins'ka emihratsiya na Skhid i zaselennya Slobidshchyny za B. Khmelnyts'koho* (Ukrainian Migration Eastward and Settlement of Slobidska Province During the Khmelnytsky Period), Kiev, 1931.²²⁴

Fedir Savchenko studied the history of social and cultural movements in the Ukraine of the nineteenth century and, in addition to several studies and articles, published a monograph, *Zaborona ukrayinstva 1876 r. Do istoriyi hromads'kykh rukhiv na Ukrayini 1860-1870-kh r. r.* (Prohibition of Ukrainian Movement in 1876. On the History of Social Movements in the Ukraine in the eighteen-sixties and seventies), Kiev, 1930.²²⁵

Prokip Nechyporenko worked on the specific problem of the history of the Hetman period of the first half and middle of the eighteenth century. He published the following studies: "Do kharakterystyky podatkovoyi polityky uryadu Yelizavety" (Characteristics of the Taxation Policy of Elizabeth's Government) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi za rik 1927* (Scientific Collection of the Historical Section for the Year 1927), Kiev, 1927; "Pro portsiyi ta ratsiyi na Het'manshchyni 1725-1750 r. r." (On Allotments and Rations in the Hetman Area Between 1725 and 1750) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, vol. 20, Kiev 1928; and an article on "National Structures" in Baturyn during the Hetmanship of K. Rozumovsky, in *Studiyi z istoriyi Ukrayiny*, v. II, Kiev, 1929.

Mykhaylo Karachkiivsky worked on the social-economic history of the Right-Bank Ukraine, particularly the guilds, and published several studies and articles: "Statystychnyi i topohrafichnyi opys Podil's'koyi huberniyi 1819 r." (Statistical and topographical description of Podolia Province in 1819) in *Studiyi z istoriyi*

²²⁴ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VI, No. 4, 1932.

²²⁵ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VI, No. 2, 1932.

Ukrayiny (Studies from the History of Ukraine), vol. II, Kiev, 1929; and others.²²⁶

Other scholars, without being formal members, were also associated with publications of the Historical Section. The following, in particular, published their works through the Section:

Oleksander Andriyashév (1863-1932), an historian-archivist (see *supra*), disciple of Antonovych, published some studies on the history of the colonization of the Ukraine up to the sixteenth century: "Narys istoriyi kolonizatsiyi Kyivs'koyi zemli do kintsya XV v." (An Outline of History of the Colonization of Kiev Region up to the End of the XV Century), *Kyyiv ta yoho okolytsya*, Kiev, 1926; "Narys istoriyi kolonizatsiyi Sivers'koyi zemli do pochatku XVI v." (An Outline of History of the Colonization of Siverian Lands up to the Beginning of the XVI Century), *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, v. XX, Kiev, 1928; "Narys istoriyi kolonizatsiyi Pereyaslav'skoyi zemli do pochatku XVI v." (An Outline of History of the Colonization of Pereyaslav Lands up to the Beginning of the XVI Century), *ibid.*, vol. XXVI, 1931; "Litopysne Bolokhovo i Bolokhiv's'ki knyazi" (Bolokhovo as Mentioned in a Chronicle and the Bolokhovo Princes), *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi* 1929 r., Kiev, 1929.

Hnat Zhytetsky (1866-1929) is the author of a series of studies and articles on the history of Ukrainian national thought and trends in the second half of the nineteenth century: "*Kievskaya Starina* za chasiv Lebedintseva" (*Kievskaya Starina* During the Times of Lebedintsev) in *Ukrayina*, vol. IV, 1925; "Pivdenno-Zakhidniy Viddil Rosiys'koho Heohrafichnoho Tovarystva v Kyievi" (Southwestern Section of the Russian Geographic Society in Kiev) in *Ukrayina*, Nos. I-II, 1927; "*Kievskaya Starina* 40 rokiv tomu" (*Kievskaya Starina* Forty Years Ago) in *Za Sto lit*, vol. III, Kiev, 1928; *Kyyivs'ka Hromada za 60-kh rokiv* (The Kiev *Hromada* in the Sixties), Kiev, 1928; and others.

²²⁶ In addition, several of Hrushevsky's associates, whose first works were devoted to Ukrainian history and were published by VUAN, subsequently dropped Ukrainian subjects and transferred their research activities to Russia (D. Kravtsov, O. Narochnytsky and others).

Volodymyr Miyakovsky, historian of literature and social ideas, archivist, director of the Antonovych Central Historical Archive in Kiev, author of numerous documentary studies on the history of Ukrainian liberation ideas and movement of the nineteenth century, particularly: *Revolutsiyni vidozvy do ukrayins'koho narodu v 1850-70 r. r.* (Revolutionary Appeals to the Ukrainian People in the 1850-1870 Period), Kiev, 1920; "Z novykh materialiv do istoriyi Kyrylo-Metodiyivs'koho bratstva" (New Material on the History of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood) in *Ukrayina*, I-II, 1924; "Novi storinky z avtobiohrafyi V. B. Antonovycha" (New Pages from the Autobiography of V. B. Antonovych), *Ukrayina*, I-II, Kiev, 1924; "Lyudy sorokovykh rokiv (Kyrylo-Metodiyivtsi v yikh lystuvanni)" (Men of the Forties—Members of the Sts. Cyril and Methodius Brotherhood in Their Correspondence) in *Za Sto lit*, III, Kiev, 1928; and others.

Mykhaylo Kornylowych author of a study, "Bibikovs'ki inventari" (The Bibikov Inventories) in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, vol. I, Kiev, 1926, and of a series of articles in *Ukrayina*, in particular "Zapovit Oleksandra II i okrayinna polityka" (The Testament of Alexander II and Frontier Policy), in *Ukrayina*, vol. I-II, 1924.

Studies of Academician *Kost' Kharlampovych* (1870-1932, see *supra*) of the history of the Nizhen Greek Brotherhood, from its archival material, are also noteworthy. Only part of his extensive monograph was published: "Narysy z istoriyi hrets'koyi koloniyi XVII-XVIII st. v Nizhyni" (Sketches from the History of the Greek Colony in Nizhen in the XVII and XVIII Centuries) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, vol. XXIV, Kiev, 1929.

Vasyl' Lyaskoronsky (1858-1928), historian, archeologist and numismatist, disciple of Antonovych, and former professor at the Nizhen Historical-Philological Institute (see *supra*), published some studies and articles, in particular: "Titmarovi povidomlennya pro Rus'ki spravy z pochatku XI stolittya" (Titmar's Reports on Affairs in Rus' of the Early XI Century) in *Yuvi-leynyi zbirnyk . . . Hrushevs'koho*, vol. I, Kiev, 1928.

Leonid Dobrovolsky, 1867-1929, (see *supra*), author of some studies on the history of Kiev and Kiev Region.

Kateryna Lazarevska, daughter of O. Lazarevsky (see *supra*) worked in the Archeographic Commission. She was a historian-archeographer, editor of several major publications of the Commission (see *supra*) and studied the history of Kiev guilds; a study on this subject appeared in the symposium *Kyyiv ta yoho okolytsya* (Kiev and its Environs).

Veniamin Kordt, formerly associate professor at Kiev University, continued his studies of Ukrainian cartography (see *supra*) and foreign sources of Ukrainian history. He published: *Chuzhozemni podorozhi po Skhidniy Evropi do 1700 roku* (Travels of Foreigners in Eastern Europe Before 1700), Kiev, 1926; *Materiyaly do istoriyi kartohrafiyi Ukrayiny* (Material on the History of Cartography of the Ukraine), No. 1, Kiev, 1931; and "Materiyaly z Stokhol'ms'koho derzhavnogo arkhivu do istoriyi Ukrayiny druhoyi polovyny XVII-pochatku XVIII st." (Material from the Stockholm State Archive on the history of the Ukraine of the Second Half of the XVII and early XVIII Centuries) collected by N. Molchanovsky in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, III, Kiev, 1930.

The VUAN Chair of the History of the Ukrainian People was another historical center in Kiev in the twenties and early thirties. It was occupied by Academician Dmytro Bahaliy who divided his considerable scientific and organizing work between Kharkiv and Kiev. In VUAN in Kiev, during Bahaliy's presidency, there was a Commission on the Social-Economic History of the Ukraine of the Seventeenth Through the Nineteenth Centuries, among whose members were many historians from Kiev and from other cities. Permanent members, in addition to Academician Bahaliy (see *infra*), were O. Ohloblyn (director of the Commission) and N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko (scholarly secretary of the Commission), who were also members of the D. I. Bahaliy Kharkiv Scientific-Research Institute of the History of Ukrainian Culture. The Commission published two volumes of its *Works*, only one of which, *Narysy sotsyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny*

(Outlines of the Social-Economic History of the Ukraine), Kiev, 1932, was released for distribution; it prepared for publication a collection of the works of Academician Bahaliy (see *infra*) and several monographs devoted mainly to the social-economic history of the Ukraine in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (a history of manufacturing and a history of labor), as well as the history of the Polish insurrection of 1831 in the Ukraine.²²⁷ In addition, works of Bahaliy's Kiev associates were published in other VUAN publications: *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid., Yuvelyeynyi Zbirnyk na poshanu akad. D. I. Bahaliya* (Jubilee Symposium Dedicated to Academician D. I. Bahaliy), Kiev, 1927; and others.

Oleksander Ohloblyn (born in 1899 in Kiev), graduate of Kiev University and professor at Kiev University (1921-1943) and at the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and Munich, (since 1944) concentrated most of his attention on research in the economic history of the Ukraine during the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries (the history of industry, commerce and transit), to the political history of the Ukraine during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (the Khmelnytsky period, the Mazepa period and the Ukrainian national-liberation movement of the second half of the eighteenth century), and to Ukrainian historiography (particularly the Samovydyets' Chronicle and *Istoriya Rusov*).

Among his works published thus far, the following are the most important: *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi fabriki. Manufaktura v Getmanshchine* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian Industry. Manufacturing in the Hetman State), Kiev, 1925;²²⁸ *Ocherki istorii ukrainskoi fabriki. Predkapitalisticheskaya fabrika* (Outline of the History of Ukrainian Industry. Pre-Capitalist Indus-

²²⁷ On what happened to these studies and publications, see *Ukrayins'ki Bibliolohichni Visti* (Ukrainian Bibliological News), I, Augsburg, 1948, pp. 51-53, and *Naukovyi Zbirnyk UVAN u SSHA* (Scientific Symposium of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.), II, New York, 1953, pp. 196-198.

²²⁸ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Suspil'stvo* (Society), No. III-IV, Prague, 1926.

try), Kiev, 1925;²²⁹ *Tranzytnyi torh Ukrayiny v pershiy polovyni 19 st.* (Ukrainian Transit Trade in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century), Kiev, 1927; *Eskizy z istoriyi povstannya Petra Ivanenka (Petryka)* (Sketches from the History of Petro Ivanenko's (Petryk's) Rebellion). Kiev, 1929; *Narysy z istoriyi kapitalizmu na Ukrayini, t. I. Ukrayina v superekakh mizhnarodnoyi ekonomiky i polityky za pershoyi polovyny XIX stolittya* (Outline of the History of Capitalism in the Ukraine, vol. I. The Ukraine in Controversies of International Economics and Policy in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century), Kharkiv-Kiev, 1931; *Moskov'ska teoriya III Rymu v XVI-XVII st.* (Moscow's Theory of the Third Rome in the XVI and XVII Centuries), Munich, 1951; *Ukrayins'ko-moskov'ska uhoda 1654 r.* (Ukrainian-Muscovite Treaty of 1654), New York-Toronto, 1954, published in English under the title *Treaty of Pereyaslav 1654*, Toronto-New York, 1954.

The following works on separate problems of economic history should be noted: "Rabochie na Topal'skoi manufakture v 1771 godu" (Labor in the Topal' Factory in 1771) in *Arkhiv istorii truda v Rossii* (Archive of the History of Labor in Russia), Nos. VI-VII, Petrograd, 1923; "Arkhiv Kyivo-Mezhyhirs'koyi fabryky" (Archive of the Kiev-Mezhyhir'ya Plant) in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, IX, Kiev, 1926; "Do istoriyi budnyts'koyi promyslovosti Ukrayiny za chasiv Khmelnychyn" (History of the Industry in Potassium in the Ukraine During the Khmelnytsky Period), *ibid.*, X, Kiev, 1927; "Fabrychno-zavods'ki arkhivy Ukrayiny za kripats'koyi doby" (Industrial-Plant Archives of the Ukraine During Serfdom) in *Arkhivna Sprava* (Archival Matters), VII, Kharkiv, 1928 and separately; "Arkhiv Bakhmut's'kykh i Tors'kykh solyanikh zavodiv XVIII st." (Archives of Bakhmut and Tor Salt Plants, XVIII Century), *ibid.*, IX-X, Kharkiv, 1929; "Bavov-

²²⁹ The third (chronologically the second) volume of the history of Ukrainian industry devoted to "Ukrayins'ka kripats'ka fabryka XVIII-XIX st." (Ukrainian Industry of XVIII and XIX Centuries Using the Work of Serfs) was printed in 1931 but was not released and the edition was destroyed by the Soviet censor.

nyana promyslovist' na Ukrayini v XVIII-XIX st." (The Cotton Industry in the Ukraine during the XVIII and XIX centuries) in *Chervonyi Shlyakh* (The Red Path), 1929, III, Kharkiv; "Arkhiv Shostens'koho porokhovoho zavodu" (Archive of the Shostensky Gunpowder Plant) in *Arkhiivna Sprava*, XII, Kharkiv, 1930; "Do istoriyi portselyano-fayansovoyi promyslovosti na Ukrayini" (History of the Porcelain-Faience Industry in the Ukraine) in *Narysy z sotsiyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Outline of Social-Economic History of the Ukraine) as part of *Pratsi Komisiyi Sotsiyal'no-Ekonomichnoyi Istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Works of the Social-Economic History Commission of the Ukraine), VUAN, vol. I, Kiev, 1932; "Do istoriyi metalurhiynoyi promyslovosti na Pravoberezhnyi Ukrayini" (History of the Metallurgical Industry in the Right-Bank Ukraine) in *Arkhiiv Radyans'koyi Ukrayiny* (Archive of the Soviet Ukraine), 1932, I-II, Kharkiv; "K istorii metallurgii na Pravoberezhnoi Ukraine v pervoi polovine XIX st." (History of Metallurgy in the Right-Bank Ukraine in the First Half of the XIX Century) in *Trudy Istoricheskogo Fakul'teta Kievskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. T. G. Shevchenko* (Works of the Faculty of History of T. H. Shevchenko Kiev State University), vol. I, 1939 (1940); "Khmelnychyna i zalizorudna promyslovist' Pravoberezhnoyi Ukrayiny" (The Khmelnytsky Period and the Iron-ore Industry of the Right-Bank Ukraine) in *ZNTSH*, vol. CLVI, Munich, 1948; and others.

The following studies were on the subject of Ukrainian political history: "Sprava Darahanenka (1728-1729 r. r.)" (The Darahanenko Case, 1728-1729) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, X, Kiev, 1927; "Do istoriyi Ruyiny" (On History of the Ruin), *ibid.*, XVI, Kiev, 1928; "Do istoriyi ukrayins'koyi politychnoyi dumky na pochatku XVIII v." (On the History of Ukrainian Political Thought in the Early XVIII Century), *ibid.*, XIX, Kiev, 1928; "Borot'ba starshyns'kykh uhrupovan' na Het'manshchyni v kintsi XVII st. i vystup Petryka" (Struggle among Officer Groups in the Hetman State at the End of the XVII Century and the Rise of Petryk) in *Zapysky Istorychnoho ta Filolohichnoho Fakul'te-*

tiv L'viv'skoho Derzhavnoho Universitetu im. Ivana Franka (Proceedings of the Faculties of History and Philology of the Ivan Franko Lviv State University), I, Lviv, 1940; *Novi materialy do istoriyi povstannya Petra Ivanenka* (Petryka) (New Material on the History of the Petro Ivanenko (Petryk) Rebellion), Augsburg, 1949; *Khanenky (storinka z istoriyi ukrayins'koho avtonomizmu 18-ho stolittya)* (The Khanenkos, a Page from the History of Ukrainian Trends Toward Autonomy of the Eighteenth Century), Kiel, 1949; "Vasyl' Kapnist (1756-1823)" in *Literaturno-Naukovyi Zbirnyk UVAN u SShA* (Literary-Scientific Symposium of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.), v. I, New York, 1952, and in *Zbirnyk "Ukrayins'koyi Literaturnoyi Hazety"*, 1956, Munich, 1957; and others.

O. Ohloblyn devoted the following studies to specific problems of Ukrainian historiography: "Do pytannya pro avtora Litopysu Samovydytsya" (On the Question of the Authorship of the Samovydyts' Chronicle) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, VII-VIII, Kiev, 1926; "*Annales de la Petite Russie* by Scherer and *Istoriya Rusov*" in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu v Myunkheni* (Scientific Symposium of the Ukrainian Free University in Munich), vol. V, Munich, 1948; "Do pytannya pro avtora 'Istoriya Rusov'" (On the Question of the Authorship of 'Istoriya Rusov') in *Ukrayina*, No. 2, Paris, 1949; "Hryhoriy Pokas ta yoho 'Opisanie o Maloi Rossii'" (Hryhoriy Pokas and his 'Description of Little Russia') in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk UVAN u SShA*, I, New York, 1952; "The Ethical and Political Principles of 'Istoriya Russov'" in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S.*, vol. II, No. 4 (6), New York, 1952; "Where was 'Istoriya Rusov' Written?" in *The Annals...*, vol. III, No. 2 (8), New York, 1953; and others.²³⁰

²³⁰ The following monographs by O. Ohloblyn are as yet unpublished: "Ukrains'ka kripats'ka fabryka XVIII-XIX st." (Ukrainian Industry of the XVIII and XIX Centuries Using the Work of Serfs); "Metalurhiya Pravoberezhnoyi Ukrayiny XVI-XIX stolittya" (Metallurgy in the Right-Bank Ukraine in the XVI-XIX Centuries); "Het'man Ivan Mazepa ta yoho doba" (Hetman Ivan Mazepa and His Times); "Ukrayina v chasy het'maniv Ivana Skoropads'koho i Pavla Polubotka" (The Ukraine During the Times of Hetmans Ivan Skoropadsky and

A Seminar in the History of the Ukrainian Economy (with an archival seminar) was active under the directorship of O. Ohloblyn in Kiev in the twenties as a scientific center for research in the economic-social history of the Ukraine. Its attention was centered on the history of industry and of industrial labor (especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), on the history of the landlord economy and of the cities in the Right-Bank Ukraine during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and on the history of Ukrainian economics ideas. Working in the seminar were:

Kost' Antypovych on the history of cities. Published study: "Kyiv's'ka mis'ka pečatka" (The City Seal of Kiev) in *Yuvileynyi zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; and several articles.

Dmytro Bovanenko on the history of economic ideas. Published studies: on Mykola Ziber in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk na poshanu akad. Bahaliya* and in *Naukovi Zapysky Kyivs'koho Instytutu Narodnyoho Hospodarstva* (Scientific Proceedings of the Kiev Institute of National Economics), IX, Kiev, 1928; and on Serhiy Podolynsky in *Prapor Marksyzmu* (The Banner of Marxism), No. 2 (3), Kharkiv, 1928; and several articles.²³¹

Andriy Virnychenko on the institution of so-called "free farmers" of Kiev Province in the first half of the nineteenth century (a study on this subject was published in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Viddilu VUAN*, XXI-XXII, Kiev, 1929).

Vasyl' Kaminsky on the history of the labor and the revolutionary movement; published the article "Do istoriyi reformy 1861 r. na Podilli" (On the History of the 1861 Reform in Podolia) in *Studiyi z istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Studies from the History of the Ukraine), II, Kiev, 1929.

Ivan Kravchenko on the economic organization of the large landowners' estates in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,

Pavlo Polubotok); "Lyudy Staroyi Ukrayiny XVIII st." (People of the Old Ukraine of the XVIII Century); "Opanas Lobysevych, 1732-1805"; "Studiyi nad 'Istoriyeu Rusiv'" (Studies on *Istoriya Rusov*).

²³¹ D. Bovanenko's extensive monograph on Podolynsky remained unpublished due to the author's arrest and exile.

labor in sugar refineries and their organization in Smila, Kiev Province. Published study: "Yampil's'kyi mayetok naprykintsi XVIII ta v pershiy chverti XIX st." (The Yampil Estate at the End of the XVIII Century and in the First Quarter of the XIX Century) in *Studii z istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Studies from the History of the Ukraine), II, Kiev, 1929.²³²

Kindrat Kushnirchuk on the history of industry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Semen Pidhaynyi on the history of labor in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;²³³ and others.

A greater part of the seminar's works remained unpublished.

Natalya Polons'ka-Vasylenko (Morhun, nee Menshova, born 1884 in Kharkiv), graduate of Kiev University, professor of Kiev University and later of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and Munich, used her scholarly activities mainly for research in the history of Zaporozhe and the Southern Ukraine. She wrote a series of studies and articles, published mostly in VUAN publications. The most important among them are: "Z istoriyi ostannikh chasiv Zaporizhzhya" (History of the Last Days of Zaporozhe) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, IX, Kiev, 1926; "Manifest 3 serpnia 1775 r. v svitli tohochasnykh idey" (Manifesto of August 3, 1775, in the Light of the Ideas of the Period), *ibid.*, XII, 1927; "Istoryky Zaporizhzhya XVIII st." (Historians of Zaporozhe of the XVIII Century) in *Yuvelynyi Zbirnyk na poshanu D. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; "Pivdena Ukrayina r. 1787" (The Southern Ukraine in 1787), *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, XXIV, Kiev, 1929; "Mayno Zaporoz'koyi starshyny, yak dzerelo dlya sotsial'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny"

232 I. Kravchenko's monograph on labor in the Smila sugar refineries of the Counts Bobrinsky in the nineteenth century, and his "Sketches from the History of the Polish Insurrection of 1830-31 in the Right-Bank Ukraine" were not published.

233 S. Pidhaynyi's works: archeographic collection of documents on the Bakhmut and Tor salt plants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and his study of labor conditions in the linen-textile factories in the first half of the eighteenth century were accepted for publication by VUAN, but were not printed because the author was exiled to Solovetsky Islands.

(Property of Zaporozhian Officers as a Source of Ukrainian Social-Economic History), *Narysy z sotsiyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny*, I, Kiev, 1932; "Do istoriohrafiyi Zaporizhzhya XVIII st." (Historiography of Zaporozhe of the XVIII Century) in *Zapysky Istorychnoho ta Filolohichnoho Fakul'tetiv L'vivskoho Dershavnoho Universitetu im. Ivana Franka* (Proceedings of the Faculties of History and Philology of the Ivan Franko Lviv State University), vol. I, 1940; "Zaselenie Yuzhnoi Ukrainy v seredine XVIII st." (Settlement of Southern Ukraine in the Mid-XVIII Century) in *Istoriik-Marksist* (The Marxist-Historian), V, Moscow, 1941; "Do istoriyi povstannya na Zaporizhzhzi 1768 roku" (On the History of the Insurrection in Zaporozhe in 1768) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Symposium), Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., I, New York, 1952; and others. An extensive monograph by N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, *The Settlement of the Southern Ukraine (1750-1775)*, was published by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S., as a special issue of the *Annals* of the Academy, Vol. IV-V, Nos. 14-15, New York, 1955.

In addition, N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko worked in the field of ancient Ukrainian history: "K voprosu o khristianstve na Rusi do Vladimira" (The Question of Christianity in Rus' Before Volodymyr) in *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* (Journal of the Ministry of Public Education), IX, 1917; *Kyyiv chasyv Volodymyra ta Yaroslava* (Kiev in the Times of Volodymyr and Yaroslav), Prague, 1944, and others; on the economic history of the Ukraine, especially "Materiyaly do istoriyi hirnychoyi promyslovosti Donbasu" (Material on the History of the Donets Basin Mining Industry) in *Pratsi Komisiyi Sotsiyal'no-Ekonomichnoyi Istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Works of the Commission of Social-Economic History of the Ukraine), I, Kiev, 1932; the following monographs as yet unpublished: "Istoriya Kyyivo-Mezhyhirs'koyi Fayansovoyi Fabryky" (History of the Kiev-Mezhyhir'ya Faience Factory); "Robitnytstvo na Kyyivo-Mezhyhirs'kiy Fayansoviy Fabrytsi" (Workers at the Kiev-Mezhyhir'ya Faience Factory). N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko also worked on the history of Ukrain-

ian culture, notably: *Kul'turno-istoricheskii atlas po russkoi istorii* (Cultural-Historical Atlas of Russian History), vol. I-III, Kiev, 1913-1914; on the development of social ideas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and on the history of the Ukrainian Church. She studied certain problems of Russian history, e. g., *Ideya III Rymu v XVIII-XIX st.* (The Third Rome Idea in the XVIII-XIX Centuries), Munich, 1952.

The work of some local researchers in the history of old industrial enterprises was closely related to the activities of the VUAN Commission of Social-Economic History of the Ukraine.

Vadym Fesenko, a historian-archivist, worked in Luhans'ke (Voroshylovhrad) studying the history of the old Luhans'ke Iron Foundry and its operations, on the basis of foundry files. He published several studies of the history of the City of Luhans'ke and its foundry, notably: "Arkhib Luhans'koho lyvarnoho zavodu (1795-1887)" (Files of the Luhans'ke Iron Foundry, 1795-1887) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, XXI-XXII; *Persha domna Luhans'koho lyvarnoho zavodu* (The First Furnace of the Luhans'ke Iron Foundry), Luhans'ke, 1930; "Pochatok metalurhiynoyi promyslovosti na Ukrayini," (Beginnings of the Metallurgic Industry in the Ukraine) in *Pratsi Komisiyi Sotsyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyyi Ukrayiny*, I, Kiev, 1932; and others.²³⁴

Several historians in Kiev collaborated with Academician Bahaliy's research center without formal membership in it, being close to it by virtue of their common interests.

Viktor Romanovsky (born 1890 in Hlukhiv County), a historian-archivist, graduate of Kiev University and subsequently director of the Kiev Central Archive of Ancient Documents, studied the history of the Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the history of printing in the Ukraine. His main interest was archeography and old documents. In addition to a work on the economic status of the serfs of Lubetsky County (Chernihiv Province) owned by monasteries and pursuant to the *Rumyantsevsky Opyys*, which appeared before 1917, he published:

²³⁴ V. Fesenko's monograph about labor in the old Luhans'ke Foundry remains unpublished.

"Ivan Fedorov i drukars'ka sprava na Volyni v XVI st." (Ivan Fedorov and Printing in Volynia in the XVI Century), as part of the series "350 rokiv Ukrayins'koho druku" (350 Years of Ukrainian Printing) in *Bibliolohichni Visti* (Bibliological News), No. 1-3, Kiev, 1924; "Khto buv 'Samovydet's'" (Who was "Samovydet's") in *Ukrayina*, 5, Kiev, 1925; *Ukrayins'ka Knyha XVI-XVIII st.* (Ukrainian Books of the XVI-XVIII Centuries), Kiev, 1926; *Narysy z arkhivoznavstva* (Outlines from Archival Science), Kharkiv, 1927; "Do istoriyi byudzhetovoho prava Het'manshchyny za K. Rozumov'skoho (History of Budget Laws of the Hetmanate During the Rule of K. Rozumovsky) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, I, Kiev, 1928; "Dokumenty do istoriyi skarbu dav'n'oyi Het'manshchyny—pro prybutky z orend v 1678 rotsi" (Documents on the History of the Treasury of the Old Hetmanate—Income from Leases in 1678) in *Ukrayins'kyi Archeohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Archeographic Symposium), III, Kiev, 1930; "Viyina 1735-1739 rokiv ta yiyi naslidky dlya Ukrayiny" (The War of the Years 1735-1739 and its Consequences in the Ukraine) in *Pratsi Komisiyi Sotsiyaľno-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny*, I, Kiev, 1932; and others. Romanovsky was the editor of "Perepysni knyhy 1666 roku" (Census Records for 1666) in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkhiv* (Ukrainian Archive), III, Kiev, 1931; and he prepared for publication an edition of the Magdeburg Decrees for the cities of the Left-Bank Ukraine in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries (edited by Academician M. Vasylenko).²³⁵

Vasyl' Bazylevych (1889-1942), graduate of Kiev University, published his first works prior to 1917. He studied the history of the city of Kiev and its monuments and the history of the Decembrist movement in the Ukraine. He published several studies and articles and the book *Dekabrysty na Ukrayini* (Decembrists in the Ukraine), Kiev, 1926.

Mykola Tyshchenko, graduate of Kiev University and historian-

²³⁵ Printing of this collection was not completed. Having returned from exile in the 1950's, Romanovsky continued his work on the history of economy of the Left-Bank Ukraine in the second half of the seventeenth century.

archivist, was interested mainly in the economic history of the Ukraine of the eighteenth century. He published a series of documentary studies, particularly: "Hural'ne pravo ta pravo shynkuvaty horilkoyu na Livoberezhnyi Ukrayini do kintsya XVIII st." (Distillery Laws and the Right to Dispense Liquor in the Left-Bank Ukraine up to the End of the XVIII century) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava* (Works of the Commission for the Study of the History of Western-Rus' and Ukrainian Law), vol. III, Kiev, 1927; "Sukonna fabryka Kyivsk'oho Prikaza Obshchestvennoho Prizreniya" (The Woolen Mill of the Kiev Department of Social Welfare) in *Istorychno-Heohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Historical-geographic Symposium), I, Kiev, 1927; "Shovkivnytstvo v Kyivi ta na Kyivshchyni v XVIII ta pershiy polovyni XIX st." (The Silk Industry in Kiev and the Kiev Region in the XVIII and the First Half of the XIX Centuries), *ibid.*, II, 1928; "Narysy istoriyi torhovli Livoberezhnoyi Ukrayiny z Krymom u XVIII st." (Outline of the History of Commerce Between the Left-Bank Ukraine and Crimea in the XVIII Century), *ibid.*; "Narysy istoriyi zovnishn'oyi torhovli Starodubshchyni v XVIII st." (Outline of the History of Foreign Commerce of the Starodub Region in the XVIII Century) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Viddilu VUAN*, XXVI, Kiev, 1931.

The third historical center in Kiev in the nineteen-twenties and early thirties was the VUAN Chair of History of Ukrainian Law, headed by Academician M. P. Vasylenko, and, connected with it, the Commission for the Study of the History of Western-Rus' and Ukrainian Law. M. P. Vasylenko since 1920 has been also Chairman of the Nestor-Chronicler Historical Society (merged with VUAN in 1924),²³⁶ and in this connection his work, as well as that of his associates and students, was not confined to strictly legal problems, but ventured into other fields of historical research that acquired a quality of broad historiographic significance.

Mykola Vasylenko (1866-1935) represented the older genera-

²³⁶ Liquidated in 1930.

tion of Ukrainian historians,²³⁷ and in the nineteen-twenties he worked mainly in the field of the Cossack-Hetman State of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and in the history of Ukrainian law. He published a series of studies and documentary materials, particularly: "Pavlo Polubotok" in *Ukrayina*, VI, Kiev, 1925; "Pamyatnyk ukrayins'koyi pravnychoyi literatury XVII stolittya" (A Monument of Ukrainian Legal Literature of the XVII Century) in *ZNTSH*, vols. CXXXVIII-CXL; "Terytoriya Ukrayiny XVII stolittya" (Ukrainian Territory in the XVII Century) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu D. I. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; "Pravne polozhennya Chernihivshchyny za pol's'koyi doby" (Legal Position of Chernihiv Province During the Polish Period) in *Chernihiv i Pivnichne Livoberezhzhya* (Chernihiv and the Northern Left-Bank), Kiev, 1928; "Prava, po kotorym suditsya Malorossiiskii narod, yak dzherelo derzhavnoho prava Ukrayiny XVIII st." (*Laws by which the Little-Russian People Are Tried as a Source of State Law of the XVIII Century Ukraine*) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, I, Kiev, 1928; "Konstitutsiya Filippa Orlika" (Constitution of Pylyp Orlyk) in *Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Istorii RANIION* (Scholarly Proceedings of the RANIION Institute of History), vol. IV, Moscow, 1929; "Zbirka materiyaliv do istoriyi Livoberezhnoyi Ukrayiny ta ukrayins'koho prava XVII-XVIII v.v." (Collection of Materials on the History of the Left-Bank Ukraine and of Ukrainian Law of the XVII and XVIII Centuries) in *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk*, I, Kiev, 1926; *Materiyaly do istoriyi ukrayins'koho prava* (Materials on the History of Ukrainian Law), vol. I, Kiev, 1928; and others.²³⁸

On the subject of nineteenth century history Vasylenko published: "Kreminets'kyi Litsey i Universytet sv. Volodymyra" (Kremenets Lyceum and St. Volodymyr University) in *Zapysky*

²³⁷ For his scholarly activities prior to 1917, see *supra*.

²³⁸ A collection of documents on monastic land holdings in the Left-Bank Ukraine during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prepared by Vasylenko for publication, and a collection of decrees pursuant to the Magdeburg law for Ukrainian Left-Bank cities, edited by him (see *supra*), were not published.

Sotsiyal'no-Ekonomichnoho Viddilu VUAN (Proceedings of the Social-Economic Department of VUAN), vol. I, Kiev, 1923; "Yak skasovano Lytovs'koho Statuta" (How the Lithuanian Statute was Repealed), *ibid.*, vols. II, III, 1924-1925.

In addition, Vasylenko wrote biographical-historical sketches dedicated to I. Kamanin and to O. Levitsky, *ibid.*, vol. I, 1923, and to O. Lazarevsky, *Ukrayina*, IV, 1927.

Academician Vasylenko centered his main attention, however, on the Commission of the History of Western-Rus' and Ukrainian Law, which was the chief center of Ukrainian legal history in the twenties, its influence reaching beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR. The Commission united older historians of law (in addition to Vasylenko, Academician Onikiy Malynovsky (see *supra*), Academician M. Slabchenko, Professor Mykola Mak-symeyko) (see *supra*), as well as younger disciples and associates of Vasylenko (L. Okinshevich, I. Cherkasky, S. Borysenok, V. Novytsky, I. Balinsky, S. Ivanytsky-Vasylenko, Valentin Otamanovsky, P. Sosenko, Vasyly' Hryshko and others). Working in the Commission were historians from Kiev (V. Romanovsky, see *supra*, M. Tyshchenko), as well as from outside Kiev (V. Barvinsky from Kharkiv, I. Kropyakevych from Lviv). The Commission published its *Pratsi* (Works) of which seven volumes came out in Kiev between 1925 and 1930.²³⁹

Lev Okinshevich (born 1898), studied under Academician Vasylenko, was subsequently professor of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague and Munich, and devoted his scientific activity mainly to the history of the government in the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His published monographs are: "Heneral'na starshyna na Livoberezhniy Ukrayini XVII-XVIII vv." (High Officer Ranks in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava* (Works of the Commission for Study of the History of Western-Rus' and Ukrainian Law), vol. II, Kiev,

²³⁹ The last was volume VIII (Kiev, 1930), but volume VII, which had been printed, was not released.

1926, and separately; "Heneral'na Rada na Ukrayini-Het'manshchyni XVII-XVIII st." (General Assembly in the Hetman-Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), *ibid.*, vol. VI, Kiev, 1929, also in separate publications; "Tsentral'ni ustanovy Ukrayiny-Het'manshchyny XVII-XVIII st., Ch. II Rada Starshyny"²⁴⁰ (Central Institutions of the Hetman-Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries, Part II, Officer Council), *ibid.*, vol. VIII, Kiev, 1930, and separately.²⁴¹ In addition, Okinshevich's monograph, "Znachne viys'kove tovarystvo v Ukrayini-Het'manshchyni XVII-XVIII st." (Nobility in the Hetman-Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), was published after he went abroad as an emigre, in *ZNTSH*, vol. CLVII, Munich, 1948.

In *Pratsi komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava* Okinshevich published a series of documentary materials dedicated to certain problems of constitutional law and government in the Cossack-Hetman Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His university lectures were published: *Lektsii z istoriyi ukrayins'koho prava. Pravo derzhavne. Doba stanovoho suspil'stva* (Lectures on the History of Ukrainian Law and Constitutional Law—A Period of Class Society), Munich, 1947; also a series of historiographic reviews and articles, among them the article "Nauka istoriyi ukrayins'koho prava. Pravo derzhavne" (The Science of the History of Ukrainian Law—Constitutional Law) in *Ukrayina*, I-II, 1927; and others.

Among Okinshevich's publications on special problems of Ukrainian historiography, the following are noteworthy: "Diyariush Ivana Bykhovtsya" (The Diary of Ivan Bykhovets') in *Studiyi z Krymu* (Studies from the Crimea), VUAN, Kiev, 1930; "Do pytannya pro avtora Litopysu Samovydtsya" (On the Question of the Authorship of the Samovydets' Chronicle) in *Pratsi Komisiyi Sotsiyal'no-ekonomichnoyi istoriyi Ukrayiny*

²⁴⁰ The first variant of this work, "Rada Starshyns'ka na Het'manshchyni" (The Officer Council in the Hetmanate) was published in *Ukrayina*, IV, 1924.

²⁴¹ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VI, No. 2, 1932.

(Works of the Commission on the Social-Economic History of Ukraine), VUAN, I, Kiev, 1932.

Okinshevich was, and still is, interested in the history of Byelorussia and of Byelorussian constitutional law. He collected and published parts of documentary materials on the repercussions of the Khmelnytsky period in Byelorussia in connection with the problem of the Byelorussian Cossacks in the mid-seventeenth century: "Kazatstva na Belarusi" (Cossacks in Byelorussia) in *Polymya (Flames)*, I, Minsk, 1927. He also published a scientific-bibliographical study: *The Law of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—Background and Bibliography*, New York, 1953, mimeographed.

Irynarkh Cherkasky worked on the subject of "Kopni" (communal) courts in the Ukraine in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, and on the judiciary of the K. Rozumovsky Hetmanate. He published a monograph "Hromads'kyi (Kopnyi) sud na Ukrayini-Rusi XVI-XVIII st." (Community *Kopni* Court in Ukraine-Rus' in the XVI-XVIII Centuries) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava*, vols. IV, V, Kiev, 1928, and separately; and several studies, particularly: "Slidy dominiyal'noho (pans'koho) sudu na Livoberezhnyi Ukrayini naprykintsi XVII i pochatku XVIII v." (Traces of Manor Courts in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the Latter Part of the XVII and Early Part of the XVIII Centuries), *ibid.*, III, 1926; "Sudovi reformy Het'mana K. Rozumovs'koho" (Court Reform of Hetman K. Rozumovsky) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; and "Chy vplyvav H. Teplov na Het'mana Rozumovs'koho" (Did H. Teplov Exert Any Influence on Hetman Rozumovsky?) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, I, Kiev, 1928.

Stepan Borysenok worked on the history of the law of the Lithuanian-Rus' State, and particularly on the Lithuanian Statute. He wrote studies and articles: "Utvorennya profesiynoyi advokatury v Lytovs'ko-Rus'kiy derzhavi" (Emergence of Professional Attorneys in the Lithuanian-Rus' State) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya*

vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava, vol. III, Kiev, 1926; "Natsyyanal'ny kharaktar Litouskaha Statutu" (The National Character of the Lithuanian Statute) in *Polymya* (Flames), VI-VII, Minsk, 1927; "Khvedar Eulasheuski, belaruski praktyk-yurysta XVI veku" (Khvedar Eulasheuski, Sixteenth-Century Byelorussian Lawyer), *ibid.*, V, 1928; "Zvychayeve pravo Lytovs'ko-Rus'koyi Derzhavy na pochatku XVI st." (Common Law of the Lithuanian-Rus' State in the Early XVI Century) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya zvychayevo-ho prava Ukrayiny* (Works of the Research Commission on Ukrainian Common Law), v. III, Kiev, 1927; "Metodolohichni pytannya v nautsi istoriyi Lytovs'ko-rus'koho prava" (Methodological Problems in the Study of the History of Lithuanian-Rus' Law) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava*, v. VI, Kiev, 1929; "Spysky Lytovs'koho Statutu 1529 r." (Codifications of the Lithuanian Statute of 1529), *ibid.*; and others.

Viktor Novytsky worked on ancient Ukrainian history: "Davnye Lukomor'ya" (Old Lukomor'ya) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, XXIV, Kiev, 1929; and on historiography: "Derzhavne mynule Ukrainy, yak predmet nauky" (Past Statehood of the Ukraine, As a Subject of Study) in *Ukrayina*, No. 36, 1929; "Istorychna pratsya prof. O. Ye. Presnyakova i rozmezhuвання velykorus'koyi ta ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi" (The Historical Research of Professor O. Ye. Presnyakov and the Separation of Great-Russian and Ukrainian Historiography) in *Ukrayina*, No. 2 (40), 1930.

Ivan Balinsky (1879-1927) worked on the history of feudalism in the Ukraine. He published the introductory part of an extensive work: "Narysy z istoriyi feodalizmu ta feodal'noho prava v Pol'shchi, Lytvi i na Ukrayini" (Outline of the History of Feudalism and Feudal Law in Poland, Lithuania and Ukraine) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava*, v. II, Kiev, 1926.

Serhiy Ivanytsky-Vasylenko did research in Magdeburg Law in the Lithuanian-Rus' State and wrote: "Zakony pro opiku nad

nedolitkamy v dzherelakh Magdeburz'koho prava Zakhidnoyi Rusi i Ukrayiny (Laws on the Custody of Minors in Sources of Magdeburg Law of Western Rus' and the Ukraine), in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava*, v. I, Kiev, 1925; and others. He worked on land tenure of the nobility in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: "Derzhavs'ke zemlevolodinnya pol's'koyi shlyakhty na Het'manschyni" (Lease on Land Tenure of the Polish Nobility in the Hetmanate), *ibid.*, v. I, Kiev, 1925.

The fourth scientific center of historical research in Kiev in the nineteen-twenties was the Research Commission on the Ukrainian National Economy (a subsidiary of the Social-Economic Department of VUAN), headed by Academician *Konstantyn Voblyi* (1876-1947). He was an economist-historian, a professor of political economics in Kiev University who worked in the twenties on the history of the sugar industry in the Ukraine (and Russia). He published an extensive monograph, *Narys z istoriyi rosiys'ko-ukrayins'koyi tsukro-buryakovoyi promyslovosti* (Outline of the History of the Russian-Ukrainian Sugar-beet Industry), vols. I, (in two parts),²⁴² II and III, Kiev, 1928-1930.²⁴³ Voblyi headed scientific research in the area of history of the Ukrainian national economy (mainly of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries), which was conducted in two institutions of the Social-Economic Department: the Commission on the Ukrainian National Economy, composed of older scholars, and a Seminar for Research in Ukrainian National Economy in which Academician Voblyi's students were active. Both institutions published their *Pratsi* (Works).

Members of the Commission:

Andriy Yaroshevych, economist, professor at the Kiev Institute of National Economy, published a monograph: "Kapitalistychna orenda na Ukrayini za pol's'koyi doby" (Capitalist Leasehold in

²⁴² Volume I was also published in Russian: *Opyt istorii sveklosakharnoi promyshlennosti SSSR* (Outline of History of the Sugar-beet Industry of the USSR), v. I, Moscow, 1928.

²⁴³ Volume IV of this monograph, ready for printing, was never published.

the Ukraine During the Polish Period) in *Zapysky Sotsiyal'no-Ekonomichnoho Viddilu VUAN* (Proceedings of the Social-Economic Department of VUAN), V-VI, Kiev, 1927; and he prepared a monograph for publication: "Istoriya potashovoyi promyslovosti Ukrainy" (History of the Potassium Industry of the Ukraine) which was not published.

Yevhen Stashevsky, historian-economist, former professor at Kiev University and Kamyanets-Podilsk University, did research in agriculture and agricultural markets of the Ukraine (mainly Right-Bank) during the first half of the nineteenth century. His study was: "Sil's'ko-hospodars'kyi rynok Pravoberezhnoyi Ukrainy za peredreformenoyi doby" (Agricultural Market of the Right-Bank Ukraine Before the Reform) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya narodnyoho hospodarstva Ukrainy* (Works of the Research Commission on the Ukrainian National Economy), v. 2, Kiev, 1929.

Petro Fomin, a Kharkiv economist, had close contacts with the Commission on the Ukrainian National Economy and with Academician Voblyi's Kiev Economic-Historical Center. In the twenties Fomin published vol. II of his monograph, *Gornaya i gornozavodskaya promyshlennost' Yuga Rossii* (The Mining and Metallurgical Industry of Southern Russia), the first volume of which was published in Kharkiv in 1915.

Also in close contact with Academician Voblyi's center was the Russian economist and historian *Konstantin Pazhitnov* who worked in Kiev in the twenties. In that period he published *Ocherki po istorii rabocheho klassa na Ukraine* (Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Working Class), Kharkiv, 1927.

Among the student members of Academician Voblyi's seminar, problems of the history of the Ukrainian economy were studied mainly by O. Plevako and S. Pidhayets'.

Oleksander Plevako did research in the history of the Ukrainian sugar industry of the first half of the nineteenth century and published the following studies: "Do materiyaliv z istoriyi tsukro-buryakovoyi promyslovosti Ukrainy" (Material from the History of the Sugar-beet Industry of the Ukraine) in *Ukrayina*,

V, 1925; "Z materiyaliv do istoriyi tsukrovoyi promyslovosti na Ukrayini" (From Materials on the History of the Sugar Industry in the Ukraine) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. I. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; and one on the sugar industry of Ukraine according to data for 1848 and 1849, in *Pratsi Seminaru dlya vyuchuvannya narodnyoho hospodarstva Ukrayiny* (Works of the Research Seminar on the Ukrainian National Economy), v. II, Kiev, 1927.

Solomon Pidhayets' worked on the history of the Ukrainian grain trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He wrote a monograph: "Khlibnyi vyviz z chornomors'ko-ozivs'kykh portiv do 60-kh rokiv XIX viku" (Grain Exports from Black Sea and Azov Sea Ports up to the Sixties of the XIX Century) in *Works of the Research Seminar* (see *supra*), v. III, Kiev, 1929, and separately.

Enumeration of the above scholarly centers does not by any means exhaust the scientific work in the field of Ukrainian history in the nineteen-twenties in Kiev. Certain problems of Ukrainian history were also studied by the VUAN Commission on Social Trends (Chairman — Academician Serhiy Yefremov) which did research in the history of Ukrainian national thought and movements, mainly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The following institutions also worked in the field of Ukrainian history: the All-Ukrainian Archeologic Committee (VUAK) connected with VUAN, the Chair of Ukrainian History of Kiev University (at that time the Institute of Public Education), Archives (the Central Archive of Ancient Documents and the V. B. Antonovych Central Historical Archive), the All-Ukrainian Historical Museum in Kiev, the Lavra Museum, State Historical-Cultural Monuments, etc. Most of the publications issued by these institutions also contained historical studies (chiefly on the history of culture). Historians who collaborated with these institutions also published their works in various publications of VUAN's Historical-Philological Department.

Another scientific-historical center of general Ukrainian importance in the twenties and early thirties was Kharkiv. Research

in Ukrainian history was primarily conducted in the Scientific-Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture (Chairman—Academician Bahaliy) which was subsequently transformed into the Scientific Research Institute on the History of Ukrainian Culture. Other important centers of research work in Kharkiv were: the Central Historical Archive (subsequently the Kharkiv Central Archive of Ancient Documents), the Regional Archive, the Museum of Slobidska Ukraine, the Historical Section of the Kharkiv Scientific Society, the Chair of Ukrainian History of Kharkiv University (in the twenties—The Institute of Public Education). Finally, problems of Ukrainian history, especially of modern history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were also studied by the Historical Section of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism.

The Bahaliy Scientific Research Institute had among its members not only a majority of Kharkiv historians, students and associates of Academician Bahaliy, but also many historians from Kiev (O. Ohloblyn, N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, V. Romanovsky), from Odessa (M. Slabchenko), from Poltava (M. Hnip), from Nizhen (M. Petrovsky, A. Yershov) and from other Ukrainian cities.²⁴⁴ The Institute's associates worked on subjects of general Ukrainian interest, as well as on problems of the history of Slobidska Ukraine. The Institute (earlier the Chair) published its *Zbirnyk* (Collection), subsequently *Naukovi Zapysky* (Scientific Proceedings), of which ten volumes were published. In addition, works of the Institute's associates came out in publications of VUAN, of the Central Archive, and of local (outside Kharkiv) scientific-academic institutions and societies.

Dmytro Bahaliy (1857-1932) carried on research work in the field of Ukrainian history, history of Ukrainian culture and historiography for many years (see *supra*). During this period of the twenties, Bahaliy was mainly interested in general, synthetic problems of Ukrainian history, as though he were summing up

²⁴⁴ Historian of law, Professor Mykola Maksymeyko (Kharkiv) and Professor Yuriy Maksymovych (Simferopol), former professor at Kiev University and of Nizhen Historical-Philological Institute (see *supra*) also worked in the Institute.

his prior scientific activities. He paid particular attention to social-economic processes. His major work of that period, *Narys istoriyi Ukrayiny na sotsiyaľno-ekonomichnomu grunti* (Outline of Ukrainian History Against the Social-Economic Background), v. I, Kharkiv, 1928,²⁴⁵ is particularly endowed with those characteristics.

Other noteworthy works of D. I. Bahaliy of this period are: *Narys ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi* (Outline of Ukrainian Historiography), I-II, Kiev, 1923-1925; *Dekabrysty na Ukrayini* (Decembrists in the Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1926; *Ukrains'kyi mandrovanyi filosof H. S. Skovoroda* (The Ukrainian Wandering Philosopher H. S. Skovoroda), Kharkiv, 1926; *Materiyaly dlya biohrafiyi V. B. Antonovycha* (Materials for a Biography of V. B. Antonovych), Kiev, 1929; and others.

In 1927 VUAN celebrated the seventieth birthday and fifty years of scholarly activity of D. I. Bahaliy.²⁴⁶ In connection with this jubilee, the Government of the Ukrainian SSR approved publication of a collection of his main works at government expense. In the course of the following years, Bahaliy prepared four volumes of this collection for publication. They were: *Istoriya Slobids'koyi Ukrayiny* (History of the Slobidska Ukraine), much enlarged and supplemented by the author and his associates, particularly by Professor V. Barvinsky and M. Horban', in the first 1918 edition of this work: *Istoriya Poludnevoyi Ukrayiny* (History of the Southern Ukraine). This was a new edition of Bahaliy's *Zaseleennya Pivdennoyi Ukrayiny* (Settlement of the Southern Ukraine) of 1920 (Kharkiv), with extensive additions by Prof. N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko; *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of the Ukraine), vol. I, (a reworked and supplemented edition of Bahaliy's *Narys istoriyi Ukrayiny na sotsiyaľno-ekonomichnomu*

²⁴⁵ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, vol. VI, No. 2-3, 1931.

²⁴⁶ In connection with this jubilee, several scientific collections dedicated to Bahaliy were published. His autobiography and a complete bibliography of his works was published in *Yuveylnyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. I. Bahaliya* (VUAN Jubilee Symposium Dedicated to Academician D. I. Bahaliy).

grunti (Outline of the History of the Ukraine Against the Social-Economic Background), without the historiographic part; and *Ukrayins'ka istoriografiya XIX-XX st.* (Ukrainian Historiography of the XIX and XX Centuries), a much extended historiographic part of *Outline of the History of the Ukraine Against the Social-Economic Background*. These works were to be published by VUAN in 1931 and 1932 but the project never materialized.

Academician Bahaliy's students and associates active in Kharkiv were:

Viktor Barvinsky (see *supra*), professor of Kharkiv University, who studied the history of Left-Bank Ukrainian industry and the government finances of the Hetmanate, published the studies: "Zamitky do istoriyi manufakturny v Livoberezhniy Ukraini XVIII st." (Notes on the History of Manufacturing in the Left-Bank Ukraine of the XVIII Century) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Kharkivs'koyi Naukovo-Doslidchoyi Katedry Istoriyi Ukrayins'koyi kul'tury* (Scientific Symposium of the Kharkiv Scientific-Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture), II-III, Kharkiv, 1926; "Do pytannya pro induktu ta evektu v Het'man-shchyni" (The Problem of Import and Export Duties in the Hetmanate), *ibid.*, VI, Kharkiv, 1927; and others.

Natalya Mirza-Avak'yants (nee Dvoryanska), professor at Kharkiv Institute of Public Education and subsequently (in the thirties) of Kiev University, worked on the history of the judiciary in the Hetmanate of the second half of the seventeenth century, and on twentieth-century peasant movements in the Ukraine. She published a monograph: *Selyans'ki rozrukhky na Ukrayini 1905-1907 r.r.* (Peasant Riots in the Ukraine in the years 1905-1907), Kharkiv, 1925; and a series of studies and articles, particularly: "Z pobutu ukrayins'koyi starshyny kintsya XVII viku" (Customs of Ukrainian Officers in the Late XVII Century) in *Zapysky Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva Dosliduvannya i Okhorony Pamyatok Starovyny ta Mystetstva na Poltavshchyni* (Proceedings of the Ukrainian Scientific Society for Research and Conservation of Monuments of Antiquity and Art in Poltava

Province), v. I, Poltava, 1919;²⁴⁷ "Selyans'ki rukhy 1902 r. na Poltavshchyni" (Peasant Movements of 1902 in Poltava Province) in *Chervonyi Shlyakh* (The Red Path), Kharkiv, 1924, VII-X; "Narysy z istoriyi sudu na Livoberezhzhi druhoyi polovyny XVII st." (Outline of the History of Left-Bank Courts of the Second Half of the XVII Century) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Kharkivs'koyi Naukovo-Doslidchoyi Katedry*, II-III, Kharkiv, 1926; and others.²⁴⁸ She also wrote the popular-scientific outline *Istoriya Ukrainy v sv'yazku z istoriyeu Zakhidnyoyi Evropy* (History of the Ukraine in Relation to the History of Western Europe), Kiev, 1928.

The following younger students of D. I. Bahaliy did not begin their scientific activities until the twenties.

Mykola Horban' worked mainly on the social-political history of the Ukraine (Left-Bank, Right-Bank and Slobidska) of the eighteenth century and on Ukrainian historiography of the eighteenth century. He published a series of studies, notably: *Narysy z ukrayins'koyi istoriohrafiyi* (Outline of Ukrainian Historiography), No. 1; *Novyi Spysok litopysu "Kratkoe opisanie Malorossii"* (New Text of the Chronicle: Brief Description of Little Russia), Kharkiv, 1923; "Kil'ka uvah do pytannya pro avtora *Istoriyi Rusov*" (Some Notes on the Question of the Authorship of *Istoriya Rusov*) in *Chervonyi Shlyakh* (Red Path), VI-VII, 1923; "'Zapiski o Maloi Rossii,' O. Shafons'koho" ("Notes on Little Russia" by O. Shafonsky) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi VUAN za rik 1926* (Scientific Symposium of the Historical Section of VUAN for the Year 1926), Kiev, 1926; "Haydamachchyna 1750 r." (The Haydamak Movement of 1750) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Kharkivs'koyi Naukovo-Doslidchoyi Katedry Istoriyi Ukrainy v sv'yazku z istoriyeu Zakhidnyoyi Evropy* (Scientific Symposium of the Scientific-Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture), II-III, Kharkiv, 1926; "Lyst Petra Myrovycha do bat'ka-mazepyntsy"

²⁴⁷ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary-Scientific News), III, Lviv, 1922.

²⁴⁸ N. Yu. Mirza-Avak'yants also worked on the history of Zaporozhe, but the work was not completed due to her arrest and deportation.

(Letter of Petro Myrovych to his Father, Follower of Mazepa) in *Ukrayina*, V, 1927; "Hlukhivs'ki sutycky 1750 roku" (The Hlukhiv Skirmishes of 1750) in *Ukrayina*, III, 1928; and others.

Horban' also wrote a monograph on the repercussions of the Haydamak movement in the Hetmanate and the Slobidska Ukraine, but they were not published. His other major work, about the first Little Russian Collegium (1722-1727), was not finished and only a small part of documentary material collected by him was utilized by the author in other publications of his.²⁴⁹

Ol'ha Bahaliy-Tatarinova (1888-1942), daughter of D. I. Bahaliy, was engaged in research on the history of military settlements and the Decembrist movement in Ukraine. She published several studies on these subjects which came out in *Naukovi Zapysky Kharkivs'koyi Katedry* (Scientific Proceedings of the Kharkiv Chair) in the Symposium "Dekabristy na Ukrayini" (Decembrists in Ukraine), I, II, Kiev, 1926, 1930, in *Arkhivna Sprava* (Archive Affairs) and in other publications.

Antin Kozachenko worked on the economy of large estates in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the first half of the nineteenth century, e.g., the Princes Repnin's estate, based on material from the Yaho-tytn estate archive; and he published several studies.²⁵⁰

Dmytro Solovey, historian and statistician, worked on the history of commerce in Slobidska Province in the nineteenth century. He also wrote a study: "Zahal'nyi istorychnyi ohlyad vivcharstva Poltavshchyny" (a General Historical Outline of Sheepbreeding in Poltava Province) in "*Naukovi Zapysky Naukovo-Doslidchoyi Katedry Istoriyi Ukrayins'koyi Kul'tury*" (Scientific Proceedings of the Scientific-Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture), VI, Kharkiv, 1927.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ M. Horban's scientific activity in the Ukraine was interrupted by his arrest and deportation in the early 1930's. Later he worked as historian-archivist in Kazakhstan and published several works on the history and documents of Kazakhstan, as well as on the history of Western Siberia.

²⁵⁰ A. Kozachenko subsequently moved to Moscow and devoted himself to studies of Russian history.

²⁵¹ As an emigré, D. Solovey, who is at present in the United States, works mostly in the field of Ukrainian political history of the twentieth century.

Oleksa Nazarets' studied the history of labor and of the labor movement in the Left-Bank Ukraine during the nineteenth century. He published a study: "Iz pervopochyniv robitnychoho rukhu na Ukrayini (Livoberezhzhya)" (About the First Steps of the Labor Movement in the Ukraine, Left-Bank) in *Chervonyi Shlyakh*, 1929, XII.

Vasyl' Dubrovsky (born in Chernihiv in 1897), graduate of Nizhen Historical-Philological Institute and associate scholar of the Bahaliy Institute, worked mainly on the history of the Left-Bank Ukraine of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (history of the peasants and peasant movements, history of industry and commerce, etc.), as well as on the history of Ukrainian-Crimean and Ukrainian-Turkish relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He published the following studies: *Selyans'ki rukhy na Ukrayini pislya 1861 r. Chernihivs'ka hub.* (1861-1866) (Peasant Movements in the Ukraine after 1861, Chernihiv Province, 1861-1866), v. I, Kharkiv, 1928; *Persha fabryka na Ukrayini* (The First Factory in the Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1930; "Selyans'ki vtechi na Livoberezhnyi Ukrayini naprykintsi XVIII st. (1782-1791)" (Escape of Peasants in the Left-Bank Ukraine at the Close of the XVIII Century, 1782-1791) in *Chernihiv i Pivnichne Livoberezhzhya* (Chernihiv and the Northern Left-Bank), Kiev, 1928; "Pro Hilyans'kyi pokhid 1725 r." (On the Hilyansky March of 1725) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, vol. I, Kiev, 1928; "Do pytannya pro mizhnarodnyu torhivlyu Ukrayiny v pershiy polovyni XVIII st." (On the Problem of International Trade with the Ukraine in the First Half of the XVIII Century) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, XXVII, Kiev, 1931; *Ukrayina i Krym v istorychnykh vzayemynakh* (Historical Relations Between the Ukraine and the Crimea), Geneva, 1946; and others. V. Dubrovsky did not finish his extensive work on the history of D. Apostol's Hetmanate due to his arrest and deportation in 1933.²⁵²

The Kharkiv historical center ceased its activities on orders of Soviet authorities in the early thirties. The Bahaliy Institute

²⁵² He is an emigré at present.

was liquidated and many of its members were either deported or deprived of opportunities to continue scientific research. Historical studies were resumed in Kharkiv only in the late thirties (by I. Boyko and S. Korolivsky, graduates of the Bahaliy Institute), but on a much narrower scale and, what is most significant, under circumstances quite unfavorable to Ukrainian historiography and to free historical research in general.

Another, and quite separate historical center in Kharkiv in the twenties and early thirties, was the Historical Section of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism, in the thirties called "Vseukraïns'ka Asotsiyatsiya Markso-Lenins'kykh instytutiv" (The All-Ukrainian Association of Institutes of Marxism-Leninism), abbreviated to VUAMLIN. Heading the Section, and for a certain time also the entire Institute, was M. Yavorsky. The Section was connected with the Ukrainian Society of Historian-Marxists (established in 1928). The Institute of Marxism-Leninism was the central ideological institution of the Communist Party in the Ukraine, and hence it was particularly favored by the Soviet authorities. The Institute's official publication was *Prapor Marksyzmu* (The Banner of Marxism) and that of the Historian-Marxists Society *Istoryk-bil'shovyk* (The Historian-Bolshevik), of which only one issue came out—No. I, in 1934. In addition, works of the Institute's associates were published in the official journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (bolshevik) of the Ukraine: *Letopis' Revolyutsii* (Chronicle of the Revolution), 1922-1927, (changed to the Ukrainian *Litopys Revolyutsiï* between 1928 and 1933); and in other party publications.

Matviy Yavorsky (born in Galicia in 1885), lawyer, graduate of Lviv and Vienna Universities, subsequently (1929-1930) full member of VUAN, was in the twenties the official leader of Communist historiography in the Ukraine. In addition to numerous popular outlines of Ukrainian history and of the history of revolutionary movements in the Ukraine, completely worthless from the scholarly viewpoint—such as *Istoriya revolyutsionnogo dvizheniya na Ukraine* (History of the Revolutionary

Movement in the Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1922; *Revolutsiia na Ukraini v yiyi holovnishykh etapakh* (The Main Stages of the Revolution in the Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1923;²⁵³ *Korotka istoriya Ukrainy* (A Short History of the Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1923; *Ukraina v epokhu kapitalizmu* (The Ukraine in the Era of Capitalism), I-III, Kharkiv-Poltava, 1924-1925; *Istoriya Ukrainy v styslomu narysi* (History of the Ukraine in Brief Outline), Kharkiv, 1928, etc.; and other publications, chiefly of a critical and polemic nature—Yavorsky also wrote several scientific works on the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine in the nineteenth century, particularly the monograph *Narysy z istoriyi revoliutsiynoyi borot'by na Ukraini* (Outline of the History of the Revolutionary Struggle in the Ukraine), vol. I, Kharkiv, 1927 and vol. II, Part I, Kharkiv, 1928; and a study, "Ems'kyi akt 1876 r." (The Ems Act of 1876) in *Prapor Marksyzmu* (The Banner of Marxism), 1927, I.²⁵⁴

Yavorsky's students and associates were:

Zynoviy Hurevych, worked on the history of the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the 1845-1847 period: the, monograph, *Moloda Ukraina* (Young Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1928.

Mykhaylo Svidzinsky worked on Ukrainian history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Studies and articles: "Do istoriyi kozachchyny 1812 roku" (On Cossack History of 1812) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk naukovo-doslidchoyi katedry istoriyi ukraïns'koyi kul'tury* (Scientific Symposium of the Scientific-Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture), V, Kharkiv, 1927; "Zems'ka militsiia na Ukraini 1806-1808 rokiv" (Land Militia in the Ukraine in the Years 1806-1808) in *Prapor Marksyzmu*, I, 1927, and II, 1928; "Selyans'ki spilky na Ukraini v revoliutsiï 1905 roku" (Peasant Unions in the Ukraine during the 1905 Revolution) in *Litopys Revoliutsiï*, VI, 1928; and others.

²⁵³ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Literaturno-Naukovyi Vistnyk* (Literary-Scientific News), X, Lviv, 1923.

²⁵⁴ Yavorsky's works were pronounced "nationalist" in 1930; he was expelled from the Party, deprived of the degree of Academician and exiled beyond the borders of Ukraine. Later he was arrested and deported to the Solovetsky Islands.

Trokhym Skubytsky worked on the history of labor and of the labor movement in the Ukraine.

The Historical Section of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism also had close ties with Communist historians who worked in the Central Bureau of Archives of the Ukrainian SSR,²⁵⁵ particularly with:

Mykhaylo Rubach, who was mainly interested in Ukrainian history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, wrote studies and articles: "Ot narodnichestva i narodovol'chestva k marksizmu v Khar'kove" (From Populism and the "Narodnaya Volya" Movement to Marxism in Kharkiv) in *Letopis' Revolyutsiyi*, I, 1924; "K istorii grazhdanskoi voyny na Ukraine" (On the History of the Civil War in the Ukraine), *ibid.*, III-IV, 1924; "K istorii konflikta mezhdru Sovnarkomom i Tsentral'noi Radoi" (On the History of the Conflict Between *Sovnarkom* and Central *Rada*), *ibid.*, I, VI, 1926; "Agrarnaya revolyutsiya na Ukraine v 1917 godu" (Agrarian Revolution in the Ukraine in 1917), *ibid.*, V-VI, 1927 and I, 1928; "Federalisticheskie teorii v istorii Rossii" (Federalist Theories in Russian History), about M. Kostomarov, in *Russkaya istoricheskaya literatura v klassovom osveshchenii* (Russian Historical Literature in Class Aspect), vol. II, Moscow, 1930; "Iz istorii krest'yanskikh vosstanii nakanune oktyabrya 1917 goda" (From the History of the Peasant Uprising on the Eve of October, 1917) in *Istori-Marksist*, 1934, III; and others.

Mykola Ryedin worked on the history of the 1917-1918 revolution: "Do istoriyi vseukrayins'koho zaliznychnoho strytku 1918 r." (On the History of the All-Ukrainian Railroad Strike of 1918) in *Litopys Revolyutsiyi*, V, 1928; and others.

Ruvim Shpunt worked on the history of the 1905-1907 revolution. He wrote the study: "Do metodolohiyi vyvchennya selyans'-

²⁵⁵ The Central Bureau of Archives of the Ukr. SSR (TsAU) published an historical-archival journal (or strictly speaking, a collection) under the title *Arkhivna Sprava* (Archive Affairs) between 1925 and 1930, and later *Arkhiv Radyans'koyi Ukrayiny* (Archive of the Soviet Ukraine), which also published works of non-members of TsAU.

kykh rukhiv v revolyutsiyi 1905-1907 rokiv" (On Methodology of Study of Peasant Movements in the 1905-1907 Revolution) in *Prapor Marksyzmu*, III-IV, 1928; and others.

With few exceptions, such as publication of archival material, a majority of these works was not on the level of scholarly research.

The Odessa historical center, headed by M. Slabchenko, embarked upon wide activities in the twenties.

Mykhaylo Slabchenko (born in 1882 in Odessa), graduate of Odessa ("Novorosiysky") University and of the St. Petersburg Military-Juridical Academy, professor at Odessa University (subsequently Institute of Public Education) occupying the Chair of Ukrainian History (1919-1929), full member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (since 1929), began his scholarly career prior to 1917 (see *supra*). His first major works—*Maloruskii polk v administrativnom otnoshenii* (The Little Russian Regiment in Its Administrative Aspect), Odessa, 1909; and *Opyty po istorii prava Malorossii XVII-XVIII st.* (Study of the Legal History of Little Russia of the XVII and XVIII Centuries, Odessa, 1911—indicated the author's special interest in problems of Ukrainian legal history of the Cossack-Hetman State period. Slabchenko's subsequent studies and works pursued the same direction: *Protokol otpusknykh pisem za getmana Apostola 1728 goda* (Record of Grants of Release by Hetman Apostol of 1728), Odessa, 1913; *Tsentral'nyia uchrezhdeniya Ukrainy XVII-XVIII st.* (Central Institutions of the Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries), Odessa, 1918; *Pro sudivnytstvo na Ukrayini* (On the Judiciary in the Ukraine), Kharkiv, 1920; and others. Slabchenko paid particular attention to problems of a historical-legal nature in all subsequent works.

In the early twenties, Slabchenko devoted his interest to the history of Ukrainian economics. The object of his research was to provide an outline of Ukrainian economic history from the Khmelnytsky period to World War. I. These first two volumes of Slabchenko's *Organizatsiya khozyaistva Ukrainy ot Khmelnichyny do mirovoi voyny* (Organization of the Ukrainian

Economy from Khmelnytsky to the World War) appeared in Odessa in 1922 (in Russian). The works *Khozyaistvo Hetman-shchyny v XVII-XVIII stolet'yakh* (Economy of the Hetmanate in the XVII and XVIII Centuries)—vol. I, *Zemlevladenie i formy sel'hogo khozyaistva* (Land Tenure and Forms of Peasant Economics)²⁵⁶ and vol. II, *Sud'by fabriki i promyshlennosti* (Fate of Factories and Industry)—were devoted to agriculture and forms of land tenure and industry in the Ukraine during the Hetmanate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The third volume of this work appeared in Odessa in 1923, as *Ocherki torgovli i torgovogo kapitalizma* (Outline of Commerce and Commercial Capitalism) in the Hetmanate, and the fourth volume (in Ukrainian) appeared in Odessa in 1925, devoted to "State Economy" in the Hetmanate. These four volumes contain a history of the national and state economy of the Ukraine in the Hetmanate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Slabchenko devoted his subsequent research to the social-economic history of Zaporozhe. His "Sotsiyal'no-pravova orhanizatsiya Sichi Zaporoz'koyi" (Social-legal Organization of the Zaporozhian Host) in *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava*, VUAN, III, Kiev, 1927, and separately; and "Palankova orhanizatsiya Zaporoz'kykh Vol'nostiv" (Organization of the Fortified Zaporozhian Free Settlements), *ibid.*, VI, Kiev, 1929, and separately, represent detailed research, based on archival sources (the author utilized the archives of the Zaporozhian Host) of the social-economic history of Zaporozhe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries — the first such works in Ukrainian historiography.

Slabchenko's special studies of the history of Ukrainian law and economics were closely related in the twenties to his extensive research in Ukrainian history, both modern—the main work was *Materiyaly do ekonomichno-sotsiyal'noyi istoriyi Ukrayiny XIX st.* (Material on the Economic and Social History of the

²⁵⁶ Volume I also came out in Ukrainian, under the title *Hospodarstvo Hetman-shchyny XVII-XVIII st., vol. I, Zemlevolodinnya ta formy sil's'koho hospodarstva*, Odessa, 1923.

Ukraine in the XIX Century), vols. I, and II, Odessa, 1925 and 1927—and earlier times, e.g., *Feodalizm na Ukrayini* (Feudalism in the Ukraine), Odessa, 1929, mimeographed. His *Materiyaly*, in particular, was the first scientific attempt at an outline of nineteenth-century Ukrainian history and one of the first attempts to create a scheme of the Ukrainian historical process of the nineteenth century.²⁵⁷

Among Slabchenko's numerous works published in the twenties, the following should be noted: "Eskizy z istoriyi 'Prav, po kotorym suditsya Malorossiiskii narod'" (Sketches from the History of "Laws by Which the Little-Russian People are Tried") in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; *Borot'ba za systemy zemlevolodinnya i formy hospodarstva v Ukrayini XIX-XX stolittya* (Struggle for the Systems of Land Tenure and Forms of Economy in XIX and XX Centuries in the Ukraine), Odessa, 1927; and others.²⁵⁸

M. Slabchenko was the founder and director of the new Odessa Ukrainian historical center which followed Kiev and Kharkiv in order of importance in the twenties. In addition to his University Chair and Seminar, Slabchenko headed the Odessa Scientific-Research Chair of Ukrainian History and developed the extensive work program of the Social-Historical Section of the Odessa Scientific Society, which published three issues of its *Zapysky* (Proceedings), Odessa, 1927-1928.²⁵⁹ The following of Slabchenko's students achieved prominence through their scientific works:

Oleksander Varneke, author of several studies of the history of Ukrainian economics and economic ideas of the nineteenth

²⁵⁷ Slabchenko's later studies of modern Ukrainian history were not completed. Vol. III of his *Materiyaly*, devoted to Ukrainian history of the twentieth century up to 1917, was not released. Only an outline of this work was made public in mimeographed reproduction in Odessa in 1929.

²⁵⁸ Slabchenko's study of General Military Courts was printed in vol. VII of *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava*, but, following the arrest and sentencing of the author, this volume was not released.

²⁵⁹ In addition, works of Odessa historians were published in other publications, many in those of VUAN.

century, particularly: "Zaliznychne budivnytstvo na Ukraini v 1860-kh rokach" (Railroad Construction in the Ukraine in the Eighteen-Sixties) in *Zapysky Odes'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva pry VUAN. Sektsiya Sotsiyal'no-istorychna* (Proceedings of the Odessa Scientific Society, VUAN Branch, Social-Historical Section), No. 1, Odessa, 1927.

I. M. Brover, author of the two-volume work *Ukrayina na pere-lomi do promyslovoho kapitalizmu* (The Ukraine at the Turning Point on the Road to Industrial Capitalism), Odessa, 1931.

Taras Slabchenko, son of M. Slabchenko, author of several studies of the economic and cultural history of the Ukraine in the nineteenth century, particularly, "Do istoriyi agrarnykh kryz na Ukraini v XIX st." (On the History of Agrarian Crises in the Ukraine of the XIX Century) in *Zapysky Odes'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva pry VUAN. Sektsiya Sotsiyal'no-istorychna*, No. II, Odessa, 1928.

Oleksander Pohrebynsky, monograph: *Stolypins'ka reforma na Ukraini* (The Stolypin Reform in the Ukraine); the study: "Agrarna sprava na Ukraini v svitli II Derzhavnoyi Dumy" (The Agrarian Problem in the Ukraine in the Light of the Second Duma) in *Zapysky Odes'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva pry VUAN. Sektsiya Sotsiyal'no-istorychna*,²⁶⁰ No. II, Odessa, 1928; and others.

Semen Koubasyuk, who worked on the history of military settlements in Southern Ukraine and on twentieth-century Ukrainian history.²⁶¹

²⁶⁰ I. Brover and O. Pohrebynsky subsequently worked in Russia on problems of Russian economics and economic history.

²⁶¹ Another of Slabchenko's pupils was Professor Nikolai Rubinshtein, (Mykola Rubinshteyn), contemporary Russian historian, author of *Russkaya Istorio-grafiya* (Russian Historiography), Moscow, 1941, and of a series of studies of eighteenth-century Russian economic history. In particular, he wrote the study: "Do istoriyi sotsiyal'nykh vidnosyn Kyivskoyi Rusy XI-XII st." (On the History of Social Conditions in Kievan Rus' of the XI and XII Centuries), in *Naukovi Zapysky Naukovo-Doslidnoyi Katedry istoriyi Ukrainy'skoyi kul'tury* (Scientific Proceeding of the Scientific-Research Chair of the History of Ukrainian Culture), IV, Kharkiv, 1927.

M. Slabchenko's arrest late in 1929 (in connection with the trial of members of SVU (The Union for Liberation of the Ukraine)) and his exile interrupted his scientific-academic activities and destroyed the Odessa historical center which he had created. Historical research work in Odessa ceased for a long time—a great loss to Ukrainian historiography in general.

The following also worked on Ukrainian history in Odessa in the twenties:

Yevhen Zahorovsky, professor at Odessa University (I.N.O.), whose research was in the history of the Southern Ukraine of the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁶²

Oleksander Ryabinin-Sklyarevsky, historian-archivist, author of the study “Kyyivs'ka Hromada 70-kh rokiv” (The Kiev *Hromada* of the Seventies) in *Ukrayina*, I-II, 1927; “Z zhyttya Zadunays'koyi Sichi” (From the Life of the Trans-Danubian *Sich*), *ibid.*, IX, 1929; and others.

Fedir Petrun' who worked on the historical geography of the Southern Ukraine during the Lithuanian period.

Saul Borovoy, author of the study: “Evrei v Zaporozhskoi Sechi” (Jews in the Zaporozhian *Sich*) in *Istoricheskii Sbornik. Trudy Istoricheskoi Komissii Akademii Nauk SSSR* (Historical Symposium. Works of the Historical Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR), I, 1934; and others.

Among provincial historical centers of the twenties Nizhen achieved the greatest prominence. The traditions of the Nizhen Historical-Philological Institute (formerly the Prince Bezborod'ko Lyceum) which became the Institute of Public Education (I.N.O.) in 1920, the existence of a Scientific-Research

²⁶² Even before 1917, Ye. Zahorovsky did research in the history of foreign colonization and administration of the Southern Ukraine in the second half of the eighteenth century. He wrote the following studies: “Slavyanskaya kolonizatsiya Novorossiiskago kraya” (Slavic Colonization of New Russian Land) in *Voenno-Istoricheskii Vestnik* (War-History News), Kiev, 1910; “Organizatsiya upravleniya Novorossii pri Potemkine v 1774-1791 godakh” (Organization of the Government of New Russia under Potemkin in the Years 1774-1791) in *Zapiski Odeskago Obshchestva Istorii i drevnostei* (Proceedings of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquity), XXXI, Odessa, 1913; and others.

Chair, publication of *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.* (Proceedings of the Nizhen I.N.O.) (a total of twelve volumes came out in Nizhen between 1920 and 1932),²⁶³ close research ties with the Historical Section of VUAN and with the Bahaliy Kharkiv Institute, and especially the work of Professor M. Petrovsky—these contributed to the development of the Nizhen historical center.

Mykola Petrovsky (1894-1951), born in Chernihiv Province, graduate of Nizhen Historical-Philological Institute, professor of the Nizhen I.N.O. and later (in the forties) at Kiev University, and corresponding member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, devoted his scientific studies to the history of the Khmelnytsky period and the Ruin in the second half of the seventeenth century, and to the historiography of the Cossack-Hetman period. His major work was: *Narysy z istoriyi Ukrayiny, t. I. Doslidy nad Litopysom Samovydsya* (Outline of Ukrainian History, Vol. I. Research of the Samovyds' Chronicle), Kharkiv, 1930. It is not only a detailed monograph on this notable monument of Cossack historiography, but also a documentary research of many important subjects of Ukrainian history of the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁶⁴

Another major work by Petrovsky, *Vyzvol'na viyna ukrayins'koho narodu proty hnitu shlyakhets'koyi Pol'shchi i pryednannya Ukrayiny do Rosiyi. 1648-1654 r.r.* (The Ukrainian Peoples' War of Liberation Against Oppression by the Polish Nobles and the Unification of the Ukraine with Russia, 1648-1654), Kiev, 1940, is also based on documentary sources and, notwithstanding some tendenciousness in commenting on historical events (particularly Ukrainian-Muscovite relations of that period), dictated by demands of official Soviet ideology and censorship, it has a certain documentary value in the historiography of the Khmelnytsky period.

Numerous documentary studies by Petrovsky, devoted to sep-

²⁶³ Volume 11 and 12 came out as *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho Instytutu Sotsiyal'noho Vychovannya* (Proceedings of the Nizhen Institute of Social Education).

²⁶⁴ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. V, No. 4, 1931.

arate problems of Ukrainian history, Ukrainian historiography of the seventeenth century and to individual leaders of the "Ruin" period, have an incomparably higher scientific value. They were published in the twenties and early thirties, in particular: "Try Popovychi" (Three Clergymen's Sons) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.* (Proceedings of the Nizhen I.N.O.), vol. VII, Nizhen, 1927; "Do ukrayins'koyi prosopohrafiyi XVII v." (On Ukrainian Prosopography of the Seventeenth Century) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi VUAN za rik 1927* (Scientific Symposium of the VUAN Historical Section for the Year 1927), Kiev, 1927; "Nadannya m. Nishynu mahdeburs'koho prava 1625 r." (Grant of Magdeburg Law to the City of Nizhen in 1625) in *Chernihiv i Pivnichne Livoberezhzhya* (Chernihiv and the Northern Left-Bank), Kiev, 1928; "Z lehend Khmelnychchyny" (Legends of the Khmelnytsky Period) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, I, Kiev, 1928; "Do istoriyi Ruyiny" (On the History of the Ruin) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.*, v. VIII, Nizhen, 1928; "Psevdo-diyariush Samiyla Zorky" (Pseudo-Diary of Samiylo Zorka) in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN* (Proceedings of the Historical-Philological Department of VUAN), XVII, Kiev, 1928; "Do istoriyi polkovoho ustroyu Het'manshchyny. Prychynok do pytannya pro Staty Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho v redaktsiyi 1659 roku" (On the History of the Regimental Order of the Hetmanate; On the Problem of Articles of Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the 1659 Edition) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.*, IX, Nizhen, 1929; "Ukrayins'ki diyachi XVII v. Tymish Tsytsyura" (Ukrainian Leaders of the XVII Century, Tymish Tsytsyura) in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, XXIV, and separately; "Epizod z ukrayins'ko-kryms'kykh vidnosyn kintsya XVII v." (An Episode from Ukrainian-Crimean Relations of the Late XVII Century) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi VUAN za 1929 rik* (Scientific Symposium of the VUAN Historical Section for the Year 1929), Kiev, 1929; "Z ostannikh lit P. Doroshenka" (The last Years of P. Doroshenko) in *ZNTSH*, vol. C, Lviv, 1930; "Do biohrafiyi Ivana Bohuna" (On the Biog-

raphy of Ivan Bohun) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.*, X, Nizhen, 1930; "Do istoriyi derzhavnoho ustroyu Ukrayiny v XVII v." (On the History of the State Structure of the Ukraine in the XVII Century), *ibid.*, XI, 1931; "Z istoriyi klasovoyi borot'by na Ukrayini v XVII st. (Zmova Detsyka)" (From the History of the Class Struggle in the Ukraine in the XVII Century—Detsyk's Plot), *ibid.*, XII, 1932; and others.

Petrovsky's numerous publications of the forties, written in the spirit of Soviet historical propaganda, are beyond the scope of Ukrainian historiography and, in general, have no scientific value.

Anatol' Yershov worked in close connection with the Nizhen historical center. He devoted his main attention to research of Ukrainian historiography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to the economic history of the Left-Bank Ukraine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In particular, he published the following historiographic studies: "‘Letopisnoe po-vestvovanie’ O. Rigelmana i ‘Kratkaya letopis’ Malyya Rossii’ vydana V. Rubanom" ("Narrative Chronicle" by O. Rigelman and "A Short Chronicle of Little Russia" published by V. Ruban) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.*, VII; "Pro dzherela, chas skladannya i avtora ‘Povesti prostrannoi’" (On Sources, Time of Composition and Author of "Povest' Prostrannaya") in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, XI, Kiev, 1927; "Storinka z ukrayins'koho dzhereloznavstva" (A Page from Science of Ukrainian Sources) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927; "Do pytannya pro chas napysannya ‘Istoriyi Rusov’, a pochasty i pro avtora yiyi" (On the Question of the Time of the Writing of "Istoriya Rusov" and Something About its Author) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, I, Kiev, 1928; "Pro litopysni dzherela istorychnykh prats' Stepana Lukoms'koho" (On Chronicle Sources of Stepan Lukomsky's Historical Works) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.*, VIII; about O. Shafonsky in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi VUAN za rik 1928* (Scientific Symposium of the VUAN Historical Section for the Year 1928),

Kiev, 1928; "Koly i khto napysav Hustyns'kyi litopys?" (When and by whom was the Hustyn Chronicle written?) in *ZNTSH*, vol. C, No. 2, Lviv, 1930.

Of Yershov's historical-economic works, most noteworthy were studies of the history of guilds in the Left-Bank Ukraine: "Do istoriyi tsekhiv na Livoberezhzhi XVII-XVIII vv." (On the History of Guilds in the Left-Bank of the XVII and XVIII Centuries) in *Zapysky Nizhyns'koho I.N.O.*, VII, IX; "Nizhyns'ki tsekhy v pershiy polovyni XVII st." (Nizhen Guilds in the First Half of the XVII Century) in *Chernihiv i Pivnichne Livoberezhzhya* (Chernihiv and the Northern Left-Bank), Kiev, 1928; Yershov also wrote a study: "Do istoriyi hroshovoyi lichby i monety na Livoberezhniy Ukrayini XVII-XVIII vv." (On the History of the System of Currency and Coins in the Left-Bank Ukraine in the XVII and XVIII Centuries) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Symposium), 1929; appearing as "Geldrechnung und Münze in der Ukraine des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts auf Grund der ukrainischen Historiographie von 1918-1929" in *Zeitschrift für ost-europäische Geschichte*, vol. V, No. 3, Königsberg and Berlin, 1931.

Fairly important work in the field of Ukrainian history was conducted in the twenties in Dnipropetrovsk (formerly Katerynoslav). Here, historical research was associated with the Dnipropetrovsk Scientific Society, the Institute of Public Education (replacing the former Katerynoslav University established in 1918), the Scientific-Research Chair, and the local Museum and Archive which continued in the tradition of the old Katerynoslav Archive Commission (see *supra*). Local historians published their works in *Zapysky Dnipropetrovs'koho I.N.O.* (Proceedings of the Dnipropetrovsk Institute of Public Education) and in publications of VUAN.

Dmytro Yavornytsky (Evarnytsky), 1855-1940, director of the Museum and later (1929) a full member of VUAN, carried on many years of research in the history and archeology of Zaporozhe and the Southern Ukraine (see *supra*). He published several works, particularly, *Dniprovi porohy* (The Dnieper

Rapids), Dnipropetrovsk, 1927; and *Do istoriyi Stepovoyi Ukrainy* (On the History of the Steppe Ukraine), Dnipropetrovsk, 1929.

Volodymyr Parkhomenko, who continued his work on the history of the Kievan State (see *supra*), published a series of studies; of special interest are the monograph *Pochatok istorychno-derzhavnogo zhyttya na Ukraini* (The Beginnings of Historical National Life in the Ukraine), Kiev, 1925;²⁶⁵ the study "Oleh ta Ihor. Do pytannya pro vzayemovidnosyny" (Oleh and Ihor. On the Question of Their Mutual Relations) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, IV, Kiev, 1924; and others.²⁶⁶

Vasyl' Hrekov, historian-archivist, who studied the history of the eighteenth-century Zaporozhe and published documentary studies: "Bunt siromy na Zaporizhzh'i v 1768 rotsi" (Mob Riot in Zaporozhe in 1768) in *Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN*, IX; "Zaporiz'kyi Kish ta Koliyivshchyna" (The Zaporozhian Camp and the Koliyi Movement) in *Ukrayina*, IV, 1928; and others.

The City of Poltava was also an important center of Ukrainian historiography in the twenties. The traditions of such institutions as the Poltava Archive Commission (see *supra*), and the Ukrainian Scientific Society of Research and Conservation of Monuments of Antiquity and Art in Poltava Province (existing since 1918), continued in the scientific activities of the Poltava Scientific Society and the Institute of Public Education (historians

²⁶⁵ This work was also published in Russian under the title *U istokov russkoi gosudarstvennosti* (The Sources of Russian Statehood), Leningrad, 1924.

²⁶⁶ V. Parkhomenko was ordered to leave the Ukraine in 1929 (in connection with the trial of the Union for Liberation of the Ukraine) and his subsequent scientific work continued in Russia, lately in Leningrad. Among his later works, the following should be noted: "K voprosu o normanskom zavoevanii i proiskhozhdenii Rusi" (On the Problem of the Norman Conquest and the Origin of Rus') in *Istoriik-Marksist*, No. 4, Moscow, 1938; "Pervaya izvestnaya data sushchestvovaniya gosudarstva Rusi" (The First Known Date of the Existence of the State of Rus'), *ibid.*, No. 6; and "Kharakter i znachenie epokhi Vladimira, prinyavshogo khristianstvo" (Character and Significance of the Era of Volodymyr who Accepted Christianity) in *Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta* (Scientific Proceedings of Leningrad State University), VIII, Leningrad, 1941.

working here were: V. Parkhomenko, P. Klepatsky, and I. Rybakov, and at the Poltava Historical Archive: M. Hnip and M. Buzhynsky). Historians of Poltava published their works in *Zapysky Poltav's'koho Naukovoho pry VUAN Tovarystva*, and in *Zapysky Poltav's'koho I.N.O.* (Proceedings of the Poltava Institute of Public Education), in publications of VUAN's Historical Section and of the Bahaliy Institute in Kharkiv, with which these historians had close ties.

Pavlo Klepatsky, graduate of Odessa University (see *supra*), professor at Kamyanyets University and later at Poltava I.N.O., worked in the twenties in the field of nineteenth-century Ukrainian history, mainly economic research on the economy of huge estates, particularly of the Princes Kochubey (on the basis of the Dykan'ka estate files). He was also interested in Ukrainian historiography of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He published a series of studies and articles. The following should be mentioned: "Lystuvannya O. A. Bezborod'ka z svoym bat'kom, yak istorychne dzherelo" (Correspondence of O. A. Bezborod'ko with His Father, As an Historical Source) in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. Hrushevs'koho*, I, Kiev, 1928; "Dvoryans'ke zems'ke opolchennya (Kozaky) 1812 r. na Poltavshchyni" (Landlords' Mobilization (Cossacks) in Poltava Province in 1812) in *Za Sto Lit*, V, Kiev, 1930; and others.

Ivan Rybakov worked on the history of the Ukraine of the first half of the nineteenth century. He wrote studies: "Do istoriyi Malorosiys'koho Tayemnoho Tovarystva" (On the History of the Little Russian Secret Society) in *Ukrayina*, VI, 1925; and "Sovisnyi sud na Ukrayini" (Equity Courts in the Ukraine) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Leninhads'koho Tovarystva doslidnykiv Ukrayins'koyi istoriyi, pys'menstva ta movy* (Scientific Symposium of the Leningrad Society of Students of Ukrainian History, Literature and Language), VUAN, I, Kiev, 1928.

Mykhaylo Hnip worked on the history of the Ukrainian movement of the eighteen-sixties and published a monograph: *Politychnyi rukh 1860-kh rr. na Ukrayini. Kn. I. Poltav's'ka Hromada*

(The Political Movement of the Sixties in the Ukraine, Book I, The Poltava *Hromada*), Kharkiv, 1930.²⁶⁷

Mykhaylo Buzhynsky published new materials on the biography of Vasyly' Lukashevych in *Za Sto Lit*, III, 1928.

In Chernihiv, work on historical science in the twenties went on in connection with the activities of the Historical Archive and the Historical Museum, which continued the tradition of the Chernihiv Archive Commission and of the Scientific Society. Noteworthy among the historians were:

Valentin Shuhayevsky, author of several works on Ukrainian numismatics.

Pavlo Fedorenko, graduate of Kiev University, director of the Chernihiv Archive, studied the economic history of monasteries in the Hemtunate and the history of the iron-ore industry in Chernihiv Province during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He published several studies and articles in publications of the Historical Section of VUAN. Under his editorship the Archeographic Commission of VUAN published: *Opys Novhorodsivers'koho namisnychestva, 1779-1781 rr.* (Description of the Novhorod-Siversky Vicegerency in the Years 1779-1781), Kiev, 1931; but his monograph *Rudni Chernihivshchyny XVII-XVIII st.* (Smelteries of Chernihiv Province in the XVII and XVIII Centuries) which he readied for publication was never printed.

Scientific work in the field of history, chiefly local and based on local archival materials, was conducted also in Kamyanets-Podilsk, Vinnytsya, Zhytomyr, Mykolayiv, Luhans'ke and in other Ukrainian cities which had higher institutions of learning, museums, historical and cultural monuments, and scientific land study societies. Most of these local centers were associated with general Ukrainian scientific institutions (primarily with VUAN) which published the works of local researchers. Sometimes their works appeared also locally, e.g., in *Zapysky I.N.O.* (Proceedings

²⁶⁷ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. V, No. 2, 1931.

of Institutes of Public Education), in the works of scientific societies, in publications of the Vinnytsya Branch of the National Library of the Ukraine, etc.

Ukrainian historiography in the Dnieper Ukraine of the twenties clearly indicates several trends which sometimes took on the characteristics of certain scientific "schools" (in Kiev the cultural-historical or sociological but actually neo-populist school of M. Hrushevsky; in Kharkiv: the social-economic school of D. Bahaliy; the historical-economic school; the historical-legal school of M. Vasylenko; the Marxist school).

Each of these trends had (or created) its own **ideo-methodological** traditions, its sphere of scientific interests and selection of subjects, its organizational centers, its periodicals, and finally, its circle of community, political and personal-group relationships. With the exception of the Marxist trend, however, all the others maintained scientific or scientific-organizational contacts with one another in some form.

This was primarily due to the fact that the entire Ukrainian historiography of the twenties in the Dnieper Ukraine, in Galicia and abroad, stood on identical ideological Ukrainian national positions, centering its main attention and its research on the problem of Ukrainian statehood in its historical development in all its manifestations: political, economic, cultural and national.

Whereas the historical-legal school, in the nature of things, placed at the head of its scholarly interests the historical forms and institutions of Ukrainian constitutional law, the historical-economic school believed its main duty to be to study those historical-economic processes and phenomena which determined historical Ukrainian economics as a separate, independent (autonomous) economic body. Even the social-economic and cultural-historical schools which were founded on old popular tradition could not avoid the influence of statehood ideology. Besides, even the Marxist school (particularly in the works of M. Yavorsky), to the extent that it stayed within the framework of Ukrainian historiography, could not deny the role and signi-

ficance of the national-state factor, both in Ukrainian history and in contemporary times.

This spirit of statehood and this national character were precisely the fundamental features of Ukrainian historiography in the Dnieper Ukraine in the twenties.

The development of Ukrainian historiography in the Dnieper Ukraine in the twenties (and subsequently) went on under extremely complicated and generally unfavorable political conditions, for which the rule of Moscow Bolshevism in the Ukraine was primarily responsible. Sooner or later, Ukrainian historical science had to be subjected to the tasks and purposes of Soviet policy.

In this undertaking, however, the Soviet authorities encountered serious obstacles. The position of Ukrainian historical science and the tempo of its development in the twenties, set by reestablishment of Ukrainian statehood in the years 1917-1920, were such that the Communist authorities were compelled to proceed slowly. At first they introduced financial restrictions, censorship pressure, control in regard to certain subjects, official criticism of some trends in Ukrainian historiography and of certain works and publications and their authors, or editors. But the end of the decade brought a series of heavier blows upon Ukrainian historical science: the trial of the Union for Liberation of the Ukraine (SVU) in 1929-1930, the political purge of VUAN in 1930, deportation of M. Hrushevsky to Moscow (1931) and his death (1934), arrests of many historians, and official condemnation of scholarly activities of historical institutions and of prominent Ukrainian historians (1930-1932).

Then new measures were undertaken by the Soviet authorities directed toward further destruction of Ukrainian historical science. During the first half of the thirties, historical institutions of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences were liquidated²⁶⁸ and the Academy was changed to the Academy of Sciences of the

²⁶⁸ Only one historical institution remained within VUAN—The Institute of History of Material Culture, but opportunities for scientific research in the field of Ukrainian history were extremely restricted.

Ukrainian SSR. Scientific-Research Chairs (Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Kiev, and Nizhen) and institutes (particularly the Bahaliy Institute in Kharkiv) were abolished. Reorganized archives and museums had to abandon virtually all kinds of scientific activity, and they became inaccessible to any scientific work. Even the main center of official Communist historical science, the VUAMLIN Historical Institute (transferred in the meantime from Kharkiv to Kiev) was liquidated in the 1935-1936 period. Universities in the Ukrainian SSR which had been reestablished in 1933 and 1934 did not engage in historical research to any appreciable extent until the end of the thirties.

Publication of the literature of historical science was stopped. Numerous scientific works already printed, and others ready for printing, never saw the light of day and most were lost without a trace.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ Specifically, in VUAN alone, the following works ready for publication were lost completely: the Collection of the Historical Section of VUAN—*Poludneva Ukrayina* (The Southern Ukraine); *Za Sto Lit* (Over a Period of 100 Years), vol. VII; the last (43rd) issue of *Ukrayina* for 1930; volume II of *Pratsi Komisiyi Sotsiyal'no-Ekonomichnoyi Istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Works of the Commission of the Social-Economic History of the Ukraine); volume VII of *Pratsi Komisiyi dlya vyuchuvannya istoriyi zakhidno-rus'koho ta ukrayins'koho prava* (Works of the Research Commission on the History of Western-Rus' and Ukrainian Law); volume IV of *Ukrayins'kyi Arkheohrafichnyi Zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Archeographic Collection); volume V of *Ukrayins'kyi Arkhiv* (The Ukrainian Archive) containing "Heneral'ne Slidstvo Poltavs'koho polku 1729 roku" (A General Investigation of the Poltava Regiment in 1729); a collection of decrees granting Magdeburg Law to Ukrainian cities in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries; a collection of archival material of Ukrainian history of the mid-seventeenth century, gathered by the Lviv historian V. Herasymchuk; a whole series of D. Bahaliy's works; "Ukrayins'ka kripats'ka fabryka XVIII-XIX st." (Ukrainian Serf-worked Factories in the XVIII-XIX Centuries) by O. Ohloblyn; volume IV of *Istoriya tsukro-buryakovoyi promyslovosti Ukrayiny* (History of the Sugar-beet Industry of the Ukraine) by K. Voblyi; two volumes (VI and VII) of *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Literatury* (History of Ukrainian Literature) by M. Hrushevsky; *Materiyaly Poliss'koyi istorychno-ekonomichnoyi ekspedytsiyi 1932 r.* (Materials of the Polissya Historical-economic Expedition of 1932); and many other monographs, collections of articles and archival materials. The same fate befell many historical works in Kharkiv, Odessa and other scholarly centers.

In 1937 and 1938 (the so-called Yezhov period), many historians of the older as well as of the younger generation were arrested, deported, executed or tortured during interrogations, or perished in exile.²⁷⁰ Others were removed from scientific institutions and prohibited from engaging in scientific activities, or compelled to leave the Ukraine and abandon scientific work in the field of Ukrainian history forever or for a very long time. Their works were strictly forbidden by the censor, their books removed from libraries, their manuscripts and materials destroyed, and even their names were removed from scholarly references.

Certain, albeit very restricted, possibilities for scientific research in the field of Ukrainian history reappeared in the late thirties in connection with the establishment (late 1936) of the Institute of Ukrainian History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

The Institute of Ukrainian History (in Kiev, with a branch in Lviv during the 1939-1941 period) comprised several older and younger historians, who managed to survive the difficult thirties, and several candidates who were preparing themselves for a scholarly career under the direction of older scholars (O. Ohloblyn and M. Petrovsky in Kiev, I. Kryp'yakevych in Lviv). Although the basic purpose of the Institute was to prepare auxiliary scientific material,²⁷¹ text books, as well as popular-propagandist historical literature, the Institute nevertheless also conducted scientific research work, some results of which were published in the forties.

²⁷⁰ The following is a far from complete list of Ukrainian historians persecuted by Soviet authorities: M. Slabchenko, O. Hermyze, V. Parkhomenko, O. Hrushovsky, P. Klymenko, N. Mirza-Avak'yantz, Ye. Stashevsky, I. Cherkasky, A. Yaroshkevych, V. Barvinsky, V. Romanovsky, F. Savchenko, S. Shamray, S. Hlushko, V. Novytsky, S. Borysenok, V. Otamanovsky, M. Yavorsky, M. Horban', L. Okinshovich, V. Dubrovsky, V. Miyakovsky, V. Bazylevych, O. Ryabinin-Sklyarevsky, F. Petrun', O. Plevako, D. Bovanenko, V. Kaminsky, S. Pidhaynyi, K. Kushnirchuk and many others. Only a very few of them could return to scientific work, and that, either outside the Ukrainian SSR or as emigres.

²⁷¹ Of such type were, for example, *Narysy z istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Outlines of the History of the Ukraine) published by the Institute between 1939 and 1941.

Working in the Institute of Ukrainian History in Kiev until the outbreak of World War II were: O. Ohloblyn, M. Petrovsky, N. Polons'ka-Vasilenko (for their works, see *supra*), K. Huslysty, F. Yastrebov, I. Premysler, M. Suprunenko, M. Marchenko, K. Stetsyuk, V. Dyadychenko, F. Los' and others.

Kost' Huslysty, who began his scientific career in the Bahaliy Institute in Kharkiv, worked on the history of eighteenth-century Ukrainian political movements and on Ukrainian history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He wrote the following documentary studies: *Z istoriyi klasovoyi borot'by v Stepoviyi Ukrayini v 60-70-kh r.r. XVIII st.* (From the History of the Class Struggle in the Steppe Ukraine in the Sixties and Seventies of the XVIII Century), Kharkiv, 1933; *Turbayiv's'ke povstannya* (The Turbayiv Insurrection), Kiev, 1947; two volumes of *Narysy z istoriyi Ukrayiny* (An Outline of Ukrainian History), a major publication of the Institute; vol. II, *Ukrayins'ki zemli pid lytovs'kym panuvanniam i zakhoplennya yikh Pol'shcheyu z XIV st. po 1569 rik* (Ukrainian Lands Under Lithuanian Rule and Their Conquest by Poland Between the XIV Century and 1569), Kiev, 1940; vol. III, *Ukrayina pid panuvanniam Pol'shchi v XVI-XVII st.* (The Ukraine under Polish Rule in the XVI and XVII Centuries), Kiev, 1941; the sketch *Koliyivshchyna* (The Koliyi Movement), Kiev, 1944; and other publications.

Fedir Yastrebov, graduate of Kiev University (INO), worked on the history of nineteenth-century Ukrainian revolutionary movements, with particular attention to documentary material about Ustym Karmelyuk. He also published two volumes of sketches from Ukrainian history: vol. I, *Kyyivs'ka Rus' i feodal'ni knyazivstva* (Kievan Rus' and Feudal Duchies) in co-authorship with K. Huslysty, Kiev, 1939; vol. VIII, *Ukrayina v pershiy polovyni XIX st.* (The Ukraine in the First Half of the XIX Century), Kiev, 1939.

Illya Premysler worked on the history of revolutionary movements in the Ukraine in the early twenties.

Mykola Suprunenko worked on Ukrainian history of the 1917-1920 period and published a series of studies, particularly: *Ukra-*

yina v period inozemnoyi voyennoyi interventsii i hromadyans'koyi viyny (1918-1920) (The Ukraine during the Period of Foreign Armed Intervention and Civil War, 1918-1920), Kiev, 1951 (edited by Suprunenko).

Mykhaylo Marchenko worked on Ukrainian history of the B. Khmelnytsky and I. Vyhovsky period.

Kateryna Stetsyuk worked on Ukrainian history of the second half of the seventeenth century. She wrote a monograph: *Vplyv povstannya Stepana Razina na Ukrayinu* (Repercussions of the Stepan Razin Insurrection in the Ukraine), Kiev, 1947.

Vadym Dyadychenko studied the Mazepa period, particularly the activities of Semen Paliy. He published several articles about the events of 1708-1709 in the Ukraine, but his monograph on S. Paliy was not printed.

Fedir Los' worked on the social-economic history of the Ukraine of the early twentieth century. He published a monograph about the Stolypin agrarian reform in the Ukraine and several articles, particularly on the problem of the emergence of a working class in the Ukraine, in *Voپrosy istorii* (Problems of History), II, Moscow, 1951.

Among scientific publications of the Institute of the prewar period, those worthy of mention are the works of the Moscow historian of law, Professor *Serafim Yushkov*, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR: *Narysy z istoriyi feodalizmu v Kyivus'kiy Rusi* (An Outline of the History of Feudalism in Kievan Rus'), Kiev, 1940; and *Rus'ka Pravda*, Kiev, 1939 (texts edited by Yushkov).²⁷²

The Institute of Ukrainian History published *Korotkyi kurs istoriyi Ukrayiny* (A Short Course in Ukrainian History), Kiev, 1941, a collective work, with Serhiy Belousov, Director of the Institute, as chief editor; and volume I, *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of the Ukraine) edited by M. Petrovsky, Ufa, 1942.²⁷³

²⁷² The work was begun by the Archeographic Commission of VUAN during the time of M. Hrushevsky.

²⁷³ Under the editorship of K. Huslysty, L. Slavin (an archeologist) and F. Yastrebov, "*Narys Istoriyi Ukrayiny*" (An Outline of the History of the Ukraine) was published in Ufa in 1942.

Scientific activities of the Institute of Ukrainian History and all works in the field of history in the Soviet Ukraine²⁷⁴ were supposed to proceed along the lines of so-called "Marxist-Leninist" methodology, under strict Party supervision with respect to ideology, and even phraseology, according to certain (fairly limited) imposed subjects. The prescribed basis of the Institute's scientific work was the official idea of "Soviet patriotism" and its concomitant idea (widely propagated following the war) of leadership of the "great Russian nation" in all branches of social life—political, economic and cultural—in all territories of the USSR, and throughout the existence of the Russian State. As applied to Ukrainian history, this constituted a theoretic justification of Moscow's centralist policy of the tsars and Soviets in the Ukraine, with the end result of leveling down all Ukrainian national interests, special characteristics, and traditions.

Under these circumstances which, following a short breathing-spell during World War II, have become even more acute (and continue to grow more acute) since the war, Ukrainian historiography throughout the Ukrainian SSR has lost its Ukrainian character and tradition. The very few historical works (and these stem from the previous period), which appeared in the Ukraine during the latter part of the forties and early fifties, with the exception of some publications of archival documents,²⁷⁵ are actually outside the scope of real historical science.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ In addition to the Institute of Ukrainian History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, scientific work in the field of Ukrainian history was also conducted during the 1938-1941 period (although in very limited volume) by the appropriate chairs of the universities in Kiev, Kharkiv, Odessa and Lviv (1939). Volume I of *Trudy istoricheskogo fakul'teta Kievskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta im. T. G. Shevchenko* (Works of the Faculty of History of T. H. Shevchenko State University in Kiev) came out (in Russian) in 1939 (1940); and volume I of *Zapysky Istorychnoho i Filolohichnoho Fakul'tetu L'vivskoho Derzhavnoho Universytetu im. I. Franka* (Proceedings of the Faculties of History and Philology of I. Franko State University in Lviv) came out in 1940.

²⁷⁵ The following publications are worth mentioning: *Ukrayina pered vyzvol'noyu viynoyu 1648-1654 r.r.* (The Ukraine Before the War of Liberation of 1648-1654), Kiev, 1946; *Ukrayins'kyi narod u vitchyznyaniy viyni 1812 r.* (The

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276 A flagrant example of this is *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi RSR* (History of the Ukrainian SSR), the first volume of which was published in Kiev in 1954 by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR (this is the present name of the former Institute of Ukrainian History), edited by O. Kasymenko (chief editor) and V. Dyadychenko, F. Los', F. Shevchenko and F. Yastrebov.

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UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY IN GALICIA

In Galicia, circumstances accompanying the development of historical sciences were different. Polish rule over West-Ukrainian territories, with denial of any kind of autonomy and existing hostility between the authorities and the Ukrainian population, did not favor Ukrainian science at all, particularly historical science. Ukrainian Chairs in Lviv University were abolished. The Shevchenko Scientific Society was deprived of all state subsidy for a long time. Only voluntary aid from the Ukrainian community, both moral and financial, and dedicated work on the part of Ukrainian scholars accounted for the fact that Ukrainian historical science not only did not die out in this area, but continued growing and created new values. What is more, following the purge of Ukrainian historical science in the Ukrainian SSR in the thirties, Galicia became the only Ukrainian territory where Ukrainian historians could work in freedom more or less.

What favored this development was the fact that the Polish authorities, although alien and hostile, did not interfere in the internal affairs of Ukrainian science nor in its methodological fundamentals, as was the case in the Ukrainian SSR. Ukrainian historiography in Galicia maintained the best traditions of pre-war historical science, and its leadership remained in the hands of those historians who had been part of the M. Hrushevsky school. It was equally important that the traditional center of free Ukrainian science, the Shevchenko Scientific Society (see *supra*), survived and assumed the leadership of all scholarly work in the field of Ukrainian history in Galicia. It was precisely thanks to

the Shevchenko Scientific Society that Ukrainian science in Galicia, deprived of its own universities, managed to create and develop its own centers of scientific research.

The work of Ukrainian historians in the Dnieper Ukraine and abroad exerted considerable ideological influence upon Ukrainian historical science in Galicia. The high standards of Ukrainian historiography in the Dnieper Ukraine in the twenties influenced Ukrainian historians in Galicia with respect to scientific ideas and organization. Here the activities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and of its Historical Section, headed by M. Hrushevsky, were particularly influential. Galician historians not only published their works in publications of VUAN and of its Historical Section, but even directly participated in the activities of the latter. M. Hrushevsky, in the spirit and tradition of united Ukrainian historiography, set the common efforts of Ukrainian historians toward solving the general problems of Ukrainian history above state boundaries and above regimes. And when in the early thirties the all-Ukrainian center in Kiev was destroyed and Ukrainian historiography in the Ukrainian SSR was stifled, Galician Ukrainian historians continued the work, keeping in contact with Ukrainian emigre scholars in Prague, Warsaw, Berlin and Paris.

This situation determined the special role of Galician historians in developing modern Ukrainian historiography and made possible not only mutual understanding among Ukrainian historians throughout the whole Ukraine during World War II, but also common undertakings by emigres throughout the whole free world.

The main center of Ukrainian historical science in Galicia continued to be the Shevchenko Scientific Society, especially its Historical-Philosophical Section headed by Professor I. Krypyakevych. The Section had among its active members both older historians who had begun their scholarly activities in the days of M. Hrushevsky (B. Barvinsky, V. Herasymchuk, F. Holychuk, D. Korenets', I. Krevetsky, F. Sribnyi, O. Terletsy and others) and younger scholars who first appeared on the scientific scene in

the twenties and thirties (M. Andrusiak, I. Vytanovych, R. Zubyk, and others). A new generation of historians made their appearance in the thirties, drawn to work in the Shevchenko Scientific Society by Professor Krypyakevych (I. Karpynets', T. Kostruba, O. Pritsak and others).

The need for specific work and for establishment of a series of commissions became evident as the Shevchenko Scientific Society developed its historical research in the thirties, and united within its ranks older and younger researchers as well as promising young students. Accordingly, in 1938 the following historical commissions were active in the Historical-Philosophical Section: Ancient Ukrainian History (Chairman I. Krypyakevych), Modern Ukrainian History (Chairman I. Vytanovych), Historical Sources (Chairman O. Terletsky). Research work was devoted mainly to local history (the Galician-Volynian State of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Galicia between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, etc.), but the researchers' interest and attention frequently reached beyond local matters and embraced problems of general Ukrainian significance. The tradition of the times of M. Hrushevsky favored this trend, which was continued by his Galician disciples. Particularly influential in this respect was the personal scientific interest of the older generation of historians, especially of I. Krypyakevych who successfully carried on his studies of the history of the Cossack period and of the Cossack-Hetman State. This trend took further root after the liquidation of the Kiev historical center in the early thirties, when the Lviv center again assumed a general-Ukrainian character.

It was of great importance that the principal publication of the Shevchenko Scientific Society, its *Zapysky* (ZNTSH, Proceedings (also referred to as Memoirs)), and other publications of the Society and of its Historical-Philosophical Section included for the most part historical studies of Galician scholars as well as those of emigres, and (in the 1920s) even of Ukrainian Soviet scholars. Here were published works of M. Andrusiak, B. Barvinsky, M. Chubaty, M. Korduba, I. Krevetsky, I. Krypyakevych, M. Voznyak and others from Galicia; and of V. Bidnov, I. Bor-

shchak, D. Doroshenko, M. Hrushevsky, I. Losky, S. Narizhnyi, D. Olyanchyn, M. Petrovsky, M. Vasylenko, A. Yakovliv and A. Yershov from the Dnieper Ukraine.

Along with the Shevchenko Scientific Society publications there was an attempt to publish an historical (or historical-philological) periodical of a broader nature which would contain scientific studies, scientific popularizations, documentary material, scientific chronicles, reviews and bibliography. The first and very successful attempt was the monthly *Stara Ukrayina* (The Old Ukraine) edited by I. Krevetsky. It had, however, a life of only two years (1924 and 1925). The second periodical was *Syohochasne i Mynule* (The Present and the Past) edited by I. Rakovsky and V. Simovych. It was started in 1939 and its publication was interrupted by the war and the Soviet occupation; only three issues came out.²⁷⁷

Religious and scientific-theological institutions and societies also devoted much attention to historical research, chiefly in the field of Ukrainian Church history. Especially noteworthy is the Ukrainian Theological Scientific Society in Lviv with its publications, among them the quarterly *Bohosloviya* (Theology) published between 1923 and 1939 under the editorship of Fr. Yosyf Slipyi,²⁷⁸ and *Pratsi Bohoslovs'ko-Naukovoho Tovarystva* (The Works of the Theological-Scientific Society), and particularly the publication of the Basilian Fathers, *Zapysky Chynu Sv. Vasyliya Velykoho* (Proceedings of the Order of Saint Basil the Great) which came out in Zhovkva between 1924 and 1939, edited by Fr. Josaphat Skruten', OSBM. *Zapysky ChSVV* became a very important publication in Ukrainian studies, mainly in the field of Church history and general Ukrainian history and the history of culture, gathering around this publication a series of Ukrainian scholars both from Galicia and from the Carpathian Ukraine (M. Andrusiak, B. Barvinsky, V. Hadzhe-

²⁷⁷ The Shevchenko Scientific Society renewed publication of *Syohochasne i Mynule* abroad. Two issues came out in 1948 and 1949 under the editorship of Z. Kuzelya.

²⁷⁸ Subsequently Archbishop of Lviv and Metropolitan of Galicia.

ga, M. Holubets', Fr. M. Karovets', Fr. H. Kynakh, Fr. T. Kostruba, I. Krypyakevych, Fr. R. Lukan', Fr. J. Skruten', I. Svyentsitsky, S. Tomashivsky, M. Voznyak, and others), and also emigres (B. Krupnytsky, I. Losky, I. Ohiyenko, D. Olyanchyn, A. Petrov, V. Sichynsky, V. Zalozetsky, V. Zayikyn, and others).²⁷⁹

Also worthy of mention are the publications of Lviv Stavropygia, (particularly materials on the history of the Lviv Brotherhood of the eighteenth century) and of the Ukrainian National Museum: *Litopys Natsional'noho Muzeyu* (Chronicle of the National Museum), 1933-1939, edited by I. Svyentsitsky, and separate publications on the history of Ukrainian art, printing, etc.

Much historical material of a local nature was printed in publications of local museums and land-study societies: *Litopys Boykiushchyny* (Chronicle of the Boyko Region) in Sambir, ten volumes between 1931 and 1939; *Nasha Bat'kiushchyna* (Our Fatherland); and others.

Many historical studies (and materials), mainly of a scientific-popular nature were published by various Ukrainian community and private publishing enterprises, either in the form of journals or collections, or in separate, often extensive, publications. To be noted in particular are: *Litopys Chervonoyi Kalyny* (Chronicle of Chervona Kalyna), a journal (1926-1938) of the publishing house of the same name, which contained many articles and much material, mostly memoirs from the history of the Ukrainian liberation struggle in the twentieth century; and collections, *Ukrayins'ka Knyha* (The Ukrainian Book), edited by Ye. Yu. Pelensky (Bystrytsya Publishing House) of which five volumes came out between 1937 and 1943; also *Literaturno-Naukovyi Visnyk* (Literary-Scientific News), 1922-1932, and *Visnyk* (News), 1933-1939, edited by Dmytro Dontsov; *Zhyttya i Znannya* (Life and Knowledge), 1927-1939, and others.

²⁷⁹ Cf. *Index Analectorum OSBM*, Series prima, vol. I-VI, Roma, 1949. A total of six volumes were published, but issues 3-4 of vol. VI were lost due to the war and Soviet occupation in 1939. In 1949 in Rome the Basilian Fathers renewed publication of *Analecta OSBM* (mostly in Latin).

The following came out as separate publications: *Velyka Istoriya Ukrayiny* (Great History of the Ukraine) by M. Holubets', edited by I. Krypyakevych, Lviv, 1935; second edition, Winnipeg, 1949; *Istoriya ukrayins'koho viys'ka* (History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces) by I. Krypyakevych and B. Hnatevych, Lviv, 1936, second edition Winnipeg, 1953; *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi kul'tury* (History of Ukrainian Culture) by I. Krypyakevych, Lviv, 1937; all the above published by the I. Tyktor Publishing House.

The historical chapters of *Ukrayins'ka Zaha'l'na Entsyklopediya* (Ukrainian General Encyclopedia), edited by I. Rakovsky (vols. I-III, 1930-1935), the collective work of Ukrainian historians from Galicia and of emigres, should also be noted.

Problems of Ukrainian history and primarily the history of West Ukrainian territories occupy an important position in Polish historiography, especially in Galicia and Volynia. The Polish Historical Society in Lviv, in its principal publications, such as *Kwartalnik Historyczny* (Historical Quarterly) and *Archiwum Towarzystwa Historycznego* (Archive of the Historical Society), published, in addition to studies by Polish scholars dedicated to Ukrainian history, also studies of Ukrainian scholars (S. Tomashivsky, M. Korduba, B. Barvinsky, M. Andrusiak and others). This Society also published the journal *Ziemia Czerwieńska* dedicated to the history of Galicia. The Legal-Historical Society of Lviv published *Przewodnik Historyczno-Prawny* (A Historical-Legal Guide) with Ukrainian scholars (M. Chubaty, V. Zayikyn, and others) also participating. The journal *Biblioteka Lwowska* (Lviv Library) contained many Polish studies of the history of Galicia and Lviv. *Rocznik Wolyński* (Volynian Annals) was published in Rivne (Volynia), containing studies of Volynian history and culture.²⁸⁰

Ivan Krypyakevych, born 1886, has been the most brilliant Galician Ukrainian historian. He came of an old family of clergymen from Kholm Province. A student of M. Hrushevsky at Lviv University, he devoted himself to the history of the Cossacks in the seventeenth century, the history of Galicia and the his-

²⁸⁰ Only the most significant publications are noted here.

torical geography of West Ukrainian territories. He began publishing his studies, mainly source-research, as early as 1904 in *ZNTSH* (see *supra*). In 1919 he was appointed associate professor at Kamyanets-Podilsk University, but during the Polish period he was compelled to work as a high-school teacher, and for several years even had to be outside Galicia. Notwithstanding his inability to engage in official academic-research activities, I. Krypyakevych not only did not abandon scientific research work, but managed to establish in Lviv, around the Shevchenko Scientific Society, a circle of young students of Ukrainian history. In 1939, I. Krypyakevych was appointed to the Chair of Ukrainian History at I. Franko State University in Lviv and headed the Lviv Branch of the Institute of Ukrainian History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. Subsequent events interrupted professorial activities, but I. Krypyakevych continued his research work and directed a group of Ukrainian historians in Lviv in 1943 and 1944. Present political conditions existing in Lviv have restricted I. Krypyakevych's work to a great extent, and he has been severely censured for his adherence to the so-called "Hrushevsky school," but this venerable Ukrainian historian, a member of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, has not stopped working to this day.

Most of Krypyakevych's attention was focused on the history of the Khmelnytsky period, particularly on the process of the establishment of the Ukrainian Cossack-Hetman State. His *Studii nad derzhavoyu Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho* (Studies of the Bohdan Khmelnytsky State),²⁸¹ which he published in separate

²⁸¹ I, "Rada" (Council), II, "Heneral'na Starshyna" (High-Ranking Officers), *ZNTSH*, v. CXXXIX - CXL; III, "Derzhavni mezhi" (State Boundaries), IV, "Dorohy" (Highways), *ibid.*, v. CXLIV - CXLV; V, "Het'mans'ki universal'y" (Universals (Proclamations) of the Hetmans), VI, "Sud" (Courts), *ibid.*, v. CXLVII; VII, "Viys'ko (Armed Forces), VIII, "Kataloh polkovnykiv 1648-1657 r.r." (Catalogue of Colonels, 1648-1657), IX, "Derzhava Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho (zahal'ni uvahy)" (Bohdan Khmelnytsky's State, General Remarks), *ibid.*, v. CLI.

In the same series, but not included by the author in *Studies*: "Serby v uk-rayins'komu viys'ku 1650-1660 r." (Serbs in the Ukrainian Army 1650-1660), *ZNTSH*, v. CXXIX; "Ukrayins'kyi derzhavnyi skarb za Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho" (The Ukrainian State Treasury Under Bohdan Khmelnytsky), *ibid.*, v. CXXX;

studies in *ZNTSH* in the twenties and thirties (also in separate reprints), were based on a wealth of documentary material which he had collected in Ukrainian, Polish and Russian archives, and which constitute a major contribution to the historiography of the Khmelnytsky period.

In addition to this main activity, I. Krypyakevych published a great many scientific treatises, articles, materials and reviews. He also wrote many interesting popular articles on various subjects of general Ukrainian history (particularly of the seventeenth century) and on the history of the Western Ukraine, primarily Galicia and Lviv. Notable among them are works of a historiographic nature (general and special, on certain historians).

In his scientific works of the twenties and thirties I. Krypyakevych appears as a representative of the statehood trend in Ukrainian historiography, who simultaneously fully recognized the roles of the social and the economic factors. It is characteristic of Krypyakevych that he not only goes into deep analysis of certain historical phenomena, but that, on the basis of this analysis, he

"Do istoriyi ukrayins'koho derzhavnoho arkhiva v XVII v." (On the History of the Ukrainian State Archive in the XVII Century) *ibid.*, v. CXXXIV-CXXXV; "Vol'nyi port u Starim Bykhovi 1657 r." (The Free Port of Staryi Bykhiv in 1657), *Naukovyi zbirnyk istorychnoyi sektsiyi VUAN za rik 1929* (Scientific Symposium of VUAN Historical Section for the Year 1929), Kiev; "Z ukrayins'ko-moskovskoyi pohranychnoyi perepysky" (From the Ukrainian-Muscovite Correspondence on Border Matters), *ZNTSH*, v. CL.

The following studies stand somewhat apart: "Skarby Khmelnyts'koho" (Treasures of Khmelnytsky), *ZNTSH*, v. XCVI; "Z kozats'koyi sfragistyky" (From Cossack Sphragistics), *ZNTSH*, v. CXXXIII-CXXXIV; "Uchytel' Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho (Andriy Hontsel' Mokrsky)" (Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Teacher, Andriy Hontsel Mokrsky), *ZNTSH*, v. CXXXIII; "Monety B. Khmelnyts'koho i P. Doroshenka" (Coins of B. Khmelnytsky and P. Doroshenko), *Stara Ukrayina*, 1924; "Ostafiy Astamatiy (Ostamatenko), ukrayins'kyi posol v Turechchyni 1670-kh r.r." (Ostafiy Astamatiy (Ostamatenko), Ukrainian Envoy in Turkey in the 1670's), *Ukrayina*, vol. VI, Kiev, 1928, and others.

During the last war Krypyakevych continued his study of the State of Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Recently he published the monograph, *Bohdan Khmelnytsky*, Kiev, 1954.

looks for historical synthesis within the framework of Ukrainian history as a whole. He also wrote a series of general academic courses in Ukrainian history.

While I. Krypyakevych's activities were centered mainly in the Shevchenko Scientific Society, two other Ukrainian historians, older students of M. Hrushevsky—S. Tomashivsky and M. Kor-duba—represented Ukrainian historiography chiefly in the outside scientific world.

Stepan Tomashivsky (1875-1930), associate professor of the Chair of Austrian History at Lviv University, whom World War I and reestablishment of Ukrainian statehood separated from scholarly activities (see *supra*) and even from Galicia for a certain time, became an associate professor in 1926 and a professor in 1930 of the History of the East at Jagellonian University in Kraków. His scholarly works of that period are mainly on history of the Ukrainian Church and on the Princely period. The most important are: "Predtecha Izydora. Petro Akerovych, neznanyi mytropolyt rus'kyi (1241-1245)" (Precursor of Isidore, Petro Akerovych, an Unknown Metropolitan of Rus', 1241-1245) in *Zapysky Chyna SVV*, vol. II, Nos. 3-4, 1927, and separately; *Petro, pershyi uniyats'kyi Mytropolyt Ukrayiny-Rusy* (Petro, the first Uniate Metropolitan of Ukraine-Rus'), Lviv, 1928; "Boyaryn chy ihumen?" (Boyar or Abbot?), *Zapysky Chyna SVV*, v. III, Nos. 1-2, 1928; "Do istoriyi Peremyshlya i yoho yepyskops'koyi katedry" (On the History of Peremyshl and its Episcopal Cathedral), *ibid.*; and "Vstup do istoriyi Tserkvy na Ukrayini" (Introduction to the History of the Church in the Ukraine), *Zapysky Chyna SVV*, vol. IV, Nos. 1-2, 1932; second edition came out in Philadelphia, Pa., in the early forties. Other noteworthy works by Tomashivsky of that period are: "Do istoriyi perelomu Khmelnychchyny" (On the History of the Khmelnytsky Upheaval), *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. I. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1927 and separately; and "Nowa teoria o poczatkach Rusi" (New Theory About the Beginnings of Rus'), *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 43, I, and separately, Lviv, 1930 (regarding the concepts of V. Parkhomenko).

S. Tomashivsky is, along with V. Lypynsky, the founder of Ukrainian statehood historiography.

Myron Korduba, 1876-1948, former professor at Chernivtsi University, was engaged in scientific and academic activity on a broad scale (see *supra*). He became professor of Warsaw University and this position gave him an opportunity to present Ukrainian historiography before the Polish as well as the foreign scientific world. He took an active part in congresses of historians, both Polish (in the state-territorial sense) as well as international, disseminating detailed information about the development of Ukrainian historical science in all Ukrainian areas and abroad. Korduba wrote outlines of modern Ukrainian historiography for the International Conference of East-European Historians in Warsaw of 1928, and for the following International Historical Congresses: VII, Warsaw, 1933 and VIII, Zürich, 1938. These outlines were published in French. In addition, Korduba published many historical articles and reviews on Ukrainian historical subjects in Polish, German (*Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*) and French (*Le Monde Slave*) periodicals. M. Korduba conducted part of his scientific research work in the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw with the Commission for Study of Ukrainian-Polish Problems which published the weekly *Biuletyn polsko-ukrain'ski* (Polish-Ukrainian Bulletin), and devoted his work mainly to the history of the Galician-Volynian State and to the Western Ukraine in general. He published a study, "Zakhidne pohranychchya Halyts'ko-Volyns'koyi derzhavy v XIII st." (The Western Boundary of the Galician-Volynian State in the XIII Century), *ZNTSH*, vols. CXXXVIII-CXL, Lviv, 1925; and a series of other studies, his outline *Istoriya Kholmshchyny i Pidlyashshya* (History of Kholm and Pidlyashshya Regions), v. I, coming out in 1941 (Kraków). Korduba was also interested in the Cossack period and published a study, *Bohdan Khmelnytsky u Belzchyni i Kholmshchyni* (Bohdan Khmelnytsky in the Belz and Kholm Districts), Kraków, 1941; he was also the author of a chapter on the history of the Commonwealth of Poland during the Khmelnytsky period: "The Reign of John Casimir: part I, 1648-54" in

the well-known work *The Cambridge History of Poland*, Vol. I, *From the Origin to Sobieski (to 1696)*, Cambridge, 1950.

During World War II M. Korduba moved to Lviv where he continued his studies of the history of Western Ukrainian territories of the medieval period. Hardships of the German occupation and persecution by Soviet authorities interrupted his scholarly work and hastened his death.

Among other historians of the older generation (see *supra*) we should name the following:

Ivan Krevetsky, 1883-1940, worked mainly in the field of Ukrainian historiography. A particularly important article was: "Ukrayins'ka istoriohrafiya na perelomi" (Ukrainian Historiography at the Turning Point), *ZNTSH*, vols. CXXXIV-CXXXV. He worked also in historical bibliography.

Bohdan Barvinsky carried on studies of the Mazepa period. He published the studies, "Slidamy het'mana Mazepy" (In the Footsteps of Hetman Mazepa), *ZNTSH*, v. CXXIX, 1920 and v. CXLIV, 1926; "Do pobutu Orlyka v Stanyslavovi" (On Orlyk's Stay in Stanyslaviv), *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. M. S. Hrushevs'koho*, Kiev, 1928; and a genealogical study "Konashevychi v Peremys'kiy zemli v XV-XVI st." (The Konashevyches in the Peremysl Area in the XV and XVI Centuries), *ZNTSH*, v. C.

Vasyl' Herasymchuk, 1880-1944, carried on work on the period of B. Khmelnytsky and I. Vyhovsky, the most important study being: "Do pytanna pro statyi B. Khmelnyts'koho" (On the Problem of the Articles of B. Khmelnytsky), *ZNTSH*, v. C. His collection of material on the history of the Khmelnytsky period from Polish sources, prepared for the Archeographic Commission of VUAN, did not see publication.

Omelyan Terletsy worked on the history of Galicia of the nineteenth century, particularly of the year 1848.

Mykola (Nicholas D.) *Chubaty*, born in 1889, professor at the Ukrainian University (clandestine) and of the Theological Academy in Lviv, investigated subjects of history of Ukrainian law and of the Ukrainian Church. He published a monograph: "Derzhav-

no-pravne stanovyshe ukrayins'kykh zemel' Lytovs'koyi derzhavy" (State Legal Position of Ukrainian Lands in the Lithuanian State), *ZNTSH*, vols. CXXXIV-CXXXV, CXLIV-CXLV, and separately, Lviv, 1926; a study, "Pravne polozhennya Tserkvy v Kozats'kiy Derzhavi XVII-XVIII st." (On the Legal Status of the Church in the Cossack State of the XVII and XVIII Centuries), *Bohosloviya*, I-II, 1925; historiographic outlines: "Literatur der ukrainischen Rechtsgeschichte in den Jahren 1919-1929" (Literature of Ukrainian Legal History in the 1919-1929 Period), *Przewodnik Historyczno-Prawny*, vol. II-IV, 1930, and separately, Lviv, 1931; and "Gegenstand der Geschichte des ukrainischen Rechtes" (The Subject of the History of Ukrainian Law), *Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VII-e Congrès international des sciences historiques, Varsovie, aout, 1933*, Lviv, 1933.

In addition, M. Chubaty wrote university courses on the history of Ukrainian law: *Ohlyad istoriyi ukrayins'koho prava. Istoriya dzherel ta derzhavnoho prava* (An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Law—History of Sources and Constitutional Law), vols. I, II, Lviv, 1921; second edition, Lviv, 1922; third edition, Munich 1947 (mimeographed); and on Ukrainian Church history: *Istoriya ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy* (History of the Ukrainian Church), parts I and II, Schloss Hirschberg, 1946, mimeographed. Prof. Chubaty has been living in the United States since 1939, working in the Shevchenko Scientific Society, and since 1944 editing the periodical *The Ukrainian Quarterly*. He continues his study of church history.

Mykola Andrusiak (born 1902), graduate of Lviv University, subsequently associate and professor at Ukrainian Free University in Munich, devotes himself to research in the history of the Cossack-Hetman period. He wrote studies: "Do istoriyi borot'by mizh Petrom Doroshenkom ta Petrom Sukhoviym u 1668-1669 r.r." (On the History of the Struggle Between Petro Doroshenko and Petro Sukhoviyy in 1668-1669), *ZNTSH*, vol. CL, 1929; "Do istoriyi pravobichnykh kozakiv u 1689-90 r.r." (On the History of Right-Bank Cossacks in 1689-90), *ZNTSH*, v. C, 1930; "Pavlo Teterya, yak chlen Stavropihiys'koho Bratstva u L'vovi" (Pavlo

Teterya as a Member of the Stavropygian Brotherhood in Lviv) *ZNTSH.*, vol. CLI, 1931; "Zvyazky Mazepy z Stanislavom Leshchyns'kym i Karlom XII" (Mazepa's Contacts with Stanislaw Leszczynski and Charles XII), *ZNTSH.*, vol. CLII, part I, 1933; "Het'man Ivan Mazepa, yak kul'turnyi diyach" (Hetman Ivan Mazepa as Cultural Leader), *Mazepa*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1939; and others; also the monograph *Mazepa i Pravoberezhzhya* (Mazepa and the Right-Bank), Lviv, 1938. In addition, Andrusiak worked on specific problems of Ukrainian church history of the seventeenth century: the monograph *Józef Szumlanski, pierwszy biskup unicki lwowski 1667-1708* (Józef Szumlanski, the First Uniate Bishop of Lviv, 1667-1708), Lviv, 1934; the study "Ivan Khlopetsky, peremys'kyi pravoslavnyi yepyskop-nominat v 1632-1633 r.r." (Ivan Khlopetsky, Orthodox Bishop-nominee of Peremyshl' in 1632-1633), *ZNTSH.*, vol. CXLVII, 1927; and others; on Ukrainian historiography: the study "Do pytannya pro avtorstvo Litopysu Samovydtsya" (The Question of the Authorship of the Samovydets' Chronicle), *ZNTSH.*, v. CXLIX, 1928; and a series of historiographic reviews in *Litopys Chervonoyi Kalyny*, Lviv, 1932, Nos. 9-10; *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 48, Lviv, 1394; *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu v Amerytsi, I. Zbirnyk Ukr. Nauk. Inst. v Amerytsi*, St. Paul (Minn.)-Prague, 1939; on the history of Galicia of the nineteenth century, particularly the outline "The Ukrainian Movement in Galicia" in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. XIV, Nos. 40, 41, London, 1935-1936; on old Ukrainian history: the study "Ostanni Romanovy-chi" (The last Romanovyches), *Naukovyi zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu. Yuvileynе vydannya*, (Scientific Symposium of the Ukrainian Free University—Jubilee Publication), vol. V, Munich, 1948. Finally, Andrusiak wrote courses in Ukrainian history: *Istoriya Ukrayiny, I, Knyazha doba* (History of the Ukraine, I, the Princely Period), Prague, 1941; and *Istoriya Kozachchyny* (History of the Cossack Period), Munich, 1946 (mimeographed).

Mykhaïlo Voznyak (1881-1954), historian of literature, devoted much work to unsolved problems of Ukrainian history and Uk-

rainian historiography. He published the study "Kh-to-zh avtor Li-topysu 'Samovydytsya'" (Who is the Author of the "Samovydyts" Chronicle), *ZNTSH.*, vol. CLIII, part I, 1933; the monograph *Psevido-Konysky i Psevido-Poletyka* ("Istoriya Rusov" u literaturi i nautsi) (Pseudo-Konysky and Pseudo-Poletyka, "Istoriya Rusov" in Literature and Science), Lviv-Kiev, 1939; valuable documentary material: "Benders'ka Komisiya po smerti Mazepy" (The Bendery Commission after Mazepa's Death), *Mazepa*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1938; and a series of biographical notes on Mazepa, specially with reference to the dates of his birth and death.

Fr. Josaphat-Ivan Skruten', *OSBM* (1894-1951), was particularly interested in problems of the history of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. He published, mainly in *Zapysky ChSVV* (Proceedings of the Order of St. Basil the Great), a series of source studies and articles on the biography of Saint Josaphat Kuntsevych and the history of the Order of Saint Basil in Ukraine. Particularly noteworthy are his studies on biographies of the Basilian Fathers (on the basis of a collection of manuscripts of the Metropolitan Lev Kyshka): *Zapysky ChSVV*, I-IV, 1924-32; on the *Synopsis* of the Pidhirtsi Monastery, *Zapysky ChSVV*, I, III, IV; and the outline *Un demi siècle d'Histoire de l'Ordre des Basiliens* (A Half Century of the Order of Basilians), Warsaw, 1933.

Fr. Teodosiy-Teofil Kostruba (1907-1943), a prematurely-deceased historian, published a series of studies and articles on Ukrainian Church history of the Princely Period, part of which is contained in his collection *Narysy z tserkovnoyi istoriyi Ukrainy X-XIII stolittya* (Outline of Ukrainian Church History of the X to XIII Centuries), Lviv, 1939, second edition, Toronto, 1955. Fr. Kostruba also did research in the history of the Galician-Volynian State and Galician history, publishing (following 1929) the results of this research in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (v. CL), in *Zapysky ChSVV*, *Bohosloviya*, and others. He was also the translator of "Halyts'ko-Volynsky Litopys" (The Galician-Volynian Chronicle) into modern Ukrainian (an-

notated) in two parts (Lviv, 1936).²⁸² His major work, however, on the sources for history of the Galician-Volynian State, remains unpublished. Among other publications of Fr. Kostruba, we must note the article "Het'man Ivan Skoropadsky 1709-1722," Lviv, 1932.

Fr. Roman Stepan Lukan', OSBM (1907-1943), worked on specific problems of Ukrainian Church history (the history of monasteries) and on the history of culture (press and bibliography).

Illya Vytanovych (born 1899) devoted his work to subjects of economic and social history of the Ukraine, notably *Istoriya i suchasnyi stan Zakhidno-ukrayins'koho sela* (History and Present State of the West-Ukrainian Countryside), Podebrady, 1935, mimeographed; and studies on the history of Ukrainian social-political ideas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—about O. Rusov, M. Tuhan-Baranovsky, V. Navrotsky and others.

Ivan Karpynets' worked in the same field, e.g., his study "Halyts'ki zalizni huty ta yich produktsiya v r.r. 1772-1848" (Galician Iron Smelters and their Production Between 1772 and 1848), *ZNTSH*, vol. CLIV, 1937.

Roman Zubyk worked on history of prices in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries.

Omelyan Pritsak (born 1919) worked on the political history of the Mazepa period. Representing the youngest generation (before World War II) of Galician historians, a student of Professor Krypyakevych, he published a study "Ivan Mazepa i knyahynya Anna Dol'ska" (Ivan Mazepa and Princess Anna Dol'ska), *Mazepa* vol. II, and compiled a detailed bibliography on Mazepa and his period for vol. III of the *Mazepa* collection, which was not published, however, due to the war.²⁸³ The Mazepa period was

²⁸² Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 1937, No. I.

²⁸³ In 1948 O. Pritsak published a study "Soyuz Khmelnyts'koho z Turechchynoyu 1648 r." (Khmelnytsky's Alliance of 1648 with Turkey), *ZNTSH*, vol. CLVI, Munich, 1948. Subsequent research by O. Pritsak is along different lines, chiefly oriental studies.

also studied by *Fr. Dr. Pavlo Khrushch* who published some results of his research in *Zapysky ChSVV* (VI,1-2).²⁸⁴

We should also note the works of *Adriyan Kopystyansky*, publisher of material on the history of the Lviv Stavropygia in the eighteenth century²⁸⁵ and of *Fr. Andriy Ishchak* (1887-1941) on church history: "Uniyni i avtokefalni zmahannya na ukrayins'kykh zemlyakh vid Danyla do Izydora" (The Uniate and Autocephalous Strivings in Ukrainian Lands from the Times of Danylo to Isidore), *Bohosloviya*, Lviv, vols. I, II, V, 1923, 1924, 1927; "De Zacharia Kopystenskyj eiusque Palinodia" (On Zacharia Kopystensky and His Palinodia), *Bohosloviya*, vols. VIII, IX, 1930-1931.

Mykola Holubets' (1892-1942) published many studies on Ukrainian history and the history of Ukrainian art. He was the author of *Velyka Istoriya Ukrayiny* (Great History of Ukraine), published by I. Tyktor, Lviv, 1935; second edition, Winnipeg, 1949.

In addition, scientific, scientific-popular and general periodicals and books in Galicia in the period of the thirties and forties contained numerous studies, outlines and material on Galician history and particularly on the Galician-Ukrainian national renaissance. Here we should note the works of several authors: *Ambrosiy Androkhovych*, "I. Lavrivsky, odyń iz pioneriv ukrayins'koho vidrodzhennya v Halychyni" (I. Lavrivsky, One of the Pioneers of the Ukrainian Renaissance in Galicia), *ZNTSH*, vol. CXXVIII, 1919; *Ivan Bryk*, "Slovians'kyi z'yizd u Prazi 1848 r. i ukrayins'ka sprava" (The Slavonic Congress in Prague in 1848 and the Ukrainian Problem) *ibid.*, vol. CXXIX, 1919; *Kyrylo Studynsky*, "Materiyaly dlya istoriyi kul'turnoho zhyttya v Halychyni v 1797-1857 rr." (Material for the History of Cultural Life in Galicia Between 1797 and 1857), *Ukrayins'ko-Rus'kyi Arkhiv*, XIII-XIV, Lviv, 1920; *Fr. Tyt Voynarovsky*, *Das Schicksal des ukrainischen*

²⁸⁴ His monograph "Ivan Mazepa do het'manstva" (Ivan Mazepa Before his Hetmanate) is as yet unpublished.

²⁸⁵ He also published a popular edition of *Istoriya Rusy* (A History of Rus'), vols. I-III, Lviv, 1931-1933.

Volkes unter polnischer Herrschaft (The Fate of the Ukrainian People Under Polish Rule), Vienna, 1921; *Kost' Levytsky, Istoriya politychnoyi dumky halyts'kykh ukrayintsiiv 1848-1918* (History of the Political Ideas of Galician Ukrainians 1848-1918), vols. I-II, Lviv, 1926-1927; and the same author's *Istoriya vyzvol'nykh zmahan' Halyts'koyi Ukrayiny 1914-1918* (History of the Liberation Struggle of Galician Ukraine 1914-1918), Lviv, 1929-1930; and many other authors.

World War II brought about great changes and hardship in the circumstances of Ukrainian historical science in Galicia. During the first Soviet occupation (1939-1941) the rights of Ukrainian science and higher education were formally recognized in Galicia. The Polish John Casimir University in Lviv was changed to the I. Franko Ukrainian State University and Ukrainian professors, whom Polish authorities had deprived of opportunities to teach in universities, were appointed to its faculty. I. Krypyakevych was appointed to the Chair of Ukrainian History and the faculty also included the historians O. Terletsy (the Chair of World History), M. Andrusiak (for a short period) and others. This provided an opportunity to assemble young students of historical science in Lviv University, who worked in the Historical Department under I. Krypyakevych. Lviv State University began publication of *Zapysky Istorychnoho ta Filolohichnoho Fakul'tetiv* (Proceedings of the Faculties of History and Philology) which printed the works of Ukrainian historians of Lviv and Kiev.²⁸⁶ This fact had a certain importance for the further development of Ukrainian historiographic science.

But along with this, Soviet occupation brought great destruction to Ukrainian science, particularly historical, in Galicia. First of all, all prewar publications were padlocked, and many publications ready for printing and even some in print were destroyed.

A whole series of Shevchenko Scientific Society's publications were lost, especially the then current volume of *Zapysky (ZNTSH, vol. CLVI, Works of the Historical-Philosophical Section)*²⁸⁷ and

²⁸⁶ Particularly studies by N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko and by O. Ohloblyn.

²⁸⁷ Volume CLVI of *ZNTSH* appeared subsequently (in 1948) abroad, but with different content.

of *Syohochasne i Mynule* (vol. IV). New publications of the Ukrainian Theological Academy and of the Theological Scientific Society were destroyed. Also lost were current issues of *Zapysky ChSVV* (vol. VI, Nos. 3-4). A similar fate befell private publications.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society was changed early in 1940 to the Lviv Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, of which the Institute of Ukrainian History (officially the Branch of the Kiev Institute), headed by Prof. I. Krypyakevych, was a part. O. Terletsky, V. Herasymchuk, Yosyp Pelensky, F. Sribnyi, Fedir Holychuk, I. Karpynets' and others worked in this Institute. The members of the Institute worked mainly on the history of Western Ukrainian territories (particularly of the nineteenth century), and also gathered material for appropriate chapters of a large history of the Ukraine, which was at that time a project of Kiev Institute. Scholars of Lviv Institute took part together with Kiev historians in the Session of the Historical-Philological Department of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, which was held in Lviv in the spring of 1941.

Scientific work in Lviv Institute was to proceed within the framework of "Marxism-Leninism" and was under strict control of Soviet authorities.

The position of historical science was not much different during the German occupation of Galicia between 1941 and 1944. Lviv University was liquidated. The Branch of the Academy of Sciences was kept intact, but any kind of scientific activity was prohibited. The Shevchenko Scientific Society was not permitted to reopen even in the form of a scientific research institute. The German occupation authorities prohibited publication of any historical works with the very restricted exception of textbook literature.

Even under such difficult circumstances, however, historians in Lviv did not cease their work. Taking advantage of the framework of a professional association of scientific workers, the Historical-Philosophical Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society renewed its scientific activities. The most lively work went on in the Historical Sub-Section and in the Historical Cabinet (un-

der Prof. Krypyakevych). Scholarly meetings of the historical group were held in 1943 and 1944 under the chairmanship of Prof. Krypyakevych, with the participation of all Ukrainian historians who were in Lviv at the time (B. Barvinsky, S. Biletsky, F. Holychuk, I. Karpynets', M. Korduba, I. Levkovych, Fr. R. Lukan', V. Matsyak, F. Sribnyi, O. Terletsky, I. Vytanovych and others), as well as historians from the Dnieper Ukraine who were then in Lviv (V. Dubrovsky, O. Ohloblyn, N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko).

Many scientific studies were prepared for publication at that time, but they could only be printed in the form of short articles or notices published in existing newspapers and in the literary journal *Nashi Dni* (Our Days), (Lviv, 1942-1944). The only major work which the group managed to publish was an historical-archeological monograph by Prof. Yaroslav Pasternak, *Staryi Halych* (Old Halych), Kraków-Lviv, 1944. Besides this there were some scientific-popular histories (especially works of Prof. Korduba) and textbooks (republication of D. I. Doroshenko's *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of the Ukraine), Kraków-Lviv, 1942).

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part I, Prague, 1942; *Syohochasne i Mynule*, I, Munich-New York, 1948; V. Matsyak, *Halyts'ko-Volyns'ka derzhava 1290-1340 r.r. u novykh doslidakh*, *Ohlyad istoriohrafiyi ta problematyky*, Augsburg, 1948; (Ye. Yu. Pelensky), *Istoriya Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, New York-Munich, 1949; *Khronika Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka*, No. 75, Munich, 1949; *Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva*, vol. I, Munich-New York, 1949, vol. II, Paris-New York, 1952; V. Doroshenko, *Ohnyshche ukrayins'koyi nauky*, *Naukove Tovarystvo im. T. Shevchenka*, New York-Philadelphia, 1951.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CARPATHIAN UKRAINE

A short survey of historical works on the Carpathian Ukraine is offered here, since this subject was not touched upon in D. Doroshenko's *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography*.

Carpathian Ukrainian historiography had its beginnings in the late eighteenth century. The first historian of the Carpathian Ukraine (Rus') was Chief Abbot of the Basilian Monastery in Mukachevo, *Ioannikiy Basylovych* (1742-1831), author of *Brevis notitia foundationis Theodori Koriathovits pro religiosis Ruthenis in monte Csernek ad Munkacs* (Brief Notes of the Theodor Koriyatovych Foundation for Ruthenian Theologians in Mount Czernek near Munkacs), vols. I-IV, Cassoviae, 1799-1804.

In the nineteenth century problems of the history of the Carpathian Ukraine and its Church were studied by: *Fr. Mykhail Luchkay* whose chief work was *Historia Carpato-Ruthenorum sacra et civilis*, four volumes (left in manuscript form); *Adolf Dobryansky*, 1817-1902; *Fr. Oleksander Dukhnovych* (1803-1865): *Istoriya Pryashevskoi eparkhii (v Ugorskoi Rusi)* (History of the Pryashiv Eparkhy in Hungarian Rus'), translated by Fr. K. Kustodiev, 1877; *Fr. Ivan Dulishkovych: Istoricheskiya cherty ugro-russkago naroda* (Historical Features of the Hungarian-Rus' People), vols. I-III, Uzhhorod, 1875-1877; *Fr. Yuriy Zhatkovych* (1855-1920), whose main work was *Etnografichna istoriya Uhro-russov* (Ethnographic History of the Hungarian Rus' People),

1895, a part of which was published by Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1905. There were also other authors, not to mention Hungarian and German researchers, e.g., H. J. Bidermann and others.

Research in the history of the Carpathian Ukraine widened in the twentieth century: works of *Oleksiy Petrov*, professor at St. Petersburg University, particularly his *Materialy dlya istorii Ugorskoï Rusi* (Materials for the History of Hungarian Rus'), vols. I-VII, St. Petersburg, 1906-1923; *Ilarion Svyentsitsky*, subsequently director of the Ukrainian National Museum in Lviv and professor at Lviv State University, main works: "Materialy po istorii vrozozhdeniya Karpatskoï Rusi" (Materials on Rebirth of Carpathian Rus') in *Sbornik Galitsko-Russkoï Matitsy*, Lviv, 1905, 1908; "Obzor snoshenii Karpatskoï Rusi s Rossiei v 1-uyu polovinu XIX v." (Review of Relation of Carpathian Rus' with Russia in First Half of the XIX Century) in *Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk*, vol. XI, book 3, and separately, St. Petersburg, 1906; *Antoniy Hodynka* (1864-1946), professor at Budapest University, major works: *A Munkácsi Görög-Katholikus Püspökség Története* (History of the Munkacs Greek-Catholic Episcopate), Budapest, 1909, and *A Munkácsi Gör. Szert. Püspökség Okmánytára* (Archive of Documents of Munkacs Episcopate), vol. I, Ungvar, 1911; *Yevhen Perfetsky*, (1888-1947) "Obzor ugororusskoï istoriografii" (Review of Hungarian-Rus' Historiography) in *Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Imp. Akademii Nauk*, vol. XIX, Book I, Petrograd, 1914; and "Uhors'ka Rus'-Ukrayina v XVIII st." (Hungarian Rus'-Ukraine in the XVIII Century) in *Ukrayina*, III-IV, 1917; there were works by *Hiyador Strypsky*; *Stepan Tomashivsky* wrote the articles "Ugorskaya Rus'" (Hungarian Rus') in *Ukrainskii narod v ego proshlom i nastoyashchem*, vol. II, Petrograd, 1916; and "Studiya A. Petrova do istoriyi Uhors'koyi Rusy" (Studies of A. Petrov on the History of Hungarian Rus') in *ZNTSH*, vol. LXXXI, 1908; *Fr. Vasyľ Hadzhega*; and others.

Following World War I there was a noticeable increase in

studies of the history of the Carpathian Ukraine. These studies were conducted both in the Carpathian Ukraine and beyond its borders. The center of these studies in the Carpathian Ukraine was the "Prosvita" (Education) Society in Uzhhorod which published much historical material in its *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Symposium), of which fourteen volumes came out.²⁸⁸ Many studies, articles and much documentary material on Carpatho-Ukrainian history were published in *Zapysky ChSVV* and in other Galician and foreign publications.

Working on Carpatho-Ukrainian history were: *Professor Oleksiy Petrov* (deceased 1932),²⁸⁹ *Karpatoruské pomístní názvy z polov. XIX. a počátku XX st.*, (Carpatho-Rus' Place-Names of the First Half of the XIX and Early XX Centuries), Prague, 1929;²⁹⁰ *Drevneishiya gramoty po istorii Karpatorusskoi Tserkvi i ierarhii*, 1391-1498 (The Oldest Documents Concerning History of the Carpathian Church and Hierarchy), Prague, 1930; *Zadachi Karpatorusskoi istoriografii* (Tasks of Carpatho-Rus' Historiography), Prague, 1930;²⁹¹ *Antoniý Hodynka*, "Documenta Koriatoviciana et fundatio Monasterii Munkaciensis" in *Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni*, series II, section II, vol. I (VII), Fasc. 2-3, 4, vol. II (VIII), fasc. 1-2, Rome, 1950, 1953, 1954; *Ilarion Svyentsitsky*, "Kul'turno-natsional'nyi rukh na Zakarpatti i v Halychyni v XVIII-XIX v." (The Cultural-National Movement in Trans-Carpathia and Galicia in the XVIII-XIX Centuries), *Syohochasne i Mynule*, I, 1939; *Yevhen Perfetsky*, professor at the University of Bratislava, on the history of Transcarpathia during the Middle Ages, the study of sources and historiography, particularly

²⁸⁸ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko: the first three volumes of *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* in *Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu VUAN*, vols. VII-VIII, Kiev, 1926.

²⁸⁹ D. I. Doroshenko wrote an obituary on O. Petrov: "A. L. Petrov (Nachruf)" (A. L. Petrov, Obituary) in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VI, No. 3, 1932. Cf. also his "Pamyati A. L. Petrova" (In Memory of A. L. Petrov) in *Zhivaya Mysl'*, V, Prague, 1932.

²⁹⁰ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, vol. VI, Nos. 2 and 3, 1931.

²⁹¹ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VI, No. 3, 1931.

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UKRAINIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY OUTSIDE
THE UKRAINE

Since the position of Ukrainian historiography in the Dnieper Ukraine over the period of the last several decades was more and more dependent on the role of political factors—the anti-national and anti-democratic policy of the Soviet authorities—and because the development of Ukrainian science in Galicia was subject to political pressure and economic restrictions on the part of the Polish government, Ukrainian historical science abroad has assumed particular importance. Although financially its field of operation has been very much restricted and uncertain, both as regards research and publications, it has been, however, almost completely free in the political, academic and ideomethodological sense. True, it was uprooted from its own soil and deprived of access to primary historical sources which were within the territory and under the authority of the USSR, the Ukrainian SSR and Poland. On the other hand, however, emigre science alone could freely utilize foreign historical and documental materials, heretofore very little known or completely unknown to Ukrainian historiography, and, what was of inestimable importance for the future, it established contacts with Western European and world historical science. Following World War II, Ukrainian historiography was able to develop freely only beyond the borders of the homeland, under emigre conditions. For this reason an outline of Ukrainian historical science abroad must be divided into two periods: prior to, and following World War II.

In connection with circumstances of resettlement of Ukrainian emigres in the twenties and thirties, the main centers of Ukrainian science of history beyond the borders of Ukraine were: Prague, Warsaw, Berlin and to a certain extent Paris and Rome. First place among them belongs without question to *Prague*, with a concentration of the best forces of Ukrainian emigres and with legal and material aid on the part of the Republic of Czechoslovakia, which did not impose on Ukrainian science any political

or ideological restrictions or undue obligations. The existence of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague (established in Vienna in 1921 and transferred to Prague later the same year) constituted a solution to the problem of educating new academic ranks of Ukrainian historians. There was a Chair of History of the Ukraine at the Ukrainian Free University, headed for a long time by Professor Dmytro I. Doroshenko (1921-1926, 1931-1936, and 1939-1945), with other Ukrainian historians working as professors, associates and assistants (V. Bidnov, B. Krupnytsky, S. Narizhnyi, P. Fedenko, M. Andrusiak and others) and the Chair of History of Ukrainian Law (A. Yakovliv, R. Lashchenko, O. Haymanivsky). The University published *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Symposium), of which four volumes came out up to 1945, and the university courses of its professors, particularly *Ohlyad ukrains'koyi istoriyohrafiyi* (A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography) by D. I. Doroshenko.

The real center of scientific research in the field of Ukrainian history was, however, the Prague Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society established in 1923. Its permanent chairman was the historian of art, Professor Dmytro Antonovych (1877-1945), son of Volodymyr Antonovych; and its secretaries were Professor Vasyl' Bidnov (until 1929), Symon Narizhnyi (1929-1944), and Volodymyr Miyakovsky (1944-1945). During the Society's twenty-two years of existence in Prague, it had among its members not only Ukrainian historians living in Prague, but historians from all emigre centers, those from Galicia, and later emigres from Dnieper Ukraine. Most of the papers read at the Society's meetings were on the subjects of Ukrainian history and historiography. The Society published its *Pratsi* (Works) of which five volumes came out, with most of the articles appearing also in separate reprints. It also published some collections on individual subjects (particularly the collection devoted to a discussion of the beginnings of the Ukrainian nation: *Otkoudu yest' poshla Ruskaya zemlya* (How Did the Rus' Land Come About), Prague, 1931, and the collection *Pamyati Prof. Vasyl' Bidnova* (In Memory of Prof. Vasyl' Bidnov), Prague, 1936).

Scientific research in history also went on in Prague in the Museum of the Liberation Struggle (established in 1925), in the Drahomanov Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute (1923-1933) which published its *Pratsi* (Works), of which three volumes came out, in the Ukrainian Law Society (beginning in 1923), in the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet (1930-1940), in the Ukrainian Sociological Institute (subsequently the Institute of Social Studies), to some extent in the Ukrainian Husbandry Academy (established 1922, and subsequently called the Ukrainian Technical Husbandry Institute) in Podebrady (problems of economic history), and in other institutions and societies. Ukrainian historians collaborated with some Czech scientific institutions, having their works published by the latter (e.g., in *Časopis Národního Muzea* (News of the National Museum)).

Ukrainian scholarly congresses in Prague were also of some importance to Ukrainian historiography. Two such congresses were held in 1926 and in 1932. Proceedings of the First Congress were published in Prague in 1928 in the form of a report; and of the Second as the *2 Ukrayins'kyi Naukovyi Z'yizd u Prazi* (Second Ukrainian Scientific Congress in Prague), Prague, 1934.

It should also be noted that Ukrainian publishing houses (both public and private) in Prague published a series of works of Ukrainian history. Noteworthy among them is the *Naukova Biblioteka* (Scientific Library) of the Yuriy Tyshchenko Publishing House.

Another important center of Ukrainian historical research abroad was *Warsaw*. Among the faculty of Warsaw University there were several Ukrainian scholars. Since 1924, there was, as part of the University, the Orthodox Theological Faculty (formally Studium) with Ukrainian historians and lawyers among the faculty (V. Bidnov, D. Doroshenko, O. Lototsky, V. Zayikyn); it published a journal *Ἑλπίς* (Hope).

Highly commendable work on behalf of Ukrainian historiography was performed by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, headed by O. Lototsky (and later by A. Yakovliv), established in 1928 (formally in 1930) "for the purpose of promot-

ing those branches of Ukrainian science for which conditions of free development do not exist in the Soviet Ukraine."

The Institute engaged in broad scientific publishing activities, mainly in the field of Ukrainian history. Among the fifty-four volumes of *Pratsi* (Works) published by the Institute, there were such important publications in Ukrainian historiography as *Narys Istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Outline of the History of the Ukraine) by D. I. Doroshenko in two volumes, published as part of *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu u Varshavi* (Works of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw), vols. 9 and 18, Warsaw, 1932-1933; B. Krupnytsky's monograph "Het'man Pylyp Orlyk (1672-1742). Ohlyad yoho politychnoyi diyal'nosti" (Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, 1672-1742—A Review of His Political Activities), in *Pratsi*, vol. 42, Warsaw, 1938; the *Mazepa* collection in two volumes, edited by D. I. Doroshenko, in *Pratsi*, vols. 46 and 47, Warsaw, 1938-1939; A. Yakovliv's monograph "Ukrayins'ko-Moskovs'ki dohovory v XVII-XVIII st." (Ukrainian-Muscovite Treaties of the XVII and XVIII Centuries) in *Pratsi*, vol. 19, Warsaw, 1934; O. Lototsky's monograph "Ukrayins'ki dzherela tserkovnoho prava" (Ukrainian Sources of Church Law), in *Pratsi*, vol. 5, Warsaw, 1931; S. M. Kuchynski's monograph "Ziēmie Czernihowsko-Siewierskie pod rządami Litwy" (Chernihiv-Siversk Lands Under Lithuanian Rule) in *Pratsi*, vol. 33, Warsaw, 1936, in Polish; M. Handelsman's monograph "Ukraińska polityka Ks. Adama Czartoryskiego przed wojną Krymską" (Prince Adam Czartoryski's Ukrainian Policy Before the Crimean War), in *Pratsi*, vol. 35, Warsaw 1937, in Polish; the collections "Z mynuloho" (From the Past), vols. I-II, in *Pratsi*, vols. 48 and 49, Warsaw, 1938-1939; O. Dotsenko's study "Zymovyi pokhid 1920 r." (The Winter Campaign of 1920), in *Pratsi*, vol. 13, Warsaw, 1935; P. Shandruk's collection of documents "Ukrayins'ko-moskovs'ka viyna 1920 r." (The Ukrainian-Muscovite War of 1920), vol. I, *Pratsi*, vol. 15, Warsaw, 1933; "Diyariy Het'mana Pylypa Orlyka" (Hetman Pylyp Orlyk's Diary), vol. I, edited by Jan Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych in *Pratsi*, vol. 17, Warsaw,

1936;²⁹² "Arkhiv M. Drahomanova, t. I, Lystuvannya Kyiv's'koyi Staroyi Hromady z M. Drahomanovym (1870-1895 r.r.)" (M. Drahomanov's Files, vol. I, Correspondence Between the Kiev "Stara Hromada" and M. Drahomanov 1870-1895), in *Pratsi*, vol. 37, Warsaw, 1938;²⁹³ memoirs of O. Lototsky, "Storinky mynuloho" (Pages from the Past), Nos. I-III, in *Pratsi*, vol. 6, 12 and 21, Warsaw, 1932, 1933, 1934;²⁹⁴ and "U Tsarhorodi" (In Constantinople), in *Pratsi*, vol. 40, Warsaw, 1939; a study by V. Lev, "Ukrayins'kyi pereklad khroniky Martyna Byel's'koho" (Ukrainian Translation of the Martyn Bielsky Chronicle), in *Pratsi*, vol. 29, Warsaw, 1936; and others.

A new Ukrainian scientific association was formed in Warsaw in 1938—The Ukrainian Mohyla-Mazepa Academy of Sciences, headed by Professor Stepan Smal-Stocki (President) and Professor Andriy Yakovliv (General Secretary). The Department of Ukrainian Studies of the Academy published, as volume III of its *Pratsi* (Works), M. Voznyak's monograph "Psevdo-Konysky i Psevdo-Poletyka ('Istoriya Rusov' u literaturi i nautsi)" (Pseudo-Konysky and Pseudo-Poletyka—"Istoriya Rusov" in Literature and Science), Lviv-Kiev, 1939.

Considerable activity was developed by the Ukrainian War-Historical Society in Warsaw which published nine volumes of collections, *Za derzhavnist'* (For Statehood), 1925-1939, devoted to the history of the Ukrainian liberation struggle. The Ukrainian journal of military science *Tabor* (The Camp) published in Kalish in the beginning of 1923 a series of studies, articles and materials on Ukrainian military history, particularly the works of O. Pereyaslavsky (Shpilinsky), S. Siropolko Jr., and others.

Nasha Kul'tura (Our Culture), scientific popular monthly, published in Warsaw between 1935 and 1937 and edited by

²⁹² Volume II of Orlyk's *Diary* (*Pratsi*, vol. 50) was not completely printed and was lost in the printing shop during the war in 1939.

²⁹³ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in "Syohochasne i mynule," II, Lviv, 1939.

²⁹⁴ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in "Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte," vol. VII, No. 2, 1933 and vol. IX, No. 3, 1935.

Professor Ivan Ohiyenko,²⁹⁵ also carried scholarly works in Ukrainian history.

Finally, some historical works appeared in publications of the Ukrainian Black Sea Institute, founded in 1940: *Chornomors'kyi Zbirnyk* (Black Sea Collection).

There was some collaboration among Ukrainian and Polish historians in Warsaw, too. Ukrainian historians took part in Polish scientific institutions and in scientific meetings, printing their works in Polish scholarly publications. On their part, some Polish historians collaborated with the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw (particularly with the Commission for Research in Polish-Ukrainian Problems, which was part of the Institute) and published their works there.

The third center of Ukrainian historical science abroad was *Berlin*, notably the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin (1926-1945). Established as a Ukrainian-German and subsequently, after 1934, a German state institution, the Institute's aim was "dissemination of authentic information about the Ukraine among German scholars, transmission of achievements of German and European science and culture to the Ukraine, and aid to Ukrainian students who were completing their studies at German higher institutions of learning."²⁹⁶ The Institute thus combined scientific, academic and informational services.

During the first period of its existence, under the directorship of D. I. Doroshenko (1926-1931), the Institute was primarily concerned with scientific research and publications, as well as the education of young scholars. In the second period, under the directorship of Professor I. Mirchuk, an historian of Ukrainian philosophy and culture (1931-1945), the Institute, continuing its scientific work, developed scientific-informational activity on a

²⁹⁵ Since 1940, Ilarion, Archbishop of Kholm and Pidlyashshya. At present Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Canada.

Metropolitan Ilarion renewed publication of *Nasha Kul'tura* and it came out in Winnipeg in 1951 through 1953.

²⁹⁶ I. Mirchuk, "Ukrayins'kyi Naukovyi Instytut u Berlini" (Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin), *Syohochasne i mynule*, Munich-New York, 1949, I-II, p. 87.

very large scale. Transformation of the Institute into a German state institution did not change its essential Ukrainian character.

The Chair of History in the Institute was occupied by such distinguished scholars as V. Lypynsky and D. I. Doroshenko. Among contributing members of the Institute were such historians as S. Tomashivsky, L. Krypyakevych, I. Krevetsky, V. Bidnov, V. Zayikin and others. The Institute educated new ranks of Ukrainian historians: B. Krupnytsky, D. Olyanchyn, I. Losky, V. Kuchabsky, M. Antonovych and Fr. Petro Verhun (church history).

Beginning in 1927, the Institute published its *Zapysky* (Abhandlungen—Proceedings) of which three volumes came out under the editorship of D. I. Doroshenko (Berlin, 1927, 1929, 1931), containing studies, articles, reviews (in Ukrainian and German) by D. Doroshenko, B. Krupnytsky, D. Olyanchyn and others, and *Zvidomlennya* (Mitteilungen—Reports) of which two issues came out in 1927 and 1928, with special articles by D. I. Doroshenko. In 1932 the Institute began publication of *Beiträge zur Ukrainekunde* (Notes on Ukrainian Studies), one issue of which (III) was dedicated to M. Hrushevsky: "Prof. Michael Hrushevskyj. Sein Leben und sein Wirken" (Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky. His Life and Work), Berlin, 1935.

Toward the end of its existence, during World War II, the Institute began publishing (mimeographed) monographs and studies in Ukrainian and German. Historical works published were: L. Okinshevich's monograph *Znachne Viys'kove Tovarystvo* (A Distinguished Military Company); and B. Krupnytsky's study *Beiträge zur Ideologie der "Geschichte der Reussen" (Istoriya Rusow)* (Notes on the Ideology of the History of the Rusy "Istoriya Rusov"), Berlin, 1945; and others.

The first encyclopedic work about the Ukraine in German, *Handbuch der Ukraine* (Handbook of the Ukraine) under the editorship of Prof. I. Mirchuk (Leipzig, 1941), was compiled by associates of the Institute.²⁹⁷ On the request of the Institute, Prof.

²⁹⁷ The Ukrainian Free University in Munich published this work in 1949 in English, *Ukraine and its People* (with some changes and additions), edited by I. Mirchuk.

B. Krupnytsky wrote a history of the Ukraine in German, *Geschichte der Ukraine von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1920* (A History of the Ukraine From the Beginning to the Year 1920), Leipzig, 1939, 2nd ed., Leipzig, 1943.

Individual historians engaged in the study of Ukrainian history in Paris and Rome. Working in Paris were: Professor E. Borschak (see *infra*), V. Prokopovych (see *infra*) and Prof. Oleksander Shulhyn of the Ukrainian Free University, a specialist in world history who is at present working on subjects of modern Ukrainian history. Working in Rome was *Yevhen Onatsky*, historian and historian of culture, and author of the studies: "Pokhodzennya Poletyk" (Origin of Poletyks) in *Ukrayina*, 1917; and "Shche pro avtora *Istoriyi Rusov*" (More about the Author of *Istoriya Rusov*) in *Nashe Mynule* (1918, I). He also published a work in Italian: *Studi di storia e di cultura Ucraina* (Studies of Ukrainian History and Culture), Rome, 1939.²⁹⁸

Ukrainian emigre historians can be divided into several generations of scholars. The first generation are historians who began their scientific careers in the Ukraine and managed to achieve a certain, frequently quite important, position in Ukrainian historiography even before 1917. In this category belong first of all V. Lypynsky and D. I. Doroshenko; we can also include in this category V. Bidnov and O. Lototsky (church history), A. Yakovliv, R. Lashchenko and S. Shelukhyn (legal history), and V. Prokopovych (sphragistics).

The second generation of historians developed or began their scholarly activities abroad. Some of them went abroad having already prepared for a scientific career in the Ukraine; others prepared for it abroad in the 1920's. In this category belong E. Borschak, V. Zayikin, as well as Lypynsky's and Doroshenko's students—B. Krupnytsky, D. Olyanchyn, S. Narizhnyi and others.

The third generation appeared in the field of Ukrainian historiography in the 1930's. They were the younger students of the first generation of scholars, and were mostly graduates of the Ukrainian Free University, Warsaw University or the Ukrainian

²⁹⁸ Professor Ye. Onatsky is living in the Argentine at the present time.

Scientific Institute in Berlin. Noteworthy among them are M. Antonovych, I. Losky and others.

Finally the fourth generation of Ukrainian historians appears on the scene of scholarly activities after World War II.

The older generation of Ukrainian emigre historians continued the scientific research begun in the homeland. Their scientific works were devoted chiefly to problems of synthesis in Ukrainian history and historiography, as well as to scientific popularization. In these fields of scholarly endeavor they accomplished a good deal. In particular, they managed to acquaint Western European scholarly circles with the achievements of Ukrainian historiography. Cut off from basic archival sources, they could engage in scientific research only to a limited degree, chiefly in the field of Ukrainian political history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (based primarily on Polish source material), in church history and legal history. They had, however, full opportunity to formulate a statehood-concept of the Ukrainian historical process and, thanks to their widespread and prolific academic activities, they managed to educate new ranks of Ukrainian historians in the same spirit and thus create a statehood school in modern Ukrainian historiography.

First place in Ukrainian emigre historiography along with preeminence in Ukrainian historical science in general is unquestionably shared by V. K. Lypynsky and D. I. Doroshenko. While the principal historical works of *Vyacheslav Lypynsky* (1882-1931) belong to the pre-revolution period (see *supra*), he did center his attention in the 1920's upon problems of historiosophy and sociology, but due to poor health and his premature death he was able to engage in scientific-academic work for only a short time (in the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin). There is no doubt, nevertheless, that Lypynsky's ideological influence determined the entire development of Ukrainian historiography of the second quarter of the twentieth century.

The scientific and academic activity of D. I. Doroshenko, on the other hand, developed to full maturity abroad.

Dmytro Ivanovych Doroshenko (1882-1951) was born on April

8, 1882 in Wilna, but his home was Hlukhiv County in the Province of Chernihiv. He came of an old family of Cossack-Hetmans which had given the Ukraine two Hetmans—Mykhaylo and Petro Doroshenko—in the seventeenth century, many Cossack patriots of the eighteenth century and several civic and cultural leaders of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. D. I. Doroshenko finished secondary school in Wilna and studied at the universities of Warsaw, St. Petersburg and Kiev, graduating from the latter in 1909. Even before World War I he distinguished himself as a Ukrainian civic and political leader, publicist, and pedagogue-historian. He worked in St. Petersburg (which had a large number of Ukrainian residents), in Kiev, Katerynoslav, and then again in Kiev. His scholarly work was connected with the Katerynoslav Archival Commission (see *supra*) and with the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev (see *supra*) where he was secretary and editor of its *Ukrayins'kyi Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Ukrainian Scientific Symposium), published in 1914 and 1915. During World War I, D. I. Doroshenko engaged in community relief work on a large scale as delegate of the "Association of Cities" in the area of Galicia and Bukovyna occupied by Russian troops. Following the 1917 revolution the Russian Provisional Government appointed him Regional Commissioner (Governor-General) of Galicia and Bukovyna. That same year he was elected a member of the Ukrainian Central Rada which appointed him chief of the Secretariat-General of the Ukraine (Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Government) but he refused this position and was elected Governor of the Chernihiv Province. In 1918 D. I. Doroshenko became Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Government. In 1919 he was appointed assistant professor at Kamyanets-Podilsk University, but had to emigrate abroad later that year. From 1921 until his death, D. I. Doroshenko was professor of the Ukrainian Free University (in Vienna, Prague and Munich), occupying the Chair of Ukrainian History. Between 1926 and 1936 he was also professor of Ukrainian History at Charles University in Prague. Between 1926 and 1931 Doroshenko was director of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, and between

1936 and 1939 professor of Church History on the faculty of Orthodox Theology of Warsaw University. During the 1945-1951 period he was president of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences abroad. D. I. Doroshenko was a full member of many scientific societies, both Ukrainian and foreign, notably, corresponding-member of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of the University of London (elected in 1923 along with M. Hrushevsky and the philologist O. Kolessa). D. I. Doroshenko died in Munich on March 19, 1951.

D. I. Doroshenko left a huge heritage of scientific and literary works. From 1899 on, he published about 1,000 scientific, academic, scientific-popular and journalistic works on Ukrainian history, historiography, the history of Ukrainian culture, church, literature, the history of Ukrainian cultural and political relations with Western Europe (chiefly with Germany), Slavonic studies and Ukrainian historical bibliography in the following languages: Ukrainian, Russian, Byelorussian, Polish, Czech, Serbian, English, French, German, Italian and Swedish.²⁹⁹

Doroshenko's principal works in Ukrainian history are: *Narys istoriyi Ukrayiny* (An Outline of the History of the Ukraine), vols. I, II (Warsaw, 1932, 1933); *Istoriya Ukrayiny 1917-1923 rokiv* (A History of the Ukraine of the 1917-1923 Period), vol. I (The Central Rada Period), Uzhhorod, 1932, vol. II (The Ukrainian Hetman State of 1918), Uzhhorod, 1930, reprinted in New York, 1954; *A History of the Ukraine*, Edmonton, 1939; second edition, Edmonton, 1941; *Z istoriyi ukraïns'koyi politychnoyi dumky za chasiv svitovoyi viyny* (History of Ukrainian Political Thought During the World War), Prague, 1936; in collaboration with the Czech orientalist J. Rypka: "Hetman Peter Dorošenko a jeho turecká politika" (Hetman Petro Doroshenko and his Turkish Policy), *Časopis Národního Musea*, No. I-II, Prague, 1933; and "Polsko, Ukrajina, Krym a Vysoká Porta v první pol. XVII stol." (Poland, the Ukraine, the Crimea and the Sublime Porte in the

²⁹⁹ Cf. *Bibliohrafiya prats' prof. D. Doroshenka za 1899-1942 roky* (Bibliography of Prof. D. Doroshenko's Works for the Years 1899-1942), Prague, 1942 (804 Titles). There is as yet no bibliography of his works for the 1943-1951 period.

First Half of the Seventeenth Century), *Časopis Národního Muzea*, No. I, Prague, 1936.

D. I. Doroshenko wrote an extensive monograph about Hetman Petro Doroshenko which was not published in full due to the circumstances of World War II. Only some chapters of this work were published, e.g., "Pochatok het'manuvannya Petra Doroshenka 1665-1666" (Early Days of the Hetmanate of Petro Doroshenko, 1665-1666) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi* (Works of the Ukrainian Historical Philological Society in Prague), vol. IV, Prague, 1942, and separately, Prague, 1941; "Pols'ko-ukrayins'ka viyna 1671 roku" (The Polish-Ukrainian War of 1671) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu v Prazi* (Scientific Collection of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague), vol. IV, Prague, 1942, and separately, Prague, 1942; "Stepan Opara, nevdayi het'man Pravoberezhnoyi Ukrayiny" (Stepan Opara, Unsuccessful Hetman of the Right-Bank Ukraine) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, vol. II, Prague, 1939, and separately, Prague, 1937.

In the field of Ukrainian historiography D. I. Doroshenko wrote: *Ohlyad ukrayins'koyi istoriografii* (A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography), Prague, 1923, the first and thus far the only complete course of Ukrainian historiography from the beginnings of Ukrainian historical works until 1923; monographs about M. Kostomarov,³⁰⁰ P. Kulish,³⁰¹ V. Antonovych,³⁰² studies about *Istoriya Rusov*,³⁰³ J. B. Scherer,³⁰⁴ D. Bantysh-Kamensky,³⁰⁵

³⁰⁰ *Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov. Yoho hromads'ka i literaturno-naukova diyal'nist'* (Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov. His Civic and Literary-Scientific Activity), Kiev, 1920; second edition, *Mykola Ivanovych Kostomarov*, Leipzig, 1924.

³⁰¹ *P. O. Kulish. Yoho zhyttya i literaturno-hromads'ka diyal'nist'* (P. O. Kulish. His Life and Literary-Civic Activity), Kiev, 1918; *Panteleymon Kulish*, Leipzig, 1923.

³⁰² *Volodymyr Antonovych. Yoho zhyttya i naukova ta hromads'ka diyal'nist'* (Volodymyr Antonovych. His Life and Scientific and Civic Activity), Prague, 1942.

³⁰³ "Istoriya Rusiv, yak pamyatka ukrayins'koyi politychnoyi dumky druhoyi polovyny XVIII stol." (*Istoriya Rusov as a Monument of Ukrainian Political*

M. Drahomanov,³⁰⁶ V. Horlenko,³⁰⁷ V. Lypynsky³⁰⁸ and a series of articles and reviews.

D. I. Doroshenko devoted the following works to the history of cultural and political relations of the Ukraine with Western Europe, in addition to a series of articles: the monograph *Die Ukraine und das Reich. Neun Jahrhunderte deutsch-ukrainischen Beziehungen* (The Ukraine and The Reich. Nine Centuries of German-Ukrainian Relations), Leipzig, 1941, second edition, Leipzig, 1942; and the study "Die Ukraine und ihre Geschichte im Lichte der westeuropäischen Literatur des XVIII und der ersten Hälfte des XIX Jhr." (The Ukraine and Its History in the Light of West European Literature of the XVIII and First Half of the XIX Centuries) in *Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin*, vol. I, Berlin, 1927, and separately, Berlin, 1927.

Thought in the Second Half of the XVIII Century) in *Khliborob's'ka Ukrayina*, vols. V and VI, Vienna, 1921.

³⁰⁴ "Schererovy *Annales de la Petite Russie* a jejich misto v ukrajinske historiografii" (Scherer's *Annales de la Petite Russie* and Their Place in Ukrainian Historiography) in *Sbornik, věnovaný J. Bidlovi* (Collection dedicated to J. Bidlo), Prague, 1928.

³⁰⁵ "Knyaz' N. Repnin i D. Bantysh-Kamensky" (Prince N. Repnin and D. Bantysh-Kamensky), *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Vysokoho Pedahohichnoho Instytutu imeny M. Drahomanova* (Works of the M. Drahomanov Ukrainian High Pedagogical Institute), vol. I, Prague, 1930. D. I. Doroshenko's monograph about D. Bantysh-Kamensky, which was being printed in ZNTSH in Lviv, did not come out because that volume was destroyed by the Soviet censor in 1939.

³⁰⁶ "M. Drahomaniv i ukrajins'ka istoriografija" (M. Drahomanov and Ukrainian Historiography), *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Vysokoho Pedahohichnoho Instytutu im. Drahomanova. Drahomaniv's'kyi zbirnyk*, Prague, 1933; "Mykhajlo Dragomanov and the Ukrainian National Movement," *The Slavonic Review*, London, April, 1938.

³⁰⁷ *Vasyl' Horlenko*, Paris, 1934.

³⁰⁸ M. Zabarevsky (D. I. Doroshenko), *Vyacheslav Lypynsky i yoho dumky pro ukrajins'ku natsiyu ta derzhavu* (Vyacheslav Lypynsky and his Thoughts about the Ukrainian Nation and State), Vienna, 1925; Second edition, Augsburg, 1946; D. Dorošenko, "V. Lypynskyj. Ein Nachruf," *Abhandlungen des Ukraini-* "V. Lypynsky yak istoryk" (V. Lypynsky as an Historian), *V. Lypynsky, yak polityk i ideoloh* (symposium), Uzhhorod, 1931.

In addition to a series of articles, D. I. Doroshenko wrote a book on Ukrainian church history, *Pravoslavna Tserkva v mynulomu i suchasnomu zhytti ukrayins'koho narodu* (The Orthodox Church in the Ukrainian People's Past and Present), Berlin, 1940.

In the field of historical bibliography D. I. Doroshenko wrote *Ukazatel' istochnikov dlya oznakomleniya s Yuzhnoi Rus'yu* (A Guide to Sources for Knowledge of South Rus'), St. Petersburg, 1904; and a series of outlines of scientific-historical literature and a great number of reviews of works on Ukrainian history and publications on its sources, both in Ukrainian and in foreign historical journals (particularly in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, 1931-1934).

The memoirs of D. I. Doroshenko are also a valuable contribution to Ukrainian historiography. They were published in the form of numerous articles and in separate publications: *Moyi spomyny pro davnye-mynule (1901-1914 roky)* (My Recollections of the Distant Past: the Years 1901-1914), Winnipeg, 1949; *Moyi spomyny pro nedavnye-mynule (1914-1920)* (My Recollections of the Recent Past: 1914-1920), vols. I-IV, Lviv, 1923-1924.

D. I. Doroshenko's work in popularizing Ukrainian history among Ukrainians and in scholarship in general is highly commendable. Of primary significance is his popular course (textbook) in Ukrainian history which was published in four editions.³⁰⁹ His sketches of local history of the following areas are also very interesting: Katerynoslav,³¹⁰ Chernihiv,³¹¹ Podolia,³¹² Galicia,³¹³ Carpathian Ukraine³¹⁴ and others; also of local history: *Po rid-*

³⁰⁹ *Kurs istoriyi Ukrayiny dlya vyshchyykh klas serednykh shkyl* (Course in the History of the Ukraine for Higher Grades of Secondary Schools), Kiev-Vienna, 1921; *Korotkyi kurs istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Short Course in the History of the Ukraine), Katerynoslav-Leipzig, 1923; *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of the Ukraine), Kraków-Lviv, 1942; *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of the Ukraine), Augsburg, 1947.

³¹⁰ *Z mynuloho Katerynoslavshchyny. Korotka istoriya krayu i yoho zaselennya* (From the Past of Katerynoslav Province. A Short History of the Land and of its Settlement), Katerynoslav, 1913.

³¹¹ *Koroten'ka istoriya Chernihiushchyny* (A Very Short History of Chernihiv Province) Chernihiv, 1918.

³¹² *Pro mynuli chasy na Podillyu (Koroten'ka istoriya krayu)* (About the Old Days in Podolia—A Very Short History of the Land), Kamyanyet-Podilsk, 1919.

nomu krayu (Over Our Own Land), Kiev 1919, second edition, Lviv, 1930, third edition, New York, 1956. Particularly important were D. I. Doroshenko's numerous scientific-informative articles in foreign periodical and non-periodical publications, especially in *The Slavonic Review* and in *The Slavonic and East European Review*, e.g., "Ukrainian History since 1914" (*The Slavonic Review*, London, 1924, No. VII); in *Historisk Tidskrift*, "Svensk-ukrainska förbindelser under 1600-och 1700-talen i belysning av den nyaste ukrainska historieskrivningen" (Swedish-Ukrainian Relations in the 1600-1700 Period in the Light of the Most Recent Ukrainian Historical Research), Stockholm, 1937, No. 2; in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte* (Berlin); *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven* (Breslau); *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie* (Berlin); *Slavische Rundschau, Germano-Slavica* (Prague); *Slovanský Přehled* (Prague); *Časopis Národního Musea* (Prague); *Przegląd Współczesny* (Warsaw); *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* (Breslau); *Kyrios* (Königsberg); and others.

One must fully agree with D. I. Doroshenko's biographer, Professor L. Biletsky, that the work of D. I. Doroshenko is "a great and important page of Ukrainian national history for society, in culture, in politics and science."³¹⁵

In Ukrainian historiography especially, Doroshenko occupies one of the most prominent places. As the bearer of the finest traditions of Ukrainian historiography of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, he was the first among Ukrainian historians to compile a scholarly outline of Ukrainian history from the earliest times to our own days, not merely as a process of the historical development of the Ukrainian people, but also as a process of the development of Ukrainian nationhood.

³¹³ M. Zhuchenko (D. Doroshenko) "Galitsiya i eya proshloe" (Galicia and its Past), *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'* (Ukrainian Life), 1914, VIII-X;

³¹⁴ M. Zhuchenko (D. Doroshenko) "Ugorskaya Rus'" (Hungarian Rus'), *Ukrainskaya Zhizn'*, 1914, V-VI; D. D., *Uhors'ka Rus'* (Hungarian Rus'), Kiev, 1914; D. Doroshenko, *Uhors'ka Ukrayina* (The Hungarian Ukraine), Prague, 1919.

³¹⁵ L. Biletsky, *Dmytro Doroshenko*, Winnipeg, 1949, p. 16.

Noteworthy among emigre historians of the older generation are also V. Bidnov and O. Lototsky.

Vasyl' Bidnov (1874-1935), professor at the Ukrainian Free University (1923-1929) and the Orthodox Theological Faculty of Warsaw University (1929-1935), carried on studies in the history of the Southern Ukraine and church history. A series of his studies and articles was published by the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society, the Shevchenko Scientific Society (in its *Zapysky*) and in others, notably: "‘Ustnoe povestvovanie zaporozhtsa N. L. Korzha’ ta yoho pokhodzhennya i znachynnya" (The Origin and Significance of the Storytelling of the Zaporozhian N. L. Korzh), in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi* (Works of the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society in Prague), vol. I, Prague, 1926, and separately, Prague, 1925; "Apolon Skal'kovsky, yak istoryk Stepovoyi Ukrayiny" (Apolon Skal'kovsky as Historian of the Steppe Ukraine), in *Naukovyi yuvileynyi zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu v Prazi, prysvyachenyi Masarykovi* (The Scientific Jubilee Symposium of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague Dedicated to Masaryk), vol. I, Prague, 1925; "Sichovyi arkhymandryt Volodymyr Sokal'sky v narodniy pamyati ta osvittleni istorychnykh dzherel" (Volodymyr Sokal'sky, Archimandrite of *Sich*, in National Memory and in the Light of Historical Sources), *ZNTSH*, vol. CXLVII, Lviv, 1927; "Mariya Mahdalyna, maty het'mana Mazepy" (Maria Mahdalyna, Mother of Hetman Mazepa), *Mazepa*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1938; "Tserkovna anatema na het'mana Mazepu" (Church Anathema on Hetman Mazepa), *Mazepa*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1939; and others.

Oleksander Lototsky (1870-1939), professor at the Ukrainian Free University (1923-1928) and of the Orthodox Theological Faculty of Warsaw University, director of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, investigated Ukrainian church history and church law. He published monographs: *Ukrayins'ki dzherela tserkovnoho prava* (Ukrainian Sources of Church Law), War-

saw, 1931;³¹⁶ and *Autokefaliya* (Autocephaly), vols. I, II, Warsaw, 1935 and 1938, an introduction to an extensive monograph on Ukrainian church history which, however, was not published; studies about religious institutions of Volodymyr the Great: "Tserkovnyi ustav kn. Volodymyra Velykoho" (Ecclesiastic Laws of Prince Volodymyr the Great), Lviv, 1925, reprinted from *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk NTSH* (Jubilee Symposium of the Shevchenko Scientific Society); and "Svytok Yaroslav" in *Naukovyi Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Universytetu v Prazi* (Jubilee Symposium of the Ukrainian University in Prague), v. I, Prague, 1925; about the legality of Anathematizing Hetman Ivan Mazepa, *Mazepa*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1939; and others.

Ivan Ohiyenko (subsequently Metropolitan Ilarion, see *supra*), born in Kiev Province in 1882, also studied problems of church history. A philologist by profession, he is the author of numerous works on Ukrainian and Slavic philology and the history of culture. He published a two-volume work, *Ukrayins'ka Tserkva. Narysy z istoriyi ukrayins'koyi Tserkvy* (The Ukrainian Church—An Outline of Ukrainian Church History), Prague, 1942; and a series of studies and articles. In addition, he wrote a documentary work, "Varshavs'ka zbirka pro Orlyka" (Warsaw Collection About Orlyk), in *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. VI, 1-2, 1935.

Vyacheslav Prokopovych, 1881-1942, also belongs to this generation. He began his scholarly career in Kiev. His study "Kyyivs'ka Militsiya" (The Kiev Militia) was published in the journal *Nashe Mynule*, No. I, Kiev, 1918. He continued his research as an emigre in France. His extensive work on the repeal of Magdeburg Law in Kiev was published after the author's death in *Pid zolotoyu korohvoyu* (Under the Golden Banner), Paris, 1943. Prokopovych devoted most of his work to Ukrainian sphragistics, but he only managed to publish the study "Sfrahistychni anekdoty" (Sphragistic Anecdotes) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva* (Works of the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society), vol. II, Prague, 1939, and separately,

³¹⁶ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. VI, No. 1, 1932.

Prague, 1938. His major work *Sfragistychni studiyyi* (Sphragistic Studies) which constitutes a scientific survey of Ukrainian sphragistics, as well as his special study *Pechat' Malorossiiskaya* (The Seal of Little Russia) were published after his death in *ZNTSH*, vol. CLXIII, Paris-New York, 1954.³¹⁷

Historians of Ukrainian law of the older generation working as emigres were R. Lashchenko, A. Yakovliv and S. Shelukhyn.

Rostyslav Lashchenko, 1878-1929, professor of the Ukrainian Free University (1922-1929), actually began his scholarly career as an emigre. He devoted his research mainly to the history of Ukrainian law of the Lithuanian period. He published a monograph "Kopni sudy na Ukrayini, yikh pokhodzhennya, kompetentsiya i ustriy" (Kopni (Common-Law) Courts in the Ukraine, Their Origin, Competence and Organization) in *Zbirnyk Pravnychoyi Komisiyi pry Istorychno-Filosofichniy Sektsiyi Naukovoho Tovarystva im. Shevchenka* (Symposium of the Law Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society Historical-Philosophical Section), I-II, Lviv, 1926-1927; a study "Lytovs'kyi Statut, yako pamyatnyk ukrayins'koho prava" (The Lithuanian Statute as a Monument of Ukrainian Law) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu v Prazi* (Scientific Symposium of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague), vol. I, Prague, 1923; and others. In addition, he wrote a study "Pereyaslavs'kyi dohovir 1654 r." (The Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654) in *Yuvi-leynyi Zbirnyk na poshanu Prof. S. Dnistrians'koho* (Jubilee Symposium Dedicated to Prof. S. Dnistriansky), Prague, 1923, in which he defended the thesis that the Treaty of Pereyaslav had established relations between the Ukraine and Muscovy based on a personal alliance; the Hetman as chief of the independent Ukrainian State, recognized the "moral authority" of the Muscovite tsar only as a mere formality. Lashchenko also published his *Lektsiyi po istoriyi ukrayins'koho prava* (Lectures on the History of Ukrainian Law), part I, The

³¹⁷ Also posthumously the extensive study by Prokopovych, "The Problem of the Juridical Nature of the Ukraine's Union with Muscovy" was published in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. IV, No. 3 (13), 1955.

Princely Period (Prague, 1923) and part II, The Lithuanian-Polish Period, vol. I, Prague, 1924.

The work of Professor A. Yakovliv, who worked diligently until 1955, is of special importance to Ukrainian historiography.

Andriy Yakovliv, 1872-1955, a native of Kiev Province, lawyer and prominent civic and political leader, began his scholarly career before 1917. In 1907 he published the study in the journal *Ukrayina*, "Namisnyky, derzhavtsi i starosty hospodars'koho zamku Cherkas'koho v XV-XVI st." (The Vicegerents, Tenants, and *Starosty* of the Grand-Ducal Castle in Cherkasy in the XV and XVI Centuries); and "Z istoriyi registratsiyi ukrayins'kykh kozakiv" (From the History of the Registration of Ukrainian Cossacks), *Ukrayina*, vol. III, Kiev, 1907. He developed extensive scientific work only after he went abroad, where he became professor of the Ukrainian Free University in 1924. Yakovliv wrote numerous treatises on Ukrainian legal history, mainly of the Lithuanian-Polish and Cossack-Hetman periods, particularly analyses of common-law (*kopni*) courts in the Ukraine: "Do pytannya pro genezu kopnykh sudiv na Ukrayini" (The Problem of the Origin of "Kopni" Courts in Ukraine), in *Zhyttya i Pravo* (Life and Law), Lviv, 1928, I-II); "Kopni sudy na Ukrayini XVI-XVII st." ("Kopni" Courts in the Ukraine in the XVI and XVII Centuries) in *Yuvi-leynyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu u Prazi* (Jubilee Symposium of the Ukrainian Free University in Prague), v. II, Prague, 1930; "Ukrainian Common-Law Procedure," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. II, No. 4/6, New York, 1952; and others, and the study *Vplyvy staroches'koho prava na pravo ukrayins'ke Lytous'koyi doby* (The Influence of the Old Czech Law on Ukrainian Law of the Lithuanian Period), Prague, 1929; studies of Magdeburg Law in the Ukraine, especially the monograph *Das deutsche Recht in der Ukraine und seine Einflüsse auf das ukrainische Recht im XVI-XVIII Jahrhundert* (German Law in the Ukraine and its Influence on Ukrainian Law in the XVI-XVIII Centuries), Leipzig, 1942; and others.

Ukrainian historiography is particularly enriched by A. Yakovliv's many treatises on the history of international-legal

relations of the Ukraine with Muscovy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the codifications of Ukrainian law in the eighteenth century, particularly two monographs; *Ukrayins'ko-Moskovs'ki dohovory XVII-XVIII st.* (Ukrainian-Muscovite Treaties of the XVII and XVIII Centuries), Warsaw, 1934,³¹⁸ and *Dohovir het'mana Bohdana Khmelnyts'koho z moskovs'kym tsarem Oleksiyem Mykhaylovychem 1654 r.* (Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Treaty with the Muscovite Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich in 1654), New York, 1954; treatises: "Dohovir B. Khmelnyts'koho z Moskvoyu 1654" (B. Khmelnytsky's Treaty with Muscovy of 1654), in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. D. Bahaliya*, Kiev, 1928; "Statti B. Khmelnyts'koho v redaktsiyi 1659 r." (B. Khmelnytsky's Articles in the 1659 Edition), in *Yuvileynyi Zbirnyk VUAN na poshanu akad. M. Hrushevs'koho*, vol. I, Kiev, 1928; and others; the monograph "Ukrayins'kyi kodeks 1743 roku. 'Prava, po kotorym suditsya malorossiiskii narod'" (The Ukrainian Code of 1743—Law by Which the Little Russian People Are Tried) in *ZNTSH*, vol. CLIX, Munich, 1949; and several studies devoted to the history of sources of that code.

Finally, A. Yakovliv worked in the field of Ukrainian historiography, especially on *Istoriya Rusov*; he published two treatises: "Do pytannya pro avtora *Istoriyi Rusiv*" (The Question of the Authorship of *Istoriya Rusov*), in *Zapysky NTSH*, Lviv, vol. CLIV, 1937; and "*Istoriya Rusov* and Its Author" in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. III, No. 2 (8), New York, 1953.

Problems of Ukrainian legal history of the Princely Period, and problems of Ukrainian history (particularly ancient) were studied by *Serhiy Shelukhyn* (1860-1938), professor of the Ukrainian Free University beginning 1921, who advanced, among others, the theory of the Celtic origin of Rus': *Zvidkilya pokhodyt' Rus'?* (What is the Origin of Rus'?), Prague, 1929. However, this occasioned serious reservations.

³¹⁸ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. IX, No. 3, 1935.

The second generation of Ukrainian emigre historians actually began scholarly activities abroad, although some had already begun their scientific career in the Ukraine. Special characteristics of this generation were: direct contacts with Western European historical science and extensive utilization of Western European documentary sources in research of Ukrainian history, which was of prime importance to the subsequent development of Ukrainian historiography. The activities of B. Krupnytsky and E. Borschak were particularly prolific in this respect.

Borys Krupnytsky, 1894-1956, a native of Kiev Province, graduate of Kiev and Berlin universities, and a student of Doroshenko at the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, became an assistant in 1931, and a professor in 1941 at the Ukrainian Free University. He devoted his main studies to the political history of the Ukraine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, seeking out, for this purpose, material in German and Swedish archives; also to Ukrainian historiography and methodological problems of Ukrainian history. Krupnytsky wrote the following monographs: *Het'man Pylyp Orlyk* (1672-1742). *Ohlyad yoho politychnoyi diyal'nosti* (Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, 1672-1742—Outline of His Political Activity), Warsaw, 1938; *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit* (1687-1709) (Hetman Mazepa and his Times, 1687-1709), Leipzig, 1942; *Het'man Danylo Apostol i yoho doba* (Hetman Danylo Apostol and his Times), Augsburg, 1948; and a series of treatises, the most important of which are: *Johann Christian v. Engel und die Geschichte der Ukraine* (Johann Christian v. Engel and Ukrainian History), Berlin, 1931; and "J. Ch. Engel's Geschichte der Ukraine" (J. Ch. Engel's History of Ukraine) in *Abhandlungen des Ukr. Wiss. Institutes in Berlin*, Berlin, 1931, vol. III; "Het'man Mazepa v osvittlennyu ni-mets'koyi literatury yoho chasu" (Hetman Mazepa in the Light of the German Literature of his Time), in *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. IV, Nos. I-II, Zhovkva, 1932, and separately, Zhovkva, 1932; "Teofan Prokopovych i shvedy" (Teofan Prokopovych and the Swedes), in *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. VI, Nos. 1-2, Lviv, 1935, and separately, Zhovkva, 1934; "Zu den Anfängen des Hajdamaken-

tums" (The Origins of the Haydamak Movement), in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, II, Breslau-Berlin, 1936; "Pylyp Orlyk i Sava Chalyi" (Pylyp Orlyk and Sava Chalyi), in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi* (Works of the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society in Prague), vol. II, Prague, 1939, and separately, Prague, 1937; a series of treatises, articles and materials about Ukrainian-Swedish relations under Mazepa, especially in 1708 and 1709 (*Mazepa* vols. I and II, Warsaw, 1938-1939);³¹⁹ "Philipp Orlik und die Katholische Kirche" (Pylyp Orlyk and the Catholic Church) in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, No. 3/4, Breslau-Berlin, 1940; "Z zhyttya pershoyi ukrayins'koyi emigratsiyi" (The Life of the First Ukrainian Emigres) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi* (Works of the Ukr. Hist.-Phil. Soc. in Prague), vol. III, Prague, 1941, and separately, Prague, 1940; "Z istoriyi Pravoberezhzhya 1683-1688 r." (From the History of the Right-Bank 1683-1688), *ibid.*, vol. IV, Prague, 1942, and separately; *Beiträge zur Ideologie der Istorija Rusow* ("Geschichte der Reussen") (Notes on the Ideology of "Istoriya Rusov"), Berlin, 1944 (mimeographed);³²⁰ and others.³²¹

B. Krupnytsky published a course in Ukrainian history in German, *Geschichte der Ukraine*, Leipzig, 1939; 2nd ed., Leipzig,

³¹⁹ "Karl XII v stariy i noviy shvedskiy literaturi" (Charles XII in Old and New Swedish Literature); "Mazepa v svitli shvedskoyi istoriografii" (Mazepa in the Light of Swedish Historiography), "Plany Mazepy v zvyazku z planamy Karla XII pered ukrayins'kym pokhodom shvediv" (Mazepa's Plans in Connection with Charles XII's Plans Before the Swedish Ukrainian March), (*Mazepa* vol. I); "Mazepa i shvedy v 1708 r. (na osnovi spomyniv i lystuvannya suchasnykh)" (Mazepa and the Swedes in 1708 on the Basis of Memoirs and Correspondence of Contemporaries); "Shvedy i naselennya na Ukrayini v 1708-1709 r.r. (na pidstavu shvedskyykh dzherel)" (Swedes and the Population of the Ukraine in 1708-1709 on the Basis of Swedish Sources); "Z donesen Kayzerlinga 1708-1709 r.r." (From Kayserling's Reports of 1708-1709); "Miscellanea Mazepiana" (*Mazepa*, vol. II).

³²⁰ Cf. also: B. Krupnytsky, "'Istoriya Ukrayiny i ukrayins'kykh kozakiv' Y. Ch. Engelya ta 'Istoriya Rusov'" ("History of the Ukraine and Ukrainian Cossacks" by J. Ch. Engel and "Istoriya Rusov"), *Ukrayina*, No. 3, Paris, 1950.

³²¹ Particularly: "Federalism and the Russian Empire," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. II, No. 2 (4), New York, 1952.

1943; and an extensive work of historiosophic character: *Osnovni problemy istoriyi Ukrayiny* (Basic Problems of History of Ukraine), Munich, 1955, mimeographed.

Elie Borschak (*Illya Borshchak*), born in Kherson Province in 1892, graduate of St. Petersburg, Kiev and Odessa universities, by profession a lawyer and classical philologist, and assistant in International Law at Odessa University, has been living abroad since 1919 and working in archives and libraries in Vienna, London, Rome, Stockholm, Upsala, Leyden and, mostly, in Paris. Since 1938 E. Borschak was a lecturer and then professor of the Ukrainian Language, Literature and Civilization in the Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris; in addition, he is a full member of the Slavic Institute of the University of Paris.

Prof. Borschak's scholarly works are mainly devoted to the political history of the Ukraine of the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, to Franco-Ukrainian relations in the past, and to Ukrainian historiography. He discovered in French public and private archives very important documentary material about Ukrainian emigres of the eighteenth century, especially about the political activities of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk and his son, a general in the service of France, Count Hryhor Orlyk. Part of this material has been published. Among these, first place belongs to the diary of Pylyp Orlyk, his treatise, the manuscript *Vyvid prav Ukrayiny*, 1712 r. (Deduction on the Ukraine's Rights) and the correspondence between the elder and younger Orlyk.

Professor E. Borschak published the following monographs: *Velykyi Mazepynets' Hryhor Orlyk, heneral-poruchnyk Lyudovyka XV* (The Great Follower of Mazepa, Hryhor Orlyk, Lieutenant-General of Louis XV), Lviv, 1932—published in English as *Hryhor Orlyk, France's Cossack General* (Toronto, 1956); *Napoleon i Ukrayina* (Napoleon and the Ukraine), Lviv, 1937; *A. Voynarovsky*, Lviv, 1939; treatises: "Napoléon et l'Ukraine" in *Revue des Etudes Napoléoniennes*, 1922, VIII-IX, Paris; "Orlikiana. Opys nevydanykh dokumentiv pro het'mana Orlyka, yoho rodynu i otchennya" (*Orlikiana*, A Description of Unpub-

lished Documents About Hetman Orlyk, His Family and Entourage) in *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina*, vol. IV, Vienna, 1923; "Hetman Pylyp Orlyk i Frantsiya" (Hetman Pylyp Orlyk and France), *ZNTSH*, vol. CXXXIV-CXXXV, Lviv, 1924; "Pylyp Orlyk. Vyvid prav Ukrayiny" (Pylyp Orlyk, Devolution of the Rights of the Ukraine), *Stara Ukrayina*, Lviv, 1925, 1-II; "Aresht Voynarovs'koho" (The Arrest of Voynarovsky), *ZNTSH*, vols. CXXXVIII-CXL, Lviv, 1925; "Voltaire i Ukrayina" (Voltaire and the Ukraine), *Ukrayina*, Kiev, 1926, I; "Shvedchyna i frantsuz'ka dyplomatiya" (The Swedes and French Diplomacy) in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk Istorychnoyi Sektsiyi UVAN za rik 1928* (Scientific Symposium of the Historical Section of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences for 1928), Kiev, 1929; "Early Relations Between England and the Ukraine," *The Slavonic and East European Review*, London, vol. X, June 1931; "Mazepa ludyna i istorychnyi diyach" (Mazepa the Man and Historic Leader), *ZNTSH*, vol. CLII, No. I, Lviv, 1933;³²² "A Little-known French Biography of Yuras' Khmelnytsky," *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. III, No. 1 (7), 1953; and many others.

E. Borschak devoted much work to problems of Ukrainian historiography and to Western European (mainly French) research and material on Ukrainian history. In particular, he wrote a monograph on "Istoriya Rusov" under the title: *La légende historique de l'Ukraine. Istoriya Rusov*, Paris, 1949; and a detailed review: "L'Ukraine dans la littérature de l'Europe Occidentale," *Le Monde Slave*, 1933, vols. III, IV, 1934, vols. I, II, IV, 1935, and separately, 1935; and others.

Other noteworthy works by E. Borschak are: "Le mouvement national Ukrainien au XIX^e siècle," *Le Monde Slave*, 1930, XI-XII, and separately, Paris, 1930; "Traité de la Paix à Brest-Litovsk," *Le Monde Slave*, 1934; "L'Ukraine à la Conférence

³²² E. Borschak also wrote, in collaboration with René Martel, a biography of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the form of an historical novel, *La vie de Mazeppa*, Paris, 1931, with other editions following. It appeared in Ukrainian as *Ivan Mazepa, zhyttya i poruvy* (Ivan Mazepa, Life and Exploits), Lviv, 1933.

de la Paix 1919-1923," *Le Monde Slave*, 1937, I-III, 1938, I, and separately, Paris, 1938.

Professor Borschak is the editor of *Ukrayina*, a journal of Ukrainian studies and Ukrainian-French cultural relations, published in Paris since 1949 (nine issues have been published thus far). He edits a regular column "La chronique ukrainienne" in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, Paris.

Domet Olyanchyn (born 1891 in Podolia), graduate of Berlin University and student of V. Lypynsky in the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, devoted his works to seventeenth and eighteenth century Ukrainian history (politics, culture and economics). Working in German archives and collections of manuscripts he assembled much material on the history of Ukrainian-German relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and on the basis of this he wrote a series of treatises, especially: "Dva lysty het'maniv B. Khmelnyts'koho i I. Vyhovs'koho do Kurfyursta Brandenburz'koho Fridrikha Vil'hel'ma" (Two letters of Hetmans B. Khmelnytsky and I. Vyhovsky to Kurfürst of Brandenburg, Frederick Wilhelm) in *Khliborobs'ka Ukrayina* (Agricultural Ukraine), vol. V, Vienna, 1924-1925; and "Iz materiyaliv do ukrayins'ko-nimets'kykh politychnykh znosyn druhoyi polovyny XVII v." (Materials on Ukrainian-German Political Relations in the Second Half of the XVII Century) in *Abhandlungen des Ukrainischen Wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Berlin*, vol. I, Berlin, 1927; "Ukrayins'ko-brandenburz'ki politychni znosyny v XVII st." (Ukrainian-Brandenburg Political Relations in the XVII Century) in *ZNTSH*, vol. CLI, Lviv, 1931; "Do istoriyi torhovli Rusy-Ukrayiny z Baltykoyu, zokrema-zh Staroduba z Kenigsbergom XVII i poch. XVIII st." (On the History of Commerce of Ukraine-Rus' with the Baltic, Particularly Between Starodub and Königsberg in the XVII and Early XVIII Centuries), in *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. VI, Nos. 1-2, and separately, Zhovkva, 1932; "Torhovel'ni znosyny Ukrayiny z Breslavlem u XVIII st." (Commercial Relations of the Ukraine with Breslau in the XVIII Century) in *Nasha Kul'tura*, Warsaw, 1935, vol. VIII; "Torhovel'ni znosyny Ukrayiny z Lyayptsygom u XVIII st."

(Ukrainian Commercial Relations with Leipzig in the XVIII Century), *ibid.*, 1936, I (10); "Aus dem Kultur und Geistesleben der Ukraine" (On the Cultural and Spiritual Life of the Ukraine), parts I and II, *Kyrios*, 1936, No. 2 and 1937, Nos. 1-4, which contains a list of Ukrainian students who studied at Western European, mainly German, universities.

Other noteworthy works of Domet Olyanchyn are: "Do istoriyi torhovli Ukrayiny z Krymom (1754-1758)" (On the History of Ukrainian Trade with the Crimea 1754-1758) in *ZNTSH*, vol. CLII, 1933; "Opys podorozhi shvedskoho posla na Ukrayinu 1656-1657" (Description of the Trip of a Swedish Envoy to the Ukraine in 1656-1657), *ibid.*, vol. CLIV, 1937, and a series of treatises on cultural and economic relations of the Ukraine with the West, mainly with Germany, published in the Warsaw journal *Nasha Kul'tura*, 1935-1937.

D. Olyanchyn also wrote a dissertation on Hryhorii Skovoroda: "Hryhorij Skovoroda, 1722-1794. Der Ukrainische Philosoph des XVIII Jahrhunderts und seine geistig-kulturelle Umwelt" (Hryhorii Skovoroda, 1722-1794, The Ukrainian Philosopher of the XVIII Century and his Spiritual-Cultural World), Berlin-Königsberg, 1928, in *Osteuropäische Forschungen*, N. F., vol. 2.

The Ukrainian Free University in Prague was directly responsible for the scholarly careers of S. Narizhnyi and P. Fedenko, who devoted their work chiefly to problems of Ukrainian political history of the seventeenth century.

Symon Narizhnyi (born 1898), since 1933 assistant and subsequently professor of the Ukrainian Free University, worked mostly on the period of Hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, also on Ukrainian historiography and the history of culture. He published treatises: *Iohann Vyhovskij im Dienste Moskoviens* (Ivan Vyhovsky in Moscow's Service), Lviv 1928;³²³ "Het'manstvo Vyhovskoho" (The Hetmanate of Vyhovsky), *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Vysokoho Pedahohichnoho Instytutu imeny M. Drahomanova*, vol. I, Prague, 1929; "Rozviduavnnia moskovskikh poslantsiv na Ukrayini v

³²³ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Jahrbücher für Kultur und Geschichte der Slaven*, vol. V, No. 4, 1929.

druhiy polovyni XVII v." (Espionage of Muscovite Agents in the Ukraine in the Second Half of the XVII Century) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, vol. III, Prague, 1941; "Sudivnytstvo i kary na Zaporizhzhzi" (Courts and Penalties in Zaporozhe) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Tovarystva v Amerytsi, I. Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu v Amerytsi*, St. Paul (Minn.)-Prague, 1939; "Deistviya prezelnnoi brani" ("Deystviya prezelnnoi brani"—on Hrabyanka's Chronicle) in *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, vol. II, Prague, 1939 and separately, Prague, 1938. Narizhnyi also wrote articles of an historiographic nature: on V. Bidnov, "Naukova pratsya Prof. V. O. Bidnova" (Scientific Work of Prof. V. O. Bidnov), *Pamyaty Prof. Vasylya Bidnova* (In Memory of Prof. Vasyly Bidnov), Prague, 1936; on M. Vasylenko, *M. P. Vasylenko i yoho naukova diyal'nist'* (M. P. Vasylenko and his Scholarly Activities), Lviv, 1936; on the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities, *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, vol. IV, Prague, 1942, and separately, Prague, 1941; and on the Kharkiv Historical-Philological Society, *ibid.*, vol. V, Prague, 1944, and separately, Prague, 1944.

Narizhnyi also compiled a detailed outline of the work of Ukrainian emigres, part I of which was published in the series *Studiyi Muzeiu Vyzvol'noyi Borot'by Ukrayiny* (Studies of the Museum of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle), vol. I: "Ukrayins'ka emihratsiya. Kul'turna pratsya ukrayins'koyi emihratsiyi mizh dvoma svitovymy viynamy" (Ukrainian Emigres, Cultural Work of Ukrainian Emigres Between Two World Wars), part I, Prague, 1942.

Panas Fedenko worked on the period of Khmelntsky and of the Ruin. Fedenko was associate professor at the Ukrainian Free University and author of treatises: "Z dyplomatychnoyi diyal'nosty Danyla Hreka" (Diplomatic Activities of Danylo Hrek), *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Vysokoho Pedahohichnoho Instytutu imeny M. Drahomanova*, vol. I, Prague, 1929; "Politychni plyany Ya. Komens'koho ta Ukrayina" (Ya. Komensky's Political

Plans and the Ukraine), *ibid.*, vol. II, Prague, 1932; *Istoriya sotsiyal'noyi ta politychnoyi boroťby v Ukrayini* (History of the Social and Political Struggle in the Ukraine), parts I and II, Lviv, 1936; and others.

Vasyl' Kuchabsky carried on studies of modern Ukrainian history. He is the author of a monograph, *Die West-Ukraine im Kampfe mit Polen und dem Bolschewismus in den Jahren 1918-1923* (The West Ukraine in the Struggle Against Poland and Bolshevism in the Years 1918-1923), Berlin, 1934.

The history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was studied by Yevhen Sakovych, author of the treatises: *Kościół Prawosławny w Polsce w epoce Sejmu Wielkiego 1788-92* (The Orthodox Church in Poland in the Period of the Great Sejm 1788-92), Warsaw, 1934; *Pins'ki Sobor 1791 roku* (The Synod of Pinsk of 1791), Kremyanets', 1936, reprinted from the journal *Tserkva i narid* (The Church and the People); and others.

Oleksander Haymaniusky, professor of the Ukrainian Free University, did research in the history of Ukrainian law. His special treatises are: "Vid 'Pravdy Rus'koyi' do Lytovs'koho Statutu" (From "Rus'ka Pravda" to the Lithuanian Statute) in *Zhyttya i pravo* (Life and Law), Lviv, 1934, No. 7; and "Zamitky do kharakterystyky holovnykh rys ukrayins'koho prava doby 'Rus'koyi Pravdy'" (Notes on the Main Characteristics of Ukrainian Law of the 'Rus'ka Pravda' Period), *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu v Amerytsi, I, Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Naukovoho Instytutu v Amerytsi*, St. Paul, (Minn.)-Prague, 1939.

Problems of Ukrainian heraldry and genealogy were studied by Ivan (Jan) Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz (Tokarzhevsky-Karashevych), 1885-1954, who wrote the treatise "Herb i pokhodzhennya Het'mana I. Mazepy" (Coat of Arms and Origin of Hetman I. Mazepa), *Mazepa*, vol. I, Warsaw, 1938; and edited volumes I and II (see *supra*) of the Warsaw edition of the *Diary* of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk.

The works of Volodymyr Sichynsky (born 1894 in Podolia),³²⁴ are on the borderline between the history of culture and

³²⁴ Son of Rev. Yevtym (Yukhym) Sitsynsky (see *supra*).

art and general Ukrainian history. Professor at the Ukrainian Free University, Sichynsky is one of the few Ukrainian emigre scholars who concentrated on the history of Ukrainian industry. He published *Narysy z istoriyi ukrayins'koyi promyslovosti* (An Outline of the History of Ukrainian Industry), Lviv, 1936; and articles, "Papierfabriken in der Ukraine im XVI-XVIII Jahrhundert" (Paper-Mills in the Ukraine in XVI-XVIII Centuries.) in *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, Mainz, 1941 and separately; and "Ukrayins'ka portselyana" (Ukrainian Porcelain), Philadelphia, 1952. Sichynsky collected much material on foreigners' descriptions of the Ukraine from the earliest times to the end of the nineteenth century and published it in Ukrainian, "*Chuzhyntsi pro Ukrayinu*" (Foreigners on the Ukraine) in several editions, the largest, Prague, 1942—and in English, *The Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Descriptions from the VI to the XX Century*, New York, 1954.

Vyacheslav Zayikyn occupies a rather distinct place among historians of this generation. He is a jurist-historian, graduate of Kharkiv University, and was subsequently professor of the Orthodox Theological Faculty of Warsaw University. His main area of research was church history and the history of law. He published his treatises in *Zapysky ChSVV*, *Bohosloviya* and *Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie* (Reports of the Scientific Society in Lviv), in *Przewodnik Historyczno-Prawny* (Historical-Legal Guide) and other publications. He wrote the following treatises: *Chrześcijaństwo w Europie Wschodniej od czasów Apostolskich do Księcia Igora Starego* (Christianity in Eastern Europe from Apostolic Times to Prince Igor the Elder), Warsaw, 1926; "Khrystiiyanstvo na Ukraini za chasiv knyazya Yaropolka I (969-979)" (Christianity in the Ukraine During the Times of Prince Yaropolk I, 969-979), *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. III, Nos. 1-2, 3-4; "Preosvyashchennyi Stefan, epyskop Volodymyrs'kyi i Halyts'kyi ta yoho vidnoshennya do uniyi rus'ko-pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy z ryms'ko-katolyts'koyu v ostanniy chverti XI st." (His Grace Stefan, Bishop of Volodymyr and Galicia and his Attitude Toward the Union of the Rus'-Orthodox Church with the Roman Cath-

olic in the Last Quarter of the XI Century), *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. III, No. 1-2; and others; the monograph *Uchastie svetskago elementa v tserkovnom upravlenii, vybornoe nachalo i "sobornost" v Kievskoi mitropolii v XVI-XVII vekakh* (Participation of Lay Elements in Church Administration, The Elective Principle and the Synodal Doctrines in the Kievan Metropolitanate in the XVI and XVII Centuries), Warsaw, 1930;³²⁵ outlines of Ukrainian church historiography (*Zapysky ChSVV*, II, 3-4) and of the historiography of Ukrainian law: "Istorychno-pravnycha nauka ukrayins'koyi emigratsiyi ta pravni ideolohichni napryamy v niy" (Historical-Legal Science of Ukrainian Emigres and Its Ideological Legal Trends), in collaboration with Oleksandra Zayikyn, in *Przewodnik Historyczno-Prawny*, vol. V, Lviv, 1937, and other publications.

The third generation of Ukrainian historians-emigres, the generation of scholars of the 1930's, had much in common with the prior generation. They also were the students of historians of the first generation, and also applied themselves to studies of Western European (mostly German) source material of Ukrainian history, and they, too, were mainly interested in political and cultural history. But they grew up under different circumstances, and certain influences of the Western European political ideas of the twenties and thirties made their imprint upon their scholarly interests, choice of subjects and works. They had a yearning for historical synthesis, but their first attempts in this direction were probably premature and were somewhat too journalistic in nature. Able and even talented, well-versed in Western European historical science and historiography, many of them unfortunately became victims either of financial difficulties of the 1930's or of the misfortunes of World War II. Nevertheless, they left a definite imprint on and a good name in Ukrainian historiography.

Mykhaylo Antonovych, 1909-1955, grandson of Volodymyr Antonovych and son of Dmytro Antonovych (see *supra*) was partic-

³²⁵ Reviewed by D. I. Doroshenko in *Zeitschrift für osteuropäische Geschichte*, vol. V, No. 2, 1931.

ularly promising. A graduate of the Ukrainian Free University and of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, with which he was subsequently associated, he began his studies with the Napoleonic era. His doctoral thesis was devoted to the activities of Prince M. H. Repnin as Viceroy of Saxony,³²⁶ and was entitled *Knyaz' Repnin, heneral-hubernator Saksoniyi* (Prince Repnin, Governor-General of Saxony), Berlin, 1936. Working in the archives of Germany (Dresden, Berlin, Königsberg, Danzig) and Poland, he collected a lot of new material on Ukrainian political history of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. He was at first interested in Ukrainian-German relations of the eighteenth century, but subsequently he began broader research in the history of the Cossack period and the Cossack uprisings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He published several treatises, the most important of which are: "Studiyyi z chasiv Nalyvayka" (Studies of the Times of Nalyvayko), parts I-IV, *Pratsi Ukrayins'koho Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Tovarystva v Prazi*, vol. IV, Prague, 1942, and separately, Prague, 1941; "Pereyaslavs'ka kampaniya 1630 r." (The Pereyaslav Campaign of 1630), *ibid.*, vol. V, Prague 1944, and separately, Prague, 1944. His monograph about Hetman Petro Konashevych-Sahaydachnyi, ready for publication, was not printed due to the war.

M. Antonovych also published a scientific-popular *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of the Ukraine) in four short volumes (Prague, 1940-1942) which occasioned some critical reservations. M. Antonovych believed that the main factor of Ukrainian history was the process of colonization, and he relegated the national factor to a place of lesser importance. M. Antonovych also wrote a short outline of Ukrainian history, "Geschichte der ukrainischen Staatlichkeit" (History of Ukrainian Statehood) in the collection *Handbuch der Ukraine*.³²⁷ His scholarly activity was interrupted in 1945. He was deported to the U.S.S.R. and died in exile there.

The untimely death in 1936 of *Ihor Losky*, graduate

³²⁶ Subsequently Governor-General of the Left-Bank Ukraine. (See *supra*).

³²⁷ In the English-language edition of this collection (*The Ukraine and Its People*), M. Antonovych's article is entitled "The History of the Ukraine."

of the Ukrainian Free University and of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin, cut short his work. He also worked in German archives on research of the history of Ukrainian-German cultural relations of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. He published the treatises: "Ukrayintsi na studiyakh v Nimechchyni v XVI-XVIII st." (Ukrainians Studying in Germany in the XVI–XVIII Centuries), *ZNTSH*, vol. CLI, 1931; "Ukrayins'ki studenty v Rostoku i Kili" (Ukrainian Students in Rostock and Kiel), *Zapysky ChSVV*, vol. IV, Nos. 1-2, Zhovkva, 1932; and "Zur Geschichte der kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und der Ukraine im 17 und 18 Jahrhundert" (On the History of Cultural Relations Between Germany and the Ukraine in the 17th and 18th Centuries) in *Deutsche wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift für Polen*, Posen, 1935, No. 29.

Among graduates of the Warsaw Orthodox Theological Faculty and students of D. I. Doroshenko, *Ivan Soyko* worked on the political history of the Ukraine of the second half of the seventeenth century, utilizing source material in Polish archives. He wrote a brief treatise "Portret Andreyo Voynarovs'koho" (Portrait of Andrey Voynarovsky) which contains some new material on the biography of this leader of the Mazepa period (*Mazepa*, vol. II, Warsaw, 1939).³²⁸

Due to war conditions, other young Ukrainian historians of this generation abroad were outside the main current of scientific activities.

World War II brought about many changes in the position of Ukrainian emigre historical science. First of all, it destroyed completely all the main scientific centers. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw disappeared in 1939 along with other pre-war Ukrainian scientific and academic institutions and societies in Poland, particularly the Orthodox Theological Faculty in Warsaw. The Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin ceased to exist in 1945; the Ukrainian Free University and the Ukrainian Historical-Philological Society were compelled to leave Prague and

³²⁸ I. Soyko's treatise about the Metropolitan of Kiev, Yosyf Nelyubovych-Tukal'sky, was not published.

moved to Munich, and the Museum of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle, which suffered much damage during the war, stopped all scientific work and soon went out of existence. Simultaneously, the libraries and archives of these and other Ukrainian institutions were lost or destroyed, scholarly works ready for printing (or partly printed) were lost; some Ukrainian scholars, among them historians, lost their lives, too.

Even under the ruinous conditions of war, however, Ukrainian historical science did not die out. During a short period (1941-1944) this science even managed to increase its research and publication activities (Berlin and especially Prague), a favorable factor in this respect being the fact that Ukrainian scholars, old emigres, joined forces with new (wartime) emigres. Ukrainian historians from Kiev, Kharkiv and Lviv got together (mainly in Prague) after long years of isolation, exchanged their scientific experiences and, in spite of all wartime difficulties and political censorship obstacles raised by the existing authorities, worked together on the solution of pressing problems of Ukrainian historiography.

The new location of Ukrainian scientific work abroad at the conclusion of the war was Bavaria, especially Munich and (for a certain time) Augsburg. The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) was founded in Augsburg late in 1945 for the purpose of reestablishing the traditions of free Ukrainian scholarship and continuing the scientific work of the Kiev Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, which had actually interrupted its existence early in the thirties. A History Section was created within UVAN, headed by D. I. Doroshenko. The Ukrainian Free University and the Historical-Philological Society renewed their activities in Munich late in 1945. The Shevchenko Scientific Society (NTSH) was reestablished in 1947 with headquarters in Munich. A Commission of History was organized within NTSH. Even earlier, in 1946, the Church Archeographic Commission (attached to the office of the Apostolic Visitor, Archbishop Ivan Buchko) had begun its scientific activities. The Commission had been founded by Metropolitan Count Andrey Shep-

tytsky in Lviv in 1944. Also the Ukrainian Orthodox Theological Academy was founded in Munich in 1946, with Chairs of Ukrainian History and Ukrainian Church History, as well as the Scientific-Research Institute of Ukrainian Martyrology, which had as its purpose the collection and study of material from the most recent Ukrainian history. Other scientific institutions and publishing enterprises, which were interested in problems of Ukrainian history and subsidiary historical science, appeared (e.g., the Institute of Genealogy and Heraldry).

Beginning in the forties a new Ukrainian scientific center in Rome began to gain in importance. With access to the treasures of the Vatican and Roman archives and libraries, this center began systematic scientific research and publication of Ukrainian Church history. The Basilian Fathers renewed publication of their periodical under the title *Analecta OSBM* (mostly in Latin), divided into three sections: 1) *Opera* (monographs), 2) the *Zapysky ChSVV* proper (articles, documents, miscellanea, bibliography, etc.), and 3) *Monumenta Vaticana Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*. Ukrainian lay historians now contribute along with church researchers to *Analecta OSBM* and *Zapysky ChSVV*.

With the resettlement of Ukrainian emigres, new and more or less permanent centers of free Ukrainian science, particularly historical, were established in Western Europe and in America.

Such centers now operating in America are:

The Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S. (UVAN u SSHA), headquarters in New York, with a Historical Section (Chairman, Professor O. Ohloblyn) and, connected with the latter as an independent institution, the Commission for the Study of the Post-Revolutionary Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. (Chairman, Professor John S. Reshetar). Works of these institutions are published mainly in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* in English and in *Naukovyi Zbirnyk* (Scientific Symposium) in Ukrainian.

The Shevchenko Scientific Society in America, headquarters in New York, with a Historical Commission, whose works are

published in general publications of NTSH (In Ukrainian, *Zapysky NTSH* and in English, *Proceedings*).

In 1951-57 research on modern Ukrainian history by Ukrainian scholars in the United States was supported by the Research Program on the U.S.S.R. of the East European Fund. A few works were published in English.

The First Ukrainian Scientific Congress was held in 1953, the joint project of both Ukrainian scientific institutions in the United States, with a Historical Section participating.

In Europe, research in the field of Ukrainian history is conducted by the History Section of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (Munich), headed by Prof. B. Krupnytsky (until his recent death) and Prof. N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko; by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in France (Sarcelles), with Prof. I. Borshchak (E. Borschak) and Prof. O. Shulhyn (A. Choulguine); the Basilian scientific center in Rome; the Ukrainian Free University and the Church-Archeographic Commission (Munich).

Beginning with 1954 a number of Ukrainian historians have been associated with the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. in Munich and published their works in the Institute's periodicals *Ukrainian Review* and *Ukrayins'kyi Zbirnyk*; several studies on modern Ukrainian history were published in book form.

Among Ukrainian historians (and historians of law) the following continued their scholarly activities as post-war emigres: M. Andrusiak, E. Borschak, M. Chubaty, D. Doroshenko (deceased), V. Dubrovsky, P. Fedenko, V. Hryshko, B. Krupnytsky (deceased), O. Ohloblyn, L. Okinshevich, D. Olyanchyn, Ya. Padokh, N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko, O. Pritsak, V. Shuhaevsky, O. Shulhyn (A. Choulguine), Fr. Y. Skruten' (deceased), D. Solovey, J. Tokarzewski-Karaszewicz (deceased), I. Vytanovych, and A. Yakovliv (deceased).

The work of this older generation of Ukrainian emigre historians was devoted in the main to Ukrainian political and cultural history, historiography, church history, legal history, and methodological problems of Ukrainian history and subsidiary historical sciences. In their research they pay considerable atten-

tion to historical synthesis. It is evident that the scholarly interests of modern Ukrainian historiography spread also to history of Eastern Europe as a whole.

Following World War II, the fourth generation of historians made its appearance in Ukrainian historiography. To this generation belong those scholars who began their activities before the war, but due to various circumstances could not develop their work earlier, as well as the younger scholars who did not complete their scientific education until the forties. Continuing the national traditions of Ukrainian historiography of the first half of this century, these Ukrainian historians have already distinguished themselves by their scholarly works and have gained a certain place in Ukrainian historiography. Their main emphasis is on Ukrainian history of Princely and Cossack periods and of the twentieth century, Ukrainian church history, the history of Ukrainian law and social ideas and subsidiary historical sciences.

The works of *John S. Reshetar, Jr.*, deserve special mention. An American of Ukrainian descent, he works on the most recent history of the Ukraine (a monograph, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920, A Study in Nationalism*, Princeton, 1952; and other publications). *Fr. Atanasiy Velykyi OSBM* has been working on Ukrainian church history. A series of his documentary treatises out in Rome, 1953, 1954. *Fr. Iryney Nazarko, OSBM*, published in *Analecta OSBM*; and a collection of Vatican documents on Ukrainian history, *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum Historiam Ucrainae Illustrantia*, vol. I, 1075-1700, vol. II, 1700-1953, came out in Rome, 1953-1954. *Fr. Iryney Nazarko, OSBM*, published the monograph *Svyaty Volodymyr Velykyi, Volodar i Khrystytel' Rusy-Ukrayiny* (960-1015) (Saint Volodymyr the Great, Sovereign and Baptist of the Rus'-Ukraine), Rome 1954. *Fr. Isidore Nahaeusky* wrote the monograph *Kyrylo-Metodiyivs'ke Khrystyyanstvo v Rusi-Ukrayini* (Sts. Cyril and Methodius Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine), Rome, 1954. *Leonid Sonevytsky* published the monograph *Ukrayins'kyi Epyskopat Peremys'koyi i Kholms'koyi Eparkhiyi v XV-XVI st.* (The Ukrainian Episcopate of the Peremyshl' and Kholm Dioceses in the XV and XVI Centuries),

Rome, 1955. Also to be noted are: *Paulo Hrycak*—on the history of the Medieval Ukraine; *Volodymyr Matsyak*—on the Galician-Volynian State of the XIII and XIV Centuries; *Lyubomyr Vynar* on the Cossack period; *Ivan L. Rudnytsky*—on the history of Ukrainian political ideas of the nineteenth century; *Petro Isayiv* and *Ivan Levkovych* on Ukrainian Church history; *Bohdan Halaychuk* and *Sokrat Ivanytsky* on history of Ukrainian law; *Yuriy Krokhmalyuk* on Ukrainian military history; *Vyacheslav Senyutovych-Berezhnyi* on Ukrainian heraldry and genealogy; and others.

Hryhoriy Luzhnytsky wrote *Ukrayins'ka Tserkva mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom* (The Ukrainian Church Between the East and West), Philadelphia, 1954; *Ivan Vlasovsky* published *Narys istoriyi Ukrayins'koyi Pravoslavnoyi Tserkvy* (An Outline of History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church), two volumes, New York, 1955, 1956.

Special Scientific-historical publications deserving mention are: B. Krupnytsky's monograph about Hetman Danylo Apostol, UVAN, Augsburg, 1948; L. Okinshevich's about nobility in the Hetman Ukraine of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *ZNTSH*, vol. CLVII, Munich, 1948; A. Yakovliv's About the Ukrainian Code of 1743, *ZNTSH*, vol. CLIX, Munich, 1949; N. Polons'ka-Vasylenko's monograph, *The Settlement of the Southern Ukraine (1750-1775)*, special issue of *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, vol. IV-V, No. 4 (14)-1 (15), New York, 1955; E. Borschak's about *Istoriya Rusov* (in French); a symposium dedicated to the 300th anniversary of the Khmelnytsky Revolution, *ZNTSH*, vol. CLVI, Munich, 1948; *A History of Ukraine* by Ivan Kholmsky (pseudonym), *NTSH*, Munich, 1949; the studies of A. Yakovliv and O. Ohloblyn on the Treaty of Pereyaslav of 1654; the Ukrainian edition of *Istoriya Rusov*, translated by V. Davydenko and edited by O. Ohloblyn, New York, 1956; special treatises in the UVAN's *Mazepyn's'kyi zbirnyk* (Mazepa Collection), printing not yet completed; separate treatises, *The Theory of the Third Rome* in the collection of the Church-Archeographic Commission, Munich,

1951-1954; historical articles in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, in *NTSH Proceedings*, in *Yuvileynyi Naukovyi Zbirnyk Ukrayins'koho Vil'noho Universytetu*, vol. V, Munich, 1948, and vol. VI, Munich, 1956; a symposium dedicated to the 700th anniversary of King Danylo's coronation, *ZNTSH*, vol. CLXIV, Rome-Paris-Munich, 1955; articles in *Analecta OSBM*, in *Ukrayina*, Paris, in the collection *Rid ta znameno* (Lineage and Coats of Arms), I-IV, 1947, and in other Ukrainian publications of scientific, religious and political institutions and societies, private publishers and individuals. Some works on modern Ukrainian history were published in *Ukrainian Review* and *Ukrayins'kyi Zbirnyk*, issued by the Institute for the Study of the U.S.S.R. Many less extensive scholarly works were published in journals of general circulation and in collections.

The history sections in *Entsyklopediya Ukrayinoznavstva* (Encyclopedia of Ukraine), vol. I, Munich-New York, 1949, and vol. II, Paris-New York, 1955 (continued, published by NTSH) were the result of collaboration among Ukrainian historians. The same applies to the English-language Ukrainian Encyclopedia which is now being published in the United States.

Thanks to the initiative of private Ukrainian publishing houses (in New York and in Winnipeg) new editions have been published of: V. Lypynsky's *Ukrayina na perelomi* (The Ukraine at the Turning Point) and *Lysty do brativ-khliborobiv* (Letters to Brother-Agrarians); D. Doroshenko's *Istoriya Ukrayiny v 1917-1918 r.r.* (History of the Ukraine in 1917-1918), vols. I and II; *Velyka Istoriya Ukrayiny* (Great History of the Ukraine), *Istoriya ukrayins'koho viys'ka* (History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces) and *Istoriya Ukrayins'koyi Kul'tury* (History of Ukrainian Culture), the last three originally published by I. Tyktor in Lviv in the 1930's; a new edition has been begun of M. Hrushevsky's ten-volume *Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy*, (vols. I-VIII have already come out).

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A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

The following transliteration system has been used in this work:

<i>Ukrainian</i>		<i>Russian</i>
а	а	а
б	b	б
в	v	в
г	h	г
г	g	д
д	d	е
е	e	ё
є	ye	ж
ж	zh	з
з	z	и
и	y	й
й	y	к
ий	yi	л
і	i	м
ї	yi	н
к	k	о
л	l	п
м	m	р
н	n	с
о	o	т
п	p	у
р	r	ф
с	s	х
т	t	ц
у	u	ч
ф	f	ш
х	kh	щ
ц	ts	ъ
ч	ch	ы
ш	sh	ь
щ	shch	э
ь	'	ю
ю	yu	я
я	ya	

Titles of bibliographical sources, published in Roman lettering, and the names of corresponding authors are cited in full agreement with the original text. Those published in Cyrillic lettering are transliterated according to the system shown above. Names of some authors (e.g. Čiževsky, Borschak) are given in transliteration as used by authors themselves in their writings in Western European languages. Ukrainian family names having the ending *ський* and the Russian names ending with *ский* were transliterated as *sky*. The same endings in names of publications were transcribed according to the above system of transliteration.

The spelling of well-known place names, generally accepted in English usage, retain such accepted form (e.g. Kiev, Dnieper, Zaporozhe). The Ukrainian forms of place names are used in other cases, the symbol ' (for ь) being omitted.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Bibl. Zapiski</i>	<i>Bibliograficheskiya Zapiski</i>
<i>Chteniya</i> (Moscow)	<i>Chteniya v Obshchestve istorii i drevnostei rossiiskikh</i>
<i>Chteniya</i> (Kiev)	<i>Chteniya v Obshchestve Nestora Letopista</i>
INO	Institut Narodnoyi Osvity (Institute of Public Education)
<i>Izv. Otd. russ. yaz. i slov. Imp. Akad. Nauk</i>	<i>Izvestiya Otdeleniya russkago yazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>Khar'k. Gub. Vedomosti</i>	<i>Khar'kovskiya Gubernskiya Vedomosti</i>
<i>Kiev. Univ. Izv.</i>	<i>Kievskiya Universitetskaya Izvestiya</i>
<i>Letopis' Ekater. Uch. Arkh. Kom.</i>	<i>Letopis' Ekaterinoslavskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi Komissii</i>
NTSH	Naukove Tovarystvo Imeny Shevchenka
<i>Sbornik Khar'kovskago Ist. fil. Obshchestva</i>	<i>Sbornik Khar'kovskago Istoriko-Filologicheskago Obshchestva</i>
<i>Trudy Chernig. Uch. Arkh. Kom.</i>	<i>Trudy Chernigovskoi Uchenoi Arkhivnoi komissii</i>
UVAN	Ukrayins'ka Vil'na Akademiya Nauk
<i>Varsh. Univ. Izv.</i>	<i>Varshavskiya Universitetskaya Izvestiya</i>
VUAMLIN	Vseukrayins'ka Asotsiyatsiya Markso-Lenins'kykh Instytutiv
VUAN	Vseukrayins'ka Akademiya Nauk
<i>Zapysky ChSVV</i>	<i>Zapysky Chynu Svyatoho Vasylya Velykoho</i>
<i>Zapysky Ist.-Fil. Vid. VUAN</i>	<i>Zapysky Istorychno-Filolohichnoho Viddilu Vseukrayins'koyi Akademii Nauk</i>
<i>Zhurn. Min. Nar. Prosv.</i>	<i>Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya</i>
ZNTSH	<i>Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Shevchenka</i>

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